ECCLESIA VINDICATA:

OR, THE

Church of England JUSTIFIED:

I. *In the Way and Manner of her Reformation.*

II. *In Officiating by a Publick Liturgie.*

III. *In prescribing a Set Form of Prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermons.*

IV. *In her Right and Patrimony of Tithes.*

V. *In retaining the Episcopal Government.*

And therewith,

VI. *The Canonical Ordination of Priests and Deacons.*

By *PETER HEYLYN*, D. D.

Henry Burgis 1709

PSAL. 136. 6, 7.

Si oblitus fuero tui O Jerusalem, oblivioni detur dextra mea. Adhæreat lingua mea faucibus meis, si non proposuero tui in principio lætitiæ meæ.

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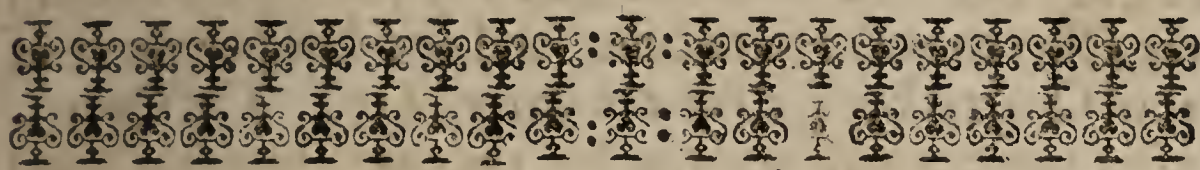
Walter Young



A GENERAL PREFACE TO THE READER,

CONCERNING

The Designe and Method of the following *WORK*.

(1) THe Authors Address to those of the same persuasion with him. (2) As also to those of different opinion. (3) His humble application to all *such as be in Authority*. (4) *Persecution* a true note of the Church verified in the *Jews*, the primitive Christians and the Church of *England*. (5) The several Quarrels of the *Genevians* and the *Papists* against the way and manner of our *Reformation*. (6) The Authors Method and Design in answering the Clamors and Objections of either party. (7) The first Quarrels against the *Liturgies* of King *Edward* the sixt, and the grounds thereof. (8) The *Liturgy* of Q. *Elizabeth* approved by the Pope, subscribed by the *Scots*; and the Church frequented by the Papists for the first ten years of that Queens reign.

reign. (9) The *Puritans* and *Papists* separate from the Church at the same time, and the hot pursuance of this Quarrel by the *Puritan* party. (10) The Quarrel after some repose revived by the *Smectymnuans*, and their actings in it. (11) The Author undertakes the Defence of *Liturgies*, as also the *times* and *places* of *Publick Worship* against all Opponents unto each. (12) The Prayer prescribed to be used by Preachers before their Sermons, the reasons why it was prescribed, and the Church justified for so doing, in a *Brief Discourse* upon that subject of the Authors making. (13) An Answer to the Objection touching the free exercise of the *Gift of Prayer*. (14) *Set Forms* of Prayer condemned in Churches by the Devisers of the *Directory*, and prescribed for Ships. (15) The *Liturgy* cryed down by the *Lay-Brethren* in Order to the taking away of Tithes. (16) The same Design renewed by some late Projectors, the Author undertakes against them, and his Reasons for it. (17) The first *Bishops* of Queen *Elibeths* time quarrelled by the *Papists*, and the grounds thereof. (18) *Covetousness* and *Ambition* in the *Presbyterians*, the two main grounds of their Pursuit against *Episcopacy*. (19) Set on by *Calvin* and *Beza* they break out into action, their violent proceedings in it, and cessation from it. (20) The Quarrel reassumed by the *Smectymnuans*, outwitted in the close thereof by the *Lay-Brethren*, without obtaining their own ends in advancing *Presbytery*. (21) The Author undertakes against *Smectymnuus*, and proves *Episcopacy* to be agreeable to all Forms of Civill Government. (22) His *History of Episcopacy* grounded on the Authority of the Ancient Fathers, and what the Reader is desired in Relation to them. (23) *Ordination* by the Imposition of Hands

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generally in use in all Churches, and how the Ordinance of *March* 20. 1653. is to be understood as to that particular. (24) No *Ordination* lawfull but by *Bishops*, and what the Author hath done in it. (25) The close of all, and the submission of the whole to the Readers judgment.

(1) READER, of what perswasion or condition soever thou art, I here present and submit unto thee these ensuing Tracts. If thou art of the same Perswasion and Opinion with me, I doubt not but thou wilt interpret favourably of my Undertakings; and finde much comfort in thy soul for thy *adhæsion* to a Church so rightly constituted, so warrantably reformed, so punctually modelled by the pattern of the purest and most happy times of *Christianity*. A Church, which for her Power and Polity, her sacred Offices and Administrations, hath not alone the grounds of Scripture, the testimony of Antiquity, and consent of Fathers, but as good countenance and support, as the Established *Laws* of the Land could give her; which *Laws*, if they be still in force, as they seem to be, thy sufferings for adhering to the Church in her *Forms* and *Government*, may not improperly be said to have faln upon thee for thy obedience and conformity to the *Laws* themselves. For though it may be supposed with the (a) *Smectymnuans*, the Author of *The True Cavalier*, &c. and some other of our modern Politicks, that Government and Forms of Worship are but matters of humane appointment, and being such *may lawfully be abrogated by the same Authority by which at first they were Established*; yet then it must be still *by the same Authority*, and not by any other which is lesse sufficient for that end and purpose. And I presume it

(a) Smectym. Answ. 85.

 will

will not be affirmed by any, that an *Ordinance* of the *Lords and Commons* occasionally made and fitted for some present exigent is of as good authority as an *Act of Parliament*, made by the King with the consent and approbation of the *three Estates*, in due form of Law. Or if it be, I would then very fain know the reason why the *Ordinance* of the third of *January*, Anno 1644. should be in force as to the taking away of the Book of Common Prayer, and yet be absolutely void or of no effect as to the establishing and imposing of the *Directory* thereby authorized, which beares an equall share in the title of it; or why the *Ordinance* of the ninth of *October*, Anno 1646. for abolishing *Archbishops* and *Bishops* should be stil in credit; and yet so many *Ordinances* for setling the *Presbyterian* Government (in order whereunto the *Hierarchy* of Bishops was to be abolished) should be as short lived as *Jonas Gourd*, or the solstitial Herb in (*b*) *Plautus*, *Quæ repentino orta est repentino occidit*, blasted as soon as sprung up, without acting any thing: and finally why so many of the Clergy should still stand *sequestred* by Order from the *Committees* of both Houses of Parliament, and yet the Orders of those Houses, as to the recovering of their fifts, should be *void* and *null*. So that thy Judgement and Affections being so well bottomed, thy *conscience* cannot but bear thee witnesse that thou hast not suffered as a Malefactor, a Violator of the Lawes, a Contemner of Order, or a *Despiser of Dominion*; which will be a contentment to thee in thy greatest sorrowes, above all expression. *Delectabit tamen se Conscientia, quod est Animæ pabulum incredibile jucunditate perfusum* (*c*), as *Lactantius* hath it.

(*b*) *Plautus in Pseudolo.*

(*c*) *Lactant. lib. 3. cap. 1.*

(2) If

(2) If thou art otherwise perswaded, and of a *different* judgement from me in the main Disputes, yet I desire thee notwithstanding to peruse these papers, and to peruse them with that Candor and Christian Charity which we ought to have about us in the agitation of all weighty Controversies. I despair not but that thou maist here meet with something which may inform thy understanding, and rectifie the obliquity of those misconceptions which thou hast harboured heretofore against this Church, the way and manner of proceeding in her Reformation, her Government and Establisht Orders in Gods publick service, her Right and Title to that setled Maintenance, which is reserved to those who *officiate* in her. (*d*) *Te quoq; in his Aliquid quod juvet esse potest*, in the Poets language. Howsoever I hope thou art not of those men who *hate to be reformed*, or stop their ears like the *deaf Adder* in the *Psalms*, that so they *may not hear the voice of the Charmer*; but hast a malleable soul, and capable of all impressions tending unto *peace* and *truth*. And then I shall be confident of this favour from thee, that if thou canst not finde good reason to change thy judgement and alter thy opinion in the points disputed, yet thou wilt hereafter think more *charitably* of those poor Men, who cannot sail with every winde of new Opinion, nor easily wean themselves from those Perswasions which they have suckt in as it were with their Mothers milk. If thou art strong, and canst digest all meats which are set before thee, condemn not those of weaker stomachs who have been used unto a *Regular* and strict kinde of Diet.

(*d*) *Ovid. in Phædra ad Hippolyt.*

(3) But if thou art not only of a different Opinion from me, but differing in *Condition* also, advanced

perhaps unto some eminent degree of Trust and Power in the present Government, I must address my self unto thee in another way. I must then say to thee as did *Tertullian* once to the *Roman* Senators, that since there is no means in the way of a *personal* Defence to vindicate the Church, and clear her Children from all those Calumnies and imputations which are charged upon them, *Liceat veritati vel occulta via taciturum literarum ad aures vestras pervenire* (e); I hope it may be lawfull for the Truth to appear before you, by the humble and modest way of a *Declaration*. For what hath been the cause of our great Disturbances, but the want of a right understanding of those Grounds and Principles upon which the Church of *England* was first reformed, or of those greater Animosities, those *Odia plus quam Vatiniana*, exprest towards such as are most cordially affected to her Rules and Tendries? The Men themselves known generally to be both of Parts and Piety, many of them posseft of liberal Fortunes, and all responsal to the Publick in all those capacities in which they may do service to it. And can it rationally be conceived, that either wilfulness or perverseness, or a vainglorious affectation of adhering to their old *Mumpsimus* (as King *Harry* used to say in another case) could make them run the hazzard of all which is dear unto them, were there not some *inward principle* of conscience, and light of understanding to incline them to it? Or that they can suppose themselves to be equally dealt with in being debard from serving God in that way of Worship, and under those Forms of Administration, which they finde countenanced and commended to them by as good Authority as the Established Laws of the Land could give them; and in the mean time

(e) *Tertul. in Apologet. cap. 1.*

time that all sorts of *Sects* and *Heresies* destructive of all civill Magistracy and humane Society, should finde not only a Connivence, but Support and Countenance? And if this cannot be conceived, how canst thou answer it to thy self, or to God and Man, that they who live so peaceably and inoffensively in their several stations, as not to be reproacht with any disaffection to the present Government in word or deed, should notwithstanding be markt out to continual Ruin, because supposed to be of different Principles and Perswasions from some of those who have such powerful influences on the publick Counsels? For thy sake therefore, not for theirs only, have I took this pains, and drawn these several Tracts together, that being perfectly instructed in the grounds of their affections, and the right constitution of the Church their common Mother, thou maist not only carry a more gentle hand towards those who have adher'd unto it, but be more tenderly affected to the Church it self, which hitherto hath met with so much contradiction from unquiet men.

(4) And to say truth, were there no other Arguments to prove the *Church* of *England* to be a true Catholick and Apostolick Church; this were sufficient to evince it, that it hath been alwayes under persecution, which the whole tenor of the Scriptures and the ancient Monuments of Christianity have given us as a mark or character of the Church of God. No sooner had the *Israelites* freed themselves from the *bondage* of *Egypt*, but they were presently pursued and forced through the *Red Sea*, by the Hoast of *Pharaoh*; nor had they sooner escaped that danger by Gods Almighty power, but the *Amalekites* set upon them, the *Moabites* set themselves against them, and *Balaam* the

ſon of *Beor* is hired to curſe them, hated by all the Nations amongſt whom they lived, derided for their *Sabbath* and *Circumciſion*, (*Recutitaq; Sabbata palles*, as the *Satyriſt* hath it) and for their other Rites and Ceremonies in which they differed from the reſt of their neighbouring Nations; *Their Lawes are divers from all people*, ſaith *Haman* in the (*f*) Book of *Heſter*; *Novi illic Ritus cæteriſq; mortalibus contrarii*, as it is in (*g*) *Tacitus*; therefore to be exterminated as Enemies unto Civil Government and to all mankind. Thus did it alſo fare with the *Primitive Chriſtians*, as ſoon as they had ſeparated themſelves from the *Jewiſh* Synagogue; expoſed to all the diſadvantages of ſcorn and danger, both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*. *For as concerning this Sect we know that every where it is ſpoken againſt*; ſo ſaid the *Jews* to *Paul* at his coming to *Rome* (*h*); *Homines per flagitia inviſi*, as much about the ſame time the ſame *Tacitus* (*i*) cals them; and therefore *odio humani generis convicti*, obnoxious to the common hatred of all men, as it after followeth. Preſecuted upon this accompt by the *Roman* Emperors, reviled by the malitious pens of *Celſus*, *Porphiry*, *Lucian*, *Julian*, and the reſt of that Rable. Thus alſo hath it happened to the Church of *England*. No ſooner had King *Harry* freed her from the Bondage of *Rome*, but the proud *Pharaohs* of that City purſued him preſently with their *fulminations*, endevouring to raiſe up all the Princes of the earth againſt him; nor had ſhe ſooner purged her ſelf of thoſe *ſuperſtitions* and *corruptions* which had been put upon her in the time of that Bondage, but many hundreds of her children were forcibly driven through the *Red Sea* (a Sea of their own bloud) to the heavenly *Canaan*. Perſecuted after this in forain parts by

(*f*) Heſt. 3.8.
(*g*) Tacit, Hiſt. lib. 5.
(*h*) Act. 28.22.
(*i*) Tacitus in Annal. lib. XV.

by the *Inquisition*, at home by the malitious pens and practises of that dangerous enemy. And as if this had not been enough for her affliction, her Bowels must be torn out by those very children which she had nourished in the faith, though afterwards they scorned to own her for their Mother.

(5) The first thing quarrelled on both sides is the *Way and manner of her Reformation*, which is affirmed by those of *Rome*, to have too little of the *Pope*, and too much of the *Parliament*; by those of the *Genevian* party, to have too little of the *People*, and too much of the *Prince*. The *Genevians* or *Presbyterians* finde themselves agrieved that in the agitating of this great Business, there was no such consideration had of the common People, as in other places; their *Lay-elders* being allowed no Vote either in the *Consistory* or the *Convocation*, and consequently no care taken of the Peoples Interess, which in a matter which so neerly concerned their souls, was as great as any: applauding for this cause the riotous proceedings in some other Countries, where the People threw down Altars, defaced Images, and in a pious zeal (no doubt) demolisht Churches, laying thereby the groundwork of a more thorow *Reformation* then was made with us. The *Romanists* do complain as loudly that this great work was wholly carryed on by the power of *Parliaments*. And hereupon it is affirmed by D. *Harding*, the first that took up Arms against this Church in Q. *Elizabeths* time, that we had a Parliament-Religion, a Parliament-Faith, and a Parliament-Gospel; as by *Scultingius* and some others, that we had none but Parliament-Bishops, and a Parliament-Clergy. Two Clamors so repugnant unto one another, that if the one of them be true, the other

other cannot chuſe but be very falſe. And thus again the *Papiſts* generally object, that in that great work of the *Reformation*, there was no care taken of the *Pope*, neither conſulted with as the *Patriarch* of the Weſtern Churches, or as the *Apoſtle* at the leaſt of the *Engliſh* Nation: the Pope thereby unworthily deprived of that *Supremacy* which of antient Right belong'd unto him, to the ſubverting of the Fundamentals of the Chriſtian Faith. (*i*) *Primo & præcipuo Romanenſium fidei articulo de Pontificis primatu immutato*, as my Author hath it. *Calvin* and his *Diſciples* on the other ſide, are as much offended with ſetling the Supremacy upon the King; the *Maſter* grievouſly complaining of it in his (*k*) Comment on the 7th. of *Amos*, his *Scholars* doing the like in their ſeveral Pamphlets. And though it be affirmed by *Bracton*, one of our antient Common Lawyers (if my Memory fail not) that Kings are therefore anointed with holy Oyl, *Eo quod ſpiritualis juriſdictionis ſunt capaces*, becauſe they are capable of exerciſing Eccleſiaſticall or Spiritual Juriſdiction; yet *Calvin* will have none of that, condemning thoſe for raſh and inconſiderate Perſons, *Qui faciunt eos nimis Spirituales*, who aſcribe to them any ſuch Authority in Spiritual matters. His Followers all take after him in this particular, none more profeſſedly and at large then *Caldwood* (or *Didoclavius*, as he cals himſelf) and his Aſſociates in the *Altare Damaſcenum*.

(*i*) *Hiſt. Concil. Trident. lib.* 1.

(*k*) *Calvin in Amos cap.* 7.

(6) To ſatisfie the Clamors of theſe oppoſite parties, and to appeaſe ſome Scruples raiſed thereby in Mr. *G. A.* of *W.* a modeſt and ingenuous Gentleman my eſpecial friend, I ſet my ſelf in the firſt place to juſtifie the *Church* of *England* as to the *Way and*

Manner

Manner of her Reformation, ſo loudly and ſo falſly clamoured on ſo little ground. And by this Tract it will be proved that nothing was done here in the *Reformation*, but what was acted by the *Clergy* in their *Convocations*, or grounded on ſome Act of theirs precedent to it, with the Adviſe, Counſell, and Conſent of the Biſhops and other learned men aſſembled by the Kings appointment; and ſecondly that the *Parliaments* did nothing in it but that ſometimes upon the Poſt-fact it was thought fit to add ſome ſtrength to the Decrees and Determinations of the Church (eſpecially in inflicting Puniſhments on the Diſobedient) by the *Civil Sanctions*. And for the Proof of this I have uſed none but Domeſtick Evidences, that is to ſay, the Edicts of the King, the Records of Convocation, and the Acts of Parliaments themſelves; the beſt aſſurances that can be deviſed in Law to convey the Truth unto us in all theſe particulars. In the next place I have indevoured to give ſatisfaction unto all thoſe Doubts which do relate unto the King, the Pope, or the Churches Proteſtant (the riotous actings of the Common People being no good ground to build a Right on) either too little or too much lookt after, as it is pretended, in that weighty buſineſs. Whoſe Pretentions being well examined by the Teſtimony of Fathers, Councels, and other Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities, I hope it will appear as clearly that there was no wrong done either to the Pope or the Forain Churches in being excluded from our Councels in ſo great a work; and that our Kings have exerciſed no other power in ſacred matters, then what is warranted unto them by the word of God, and precedented with the beſt examples of the moſt godly Kings of *Judah*, and the

most pious Kings and Emperors in the happiest times. Nothing in all the Managery of the *Reformation* but what is justifiable by the Practice of the former Ages, and may be drawn into example for the Instruction and Direction of the *present Powers* in all occasions of like nature.

(7) The next thing faulted on both sides is the publick *Liturgy*, condemned by those of *Rome*, first for abolishing the Masse, and then for being published and communicated in the *vulgar Tongue*; by those of the *Genevian* party, for having too much in it of the *Roman Rituals*. The *Papists* of the two the more moderate Adversary, and such whose edge was sooner taken off from the prosecution of the Quarrel then the others were. For though the first *Liturgy* of King *Edward* the sixth, compiled by many Learned and Religious persons, was cryed up both by Act of Parliament *, and by *Fox* himself as done *by the especial aid of the holy Ghost*, yet it gave no small offence to some scrupulous Men, who relished nothing that related to the Antient Formes. And when by the Authority of *Calvin* the opposition in conformity of Bishop *Hooper*, and the great power and policy of *John* Earl of *Warwick* (after Duke of *Northumberland*) it was brought under a *Review* and altered in such things as were thought offensive, yet then it would not down neither with those tender stomachs. Witnesse the troubles raised to the *English* Church at *Francford* in Queen *Maries* dayes, by *Knoxe*, *Whittingham*, and their Associates at their returning from *Geneva*, and the definitive sentence of *Calvin* in it, to whom it was thought good to refer the Difference. And He accordingly declares, to content his followers, *In Liturgia Angli-*

* 2. 3. *Edw.* 6. *cap.* 1.

Anglicana multas esse tolerabiles ineptias, that he found in it very many tolerable follies, *Reliquias Papisticæ fæcis* (*l*), the very dregs of Popery, as he afterwards cals it.

(*l*) *Calv. Epist. Anno* 1555.

Brought to a *Review* in Queen *Elizabeths* time, and purged of a passage in the *Letany*, which gave distast unto the *Papists*, it grew into such general esteem and reputation (as being fitted to the common Principles of *Christianity* in which all parties did agree) that *Pius* the fourth, Anno 1560. made offer by *Parpaio* Abbot of St. *Saviours*, whom he sent with Letters to the Queen, *Liturgiam Anglicam Authoritate sua confirmaturum* (*m*), to ratifie and confirm the same by his Authority. The *Scots* obliged themselves by a publick Subscription to observe the same (*Religionis cultui & Ritibus cum* Anglis *communibus subscripserant*, as we read in *Buchannan* (*n*)) *the fancy of Extemporary Prayer not being then taken up*, as is affirmed by *Knoxe* himself in his *Scottish* History. So gratefull was it for a time to all sorts of people that the *Papists* for the first ten years of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign did diligently frequent the Church, and attend the publick service and Performances of it, as is affirmed by Sir *Edward Cook* in his charge given at the Assizes held at *Norwich*, and in his speech against *Garnet*, and the other Traytors, Anno 1605. And this not spoke on vulgar hear-say, but on his own certain knowledge and observation, he having noted *Beddingfield*, *Cornwallis*, and divers others of that party to repair frequently to the Church without any scruple. And though we may take this well enough on so good Authority, yet may it possibly finde more credit because averr'd by Queen *Elizabeth* herself in her Instructions to Sir *Francis Walsingham* bearing date *August* 11. Anno 1570. In

(*m*) *Camd. in Annal. Eliz.*

(*n*) *Histor. Scot. lib.* 19.

which it is affirmed expresly of the *Heads* of that party (and therefore we may judge the like of the members also) *that they did ordinarily resort from the beginning of her Reign in all open places to the Churches and to divine services in the Church, without contradiction or shew of misliking* (p).

(p) Compl. Embassad f. 4.

(8) But in the year 1568. *Sanders* and others of the *Popish Emissaries* began to practise on that party under pretence of doing service to the *Catholick Cause* (q); as *Button*, *Bellingham*, and *Benson* Sticklers for the *Genevian* Interesse did upon those who were inclinable to their Opinions. And they so far prevailed on their several Partisans, that about two years after upon the coming out of the *Bull* of *Pope Pius Quintus* against the Queen, the Papists generally withdrew themselves from that conformity, and came no longer to our churches as before they had done. And on the other side the *Puritans* (as they then began to call them) animated by *Cartwright* and the rest of their Leaders, did separate themselves also from the *Congregation*, declaming in their frequent Pamphlets against the *Liturgy*, as superstitious, and impure, and altogether savouring of the *Romish Missals*. Favoured underhand by Archbishop *Grindal*, and openly countenanced by the Earl of *Leicester*, they became so confident at the last, that some of their Leaders being demanded by an Honorable Counsellor, if the abolition of some Ceremonies would not serve their turn, they answered with arrogancy enough, *Ne ungulam esse relinquendam*, that they would not leave so much as a hoof behind. But notwithstanding this strong vapour, partly by the constancy and courage of Archbishop *Whitgift* who succeeded *Grindal*, Anno

(q) Cand. Annal 1568.

1583

1583. the opportune death of the Earl their Patron, Anno 1588. and the incomparable pains of judicious *Hooker* Anno 1595. but principally by the seasonable Execution of *Copping* and *Thacker* hanged at St. *Edmunsbury* in *Suffolk* for publishing the Pamphlets of *Rob. Brown* against the Book of *Common Prayer* (*pouer publier le livres de* Rob. Brown *en countre le Livre de Commune Prayer* (*r*), as *Compton* doth report the case in his Lawyers French) they become so quiet, that the Church seemed to be restor'd to some hopes of peace. No *Libelling* or Seditious preachings, no great disturbance after this for some years together; the Brethren turning their *assaults* into *underminings*, and enterprising that by *practice* which they had found impossible to be gained by *violence*.

(*r*) *Compton* in his Office of Justices.

(9) By which means having formed their party, prepared their way by some new Libels, backt by the *Scots*, and countenanced by some leading members in both Houses of Parliament Anno 1640. they brake out again; the *Smectymnuans* openly appearing in the way of Argument, while others of more Brains and Power managed the businesse for them in their severall Houses. The *Liturgy* by the one affirmed to have been intended by the first *Reformers* to be *an help only to the want or weaknesse of a Minister*, and not to be imposed on any but such as would confesse themselves unable to pray without it; by some resembled unto *Crutches* and such like *helps to insufficiency*, not to be made use of, but by those only *who otherwise could make no use of their legs*; reproched by their vulgar followers with the name of *Pottage*, a dish to stay their stomachs till the meat came in; all offices of Piety reduced to Preaching, and all Devotion to the Prayer of the Preachers making.

(10) To this extremity were things brought, when for the reasons elsewhere specified (*s*) I took in hand the Answer to the *Humble-Remonstrance*, in which I found the whole building (as to this particular) to be laid on this foundation; *viz.* that if by *Liturgy we understand prescribed and stinted formes of Administration composed by some, and imposed upon all the rest*, then they are sure that *no such Liturgie had been used antiently by the Jews or Christians* (*t*). Considering therefore they *appeal'd* to the antient practice of the *Jews* and *Christians*, I was resolved that to the antient practice they should go for their justification; and to that end drew down the Pedegree and Descent of *Liturgies* among the *Jews* from the time of *Moses* unto *CHRIST*, carrying it on thorow the constant practice of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, and finally thorow the whole state of the *Christian* Church from the time of *CHRIST* our Saviour till the death of St. *Augustin*, when *Liturgies* and Set Forms of Prayer, were universally received in all parts of Christendom. But hardly had I finished my undertaking, when the war broke out; and I knew well (as *Marius* was once heard to say in another case) (*u*) *That the voice of the Laws could not be heard for the noise of weapons:* the Dispute being then like to be determin'd by stronger Arguments then could be urged on either side by pen and paper. On which consideration the Work lay by me as it was; till the *Ordinance* of the third of *January*, 1644. did seem to put an end to the Disputation, by abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and authorizing the *Directory* or *New form of Worship to be observed in the three Kingdoms*. But finding in that *Directory* that all set times of Publick Worship were reduced to

(*s*) Pref. to the Tract of Liturgics.

(*t*) *Smectym. Answ. pag. 6.*

(*u*) *Plutarch in Ma. io.*

One,

One, that one supposed to be *commanded in the Scripture*, and that the *Festival dayes vulgarly called* Holydayes, *having no warrant in the Word of God*, were *not to be continued* (*u*) longer; I took that hint or opportunity to enlarge my self in laying down the antient practice both of *Jews* and *Christians* in appointing *Holydays*, and recommending them to the pious practice of all men, which did desire to live conformably to establish Laws. And finding afterwards, that notwithstanding the Care taken by that *Directory*, *That Places of publick assembling for worship among us, should be continued and employed to their former use* (*x*); some Men began to threaten them with a speedy destruction, and breathed out nothing but *Down with them, Down with them, even unto the ground*, reproaching them in the mean time with the name of *Steeple-houses*: I interserted also in convenient places the pious care of the *Jewish* Nation in erecting *Synagogues* and Oratories for Gods publick worship and of the *Primitive Christians* (not to say any thing of the like care in the antient *Gentiles*) in building, consecrating and adorning Churches for the like imployments. And this I did to let the Reader understand that the accustomed *times* and *places* which were designed and set apart for Gods publick service, had more authority to rest on then those Men gave out; the *Liturgie* it self being apt enough to be beaten down without any such *Ordinance*, if once those *times* and *places* should be discontinued. By these degrees and on these several occasions, the whole Work came to that perfection in which it is now presented to thee; not to be now presented to thee neither, if the necessity of doing my Duty unto God, and the Church, and offering something

(*u*) *Direct. pag. ult.*

(*x*) *Ibid.*

thing unto the consideration of the *Higher Powers*, had not prevailed with me above all respects of my private interest.

(11) *Liturgies* and Set Forms of Worship being thus assurted, my next care was to vindicate the Church in that Form of Prayer *which is prescribed to be used by Preachers* before their Sermons, *Can.* 55. For certainly the Church had not sufficiently provided for the Common peace, if she had tied her Ministers to Set Forms in the *Dayly Office*, and left them to their own liberty in *conceiving Prayers* to be used by them in the Pulpit before their Sermons. The inconvenience which that liberty hath brought upon us in these latter days, being so apparent, that it is very hard to say whether the *Liberty* of *Prophesying*, or the *Licenciousnesse* in *Praying* what and how we list, hath more conduced to these distractions which are now amongst us. And if there were no such effect too visible of this licentiousnesse (which I desire the *present State* to take notice of) the scandal which is thereby given unto our Religion in speaking so irreverently with such *vain repetitions* and *tautologies* to Almighty God (as in extemporary and unpremeditated Prayers is too frequently done) seemes a sufficient consideration to bring us back again to that ancient Form which the wisdom of the Church prescribed to prevent the Mischief. Such was the care and providence of the elder times and happiest ages of the Church as to ordain that no unlearned person should make use of any of those Prayers which himself had framed, *nisi prius eas cum instructioribus fratribus contulerit* (x) before he had conferred about them with more learned men. The reason of which is thus given in the Councell

(x) Concil. Carthag. Can. 23.

of

of *Milevus* (*y*), *Ne forte aliquid contra fidem vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum*; for fear lest any thing should escape them against faith (and piety) either through the ignorance of the Composer, or carelesnesse in the Composition. And if such care were taken of Mens *private* Prayers, no question but a greater care is to be observed in ordering those *publick* Prayers which are to be offered unto God in the Congregation. Never did Men so literally offer unto God the *Calves of their lips*, as they have done of late since the extemporary way of Praying hath been taken up. And if it were prohibited by the Law of *Moses* to offer any thing unto God in the way of the legall Sacrifices which was maim'd, spotted, or imperfect; how can it rationally be conceived that God should be delighted with those Oblations, or *Spiritual Sacrifices*, which have nothing almost in them but maimes, spots, and blemishes? In which respect I have subjoyned to the Tract of *Liturgies* a Brief Discourse about restrayning *Preachers* to that Form of Prayer which is prescribed them by the Church; and that not only in the *Canon* of 603. but in the Injunctions of King *Harry* the 8th. King *Edward* the 6th. and Queen *Elizabeth* of famous memories, till the predominating humour of drawing all Gods publick Worship to the Pulpit prayer carryed all before it.

(*y*) Can. 12.

(12) But here it is to be observed that one of the chief reasons for abolishing the publick *Liturgie* was, that the *Ministers might put forth themselves to exercise* the Gift of Prayer, *with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all his servants whom he cals to that Office* (*a*); and that nothing was lesse effected then the

(*a*) Pref. to the Direct. p 2,3.

end intended. For first the *Directory* which prescribes not alone the *Heads*, but the *sense* and *scope* (which is the whole matter) *of the Prayers* (b) *and other parts of publick Worship*, doth in effect leave nothing to the Ministers *spirit* but the *wording* of it: which if it be not a restraining of the *Gift of Prayer*, I am much to seek: the Spirit being as much restrained, and the gift of Prayer as much kept in, where the *matter* of the Prayer is prescribed unto us, as when we are prescribed also in the *form* and *words*.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 4

And secondly, whereas it seems to be intended that Ministers should use no form of Prayer before their Sermons, or in any other part of worship, but such as they call *Conceived* extemporary or unpremeditated Prayers (though by the way, all Conceived Prayer require some premeditation) Few of those Men who have conformed themselves to the Rules of the *Directory*, have ventured on the *Exercise of the Gift of Prayer*; most of them using certain and *Set Forms* of their own Composing, and some not only using such Set Forms *memoriter* or without book, as we use to say, but reading them in their books or papers as they lie before them. As great a stinting of the Spirit, as contrary to the free *Exercise of the Gift of Prayer*, as any *publick Liturgie* or Set Form of Worship can be thought to be.

(13) But that which is most worth our noting is, that those very Men who composed the *Directory*, and labored so industriously in abolishing all *Set Forms* of Worship by the *Ordinance* of the third of *January*, should within a while after publish some *Set Forms* of Prayer to be used by such as were at Sea (c). *Quo texeam nodo?* This is just *fast* and *loose*, prety sport for

(c) A supply of Prayer for the Ships.

for children. For though it be pretended, that these *Set Forms* are to be used only *in the want of Ministers*, yet then it must be supposed withal, that none but *Ministers* have the *Gift of Prayer*; or if they have, are not to be permitted the free exercise and use thereof as they see occasion; which I conceive *the Lay-brethren* will not thank them for, who think themselves as well Gifted as the Presbyters do. Or if it be to be supposed, it is to be supposed only in common Cases, when no sense of extraordinary danger or approaching Ruine can quicken the dull spirits of Men, to the free and voluntary acts of *invocation*; to which the tempestuousnesse of the Sea, and unavoidable fears of a suddain death give so many advantages, that there cannot be a better Tutor to teach men to Pray. In so much that it grew into a proverb in the elder times, *Qui nescit orare discat navigare*, that he who knew not how to pray, should undertake some Voyage by Sea, and there he would be sure to learn it. Which shews that there was somewhat else which these good Men aimed at, in crying down the publick Liturgie, then the *free exercise* and use of the *Gift of Prayer* (which few of them make use of now they have their ends in it) and what that was it shall not be long before I tell you.

(14) For if we look back into the busie times of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign, we shall finde there were some secret workings amongst those of the *Puritan* or *Presbyterian* party, to draw all the power and Riches of the Church into their own hands. And to this end the *Ministers* so bestirred themselves, that as they had invaded the government and jurisdiction of the Church, by setting up their *Presbyters* in several places; so they

resolved that the People should depend upon them alone, as for *prayer* and *preaching*, and all the other exercises of their Religion. A thing which could not be effected if the *Liturgie* were not first abolisht, which of necessity must bring their own *conceived Prayers* (as they use to call them) into estimation, and make them the sole Rule and *Rubrick* of all publick Worship, by means whereof they were sure to get that absolute soveraignty in the peoples consciences, which in their *practises* and *preachings* they had so long aimed at. But on the other side, the Lay-brethren had their Ends in it also, hoping, that if they could destroy the *Liturgie*, it would be no hard matter for them to ingrosse the *Tithes* unto themselves, and to put their *Ministers* off with arbitrary Pensions as in other places; Tithes being (as they gave it out) a *Jewish* imposition, not to be laid upon free Subjects in the times of the *Gospel*, never intended for the maintenance of a *Preaching Ministery*, but of a Sacrificing Priesthood. And so far they might seem to have the truth on their side, that the first *Tithes* which were ever taken, were not *received* with reference to *Preaching* to, or instructing the people, but with relation unto *praying* for them, or offering up to God the dayly and commanded *Sacrifices* in their behalf. When *Melchisedech took Tithes* of *Abraham*, it was not for any pains he had taken in Preaching to him, or instructing his little Army, but for praying to God for his *Blessings* on them; for the Text only tels us, that he *blessed Abraham*, praysing God for his good successe against his Enemies (*d*), and for performing that Office had the *Tithes of all*. And when *Tithes* were paid by Gods appointment to the *Priests* and *Levites*, it was

(*d*) Gen. 14. 19, 20.

not

not for their *Teaching*, *Preaching*, or *Exhorting*, for we finde not, that any ſuch Offices were either required of them, or performed by them; but for their ſervice in the Temple, the offering the appointed and occaſional Sacrifices performed with ſeveral kinds of Prayer agreeable to the occaſion, and the Spiritual neceſſities of that People. *Tithes* therefore being the reward and maintenance of a *praying*, not a *preaching* Miniſtery; the *Liturgy* being taken away, and Preaching made the main, if not the ſole work of the Miniſter, there could no reaſon be alleadged, why the people might not withhold their *Tithes*, or why the *Tithes* might not be otherwiſe imployed, as the State thought fit.

(15) This buſineſſe being reſumed and more hotly followed in theſe latter times, and ſome *propoſals* ſet on foot for depriving the Miniſters of their *Tithes*, drawing them into ſome Common *Treaſuries*, and out of them allotting ſuch maintenance to the *Miniſters*, as the neceſſities and wants of the State could ſpare; I publiſht a *Diſcourſe* entituled, *The undeceiving of the people in the point of Tithes*; and to my Preface to that Treatiſe do refer the Reader both for the motives which induced me (having no Ends of my own in it) to that undertaking; the whole Deſign and Method of it; and finally the Reaſons why I did ſo diſguiſe my name, that I might not appear for the Author of it. At this time I ſhall only add, that *Tithes* being now the only remaining *Patrimony* which is left the *Church*, for the incouragement and reward of a *learned Miniſtery*; ſhould they be alſo taken from it, and the poor Clergy forced to depend on uncertain Stipends: I ſee not what can follow thereupon, but a groſſe night

of ignorance, and *Ægyptian darknesse*, especially in those who now hold out the *light* to others. For certainly that saying of *Panormitan* will be always true, *Ad tenuitatem Beneficiorum necessaria sequitur ignorantia sacerdotum.* And if *ignorance* once possesse the *Priests* (I hope it will not be offensive if I use that name) we cannot look for much *knowledge* in the Common people. *For if the light be darknesse*, then *ipsæ tenebræ quantæ!* as we know who said.

(16) But the grand Quarrel of these times is about *Episcopacy*, followed with more acrimony then the former was, because there was something more to be gained by the fall of *Bishops*, then by contending about *Forms* and *Freedoms* to be used in Prayer. And in this Point the *Papists* and the *Presbyters* differ not a little both in the end they aimed at, and the motives to it. The *Papists* quarrelled not the *Calling*, the *Episcopal* function, and much lesse the Revenues which belonged unto it, but the *Persons* rather; offended chiefly that some Men of their own perswasions were not advanced to those great places; and yet not quarrelling the Persons neither, for want of any fitnesse or abilities to discharge the Office, but for defect of some Legalities in their *Consecration.* And if they could possesse the World, that we had no *Bishops*, it would be no hard matter to perswade them that we had no *Ministery*, no lawfull Dispensation of the Word and Sacraments; by consequence, that since we had withdrawn our selves from the *See Apostolick*, we had left off to be a *Church*: the gaining of which point was the matter aimed at in the Calumny. *Quid enim est Ecclesia nisi Plebs* Sacertodi *adunata, & Pastori suo grex adhærens* (*d*)? No *Bishop*, no *Church*, in St. *Cyprians* judge-

(d) Cypr. Epist. 69.

judgement; for that by *Pastor* and *Sacerdos* he doth mean the *Bishop* is a thing past question. In this respect, as *Harding* in his Answer to *Jewels Challenge*, would not acknowledge him to be *Bishop* of *Salisbury* and *Bonner* denyed *Horn* (in an open Sessions) to be *Bishop* of *Winchester*; so did they generally disclaim all the first Bishops of Queen *Elizabeths* Reign (and consequently those also which descended from them) as being *consecrated* in no other Chappell then the *Nags-head* in *Cheapside*, nor by the *imposition* of any other *Hands* then their own, nor finally by any lawful *Ordinal* either old or new. But being beaten from these *Holds*, partly by the inspection of the Publick Registers at *Lambeth-house*, and partly by the Testimony of some honorable persons who were present at those *Consecrations*, but partly by the pains and industry of *Fr. Mason* in his Book entituled, *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*; they joyn themselves under hand to the other *Faction*, for the subverting of the *Calling*, as the easiest and most expedite way to their journies end.

(17) With greater violence and impetuosity did the other *Faction* hurry on towards their Design, spurd on by *Covetousness* and *Ambition*, the two principal Sticklers in all Distractions of the Church. The *Lay-brethren* with unsatiable *Covetousness* gaped after the Possessions and Lands of the Bishops, as the *Presbyters* and Ministers with as great *Ambition* did aspire unto their jurisdiction. And as He in *Plutarch* seeing his own name unexpectedly amongst the *Proscripts*, and consequently certain of nothing more then some suddain death, cryed out aloud, that it was his *fine Gardens* and *his Countrey-house* which drew that fatal

end

end upon him; so might the *Bishops* also say, that it was their fair Houses and their goodly Mannours which exposed them to the common envy, and sacrificed them in conclusion unto Spoil and Rapine. For though nothing else was pretended by them but a zeal to Gods glory the purity of the Ordinances and the Churches peace; yet as my Author well observes, *Ecclesiarum opibus inhiabant* (*e*), it was the Churches goods which they most gaped after, not the Churches good. In vain had the *Presbyterian Ministers* laboured in the pursuit of their *Ambition*, and hopelesly indevoured to change the Government, that they might have it to themselves, had they not been animated and supported in it by their *Lay patrons*; many of which (as some of the *Scottish* writers say of theirs) *would have crucified CHRIST himself to have had his garments.*

(e) Camd. in Annal. Eliz.

(19) Presuming on their power and favour, some of the Ministers which had fled unto *Geneva* in Queen *Maries* days, brought with them at their coming back in the beginning of Queen *Elizabeths* reign, a strong affection (and some secret instructions withall) to settle the *Presbyterian Discipline* (first fitted by *Calvin* for that City) in the Church of *England*: Incouraged thereunto no doubt both by *Calvin* and *Beza*, the two great Patriarchs of the Sect, who could not but be much agrieved, that their *Discipline* which had found such welcom in the neighbouring Churches, should finde none in this. And yet we do not hear of any open *Declaration* which they made herein, till the year 1566, in which *Genebrard* placeth the beginning of the *Puritan* Faction; more visibly appearing about two years after, when *Coleman* (*e*), *Button*, and some others spoken

(e) Camd. Annal. An. 1568.

ſpoken of before, and *Cartwright* not long after them, did openly undertake the Buſineſs. And we may very well conceive, that *Beza* would not be an idle Spectator, when they once were at it; having given order un- *Knoxe* for the Church of *Scotland*, *Ne peſtem illam unquam admittat, quantumvis unitatis retinendæ ſpecie blandiatur* (*f*), that is to ſay, not to admit the plague of *Epiſcopal* Government, though it might ſeem of ſpecial uſe for preſerving unity. Thus countenanced abroad, and backt at home, they preſently muſtred up their forces, betook themſelves to the quarrel, and the whole Realm was on the ſuddain in an uproar. "The "Parliaments continually troubled with their *Supplications, Admonitions*, and the like; and when they "found not there that favour which they looked for, "they denounced this dreadful curſe againſt them, "*That there ſhall not be a man of their ſeed that ſhall* "*proſper to be a Parliament man, or bear rule in* Eng- "land *any more* (*g*). The Queen exclaimed upon in "many of their Pamphlets, her honorable Counſell "ſcandalouſly cenſured as oppoſers of the Goſpel. "The Prelates every where cryed down as *Antichri-* "*ſtian, Petty-popes, Biſhops of the Devil, cogging and* "*couſening Knaves, dumb dogs, enemies of God*, &c. "and their Courts and Chanceries the *Synagogues of* "*Satan*. After this they erected privately their Preſ- "byteries in divers places of the Land, and cantonned "the whole Kingdom into their ſeveral *Claſſes* and di- "viſions; and in a time when the *Spaniards* were ex- "pected, they threaten to Petition the Queens Ma- "jeſty with 100000 hands. Their Diſcipline they call'd the *Scepter and Throne of Chriſt*, and their erecting of Presbyteries the *ſetting of Chriſt upon his*

(*f*) *Beza in Epiſt.*

(*g*) For this and that which followes, ſee *Bancrofts* dangerous poſitions, &c.

Throne: Their quarrel not being raised (as they gave it out) about Caps and Surplices, but *whether Jesus Christ should be King or not*. Good ground for our Fifth-monarchy-men, and by them well followed. Never did men so ply their Adversaries with the Hail shot of Libels as *Martin Mar-prelate* and his followers plaid upon the *Bishops*; but they had then no *Ordinance* on their side, and did little hurt. And all this while the Church might seem to be asleep, till wakened by a Sermon preacht at St. *Pauls Crosse* by Dr. *Bancroft* then Chaplain unto Chancellor *Hatton*, *Feb.* 9. 1588. upon that passage in St. *John*, *Believe not every spirit*, &c. 1 Joh. 4. 1. After which time (the Earl of *Leicester* their great *Patron* being newly dead) so vigilant an eye was carryed towards them, and such quick execution done upon them, that it was high time for them to give over their open and seditious practises. Their privity to *Hackets* Treasons, together with the learned and industrious Treatises of Dr. *Bilson* in defence of *Episcopal* Government, of Dr. *Brancoft* in discovering their dangerous proceedings and positions, his *Anatomy* or *Survey* of their *pretended holy Discipline*; Dr. *Consens* his Apology for the *proceeding in Courts Ecclesiastical*, all publisht in the year 1593. the execution of *Penry*, the condemnation of *Udal*, and the imprisonment of *Cartwright* happening all together, gave such a check unto their fortunes, that they durst never venture on the like Disturbances in Queen *Elizabeths* time.

(19) But as once *Florus* said of the Affairs of *Rome* and *Carthage*; so may we also say in respect of the *Bishops* and these Men, *Semper inter eos populos aut Bellum, aut belli præparatio, aut infida pax fuit* (*h*). They

(*h*) *Flor. Hist. Rom. lib.* 2.

They either were at open war, or preparing for it, or at a peace more doubtful and uncertain then the war it ſelf. And in this interval, while the Brethren had nothing ſo much as *peace* in their mouths, they *made themſelves ready for the battail*; and drew unto their ſide a party like to *Davids* Army, reſorted to by *every one that was in diſtreſſe, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was diſcontented* (*i*); or otherwiſe were deſirous of Novelties, and hoped to mend their Fortunes by the change of Government. Yet had they not courage enough to diſcover themſelves (excepting ſome preparatory *Libels* about the year 1635) till the *Scots* having in a Tumult expelled their *Biſhops*, and falling not long after into *England* with a puiſſant Army, gave them the confidence of effecting that without any hazard, which with ſuch danger they had tugged for in the former times. And in that confidence the *Smectymnuans* came to act their part on the publick *Theater*, addreſſing their Diſcourſe againſt *Epiſcopacy* to the Lords and Commons, amongſt whom they were ſure enough to finde very good friends; and having tired out with their numbers and continual exerciſe, the Patience of the *Humble-Remonſtrant*, they began to triumph in the Victory before they had it, and thought themſelves as ſure of ſetting up their beloved *Presbyteries* in every corner of the Kingdom, as if already they were cantonned out and confirmed by Parliament. Never ſo much outwitted as by being ingaged in that employment, in which they ſerved the turns of others; without ſpeeding their own. For though they had the hap to obtain an *Ordinance* for aboliſhing all *Archbiſhops* and *Biſhops*, bearing date *October* 9. 1646. and ſeveral *Ordinances*

(*i*) 1 Sam. 22. 2.

thereupon for settling the *Presbyterian* Government as they had projected it; yet these last *Ordinances* being but Probationers expired before their time, within few moneths after they had passed the Houses: These great contrivers of our Troubles and the Churches Ruine, not having the good luck to see their Discipline establisht in any one Church within the Kingdom. The Lay-brethren had other fish to fry, and having made use of these *hot spirits* to effect their purposes, laid by all care of gratifying them with that *Supremacy* which they affected in the Church, and presently fell to the division of the Spoil among themselves. Which *Prey* as it had been in chase from the 37. year of King *Harry* the VIII. who laid his first hand on that part of the Churches Patrimony, as appears by the Statutes of that year (*k*), so was it *followed* more or lesse from that time forwards (except the short *parenthesis* of Queen *Maries* reign) till the first Parliament of King *James*, who past an Act *against the diminution of the possessions* and Estates *of Bishops* (*l*), repealing in the same some clauses of an unprinted *Statute* made in the first year of Queen *Elizabeth*, by which their Land both *Sede plena* and *vacante* were wrested from them. But this *Pale* being broken down by the *Ordinance* of *Octob. 9.* which before we spake of, there past another on the 16. of *November* following *for the sale of those Lands*, which was the Game so closely followed by their Fore-fathers in the Faction, and sometimes brought unto the *Bay*; but never could be hunted to the *Fall* before.

(k) 37. *Harry* 8. *cap.* 16.

(l) 1 *Jac. c.* 3.

(20) But I return to the *Smectymnuaus* whom though I left *triumphing* before the victory (as before was said) yet seeing my self engaged by Duty and by Provocation

vocation (which I have ſpoken of elſewhere (*m*)) I was resolved to undertake them, notwithſtanding all advantages which they had againſt me, as the times then were. And I resolved to undertake them in a way leſſe capable of Contradiction, of Anſwers and Replies, then that of Polemical Diſcourſes; to faſhion my Deſign into the form of an Hiſtory, tracing *Epiſcopacy* with all the parts and powers thereof, from the firſt inſtitution of it by our Lord and Saviour, to the reign of *Conſtantine*, at what time it had attained to its full Eſtabliſhment. One only Argument, which I have heard of late from the mouthes of many, muſt be anſwered here; and that is, that *Epiſcopacy* is ſo fitted to the Kingly or *Monarchical* Government, that it is altogether inconſiſtent with any other. And for this, they have no other proof, but becauſe King *James* did uſe to ſay, *No Biſhop no King*, meaning thereby, that there could be no King where there was no Biſhop; therefore it followeth, *è converſo*, that there can be no Biſhop where there is no King. An Argument to be anſwered without further trouble, then by looking into the three principle Eſtates of *Italy*, as they ſtood at and before the year 1520. that is to ſay, the Kingdom of *Naples*, the Ariſtocratie of *Venice*, and the Democraty or popular Eſtate of *Florence*, with each of which *Epiſcopacy* did ſo well comply, that it created no diſturbance unto any of them, but peace and comfort to them all. Some of the *Scots*, the greateſt enemies to *Epiſcopacy* in the Chriſtian World, have now of late confeſt ingenuouſly enough, that *they have buried their antient Monarchy in the ſame grave with it.* But I could never hear from any that when the Kingdom of the *Lombards* was deſtroyed in *Italy*, and diſtracted

(*m*) Pref. to the Hiſt. of Epiſco.

into many popular and petit Tyrannies, each *independent* to the other, the Government of the Church by *Bishops* as it had been formerly was ruin'd or determin'd with it. And so this Argument being *Topical* only, calculated for the *Meridian* of the present Times, with reference to the temper of a broken and unsetled state, can neither serve for any place else, nor for this in fine, when our Affaires shall be reduced to a setled Government. *Adeo Argumenta ab absurdo petita ineptos habent exitus*, said *Lactantius* truly.

(21) Now for my History and my proceedings in it, that must next be known, my businesse being to make good the *matter of fact*, that is to say, that in all Ages of the Church there hath been an *imparity* of Ministers; that the chief of these Ministers was called the *Bishop*; that this *Bishop* had the Government of all *Presbyters* and other Christian People within his Circuit; and finally that the powers of *Jurisdiction* and *Ordination* were vested in him. In which particulars if the *Affirmative* be maintain'd by sufficient evidence, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to prove the *Negative*. And for the better making good of the *Affirmative*, I have called in the antient Writers, the *holy Fathers* of the *Church*, to testifie unto the truth of what here is said, either as writing on those texts of *Scripture* in which the *institution* and *authority* of *Bishops* is most clearly evidenced; or speaking of the *condition* of the *Church* in their several times, in the *administration* and *government* whereof they had most of them some especial interesse. Their Testimonies and Authorities I have fully pondered and alledged as fully; not misreporting any of them in their words or meaning, according to the best of my understanding:

ing: as knowing well and having seen experience of it, that such *false shifts* are like *hot waters*, which howsoever they may serve for a present *pang*, do in the end destroy the stomach. And for these holy and renowned Authors thus by me produced, I desire no more, but that we yeeld as much *authority* unto them in *expounding Scripture*, as we would do to any of the Modern writers on the like occasion: and that we would not give lesse credit to their *affirmations*, speaking of things that hapned in their own times, and were within the compasse of their observation, then we would do to any honest Countrey *Yeoman*, speaking his knowledge at the *Bar* between man and man. And finally that in relating such occurrences of holy *Church*, as hapned in the times before them, we think them worthy of as much belief, as we would give to *Livie*, *Tacitus*, or *Suetonius*, reporting the Affaires of *Rome*, from the Records, Monuments, and Discourses of the former times. This is the least we can afford those Reverend Persons, whether we finde them acting in publick *Councels*, or speaking in their own private and particular writings; and if I gain but this, I have gained my purpose. I hope to meet with no such Readers as *Peter Abeilard*, of whom St. *Bernard* tels us, that he used to say, *Omnes Patres sic, ego autem non sic*; though all the Fathers hold one way, he would hold the contrary. To such, if any such there be, I shall give no other answer at this time, but what Dr. *Saravia* gave to *Beza* in this very case, *viz.* *Qui omnem Patribus adimit Authoritatem, nullam sibi relinquit*; that is to say, He which takes all Authority from the antient Fathers, will in fine leave none unto himself.

(22) I ſhould proceed next to the *Canonical Ordination* of Prieſts and Deacons, the *Stewards* which the Lord hath ſet over his *Houſehold*, the ordinary diſpenſers of *myſteries* of eternall life; which like the *Angels aſcending and deſcending upon Jacobs Ladder*, offer the Peoples Prayers to God, and ſignifie Gods good pleaſure and commands to the reſt of the People. *Offices* not to be invaded or uſurpt by any who are not lawfully *Ordained*; that is to ſay, who are not inwardly prompted and inclined unto it by the holy Spirit, outwardly ſet apart and *conſecrated* to Gods publick ſervice by Prayer and *impoſition of Hands*. A point ſo clear, as to the *deſignation* of ſome perſons unto ſacred Offices, that it hath been univerſally received in all Times and Nations. The ſanctifying of the Tribe of *Levi* for the ſervice of the *Tabernacle* amongſt the *Jews*, the inſtituting of ſo many Colledges of *Prieſts* for the ſervice of their ſeveral Gods by the antient *Gentiles*, the *ſeparating* of *Paul* and *Barnabas* * to the *work* of the Miniſtery in the firſt dawnings of the Goſpel, ſufficiently evidence this truth. And no leſſe clear it is, as to the *Laying on of Hands* in that Sacred action, retained ſince the *Apoſtles* times in all *Chriſtian* Churches at the leaſt deſervedly ſo called. And this the *Presbyterian-Calviniſts* ſaw well enough, who though profeſt Adverſaries to all the old Orders of the Church, do notwithſtanding admit none amongſt them to the Miniſtration of the Word and Sacraments, but by the *Laying on* of the *Hands* of their *Presbyteries*.

* Act. 13. v. 2.

But

But if it be objected that there is no such thing required by the *Ordinance* for *approbation of publick Ministers* bearing date, *March*, 20. 1653.

I answer, that that *Ordinance* relateth not to *Ordination*, but to *Approbation* and *Admission*; it being supposed that no Man is *presented* to any Benefice *with cure of souls*, or unto any *publick Lecture*, and being so presented craves to have *admission* thereunto, who is not first lawfully *Ordained*. That *Ordinance* was made for no other end but to grant *Admission* to such fit persons as were *nominated and presented* to them; and thereby to supply the place of *Institution* and *Induction*, which had been formerly required by the Lawes of the Land. And therefore the said *Ordinance* declares very well, that in such *Approbations* and *Admissions* there is nothing *sacred, no setting apart of any Person to a particular office in the Ministery* (that being the sole and proper work of *Ordination*:) *but only by such triall and approbation to take care, that places destitute may be supplyed with able and faithful Preachers throughout the Nation.*

(23) The Question is not then about *Ordination*, or about *Laying on of Hands*, in which all agree, but what it is which makes the *Ordination* lawfull, whose *Hands* they are, which make it to be held *Canonical*. The *Genevians*, and the rest of *Calvins* Discipline challenge this power to their *Presbyteries*, a mungrel company not heard of till these latter times, consisting of two *Lay-elders* for each preaching Minister. The *Lutherans* with better reason appropriate it to their *Superintendents* which in their Churches execute the place of *Bishops*.

 But

But all Antiquity, Councels, Fathers, the general usage of the Churches of the East and West, with those also of the *Æthiopian* or *Habaßine* Empire, carry it clearly for the *Bishop*; who hath alone the power to Ordain and Consecrate, and by the *imposition of Hands* to set apart some Men to the publick Ministery, though he call in some *Presbyters* as Assistants to him. St. *Jerom*, no great friend to *Bishops*, doth acknowledge this. *Quid facit Episcopus excepta Ordinatione, quod Presbyter non faciat?* What doth a *Bishop*, saith the Father, but what the *Presbyter* may do also, except *Ordination*? And to the disquisition of these *Canonical Ordinations* I should next proceed, as hath been promised in the Title. But I have said so much to that Point in the Course of the History, as Part. 1. Cap. 2. Num. 11, 12. Cap. 4. Num. 2, 3. Cap. 5. Num. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Part. 2. Cap. 1. Num. 10, &c. Cap. 4 Num. 7. Cap. 5. Num. 5, 6. Cap. 6. Num. 5, 7. besides many other passages here and there interserted to the same effect; that I shall save my self the trouble of adding any thing further to those Observations. And to them therefore I refer the Reader for his satisfaction. At this time I shall say no more but that the Church had never stood so constantly to *Episcopal* Government, were it not for the great and signal benefits which redound unto it by the same. Of which there is none greater, or of more necessary use to *Christianity*, then the preserving of a perpetual succession of *Priests* and *Deacons*, ordained in a *Canonical* way to be the Ministers of *holy things* to the rest of the people; that is to say, to Preach the Word, Administer the Sacraments, and finally to performe all other divine and Religious Offices which

which are required of them by the Church in their ſeverall places.

(24) Thus have I laid before thee, good Chriſtian Reader, the *Method* and *Deſign* of this following Work, together with the Argument and Occaſion of each ſeverall Peece contained in it. Which as I have done with all Faith and Candor in the ſincerity of my Heart, and for the Teſtimony of a good Conſcience, laying it with all humble reverence at the feet of thoſe who are in Authority; ſo with reſpective duty and affection I ſubmit the ſame unto the judgement (of what Perſwaſion or Condition ſoever thou art) for whoſe inſtruction in the ſeveral Points herein declared, it was chiefly ſtudied. And I ſhall heartily beſeech all thoſe who ſhall pleaſe to read it, that if they meet with any thing therein, which either is leſſe *fitly ſpoken*, or not *clearly evidenced*, they would give me notice of it in ſuch a *charitable* and *Chriſtian* way, as I may be the *better* for it, and they not the *worſe*. Which favour if they pleaſe to do me, they ſhall be welcome to me as an *Angel of God*, ſent to conduct me from the Lanes of *error* into the *open wayes* of *truth*. And doing theſe *Chriſtian* Offices unto one another, we ſhall by Gods good leave and bleſſing, not only hold *the bond* of external *peace*, but alſo in due time be made partakers of *the Spirit of unity*. Which bleſſing that the *Lord* would gratiouſly beſtow on his afflicted and diſtracted *Church* is no ſmall part of our *Devotions* in the *publick Liturgie*: where we are taught to pray unto Almighty God, that he *would* pleaſe *continually* to *inſpire* his *uni-*

versal Church with the spirit of Truth, Unity and Concord, and grant that all they which do confesse his holy Name, may agree also in the truth of his holy Word, and live in unity and Godly love. Unto which Prayer he hath but little of a *Christian*, which doth not heartily say, *Amen.*

Lacies Court in *Abingdon, April* 23. 1657.

THE

THE WAY and MANNER OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England

DECLARED and JUSTIFIED:

Against the Clamors and Objections of the Opposite Parties.

By *PETER HEYLYN*, D. D.

MALACH. 2. 7.

Labia Sacerdotis *custodient Sapientiam, & legem requirent ex ore ejus: quia* Angelus *Domini Exercituum est.*

HEB. 13. 17.

Obey them that rule over you, and submit your selves; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy and not grief.

LONDON,

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *Henry Seile* over against St. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleetstreet*, M. DC LVII.

TO THE READER.

THe occaſion which induc'd me to the writing of this Diſcourſe hath been already touched at in our *general Preface*, and ſhall be ſhewn thee more at large in the following Preamble or *Introduction*. Let it ſuffice thee now to know, that it was done on an occaſion *really* given, and not in *ſuppoſition* only, the better to bring in the Deſign which I have in hand; and that it gave ſuch ſatisfaction to the *Party* for whoſe

ſake

ſake it was undertaken, that it was thought fit by ſome to have it publiſht for the Uſe of others. But being publiſhed by a faulty and imperfect Copy, I caus'd it preſently to be call'd in; not willing it ſhould goe abroad (though without my Name) till it were able in ſome meaſure to defend it ſelf, if not to juſtifie the Authour. Being now ſet upon a reſolution, which God bleſs me me in, of vindicating this poor Church (as far at leaſt as in me is) in her Forms of Worſhip, her Government and eſtabliſht Patrimony, together with the Times and Places deſtinate to her Sacred Offices; I have thought good to place this Tractate in the Front, as a *Præcognitum* or neceſſary *Manuduction* unto all the reſt. *The way and manner of the Reformation of the Church of* England *declared and juſtified*, cannot but give a good Reliſh unto all that follows, being no other then the Eſſentiall parts and branches of that *Reformation*. If thou art ſatisfied in this, it will be a faire *Omen* to me, that the reſt may not prove unwelcome. And that thou mayſt

per=

peruſe it with the greater chearfulneſs; I will not keep thee longer in the Entrance of it; it being no good Husbandry to waſte that Friend in petit Matters, whom we endeavour to preſerve for nobler favours. And ſo fare thee well.

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SECT. II.

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The

The Way of the *Reformation* of the Church of *England* Declared and Justified, &c.

The Introduction.

Shewing the Occasion, Method, and Design of the whole Discourse.

My dear Hierophilus; *your*

NEW company is alwaies very pleasing to me; but you are never better welcome then when you bring your doubts and scruples along with you, for by that means you put me to the studying of some point or other, whereby I benefit my self, if not profit you. And I remember at the time of your last being with me, you seemed much scandalized for the Church of *England*, telling me you were well assured that her Doctrine was most true and orthodox, her Government conform to the Word of God and the best ages of the Church; and that her publick *Liturgie* was an extract of the *primitive Formes*; nothing in all the whole Composure but what did tend to edification and increase of piety. But for all this, you were unsatisfied (as you said) in the waies and means by which this *Church* proceeded in her *Reformation*, alledging, that you had heard it many times objected by some Partisans of the Church of *Rome*, that our *Religion* was meer *Parliamentarian*, not regulated by *Synodical* Meetings, or the Authority of Councels, as in elder Times; or as Dr. *Harding* said long since in his Answer unto B. *Jewel*, That we had a *Parliament Religion*, a *Parliament Faith*, and a *Parliament Gospel*: To which *Scultingius* and some others after added, that we had none but *Parliament Bishops*, and a *Parliament Clergy*; that you were apt enough to think that the *Papists* made not all this noise without some ground for it, in regard you have observed some Parliaments in these latter

daies so mainly bent to catch at all occasions, whereby to manifest their power in Ecclesiastical matters, especially in constituting the *new Assembly* of Divines and others. And finally, that you were heartily ashamed, that being so often choaked with these Objections, you neither knew how to traverse the *Indictment*, nor plead *Not guilty* to the *Bill*. Some other doubts you said you had, relating to the King, the Pope, and the *Protestant* Churches, either too little or too much look'd after in our Reformation, but you were loth to trouble me with too much at once. And thereupon you did intreat me to bethink my self of some fit Plaster for the Sore which did oft afflict you, religiously affirming that your desires proceeded not from *curiosity*, or an itch of knowledge, or out of any disaffection to the Power of *Parliaments*; but meerly from an honest zeal to the Church of *England*, whose credit and prosperity you did far prefer before your life, or whatsoever in this world could be dear unto you; Adding withall, that if I would take this pains for your satisfaction, and help you out of these perplexities which you were involved in, I should not only do good service to the Church it self, but to many a wavering member of it, whom these objections had much staggered in their Resolutions. In fine, that you desired also to be informed how far the *Parliaments* had been interessed in these *alterations* of Religion, which happned in the Reigns of K. *Hen.* the 8. K. *Edw.* the *6.* and Queen *Elizabeth*? what ground there was for all all this clamour of the *Papists?* and whether the Houses, or either of them, have exercised of old any such Authority in matters of *Ecclesiastical* or *Spiritual* nature, as some of late have ascribed unto them? Which though it be a dangerous and invidious subject (as the times now are) yet for your sake, and for the Truths, and for the honour of *Parliaments*, which seem to suffer much in that *Popish* calumny, I shall undertake it; premising first, that I intend not to say any thing to the point of *Right*, whether or not the *Parliament* may lawfully meddle in such matters as concern *Religion*; but shall apply my self wholly unto matters of Fact, as they relate unto the *Reformation* here by Law established. And for my method in this businesse, I shall first lay down by way of *preamble*, the form of calling of the *Convocation*

tion of the Clergy here in *England*, that we may see by what Authority they proceed in their Constitutions, and then declare what was acted by the *Clergy* in that *Reformation*: In which, I shall begin with the ejection of the Pope, and setling the *Supremacy* in the Crown Imperial of this Realm; descending next to the *Translation* of the Scriptures into the *English* Tongue, the Reformation of the Church in *Doctrinals* and *Formes* of *Worship*, and to proceed unto the Power of making *Canons* for the well ordering of the Clergy, and the direction of the people in the Exercise of their *Religion*; concluding with an Answer to all such Objections (by what party soever they be made) as are most material. And in the canvassing of these points, I doubt not but it will appear unto you, that till these late busie and unfortunate Times, in which every man intrudeth on the Priestly Function, the Parliaments did nothing at all either in making *Canons*, or in matters *Doctrinall*, or in *Translation* of the Scriptures: next that that little which they did in reference to the *Formes* and *Times* of Worship, was no more then the inflicting of some *Temporal* or *legal* penalties on such as did neglect the one, or not conform unto the other, having been first digested and agreed upon in the *Clergy* way: and finally that those Kings and Princes before remembred, by whose Authority the Parliaments did that little in those *Formes* and *Times*, did not act any thing in that kinde themselves, but what was warranted unto them by the word of God and the example of such godly and religious Emperors and other Christian Kings and Princes, as flourished in the happiest times of Christianity. This is the sum of my design, which I shall follow in the order before laid down: assuring you that when you shall acquaint me with your other scruples, I will endevour what I can for your satisfaction.

1. *Of calling or assembling the* Convocation *of the Clergy, and the* Authority *thereof when conveen'd together.*

AND in this we are first to know, that anciently the Archbishop of the several Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York* were vested with a power of *Convocating* the Clergy of their several and respective Provinces, when, and as often as they thought it necessary for the Churches peace. And of this power they did make

use upon all extraordinary and emergent cases, either as Metropolitans and Primates in their several Provinces, or as *Legati nati* to the Popes of *Rome*: but ordinarily, and of common course especially after the first passing of the Acts or Statutes of *Præmuniri*, they did restrain that power to the good pleasure of the Kings under whom they lived, and used it not but as the necessities and occasions of these Kings, or the distresses of the Church did require it of them; and when it was required of them, the *Writ* or *Precept* of the King was in this form following. *Rex*, &c. *Reverendissimo in Christo Patri* N. Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo *totius Angliæ Primati & Apostolicæ sedis Legato salutem. Quibusdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis defensionem & securitatem* Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, *ac pacem, tranquillitatem, & bonum publicum, & defensionem* Regni nostri, *& subditorum nostrorum ejusdem concernentibus, Vobis in Fide & dilectione, quibus nobis tenemini, rogando mandamus, quatenus præmissis debito intuitu attentis & ponderatis universos & singulos Episcopos* vestræ Provinciæ, *ac Decanos & Priores Ecclesiarum Cathedralium, Abbates, Priores & alios Electivos, exemptos & non exemptos, nec non Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula, & Collegia* totumq; Clerum *cujuslibet Dioceseos ejusdem* Provinciæ, *ad conveniendum coram vobis in Ecclesia* Sancti Pauli London. *vel alibi, prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda modo debito* Convocari *faciatis; Ad tractandum, consentiendum & concludendum super præmissis & aliis quæ sibi clarius proponentur, tunc & ibidem ex parte nostra. Et hoc sicut nos & statum* Regni nostri, *ac honorem & utilitatem* Ecclesiæ prædictæ *diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teste meipso*, &c. These are the very words of the antient Writs, and are still retained in these of later Times; but that the Title of *Legatus sedis Apostolicæ* then used in the Archbishops stile was laid aside together with the Pope himself; and that there is no mention in them of Abbots, Priors, and Convents, as being now not extant in the Church of *England*. And in this *Writ* you may observe; first, that the *calling* of the Bishops and Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* to a *Synodical* Assembly, belonged to the Arch-bishop of that Province only (the like to him of *York* also within the Sphere or Verge of his Jurisdiction.) Secondly, that the nominating of the time and place for this *Assembly* was left to the Arch-Bishops pleasure, as seemed best unto him; though for the most part, and with reference unto themselves & the other Prelates, who were bound to attend the service of the King in *Parliament*, they caused these Meetings to be held at the time

and

and place, at, and to which the *Parliament* was or had been called by the Kings Authority. Thirdly, That from the word *Convocari* used in the *Writ*, the *Synodical* meetings of the Clergy were named *Convocations*. And fourthly, That the *Clergy* thus assembled in *Convocation* had not only a power of *treating* on and consenting unto such things as should be there propounded on the Kings behalf, but a power also of *concluding* or not *concluding* on the same as they saw occasion: Not that they were restrained only to such points as the King propounded, or were proposed in his behalf to their consideration; but that they were to handle his businesse with their own, wherein they had full power when once met together.

In the next place we must behold what the Archbishop did in pursuance of the Kings command for calling the Clergy of his Province to a *Convocation*, who on the receipt of the Kings *Writ* presently issued out his Mandate to the Bishop of *London* (Dean by his place of the whole Colledge of Bishops of that Province) requiring him immediately on the sight hereof (and of the Kings *Writ* incorporated and included in it) to cite and summon all the Bishops, and other Prelates, Deans, Arch-Deacons, and capitular Bodies, with the whole Clergy of that Province, that they the said Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, in their own persons, the *Capitular* Bodies by one *Procurator*, and the Clergy of each Diocess by two, do appear before him at the time and place by him appointed, and that those *Procurators* should be furnished with sufficient powers by those which sent them, not only to *treat* upon such points as should be propounded touching the peace of the Church, and defence and welfare of the Realm of *England*, and to give their counsel in the same; *sed ad consentiendum iis quæ ibidem ex communi deliberatione ad honorem* Dei & Ecclesiæ *in præmissis contigerint concorditer ordinari*; but also to consent both in their own names, and in the names of those who sent them, unto all such things, as by mature deliberation and consent should be there ordained. Which *Mandate* being received by the Bishop of *London*, the several Bishops cited accordingly, and intimation given by those Bishops unto their *Arch-Deacons* for summoning the Clergy to make choice of their *Procurators*, as also the Chapters, or capitular Bodies, to do the like: The next work is to proceed to the choice of those *Procurators*. Which choice being made, the said Chapters under their common seals, and the said Clergy in a publick Writing subscribed by them,

them, do bind themselves *sub Hypotheca omnium bonorum suorum*, under the pawn and forfeiture of all their goods moveable and immoveable (I speak the very words of these publick Instruments) *se ratum, gratum & acceptum habere quicquid dicti* Procuratores *sui nomine & vice suis fecerint*, &c. To stand to and perform whatsoever their said *Procurators*, in their name and stead, shall do, determine and consent to. The like is also done in the Province of *York*; but that the Arch-B. thereof sends out the summons in his own name to the *suffragan Bishops*, the Province being small, and the *Suffragans* not above three in number. Finally, as the *Convocations* of the Clergy in their several Provinces were called by the Arch-Bishops only, the Kings *Writ* thereunto requiring and authorizing; so by the same powers were they also *dissolved* again, when they had done the business they were called about, or did desire to be dismissed to their own affairs. At which time by special *Writ* or *Mandates* to the said Arch-Bishops, expressing the calling and assembling of the *Convocation* by vertue of the former *Precept*, it is declared, That on certain urgent causes and considerations moving his Majesty thereunto, *he thought fit with the advice of his privie Councel*, that the same should be again dissolved: *Et ideo vobis mandamus quod eandem præsentem* Convocationem *hac instanti die debito modo sine ulla dilatione* dissolvatis, sive dissolvi faciatis, *prout convenit*; and therefore did command them to dissolve it, or cause the same to be dissolved in the accustomed manner without delay. Which Writ received, and not before, the *Convocation* was *dissolved* accordingly: and so it holds in Law and practise to this very day.

I have the longer staid on these publick Formes, partly because not obvious unto every eye; but specially to let you see by what Authority the Clergy are to be assembled in their *Convocations*, and what it is which makes their Canons and Conclusions binding, unto all those which send them thither, or intrust them there. Their calling by the Kings Authority makes their meeting lawful, which else were liable to exceptions and disputes in Law, and possibly might render them obnoxious to some grievous penalties; and so would their continuance too after the writ was issued for their *Dissolution*. As on the contrary their breaking or *dissolving* of their own accord, would make them guilty of contempt, and consequently subject to the Kings displeasure; for *being called by the* Kings Writ, *they are to continue till dissolved by the Kings Writ also, not-*

with-

withstanding the dissolving of the Parliament, with which sometimes it might be summoned. And so it was resolved *in terminis*, by the chief Judges of the Realm and others of his Majesties Counsel learned, *May* 10. *anno* 1640. at such time as the *Convocations* did continue sitting, the Parliament being most unhappily dissolved on the Tuesday before, subscribed by *Finch* Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, *Manchester* then Lord privy Seal, *Littleton* chief Justice of the Common-pleas, *Banks* Attorney General, *Whitfield* and *Heath* his Majesties Sergeants, Authority enough for the poor Clergy to proceed on, though much condemned and maligned for obedience to it. [Now as they have the Kings Authority not only for their Meeting, but continuance also; so also have they all the power of the whole *National* Clergy of *England*, to make good whatsoever they conclude upon: the Arch-Bishops, Deans, Arch-Deacons, acting in their own capacities, the *Procurators* in the name and by the power committed to them, both by the Chapters or capitular Bodies, and the *Diocesan* Clergy of both Provinces. And this they did by vertue of that power and trust alone, without any ratification or confirmation from King or Parliament, untill the 25 year of King *Henry* the 8. At which time they bound themselves by a *Synodical* Act (whereof more hereafter) *not to enact, promulge, or execute* any Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances Provincial *in their* Convocations *for time coming, unlesse the Kings Highness by his* Royal Assent *command them to make promulge, and execute the same* accordingly. Before this time they acted absolutely in their *Convocations* of their own Authority, the Kings Assent neither concurring nor required; and by this sole Authority which they had in themselves, they did not only make *Canons*, declare *Heresie*, convict and censure persons suspected of *Heresie*, in which the subjects of all sorts (whose Votes were tacitely included in the suffrages of their Pastors & spiritual Fathers) were concerned alike. But also to conclude, the Clergy whom they represented in the point of *Property*, imposing on them what they pleased, and levying it by *Canons* of their own enacting. And they enjoyed this power to the very day in which they tendred the *submission*, which before we spake of. For by this self-authority (if I may so call it) they imposed and levied that great Subsidie of 120000 *l.* (an infinite sum as the Standard of the Times then was) granted unto King *Henry* the 8. *anno* 1530. to free them from the fear and danger of the *Præmunire*. By this the Benefit of the Chap-

the Premunire: about supporteing & maintaineing the Cardinal Legatine Power. Wooksey.

Chapter called *Similiter* in the old *Provincial*, extended formerly to the Univerſity of *Oxon* only, was made communicable the ſame year unto *Cambridge* alſo. By this *Crome*, *Latimer*, *Bilney*, and divers others, were in the year next following impeached of *Hereſie*. By this the Will and Teſtament of *William Tracie* of *Toddington* was condemned as *ſcandalous and heretical*, and his body taken up and burnt not many daies before the paſſing of the Act of *Submiſſion*, *anno* 1532.

But this power being thought too great or inconſiſtent at leaſt with the Kings Deſign touching his divorce, the Clergy were reduced unto ſuch a ſtraight by the degrees and ſteps which you find in the following Section, as to ſubmit their power unto that of the King, and to promiſe in *verbo ſacerdotii*, that they would do and enact nothing in their *Convocations* without his conſent. And to the gaining of this point, he was preſſed the rather, in regard of a *Remonſtrance* then preſented to Him by the *Houſe of Commons*, in which they ſhewed themſelves aggrieved, that the Clergy of this Realm ſhould act Authoritatively, and ſupremely in the *Convocations*, and they in *Parliament* do nothing, but as it was confirmed and ratified by the *Royal Aſſent*. Which notwithſtanding, though this *Submiſſion* brought down the *Convocation* to the ſame Level with the Houſes of Parliament; yet being made unto the King in his ſingle perſon, and not as in conjunction with his Houſes of *Parliament*, it neither brought the *Convocation* under the command of *Parliaments*, nor rendred them obnoxious to the power thereof. That which they did in former times of their ſelf-authority (in matters which concerned the Church) without the Kings conſent co-operating and concurring with them, the ſame they did and might do in the Times ſucceeding, the Kings Authority and Conſent being ſuperadded, without the help and midwifery of an Act of Parliament, though ſometimes that Authority was made uſe of alſo, for binding of the ſubject under *Temporal* and *Legal* penalties, to yeeld obedience and conformity to the Churches Orders. Which being the true ſtate of the preſent buſineſſe, it makes the clamour of the *Papiſts* the more unreaſonable; but then withall it makes it the more eaſily anſwered. *Temporal puniſhments* inflicted on the refractory and diſobedient in a *Temporal Court*, may adde ſome ſtrength unto the Decrees and Conſtitutions of the Church, but they take none

none from it: Or if they did, the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, the whole Mass of *Popery*, as it was received and setled here in Qu. *Maries* Reign, would have a sorry crutch to stand upon, and might as justly bear the name of a *Parliament Faith*, as the reformed Religion of the Church of *England*. It is true indeed, that had those *Convocations* which were active in that *Reformation*, being either *called* or summoned by the King in Parliament, or by the Houses separately, or conveniently without the King: or had the Members of the same been nominated and impowered by the House alone, and intermixt with a considerable number of the Lords and Commons; (which being by the way, the Case of this *New Assembly*, I do not see how any thing which they agree on can bind the Clergy, otherwise then imposed by a strong hand, and against their priviledges.) Or finally, had the conclusions or results thereof been of no effect, but as reported to and confirmed in Parliament, the Papists might have had some ground for so gross a calumny, in calling the Religion which is now established by the name of a *Parliament Religion*, and a *Parliament Gospel*. But so it is not in the Case which is now before us, the said *submission* notwithstanding. For being the *Convocation* is still called by the same Authority as before it was, the Members of that Body being still the same priviledged with the same freedom of debate and determination; and which is more, the *Procurators* of the Clergy invested with the same power and trust which before they had: there was no alteration made by the said *Submission*, in the whole constitution and composure of it, but onely the addition of a greater and more excellent power. Nor was there any thing done here in that *Reformation*, but either by the Clergy in their Convocations, and in their Convocations rightly called and *canonically* constituted, or with the council and advice of the Heads thereof in more private conferences, the Parliaments of these Times contributing very little towards it, but acquiescing in the Wisdome of the Soveraign Prince, and in the piety and zeal of the *Ghostly Fathers*. This is the Ground work or Foundation of the following building. It is now time I should proceed to the *Superstructures*, beginning first with the *Ejection of the Pope*, and vesting the Supremacie in the Regal Crown.

2 *Of the Ejection of the Pope, and vesting the Supremacy in the Regall Crown.*

AND first, beginning with the Ejection of the Pope and his Authority that led the way unto the *Reformation of Religion* which did after follow: It was first voted and decreed in the *Convocation*, before ever it became the subject of an *Act of Parliament*. For in the Year 1530. 22 *Hen.* 8. the Clergy being caught in a *premunire*, were willing to redeem their danger by a sum of money; and to that end, the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury* bestowed upon the King the sum of 100000 *li.* to be paid by equal portions in the same Year following; but the King would not so be satisfied, unless they would acknowledge him for the *supream Head on earth for the Church of England*; which, though it was hard meat, and would not easily down amongst them, yet it passed at last. For, being *throughly debated* in a *Synodical way*, both in the upper and lower Houses of *Convocation*, they did, *in fine*, agree upon this expression. *Cujus (Ecclesiæ SC. Anglicanæ) Singularem protectorem, unicum & Supremum Dominum, & (quantum per Christi leges licet) Supremum caput, ipsius Majestatem recognoscimus.* To this they al consented and subscribed their hands, and afterwards incorporated it into the *publike Act* or *Instrument*, which was presented to the King in the Name of his Clergy, *for the redeeming of their errour, and the grant of their money*, which as it doth at large appear in the Records and Acts of the *Convocation*, so it is touched upon in a Historical way in the *Antiq. Britan. Mason de Minist. Anglic.* and other Authors; by whom it also doth appear, that what was thus concluded on by the Clergy of the Province of *Canterbury*, was also ratified and confirmed by the *Convocation* of the Province of *York* (according to the usual custom) save that they did not buy their pardon, at so dear a rate. This was the Leading Card to the Game that followed. For on this ground were built the Statutes, prohibiting all *Appeales* to *Rome*, and for *determining all Ecclesiastical suits and controversies within the Kingdoms*, 24 *H.* 8. *c* 12. *That for the manner of electing and consecrating of Arch-Bishops and Bishops*, 25 *H.* 8. *c.* 20. *and the prohibiting the payment of all Impositions to the Court of Rome; and for obtaining all such dispensations from the See of Canterbury, which formerly were procured from the Popes of* Rome, 25. *H.* 8. *c.* 21

8.c.21. Which last is built expresly upon this foundation; *That the King is the onely supream Head of the Church of England, and was so recognized by the Prelates and Clergy, representing the said Church in their Convocation.* And on the very same foundation was the Statute raised, 26 H.8.c.1. wherein the King is declared to be *the supream Head of the Church of England, and to have all honours and preheminences which were annexed unto that Title*, as by the Act it self doth at full appear: Which Act being made (I speak it from the Act it self) onely for *corroboration* and *confirmation* of that which had been done in the *Convocation* did afterwards draw on the Statute for the Tenths and first fruits, as the point incident to the *Headship* or *supream Authority*, 26 H.8.c.3.

The second step to the *Ejection of the Pope*, was the *submission of the Clergy*, to the said King *Henry*, whom they had recognizanced for their *supream Head*. And this was first concluded on in the *Convocation*, before it was proposed or agitated in the *Houses of Parliament*, and was commended onely to the care of the *Parliament*, that it might have the force of a Law by a civil Sanction. The whole debate, with all the traverses and emergent difficulties which appeared therein, are specified at large in the Records of Convocation, *Anno* 1532. But being you have not opportunity to consult those Records, I shall prove it by the *Act of Parliament*, called commonly *The Act of submission of the Clergy*; but bearing this Title in the *Abridgment of the Statutes* set out by *Poulton*; *That the Clergy in their* Convocations *shall enact no constitutions without the Kings assent.* In which it is premised for granted, that the Clergy of the Realm of *England*, had not onely *acknowledged, according to the Truth*, that the Convocation of the same Clergy, *is, always hath been, and ought to be assembled alwayes by the Kings Writ*; *but also submitting themselves to the Kings Majesty, had promised*, in verbo Sacerdotis, *That they would never from henceforth presume to attempt, allcadge, claim, or put in ure, enact promulge, or execute, any new Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances provincial, or other; or by whatsoever other name they shall be called in the* Convocation, *unless the Kings most Royal Assent may to them be had, to make, promulge, and execute the same; and that his Majesty do give his most Royall Assent and Authority in that behalf.*

Upon which ground-work of the Clergies, the *Parliament* shortly after built this superstructure, to the same effect, *viz.*

That none of the said Clergy from thenceforth should presume to attempt, alleadge, claim, or put in ure, any Constitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, or Synodals, or any other Canons; nor shall enact, promulge, or execute any such Canons, Constitutions, or Ordinances Provincial, (by whatsoever name or names they may be called) in their Convocations *in time coming (which always shall be assembled by the Kings Writ) unless the same* Clergy *may have the Kings most Royal Assent and Licence to make, promulge, and execute such* Canons, Constitutions, *and* Ordinances Provincial, *or* Synodical, *upon pain of every one of the said* Clergy *doing the contrary to this Act, and thereof convicted, to suffer imprisonment, and make fine at the Kings Will,* 25 H.8 c.19.

So that the *Statute*, in effect, is no more then this, an Act to binde the Clergy to perform their promise, to keep them fast unto their word for the time to come, that no new Canon should be made in the times succeeding in the favour of the Pope, or by his Authority; or to the diminution of the Kings *Royal Prerogative*, or contrary to the *lawes* and *Statutes* of this Realm of *England*, as many *Papal Constitutions* were in the former Ages: Which *Statute* I desire you to take notice of, because it is the Rule and Measure of the Churches power in making Canons, Constitutions, or whatsoever else you shall please to call them in their Convocations.

The third and small Act, conducing to the Popes Ejection, was an *Act of Parliament*, 28.H.8.c.10. entituled, *An Act extinguishing the Authority of the Bishop of* Rome. By which it was enacted, *That if any person should extoll the Authority of the Bishop of* Rome, *he should incur the penalty of a præmunire; that every Officer both Ecclesiastical and Lay should be sworn to renounce the said Bishop and his Authority, and to resist it to his power, and to repute any Oath formerly taken in maintenance of the said Bishop, or his Authority, to be void; and finally, that the refusal of the said Oath should be judged High Treason.* But this was also usher'd in, by the determination first, and after by the practice of all the Clergy. For in the year 1534, which was two yeares before the passing of this Act, the King had sent this Proposition to be agitated in both *Universities*, and in the greatest and most famous *Monasteries* of the kingdom, that is to say, *An aliquid authoritatis in hoc Regno Angliæ Pontifici Romano, de jure competat plusquam alii cujamque Episcopo extero?* By whom it was determined Negatively, that the Bishop of *Rome* had no more power of right in the Kingdom of *England*, than any other

ther forreign Bishop. Which being testified and returned, under the hands and seales respectively (the Originals whereof are still remaining in the Library of Sr *Robert Cotton*) was a good preamble to the Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy, assembled in their Convocation, to conclude the like. And so accordingly they did, and made an *Instrument* thereof subscribed by the hands of all the Bishops, and others of the Clergy, and afterwards confirmed the same by their corporal Oaths. The copies of which Oaths and Instrument you shal finde in *Foxes Acts* and *Monuments*, *Vol.* 2. *fol.* 1203. and *fol.* 1210, 1211. of the Edition of *John Day*, *Anno* 1570. And this was semblably the ground of a following *Statute*, 35 H. 8. c. 1. wherein another Oath was devised and ratified, to be imposed upon the Subject, for the more cleer asserting of the Kings Supremacy, and the utter exclusion of the Popes for ever; which *Statutes*, though they were all repealed by an Act of *Parliament*, 1 and 2d of *Phil.* and *Mary*, c. 1.+ save that the name of *supream Head* was changed unto that of the *supream Governour*, and certain clauses altered in the Oath of *Supremacy*. Where (by the way) you must take notice, that the *Statutes* which concerns the Kings Supremacy, are not introductory of any new Right, that was not in the Crown before; but onely declaratory of an old, as our best Lawyers tell us, and the *Statute* of the 26 of H. 8. c 1. doth clearly intimate. So that in the Ejection of the Pope of Rome, which was the first and greatest step towards the Work of *Reformation*, the *Parliament* did nothing, for ought it appeares, but what was done before in the *Convocation*, and did no more than fortifie the Results of *Holy Church*, by the addition and corroboration of the *Secular Power*.

3 *Of the Translation of the Scriptures, and permitting them to be read in the* English Tongue.

THE second step towards the Work of *Reformation* (and indeed one of the most especial parts thereof) was the *Translation of the Bible* into the English Tongue, and the permitting all sorts of people to peruse the same, as that which visibly did tend to the discovery of the errours and corruptions in the Church of Rome, and the intollerable pride and tyranny of the Romane Prelates, upon which grounds it had been formerly translated into *English* by the hand

+ yet they were all revived in the 1 of Eliz:

hand of *Wickliff*, and after on the spreading of *Luthers* Doctrine, by the paines of *Tindal*, a stout and active man in King *Henries* dayes, but not so well befriended as the work deserved: especially considering that it hapned in such a time when many printed Pamphlets did disturb the State (and some of them of *Tindals* making) which seemed to tend unto sedition, and the change of Government. Which being remonstrated to the King, he caused divers of his Bishops, together with sundry of the learnedest and most eminent Divines of all the Kingdom to come before him: Whom he required freely and plainly to declare, atwel what their opinion was of the foresaid Pamphlets, as what they did think fit to be done concerning the *Translation* of the *Bible* into the *English* Tongue; And they upon mature advise and deliberation unanimously condemned the aforesaid Bookes of Heresie and Blasphemy (no smaler crime:) then for *translating* of the Scriptures into the *English* Tongue, they agreed all with one assent, that it depended wholly on the will and pleasure of the Soveraign Prince, who might do therein as he conceived to be most agreeable to his occasions; but that with reference to the present estate of things, it was more expedient to explain the Scripture to the people by the way of Sermons, then to permit it to be read promiscuously by all sorts of men: yet so that hopes were to be given unto the *Laity*, that if they did renounce their errours, and presently deliver to the hands of his Majestics Officers all such Bookes and Bibles (which they conceived to be translated with great fraud and falshood) as any of them had in keeping; his Majesty would cause a true and catholike *Translation* of it to be published in convenient time, for the use of his Subjects.

This was the sum and substance of the present Conference, which you shal finde laid down at large in the Registers of Arch-Bishop *Warham*.

And according to this advice the King sets out a *Proclamation*, not onely prohibiting the buying, reading, or translating of any the aforesaid Bookes, but straitly charging all his Subjects which had any of the Bookes of Scripture, either of the Old Testament, or of the New, in the *English* Tongue, to bring them in without delay. But for the other part, of giving hopes unto the people of a true *Translation*, if they delivered in the false (or that at least which was

pre-

pretended to be false) I finde no word at all in the *Proclamation.* That was a work reserved unto better times, or left to be solicited by the Bishops themselves, and other Learned men who had given the counsel; by whom (indeed) tha people were kept up in hope that all should be accomplished unto their desires.

And so indeed it proved at last. For in the Convocation of the year 1536. the authority of the *Pope* being abrogated, and *Cranmer* fully setled in the *See* of *Canterbury*, the Clergy did agree upon a form of *Petition* to be presented to the King, *That he would graciously indulge unto his subjects of the Laity the reading of the Bible in the English Tongue, and that a new Translation of it might be forthwith made for that end and purpose.*

According to which godly motion, his Majesty did not onely give Order for a new *Translation*, which afterwards He authorized to be read both in publique and private; but in the interim he permitted CROMWEL, his *Vicar General*, to set out an *Injunction* for providing the whole *Bible* both in *Latine* and *English*, after the *Translation* then in use, (which was called commonly by the name of *Matthewes Bible*, but was no other then that of *Tindal* somewhat altered) to be kept in every Parish Church throughout the Kingdom, for every one that would repair unto, and caused this mark or character of Authority to be set upon them in red Letters, *Set forth with the Kings most gracious Licence*; which you may see in *Fox* his *Acts* and *Monum.* p. 1248. and 1363.

Afterwards when the new *Translation* so often promised, and so long expected, was compleat and finished; printed at *London* by the Kings Authority, and countenanced by a grave and pious Preface of Arch-Bishop *Cranmer*; the King sets out a *Proclamation* dated *May* 6. *Anno* 1541. Commanding all the *Curates* and *Parishioners* throughout the Kingdom, who were not already furnished with *Bibles* so authorized and translated, as is before said, to provide themselves before *Al-hallowtide* next following, and to cause the *Bibles*, so provided, to be placed conveniently in their several and respective Churches, straitly requiring all his Bishops, and other Ordinaries, to take special care to see his said commands put in execution.

And therewithal came out *Instructions* from the King to be published by the Clergy in their several Parishes, the better to possesse the

the people with the Kings good affection towards them in suffering them to have the benefit of such Heavenly Treasure; and to direct them in a course by which they might enjoy the same to their greater comfort, the reformation of their lives, and the peace and quiet of the Church. Which *Proclamation* and *Instructions* are stil preserved in that most admirable Treasury of Sr *Robert Cotton*.

And unto these Commands of so great a Prince, both *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *People*, did apply themselves with such cheerful reverence, that *Bonner* (even that bloudy Butcher as he after proved) caused six of them to be chained in several places of St *Pauls* Church in *London*, for all that were so wel inclined to resort unto, for their edification and instruction; the Book being very chargable, because very large, and therefore called commonly (for distinctions sake) *The Bible of the greater Volume*.

Thus have we seen the Scriptures faithfully *translated* into the *English Tongue*, the *Bible* publicely set up in all Parish Churches, that every one which would, might peruse the same, and leave permitted to all people to buy them for their private uses, and reade them to themselves, or before their Families; and all this brought about by no other meanes then by the Kings Authority onely, grounded on the advice and judgment of the Convocation.

But long it was not (I confess) before the *Parliament* put in for a share, and claimed some interest in the Work; but whether for the better, or the worse, I leave you to judge. For in the year 1542. the King being then in agitation of a League with *Charles* the Emperour, He caused a complaint to be made unto him in this Court of *Parliament*, *That the Liberty granted to the people in having in their hands the Bookes of the Old and New* Testament, *had been much abused by many false glosses and interpretations which were made upon them, tending to the seducing of the people, especially of the younger sort, and the raising of sedition within the Realm.*

And thereupon it was enacted by the Authority of the *Parliament* (on whom He was content to cast the envy of an Act so contrary to his former gracious *Proclamations*) *That all manner of Bookes of the Old and New Testament, of the crafty, false, and untrue Translation of* Tindal, *be forthwith abolished, and forbidden to be used and kept. As also, that all other Bibles not being of* Tindals *Translation, in which were found any Preambles or Annotations, other then the Quotations or Summaries of*

the

of the Chapters should be purged of the said Preambles and Annotations, either by cutting them out, or blotting them in such wise, that they might not be perceived or read. And finally, *That the Bible be not read openly in any Church, but by the leave of the King, or of the Ordinary of the place; nor privately by any Women, Artificers, Apprentices, Journey-men, Husband-men, Laborers, or by any of the Servants of Yeomen, or under,* with several pains to those who should do the con-trary.

This is the substance of the *Statute* of the 34 and 35 Hen. 8. c 1. Which though it shewes that there was somewhat done in *Parliament*, in a *matter* which concern'd *Religion*, (which howsoever if you mark it, was rather the adding of the *penalties*, than giving any *resolution* or *decision* of the points in question) yet I presume the Papists wil not use this for an Argument, that we have either a *Parliament Religion*, or a *Parliament Gospel*; or that we stand indebted to the *Parliament* for the use of the Scriptures in the *English* Tongue, which is so principal a part of the Reformation. Nor did the *Parliament* speed so prosperously in the undertaking (which the wise King permitted them to have a hand in, for the foresaid ends,) or found so general an obedience in it from the common people, as would have been expected in these Times, on the like occasion; but that the King was fain to quicken and give life to the Acts thereof, by his *Proclamation, Anno* 1546. which you shal finde in *Fox* his book, *fo.* 1427.

To drive this Nail a little further: The terrour of this *Statute* dying with *H.*8. or being repealed by that of K. *Ed.* 6. *c.* 12. the *Bible* was again made publique; and not onely suffered to be read by particular persons, either privatly, or in the Church; but ordered to be read over yearly in the Congregation, as a part of the *Liturgie*, or *Divine Service*: Which how far it relates to the Court of *Parliament* we shal see anon; But for the publishing thereof in Print for the use of the people, for the comfort and edification of private persons, that was done onely by the King, at least in his Name, and by His Authority. And so it also stood in Q. *Elizabeths* time, the *translation* of the *Bible* being again reviewed by some of the most learned Bishops, appointed thereunto by the Queens Commission (from whence it had the name of the *Bishops Bible*) and upon that review, re printed by her sole Commandement, and by her sole Authority left free and open to the use of her wel-affected and religious subjects. Nor did the *Parliament* do any thing in all Her Reign

with reference to the Scriptures in the *English* Tongue, otherwise then at the reading of them, in that Tongue, in the Congregation, is to be reckoned for a part of the *English Liturgy*, whereof more hereafter.

In the translation of them into *Welch*, or *British*, somwhat indeed was done which doth look this way. It being ordered in the *Parliament*, 5. *Eliz.c.* 28. *That the B. B. of* Hereford, St Davids, Bangor, Landaff, *and* St Asaph, *should take care amongst them for translating the whole Bible, with the book of Common Prayer, into the Welch or Brittish Tongue, on pain of forfeiting* 40 *l. a piece in default hereof. And to incourage them thereunto, it was enacted that one book of either sort being so translated and imprinted, should be provided and bought for every Cathedral Church, as also for all Parish Churches and Chappels of Ease, where the said tongue is commonly used; the Ministers to pay the one half of the price, and the Parishioners the other.*

But then you must observe withal, that it had been before determined in the Convocation of the self-same year, *Anno* 1562. *That the Common-Prayer of the Church ought to be celebrated in a tongue which was understood by the people* (as you may see in the book of *Articles of Religion*, *Art.* 24. which came out that year) and consequently, aswel in the *Welch* or *Brittish*, as in any other. Which care, had it been taken for *Ireland* also as it was for *Wales*, no question but that people had been more generally civil iz'd, and made conformable in all points to the *English* Government long before this time. And for the new Translation of K. *James* his time, to shew that the Translation of Scripture is no work of *Parliament*, as it was principally occasioned by some passages in the Conference at *Hampton* Court, without recourse unto the *Parliament*, so was it done onely by such men as the King appointed, and by His Authority alone imprinted, published and imposed, care being taken by the Canon of the year, 1603. *That one of them should be provided for each several Church, at the charge of the Parish.* No flying in this case to an Act of *Parliament*, either to authorize the doing of it, or to impose it being done.

4 *Of*

4 *Of the Reformation of Religion in points of Doctrine.*

NExt let us look upon the method used in former Times in the reforming of the Church, whether in points of Doctrine, or in formes of Worship, and we shal find it stil the same. The *Clergy* did the work as to them seemed best, never advising with the *Parliament*, but upon the *post-fact*, and in most cases not at all. And first for *Doctrinals*, there was but little done in K. *Henries* time, but that which was acted by the *Clergy* onely in their *Convocation*, and so commended to the people by the Kings sole Authority, the matter being never brought within the cognizance of the two Houses of *Parliament*. For in the year 1536. being the year in which the Popes Authority was for ever banished, there were some *Articles* agreed on in the *Convocation*, and represented to the King, under the hands of the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and inferior *Clergy* usually called unto those Meetings; the Original whereof being in Sr *Robert Cotton's* Library I have often seen: Which being approved of by the King, were forthwith published under the Title of *Articles devised by the Kings Highness, to stable Christian quietness and unity amongst the people.* In which it is to be observed: First, that those *Articles* make mention of Sacraments onely, that is to say, of *Baptisme*, *Penance*, and the *Sacrament of the Altar*. And secondly, That in the *Declaration* of the Doctrine of *Justification*, *Images*, *honouring of the Saints departed*; as also concerning many of the *Ceremonies*, and the fire of *Purgatory*, they differ'd very much from those Opinions which had been formerly received in the Church of *Rome*; as you may partly see by that Extract of them, which occurs in *Fox* his *Acts and Monuments*, *Vol.* 2. *fol.* 1246.

For the confirming of which book, and recommending it to the use of the people, His Majesty was pleased in the *Injunctions* of the year, 1536. to give command to all Deans, Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, so to open and declare in their Sermons, and other Collations, the said *Articles* unto them which be under their Cure, that they might plainly know and discern, which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation, and which do onely concern the decent and politique Order of the Church. And this

he did upon this ground, that the said *Articles* had been *concluded and condescended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of the Realm in their Convocation*; as appeareth in the very words of the *Injunction*: For which, see *Fox* his *Acts and Monuments, fol.* 1247. I find not any thing in *Parliament* which relates to this, either to countenance the work, or to require obedience and conformity from the hand of the people. And to say truth, neither the King nor Clergy did account it necessary, but thought their own Authority sufficient to go through with it; though certainly it was more necessary at that time, then in any since: The power and reputation of the *Clergy* being under foot, the King scarce setled in the *Supremacy* so lately recognized unto him; and therefore the Authority of the *Parliament* of more use then afterward, in Times well ballanced and established.

'Tis true, that in some other year of that Princes Reign, we finde some use and mention of an Act of *Parliament* in matters which concerned Religion; but it was onely in such Times when the hopes of Reformation were in the Wane, and the Work went retrogade. For in the year 1539. being the 31. *H.*8. When the Lord *Cromwels* power began to decline, and the King was in a necessity of complyance with His Neighbouring Princes, there passed an Act of *Parliament* commonly called the *Statute* of the six *Articles* (or the Whip with six strings.) In which it was enacted, *That whosoever by word or writing, should preach, teach, or publish, that in the blessed Sacraments of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine, there is not really the naturall body and bloud of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, (or affirm otherwise thereof then was maintained and taught in the Church of Rome) should be adjudged an Heretick, and suffer death, by burning, and forfeit all his Lands and Goods, as in case of High Treason.*

Secondly, *That whosoever should teach or preach, that the Communion of the blessed Sacrament (in both kindes) is necessary for the health of mans soul, and ought to be maintained.*

Thirdly, *Or that any man after the Order of Priesthood received, might marry, or contract Matrimony.*

Fourthly, *Or that any woman which had vowed and professed chastity, might contract Marriage.*

Fifthly, *Or that private Masses were not lawful and laudable, or agreeable to the Word of God.*

Or,

Or sixthly, *That auricular Confession was not necessary and expedient to be used in the Church of God, should suffer death, and forfeit Lands and goods as a Felon*, 31 *H*.8.*c*.14.

The rigour of which terrible *Statute* was shortly after mittigated in the said Kings Reign, 32 *H* 8.*c*.10. and 35 *H*. 8. *c*.5. and the whole *Statute* absolutely repealed by Act of *Parliament*, 1 *E*.6. *c*.12. But then it is to be observed first, that this *Parliament* of K.*H*.8. did not determine any thing in those six points of Doctrine which are therein recited; but onely took upon them to devise a course for the suppressing of the contrary Opinions, by adding by the secular Power, the punishment of Death, and forfeiture of Lands & Goods, unto the censures of the Church, which were grown weak, if not unvalid; and consequently, by degrees became neglected ever since the said K.*Henry* took the Headship on Him, and exercised the same by a Lay *Vicar General*.

And secondly, you must observe, that it appeareth evidently by the Act it self, that at the same time the King had called a *Synod and Convocation of all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other learned men of the Clergy, that the Articles were first deliberately and advisedly debated, argued and reasoned, by the said Archbishops, Bishops, and other learned men of the Clergy, and their opinions in the same declared and made known, before the matter came in Parliament*.

And finally, That being brought into the *Parliament*, there was not any thing declared and passed as *doctrinall*, *but by the assent of the Lords Spiritual, and other learned men of the Clergy*, as by the Act it self doth at large appear.

Finally, Whatsoever, may be drawn from thence, can be only this, That K. *Hen*. did make use of his Court of *Parliament* for the establishing and confirming of some points of Popery, which seemed to be in danger of a Reformation. And this compared with the *Statute* of the 34 and 35, prohibiting the reading of the *Bible* by most sorts of people, doth cleerly shew that the *Parliaments* of those times did rather hinder and retard the work of *Reformation*, in some especial parts thereof, than give any furtherance to the same.

But to proceed: There was another point of *Reformation* begun in the Lord *Cromwels* time, but not produced, nor brought to perfection till after his decease; and then too, not without the Midwifery of an Act of *Parliament*. For in the year 1537. the Bishops and

and others of the Clergy of the *Convocation*, had composed a Book, entituled, *The Institution of a Christian Man*; which being subscribed by all their hands, was by them presented to the King, by His most excellent judgment to be allowed of, or condemned. This book, containing the chief heads of Christian Religion, was forthwith printed, and exposed to publike view. But some things not being cleerly explicated, or otherwise subject to exception, he caused it to be reviewed and to that end, as *Supream Head on Earth of the Church of England* (I speak the very words of the Act of *Parl*. 32 H. 8 c. 26.) *appointed the Archbishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and also a great number of the best, learned, honestest, and most vertuous sort of the Doctors of Divinity, men of discretion, judgment, and good disposition, to be called together; to the intent, that according to the very Gospel and Law of God, without any partial respect or affection to the Papistical sort, or any other sect or sects whatsoever, they should declare by writing, & publish, as well the principal Articles and points of our Faith and Belief; with the Declaration, true understanding and observation of such other expedient points, as by them, with his Graces advice, councel, and consent, shall be thought needful and expedient; as also for the lawful Rights, Ceremonies, and observation of Gods service within his Realm.*

This was in the year, 1540. at what time the Parliament was also sitting; of which the King was pleased to make this especial use, That whereas the work which was in hand (I use again the words of the *Statute*) required ripe and mature deliberation, and was not rashly to be defined and set forth, and so not fit to be restrained to the present Session, an Act was passed to this effect, *That all Determitions, Declarations, Decrees, Definitions, and Ordinances, as according to Gods Word, and Christs Gospel, should at any time hereafter be set forth by the said Archbishops and Bishops, and Doctors in Divinity, now appointed, or hereafter to be appointed by his Royal Majesty, or else by the whole Clergy of England, in, and upon the matter of Christs Religion, and the Christian Faith, and the lawful Rights, Ceremonies, and Observations of the same, by his Majesties advice and confirmation under the great Seal of* England, *shall be by all his Graces subjects fully believed, obeyed, observed, and performed to all purposes and intents, upon the paines and penalties therein to be comprized, as if the same had been in express words and sentences plainly and fully made, set forth, declared, and contained in the said Act*, 32 H. 8. c. 26. where note, That the two Houses of Parliament were so far from medling in

in the matter which was then in hand, that they did not so much as require to see the Determinations and Decrees of those learned men whom His Majesty had then assembled, before they passed the present Act, to bind the Subject fully to believe, observe, and perform the same; but left it wholly to the judgment and discretion of the King and Clergy, and trusted them besides, with the ordaining and inflicting of such paines and penalties on disobedient and unconformable persons as to them seemed meet.

This ground-work laid, the work went forwards in good order, and at last being brought unto as much perfection as the said Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and other learned men would give it, without the co-operation and concurrence of the Royal assent; it was presented once again to the Kings consideration; who very carefully perused it, and altered many things with his own hand; as appeares by the book it self still extant in the famous Library of Sr *Robert Cotton*; and having so altered and corrected it in some passages, returned it to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who bestowed some further paines upon it; to the end, that being to come forth in the Kings Name, and by his Authority, there might be nothing in the same which might be justly reprehended.

The business being in this forwardnesse, the King declares in Parliament, *Anno* 1544. being the 34 year of his Reign, his zeal and care, not onely to suppress all such Bookes and Writings as were noysome and pestilent, and tended to the seducing of his subjects; but also to ordain and establish a certain form of pure and sincere Teaching agreeable to Gods Word, and the true Doctrine of the Catholick and Apostolick Church, whereunto men may have recourse for the decision of some such controversies, as have in Times past, and yet do happen to arise.

And for a preparatory thereunto, that so it might come forth with the greater credit, he caused an Act to pass in Parliament for the abolishing of all Bookes and Writings, comprizing any matters of Christian Religion, contrary to that Doctrine, which since the year 1540. is, or any time during the Kings life, shall be, set forth by his Highnesse, and for the punishment of all such (and that too, with most grievous paines) which should preach, teach, maintain, or defend any matter or thing contrary to the book of Doctrine, which was then in readiness, 34,35 H.8.c.1. Which done, He caused

ed the said book to be imprinted in the year next following, under the Title of *A necessary Doctrine for all sorts of people*; prefixing a Preface thereto in his Royal Name, to all his faithful and loving Subjects, that they might know the better in those dangerous Times, what to believe in point of Doctrine, and how they were to carry and behave themselves in points of practice.

Which Statute, as it is the greatest Evidence which those Times afford to shew, that both, or either of the Houses of Parliament had any thing to do in matters which concerned Religion; so it entitles them to no more (if at all to any thing) then that they did make way to a book of Doctrine, which was before digested by the Clergy onely, revised after, and corrected by the Kings own hand; and finally, perused and perfected by the *Metropolitan*.

And more then so (besides, that being but one Swallow, it can make no Summer) it is acknowledged and confessed in the Act it self (if *Poulton* understand it rightly in his Abridgment) That recourse must be had to the Catholick and Apostolick Church, for the decision of Controversies. Which as it gives the Clergy the decisive power, so it left nothing to the Houses but to assist and aid them with the Temporal Sword, when the Spiritual Word could not do the deed, the point thereof being blunted, and the edge abated.

Next, let us look upon the time of K *Ed.* 6. and we shall finde the Articles and Doctrine of the Church (excepting such as were contained in the book of Common-Prayer) to be composed, confirmed, and setled in no other way, then by the Clergy onely in their Convocation, the Kings Authority co-operating and concurring with them.

For, in the Synod held in *London*, *Anno* 1552. the Clergy did compose and agree upon a book of Articles, containing the chief heads of the Christian Faith; especially, with reference to such points of Controversie, as were in difference between the Reformators of the Church of *England*, and the Church of *Rome*, and other Opponents whatsoever; which after were approved, and published by the Kings Authority.

They were in number 41. and were published by this following Title; that is to say, *Articuli de quibus in Synodo London.* Anno 1552. *ad tollendum opinionum dissentionem & consensum veræ Religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos & alios Eruditis viros Convenerat, Regia authoritate in*

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lucem Editi. And, it is worth our observation, that though the *Parliament* was held at the very time, and that the *Parliament* passed several Acts which concerned Church-matters; as, *viz. An Act for Uniformity of Divine Service, and for the confirmation of the book of Ordination*, 5 and 6 *Edw.*6. c.1. *An Act declaring which dayes onely shall be kept for Holy dayes; and which for Fasting dayes*, C.3. *against striking or drawing weapon, either in the Church or Church-yard*, C. 4. And finally, another Act *for the legitimating of the Marriages of Priests and Ministers*, C.12. Yet neither in this *Parliament*, nor in that which followed, is there so much as the least syllable which reflecteth this way, or medleth any thing at all with the book of *Articles*. Where, by the way, if you behold the lawfulnesse of *Priests Marriages* as a matter *Doctrinal*; or think we owe that point of *Doctrine*, & the indulgence granted to the Clergy in it, to the care and goodness of the Parl. you may please to know, that the point had been before determined in the *Convocation*, & stands determined by and for the *Clergy* in the 31 of those *Articles*, and that the *Parliament* looked on it as a point of *Doctrine*; but as it was a matter *practical*, conducing to the benefit and improvement of the Common-wealth. Or if it did, yet was the *Statute* built on no other ground-work, than the Resolution of the *Clergy*, *the Marriage of Priests being before determined to be most lawfull* (I use the very words of the Act it self) *and according to the Word of God, by the learned Clergy of this Realm in their Convocations, as well by the common assent, as by subscriptions of their hands*, 5, 6. Edw. 6. chap.12.

And for the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, it is most manifest, that they had no other body of Doctrine in the first part of her Reign, then onely the said *Articles of K. Edwards* book; and that which was delivered in the book of *Homilies* of the said Kings time: in which the *Parliament* had as little to do, as you have seen they had in the book of *Articles*.

But in the *Convocation* of the year, 1562. being the fifth of the Qu. Reign, the Bishops and Clergy taking into consideration the said book of *Articles*, and altering what they thought most fitting, to make it more conducible to the use of the Church, and the edification of the people, presented it unto the Queen, who caused it to be published with this Name and Title, *viz. Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at London, Anno* 1562. *for the avoiding*

of diversity of Opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion; put forth by the Queens authority.

Of any thing done, or pretended to be done, by the power of the *Parliament*, either in the way of approbation, or of confirmation, not not one word occurs either in any of the printed books, or the publique Registers.

At last, indeed in the 13th of the said Queens Reign (which was 8 years full after the passing of those Articles) comes out a *Statute for the redressing of disorders in the Ministers of holy Church*: In which it was erected, *That all such as were ordained Priests or Ministers of Gods Word and Sacraments, after any other form then that appointed to be used in the Church of England; all such as were to be ordained, or permitted to preach, or to be instituted into any Benefice with cure of soules, should publikely subscribe to the said Articles, and testifie their assent unto them.* Which shews (if you observe it well) that though the *Parliament* did well allow of, and approve the said book of *Articles*, yet the said book owes neither confirmation, nor authority, to the Act of *Parliament*. So that the wonder is the greater, that that most insolent scoff which is put upon us by the Church of *Rome*, in calling our Religion by the name *Parliamentaria Religio*, should pass so long without controle; unlesse, perhaps, it was in reference to our Formes of Worship, of which I am to speak in the next place.

But first we must make answer unto some Objections which are made against us, both from Law and Practice. For Practice; first, it is alleadged by some out of Bishop *Jewel*, in his Answer to the cavil of Dr *Harding*, to be no strange matter to see Ecclesiastical Causes debated in *Parliament*; and that it is apparent by the Lawes of King *Ina*, King *Alfred*, King *Edward*, &c. That our godly fore-fathers, the Princes and Peers of this Realm, never vouchsafed to treat of matters touching the common State, before all controversies of Religion, and Causes Ecclesiastical had been concluded, *Def. of the Apol. part 6. chap. 2. sect. 1.*

But the answer unto this is easie: For first, if our *Religion* may be called *Parliamentarian*, because it hath received confirmation and debate in *Parliament*, then the Religion of our Fore-fathers, even *Papistry* it self (concerning which so many Acts of *Parliament* were made in K. *Hen.* 8. and Q. *Maries* time) must be called *Parliamentarian* also.

And secondly, it is most certain, that in the *Parliaments* or *Com-*

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mon-Councels (call them which you will) both of King *Inas* time, and the rest of the *Saxon* Kings which B. *Jewel* speaks of; nor onely *Bishops*, *Abbots*, and the higher part of the *Clergy*, but the whole Body of the *Clergy* generally had their votes and suffrages, either in person, or by proxie. Concerning which, take this for the leading Case; That in the Parliament or Common-councel in K. *Ethelberts* time, who first of all the *Saxon* Kings received the Gospel, the *Clergy* were convened in as full a manner, as the Lay-Subjects of that Prince: *Convocati communi Concilio tam Cleri, quam Populi*, saith Sr *H. Spelman* in his Collection of the Councels, *Ann.* 605. p. 118. And for the *Parliament* of King *Ina*, which leades the way in Bishop *Jewel*, it was, (saith the same Sr *H. Spelman*, p. 630. *Communi Concilium Episcoporum, Procerum, Comitum, nec non omnium Sapientum, Seniorum, populorumque totius Regni*; Where, doubtless, *Sapientes* and *Seniores* (and you know what *Seniores* signifieth in the *Ecclesiastical* notion) must be some body else then those which after are expressed by the name of *Populi*, which shews the falshood and absurdity of the collection made by Mr *Pryn*, in the Epistle to his book against Dr *Cousins*, *viz. That the Parliament* (as it is now constituted) *hath an ancient, genuine, just and lawful Prerogative, to establish true Religion in our Church, and to abolish and suppress all false, new, and counterfeit Doctrines whatsoever.* Unlesse he meanes upon the *post fact*, after the Church hath done her part, in determining what was true, what false, what new, what ancient; and finally, what Doctrines might be counted counterfeit, and what sincere. And as for Law, 'tis true indeed, that by the Statute, 1 *Eliz.* cap. 1. The Court of *Parliament* hath power to *determine and judge of Heresie*; which at first sight seems somewhat strange; but on the second view, you will easily finde that this relates onely to new and emergent Heresies, not formerly declared for such in any of the first four *General Councels*, nor in any other General Councel, adjudging by express words of holy Scripture; as also that in such new Heresies, the following words restrain this power to the *Assent of the Clergy in their Convocation*, as being best able to instruct the *Parliament* what they are to do, and where they are to make use of the secular sword for cutting off a desperate Heretick from the Church of CHRIST, or rather from the body of all Christian people.

5 *Of the Reformation of the Church of* England *in the Formes of Worship; and the Times appointed thereunto.*

THis rub removed, we now proceed unto a view of such Formes of Worship as have been setled in this Church, since the first dawning of the day of *Reformation*, in which our *Parliaments* have indeed done somewhat, though it be not much. The first point which was altered in the publike Liturgies, was that the *Creed*, the *Pater-noster*, and the Ten *Commandements*, were ordered to be said in the English Tongue; to the intent, the people might be perfect in them, and learn them without book, as our phrase is. The next, the setting forth and using of the *English Letany*, on such dayes and times, in which it was accustomably to be read, as a part of the service. But neither of these two was done by *Parliament*; nay, (to say truth) the *Parliament* did nothing in them. All which was done in either of them, was onely by the Kings Authority, by vertue of the *Headship* or *Supremacy*, which by way of recognition was vested in him by the Clergy, either co-operating and concurring with them in their *Convocations*, or else directed and assisted by such learned *Prelates*, with whom he did advise in matters which concerned the Church, and did relate to *Reformation*. By vertue of which *Headship* or *Supremacy* he ordained the first; and to that end, caused certain *Articles* or *Injunctions* to be published by the Lord *Cromwel*, then his *Vicar General*, *Anno* 1536. And by the same did he give order for the second, I mean, for the saying of the *Letany* in the *English* Tongue, by his own Royal Proclamation, *Anno* 1545. For which, consult the *Acts* and *Monuments*, *fol.* 1248, 1312. But these were only preparations to a greater work which was reserved unto the times of K. *Edw.* 6. In the beginning of whose Reign there passed a *Statute* for the *administring the Sacrament in both kindes to any person that should devoutly and humbly desire the same*, 1. E. 6. c. 1. In which it is to be observed, that though the *Statute* do declare, that the ministring of the same in both kinds to the people was more agreeable to the first *Institution* of the said Sacrament, and to the common usage of the primitive Times. Yet Mr *Fox* assures us (and we may take his word) that they did build that Declaration, and consequently the Act which was raised upon it, *upon the judgment and opinion of the best learned*

ned men, whose resolution and advice they followed in it, fol. 1489. And for the Form by which the said most blessed Sacrament was to be delivered to the common people, it was commended to the care of the most grave and learned Bishops, and others, assembled by the King at His Castle of *Windsor*; who upon long, wise, learned, and deliberate advice did finally agree (saith *Fox*) *upon one godly and uniform Order for receiving of the same, according to the right rule of Scriptures, and the first use of the primitive Church, fol.* 1491. Which Order as it was set forth in print, *Anno* 1548. with a *Proclamation* in the name of the King, to give authority thereunto amongst the people so was it recommended by especial Letters writ unto every Bishop, severally from the Lords of the Council to see the same put in execution; A copy of which Letters you may finde in *Fox, fol.* 1491. as afore is said.

Hitherto nothing done by *Parliament* in the *Formes of Worship*, but in the following year there was. For the Protector and the rest of the Kings Council being fully bent for a *Reformation*, thought it expedient that one uniform, quiet and godly Order should be had throughout the Realm, for Officiating Gods divine Service. And *to that end* (I use the words of the Act it self) *appointed the Archbishop of* Canterbury, *and certain of the most learned and discreet Bishops, and other learned men of the Realm to meet together, requiring them, that having a swel eye and respect to the most pure and sincere* Christian Religion, *taught in Scriptures, as to the* usages *in the* Primitive Church, *they should draw and make one convenient and meet Order, Rite and fashion of* Common Prayer, *and Administration of* Sacraments, *to be had and used in this his Majesties Realm of* England. Well, what did they being thus assembled? that the *Statute* tels us: Where it is said, that *by the aid of the Holy Ghost* (I pray you mark this well) *and with one uniform agreement they did conclude upon and set forth an Order, which they delivered to the Kings Higness, in a Book entituled, The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of* England. All this was done before the *Parilament* did any thing. But what was "done by them at last? Why first, considering the most godly tra- "vail of the Kings Highness, and the Lord Protector and others of "his Higness Council, in gathering together the said B. and learn- "ed men. Secondly, the Godly prayers, Orders, Rites and Cere-

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"monies in the said Book mentioned. Thirdly, the motives and "inducements which inclined the aforesaid learned men to alter "those things which were altered, and to retain those things "which were retained; And finally, taking into consideration "the honour of God, and the great quietness which by the grace "of God would ensue upon it; they gave his Majesty most hearty "and lowely thanks for the same, and most humbly prayed him, "that it *might be ordained by his* Majesty, *with the assent of the Lords* "*and Commons assembled in Parliament, and by authority of the same, that* "*the said* Form of Common-prayer *and another, after the Feast of* "Pentecost *next following, should be used in all his Majesties Dominions* "*with several penalties to such, as either should deprave or neglect the same.* 2. and 3. E. 6. cap. 1. So farre the very words of the Act it self. By which it evidently appeareth, that the two Houses of *Parliament* did nothing in the present business, but impose that *Form* upon the people: which by the learned & religious *Clergy-men* (whom the K. appointed thereunto) was agreed upon, and made it *penal* unto such as either should deprave the same, or neglect to use it. And thus doth *Poulton* (no mean Lawyer) understand the Statute, who therfore gives no other title to it in his *Abridgement* published in the year 1612 than this, *The penalty for not using uniformity of Service, and Ministration of the Sacrament.* So then the making of *one uniform Order* of celebrating divine Service, was the work of the *Clergy*, the making of the *Penalties*, was the work of the *Parliament*. Where let me tell you by the way, that the men who were employed in this weighty business (whose names deserve to be continued in perpetual memory) were *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *George Day* Bishop of *Chichester*, *Thomas Goodrich* B. of *Ely* and Lord Chancellour, *John Skip* Bishop of *Hereford*, *Henry Holbert* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *Nicholas Ridley* Bishop of *Rochester*, translated afterwards to *London*, *Thomas Thirleby* B. of Westminster, Doctor *May* Dean of S. *Pauls*, Dr *Taylor* (then Dean afterwards) Bp of Lincoln, Dr *Haines* Dean of Exeter, Dr *Robertson* afterwards Dean of Durham, Dr *Redman* Master of *Trinity* Colledge in Cambridge, and Dr *Coke* then *Almoner* to the King, afterward Dean of *Westminster*, and at last Bp of *Ely*; men famous in their generations, and the honour of the Age they lived in: And so much for the first

Liturgy

Liturgy of King *Edwards* Reign; in which you see how little was done by authority or power of Parliament, so little, that if it had been less, it had been just nothing. But some exceptions being taken against the Liturgy by some of the preciser sort at home, and by *Calvin* abroad, the book was brought under a review: and though it had been framed at first (if the Parliament which said so erred not) by *the ayd of the Holy Ghost himself*; yet to *comply with the curiosity of the* Ministers *and mistakes of the people*, *rather then for any other weighty cause*, As the Statute 5 and 6 *Ed.6. cap.* 1. it was thought expedient by the King, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in *Parliament* assembled, that the said *Order* of *Common Service* should be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect.

Perused and explained; by whom? Why, questionless by those who made it; or else, by those (if they were not the same men) who were appointed by the King to draw up, and compose a *Form of Ordination* for the use of the Church. And this *Assent* of theirs (for it was no more) was the onely part that was ever acted by the *Parliament*, in matter of this present nature; save that a Statute passed in the former *Parliament* 3 and 4 *Ed.6. c.*12. unto this effect, *that such form and manner of making and consecrating* Archb. Bi-shops, Priests, Deacons, *and other* Ministers *of the* Church (which before I spake of) *as by sixe Prelates and sixe other men of this Realm, learned in Gods lawes, by the King to be appointed and assigned, shall be devised to that purpose, and set forth under the great* Seal, *shall be lawfully used and exercised*, and none other. Where note, that the King onely was to nominate and appoint the men, the Bishops and other learned men were to make the Book; and that the *Parliament* in a *blinde obedience*, or at the least upon a charitable confidence in the integrity of the men so nominated, did confirm that Book, before any of their *Members* had ever seen it, though afterwards indeed, in the following *Parliament*, this Book, together with the book of *Common-prayer*, so printed and explained, obtained a more formal confirmation, as to the use thereof throughout the Kingdom, but in no other respect; for which see the Statute 5 and 6 *Ed.* 6 *c.* 1. (As for the time of Qu. *Elizabeth*, when the Common prayer book now in use (being the same almost with the last of King *Edward*) was to be brought again into the Church, from whence it was cast out in Queen *Maries* Reign; it was committed

mited to the care of some learned men; that is to say, to M *Whitehead* (once Chaplain to Queen *Anne Bullen*) Dr *Parker*, after Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr *Grindal*, after bishop of *London*, Dr *Cox*, after Bishop of *Ely*, Dr *Pilkington*, after Bishop of *Durham*, Dr *May*, Dean of Saint *Pauls*, Dr *Bill*, Provost of *Eaton*, after Dean of *Westminster*, and Sr *Tho: Smith*. By whom being altered in some few passages which the Statute points to, 1 *Eliz.c.*21. it was presented to the Parliament, and by the Parliament received and established without more ado, or troubling any Committee of both or either Houses to consider of it, for ought appears in their Records. All that the *Parliament* did in it, being to put it into the condition in which it stood before in King *Edwards* Reign, partly by repealing the Repeal of King *Edw.* Statutes, made in the first of Q. *Mary*, *c.* 2. and partly by the adding of some farther penalties on such as did deprave the book, or neglect to use it, or wilfully did absent themselves from their Parish-Churches. And for the Alterations made in King *James* his time, being small in the *Rubrick* onely; and for the additions of the *Thanksgivings* at the end of the *Letany*, the Prayer for the Queen and the Royal Issue, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments at the end of the *Catechisme*, which were not in the book before, they were never referred unto the Parliament, but were done onely by authority of the Kings Commission, and stand in force by vertue onely of His Proclamation, which you may finde before the book; the charge of buying the said book so explained and altered, being laid upon the several and respective Parishes, by no other Authority than that of the eightieth Canon, made in Convocation, *Anno* 1603. The like may also be affirmed of the *Formes* of prayer for the *Inauguration* day of our Kings and Queens, the Prayer-books for the fifth of *November*, and the fifth of *August*, and those which have been used in all publike *Fasts*: All which, without the help of *Parliaments*, have been composed by the Bishops, and imposed by the King.

Now unto this discourse of the *Forms of Worship*, I shall subjoyn a word or two of the times of *Worship*, that is to say, the *Holy dayes* observed in the Church of *England*; and so observed, that they do owe that observation chiefly to the Churches power. For whereas it was found in the former times, that the number of the holy dayes was grown so great, that they became a burthen to the

common people, and a great hinderance to the thrift and manufactures of the Kingdom; there was a Canon made in the Convocation, *An.* 1536. for cutting off of many superstitious and superfluous Holy dayes, and the reducing them into the number in which they now stand (save that St *George's* day, and *Mary Magdalens* day, and all the Festivals of the blessed Virgin had their place amongst them) according to which Canon, there went out a *Monitory* from the Archbp of *Canterbury*, to all the Suffragans of his Province, respectively to see the same observed in their several Diocesses, which is still extant on Record. But being the authority of the Church was then in the wane, it was thought necessary to confirm their Acts, and see execution done upon it by the Kings Injunction: which did accordingly come forth with this Form or preamble; *That the abolishing of the said holy dayes, was decreed ordained and established by the Kings Highness Authority, as supream Head in earth of the Church of* England, *with the common consent and assent of the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation lawfully assembled and congregate.* Of which see *Foxe* his *Acts and Monuments, fol.* 1246, 1247. Afterwards in the year 1541, the King perceiving with what difficulty the people were induced to leave off those *Holy days*, to which they had been so long accustomed, published his *Proclamation* of the twenty third of *July*, for the abolishing of such *Holy days* (amongst other things) as were prohibited before by his Injunctions: both built upon the same foundation, namely, the resolution of the *Clergy* in their *Convocation.*

And so it stood until the Reign of King *E. 6.* at which time the *Reformation* of the publick *Liturgie* drew after it by consequence an alteration in the present businesse, no days being to be kept or accounted *holy*, but those for which the Church had set apart a peculiar office, and not all those neither: For, whereas there are several and peculiar offices for the day of the *Conversion* of Saint *Paul*, and the day of Saint *Barnabas* the Apostles; neither of these are kept as *holy days*, nor reckoned or esteemed as such in the Act of *Parliament* wherein the names and number of the *holy days* is precisely specified, which makes some think the Act of *Parliament* to have had an over-ruling power on the *Common prayer Book*; but it is not so, there being a specification of the *holy days* in the book it self, with this direction, *These to be observed for Holy days, and none other*; in which the Feasts of the Conversion of St, *Paul*, and the

Apostle *Barnabas* are omitted plainly, and upon which specification the Stat. 5 & 6 *Ed. 6. cap.* 3. which concerns the *holy days*, seems most expresly to be built. And for the *Offices* on those days in the *Common-prayer Booke*, you may please to know that every *holy day* consisteth of two special parts, that is to say, rest or cessation from bodily labour, and celebration of Divine or Religious duties; and that the days before remembred are so far kept holy, as to have still their proper and peculiar *Offices*, which is observed in all the *Cathedrals* of this Kingdome, and the *Chappels Royall*, where the Service is read every day; and in most Parish Churches also, as oft as either of them falls upon a *Sunday*, though the people be not in those days injoined to rest from bodily labour, no more then on the *Coronation day*, or the fifth of *November*, which yet are reckoned by the people for a kind of *holy days*. Put all which hath been said together, and the summe is this; That the proceedings of this Church in the Reformation were not meerly *Regall* (as it is objected by some *Puritans*) much lesse that they were *Parliamentarian* in so great a work, as the *Papists* falsly charge upon us, the *Parliaments* for the most part doing little in it, but that they were directed in a justifiable way, the work being done *Synodically*, by the *Clergy* onely, according to the usage of the *Primitive* times, the King concurring with them, and corroborating what they had resolved on, either by his own single Act in his letters Patent, *Proclamations* and *Injunctions*, or by some publick Act of State, as in times, and by Acts of *Parliament*.

6. *Of the power of making Canons, for the well ordering of the* Clergy, *and the directing of the people in the publick Duties of Religion.*

WE are now come to the last part of this design, unto the power of making *Canons*, in which the *Parliament* of *England* have had lesse to do then in either of the other which are gone before. Concerning which, I must desire you to remember, that the *Clergie*, who had power before to make such *Canons* and *Constitutions* in their *Convocation* as to them seemed meet, promised the King in *verbo Sacerdotij*, not to Enact or Execute any new *Canons*, but by his Majesties Royal Assent, and by his authority first obtained in that behalf: which is thus briefly touched upon in the *Ant. Brit.* in the life of *William Marham* Arch Bp of *Canterbury*, *Clerus in verbo Sacerdotij fidem Regi dedit, ne ullas deinceps in Synodo*

nodo ferrent Ecclesiasticas leges, nisi et Synodus authoritate Regia congregata, et constitutiones in Synodis publicatæ eadem authoritate ratæ essent. Upon which ground I doubt not but I might securely raise this proposition, That whatsoever the Clergy did, or might do lawfully before the act of *Submission* in their *Convocation* of their own power, without the Kings authority and consent concurring, the same they can, and may do still, since the act of their *Submission*; the Kings authority and consent co-operating with them in their counsels, and giving confirmation to their Constitutions, as was said before. Further, it doth appear by the aforesaid Act. 25. *H.*8. *c.*19. That all such *Canons*, *Constitutions*, *Ordinances*, and *Synodals Provincial*, as were made before the said *Submission*, which be not contrary or repugnant to the Laws, Statutes and Customes of this Realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the Kings Prerogative Royal, were to be used and executed as in former times. " And by the Statute 26. *H.*8. *c.* 1. of the Kings *Supremacy*, that according to the *Recognition* made in *Convocation*) our said Soveraign Lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, reform, order, correct, *&c.* all such Errours, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities whatsoever they be, *&c.* as may be most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in *Christs* Religion, and for the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this Realm, and the confirmation of the same. So that you see these several ways of ordering matters for the Publick weal and governance of the Church; First by such ancient *Canons* and Constitutions, as being made in former times, are still in force; Secondly, by such new *Canons* as are, or shall be made in *Convocation*, with, and by the Kings Consent; And Thirdly, by the authority of the Soveraign Prince, according to the Precedents laid down in the book of God, and the best ages of the Church. Concerning which you must remember what was said before, *viz.* That the Statutes which concern the Kings Supremacy are *Declaratory* of an old power onely, not *Introductory* of a new; which said, we shall the better see whether the Parliament have had any thing to do either in making Canons, or prescribing Orders for the regulating of *Spiritual* and *Ecclesiastical* matters, and unto whom the same doth of right belong according to the Laws of the Realm of *England*.

And first, King *Henry* being restored to his *Headship* or *Supremacy* (call it which you will) did not conceive himself so absolute in it (though at the first much enamoured of it) as not sometimes to take his *Convo-*

cation with him, but at all times to be advised by his *Prelates*, when he had any thing to do that concerned the Church; for which there had been no provision made by the *ancient Canons*, grounding most times, his *Edicts* and *Injunctions* Royal, upon their advise and resolution. For on this ground, I mean the judgement and conclusions of his *Convocation*, did he set out the Injunctions of the year 1536. for the abolishing of superstitious Holy days, the exterminating of the *Popes* authority, the publishing of the book of Articles, which before we spake of *num.* 8. by all Parsons, Vicars and Curates; for preaching down the use of Images, Reliques, Pilgrimages, and superstitious Miracles; for rehearsing openly in the Church, in the *English tongue*, the *Creed*, the *Pater noster*, and the ten Commandements; for the due and reverend ministring of the Sacraments and Sacramentals; for providing *English Bibles* to be set in every Church for the use of the people; for the regular and sober life of *Clergy* men, and the relief of the poor. And on the other side, the King proceeded sometimes onely by the advise of his *Prelates*, as in the Injunctions of the year 1538. for quarterly Sermons in each Parish; for admitting none to preach but men sufficiently Licenced; for keeping a Register book of Christnings, Weddings, and Burials; for the due paying of Tythes, as had been accustomed; for the abolishing of the commemoration of St. *Thomas Becket*; For singing a *Parce nobis Domine*, in stead of *Ora pro nobis*, and the like to these. And of this sort were the *Injunctions* which came out in some years succeeding, for the taking away of *Images* and *Reliques*, with all the Ornaments of the same; and all the Monuments and writings of feigned Miracles, and for restraint of offering or setting up Lights in any Churches, but onely to the *Blessed Sacrament of the Altar*, in which he was directed chiefly by Archbishop *Cranmer*; as also those for eating of white meats in the time of Lent, the abolishing the Fast on St. *Marks* day, and the ridiculous (but superstitious sports accustomably used on the days of St. *Clement*, St. *Catherine* and St. *Nicholas*. All which and more was done in the said Kings Reign without help of Parliament. For which I shall refer you to the *Acts* and *Mon. fol.* 1385, 1425 1441. The like may also be affirmed of the *Injunctions* published in the name of K. *E. 6. An.* 1547. and printed also then for the use of the Subjects: And of the several Letters missive which went forth in his Name, prohibiting the bearing of Candles one *Candlemas* day: of Ashes in *Lent*, and of Palms on *Palm-Sunday*; for the taking down of all the Images throughout the Kingdom;

for

for administring the Communion in both kinds, dated *March* 13.1548. for abrogating of private Masses, *Iune* 24.1549. for bringing in all *Missals*, *Graduals*, *Processionals*, *Legends* and *Ordinals* about the latter end of *December* of the same year: for taking down of Altars, and setting up Tables in stead thereof, *An.* 1550. and the like to these: All which particulars you have in *Foxes* book of *Act.* and *Mon.* in King *Edwards* life, which whether they were done of the Kings meer motion, or by advice of his Councel, or by consultation with his Bishops (for there is little left upon Record of the *Convocations* of that time, more then the Articles of the year 1552) certain I am that there was nothing done, nor yet pretended to be done in all these particulars by the authority of *Parliament*.

Thus also in Qu. *Elizabeths* time, before the new Bishops were well setled, and the Queen assured of the affections of her *Clergy*, she went that way to work in the *Reformation*, which not onely her two Predecessors, but all the Godly Kings and Princes in the *Jewish State*, and many of the *Christian* Emperours in the *Primitive* times had done before her, in the well ordering of the Church and people committed to their care and government by Almighty God; and to that end she published her *Injunctions*, *An.* 1559. A book of *Orders*, *An.* 1561. Another of *Advertisements*, *An.* 1562. All tending unto *Reformation*, unto the building up of the *new Ierusalem*, with the advise and counsel of the Metropolitan, and some other godly *Prelates*, who were then about her, by whom they were agreed on and subscribed unto, before they were presented to her, without the least concurrence of her Court of *Parliament*. But when the times were better setled, and the first difficulties of her Reign passed over, she left *Church work* to the disposing of *Church-men*, who by their place and calling were most proper for it; and they being met in *Convocation*, and thereto authorised as the laws required, did make and publish several books of *Canons*, as *viz.* 1571. *An.* 1584. *An.* 1597. Which being confirmed by the Queen under the broad seal of *England*, were in force of *Laws* to all intents and purposes which they were first made; but being confirmed without those formal words, *Her Heirs* and *Successors*, are not binding now, but expired together with the Queen. No Act of *Parliament* required to confirm them then, nor never required ever since, on the like occasion. A fuller evidence whereof we cannot have, then in the *Canons* of the year, 1603. being the first year of King *Iames*, made by the *Clergie*, onely in the *Convocation*, and confirmed onely by the King;

for though the old *Canons* were in force, which had been made before the submission of the *Clergie*, as before I shewed you, which served in all these wavering and unsetled times, for the perpetual standing rule of the Churches government; yet many new emergent cases did require new rules, and whilest there is a possibility of *Mali mores*; there will be a necessity of *bona Leges*. Now in the confirmation of these *Canons* we shall find it thus, That the *Clergy* being met in their *Convocation*, according to the Tenour and effect of his Majesties Writ, his Majesty was pleased by virtue of his *Prerogativa Royal* and *Supream authority* in causes *Ecclesiastical*, to give and grant unto them by his Letters Patents dated *Apr.* 12. and *Iun.* 25, full, free, and lawfull liberty, licence, power and authority, to convene, treat, debate, consider, consult, and agree upon such *Canons*, *Orders*, *Ordinances*, and *Constitutions*, as they should think necessary, fit and convenient for the honor and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better government thereof from time to time, *&c.* to be kept by all persons within this Realm, as far as lawfully, being members of the Church it may concern them, which being agreed on by the *Clergie*, and by them presented to the King, humbly requiring him to give his royal assent unto them, according to the Statute made in the 25 of K. *H.* 8, and by his Majesties Prerogative and Supream authority in Ecclesiastical causes to ratifie and confirm the same, his Majesty was graciously pleased to confirm and ratifie them by his Letters Patents, for himself, his heirs, and lawfull successours, straightly commanding and requiring all his loving Subjects, diligently to observe, execute, and keep the same in all points, wherein they do or may concern all or any of them. No running to the *Parliament* to confirm these *Canons*, nor any question made till this present by temperate and knowing men, that there wanted any act for their confirmation which the law could give them.

7. *An Answer to the main Objections of either Party.*

BUt against this, all which hath been said before, it will be objected, That being the Bishops of the Church are fully and wholly *Parliamentarian*, and have no more authority and jurisdiction, *nisi a Parliamentis derivatum*, but that which is conferred upon them by the power of *Parliaments*, as both *Sanders* and *Schultingius* do expressly say, whatsoever

soever they shall do or conclude upon, either in *Convocation*, or in more private *conferences* may be called *Parliamentarian* also. And this last calumny they build on the several Statutes 24. *H* 8. *c*. 12, touching the manner of *electing and consecrating Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops*, that of the 1 *E*.6.*c*.2. appointing how they shall be chosen, and what seals they shal use; these of 3 and 4*Ed*.6.*c*.12. & 5. & 6. *E*.6. for *authorizing of the book of Ordination*. But chiefly that of the 8 *Eliz*.*c*.1. for making good all Acts since 1 *Eliz*. in *consecrating* any *Arch Bishop or Bishop within this Realm*. To give a general answer to each several cavil, you may please to know; that the Bishops as they now stand in the Church of England, derive their calling together with their authority and power in Spiritual matters, from no other hands, then those of *Christ* and his *Apostles*, their *Temporal* honors and possessions, from the bounty and affection onely of our Kings & Princes, their *Ecclesiastical* jurisdiction in causes *Matrimonial*, *Testamentary* and the like, for which no action lieth at the *common Law*, from continuall usage and prescription; and ratified and continued unto them in the *Magna Charta* of this Realm, and ow no more unto the *Parliament* than all sort of subjects do besides, whose fortunes and estates have been occasionally and collaterally confirmed in *Parliament*. And as for the particular Statutes which are touched upon, that of the 24 *H*.8. doth only constitute and ordain a way by which they might be chose and consecrated, without recourse to *Rome* for a *confirmation*, which formerly had put the *Prelates* to great charge and trouble; but for the *form* and manner of their *consecration*, the *Statute* leaves it to those *Rites* and *Ceremonies* wherewith before it was performed, and therefore *Sanders* doth not stick to affirm, that all the Bishops which were made in King *Henries* days were lawfully and Canonically ordained and consecrated, the Bishops of that time, not onely being acknowledged in Queen *Maries* days for lawfull and Canonical Bishops, but called on to assist at the consecration of such other Bishops (*Cardinal Pool* himself for one) as were promoted in her Reign, whereof see *Masons* book *de Minist. Angl.* c. . Next for the Statute 1 *E*. 6. *cap*. 2. besides that it is satisfied in part by the former Answer as it relates to their *Canonical Consecrations*, it was repeaeld to *Terminis* in the first of Queene *Maries* Reigne, and never stood in force nor practise to this day. That of the authorizing of the booke of *Ordination* in two severall *Parliaments* of that King, the one a *parte ante*, and the

the other a *parte post*, as before I told you, might indeed seeme somewhat to the purpose, if any thing were wanting in it which had beene used in the *formula's* of the *Primitive times*, or if the book had been composed in *Parliament*, or by *Parliament men*, or otherwise received more authority from them, then that it might be lawfully used and exercised throughout the Kingdome. But it is plain, that none of these things were objected in Queen *Maries* dayes, when the *papists* stood most upon their points, the *Ordinal* being not called in, because it had too much of the *Parliament*, but because it had too little of the *Pope*, and relished too strongly of the *Primitive* piety. And for the Statute of 8 of Qu. *Elizabeth*, which is chiefly stood on, all that was done therein was no more then this, and on this occasion. A question had been made by captious and unquiet men, and amongst the rest by Doctor *Bonner*, sometimes Bishop of *London*, whether the Bishops of those times were lawfully ordained or not; the reason of the doubt being this (which I marvell *Mason* did not see) because the book of *Ordination* which was annulled and abrogated in the first of Queen *Mary*, had not been yet restored, and revived by any legal Act of Qu. *Elizabeths* time; which Cause being brought before the *Parliament* in the 8 year of her Reign, the *Parliament* took notice first, that their not restoring of that booke to the former power in terms significant and expresse, was but *Casus omissus*; and then declare, that by the Stature 5 and *6 E. 6.* it had been added to the book of *Common-prayer* and Administration of the Sacramentss, as a member of it, at least as an Appendant to it, and therefore by the Statute 1 *Eliz. c.* 2. was restored again together with the said book of *Common-prayer*, intentionally at the least, if not in *Terminis*. But being the words in the said Statute were not clear enough to remove all doubts, they therefore did revive now, and did accordingly enact, *That whatsoever had been done by vertue of that Ordination, should be good in Law*, This is the total of the Statute, and this shews rather in my judgement, that the Bishops of the Queens first times had too little of the *Parliament* in them, then that they were conceived to have had too much. And so I come to your last Objection, which concerns the *Parliament*, whose entertaining all occasions to manifest their power in *Ecclesiasticall* matters, doth seeme to you to make that groundlesse slander of the *papists* the more fair and plausible.

Tis

'Tis true, indeed, that many *Members* of both Houses in these latter Times, have been seen very ready to embrace all businesses which are offered to them, out of a probable hope of drawing the managery of all Affairs, as well *Ecclesiastical* as *Civil*, into their own hands. And some there are, who being they cannot hope to have their fancies authorized in a *regular* way, do put them upon such designs, as neither can consist with the nature of *Parliaments*, nor the authority of the King, nor with the priviledges of the Clergy; nor, to say truth, with the esteem and reputation of the Church of Christ. And this hath been a practice even as old as *Wickliffe*, who in the time of K. *R.* 2. addressed his Petition to the *Parliament* (as we read in *Walsingham*) for the *reformation* of the *Clergy*, the rooting out of many false and erroneous *Tenents*, and for establishing of his own Doctrines (who though he had some *Wheat*, had more *Tares* by ods) in the Church of *England*. And lest he might be thought to have gone a way, as dangerous and unjustifiable, as it was strange and new, he laid it down for a position, That the *Parliament*, or *Temporal Lords* (where by the way this ascribes no authority or power at all to the House of Commons) might lawfully examine and *reform* the *Disorders* and *Corruptions* of the *Church*, and a discovery of the errors and corruptions of it, devest her of all Tithes and Temporal endowments, till she were reformed. But for all this, and (more then this) for all he was so strongly backed by the Duke of *Lancaster*, neither his Petition nor his Position found any welcome in the *Parliament*, further then that it made them cast many a longing eye on the *Churches patrimony*; or produced any other effect towards the work of *reformation*, which he chiefly aimed at, then that it hath since served for a *precedent* to *Penry*, *Pryn*, and such like troublesome and unquiet spirits, to disturb the *Church*, and set on foot those dreams and dotages, which otherwise they durst not publish. And to say truth, as long as the *Clergy* were in power, and had authority in Convocation to do what they would in matters which concerned Religion; those of the *Parliament* conceived it neither safe nor fitting to intermeddle in such business as concerned the *Clergy*, for fear of being questioned for it at the *Churches* Bar. But when that Power

was lessened (though it were not lost) by the *submission* of the *Clergy* to K. *H.* 8. and by the *Act of the Supremacy* which ensued upon it; then did the *Parliaments* begin to intrench upon the *Churches Rights*, to offer at, and entertain such businesses, as formerly were held peculiar to the *Clergy* only; next, to dispute their *charters* and reverse their *priviledges*; and finally, to impose some hard Lawes upon them. And of these notable incroachments, *Matthew Parker* thus complains in the life of *Cranmer*, *Qua Ecclesiasticarum legum potestate abdicata, populus in Parliamento cœpit de rebus divinis inconsulto Clero Sancire, tum absentis Cleri privilegia sensim detrahere, juraq; duriora quibus Clerus invitus teneretur, Constituere.* But these were only *tentamenta*, offers and undertakings only, and no more then so. Neither the *Parliaments* of K. *Edward*, or Q. *Elizabeths* time knew what it was to make *Committees for Religion*, or thought it fit that *Uzzah* should support the *Ark*, though he saw it tottering. That was a work belonging to the *Levites* only, none of the other *Tribes* were to meddle with it. But as the *Puritan Faction* grew more strong and active, so they applyed themselves more openly to the Houses of *Parliament*, but specially to the House of *Commons*; putting all power into their hands, as well in *Ecclesiastical* and *spiritual Causes*, as in matters *Temporal*. This, amongst others, confidently affirmed by Mr. *Pryn*, in the Epistle to his book called *Anti-Arminianism*, where he avers, *That all our Bishops, our Ministers, our Sacraments, our Consecration, our Articles of Religion, our Homilies, Common-prayer Book, yea, and all the Religion of the Church, is no other way publiquely received, supported, or established amongst us, but by Acts of Parliament.* And this not only since the time of the *Reformation*, but that *Religion and Church affairs were determined, ratified, declared, and ordered by Act of Parliament, and no waies else, even then when Popery and Church-men had the greatest sway.* Which strange assertion falling from the pen of so great a *Scribe*, was forthwith cheerfully received amongst our *Pharisees*, who hoped to have the highest places, not only in the *Synagogue*, but the Court of *Sanhedrim*, advancing the Authority of *Parliaments* to so high a pitch, that by degrees they fastened on them, both an *infallibility* of judgement, and an *omnipotency* of power. Nor can it be denied (to deal

deal truly with you) but that they met with many apt *scholars* in that House, who either out of a desire to bring all the grist to their own *Mill*, or willing to enlarge the great power of *Parliaments*, by making new *precedents* for Posterity, or out of faction, or affection, or what else you please, began to put their Rules in practise, and draw all matters whatsoever within the cognizance of that Court; In which their embracements were at last so general, and that humour in the House so prevalent; that one being once demanded, what they did amongst them, returned this answer, *That they were making a new Creed*: Another being heard to say, *That he could not be quiet in his conscience, till the holy Text should be confirmed by an Act of theirs*: Which passages, if they be not true and real, (as I have them from an honest hand) I assure you they are bitter jests. But this, although indeed it be the sicknesse and disease of the present Times, and little to the honour of the Court of *Parliament*, can be no prejudice at all to the way and means of the *Reformation*; amongst sober and discerning men, the Doctrine of the *Church* being setled, the *Liturgy* published and confirmed, the *Canons* authorized and executed, when no such humour was predominant, nor no such power pretended to, by both or either of the Houses of *Parliament*.

But here perhaps it will be said that we are fallen into *Charybdis* by avoiding *Scylla*, and that endevouring to stop the mouth of this *Popish* Calumny, we have set open a wide gap to another no lesse scandalous of the *Presbyterians*; who being as professed enemies of the Kings as the Popes *Supremacy*, and noting that strong influence which the King hath had in *Ecclesiastical* affairs since the first attempts for Reformation, have charg'd it as reproachfully on the Church of *England*, and the Religion here established, that it is *Regal* at the best if not *Parliamentarian*, and may be called a *Regal-Faith*, and a *Regal-Gospel*. But the Answer unto this is easie. For first the Kings intended by the Objectors, did not act much in order to the *Reformation* (as appears by that which hath been said) but either by the advice and cooperation of the whole Clergy of the Realm in their Convocations, or by the Counsel and consent of the Bishops and most eminent

Church-men in particular Conferences: which made it properly the work of the Clergy only, the Kings no otherwise then as it was propounded by him, or finally confirmed by the *Civil* Sanction. And secondly, had they done more in it then they did, they had been warranted so to do by the Word of God; who hath committed unto Kings and soveraign Princes a Supreme or supereminent power, not only in all matters of a Temporal, or secular nature, but in such as do concern Religion and the Church of *Christ*. And so S. *Augustine* hath resolved it in his third Book against *Cresconius*. *In hoc Reges sicut iis divinitus præcipitur*: (pray you note that well) *Deo serviunt* in quantum Reges sunt, *si in suo Regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non solum quæ pertinent ad humanam societatem, verum etiam ad* Divinam *Religionem*. Which words of his seemed so significant and convincing unto *Hart* the *Jesuite*, that being shewed the Tractate writ by Dr. *Nowell* against *Dorman*, the Priest, in the beginning of Q. *Elizabeths* time, and finding how the case was stated by that reverend person, he did ingenuously confesse, that there was no authority ascribed to the Kings of *England* in Ecclesiastical affairs, but what was warranted unto them by that place of *Augustine*. The like affirmed by him that calleth himself *Franciscus de S. Clara*, though a *Jesuite* too (that you may see how much more candid and ingenuous the *Jesuites* are in this point then the *Presbyterians*) in his *Examen* of the *Articles* of the Church of *England*. But hereof you may give me opportunity to speak more hereafter, when you propose the Doubts which you say you have, relating to the King, the Pope, and the Churches *Protestant*, and therefore I shall say no more of it at the present time.

SECT.

Sect. II.

The manner of the Reformation of the Church of England *declared and justified.*

HItherto I had gone in order to your satisfaction and communicated my conceptions in writing to you, when I received your letter of the 4. of *January*, in which you signified the high contentment I had given you, in condescending to your weaknesse, (as you pleased to call it) and freeing you from those doubts which lay heaviest on you. And therewithall you did request me to give you leave to propound those other *Scruples* whch were yet behinde, relating to the King, the Pope and the *Protestant* Churches, either too little or too much looked after in the *Reformation.* And first you say it is complained of by some Zelots of the Church of *Rome*, that the Pope was very hardly and unjustly dealt with in being deprived of the *Supremacy* so long enjoyed and exercised by his predecessors, and that it was an *innovation* no lesse strange then dangerous to settle it upon the King. 2. That the Church of *England* ought not to have proceeded to a *Reformation* without the *Pope*, considered either as the *Patriarch* of the Western world, or the Apostle in particular of the *English* Nation. 3. That if a *Reformation* had been found so necessary, it ought to have been done by a *General Councel*, at least with the consent and co-operation of the Sister-Churches, especially of those who were engaged at the same time in the same designs. 4. That in the carrying on of the *Reformation* the Church proceeded very unadvisedly, in letting the people have the *Scriptures* and the publique *Liturgie* in the *vulgar* tongue, the dangerous consequents whereof are now grown too visible. 5. That the proceedings in the point of the *Common-prayer Book* were meerly *Regall*, the body of the Clergy not consulted with, or consenting to it; and consequently not so *Regular*

as we fain would have it. And 6. That in the power of making Canons and determining matters of the Faith, the Clergy have so fettered and intangled themselves by the Act of *Submission*, that they can neither meet, deliberate, conclude nor execute, but as they are enabled by the Kings authority, which is a Vassallage inconsistent with their native Liberties, and not agreeable to the usage of the Primitive times. These are the points in which you now desire to have satisfaction, and you shall have it in the best way I am able to do it, that so you may be freed hereafter from such troubles and *Disputants*, as I perceive have laboured to perplex your thoughts, and make you lesse affectionate then formerly to the Church your Mother.

1. *That the Church of* England *did not* innovate *in the Ejection of the Pope, and setling the* Supremacy *in the Regal Crown.*

And in this point you are to know that it hath been and still is the general and constant judgement of the greatest Lawyers of this Kingdome, that the vesting of the *Supremacy* in the Crown Imperial of this Realm, was not *Introductory* of any *new Right* or *Power* which was not in the Crown before, but *Declaratory* of an old, which had been anciently and *originally* inherent in it, though of late Times usurped by the Popes of *Rome*, and in *Abeyance* at that time, as our Lawyers phrase it. And they have so resolved it upon very good reasons: the principal managery of affairs which concern Religion being a flower inseparably annexed to the Regal Diadem, not proper and peculiar only to the Kings of *England*, but to all Kings and Princes in the *Church of God*, and by them exercised and enjoyed accordingly in their times and places. For who, I pray you, were the men in the *Jewish Church* who destroyed the *Idols* of that people, cut down the Groves, demolished the high places, and brake in pieces the *Brazen Serpent*, when abused to *Idolatry*? Were they not the godly Kings and Princes only which sway'd the Scepter of that Kingdome? And though 'tis possible enough that they might do it by the counsel and advice of

of the *High Priests* of that Nation, or of some of the more godly *Priests* and *Levites* (who had a zeal unto the Law of the most high God) yet we finde nothing of it in the holy Scripture; the merit of these *Reformations* which were made occasionally in that faulty *Church*, being ascribed unto their Kings, and none but them. Had they done any thing in this which belonged not to their place and calling, or by so doing had intrenched on the Office of the *Priests* and *Levites*, that God who punished *Uzzah* for attempting to support the Arke when he saw it tottering, and smote *Osias* with a Leprosie for *burning incense* in the Temple (things which the *Priests* and *Levites* only were to meddle in) would not have suffered those good Kings to have gone unpunished, or at least uncensured, how good soever their intentions and pretences were. Nay, on the contrary, when any thing was amisse in the *Church* of *Jewry*, the *Kings*, and not the *Priests* were admonished of it, and reproved for it by the *Prophets*; which sheweth that they were trusted with the *Reformation*, and none else but they. Is it not also said of *David*, that he distributed the *Priests* and *Levites* into several *Classes*, alotted to them the particular times of their Ministration, and designed them unto several Offices in the *publick Service*? *Josephus* adding to these passages of the *Holy Writ*, *That he composed Hymns and Songs to the Lord his God, and made them to be sung in the Congregation, as an especial part of the publick Liturgy.* Of which, although it may be said that he composed those *Songs* and *Hymns* by vertue of his *Prophetical Spirit*, yet he imposed them on the *Church*, appointed *singing-men* to sing them, and prescribed *Vestments* also to these *singing-men*, by no other power then the *regal* only: None of the *Priests* consulted in it, for ought yet appears.

The like authority was exercised and enjoyed by the *Christian Emperors*, not only in their calling Councels, and many times assisting at them, or presiding in them by themselves, or their Deputies, or Commissioners; but also in confirming the Acts thereof. He that consults the *Code* and *Novelles* in the *Civil Lawes*, will finde the best Princes to have been most active in things which did concern *Religion*, in regulating matters of the Church, and setting out their

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Imperial Edicts for suppressing of *Hereticks*. *Quid Imperatori cum Ecclesia?* What hath the Emperor to do in matters which concern the Church? is one of the chief Brand marks which *Optatus* sets upon the *Donatists*. And though some Christians of the East have in the way of scorn had the name of *Melchites* (men of the Kings Religion, as the word doth intimate) because they adhered unto those *Doctrines* which the *Emperors*, agreeable to former Councels, had confirmed and ratified: yet the best was, that none but *Sectaries* and *Hereticks* put that name upon them. Neither the men, nor the Religion was a jot the worse. Nor did they only deal in matters of *Exterior Order*, but even in *Doctrinals*, matters *intrinsecal* to the Faith; for which their *Enoticon* set out by the Emperor *Zeno* for setling differences in Religion, may be proof sufficient.

The like authority was exercised and enjoyed by *Charles* the Great, when he attained the *Western Empire*, as the *Capitulars* published in his Name, and in the names of his Successors, do most clearly evidence; and not much lesse enjoyed and practised by the Kings of *England* in the elder Times, though more obnoxious to the power of the Pope of *Rome*, by reason of his *Apostleship* (if I may so call it): the Christian Faith being first preached unto the *English Saxons*, by such as he employed in that holy Work. The instances whereof dispersed in several places of our *English* Histories, and other Monuments and Records which concern this Church, are handsomely summed up together by Sir *Edward Coke* in the fift part of his Reports, if I well remember; but I am sure in *Cawdries Case*, entituled, *De Jure Regis Ecclesiastico*. And though *Parsons* (the *Jesuite*) in his Answer unto that *Report*, hath took much pains to vindicate the Popes *Supremacy* in this Kingdome, from the first planting of the *Gospel* among the *Saxons*; yet all he hath effected by it, proves no more then this, *That the Popes, by permission of some weak Princes, did exercise a kinde of* concurrent jurisdiction *here with the Kings themselves, but came not to the full and entire* Supremacy, *till they had brought all other Kings and Princes of the Western Empire; nay, even the Emperors themselves under their command.* So that when the Supremacy was *recognized* by the

the Clergy in their *Convocation* to K. *H.* 8. it was only the restoring of him to his proper and *original power*, invaded by the Popes of these later Ages; though possibly the *Title* of *supreme Head* seemed to have somewhat in it of an *Innovation.* At which *Title*, when the *Papists* generally and *Calvin* in his *Comment* on the Prophet *Amos*, did seem to be much scandalized, it was with much wisdome changed by Q. *Elizabeth* into that of *supreme Governour*, which is still in use. And when that also would not down with some queasie stomachs, the Queen her self by her *Injunctions*, published in the first year of her Reign, and the Clergy in their *Book of Articles* agreed upon in *Convocation* about five years after, did declare and signifie, *That there was no authority in sacred matters contained under that Title, but that only Prerogative which had been given alwaies to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself*; that is, *That they should rule all Estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be* Ecclesiastical *or* Temporal, *and to restrain*, with the Civil Sword, *the stubborn and evil doers; as also to exclude thereby the Bishop of* Rome *from having any jurisdiction in the* Realm *of* England, *Artic.* 37. Lay this unto the rest before, and tell me (if you can) what hath been acted by the Kings of *England* in the *Reformation* of Religion, but what is warranted unto them by the practise and example of the most godly Kings of *Jewry*, seconded by the most godly Emperors in the Christian Church, and by the usage also of their own *Predecessors* in this Kingdome, till Papal Usurpation carried all before it. And being that all the Popes pretended to in this Realm was but Usurpation, it was no *wrong* to take that from him which he had no *right* to, and to restore it at the last to the proper Owner. Neither *prescription* on the one side, nor *discontinuance* on the other, change the case at all: that noted *Maxim* of our Lawyers that no *prescription* bindes the King (or *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi*, as their own words are) being as good against the Pope, as against the Subject.

This leads me to the second part of this Dispute, the dispossessing of the Pope of that *supreme* Power, so long enjoyed and exercised in this Realm by his Predecessors. To which we say that though the pretensions of the Pope were

antient, yet they were not *primitive*: and therefore we may answer in our Saviours words, *Ab initio non fuit sic*, it was not so from the beginning. For it is evident enough in the course of story, that the Pope neither claimed nor exercised any such *Supremacy* within this Kingdome in the first Ages of this Church, nor in many after; till by gaining from the King the *Investiture* of Bishops under *Henry* the 1. the *exemption* of the Clergy from the Courts of Justice under *Henry* the 2. and the *submission* of King *John* to the See of *Rome*, they found themselves of strength sufficient to make good their Plea. And though by the like artifices, seconded by some Texts of Scripture, which the ignorance of those times incouraged them to abuse as they pleased, they had attained the like Supremacy in *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, and all the Churches of the West: yet his incroachments wers opposed, and his authority disputed upon all occasions, especially as the light of Letters did begin to shine. Insomuch as it was not only determined *essentially* in the Councel of *Constance* (one of the Imperial Cities of *High Germany*) that the *Councel was above the Pope*; and his Authority much curbed by the *Pragmatick Sanction*, which thence took beginning: but *Gerson* the learned Chancellor of *Paris* wrote a full Discourse, entituled, *De auferibilitate Papæ*, touching the totall abrogating of the *Papall* Office; which certainly he had never done in case the *Papall Office* had been found essential and of intrinsecal concernment to the Church of *Christ*. According to the *Position* of that learned man the greatest Princes in these times did look upon the Pope and the Papall power as an *Excrescence* at the best in the body mystical; subject and fit to be pared off as occasion served: though on self-ends, Reasons of State, and to serve their several turns by him as their needs required, they did and do permit him to continue in his former greatnesse. For *Lewis* the 11. King of *France* in a Councel of his own Bishops held at *Lions*, cited Pope *Julius* the 2. to appear before him: and *Laustrech* Governour of *Millaine* under *Francis* the 1. conceived the Popes authority to be so unnecessary (yea even in *Italy* it self) that taking a displeasure against *Leo* the 10. he outed him of all his jurisdiction within

that

that Dukedome, *anno* 1528. and so disposed of all Ecclesiasticall affairs; *ut præfecto sacris* Bigorrano *Episcopo omnia sine* Romani Pontificis *autoritate administrarentur*, as *Thuanus* hath it, that the Church there was supremely governed by the Bishop of *Bigorre* (a Bishop of the Church of *France*) without the intermedling of the Pope at all. The like we finde to have been done about six years after, by *Charles* the fift Emperor and King of *Spain*, who being no lesse displeased with Pope *Clement* the 7. abolished the *Papall* power and jurisdiction out of all the Churches of his Kingdomes in *Spain*. Which though it held but for a while, (till the breach was closed) yet left he an example by it (as my Author noteth) *Ecclesiasticam disciplinam citra* Romani *nominis autoritatem posse conservari*, that there was no necessity of a Pope at all. And when K. *Henry* the 8. following these examples, had banished the Popes authority out of his Dominions, Religion still remaining here as before it did (the Popes *Supremacy* not being at that time an Article of the *Christian* Faith, as it hath since been made by Pope *Pius* the 4.) that Act of his was much commended by most knowing men, in that without more alteration in the face of the Church *Romanæ sedis exuisset obsequium* (saith the Author of the *Tridentine* History) he had freed himself and all his subjects from so great a Vassallage. Now as K. *Henry* the 8. was not the first Christian Prince, who did *de facto* abrogate the Popes authority: so was he not the last that thought it might be abrogated if occasion were. For to say nothing of King *Edward* the 6. and Queen *Elizabeth* two of his Successors, who followed his example in it: we finde it to have been resolved on by K. *Henry* the 4. of *France*, who questionlesse had made the *Archbishop* of *Bourges* the Patriarch of the *Gallicane* Church, and totally withdrawn it from acknowledging of the authority of the See of *Rome*, had not Pope *Clement* the 8. (much against his will) by the continual solicitations of Cardinal *D' Ossat*, admitted him to a formal *Reconciliation*, on his last falling off to popery. How neer the Signeury of *Venice* was to have done the like, *anno* 1608. the History of the *Interdict*, or of the Quarrels betwixt that State and Pope *Paul* the 5. doth most plainly shew. This

makes it evident, that in the judgement and esteem of most *Christian* Princes (in other things of the Religion of the Church of *Rome*) the *Popes Supremacy* was looked upon as an incroachment; and therefore might be abrogated upon better reasons, then it had formerly been admitted in their several Kingdomes. By consequence the doing of it here in *England*, neither so injurious or unjust as your *Zelots* make it.

2. *That the Church of* England *might proceed to a* Reformation *without the Approbation of the Pope or Church of* Rome.

But here you say it will be replied, that though the Pope be not considered as the *Supreme Head* or Universal Pastor of the Church; with reference whereunto his *super eminent* jurisdiction was disputed in the former times: yet it cannot be denied with reason, but that he is the *Patriarch* of these Western Churches, and the *Apostle* in particular of the *English* Nation. In these respects no *Reformation* of the Church to be made without him: especially, considering that the Church of *England* at that time was a Member of the Church of *Rome*, and therefore to act nothing in that kinde but by consent of the whole; according to that known *Maxim* of the Schools, *Turpis est pars ea quæ toti suo non cohæreat.* This though it be a *Triple Cord*, will be easily broken. For first the Pope is not the *Patriarch* of the West. One of the *Patriarchs* of the West we shall easily grant him; but that he is the *Patriarch* we will by no means yeeld. To tell you why we dare not yeeld it, I must put you in minde of these particulars: 1. That all Bishops in respect of their Office or *Episcopality* are of equall power, whether they be of *Rome* or *Rhegium*, of *Constantinople* or *Engubium*, of *Alexandria* or of *Tanais*, as S. *Hierom* hath it, *Potentia divitiarum & paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem Episcopum non facit.* A plentiful Revenue and a sorry *Competency* makes not (saith he) one Bishop higher then another in regard of his office, though possibly of more esteem and reputation in the eyes of men. 2. That in respect to *Polity* and external order, the Bishops an-

antiently were disposed of into *Sub et supra*, according to the Platform of the *Roman* Empire, agreeable to the good old Rule which we finde mentioned, though not made in the general Councel of *Chalcedon*, that is to say, Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἡ τάξις &c. *The government of the Church is to be fitted and accommodated to the Civil State.* 3. That the *Roman* Empire was divided antiently into 14 Juridical Circuits, which they called *Dioceses*, reckoning the Præfecture of *Rome* for one of the number: six of the which, that is to say the Dioceses of *Italie*, *Africk*, *Spain Britain*, *Gaul*, and *Illyricum occidentale*, besides the Præfecture of the City, were under the command of the Western Emperors, after the Empire was divided into East and West. 4. That in the Præfecture of the City of *Rome* were contained no more then the Provinces of *Latium*, *Tuscia*, *Picenum Suburbicarium*, *Samnum*, *Apulia*, and *Calabria*, *Brutium* and *Lucania*, in the main land of *Italy*, together with the Islands of *Sicilie*, *Corsica* and *Sardinia*. 5. That every Province having several Cities, there was (agreeable to this model) a Bishop placed in every City, a *Metropolitan* in the chief City of each Province, who had a superintendence over all the Bishops; and in each Diocesse, a *Primate* ruling in chief over the *Metropolitans* of the several Provinces. And 6. though at first only the three Primates or Arch-bishops of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, commonly and in vulgar speech had the name of *Patriarchs*, by reason of the wealth and greatnesse of those Cities (the greatest of the *Roman* Empire, and the chief of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*) to which the Bishops of *Hierusalem* and *Constantinople* were after added: yet were they all of equal power among themselves, and shined with as full a splendor in their proper *Orbes* as any of the Popes then did in the Sphere of *Rome*, receiving all their light from the Sun of righteousnesse, not borrowing it from one another; for which the so much celebrated Canon of the *Nicene* Councel may may be proof sufficient. If not the Edicts of *Justinian* shall come in to help, by which it was decreed that all *Appeals* in point of grievance should lie from the Bishop to the *Metropolitan*, and from the Metropolitans unto the Primates (the *Patriarchs* as he cals them) of the several *Dioceses*. By which accompt it doth appear that the Patriarchate of *Rome* was an-

tiently confined within the Præfecture of that City: in which respect as the Provinces subject to the Pope were by *Ruffinus* called *Regiones Suburbicariæ*, or the City Provinces; so was the Pope himself called *Urbicus*, or the City-Bishop by *Optatus Afer*.

To prove this point more plainly by particular instances, I shall take leave to travel over the Western *Dioceses*, to see what marks of *Independence* we can finde among them: such as dissenting in opinion from the Church of *Rome*, or adhering unto different ceremonies and formes of worship, or otherwise standing in defence of their own authority. And first the Diocesse of *Italy*, though under the Popes nose (as we use to say) was under the command of the Archbishop of *Millaine*, as the Primate of it: which City is therefore called by *Athanasius* Μητρόπολις τ Ιταλίας the *Metropolis* or chief City of *Italy*. The Saturdaies fast observed at *Rome* and not at *Millaine*, (*Quando Romæ sum* jejuno Sabbato, *quum hic sum non* jejuno *Sabbato*, as S. *Ambrose* hath it) shewes clearly that the one had no *dependence* upon the other. And yet the difference of *Divine Offices* or Formes of worship is a more pregnant proof then this: the Churches of *Millain* officiating for many ages by a Liturgie which S. *Ambrose* had a special hand in; they of the Patriarchate of *Rome* following the old *Roman Missals*, not fully finished and compleated till the time of Pope *Gregory*. Whence the distinction of *Ecclesiæ Ambrosianæ & Ecclesiæ Gregorianæ*, extant in *Bonaventure* and others of the writers of the later times. Crosse we the Seas unto the Diocesse of *Africk*, governed in chief by the Primate or Archbishop of *Carthage*: and there we finde S. *Cyprian* determining against Pope *Stephen* in the then controverted case of *Rebaptization*; and calling him (in his Epistle to *Pompeius*) an obstinate and presumptuous man, and a fauter of *Hereticks*: no very great tokens of subjection, if you mark it well. The error of his judgement in the point debated I regard not here; but I am sure that in defence of his authority and jurisdiction, he was right enough: and therein strongly seconded by the *African* Church, opposing the incroachments of *Zosimus*, *Boniface*, and *Celestine*, succeeding one another in the *Roman* Patriarchate; prohibiting all *appeals*

peals to *Rome* in the Councels of *Milevis* and *Carthage*; and finally excomunicating *Lupicinus* for appealing to Pope *Leo* the first, contrary to the rites and liberties of the *African* Church. Next for the Diocesse of *Spain*, I look upon the *Musarabick* Liturgie composed by *Isidore*, Archbishop of *Sevil*, and universally received in all the Churches of that Continent for as unquestionable a character of *self-subsistency* as the *Ambrosian* Office was in the Church of *Millain*: the *Roman* or *Gregorian* Missal not being used in all this Countrey till the year 1083. At which time one *Bernard* a *Frenchman* and a great stickler in behalf of the *Roman* Ceremonies, being made Archbishop of *Toledo*, by practising with *Alfonso* the then King of *Castile*, first introduced the *Roman* Missall into some of the Churches of that City, and after by degrees into all the rest of those Kingdomes: soon after the Churches of *France*, the greatest and most noble part of the *Gallick* Diocesse, they were originally under the authority of the Bishop of *Lions*, as their proper *Primate*, not owing any suit or service to the Court of *Rome*; but standing on their own *Basis*, and acting all things of themselves as the others did. The freedome wherewith *Irenæus* the renowned Bishop of that City reproved the rashnesse of Pope *Victor* (in the Case of *Easter*) not well becoming an inferior Bishop to the *Supreme Pastor*: shewes plainly that they stood on even ground, and had no advantage of each other in respect of *sub & supra*, as *Logicians* say: notwithstanding that more powerful Principality (*potentior principalitas*, as the *Latine* hath it) which *Irenæus* did allow him over those at home. But a more evident proof of this there can hardly be then those large liberties and freedomes which the Church *Gallican* doth at this time enjoy; the remainders past all doubt of those antient *rights* which under their own *Patriarch* they were first possessed of: not suffering the Decrees of the Councel of *Trent* (that great supporter of the Popedome) to take place amongst them, but as insensibly and by the practises of some Bishops they were introduced; curbing the Popes exorbitant power by the *pragmatick Sanction*, and by the frequent Judgements and *Arrests* of Parliament: insomuch as a Book of Cardinal *Bellarmines* tending to the ad-

advancement of the Papall Monarchy, and another writ by *Becanus* the *Jesuite* entituled *Controversia Anglicana* in maintenance of the Popes *supremacy*, were suppressed and centured, *anno* 1612. Another writ by *Gaspar Schioppius* to the same effect (but with far lesse modesty) being at the same time burnt by the hands of the Hangman. Finally, for the Churches of the Diocesse of *Britain* (those of *Illyricum* lying too far off to be brought in here) they had their own Primate also the Archbishop of *York*, and under him two Metropolitans, the Bishops of *London* and *Caer-leon*. And for a character of their Freedome or *self-subsistence*, they had four different customes from the Church of *Rome*, as in the *Tonsure*, and the keeping of the Feast of *Easter*, wherein they followed the Tradition of the *Eastern* Churches: So firm withall in their obedience to their own *Primate*, the Archbishop of *Caer-leon* on *Vsh* (the only Archbishop of three which before they had) that they would by no means yeeld subjection unto *Augustine* the Monk, the first Archbishop of the *English*, though he came armed amongst them with the Popes authority. Nor would they afterwards submit unto his successors, though backed by the authority of the Kings of *England*, acknowledging no other *Primate* but the Bishop of St. *Davids* (to which the Metropolitan See was then translated) untill the time of *Henry* the 2. when the greatest part of South *Wales* and the City of S. *Davids* it self was in possession of the *English*. These were the Patriarchs or Primates of the Western Churches, and by these *Primates* the Church was either governed singly (but withall supremely) in their several Diocesses, (taking the word *Diocese* in the former notion) or in conjunction each with other by their letters of advice and intercourse, which they called *Literas Formatas* and *Communicatorias*. You see by this that though the Pope was *one* of the Western Patriarchs, yet was he not originally and by primitive Institution, either the *Patriarch* of the West, (that is to say not the only one) nor could pretend unto their *Rights*, as any of their Sees were ruined by the barbarous Nations: and consequently his consent not necessary to a *Reformation* beyond the bounds of his own *Patriarchate*, under that pretence.

Let

Let us next see what power he can lay claim unto, as the *Apostle* in particular of the *English* Nation. Which memorable title I shall never grudge him. I know well not only that the wife of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, a Christian and a daughter of *France* had both her Chappel and her Chappellane in the Palace Royal, before the first preaching of *Austin* the Monk; but that the *Britains* living intermixt with the *Saxons* for so long a time, may be supposed in probability and reason to have gained some of them to the Faith. But let the Pope enjoy this honour, let *Gregory* the Great be the Apostle of the *English Saxons*, by whom that *Augustine* was sent hither: yet this entituleth his Successors to no higher *Prerogatives* then the Lords own Apostles did think fit to claim in Countreys which they had converted. For neither were the *English Saxons* Baptized *in the name* of the Pope (they had been then *Gregoriani* and not *Christiani*); or looked upon him as the *Lord* of this part *of Gods heritage, but as an helper to their joy.* S. *Paul* the Apostle of the *Gentiles* did disclaim the one; S. *Peter* the Apostle of the *Jewes* did disswade the other. The *Anglican* Church was absolute and *Independent* from the first beginning, not tyed so much as to the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*: it being left by *Gregory* to the discretion of *Augustine*, out of the Rites and *Rubricks* of such Churches as he met with in his journey hither (these of *Italie* and *France* he means) to constitute a form of worship for the Church of *England.* And for a further proof hereof, he that consults the *Saxon* Councels collected by that learned and industrious Gentleman Sir *H. Spelman*, will finde how little there was in them of a *Papall* influence, from the first planting of the Gospel to the *Norman* Conquest. If we look lower we shall finde, that the Popes *Legat a Latere* whensoever sent, durst not set foot on *English* ground, till he was licensed and indemnified by the Kings Authority: but all *Appeals* in case of grievance were to be made (by a Decree of *Henry* the 2.) from the Archdeacon to the Bishop, from the Bishop to the Metropolitan, *Et si Archiepiscopus defecerit in justitia exhibenda, ad* Dominum Regem *deveniendum est postremo*, and last of all from the Metropolitan to the King himself; no *Appeal* hence unto the Pope as in other places, that the Clergy

of this land had a *self-authority* of treating and concluding in any businesse which concerned their own peace and happinesse, without resorting to the Pope for a confirmation. Out of which Canons and Determinations made amongst our selves, *Lindwood* composed his *Provincial* (though framed according to the method of the *Roman Decretal*) to be the standing body of our *Common-Law*: that on the other side neither the *Canons* of that Church, or *Decretals* of the Popes were concluding here, but either by a voluntary submission of some fawning and ambitious Prelates, or as they were received Synodically by the *English* Clergy; of which the constitutions made by *Othe* and *Othebon* Legats *a latere* from the Pope may be proof sufficient: and finally that *Anselm* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was welcomed by Pope *Urban* the 2. to the Councel of *Bari* in *Apulia*, *tanquam alterius orbis Papa*, as in *William* of *Malmesbury*; *tanquam Patriarcham & Apostolicum*, as *John Capgrave* hath it, as the Pope, Patriarch, and Apostolick Pastor of another World (*Divisos orbe Britannos*, as you know who said). Which titles questionlesse the Pope would never have conferred upon him, had he not been as absolute and supreme in his own jurisdiction (succeeding in the *Patriarchal* Rights of the *British* Diocesse) as the Pope was within the Churches subject unto his Authority. And this perhaps might be the reason why *Innocent* the 2. bestowed on *Theobald* (the third from *Anselm*) and on his Successors in that See, the Title of *Legati nati*; that they might seem to act rather in the time to come as Servants and Ministers to the Pope, then as the *Primates* and chief Pastors of the Church of *England*. And by all this it may appear that the Popes *Apostleship* was never looked on here as a matter of so great concernment, that the Church might not lawfully proceed to a *Reformation* without his allowance and consent. Were that plea good, the *Germans* might not lawfully have reformed themselves, without the allowance of the *English*: it being evident in story that not only *Boniface* Archbishop of *Mentz*, called generally the *Apostle* of *Germany*, was an *English* man; but that *Willibald* the first Bishop of *Eystel*, *Willibad* the first Bishop of *Bremen*, *Willibrod* the first Bishop of *Utrecht*, *Swibert* the first Bishop of *Virdem*, and the first converters of

those

those parts were of *England* also Men instigated to this great work (all except the first) not so much by the Popes zeal as their own great piety.

By this that hath been said it is clear enough that the Church of *England* at the time of the *Reformation*, was not indeed a Member of the Church of *Rome*, under the Pope as the chief Pastor and *Supreme Head* of the Church of *CHRIST*: but a Fellow-member with it of that Body *Mystical* whereof *CHRIST* only is the Head, part of that flock whereof he only is the *Shepherd*: a sister Church to that of *Rome*, though with relation to the time of her last conversion, but a younger Sister. And if a Fellow-member and a Sister-Church, she might make use of that authority which naturally and originally was vested in her, to *reform* her self, without the leave of the particular Church of *Rome*, or any other whatsoever of the *Sister-Churches*. The Church is likened to a City in the Book of God, a *City at unity in it self*, as the Psalmist cals it; and as a *City* it consisteth of many houses, and in each house a several and particular Family. Suppose this *City* visited with some general sicknesse, may not each family take care to preserve it self, advise with the Physitian, and apply the Remedy, without consulting with the rest? Or if consulting with the rest, must they needs ask leave also of the *Maior* or principal Magistrate, take counsel with no other Doctors, and follow no other course of Physick then such as he commends unto them, or imposeth on them? Or must the lesser languish irremediably under the calamity, because the greater and more potent Families do not like the cure? Assuredly it was not so in the *primitive* times, when it was held a commendable and lawfull thing for *National* and particular Churches to *reform* such errors and corruptions as they found amongst them; nor in the Church of *Judah* neither, when the Idolatries of their Neighbours had got ground upon them. *Though* Israel *transgresse, let not* Judah *sin*, saith the Prophet *Hosea* chap. 4. Yet *Israel* was the greater and more numerous people. Ten Tribes to two; two of the ten the eldest sons of their Father *Jacob*, all of them older then *Benjamin* the last begotten, being the second of the two: which notwithstanding the Kings of *Judah* might and did

proceed to a *Reformation*, though those of *Israel* did refuse to co-operate with them. The like was also done *de facto* and *de jure* too in the best and happiest times of *Christianity*: there being many errors and unsound opinions condemned in the Councels of *Gangra*, *Aquilia*, *Carthage*, *Milevis*; and not a few corruptions in the *practical* part of Religion reformed in the Synods of *Eliberis*, *Laodicea*, *Arles*, and others in the fourth Century of the Church: without advising or consulting with the *Roman* Oracle, or running to the Church of *Rome* for a confirmation of their Acts and doings; though at that time invested with a greater and more *powerful principality* then the others were. No such regard had in those times to the Church of *Rome*, though the elder Sister, but that another *National* Church might reform without her: nor any such consideration had of the younger Sisters, that one should tarry for another till they all agreed, though possibly they might all be sensible of the inconvenience, and all alike desirous of a speedy *Remedy*. But of this more anon in Answer to the next Objections.

Proceed we now a little further, and let us grant for once that the Church of *England* was a Member at that time of the Church of *Rome*, acknowledging the Pope for the *Head* thereof: yet this could be no hindrance to a *Reformation*, when the pretended *Head* would not yeeld unto it, or that tha Members could not meet to consult about it The whole *Body* of the Church was in ill condition, every part unsound, but the disease lay chiefly in the *head* it self, grown monstrously too great for the rest of the Members. And should the whole *body* pine and languish without hope of ease, because the *Head* (I mean still the *pretended Head*) would not be purged of some superfluous and noxious humours occasioning giddinesse in the brain, dimnesse in the eye, deafnesse in the ear, and in a word, a general and sad distemper unto all the Members? The Pope was grown to an exorbitant height both of pride and power; the Court of *Rome* wallowing (as in a course of prosperous fortunes) in all voluptuousnesse and sensuality. Nothing so feared amongst them as a *Reformation*, whereby they knew that an abatement must be made of their pomp and pleasure. Of these

these corruptions and abuses as of many others complaint had formerly been made, by *Armachanus*, *Grosthead* Bishop of *Lincoln*, S *Bernard*, *Nic. de Clemangis*, and other conscientious men in their several Countreys: not a few errors noted and informed against by *Wickliffe*, *John* of *Hus*, &c. But they complained to a *deaf Adder*, who was resolved *not to hear the voice of those* charmers, *charmed they never so wisely*. The Church mean while was in a very ill condition, when he that should prescribe the cure, was become the sicknesse. Considering therefore that a *Reformation* could not be obtained by the Popes consent, there was no remedy but that it must be made without it. The *Molten Calf* modelled by the *Egyptian Apis*, and the Altar patterned from *Damascus*, had made the *Israelites* (in all probability) as great idolaters as their neighbours, if the *High priests* that set them up might have had their wils. Nor had it been much better with the Church of *CHRIST*, if *Arianism* could not have been suppressed in particular Churches, because *Liberius* Pope of *Rome*, (supposing him to be the *Head* of the Church in general) had subscribed unto it, and that no error and corruption could have been *reformed*, which any of the Popes (whose Graves I am very loth to open) had been guilty of, but by their permission. The Church now were in worse estate under *Christian* Princes, then when it suffered under the power and tyranny of the *Heathen* Emperors, if it were not lawful for particular Churches to provide for their own safety and salvation, without resorting to the Pope: who cannot every day be spoke with, and may (when spoken with) be pressed with so many inconveniences nearer hand, as not to be at leisure to attend such businesses as lie further off. And therefore it was well said by *Danet* the *French* Ambassador when he communicated to the Pope his Masters purpose of Reforming the *Gallican* Church by a National Councel: *If* (said he) *Paris were on fire, would you not count the Citizens either Fools, or Mad-men, if they should send so far as* Tiber *for some water to quench it, the River of* Seine *running through the City, and the* Marne *so near it?*

3. *That the Church of* England *might lawfully proceed to a* Reformation *without the help of a* General Councel, *or calling in the aid of the* Protestant *Churches.*

But here you say it is objected, that if a *Reformation* were so necessary as we seem to make it, and that the Pope was never like to yeeld unto it, as the case then stood; it ought to have been done by a *General Councel*, according to the usage of the Primitive times. I know indeed that *General Councels* (such as are commonly so called) are of excellent use, and that the name thereof is sacred and of high esteem. But yet I prize them not so highly as Pope *Gregory* did, who ranked the four first *General Councels* with the four *Evangelists*: nor am I of opinion that they are so necessary to a *Reformation* either in point of Faith or corruption of manners, but that the business of the Church may be done without them. Nay, might I be so bold as to lay my naked thoughts before you (as I think I may) you would there finde it to be some part of my *Belief* that there never was, and never can be such a thing as a *General Councel* truly and properly so called: that is to say, such a *General Councel* to which all the Bishops of the Church (admiting none but such to the power of voting) have bin or can be called together by themselves or their *Proxies*. These which are commonly so called, as those of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, *Chalcedon*, were only of the Prelates of the *Roman* Empire. Christian Churches existing at that time in *Ethiopia* and the Kingdome of *Persia* (which made up no small part of the Church of Christ) were neither present at them, nor invited to them. And yet not all the Prelates neither of the *Roman* Empire, nor some from every Province of it did attend that service: those Councels only being the Assemblies of some *Eastern* Bishops, such as could most conveniently be drawn together: few of the *Western* Churches (none at all in some) having or list or leisure for so long a journey: For in the so much celebrated Councel of *Nice*, there were but nine Bishops sent from *France*, but two from *Africk*, one alone from *Spain*, none from the Diocese of *Britain*, and out of *Italy*, which lay

nearest

neareſt to it, none but two Prieſts appeared at all, and thoſe as *Legats* from the Pope, not authoriſed to repreſent the *Italian* Churches; ſo that of 318 Biſhops which were there aſſembled, there were but twelve in all, (beſides the *Legats* of the Pope) for the *Weſtern* Churches: too great a diſproportion to entitle it to the name of *General.* And yet this was more *General* then the reſt that followed: there being no Biſhops of the Weſt at all in the ſecond and third, but the Popes themſelves: and in the 4 none but the Legats of the Pope to ſupply his place. So that theſe Councels were called *General*, not that they were ſo in themſelves, but that there was a greater concourſe to them from the neighbouring Provinces, then was or had been to ſome others on the like occaſions. Which if it be enough to conſtitute a *General Councel*, I ſee no reaſon but the Councel of *Antioch* might be called ſo too, ſummoned in the caſe of *Paulus Samoſetanus*, the Patriarch at that time of that famous City. For the condemning of whoſe *Hereſie* there conveened not the Biſhops of that Province only, but the Patriarch of *Hieruſalem*, the Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine*, *Bozra* in *Arabia*, *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, of *Iconium* in *Lycaonia*, of *Neo-Cæſarea* in *Pontus*, beſides many others from all places, of the ſame rank and quality, but of leſſer fame: not to ſay any thing of *Dionyſius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, invited but not preſent in regard of ſickneſſe, which defect he recompenſed by his letters of advice and intercourſe; or of *Dionyſius* Pope of *Rome*, ſo hampered by the *Puritan* or *Novatian* faction, that he could not ſhine. So that if the preſent of two of the four Patriarchs, and the inviting of the others, with the Biſhops of ſo many diſtant Nations as were there aſſembled, ſuffice to make a *General Councel*; the Councel of *Antioch* might as well have the name of *General*, as almoſt any of the reſt which are ſo entituled.

But laying by theſe thoughts as too ſtrong of the *Paradox*, and looking on a *General Councel* in the common notion, for an Aſſembly of the Prelates of the Eaſt and Weſt, to which the four *Patriarchs* are invited, and from which no Biſhop is excluded that comes commiſſionated and inſtructed to attend the ſervice: I cannot think them of ſuch conſequence

to

to the Church of God, but that it may proceed without them to a *Reformation.* For certainly that saying of S. *Augustine* in his 4. Book against the two Epistles of the *Pelagians*, cap. 12. is exceeding true, *Paucas fuisse hæreses ad quas superandas necessarium fuerit Concilium plenarium occidentis & orientis*, that very few *Heresies* have been crushed in such *General Councels.* And so far we may say with the learned Cardinal, that for seven *Heresies* suppressed in seven *General* Councels (though by his leave the seventh did not so much suppress as advance an *Heresie*) an hundred have been quashed in *National* and *Provincial* Synods: whether confirmed or not confirmed by the Popes authority, we regard not here. Some instances hereof in the Synods of *Aquileia*, *Carthage*, *Gangra*, *Milevis*, we have seen before, and might adde many others now, did we think it necessary. The Church had been in ill condition, if it had been otherwise, especially under the power of *Heathen* Emperors, when such a confluence of the Prelates from all parts of the world would have been construed a *Conspiracie* against the State, and drawn destruction on the Church and the Persons both. Or granting that they might assemble without any such danger, yet being great bodies, moving slowly, and not without long time and many difficulties and disputes, to be rightly constituted: the Church would suffer more under such delay by the spreading of *Heresie*, then receive benefit by their care to suppress the same. Had the same course been taken at *Alexandria* for suppressing *Arius*, as was before at *Antioch* for condemning *Paulus*; we never had heard newes of the Councel of *Nice*; the calling and assembling whereof took up so long time, that *Arianism* was diffused over all the world before the Fathers met together; and could not be suppressed (though it were condemned) in many ages following after. The plague of Heresie, and leprosie of sin would quickly overrun the whole face of the Church, if capable of no other cure then a *General Councel.* The case of *Arius*, and the universal spreading of his *Heresie* compared with the quick rooting out of so many others, makes this clear enough.

To go a little further yet, we will suppose a *General Councel* to be the best and safest Physick that the Church can take,

take, on all occasions of *Epidemical* distemper; but then we must suppose it at such times and in such cases only, when it may conveniently be had. For where it is not to be had or not had conveniently, it will either prove to be no *Physick*, or not worth the taking. But so it was, that at the time of the *Reformation*, a *General Councel* could not conveniently be assembled, and more then so it was impossible that any such *Councel* should assemble; I mean a *General Councel* rightly called and constituted, according to the Rules laid down by our *Controversors*. For first they say it must be called by such as have power to do it. 2. That it must be intimated to all Christian Churches, that so no Church nor people may plead ignorance of it. 3. The Pope and the four chief Patriarchs must be present at it, either in person or by *Proxie*. And lastly, that no Bishop is to be excluded, if he be known to be a Bishop and not excommunicated. According to which Rules, it was impossible I say, that any *General Councel* should be assembled at the time of the Reformation of the Church of *England*. It was not then as when the greatest part of the *Christian* world was under the command of the *Roman* Emperors; whose Edict for a *General Councel* might speedily be posted over all the Provinces. The Messengers who should now be sent on such an errand unto the Countreys of the *Turk*, the *Persian*, the *Tartarian*, and the great *Mogul* (in which are many *Christian* Churches, and more perhaps then in all the rest of the world besides) would finde but sorry entertainment. Nor was it then, as when the four chief Patriarchs, together with their Metropolitans and Suffragan Bishops, were under the protection of the *Christian* Emperors, and might without danger to themselves or unto their Churches, obey the intimation and attend the service: those *Patriarchs* with their Metropolitans and Suffragans, both then and now languishing under the tyranny and power of the *Turk*, to whom so general a confluence of Christian Bishops, must needs give matter of suspicion, of just *fears* and *jealousies*, and therefore not to be permitted (as far as he can possibly hinder it) on good Reason of State. For who knowes better then themselves how long and dangerous a war was raised against their Predeces-

sors by the *Western Christians* for recovery of the *Holy Land*, on a resolution taken up at the Councel of *Clermont*; and that making war against the *Turks* is still esteemed a cause sufficient for a *General Councel*. And then besides it would be known by whom this *General Councel* was to be assembled: if by the Pope, as generally the *Papists* say, he and his Court were looked on as the greatest grievance of the Christian Church: and 'twas not probable that he would call a Councell against himself, unlesse he might have leave to pack it, to govern it by his own Legats, fill it with *Titular* Bishops of his own creating, and send the *Holy Ghost* to them in a Clokebag as he did to *Trent*. If joyntly by all *Christian* Princes (which is the common *Tenet* of the *Protestant* Schools) what hopes could any man conceive (as the times then were) that they should lay aside their particular interesses, to center all together upon one design? or if they had agreed about it, what power had they to call the Prelates of the *East* to attend the business, or to protect them for so doing at their going home? So that I look upon the hopes of a *General Council*, I mean a General Councel rightly called and constituted, as an empty Dream. The most that was to be expected was but a meeting of some Bishops of the West of *Europe*, and those but of one party only: such as were excommunicated, (and that might be as many as the Pope should please) being to be excluded by the Cardinals Rule. Which how it may be called an *Oecumenial* or General Councell, unlesse it be a *Topical-Oecumenical*, a Particular-general (as great an absurdity in Grammar, as a *Roman Catholick*) I can hardly see.

Which being so, and so no question but it was, either the Church must continue without *Reformation*, or else it must be lawfull for *National* particular Churches to reform themselves. In such a case the Church may be reformed *per partes*, Part after part, Province after Province, as is said by *Gerson*. But I do not mean to trouble you with this Dispute. For that particular Churches may reform themselves by *National* or *Provincial* Councels, when the Church generall will not do it, or that it cannot be effected by a *General Council*, hath been so fully proved by my Lord of

Canterbury in his learned and elaborate discourse against *Fisher* the *Jesuite*, that nothing can be added unto so great diligence. But if it be objected, as you say it is, that *National* Councels have a power of *Promulgation* only, not of *Determination* also: I answer first, that this runs crosse to all the current of *Antiquity*, in which not only *National* but *Provincial* Councels did usually determine in the points of Faith, and these too of the greatest moment, as did that of *Antioch*; which if it were somewhat more then a National, was notwithstanding never reckoned for a *General Councel.* I answer secondly as before, that for one *Heresie* suppressed in a *General Councel*, there have been ten at least suppressed in *National* and *Provincial* Synods; wich could not be in case they had no power of *Determination.* And thirdly, That the *Articles* or Confession of the Church of *England* are only *Declaratory* of such *Catholick* Doctrines as were received of old in the Church of *CHRIST*, not *Introductory* of new ones of their own devising; as might be evidenced in particular, were this place fit for it. But what needs any proof at all, when we have Confession? For the Archbishop of *Spalato* (a man as well studied in the Fathers, as the best amongst them) ingenuously acknowledged at the *High Commission*, that the *Articles of this Church were profitable, none of them* Heretical; *and that he would defend the honour of the Church of* England *against all the world.* And this he said at the very time of his departure, when his soul was gone before to *Rome*, and nothing but his carkasse left behinde in *England*. The like avowed by *Davenport*, or *Franciscus a Sancta Clara* (call him which you will) who makes the *Articles* of this Church rightly understood according to the *literal* meaning, and not perverted to the ends of particular Factions, to be capable of a *Catholick* and *Orthodox* sense: which is as much as could be looked for from the mouth of an Adversary. So much as cost one of them his life (though perhaps it will be said that he died in prison) and the burning of his body after his death; though he endevoured to save both by a *Retractation.* So that in this case too we have *omnia bene*, nothing amisse in the proceedings of this Church, with reference to the Pope or a *General Councel.*

But you will ſay, that though we could not ſtay the calling of a *General Councel*, which would have juſtified our proceedings in the eyes of our *Adverſaries*: it had been requiſite even in the way of *civil Prudence* to have taken the advice of the *Siſter-Churches*, eſpecially of thoſe which were engaged at the ſame time in the ſame deſigns: which would have added reputation to us in the eyes of our *Friends*. As for the taking counſel of the *Siſter-Churches*, it hath been touched upon already, and therefore we ſhall ſay no more as to that particular: unleſſe the *Siſter-Churches* of theſe later times had been like the *Believers* in the infancy of the Chriſtian Faith, when they were all *of one heart and one ſoul*, as the Scripture hath it, *Act.* 4. their counſels had been *dilatory*, if not *deſtructive*. 'Tis true indeed, united Councels are the ſtronger and of greater weight, and not to be neglected where they may be had; but where they are not to be had, we muſt act without them. And if we look into the time of our *Reformation*, we ſhall finde thoſe that were engaged in the ſame deſign, divided into obſtinate parties; and holding the names of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* in an higher eſtimate then either the truth of the Opinion in which they differed, or the common happineſſe of the Church ſo diſturbed between them. The breach not leſſened, but made wider by the riſe of *Calvin*, ſucceeding not long after in the fame of *Zuinglius*: beſides, that living under the command of ſeveral Princes, and thoſe Princes driving on to their ſeveral ends; it had been very difficult, if not impoſſible to draw them unto ſuch an *Harmony* of affections, and *conſent* in judgement, as ſo great a buſineſſe did require. So that the Church of *England* was neceſſitated in that conjuncture of affairs to proceed as it did, and to act that ſingle by it ſelf, which could not be effected by the common Councels, and joynt concurrence of the others. 'Tis true, *Melanchthon* was once coming over in King *Henries* daies, but ſtaid his journey on the death of Queen *Anne Bullen*, and that he was after ſent for by King *Edward* the ſixth (*Regis Literis in* Angliam *vocor*) as he affirms in an Epiſtle unto *Camerarius*, *anno* 1553. But he was ſtaid at that time alſo on ſome other occaſion, though had he come at that time he had come too late to have had

any

any hand in the *Reformation*, the Articles of the Church being passed, the Liturgie reviewed and setled in the year before. And 'tis as true that *Calvin* offered his assistance to Archbishop *Cranmer*, for the reforming of this Church; *Si quis mei usus esset*, as his own words are, if his assistance were thought needfull to advance the work. But *Cranmer* knew the man, and refused the offer; and he did very wisely in it. For seeing it impossible to unite all parties, it had been an imprudent thing to have closed with any. I grant indeed that *Martin Bucer* and *Peter Martyr* (men of great learning and esteem, but of different judgements) were brought over hither, about the beginning of the reign of K *Edward 6.* the one of them being placed in *Oxford*, the other in *Cambridge*; but they were rather entertained as private Doctors to *moderate* in the Chairs of those Universities, then any waies made use of in the *Reformation.* For as the *Liturgie* which was the main key unto the work, was framed and setled before either of them were come over; so *Bucer* died, before the compiling of the Book of *Articles*, which was the accomplishment thereof: nor do I finde that *Peter Martyr* was made use of otherwise in this weighty businesse, then to make that good by disputation, which by the Clergy in their *Synods* or *Convocations* was agreed upon. By means whereof the Church proceeding without reference to the different interesses of the neighbouring Churches, kept a conformity in all such points of Government and publique order with the Church of *Rome*, in which that Church had not forsaken the clear Tract of the primitive Times: retaining not only the Episcopall Government, with all the concomitants and adjuncts of it, which had been utterly abolished in the *Zuinglian* Churches, and much impaired in power and jurisdiction by the *Lutherans* also: and keeping up a *Liturgie* or set form of *worship*, according to the rites and usages of the *primitive* times, which those of the *Calvinian* congregations would not hearken to. God certainly had so disposed it in his heavenly wisdome, that so this Church without respect unto the names and Dictates of particular Doctors, might *found* its *Reformation* on the *Prophets* and *Apostles* only, according to the Explications and Tra-

ditions of the ancient Fathers: and being so founded in it self, without respect to any of the differing parties, might in succeeding Ages sit as Judge between them; as being more inclinable by her constitution to mediate a peace amongst them then to espouse the quarrel of either side, to the Popes authority on the one side, or on the other side. And though *Spaloto* in the Book of his *Retractations*, which he cals *Consilium redeundi*, objects against us: That besides the publick Articles and confession authorised by the Churches, we had embraced some *Lutheran* and *Calvinian* Fancies (*multa Lutheri & Calvini dogmata*, so his own words run) yet this was but the error of particular men, not to be charged upon the Church as maintaining either. The Church is constant to her safe and her first conclusions, though many private men take liberty to imbrace new Doctrines.

4. *That the Church did not* innovate *in translating the* Scriptures *and the publick* Liturgie *into vulgar tongues; and of the consequents thereof in the Church of* England.

The next thing faulted (as you say) in the *Reformation*, is the committing so much heavenly treasure to such rotten vessels, the trusting so much excellent Wine to such musty bottles: I mean the versions of the *Scriptures* and the publick *Liturgies* into the usual Languages of the common people, and the promiscuous liberty indulged them in it. And this they charge not as an *Innovation* simply, but as an Innovation of a *dangerous consequence*; the sad effects whereof we now see so clearly. A charge wich doth alike concern all the *Protestant* and *Reformed* Churches, so that I should have passed it over at the present time, but that it is made ours more specially in the *application*; the sad effects which the enemy doth so much insult in being said to be more visible in the Church of *England*, then in other places. This makes it ours, and therefore here to be considered, as the former were. First then they charge it on the Church as an *Innovation*, it being affirmed by *Bellarmine* in his 2. Book *De verbo Dei*, cap. 15. (whether with lesse truth or modesty, it is hard to say) *Universam Ecclesiam semper his tantum linguis, &c.* that

that in the Universal Church in all times foregoing the Scriptures were not commonly and publickly read in any other language but in the *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latine*: this is (you see) a two-edged sword, and strikes not only against all *Translations* of the Scriptures into vulgar languages for common use, but against reading those Translations publickly as a part of the *Liturgie*, in which are many things as the Cardinal tels us *quæ secreta esse debent*, which are not fit to be made known to the common people. This is the substance of the charge, and herein we *joyn issue* in the usual Form with *Absque hoc*, *sans ceo*, no such matter really; the constant current of Antiquity doth affirm the contrary: by which it will appear most plainly that the Church did neither *innovate* in this act of hers, nor deviate therein from the Word of God, or from the usage of the best and happiest times of the Church of *CHRIST*. Not from the Word of God, there's no doubt of that, which was committed unto writing that it might be read, and read by all that were to be directed and guided by it. The Scriptures of the *Old Testament* first writ in *Hebrew*, the Vulgar language of that people, and read unto them publickly on the *Sabbath* daies, as appears clearly *Act.* 13. 15. & 15. 21. translated afterwards (by the cost and care of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*) into the *Greek* tongue, the most known and studied language of the Eastern world. The *New Testament* first writ in *Greek* for the self-same reason, (but that St. *Matthew*'s Gospel is affirmed by some learned men to have been written in the *Hebrew*) and *written* to this end and purpose, that *men might believe that JESUS is the CHRIST the Son of GOD*, and *that believing they might have life in his Name*, Joh. 20. vers. ult. But being that all the Faithfull did not understand these Languages, and that the light of holy Scripture might not be likened to a Candle hidden *under a Bushel*: it was thought good by many godly men in the *Primitive* times to translate the same into the Languages of the Countreys in which they lived, or of the which they had been Natives. In which respect S. *Chrysostome* then banished into *Armenia*, translated the *New Testament*, and the Psalms of *David*, into the Language of that people; S. *Hierom* a *Pannonian* born, tran-

tranſlated the whole Bible into the *Dalmatick* tongue, as *Vulphilas* Biſhop of the *Gothes* did into the *Gothick*: all which we finde together without further ſearch, in the *Bibliotheque* of *Sixtus Senenſis*, a learned and ingenuous man but a *Pontifician*, and ſo leſſe partial in this cauſe. The like done here in *England* by the care of *Athelſtan* cauſing a Tranſlation of the *Saxon* Tongue; the like done by *Methodius*, the Apoſtle General of the *Sclaves*, tranſlating it into the *Sclavonian* for the uſe of thoſe Nations: not to ſay any thing of the *Syriack*, *Æthiopick*, *Arabick*, the *Perſian*, and *Chaldæan* Verſions, of which the times and Authors are not ſo well known. And what I pray you, is the *vulgar* or old *Latine* Edition, (of late times made *Authentick* by the Popes of *Rome*) but a *Tranſlation* of the Scriptures out of *Greek* and *Hebrew* for the inſtruction of the *Roman* and *Italian* Nations, to whom the *Latine* at that time was the Vulgar Tongue? And when that Tongue by reaſon of the breaking in of the barbarous Nations was worn out of knowledge, (I mean as to the common people) did not God ſtir up *James* Archbiſhop of *Genoa*, when the times were darkeſt (that is to ſay, *anno* 2290. or thereabouts) to give ſome light to them by *tranſlating* the whole Bible into the *Italian*, the modern Language of that Countrey? As he did *Wiclef* not long after, to tranſlate the ſame into the *Engliſh* of thoſe times, (the *Saxon* Tongue not being then commonly underſtood) a copy of whoſe *Verſion* in a fair Velom Manuſcript I have now here by me, by the gift of my noble Friend *Charles Dymoke*, Hereditary Champion to the Kings of *England*. So then it is no *innovation* to tranſlate the Scriptures; and leſſe to ſuffer theſe Tranſlations to be promiſcuouſly read by all ſorts of people: the Scripture being as well *MILK for Babes*, as *ſtrong Meat* for the man of more able judgement. Why elſe doth the Apoſtle note it as a commendable thing in *Timothy*, that *he knew the Scriptures from his childhood*? and why elſe doth S. *Hierom* ſpeak it to the honour of the Lady *Paula*, that ſhe made her maids learn ſomewhat daily of the holy Scriptures? Why elſe does *Chryſoſtome* call ſo earneſtly on all ſorts of men to provide themſelves of the holy Bibles, τῆς ψυχῆς φάρμακα, the only *Phyſick for the Soul*, as he cals

cals it there: inviting to the reading thereof not only men of learning and publick businesse; but even the poor *Artificer* also, as is acknowledged by *Senensis* whom before we mentioned. And why else doth S. *Augustine* inform his *Auditors*, that it sufficeth not to hear the Scriptures read in the *Congregation*, unlesse they read also in their private Houses. Assuredly if Boyes and Girles, if Servants and Artificers are called upon so earnestly to consult the *Scriptures*, to have them in a Tongue intelligible to them in their private Families; and are commended for so doing as we see they are: I know no rank of men that can be excluded.

Let us next see whether it be an *Innovation* in the Church of *CHRIST*, to have the *Liturgies* or *Common-prayers* of the Church in the Tongue generally understood by the *common People*, which make the greatest number of all *Church Assemblies*. And first we finde by the Apostle not only that the *publick* Prayers of the Church of *Corinth*, were celebrated in a language which they understood; but that it ought to be so also in all other Churches, *Except* (saith he) *ye utter by the voice words easie to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say* Amen *to thy giving of thanks* (and consequently to thy *Prayers* also) *if he understand not what thou sayest?* 1 Cor. 14. 9. 16. What say the *Papists* unto this? Do not both *Lyra* and *Aquinas* expresly grant in their Commentaries on this place of Scripture, that the *common Service of the Church in the* Primitive *times was in the common vulgar language?* Is not the like affirmed by *Harding* in his Answer to Bishop *Jewels challenge*, Art. 3. Sect. 28. Adding withall, *that it was necessary in the* Primitive *times that it should be so*; and granting that it were *still better that the people had their* Service *in their own* vulgar *Tongue for their better understanding of it?* Sect. 33. Having thus *Confitentes reos*, we need seek no further, and yet a further search will not be unprofitable. And on that search it will be found that the converted *Jewes* did celebrate their divine Offices (*Tractatus & oblationes*, as the Father hath it) most commonly in the *Syriack*, and sometimes in the *Hebrew* tongue; the natural Languages of that people: as is affirmed by S. *Ambrose* in 1. *ad Cor. cap.* 14. and out of him by *Durand* in his *Rationale*

Divinorum. *Eckius* a great ſtickler of the Popes, affirmeth in his *Common places*, that the *Indians* have their *Service* in the *Indian* tongue; and that S. *Hierome* having tranſlated the whole *Bible* into the *Dalmatick*, procured that the *Service* ſhould be celebrated in that Language alſo. The like S. *Hierome* himſelf in his Epiſtle to *Heliodorus*, hath told us of the *Beſſi* a *Sarmatian* people: the like S. *Baſil* in his Epiſtle to the *Neo-cæſareans*, aſſures us for the *Ægyptians*, *Libyans*, *Paleſtinians*, *Phenicians*, *Arabians*, *Syrians*, and ſuch as dwell about the Banks of the River *Euphrates*. The *Æthiopians* had their *Miſſal*, the *Chaldeans* theirs; each in the language of their Countreys, which they ſtill retain: So had the *Moſcovites* of old, and all the ſcattered Churches of the Eaſtern parts, which they continue to this day.

But nothing is more memorable in this kinde then that which *Ænæas Silvius* tels of the *Sclavonians*, who being converted to the Faith made ſuite unto the Pope to have the *publick Service* in their *natural* Tongue: but ſome delay being made therein by the Pope and Cardinals, a voice was heard, ſeeming to have come from Heaven, praying, *Omnis Spiritus laudet Dominum, & omnis lingua confiteatur ei*: whereupon their deſires were granted without more diſpute. Touching which Grant there is extant an Epiſtle from Pope *John* the 8. to *Sfentopulcher* King of the *Moravian Sclaves*, *anno* 888. at what time both the *Latine Service* and the Popes authority were generally received in thoſe parts of *Europe*. Which Letter of Pope *John* the 8. together with the Story above mentioned, might probably be a chief inducement to *Innocent* the 3. to ſet out a *Decree* in the *Lateran* Councel, importing that in all ſuch Cities in which there was a concourſe of divers Nations, and conſequently of different Languages, (as in moſt Towns of Trade there doth uſe to be) the *Service* ſhould be ſaid, and Sacraments adminiſtred, *Secundum diverſitates nationum & linguarum*, according to the difference of their Tongues and Nations. And though Pope *Gregory* the 7. a turbulent and violent man, about 200 years after the Conceſſion made by *John* the 8. in his Letter to *Uratiſlaus* King of *Bohemia*, labourd the cancelling of that priviledge, and poſſibly might prevail

vail therein as the times then were: yet the *Liburnians*, and *Dalmatians*, two *Sclavonian* Nations, and bordering on *Italy* (the Popes proper seat) do still enjoy the benefit of that indulgence, and celebrate their *Liturgie* in their own Language to this very day. So that the wonder is the greater that those of *Rome* should stand so stifly in defence of the *Latine Service*, which the common people understand not, and therefore cannot knowingly, and with faith say *Amen* unto it. For though the *Latine* Tongue was *Vulgar* in a manner to those Western Nations, amongst whom the *Latine Service* was first received, and for that cause received because *Vulgar* to them: yet when upon the inundation of the barbarous nation, the *Latine* tongue degenerated into other Languages, as in *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*; or else was quite worn out of knowledge as in *Britain*, *Belgium*, and some parts of the modern *Germany*, in which before it had been commonly understood; it was both consonant to piety and *Christian* Prudence, that the Language of the common *Liturgies* should be altered also. The people otherwise either in singing *David*'s Psalmes, or repeating any parts of the *daily Office*, must needs be like those *Romans* or *Italians* which S. *Ambrose* speaks of; who loved to sing *Greek* songs by rote (as we use to say) out of a meer delight which they had to the sound of the words; *nescientes tamen quid dicant*, not understanding one word which they said or sung.

The blame and guilt of *Innovation* being taken off, we must next examine the effects and *dangerous consequents*; more visibly discerned at this time in the Church of *England*, then was or could have been believed when they were first intimated. Amongst these they reckon in the first place the *increase of Heresies*, occasioned by the mistaking of the true sense and meaning of the Holy Scripture; and to that end it is said by *Bellarmine*, that the people would not only receive no good by having the Scripture read publickly unto them in their national Languages, *Sed etiam caperet detrimentum*, but on the contrary are like to receive much hurt. However, *acciperet facillime occasionem errandi*: because thereby they would most easily be led into errors: which gave occasion unto some (as he tels us there) to call the Scripture

Librum Hæreticorum, the Hereticks Book. So he in his 2. Book and 15. chapter, *De verbo Dei*. The like saith *Harding* in his Answer to Bishop *Jewel's Challenge*, Art. 3. sect. 31. *The Nations* (saith he) *that have ever had their* Service *in the vulgar Tongue* (where note that some Nations never had it otherwise) *have continued still in Errors, Schisms, and certain* Judaical *Ceremonies*, &c. In the next place they reckon this, that by permitting Scripture and the publick Liturgies to be extant in the *Vulgar Tongues, all men would think themselves* Divines, *and the authority of the* Prelates *would be disesteemed*; So *Harding* in his Answer to *Jewels Apologie. l* 5. *fol.* 460. that the people not content with *hearing* or *reading* the holy Scripture, would first take upon them to be *Expositors*, and at last to be *Preachers* also, which in effect is that which is charged by *Bellarmine*. And for this last, the present Distempers and confusions in the Church of *England* (out of which *they suck no small advantage*) gives them great rejoycing, as seeing their predictions so exactly verified. In answer to the first we need say no more, then that there have been *Sects* and *Heresies* in all times and Ages: never so many as in the first ages of the Church (witnesse the Catalogue of S. *Augustine*, *Philastrius*, and *Epiphanius*) in which the Scripture was translated into fewer Languages then it is at the present. 2. That this is no *necessary effect* of such *Translations* (for we see few new *Heresies* started up of late in *France* or *Germany*, where such *Translations* are allowed of) but a meer *possible Contingency*, which either may be or may not be, as it pleaseth God to give or to withdraw his grace from a State or Nation. And 3. That as according to the Divine Rule of the Apostle, we must *not do* a thing positively *evil*, in hope that any *good*, how great soever, *may come of it*: so by *Analogie* thereunto, we must not debar the people of God from any thing *positively good*, for fear that any *contingent* mischief may ensue upon it. But of this I shall not say more now, as being loth to travel on a *common place*. The point hath been so canvassed by our *Controversors*, that you may there finde Answers unto all Objections.

That which doth most concern me to consider of, is the second *consequent*, because it doth relate more specially then the

the other did to the present condition and estate of the Church of *England.* Although the *Charge* be general and equally concerning all the *Protestant* and *Reformed* Churches: yet the *Application* makes it ours, as before I said, and as *ours*, properly within the compasse of my present design. And though I will not take upon me to Advocate for the present distempers and confusions of this wretched Church (which no man can lament with a greater tendernesse, or look on with more indignation then I do, and I think you know it) : yet I must tell you that it is neither *Novum crimen C. Cæsar*, nor *ante hæc tempora inauditum*, for those of the inferiour sort to take upon them the inquiry into sacred matters, to turn *Expositors* and *Preachers*, as the spirit of *delusion* moves them. The people have had an itch this way, in all times and Ages. The *Satyrist* thus complained of it amongst the *Heathens* ;

——— *Ecce inter pocula quærunt*
Romulides *saturi, quid* dia Poemata *narrant.*

That is to say,

The wel-fed *Romans* in their Cups, do sit
And judge of things contain'd in holy Writ.

And the Apostle doth complain of it among the *Christians*, where he informes us of some *ignorant and unstable men, which wrested some hard places of S.* Pauls Epistles, *as they also did the other Scriptures, to their own destruction*, 2 Pet. 3. 26 and *wrest them* so they could not (I am sure of that) did they not take the liberty of *expounding* also. Look lower to S. *Basils* time, when learning did most flourish in the Church of *CHRIST*, and we shall finde the Emperors Cook (or the Clerk of his Kitchen at the best) as busily *dishing* out the Scriptures, as if it were no more then serving up his Masters diet from the Kitchin-hatch : paid home by that good father for his overgreat *sawcinesse*, with this handsome scoffe, *Tuum est de pulmento cogitare, non Divina decoquere*, that it belonged unto his office to provide good *pottage* for the Court, not to *Cook the*

Scriptures. But this was not the folly only of this *Master Cook*, who perhaps (though better fed then taught) might now and then have carried up the *Chaplains* Messe, and having heard their learned conferences and discourses, was apt enough to think himself no small fool at a joynt of *Divinity*. That whole age was extremely tainted with the self-same peccancy; of which S. *Hierome* in his Epistle to *Paulinus* makes this sad complaint. "Whereas (saith he) "all other Sciences and Trades have their several and di-"stinct professors, *Sola Scripturarum ars est quam omnes passim* "*sibi vendicant*; only the Art of opening or rather of *undo-*"*ing* a Text of Scripture, (as the phrase is now) was usur-"ped by all: *Hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, &c.* The "pratling Gossip and the doting Sire, the windy *Sophister*, "and in a word, all sorts of people do presume upon, dis-"membring the body of the Scriptures, and teaching others "before they have learnt any thing that is worth the tea-"ching. Some with a supercilious look, speaking big "words discourse of holy Scripture among *silly women*: others "(the more the shame) learn that of women which after-"wards they may teach to men, and some with no small "volubility of tongue, and confidence, teach that to others "which they never understood themselves: Not to say any "thing of those who having a smack of humane learning, "and coming so prepared to handle the Holy Scriptures, "do with enticing words feed the ears of the people, bea-"ring their Auditors in hand *quicquid dixerint legem Dei esse*, "that whatsoever they deliver is the *Word of God*, nor will "vouchsafe to learn what the Prophets and Apostles do con-"ceive of the matter, but very incongruously produce some "Testimonies out of holy Writ to make good their corrupt "imaginations; as if it were an excellent, not a pernicious "way of teaching, to wrest the sense of holy Scri-"pture, and thereby to accommodate it to their pre-"sent purposes! Hath not the Father given us in this place and passage a most excellent Mirrour, wherein to see the ill complexion of the present times? doth not he set them forth in such likely colours, as if he rather did delineate the confusions of the present Age, then lament the miseries of

of his own? May not both Factions see by this, what a condition the poor Church of *England* is involved in by them? The sight whereof although it justifie them not in their several courses, as being not without example in their present practises) : yet it may serve to let you know that as the distractions and confusions under which we suffer, are not the consequents of our translating of the Scriptures and publick Liturgies into the common vulgar Tongues, so it is neither new nor strange that such confusions and distractions should befall the Church.

5. *That the proceedings of this Church in setting out the* English Liturgie, *were not meerly* Regal; *and of the power of Soveraign Princes in Ecclesiastical affairs.*

Having thus proved that nothing hath been done amisse by the Church of *England*, with reference to Gods Word, the testimonies of godly Fathers, and the usage of the primitive times, in leaving off the *Latine* Service, and celebrating all Divine Offices in the *English* Tongue: I am to justifie it next, in order to the carrying on of that weighty businesse, whether so *Regular* or not, as we fain would have it. I see you are not scrupled at the subject-matter of the Common-prayer-Book, which being translated into *Greek*, *Latine*, *French*, and *Spanish*, hath found a general applause in most parts of Christendome; no where so little set by as it is at home. All scruples in that kinde have been already fully satisfied by our learned *Hooker*, who hath examined it *per partes*, and justified it in each part and particular Office. But for the greater honour of it take this with you also, which is alledged in the *Conference of Hampton Court*, touching the Marquesse of *Rhosny* (after Duke of *Sally* and Lord High Treasurer of *France*) who coming Ambassador to King *James* from *Henry* the 4. and having seen the solemn celebration of our *Service* at *Canterbury*, and in his Majesties *Royall Chappels*, did often and publickly affirm, that *if the Reformed Churches in* France *had kept the same Orders as were here in* England, *he was assured there would have been many thousand* Protestants *in that Kingdome more then were at that time.*

time. That which you ſeem to ſtick at only is in the way and manner of proceeding in it: which though you finde by peruſal of the papers which I ſent firſt unto you, not to have been ſo *Parliamentarian* as the *Papiſts* made it; yet ſtill you doubt whether it were ſo *Regular* and *Canonical* as it might have been. And this you ſtumble at the rather, in regard that the whole Body of the Clergy in their *Convocation*, had no hand therein, either as to *decree* the doing of it, or to *approve* it being done; but that it was reſolved on by the King (or rather by the Lord Protector in the Kings *Minority*) with ſome few of the Biſhops; by which Biſhops and as ſmall a number of learned Church-men, being framed and faſhioned, it was allowed of by the King, confirmed or impoſed rather by an Act of Parliament. Your queſtion hereupon is this, *Whether the King* (for his acting it by a Protector doth not change the Caſe) *conſulting with a leſſer part of his* Biſhops and Clergy, *and having their conſent therein, may conclude any thing in the way of a* Reformation, *the reſidue and* greateſt part *not adviſed withall, nor yeelding their conſent unto it in a formal way*. This ſeems to have ſome reference to the *Scottiſh Liturgie* (for by your Letter I perceive that one of the chief of your Objectors is a Divine of that Nation) and therefore it concerns me to be very punctual in my Anſwer to it.

And that my Anſwer may be built on the ſurer Ground, it is to be conſidered, firſt whether the *Reformation* be in corruption of manners, or abuſes in Government, whether in matters *practical*, or in points of Doctrine. 2. If in matters *practical*, whether ſuch practiſe have the character of *Antiquity*, *Univerſality*, and *Conſent*, imprinted on it; or that it be the practiſe of particular Churchs, and of ſome times only. And 3. if in points of Doctrine, whether ſuch points have been determined of before in a *General Councel*, or in particular Councels univerſally received and countenanced; or are to be defined *de novo* on emergent controverſies. And theſe *Diſtinctions* being laid, I ſhall anſwer briefly. Firſt, if the things to be reformed be either corruptions in manners, or neglect of publick duties to Almighty God, abuſes either in Government or the parties governing: the King may do it

it of himself by his sole authority. The *Clergy* are beholding to him, if he takes any of them along with him when he goeth about it. And if the times should be so bad, that either the whole body of the *Clergy* or any (though the greatest) part thereof should oppose him in it; he may go forwards notwithstanding, punishing such as shall gainsay him in so good a work, and compelling others. And this I look on as a Power annexed to the Regal Diadem, and so inseparably annexed, that Kings could be no longer Kings if it were denied them. But hereof we have spoke already in the first of this *Section*, and shall speak more hereof in the next that followes. And on the other side, if the *Reformation* be in points of Doctrine, and in such points of doctrine as have not been before defined, or not defined in form, and manner as before laid down: the King only with a few of his Bishops and learned Clergy (though never so well studied in the point disputed) can do nothing in it. That belongs only to the whole Body of the Clergy in their *Convocation* rightly called and constituted; whose Acts being ratified by the King, binde not alone the rest of the Clergy in whose names they *Voted*, but all the residue of the subjects of what sort soever, who are to acquiesce in their Resolutions. The constant practise of the Church, and that which we have said before touching the calling and authority of the *Convocation*, makes this clear enough. But if the thing to be *Reformed* be a matter *practical*, we are to look into the usage of the *primitive* times. And if the *practise* prove to have been both ancient and universally received over all the Church, though intermitted for a time and by time corrupted: the King consulting with so many of his Bishops and others of his most able Clergy, as he thinks fit to call unto him, and having their consent and direction in it; may in the case of *intermission* revive such practise, and in the case of *corruption* and degeneration restore it to its Primitive and original lustre, whether he do it of himself, of his own *meer motion*, or that he follow the advice of his *Councel* in it; whether he be of age to inform himself, or that he doth relie on those to whom he hath committed the publick Government; it comes all to one: so they re-

ſtrain themſelves to the ancient patterns. The Reformation which was made under *Joſias*, though in his Minority and acting by the *Counſel of the Elders* as *Joſephus* telleth us, *Antiqu. Jud.* 1. *cap.*, was no leſſe pleaſing unto God, nor leſſe valid in the eyes of all his ſubjects; then thoſe of *Jehoſaphat* and *Hezekiah* in their riper years, and perhaps acting ſingly on the ſtrength of their own judgements only without any advice. Now that there ſhould be *Liturgies* for the uſe of the Church, that thoſe Liturgies ſhould be celebrated in a language underſtood by the people: that in thoſe *Liturgies* there ſhould be ſome preſcribed Formes for giving the Communion in both kindes, for Baptizing Infants, for the reverent celebration of Marriage, performing the laſt office to the ſick and the decent burial of the Dead, as alſo for ſet Feaſts and appointed Feſtivals; hath been a thing of primitive and general practiſe in the *Chriſtian* Church. And being ſuch, though *intermitted* or *corrupted*, as before is ſaid, the King adviſing with his Biſhops and other Church-men (though not in a *Synodical* way) may cauſe the ſame to be *reviſed* and *revived*: and having fitted them to edification and increaſe of piety either commend them to the Church by his ſole authority, or elſe impoſe them on the people under certain penalties by his power in Parliament. *Sæpe Cœleſte Regnum per Terrenum proficit.* The Kingdome of Heaven (ſaid Reverend *Iſidore* of *Sevil*) doth many times receive increaſe from theſe earthly kingdomes; in nothing more then by the regulating and well ordering of Gods publick worſhip.

We ſaw before what *David* did in this particular, allotting to the Prieſt the Courſes of their Miniſtration, appointing Hymns and Songs for the *Jewiſh* Feſtivals, ordaining ſinging-men to ſing, and finally preſcribing *Veſtments* for the Celebration. Which what elſe was it but a Regulating of the worſhip of God, the putting it into a ſolemn courſe and order, to be obſerved from time to time in ſucceeding ages? Sufficient ground for *Chriſtian* Princes to proceed on in the like occaſions: eſpecially when all they do is rather the reviving of the Ancient Formes then the *Introduction* of a new. Which as the King did here in *England* by his own Authority, the Body of the Clergy not con-

ſulted

sulted in it; so possibly there might be good reason, why those who had the conduct of the Kings affairs, thought it not safe to put the managing of the businesse to a *Convocation.* The ignorance and superstition of the common people was at that time exceeding profitable to the *Clergy*, who by their frequent Masses for the *quick and dead* raised as great advantage, as *Demetrius* and the *Silver-Smith* by *Dianas* shrines. It hapned also in a time when many of the inferiour Clergy had not much more learning then what was taught them in the *Missals* and other *Rituals*, and well might fear that if the *Service* were once extant in the *English* tongue, the *Laity* would prove in time as great *Clerks* as themselves. So that as well in point of *Reputation*, as in point of *Profit*, (besides the love which many of them had to their former *Mumpsimus*) it was most probable that such an hard piece of *Reformation* would not easily down, had it been put into the power of a *Convocation*: especially under a Prince in *Nonage*, and a state unsetled. And yet it was not so carryed without them neither, but that the *Bishops* generally did concur to the Confirmation of the Book (or the approbation of it rather) when it passed in Parliament: the Bishops in that time and after, (till the late vast and most improvident increase of the Lay-nobility) making the most considerable, if not the greatest part of the House of *Peers*; and so the Book not likely to be there allowed of, without their consent. And I the rather am inclined unto that Opinion, because I finde that none but *Tunstall*, *Gardiner* and *Bonner* were displaced from their Bishopricks, for not submitting in this case to the Kings appointments; which seems to me a very strong and convincing argument, that none but they dissented or refused conformity. Adde here, that though the whole body of the Clergy in their *Convocation* were not consulted with at first (for the Reasons formerly recited) yet when they found the benefit and comfort which redounded by it to good Christian people, and had by little and little weaned themselves from their private interesses, they all confirmed it on the *Post-fact*: passing an *Article* in the Convocation of the year 1552. with this Head or Title, *viz. Agendum esse in Ecclesia lingua quæ sit Populo nota*, which is the 25. Article in

King *Edwards* Book. Lay all that hath been said together, and the result of all will be briefly this, that being the setting out of the Liturgie in the *English* Tongue was a matter *practical*, agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive times; that the King with so many of his Bishops and others of the Clergy as he pleased to call to Counsel in it, resolved upon the doing of it; that the Bishops generally confirmed it when it came before them, and that the whole body of the Clergy in their *Convocation* (the Book being then under a *review*) did avow and justifie it: The result of all I say is this, that as the work it self I say was good, so it was done not in a *Regal* but a *Regular* way, Kings were not Kings if *regulating* the external parts of Gods publick worship according to the Platformes of the *Primitive* times, should not be allowed them.

But yet the Kings of *England* had a further right as to this particular, which is a power conferred upon them by the Clergy (whether by way of *Recognition* or *Concession*, I regard not here) by which they did invest the King with a Supreme Authority not only of confirming their *Synodical* Acts not to be put in execution without his consent; but in effect to devolve on him all that power, which firmly they enjoyed in their own capacity. And to this we have a parallel Case in the *Roman* Empire, in which there had been once a time when the Supreme Majesty of the State was vested in the Senate and people of *Rome*, till by the Law which they called *Lex Regia*, they transferred all their Power on *Cæsar*, and the following Emperors. Which Law being passed, the Edicts of the Prince or Emperor was as strong and binding as the *Senatus Consulta* and the *Plebiscita* had been before. Whence came that memorable *Maxim* in *Justinians Institutes*; that is to say, *Quod Principi placuerit legis habet vigorem.* The like may be affirmed of the Church of *England*, immediately before, and in the reign of K. *Henry* 8. The Clergy of this Realm had a *Self-authority* in all matters which concerned Religion, and by their Canons and Determinations did binde all the subjects of what rank soever, till by acknowledging that King for their *supreme Head*, in by the Act of *submission* not long after following, they trans-

transferred that power upon the King, and on his Successors: By doing whereof they did not only disable themselves from concluding any thing in their *Convocations*, or putting their *results* into execution without his consent; but put him into the actual possession of that Authority which properly belonged to the *supremacy*, or the *supreme Head*, in as full manner as ever the Pope of *Rome*, or any delegated by and under him did before enjoy it. After which time, whatsoever the King or his Successors did in the *Reformation*, as it had vertually the power of the *Convocations*; so was it as effectual and good in law, as if the Clergy in their *Convocation* particularly, and *in terminis*, had agreed upon it. Not that the King or his Successors were hereby enabled to exercise the Keies, and determine *Heresies*, much lesse to preach the Word and administer the Sacraments, as the Papists falsly gave it out; but as the *Heads* of the *Ecclesiastical* Body of this Realm, to see that all the members of that Body did perform their duties, to rectifie what was found amisse amongst them, to preserve peace between them on emergent differences, to reform such errors and corruptions as are expresly contrary to the word of God; and finally, to give strength and motions to their Councels and Determinations, tending to Edification and increase of Piety. And though in most of their proceedings toward *Reformation*, the Kings advised with such Bishops as they had about them, or could assemble without any great trouble or inconvenience, to advise with all; yet was there no necessity, that all or the greatest part of the Bishops should be drawn together for that purpose, no more then it was anciently in the Primitive Times for the godly Emperors to call together the most part of the Bishops in the *Roman* Empire, for the establishing of the matters which comcerned the Church, or for the godly Kings of *Judah* to call together the greatest part of the *Priests* and *Levites*, before they acted any thing in the Reformation of those corruptions and abuses which were crept in amongst them. Which being so; and then withall considering as we ought to do, that there was nothing altered here in the state of Religion, till either the whole Clergy in their *Convocation*, or the Bishops and most

eminent Church-men had resolved upon it; our Religion is no more to be called a *Regal* then a *Parliament-Gospel.*

6. That the Clergy lost not any of their just Rights by the Act of Submission, and the power of calling and confirming Councels did anciently belong to the Christian Princes.

If you conceive that by ascribing to the King the Supreme Authority, taking him for their *Supreme Head*, and by the Act of Submission which ensued upon it, the Clergy did unwittingly ensnare themselves, and drew a Vassallage on these of the times succeeding, inconsistent with their native Rights, and contrary to the usage of the Primitive Church: I hope it will be no hard matter to remove that *scruple*. It's true the Clergy in their Convocation can do nothing now, but as their doings are confirmed by the Kings authority, and I conceive it stands with reason (as well as point of State) that it should be so. For since the two Houses of Parliament, though called by the Kings Writ, can conclude nothing which may binde either King or Subject, in their Civil Rights, untill it be made good by the Royal Assent: so neither is it fit nor safe, that the Clergy should be able by their Constitutions and *Synodical* Acts, to conclude both Prince and People in spiritual matters, untill the stamp of Royal Authority be imprinted on them. The Kings concurrence in this case devesteth not the Clergy of any lawful power which they ought to have, but restrains them only in the exercise of some part thereof, to make it more agreeable to Monarchical Government, & to accommodate it to the benefit both of Prince and People. It's true the Clergy of this Realm can neither meet in Convocation, nor conclude any thing therein, nor put in execution any thing which they have concluded, but as they are enabled by the Kings authority. But then it is as true withall, that this is neither inconsistent with their native Rights, nor contrary unto the usage of the Primitive Times. And first it is not inconsistent with their native Rights, it being a peculiar happinesse of the Church of *England* to be alwaies under the protection of *Christian* Kings; by

by whose encouragement and example, the Gospel was received in all parts of this Kingdome. And if you look into Sir *Henry Spelman*'s Collection of the *Saxon* Councels, I believe that you will hardly finde any Ecclesiastical Canons for the Government of the Church of *England*, which were not either originally promulgated, or after approved and allowed of either by the Supreme Monarch of all the *Saxons*, or by some King or other of the several *Heptarchies*, directing in their *National* or *Provincial* Synods. And they enjoyed this Prerogative without any dispute after the *Norman* Conquest also, till by degrees the Pope ingrossed it to himself (as before was shewn) and then conferred it upon such as were to exercise the same under his authority: which plainly manifests that the Act of *Submission* so much spoke of, was but a changing of their dependance from the Pope to the King, from an usurped to a lawful power, from one to whom they had made themselves a kinde of voluntary slaves, to him who justly challenged a natural dominion over them; and secondly, that that submission of theirs to their natural Prince, is not to be considered as a new *Concession*, but as the *Recognition* only of a former power.

In the next place I do not finde it to be contrary to the usage of the primitive times. I grant indeed that when the Church was under the command of the Heathen Emperors, the Clergy did assemble in their National and Provincial Synods of their own Authority: which Councels being summoned by the Metropolitans, and subscribed by the Clergy, were of sufficient power to binde all good Christians who lived within the Verge of their Jurisdiction. They could not else assemble upon any exigence of affairs but by such authority. But it was otherwise when the Church came under the protection of Christian Princes: all Emperors and Kings from *Constantine* the Great (till the Pope carried all before him in the darker times) accompting it one of the principal flowers, (as indeed it was) which adorned their Diadems. I am not willing to beat on a common place. But if you please to look into the Acts of ancient Councels, you will finde that all the *General* Councels (all which deserve to be so called, if any of them

do

do deserve it) to have been summoned and confirmed by the Christian Emperors, that the Councel of *Arles* was called and confirmed by the Emperor *Constantine*, that of *Sardis* by *Constans*, that of *Lampsacus* by *Valentinian*, that of *Aquileia* by *Theodosius*, that of *Thessalonica* (National or Provincial all) by the Emperor *Gratian:* that when the Western Empire fell into the hands of the *French*, the Councels of *Akon*, *Mentz*, *Meldun*, *Wormes*, and *Colen* received both life and motion from *Charles* the Great and his Successors in that Empire; it being evident in the Records of the *Gallican* Church, that the opening and confirming of all their Councels not only under the *Caroline* but under the *Merovignean* Family, was alwaies by the power, & sometimes with the Presidence of their Kings and Princes, as you may finde in the Collections of *Lindebrogius*, and *Sirmondus* the *Jesuite*: and finally that in *Spain* it self (though now so much obnoxious to the Papal power) the two at *Bracara*, and the ten first holden at *Toledo*, were summoned by the Writ and Mandate of the Kings thereof. Or if you be not willing to take this pains, I shall put you to a shorter and an easier search; referring you for your better information in this particular to the learned Sermon preached by Bishop *Andrewes* at *Hampton Court*, *anno* 1606. touching the *Right and power of calling Assemblies*, or the right use of the Trumpets. A Sermon preached purposely at that time and place for giving satisfaction in that point to *Melvin* and some leading men of the *Scotish Puritans*, who of late times had arrogated to themselves an unlimited power of calling and constituting their Assemblies without the Kings consent and against his will.

As for the *Vassallage* which the Clergy are supposed to have drawn upon themselves by this *Submission*, I see no fear or danger of it as long as the two Houses of Parliament are in like condition; and that the Kings of *England* are so tender of their own *Prerogative*, as not to suffer any one Body of the Subjects to give a Law unto the other without his consent. That which is most insisted on for the proof hereof, is the delegating of this power by King *Henry* the 8. to Sir *Thomas Cromwell* (afterwards Earl of *Essex* and Lord high Chamberlain) by the name of his *Vicar General in Ecclesiastical matters*:

ters: who by that name presided in the Convocation, *anno* 1536. and acted other things of like nature in the years next following. And this (especially his presiding in the Convocation) is looked on both by *Sanders* and some *Protestant* Doctors, not only as a great debasing of the *English* Clergie (men very learned for those times) but as *deforme satis Spectaculum*, a kinde of Monstrosity in nature. But certainly those men forget (though I do not think my self bound to justifie all King *Harries* actions) that in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, the Emperor apointed certain Noble-men to sit as Judges, whose names occurre in the first *Action* of that Councell. The like we finde exemplified in the *Ephesine* Councell, in which by the appointment of *Theodosius* and *Valentinian* then *Roman* Emperours, *Candidianus*, a Count Imperiall, sate as Judge or President; who in the managing of that trust over acted any thing that *Cromwell* did, or is objected to have been done by him as the Kings Commissioner. For that he was to have the first place in those publick meetings as the Kings Commissioner, or his Vicar-General, which you will, (for I will neither trouble my self nor you with disputing Titles) the very *Scottish Presbyters*, the most rigid sticklers for their own pretended (and but pretended) Rights which the world affords, do not stick to yeeld. No vassallage of the Clergy to be found in this, as little to be feared by their *submission* to the King as their Supreme Governour.

Thus Sir according to my promise, and your expectation have I collected my *Remembrances*, and represented them unto you in as good a fashion as my other troublesome affairs, and the distractions of the time would give me leave; and therein made you see, if my judgement fail not, that neither our *King* or *Parliaments* have done more in matters which concern'd *Religion* and the *Reformation* of this *Church*, then what hath formerly been done by the *secular Powers*, in the best and happiest times of *Christianity*; and consequently, that the clamours of the *Papists* and *Puritans* both, which have disturbed you, are both false and groundlesse. Which if it may be serviceable to your self, or

 others,

others, whom the like doubts and prejudices have possessed or scrupled, It is all I wish: my studies and endevours aiming at no other end, then to do all the service I can possibly to the *Church* of God; to whose Graces and divine Protection you are most heartily commended in our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, By

Sir,

Your most affectionate friend
to serve you,

Peter Heylyn.

OF

OF LITURGIES, OR SET FORMES OF PUBLIQUE WORSHIP:

With the Concomitants thereof.

IN WAY OF

An Hiſtorical Narration.

By *PETER HEYLYN*, D. D.

Auguſtin. de bono perſeverantiæ, lib. 2. c. 22.

Utinam tardi corde & infirmi *&c. ſic audirent vel non audirent in hac queſtione* Diſputationes noſtras, *ut potius intuerentur* orationes ſuas, *quas ſemper habuit & habebit* Eccleſia, *ab* exordiis ſuis *donec finiatur* hoc ſeculum.

London, Printed for *Henry Seile*, 1657.

To the Reader.

Hen the disputes were first raised by those of the Genevian *faction, against the* Divine Service *of this Church, it was pretended that they were well enough content to admit a* Liturgie, *so it were such an one, as tended more to edification and increase of Piety, then that which was imposed and established by the Lawes of this Land, was given out to do. That which most seemed to trouble them, as they gave it out, was, that it had too much in it of the* Roman Rituals; *that it was cloyed with many superstitious and offensive ceremonies, the frequent and unnecessary repetition of the Lords Prayer, the ill translation of the Psalms and other Scriptures, the intermixture of impertinent Responsories, whereby the course of the Prayers was interrupted; and finally the difference betwixt that Liturgie, and those of other reformed Churches, with which they did desire to hold a more strict communion. But being beaten from these holds, as by many others, so more chiefly by judicious* Hooker, *and never daring to adventure any more in pursuit of that quarrel, the* Smectymnians *in our times resolved upon a nearer course to effect their purposes, then the* Martinists *had done before them; and rather chose to fell down Liturgie it self as having no authority from the Word of God, nor from the practice of Gods people, then waste their time in lopping off the branches and excrescencies of it. Accordingly they reduced the whole state of the Controversie, to these two* Positions,

1. *That if* by Liturgie we understand an order observed in Church Assemblies, of Praying, Reading, and Expounding the Scriptures, Administring Sacraments, *&c.* Such a Liturgie they know and do acknowledge both *Jewes* and *Christians* to have used; But if by Liturgie we understand prescribed and stinted forms of Administration composed by some particular men in the Church, *and imposed upon all the rest, then they are sure (for* so they must be understood, if they say any thing) *that no such Liturgie hath been used anciently by the* Jewes *or* Christians.

 2. *That*

2. *That the* first Reformers of Religion did never intend the use of a Liturgie further, then to be an help, in the want, or to the weakness of a Minister; *and thereupon it is inferred with contempt enough, that if any Minister appear insufficient to discharge the duty of conceived prayer, it may be imposed on him as a punishment to use set forms and no other.*

If these two Propositions did proceed from the same one spirit, as no doubt they did, the extreme falshood of the last doth prove sufficiently, that neither of them did proceed from the spirit of Truth. *King* Edward 6th *the Lord Protector then being, and the learned Prelates of that time, were our first Reformers; the two first approving and confirming, the last labouring and acting in that weighty business, but all contributing to the passing of an Act of Parliament,* for uniformity of Service, and Administration of the Sacraments, 2. *and* 3. *Ed* 6. *cap.* 1. *and in that Act it is said expresly,* That all Ministers in any Cathedral or parish Church, or other place within this Realm of *England, Wales,* and other the Kings Dominions, shall from and after the Feast of *Pentecost* next coming, be bounden to say and use all Mattens, Evensong, celebration of the Lords Supper, commonly called the Masse, and administration of each of the Sacraments, and their common and open Prayer, in such order and form as is mentioned in the same Book, and none other or otherwise. *Which clause confirmed still in being (notwithstanding the alteration of the* Liturgie) *till King* Edward's *death, and was revived again in the Act of Parliament,* 1° Eliz. cap. 2. *By which the second* Liturgie *was confirmed and ratified. Assuredly, they that are bound to officiate by a* Form *prescribed, to use* no other Form *but that; and to use that* Form no otherwise *then the Law requireth, and requireth under several penalties contained in it; cannot be said to be at liberty to use or not to use it as they list themselves: nor can pretend in any reason, nor with common sense,* That the first Reformers of Religion, did never intend the use of a Liturgie further, then to be an help, in the want, or to the weakness of a Minister. *What the Reformers did in other Countreys, was no Rule to ours, who in the modelling of that great work, had not only an* eye *and* respect *(as the forementioned Statute telleth us) to the most sincere and pure Christian Religion taught by the Scripture, as probably the others had, but also to the usages in the primitive Church, which*

certainly

certainly the others had not. So that the second Position, *with the proud Inference thence deducted, being blown aside, the whole weight of the cause must wholly rest upon the first, which whether it be of strength enough to support the same, is the main disquisition, and enquirie which we have in hand.*

For when this Proposition *was first vented, and the point had been somewhat ventulated betwixt the honourable Remonstrant on the one part, and the Smectymnians on the other, I was required by those, who had authority to command me, to try what I could do in drawing down the Pedegree and the descent of Liturgies, from the first use and institution of them amongst the* Jewes, *till they were setled and established also amongst the* Christians. *For since the* Smectymnians *had* appealed *to the ancient practise of the* Jewes *and* Christians, *affirming positively, that no such* Liturgies (*that is to say, no stinted and prescribed Forms of Administration*) *were anciently used by either of them; it is most fit and just, they should be tryed by the Records and practise of those elder times to which they have* Appealed *for their justification. So that the point between us being matter of Fact, I shall pursue it in the way of an* Historical Narration; *in which the* Affirmative *being made good by sufficient evidence, it will be very difficult, if not impossible, to prove the* Negative. *And for the better making good of the Affirmative, I have taken in the* Jewish Rabbins *and other Antiquaries of* that *people, of most faith and credit, the* holy Fathers *and other Ecclesiastical Authors since the times of Christ, to testifie unto the truth of what here is said; either by way of explication of such Texts of Scripture which do relate unto this cause, or in the way of declaration, as laying down the practise of the Jewes or Christians in their several times. And that it may be seen that* Liturgies, *or* Set Forms *of worship were of general usage, I have made diligent search into the best and most unquestioned monuments of the ancient* Gentiles, *and traced out many of their Forms of prayer and sacrifice, used by them in the most religious acts of those performances, and placed that search betwixt the practise of the* Jewes, *and that of the Christians. And I have placed it in that order, to the end that it may appear that the Christians had not only some ground of Scripture, Tradition Apostolical, and the best judgements of their own times to direct this businesse; but that they were also guided in it by the light of Nature, the Word of God amongst the* Jewes, *and the constant practise of that people in the times precedent.*

Nor

Nor have I only took this pains in tracing out the constant practise of all people in respect of Liturgies, but also with relation unto the necessary adjuncts and concomitants of them. Set Forms of Worship *require* set times and places *to perform them in; which gives occasion to insert some notes or observations touching the Festivals, or days of religious offices, taken up by the authority of the Church in several Ages, according as the commemoration of some signal benefits, or Gods special mercies toward them might invite them to it. The like I have done also in the erecting and dedicating of those sacred places, which have been destinated in all times to religious offices, from the first consecrating of the* Tabernacle *by Gods own appointment, till the last dedication of the Temple in the time of* Herod, *and from the first deputing of some places by the Lords Apostles, for the divine performances and administrations of the Christian Faith, till calmer times permitted the erecting of those stately Fabricks, which the* Gentiles *looked upon with envy and admiration. Some other things are intermingled touching the Habit of the Priests or Ministers under either Testament in the time or act of their officiating; as also of the Gestures used both by* Priests *and* People, *according to the several offices and acts of worship. And this I have drawn down unto the time of St.* Austin's *death, when neither Superstition in point of worship, nor Heterodoxie in point of Doctrine, had gotten any predominancy in the Church of Christ, which was then come unto her height both for peace and purity. By which the Reader may perceive how warrantably this Church proceeded in her* Reformation, *as to this particular, how* strict an eye *was had therein,* as well to the most sincere and pure Christian Religion taught by the Scripture, as to the usages in the Primitive Church, *how justifiable in the whole course and order of her publique Liturgie, with all the Rubricks and observances therein contained. In which if any thing be done conducible unto Gods glory and the Churches peace, the information of the Reader, or the convincing of such men who are otherwise minded, I shall think my labour well bestowed, and my pains well recompensed. Howsoever it will be some matter of contentment to me that I have done my duty in it, according unto that poor measure of abilities which the Lord hath given me; commending both the cause and these weak indevours to his heavenly blessings, without which,* Paul's planting *and* Apollo's watering *are of no* increase.

SYL-

SYLLABUS CAPITUM,

OR,

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OF

OF LITURGIES: OR Set Formes of publick Worſhip, &c.

Chap. I.

What doth occurre, and whether any thing at all, for Set Formes *of* Prayer *from the time of* Adam *unto* Moſes.

(1) PRayer, the chief exerciſe of *publick Worſhip*. (2) The ground, uſe, and neceſſity of *publick Formes*. (3) What priviledge belongs unto the *Prieſt* or *Miniſter*, in that part of *Gods ſervice* which conſiſts in *Prayer*. (4) The inconvenience and confuſion that muſt needs ariſe, for want of *Set Formes* in the *worſhip* of God. (5) *Liturgies* or *Set Formes* of *Prayer*, in uſe amongſt all ſorts of people, *Jewes*, *Gentiles*, *Chriſtians*. (6) The meaning of the word *Liturgie*, or λειτουργία; in the *civil* ſenſe; (7) As alſo in the *Eccleſiaſtical* notion of it. (8) Whether the offerings of *Cain* and *Abel* were regulated by a *preſcribed Form*. (9) A *preſcribed*

Form of *worship* conceived by some to have been introduced by *Enos*. (10) The sacrifices and devotions of the ancient *Patriarchs*, for the most part *occasional* only. (11) The consecrating of set places for Gods publick worship, first begun by *JACOB*.

I. (1) It is exceeding well observed by our *incomparable Hooker*, as some truly call him, "That if the *Angels* have a continual intercourse betwixt the Throne of God in Heaven, "and his Church here *militant* upon the Earth, the same is "no where better verified then in those two godly exercises of Doctrine and Prayer *. For what, saith he, is "the assembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving "of *Angels descended* from above? what to pray, but the "*ascending of Angels* upwards? his heavenly inspirations and "our holy desires being as so many *Angels* of commerce and "intercourse between God and us. And although these two godly and religious exercises seem to walk hand in hand together; the *Prayers* made in and by the *Church* having for many Ages past, even long before the birth of *Christianity*, been intermingled with the reading of the *Law* and *Prophets*: yet finde we that of *Prayer* so acceptable in the sight of God, so highly valued by the Lord above all other parts of his *publick service*, that he vouchsafed from hence to give a name to his holy *Temple*, and to entitle it, *The house of prayer* †. Which holy and religious duty, as it concerneth us two waies, one way in that we are *men*, and another way as parts and *members* of the *Church*, the mystical Body of our Lord and Saviour: so it admits of several considerations both for the *matter* of the same, and the manner of it. As men we are at our own choice for *time*, *place*, and *form*, according to the exigences of our own occasions. The *Church* requires not any thing in the performance of this pious office, either as private or domestical; but that we *pray with understanding* *: that we consider with our selves what it is we ask, and of whom we ask it. *Ye ask and receive not* (saith S. *James*) *because ye ask amisse, that ye may consume it upon your lusts* † But for the *service* which we do as a *publick body*, that being *publick*, is for that cause to be accompted so much the

* *Hook. Eccl. Pol. l. 5.* § 23.

† Isai. 56. 7.

* 1 Cor. 14. 15.

† Jam. 4. 3.

the worthier then the other, as a whole ſociety of ſuch condition exceedeth the worth of any one particular perſon; and for that cauſe hath been more ſtrictly tied in all former ages, as to preſcribed *times* and *places*, ſo to *ſet Forms* alſo. For were there not ſome *time preſcribed* (in the great growth and ſpreading of the Church of God) for the conveening of the *Congregation*, ſome *place* aſſigned in which to meet together at the times appointed: the *prayers* and *devotions* of Gods people, might and would happen oftentimes to be either at the ſame *time* in ſeveral *places*, or in the ſame *place* at ſeveral *times*; and ſo be nothing leſſe then the *common prayers*, the joynt devotions of Gods ſervants. Of all the circumſtances which attend Gods *publick ſervice*, thoſe two, of *time* and *place*, come moſt near the *ſubſtance*; and are *de bene eſſe* at the leaſt, of that weighty duty.

(2) And if appointed *times* and *places*, being meerly circumſtances, be of ſo great a conſequence in Gods *publick ſervice*, that without them it cannot be diſcharged with effect, and comfort: aſſuredly the *form* thereof, containing the whole ſubſtance; the main body of it hath much more need to be *preſcribed*. For what ſaith the Apoſtle in this caſe, or one very neer it, *If the whole Church ſhould come together in ſome place, and all ſpeak with tongues, and there come in thoſe which are unbelievers, would they not ſay that ye are mad* *? or what a tumult would it be, if when you come together, *every one of you hath a Pſalm, hath a Tongue, hath a Doctrine, hath a Revelation* †: would it not be a ſtrange medly? *God*, as St. *Paul* hath told us is *the God of order, not of confuſion in the Churches* *. And therefore hath given power unto his *Church*, that *all things* in it, for the manner, *be done* εὐχημόνως καὶ κατ' ἐυταξίαν, *decently* in a ſtabliſhed *order* †, and for the end thereof, *to edifying* *. A thing which could not be in poſſibility, had every man the liberty to uſe his own *tongue* in the *Congregation*, or to conceive and utter his *own prayers*, or frame unto himſelf his *own* devotions: which is the ground of all thoſe ſeveral *Liturgies*, and *ſet Forms* of Prayer, which have from the *Apoſtles* times been uſed in the houſe of God and never quarrelled till of late. Nor can it be aſcribed, as I

II.

* 1 Cor. 14. 23

† Verſ. 25.

* Verſ. 23.

† Verſ. 40.

* Verſ. 26.

conceive, to any lower power then the wisdome of God, guiding the Counsels of his *Church*, and therefore to be reckoned as a work of his singular Providence, that the *Church* hath evermore observed a prescript *form* of *common prayer*, although not in all things every where the same, yet for the most part retaining still the same *Analogie*. So that (as * *Hooker* well observeth) if the *Liturgies* of all ancient Churches throughout the world be compared amongst themselves, it may be easily perceived that they had all one original mould: and that the publick prayers of the people of God in *Churches* throughly setled and established, did never use to be *voluntary dictates*, proceeding from any mans extemporal wit. And certainly to drive this point unto an end, (with some small alteration of my Authors words) "To him who doth consider the grievous and scandalous *inconveniences* whereunto they make themselves daily "subject, when any blinde and secret corner is made a fit "*place* for *common prayer*; the manifold *confusions* which they "fall into, which cry down all the difference of daies and "*times*; the irksome *deformities* whereby through endlesse and "senseleſſe *effusions* of indigested prayers they oftentimes "disgrace in most unsufferable manner, the worthiest part "of *Christian duty* towards God, who being subject herein "to no *certain order*, do pray both what they list, and how "they list: to him I say, which duly weigheth all these "things, the reason cannot be obscure, why God so much "respects in *publick Prayer*, not only the solemnity of *places* "where, and the conveniency of the *times* when; but also the "precise appointment, even with what words or sentences his "Name should be called on amongst his people.

* *Hook. Eccl. Pol. l 9. num. 25*

III. (3) I have said little all this while of the *Priest* or *Minister*, with whom Gods people are to joyn themselves in this *publick* action, as with him that standeth and speaketh for them in the presence of God: because I could not tell what place or Ministery to assign him, in the discharge of this imployment, unlesse we first premise a *set form of prayer*, as a point necessary to be granted. For in effusion of *extemporal* prayers, I cannot see what greater *priviledge* belongs to *him*, then any other of the *people*; or why each member of the

the *Congregation* may not aſwel expreſſe his *own* conceptions in the houſe of God as he who cals himſelf the *Miniſter*. For being that the ability (if I may ſo call it) of powring out *extemporary prayers*, doth come by *gifts*, and not by *ſtudy*; in which regard themſelves entitle it moſt commonly the *gift of prayer*: why may not other men pretend unto that *gift*, as much as he; or on opinion that they have it, may not make uſe thereof in the Congregation? Why may not any one ſo *gifted*, or ſo opinionated of his *gift*, ſay unto his Miniſter as *Zedekiah* did unto *Micaiah* (in caſe he do not alſo ſtrike him *upon the cheek*) *Mene ergo dimiſit Spiritus Domini, & locutus eſt tibi* *? Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me, to ſpeak unto thee? Aſſuredly the *gift* of *prayer* is as much reſtrained in the *people*, by hearkning only to thoſe *expreſſions* which are delivered by their *Miniſter*, as that of the *Miniſter* can be, (be he who he will) by tying up his *ſpirit* to thoſe *formes*, which are preſcribed by the *Church*. This, if it be a *quenching of the Spirit*, as ſome pleaſe to make it, is ſuch a *quenching of the Spirit*, as hath good ground from God himſelf, who did not only *preſcribe* unto his *Prieſts* thoſe very words, wherewith they were to *bleſſe* the people †, as we ſhall ſeed hereafter in due place and time: but did inſtruct both *Prieſts* and *People*, both the *Apoſtles* and *Diſciples* how they were to pray *, in what *ſet form* they might preſent their ſouls and deſires unto him. So little priviledge hath the *Prieſt* or *Miniſter* more then other people, to ſpeak his own thoughts in the Congregation by way of voluntary and *extemporal* prayers, on the grounds they go on: that on the ſame, the meaneſt of the multitude may pretend the like: and that as well in other parts of publick worſhip as in that of *prayer*; Which what a *Chaos* of devotion it would introduce, I leave to every ſober minded man to judge by that which followeth.

* 1 Kin. 22. 24.

† Numb. 6. 23.

* Mat. 6. 9.

(4) For if we look into the *publick Service* of Almighty God, according as it ſtandeth in all well regulated *Churches*; it doth conſiſt of theſe three parts, *prayers*, *praiſe*, and *preaching*: taking the word *preaching* here in the largeſt ſenſe, for publiſhing or making known the will of God, by what ſoever means it be touching mans ſalvation. The *Church* IV.

of *England* so conceives it, when in the general invitation she informs her children, that the chief reasons why they do assemble and meet together *, are "to set forth Gods "most holy praise, to hear his most holy Word, and to ask "those things which are requisite and necessary, as well for "the body as the soul. The *Brethren* of the *Separation* (as they call themselves) do conceive so too, though with some variation of the termes, saying † there be three kindes of spiritual worship, *praying, prophesying*, and *singing of Psalmes*. They adde, with truth enough in the affirmation, were there but any sense in the application, that *there is the same reason of helps in all the parts of spiritual worship* (as is to be admitted in any one) *during the time of performing the worship* *. What then? Observe I pray you the illation, and the necessity thereof on the former grounds. *Therefore* (for so they do infer) *as in* prayer *the book is laid aside, and that by the confession of the ancient brethren of the separation; so must it also be in* prophesying, *and in* singing of psalmes, *as we are perswaded* † What, are they but perswaded of it, and no more then so? yes sure, they are more positive, and affirm for certain, *that as in* prayer *the Spirit only is our help, and there is no outward help given of God for that kinde of worship: so also in* prophesying *and* singing *. And in another place more plainly, *therefore whether we* pray, prophesie, or sing, *it must be the Word or Scripture, not out of the book, but out of the heart* †. Add here these *Quæres* raised on the former *Thesis*. 1. "Whether in a *Psalm* a man must be tyed to *Metre, Rhythme*, "and *Tune*; and whether *voluntary* be not as necessary in *tune* "and *words*, as in matter: 2. Whether *Metre, Rhythme*, and "*tune*, be not *quenching the spirit*: 3. Whether a *Psalm* be only thanksgiving without *Metre, Rhythme* and *Tune*, yea or no *. Put this together, and then tell me truly whosoever thou art, if when a great and populous congregation should be met together, every one of them in that part of worship which consists in *singing*, should first conceive his own matter, deliver it in *prose* or *metre* as he list himself, and in the same instant chant it out in what *tune* soever, that which comes first into his head: tell me I say, if ever there were heard so black a *Sanctus*, such a confused and horrid noise of

* Dearly beloved Brethren, &c.

† *H. Smith* in a book entituled, *The differences of the Churches of the Separation.* 1606. *cap.* 18.

* *Id. cap.* 11.

† *Id. cap.* 10.

* *Id. ibid.*

† *Id. cap.* 18.

* *Id in fine libri.*

of tongues and voices; if any *howling* or *gnashing of the teeth* whatever, can be like unto it. And yet it followes so directly on the former *Principles*, that if we banish all set *formes of common prayer*, which is but one part only of Gods *publick* worship: we cannot but in justice and in reason both, banish all studied and *premeditated Sermons* from the house of God; and utterly cast out all King *Davids Psalms* (whether in *Prose* or *Metre*, that comes all to one) and all divine *Hymns* also into the bargain.

(5) This though it be sufficient to discover the great and scandalous *inconveniences* that necessarily would follow in Gods *publick service*, if once the solemn and *set formes* thereof were quite laid aside; or any ground of hope given unto that *confusion*, which some have pleased to call the *liberty of the Spirit of God*: so may there somewhat else be added to set forth the necessity of those *publick formes*, which they so labour to put down. For if we cast a careful eye upon the businesse, we may perceive without much difficulty, that as a prescript *form* of *common prayer*, as well amongst the *Jewes* as *Christians*, proceeded either from the *Example* of God, who in some cases so *prescribed* it; or from the *Wisdome* of God guiding the counsels of his *Church*, as before was noted: so by the *Law* and *light* of *Nature*, which was the way whereby he pleased to manifest himself, and make known his will unto the *Gentiles*, they also were directed to *set formes* of *worship*, though otherwise mistaken utterly in the object of it: For being taught by nature that there was a God, one universal supreme power that disposed of all things; and that that God was to be served and worshipped by them even with the best of their *devotions*: it was not long before they had agreed on set *times* and *places* for the performance of that *worship*; as also of some special *Minister* by whom to tender some *solemn formes* of words in which to represent their said devotions. The ignorance and blindnesse of their hearts occasioned them to set up *Idols* in the place of God; and to serve many Gods in stead of one. But in the *service* of those *gods*, in the adoring of those *idols*, they thought it did concern them in an high degree, to do it with the most solemnity, with the greatest majesty that wisest V.

wiſeſt of them could deviſe: preſcribing as it were by common counſel and advice, whatever they intended to have done therein, both for *form* and matter. So that it will appear on a diligent ſearch, that in all *publick* Congregations of men met together for the performance of *religious Offices*, whether they did adhere to *falſe* gods, or adore the *true*; there was not any thing almoſt left *arbitrary*: nothing almoſt which was not limited and *preſcribed* by Rules or *Rubricks*; no kinde of *ſervice* to be done for which there was not ſome *ſet form* preſcribed in their eſtabliſhed and received *Liturgies*. The following of which ſearch is the intent and Argument of this preſent work. In which I doubt not but to make it plain and evident, by the continual and conſtant practiſe of the former times, that in all publick Congregations, whether of the *Jewes* under the Law, or of the *Gentiles* without the Law, or of the *Chriſtians* being a body of men made up both of *Jewes* and *Gentiles*; both *Prieſts* and *people* have been tied to *ſet formes* of *worſhip*: and therefore that the uſe of a *publick Liturgie*, is no ſuch new matter in the world, as ſome men have made it, who will needs have it a device either of a lazy zeal, or *Popiſh* ignorance.

VI. (6) But firſt before we do proceed in this ſearch of *Liturgies*, we muſt take notice of the word and explain the ſame: leſt being miſtaken in the ground, the building prove unſure and faulty. And here for the *quid nominis*, *Suidas* derives the word παρὰ τὸ λητὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον, from λητὸν, which ſignifieth *publick*, and ἔργον, any work or *office* *. Λειτουργία (ſaith that old *Grammarian*) κύριος ἡ δημοσία ὑποθεσία, παρὰ τὸ λητὸν καὶ τὸ ἔργον. Which doubtleſſe is the true and proper *Etymologie*, the old word being λητουργία as we finde in *Stephanus*; λητουργὸς *q. d. opus publicum faciens* †, and λητουργέω *opus aliquod publicum facio*: and ſhortly after, λειτουργὸς *pro* λητουργὸς *& ejuſdem ſignificationis*. For the *quid rei* next it ſignifieth (as we ſee by the *Etymologie*) *miniſterium vel munus publicum*, a publick charge or *miniſtery* in what kinde ſoever, whether it be ſacred, or profane, and is ſo uſed in *Claſſick* and approved Authors. *Iſocrates* in ſome of his orations, uſeth the word *pro Magiſtratuum functione* *, for the power and office of the Civil

* *Suidas in Lexico.*

† *Stephanus in Theſauro linguæ Græ.*

* *Iſocrat. orat.*

vil Magistrate. So also doth St. *Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, λειτουργοὶ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰσιν, * *for they are Gods Ministers attending continually upon this very thing*: sometimes it signifieth the doing or offering a mans service to the common wealth, as λειτουργεῖν τὴν περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς λειτουργίαν, in the great *Philosopher* †: in which regard such wealthy *Citizens* as were able to supply the publick wants from their private coffers are said λειτουργεῖν ταῖς οὐσίαις, to serve the Common-wealth with their proper goods. And so the word is used also by the great Apostle. *For if* (saith he) *the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty also is*, λειτουργεῖν αὐτοῖς σαρκικοῖς, * *to minister unto them in carnal things.* And in this sense the word is taken several times in the Epistle unto the *Philippians*, as *viz.* cap. 2. vers. 25. & vers. 30. I might here adde that λειτουργὸς is used in *Polybius* for *munifex in castris*, or an Engineer †: as λειτουργία in the same Author, † *pro ministerio castrensi*, for a charge or office in the camp: and that in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, the word is used to signifie those businesses and imployments which attend on marriage; where he informeth us, that the married state hath several duties, λειτουργίας καὶ διακονίας τῷ κυρίῳ διαφερούσας *, whereof a reckoning or accompt must be made to God. But these being the acceptions of the word in the *civil* sense and meaning only, I shall passe them over.

* Rom. 13. 6.

† *Arist. Politic. l.* 4.

* Rom. 16. 27.

† *Polyb. in hist. Rom.*

* *Clemens Alexan. Stromat. l.* 5.

(7) As for the sacred sense or meaning of it, we finde in *Aristotle* that αἱ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς λειτουργίαι, are those publick offices to be performed unto the gods with expence and cost †. From which acception of the word, the *Septuagint* made use thereof to signifie the *worship* and *service* due to God, who is not to be *served* or *worshipped* but with the *best* of our *devotions*, as in the *Jewish* Church with the *best* also of their *substance*. The word so used by them in their Translation of the Old Testament, became in fine a word of Art or speciality, amongst the writers of the new. For in the first Chapter of S. *Luke*'s Gospel, the *Ministery* of the *Jewish* priesthood is called by the name of λειτουργία, as where it is said of *Zacharias*, how *it came to passe*, ὡς ἐπλήσθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτοῦ *, that *assoon as the daies of his ministration were accomplished, he departed to his own house.* And in the Epistle to the *Hebrewes*,

VII.

† *Arist. Politic. l* 7.

* Luk. 1. 23.

S. *Paul* alluding to the Ministeries of the *Jewish* Temple, calleth our Saviour *Christ*, τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργόν *, a *Minister of the Holies*, or of *the Sanctuary*. Thus also in allusion to the Ministeries of the Church of *Jewry*, the Ministery of the Gospel is in the Scripture called by the self-same name: the holy Ghost affirming of the *Prophets* which were in *Antioch*, λειτουργούντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῷ κυρίῳ †, that *they ministred unto the Lord*, *i. e.* as *Chrysostome* expounds the word κηρυττόντων δὲ αὐτῶν *, they preached the Gospel; or προσευχομένων, they made their prayers unto the Lord, † as the *Syriack* Translation hath it. Indeed both glosses on the word, as well that of the *Syriack* Interpreters, as of S. *Chrysostome*, do yeeld a fuller meaning of it (according as it is now used in the Church of *Christ*) then either of them taken severally: the publick *Liturgies* of the Church consisting both of *Prayers* and *Preaching*, taking the word *Preaching* as before I did, for the *publick* notifying of the will and pleasure of Almighty God, touching mans salvation. In which respect, as the word λειτουργός is taken many times by the ancient *Fathers*, for a *Priest* or *Bishop*, to whom the executing or performance of *divine Offices* in *publick* did belong especially, as λειτουργοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ or θυσιαστηρίου, or τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, the Ministers of God, of the holy Altar, of the New Testament, in *Basil*, *Nazianzen*, and others: so that of λειτουργία came to be appropriated to the performance of those *offices* which they were to execute, or rather to the rule and order by which they were to be performed. And so the word is used in the Law *Imperiall*, in which it is expresly ordered, μή τις ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ ἢ χωρίῳ ἐκκλησιαστικὴν λειτουργίαν τολμήσοι ἐπιτελέσαι *, that no man should presume to execute the publick *Liturgie*, or to *officiate* the *divine Service* of the *Church*, in his private house. In which acception of the word (as it is to be taken and no otherwise in our present busineſſe) we do define the same with the learned *Casaubon*, to be *descriptio quædam ordinis servandi in sacris celebrandis* †, a regulated *form* or *order* to be observed in the officiating of divine Service; such as the *Latines* call sometimes *Officium*, and sometimes *Agenda*; and the *Greek* writers many times Ἀκολουθία. And to this definition I assent the rather, because I finde the same ap-

* Heb. 8. 2.

† Act. 13. 2.

* *Chrysost. in Act.*

† *Apud Bezam. in Annot. in Act.* 13.

* *Justin. Novel.* 131. *de Eccles.*

† *Casaubon. Exercit.* 16. § 41.

approved by the adverse party, particularly by the *Altar of Damascus* *, the total sum of all that had been contributed in the former times, to the disturbance of this Church.

* *Altare Damascen. p. 612.*

(8) This businesse being thus past over, we will prepare our selves for the following search; beginning with the *Patriarchs* before the Law, though not within the compasse of my undertaking. Where if we find not any foot-steps of *set formes* of Prayer, it was because the *Sacrifices* and *devotions* of Gods people in those elder times, were for the most part *occasional* only; there being neither *place* appointed nor set *time* prescribed, for the performance of the same (that we can meet with) untill the giving of the Law by *Moses*: Of those the first we have upon record is that of *Cain* and *Abel* in the 4. of *Gen.* where we are told how that *in processe of time it came to passe that* Cain *brought of the fruit of the ground an offering to the Lord; and* Abel *also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof* †. In which it is to be observed that this is said to have been done, *post multos dies*, as the Vulgar, or *in processe of time*, as our *English* reads it: but as it is in others more neer the *Hebrew*, *in fine dierum*, or *at the end of daies*, as *Aynsworth* hath it. If we demand what time this was, *Musculus* will inform you that it was *post messem* * at the end of harvest, as being the most proper time to offer the *fruits* of the *earth*, which was *Cain*'s Oblation. And hereto *Aynsworth* doth agree, a man well versed amongst the *Rabbins*, affirming thus, that *at the years end men were wont in most solemn manner, to* sacrifice *unto God with thanks for his blessings having gathered in their fruits* †; which he observeth to be the custome of the *Gentiles* also, according to a place of *Aristotle* which is therein cited. So that the *Sacrifice* of *Cain* and *Abel* was occasional meerly, as unto the *time*. And for the *place*, although the Scriptures tell us nothing of it, as a thing unnecessary to be spoke of: yet by the *Rabbins* we are told, that it was there where after *Abraham* purposed to have offered *Isaac* *. For as they say, "It is a tradition by the "hand of all, that the place wherein *David* and *Solomon* built "an Altar in the floor of *Araunah*, was the place where *Abra-* "*ham* built an Altar and bound *Isaac* upon it; and that

VIII.

† Gen. 4. 3, 4.

* *Musculus in Gen. 4.*

† *Ainsw. Annot. in Gen. 4.*

* *Id. ibid.*

"was the place where *Noah* builded after he came out of the "*Ark*; and that was the Altar whereon *Cain* and *Abel* of-"fered, and on it *Adam* the first man offered an offering af-"ter he was created, &c. But this being of no greater certainty then the tradition of the *Rabbins*, and such as hath no ground to stand on; we may conclude, that in these early daies there was no set *place* put apart for Gods *publick service*; no greater constat to be found of that, then of a set and prescribed *time* for the doing of it. Touching the *Priest* indeed, by whom the Offering was presented to Almighty God, there is more assurance: that office being executed by their Father *Adam* *, to whom as to the Father of his Family, it of right belonged; as it did afterwards unto the first-born †, to those that had the priviledge of *Primogeniture*, until the *Priesthood* was by God established in the Tribe of *Levi*. For howsoever it be said by *Paræus*, *in illa hominum paucitate, quisq; ut spiritualis sacerdos offerebat* *, that in those early times when there were so few men in the world, every one as a *spiritual Priest* might tender and present his own oblation; yet it is only said, not proved: and doth not only contradict most approved writers, but seemeth also to run crosse to the holy Scripture. And though we finde not in Gods Book, that in the celebration of this offering *brought* by *Cain* and *Abel*, there were either prayers or praises intermingled with it: yet I am very apt to think with *Calvin*, *non inanibus ceremoniis illusisse patres* †, that the oblations offered both by *Cain* and *Abel*, as afterwards by other of the *Patriarchs* were not meer *dumb shewes*, a bare and naked ceremony, and no more then so. But being their *devotions* were *occasional*, as before was said, we have no reason to presume that they had any prescript and *set form* of prayer; which of congruity was to change and vary, according to the several *occasions* presented to them.

* *Bilson.* perpetual Government. *cap.* 1.

† Exod. 19. 22.

* *Paræus in Gen. cap.* 4.

† *Calv. in Gen.*

IX. (9) And yet it seems it was not long, before, besides the tendry of their *oblations*, Gods Book makes mention of a further duty, that of *invocation*, the *calling on the name of the Lord* their God. In the beginning of that Chapter, we finde *Cain* and *Abel* bringing their *offerings to the Lord*: and in the end thereof on the birth of *Enos*, we finde that *men began to call*

on

on the name of the Lord *. Which text, by reason of the different readings, and no lesse differing expositions, is not yet so clear, but that a question may be made whether an holy and religious *invocation* on the name of God be there meant or not, and if it be, whether it were a *private* or a *publick* duty. For howsoever we read it in the text of our *English* Bibles, *then began men to call on the name of the Lord*; yet in the margin it is otherwise, *then began men to call themselves by the name of the Lord*: and *Aynsworth* differing from them both, *then began men to call profanely on the name of JEHOVAH*. So also for the several *Glosses* made upon the text (not to insist upon the different readings either of the *Greek* or *Latine* Bibles) the *Chalde Paraphrase* hath it thus, † *Tunc in diebus ejus inceperunt filii hominum ut non orarent in nomine Domini*: Then in his daies began the sons of men not to invoke or call upon the name of God; which is directly contrary unto the *English*. S. *Hierome* thus according to the tendries of the *Jewes*, as himself informes us, *Tunc primum in nomine Domini, & in similitudine ejus fabricata sunt idola* *; then began men to set up *idols* both in the name and after the similitude of God. *Maymonides* one of the learnedest of the *Rabbins*, as he is vouched by *Ainsworth*, thus, that in those daies *Idolatry* took its first beginning, and the people *worshipped* the stars and the host of heaven †. And as for those that do adhere unto the reading of the *vulgar Latine*, *Iste cœpit invocare nomen Domini*, which differs very little from the *English* Bible: they are not very well agreed amongst themselves, though most of them do agree in this, that it is meant of *publick worship*, and which is more then so, of *set formes* of worship. *Junius* amongst the *Protestants* doth conceive it so. *Prius quidem invocavit* Adam, *sed in familia*; *nunc invocarunt multi, sed in Ecclesiam recepti* *. *Adam* (saith he) did in the first beginnings, call upon the name of God, but it was only as it were in his private family: now began many men to do the like, but such as were assembled to that purpose in a *Church* or body. *Paræus* is more plain and positive. *Sed an prius non fuit invocatum?* Had not the name of God been called on in the former times? Yes that it had, saith he, but privately and by a few. But now the family of *Seth* increasing, the

* Gen. 4. 26.

† *Chald. paraph. in Gen.*

* *Hieronym. Qu. Hebraic. in Gen.*

† *Ap. Ainsw.* in his notes on Gen. 4.

* *Junii Annot. in Gen.*

Church and the Religion in the same professed, became much improved; *Et certa cultus forma fuit constituta* *, and there was constituted and established a *set form* of worship. The like *Pererius* hath for the *Pontificians*, who first expounding it of the Exemplary piety of *Enos*, by preaching and instructing others in the fear of God, then addes, that *Enos* is first said to call upon the name of the Lord, *quia iste primus certas quasdam precationum formulas condidit* †, because he was the first that did compose *set formes* of prayer, and devised several rites and ceremonies for the advancement of Gods service. Of the same minde also is *Torniellus*, as to the gathering of Gods people into *Congregations*, the setting out of certain *formes* of prayer and praises, for the performance of *Religious* worship, and the appointing of set *times* and *places* for those pious duties. *Tunc primum institutos fuisse spirituales quosdam conventus, & quasdam devotas precationes, puta* Psalmos *aut* Hymnos, *in summi Dei laudem, certis temporibus & locis pie cultis, communiter recitandos* *, as his words there are. In which he saith no more, in substance, then did those before. But where he addes *Præcipuè diebus Sabbati*, that this was specially observed on the *Sabbath* day; he hath not only found a reach beyond his fellowes, but plainly contradicted what he said before in another place: where we are told that there had been no sanctifying of a *Sabbath* here on earth, till the time of *MOSES*, *quando sub præcepto data est filiis Israel* †, when as it was imposed by a commandement on the house of *Israel*. Thus have we found according to the Expositions of these learned men, a prescribed *form* of *common-prayer* in the time of *Enos*, even in the cradle of the world. But being the Text hath different *readings* and no lesse different explications, as before was shewn: I dare not hold it a fit ground whereon to raise the building which I have in hand.

* *Paræus in cap. 4. Gen.*

† *Pererius in Gen cap. 4.*

* *Torniell. Annal. sacri. anno 236.*

† *Id. ibid. D. 7.*

X. (10) And if we finde not here what we have in search, there is but little hope to meet with it, in any of the publick Acts of *Noah* or *Abraham*: of both which it is said that they *built Altars*, and offered *Sacrifice* *; of *Abraham* that he *called also on the Name of God* †. Of *Isaac* it is also said, that he *built an Altar* *, and *called on the Name of the Lord*: and it is said of *Jacob*

* Gen. 8 20. 12 7. 13. 4, &c.

† Gen. 12. 8. 13. 4, &c.

* Gen. 26. 25.

Jacob the son of *Isaac*, that he built two Altars, the one at *Bethel*, by the Lords appointment *; the other at *El-Elohe-Israel*, of his own devotion †. But with what *rites* those *Sacrifices* were accompanied, which were performed upon those *Altars*; and in what solemn *form* of words, or whether with any solemn *form* of words, they did powre forth their prayers to Almighty God; I am not able to determine. Most like it is, that their *devotions* being *occasional*, their prayers and hymns were fitted unto those *occasions*, as before was said. And that the several Actions of *Religious* worship, which are recorded of the *Patriarchs* in the Book of God, were *occasional* only, without relation either to set *times* or *places*, may be easily seen, by looking over the particulars. The Sacrifice of *Noah* as it was remarkable, so it was *occasional*; an *Eucharistical* oblation for that great deliverance, which had befallen him and his family by Gods grace and mercy. And therefore it is well observed by *Scaliger*, that presently upon his coming out of the *Arke*, σωτήρια καὶ εὐχαριστήρια *immolavit Deo* *, he offered unto God the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and *payed his vowes* to the most high, for so miraculous a safety. The sacrifices and other Acts of publick worship which are recorded in the Scripture of our Father *Abraham*, were occasional also: either in due acknowledgement of Gods gracious promise made unto him, at his first entrance into the land of *Canaan*, Gen. XII. 7. or for his blessings on his journey, *ibid.* vers. 8. or on his taking a livery and seisin of the *promised land*, when he sate down and dwelt in the plain of *Mamre*, Cap. XIII. vers. 18. or on the peace concluded betwixt him and the King of the *Philistims*, Cap. XXI. vers. 33. or finally (not to look after other instances) on the redeption or reprieve of *Isaac*, Gen. XXII. 13. The like we may observe in that of *Isaac*, *building an Altar*, and *calling* on the *name of God*, that it was done upon the Lords appearing to him, and the gracious comforts which he gave him, Cap. XXXVI. vers. 25. And why did *Jacob* offer sacrifice at *Galeed*, Gen. XXXI. vers. 48. & 54. but on occasion of the league concluded betwixt him and *Laban*? or *build* an *Altar* at *El-Elohe-Israel*, but in regard that he had made a pacification with his brother *Esau*, and was restored unto his Countrey?

* Gen. 35. 1.

† Gen. 33. 20.

* *Joseph. Scaliger. de Emend. Temp. l. 5.*

Cap.

Cap. XXXII. verſ. 20. ſo that in all this ſearch into particulars, the moſt which we can finde is this, that they were all intent upon *building Altars*; which ſhewes that *Altars* were no part of the *Jewiſh* ceremonies, nor by thoſe holy men conceived unfit to be imployed in the performance of *Religious Worſhip*: and that the *ſacrifices* made upon theſe *Altars*, were intermixed with *prayer* and *invocation* on the name of God. Of any preſcript *form* of *prayer*, there is as little to be found in the former inſtances, as of appointed either *times* or *places* for the performance of the ſame; of which we have found nothing hitherto in the Book of *Geneſis*.

XI. (11) Not hitherto indeed in any of the inſtances before produced, though one there be which is by ſome ſuppoſed to reflect that way. *Abrahams planting of a grove*, and *calling* there *upon the Name of the Lord*, Gen. XXI. 33. is thought by men of no mean credit and ability in the waies of learning, to be the deſignation of a ſet and appointed *place*, for the officiating of Gods *publick ſervice*. *Muſculus* doth conceive it ſo *. *Locum orationis & Eccleſiæ ſuæ conſtituit inter Arbores.* And *Caietan* before him to the ſame effect, *Nemus quoddam tanquam templum effecit, ut eſſet oratorium tam ſibi quam aliis colentibus verum Deum* †. Whoſe judgement in this point is both recited and approved by *Pererius* the *Jeſuite*, in his Commentaries on the Text. They all agree in this, that *Abraham* did *plant* that *Grove* for a Church or *Oratory*, wherein himſelf and others which were ſo devoted, might make their ſupplications to the Lord their God. But *Calvin* rather thinks, that *Abraham* having ſetled all his differences with K. *Abimelech*, did plant this grove, *in ſignum tranquillæ fixæq; habitationis* *, to ſignifie that now he had a conſtant dwelling in the land of *Canaan*; men uſing not to build or plant, but where they do intend to ſet up their reſt. *Lyra* conceives that it was planted for no other end, then the benefit of ſhade and fruit, and to give entertainment unto ſtrangers; *qui amœnitate loci recrearentur, & fructibus reficerentur* †; to whom the pleaſures of the place and ſweetneſſe of the fruits muſt needs be equally delightful. And this comes nearer to the *Hebrew Aeſhel*, which doth not ſo much ſignifie a *Grove*, as a wel-ſpread tree. So that the meaning of the Text being not reſolved, or if that were the

* *Muſculus in Gen. cap.* 21.

† *Caietan in locum.*

* *Calvin in locum.*

† *Lyran. in locum.*

the meaning of the Text which *Musculus* and *Caietan* have agreed upon: yet being it was not drawn into example by Gods faithful servants in the times succeeding, but only by the *Gentiles* and the Idolatrous *Jewes*, in their Apostasie from God; we dare not from this Text infer a set *place* of *worship*, or that the following ages took an hint from hence to consecrate appointed and determinate *places* for *religious* uses. But if we look a little lower, into the life and history of *JACOB*, we may perhaps finde that which will be conclusive. Now it it said of *Jacob* in the book of *Genesis*, that when he had beheld the vision *and awaked from sleep*, aud said, *How dreadful is this place, &c.* that *he rose up early in the morning*, and *took the stone which he had put for his pillow*, and *set it up for a pillar*, and *powred oyle on the top of it* *. And then, and not till then he called the name of the place BETHEL, which by interpretation is the *house of God*. *Josephus* gives this glosse on these words of *Moses*, πίμιόν τε κείνῃ τὸ χώριον, ὄνομα αὐτῷ, Βηθὴλ θέμενος· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο θείαν ἑστίαν, μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν †. *Honorem etiam loco addidit*, BETHEL *nominando, quod* Græcis *domicilium Dei significat*. And this I take beyond all question, to be the first place solemnly inaugurated for the *worship* of God, ordained by him to be *Gods house*, as it is called expresly v. XXII. A place so pleasing to the Lord, that he vouchsafed to call himself the *God of Bethel*. *I am the God of Bethel, where thou anointedst the Pillar*. Gen. XXXI. 13. And to this place did *Jacob* go by Gods commandement, to offer sacrifice to the Lord, and to pay his vowes, *Gen.* XXXV. Finally to conclude this Chapter, in imitation of this act of *Jacob*'s (unlesse perhaps it were some remaining spark of the *light* of *Nature*) the *Jewes*, and after them the *Gentiles*, and at last the *Christians* have used to consecrate their *Temples*, and in them their *Altars*. Sure I am that *Rabanus Maurus* so resolves it, saying, * *Altare post aspersionem aquæ Chrismate ungitur, ad imitationem Patriarchæ* JACOB *qui post visionem illam terribilem, erexit lapidem in titulum, fundens oleum desuper, vocansq; eum locum domum Dei*. But it is time to passe from these unsetled Ages of the Church of God, and to behold

* Gen. 28. 16, 17, &c.

† *Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. l. 1. c. 19.*

* *Rab. Maurus de Institut. Clericorum. l. 1. cap. 45.*

it in a constituted and established state: where we shall finde not only certain and determinate *places*, and set *times* of worship to be prescribed by the Lord; but also certain and established *formes* of *worship* to be observed amongst Gods servants from the first beginnings.

CHAP. II.

That from the time of Moses *unto that of* David, *the* Jewes *were not without a* Liturgie *or set* Form *of* Worship.

(1) THE *Israelites* in the land of *Egypt* had not the liberty of *publick* worship. (2) That people made a constituted *Church*, first, in the time of *Moses*. (3) The prescribed *rites* and *form* of the *legal sacrifices*. (4) *Set formes* of *prayer* & *benediction*, used at the *offering* of the *sacrifices*, in the time of *Moses*. (5) The *song of Moses*, made a part of the *Jewish Liturgie*. (6) The *form* and *rites* used in the celebration of the *Passeover*, according unto *Joseph Scaliger*. (7) The same, together with the *Hymnes* then used, described by *Beza*. (8) The several *prayers* and *benedictions* which were used therein, according to the *Jewish Rabbins*. (9) A *form* of *blessing* of the people prescribed by God unto the *Priests*: a prescribed form used by the people at the offering of their first fruits and tithes. (10) The like in burning of their leaven, and in *confessing* of their *sins* to Almighty God, as also in the *excommunicating* of impenitent persons. (11) An Answer to two main objections from, and against the *Jewish Rabbins*. (12) The *form* of *marriage*, and *rites* of *burial*, used amongst the *Jewes*.

I. (1) Hitherto we have looked into the Actions and *devotions* of the blessed *Patriarchs*, during the time they sojourned

ned in the land of *Canaan*; in which we finde not any apparent footstep either of appointed *times* or determinate *places*, or set *formes* of worship; more then the consecrating of *Jacobs* pillar, and giving to the place the name of *BETHEL*. Follow them in their journey towards the land of *Egypt*, and we finde *ISRAEL offering sacrifices at Beersheba* (being in his way * upon the rode) *unto the God of his Father ISAAC*, Gen. XLVI. 1. Which *sacrifice*, if we observe it as we ought, will prove to be as much *occasional* as any of the rest, which we saw before: it being very well observed by *Ainsworth* †, that *Jacob* in his *sacrifice* upon the way, did both give thanks to God for the good tidings which he heard of *Joseph*, and also consulted with the Lord about his going into *Egypt*, whither his Father *Isaac* had been forbidden to go in a time of famine, as this was, Gen. XXVI. Besides, *Beersheba* being the last Town of the land of *Canaan* in the way to *Egypt*, this might be the last time, for ought he could tell, wherein he might have opportunity of offering *sacrifice* to the Lord his God, or tendring to him any *publick* testimony of his faith and duty. And so it proved in the event: nor he nor any one of his posterity, being permitted whilest they were in *Egypt* to offer any sacrifice unto the Lord, as before they used to do. And this appears by the request which *Moses* made to *Pharaoh* in behalf of the house of *Israel*, that he would suffer them to *go three daies journey into the wilderness, to offer sacrifice* therein *to the Lord their God* *. To which when *Pharaoh* made reply, that rather then let the people go, he would permit them for that once, to *offer sacrifice unto the Lord in the land of Egypt*: Not so, said *Moses*, it is not meet we should so do; *for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the* Egyptians *before their eyes, and they will stone us* †. His reason was, because the Gods of the *Egyptians* were Buls and Rams, and Sheep and Oxen, as *Lyra* notes upon the place. *Talia vero animalia ab* Hebræis *erant immolanda, quod non permisissent* Ægyptii *in terra sua* *. And certainly the *Egyptians* could not well indure to see their Gods knocked down before their faces. So that for all the time that they lived in *Egypt*, the piety and devotion of Gods people did consist especially, in the integrity and honesty of their conver-

* *Bersabe fuit ultima villa terræ Chanaan eundi versus Ægyptum.* Lyran. in Gen. 46.

† *Ains. Annot. in Gen.* 46. 1.

* Exod. 5. 3.

† Exod. 8. 26.

* *Lyran. in Exod. cap.* 8.

sation, and in those *private* exercises of religion which might be done within their own wals, in their several families. Nothing to make it known that they were Gods servants, ἢ μόνον θεοσέβεια καὶ περιτομὴ as it is observed by *Epiphanius* *, but that they *feared* the Lord and were *circumcised*: nothing but that they did acknowledge one only God, and exercised themselves in justice and in modesty, in patience and long suffering both towards one another and amongst the *Egyptians*; framing their lives agreeably unto the will of God, and the law of Nature.

* *Epiphan. adv. hæres. l. 1. hær. 5.*

II. (2) But no sooner, by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, had God delivered them from thence, but he disposed them being now grown numerous (like to the stars in heaven for numbers) into a *constituted* Church: appointing them set *times* and *places* for religious worship, ordaining a peculiar *Priesthood* for his publick service, prescribing with what *rites* and *ceremonies* that *publick* service, that religious worship was to be performed. And first the *time* appointed for this purpose was the *Sabbath day* †, the keeping of the which was the first of the Commandements which God gave by *Moses*: from whence the *Hebrew* Doctors say, that the Commandement of the *Sabbath* is the foundation and ground of all the rest, *quod ante alia præcepta hoc datum sit, quando* Manna *acceperunt* *, as being given before them all in the fall of *Manna*. A day to be observed and sanctified, both by *Priest* and *people*: by the *Priest* in adding to the daily sacrifice, an offering of two lambs of an year old without blemish, one in the morning, and the other in the evening; and by the *people* in an absolute resting from the works of labour, that they might give themselves the better to divine contemplation. Unto which day it pleased God afterwards to adde divers solemn *festivals*, to be observed in their several and appointed seasons, *viz.* † the *New-moons*, the feasts of *Trumpets*, and of *Tabernacles*, the feasts of *Pentecost*, and of the *Passeover*: although this last had the precedency indeed, both in regard of institution, and of observation over all the rest; this being both ordained and kept at their departure out of *Egypt* *, the other not enjoyned till they were come unto mount *Sinai*, even in the bowels of the wil-

† Exod. 16. 23.

* *Hospini. de Fest. Judæorum cap. 3.*

† Lev. 1. 23.

* Exod. 12. *per tot.*

wilderneſſe. The *times* being thus appointed and determined, the next particular we meet withall, is the deſignation of the *place:* which was contrived, by the direction of Almighty God, according to the preſent condition of his people. For being they were then in motion towards *Canaan*, not yet ſetled there, they were to be provided of a *portable Temple*, if I may ſo call it, which might be carried and removed, according to the ſtations and removes of *Iſrael.* This we finde called in holy Scripture by the name of the *Tabernacle* *, the tabernacle κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and by way of eminency, the making and materials of the which are layed down at large in the XXVI. chapter of the book of *Exodus.* And it continued a long time the *place* of *publick* worſhip for the tribes of *Iſra l*, not only when they were in their way or journeys; but alſo after they were ſetled in the land of *Canaan*, though many times it changed its ſeat there, as occaſion was: even till the building of the *Temple* by the *hand* of *Solomon.* And for the *Prieſts* who were to miniſter unto the Lord in his Congregation: no ſooner were the *times* determined, and the *place* deſigned, but the Lord gave command to *Moſes*, ſaying, *Take thou unto thee* Aaron *thy brother, and his ſons with him, from amongſt the Children of* Iſrael, *that he may miniſter unto me in the* Prieſts *office* † Unto which *office* as they were deſigned by theſe words of God, ſo were they after conſecrated thereunto in a ſolemn *form*, by the hand of *Moſes*, the ſtate and manner of the which is upon record in the VIII. chapter of *Leviticus.* And now and not till now, were the tribes of *Iſrael* eſtabliſhed in a *conſtituted* Church by the Lord their God.

* Exod. 26. & 31. & 35.

† Exod. 28. 1.

III.

(3) But as once *Iſaac* ſaid to *Abraham* *, *Behold the fire and the wood; but where is the lamb for a burnt-offering?* So here we have the *Sabbath* and the ſolemn *Feſtivals*, the *Tabernacle* and the *Prieſts*; but where are the *ſacrifices* all this while, where the *formes* of worſhip? That now comes after in its courſe; and that we will conſider in its full extent, either as *legal*, or as *moral.* First for the *legal* part thereof, it was all *preſcribed*; nothing left arbritary to the people, either for the matter or the manner. God knew full well that as they had been much infected with the *idolatries* of

* Gen. 22. 7.

Egypt, where they lived before, (witnesse the *golden Calf* which they made in *Horeb*) so they were apt to be intangled in the *idolatries* of those nations which they were to neighbour: and therefore thought it fittest for them to be tyed up and limited in all acts of *worship*, by his *prescriptions*. Which that we may the better see, I shall present a brief *Synopsis* of those rites and ceremonies which were to be observed in these *legal* sacrifices, together with the creatures to be *sacrificed*; according as I finde them in *Josephus*: who hath reduced into a lesser compasse, that which is laid down more at large in the holy Scriptures. Δύο μὲν εἰσὶν ἱερουργίαι, &c. * "The *sacrifices* are of two sorts; the one of them is made "for a private person, the other for the people in general: "and these are made in two manners, for in the one all "is consumed which is upon the *Altar*, which for that cause "is called an *Holocaust*, or an whole burnt-offering; the "other is *Eucharistical* or of *thanksgiving*, and they are made "with feasts by those that *sacrifice*. The particular person "that offered a *burnt-offering*, killed an Oxe, a Lamb, or a "Goat of an year old (yet it was lawfull to kill an Oxe of "greater age) being all males: and after their throats are "cut, the *Priests* besprinkle the Altar round about with "the bloud, then they dresse the beast and cut it in pieces, and "season it with salt, and lay it on the Altar ready prepared "with wood and fire; and having well cleansed the feet and "entrails, they lay them with the rest, and the *Priest* taketh "the skins. They that offer the sacrifice of *thanksgiving*, kill "likewise such sorts of beasts without spot, and more then "a year old, both male and female, and after they have cut "the throats, the sprinkle the bloud on the Altar, then "they take the reins, the caul, and the fat, with the caul "about the liver, and the rump, and lay it on the Altar, "but the brest and the left leg is left unto the *Priests*; and "as touching the rest of the flesh, the *Priests* feast therewith "for the space of two daies, and if then there remain any "thing thereof, it is burned. The same is also observed in "the *sin offering*: but those that are not of ability to make "these greater offerings, do bring unto the offering a pair of "Pigeons or two young Turtles, the one of which the *Priests* "have

* *Joseph. Antiq. Judaic. l. 3. c. 10.*

"have to feast withall, the other is consumed with fire. "He that hath sinned upon *ignorance*, offereth a Lamb and a "she Goat at the same time; and the *Priest* besprinkleth "the Altar with the bloud thereof, not in the same manner "as before, but the hornes only of the Altar; and on the "Altar they offer the kidneys, with the rest of the fat and "the caul of the liver; the *Priests* carrying away the skins "and eating the flesh within the *Tabernacle* the very same "day, because the law permitteth not to reserve any thing "untill the next. He that hath sinned (none but himself "being privie to it) offereth a Lamb according as the Law "commandeth, the flesh whereof is eaten in like sort by the "*Priests* the same very day. But if the Princes of the peo-"ple offer for their sins, they do it in like sort as others do, "save that they bring a Bull or a male Kid. The Law also "ordaineth that in all sacrifices both private and common, "there should be a certain quantity of fine flowre brought, "*viz.* for a Lamb one *Assar* *, for a Ram two, for a Bull "three, which is first of all mingled and wrought with oyle, "and then set upon the Altar to be sanctified. They that "*sacrifice* do likewise bring oyle, the half part of an *Hin* †, "for a Bull; for a Ram, the third part; for a Lamb, the "fourth: they brought also the like measure of wine as "of oyle, and powred the wine near to the Altar. And "if any without sacrificing, offer up fine flowre, he putteth "the first fruits upon the Altar, that is to say, one handful "of it; and the rest is taken by the *Priests*, either fryed, (for "it is kneaded with oyle) or in loaves made thereof. But "whatsoever the *Priest* offereth, that must all be burnt. The "Law likewise forbiddeth to offer any beast whatever the "same day it is born, or to kill it with its dam, or in any o-"ther sort before it hath fed twelve daies. There are also other "sacrifices made for deliverance from sicknesse or for other "causes; in which sacrifices they imploy wine or liquor "with that which is offered, of which liquors it is not law-"ful to reserve any thing till the next day, when the *Priests* "have taken that portion which belongeth to them. So far *Josephus*.

* An *Assar*, as I take it, is the tenth part of an Ephah, or three pints and an half of Ale-measure.

† An *Hin* contained three quarts of our measure.

(4) The

(4) The rest that followeth of this Argument is a recitall of those sacrifices which were appointed for the *Sabbath* and the other *Festivals*; in all which every thing was prescribed and limited by the Law of God. And if such care was taken by the Lord our God in the prescribing of these *sacrifices*, and all the *rites* and *ceremonies* which belonged to them, being the *legal* part only of this *publick* worship: there is no question to be made, but that the Church took care to prescribe *formes* of *prayers* and *praises* to be used in them, which is the *moral* part thereof. A thing which God might please to leave unto the wisdome of his Church and the Rulers of it, in that being *moral* duties, and so by consequence imprinted in the mindes of men, by the stamp of nature: there needed not so punctual and precise a prescription of them, as of the outward ceremonies which were meerly *legal*. Now that there were set *formes* of prayers and praises, used in the celebration of these *legal* sacrifices, even from the very times of *Moses*, appeareth by a memorable passage in an old *Samaritan Chronicle*, belonging once unto the Library of *Joseph Scaliger*, now in the custody of the learned Primate of *Armagh*. In which book, after relation of the death of *Adrian* the Emperour, whom the *Jewes* curse with *Conterat Deus ossa ejus* (as certainly he was a deadly enemy of theirs) it followeth thus *. *Quo tempore abstulit librum optimum qui penes illos fuit, jam inde a diebus illis tranquillis & pacificis, qui continebat cantiones &* preces *sacrificiis præmissas*; *Singulis enim* sacrificiis *singulas præmiserunt* cantiones, *jam tum diebus pacis usitatas, quæ omnia accurato conscripta, in singulas transmissa subsequentes generationes a tempore Legati* (Mosis sc.) *ad hunc usq; diem per ministerium Pontificum Maximorum.* These are the words at large as I finde them cited: the substance of the which is this, "That after the decease of *Adrian*, the "High Priest then being took away that most excellent "book, which had been kept amongst them ever since the "calm and peaceable times of the *Israelites*, which contained "those *songs* and *prayers* which were ever used before their *sa*"*crifices*, there being before every several *sacrifice* some several "*song* or *hymn* still used in those times of peace: all which be"ing accurately written had been transmitted to the "sub-

* Cited by the L. B of *Exeter*, now B. of *Norwich*, in his Answer to the *Vindication*.

"subsequent generations from the time of *Moses* the Legat "or Ambassador of God to that very time, by the Ministery "of the *High priests* of the *Jewish* Nation. A book to which the *Chronicle* aforesaid gives this ample testimony, *Eo libro historia nulla præter Pentateuchum* Mosis *antiquior invenitur*, that there was not to be found a more ancient piece, except the *Pentateuch* of Moses. And though some men, (no friends to Liturgie) out of a minde and purpose to disgrace the evidence have told us, that the most contained in the aforesaid book, *were only divine hymnes wherein there was alwaies something of prayer* *: in saying so, they have given up their verdict for us, and confirmed our evidence. For if there were *set hymnes* or *songs* premised before every *sacrifice*; and if that every *hymn* had somewhat in it of a *prayer*: there must be then *set formes* of *hymnes* and *prayers* used at every *sacrifice*; which was the matter to be proved, and by them denied.

* *Smectymn. Vindicat. p. 24.*

(5) But to descend unto particulars, there was a Song composed and sung by *Moses*, on the defeat of *Pharaoh* and the host of *Egypt*, which is still extant in Gods book †. A song sung *quire-wise* as it seemeth, *Moses* as *Chanter* in that holy *Anthem*, singing verse by verse, and *Mary* the Prophetesse, *Aaron*'s sister, and all the residue of the women, with instruments of musick in their hands, saying or singing at each verses end, *CANTATE DOMINO, sing ye to the Lord for he hath triumphed gloriously, the horse and the rider hath he throwne into the sea*, vers. XXI. *Ainsworth* doth so conceive it in his notes on *Exodus*, and *Lyra* on the place, differs little from it. * *Egressæ sunt mulieres, quibus* (Maria) *præcinebat, sec. quod oportebat fieri, & aliæ respondebant sicut solet fieri in tympanis & choris*; *& eodem modo fecit* Moyses *respectu virorum.* *Caietan* though he differ from them both in the manner of it, yet he agrees upon the matter, that this *Hymn* or *Anthem* was sung *quire-wise* or *alternatim*: it being his opinion, that the women singing some spiritual song to the praise of God; *Mary* to every verse made answer *CANTATE DOMINO.* † *Innuitur* (saith he) *quod tot choris mulierum tanquam ex una parte, canentibus aliquid in divinam laudem,* Maria *sola tanquam ex altera parte canebat initium supra scripti Cantici*; that *viz.* which was sung by *Moses*. But whatsoever man-

V.

† Exod. 15.

* *Lyra in Exod. cap. 15. 21.*

† *Caietan in Exod. c. 15. 21.*

ner there was used in the singing of it, it seems the *Jewes* did afterwards make use thereof in their publick *Liturgie*. For thus saith *Hooker* in his book of *Ecclesiastical Polity* *. That "very hymn of *Moses* (whereof now we speak) grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary *Jewish Liturgie*, and not "that only, but sundry others since invented: their books of "*Common-prayer* containing partly *hymnes* taken out of the "holy Scriptures, partly *thanksgivings*, *benedictions*, and *supplications* penned by such, as were from time to time the "Governors of that *Synagogue*. All which were sorted into several times and places, some to begin the service of "God withall, and some to end; some to go before, and "some to follow after, and some to be interlaced between "the divine readings of the Law and Prophets. Nor is "there any thing more probable, then that unto their "custome of finishing the *Passeover* with certain *Psalmes*, the "holy *Evangelist* doth evidently allude, saying, that after the cup delivered by our Saviour unto his Apostles, "*they sung*, and so went forth to the Mount of *Olives*.

* *Hook. Eccl. Pol. lib. 5. n. 26.*

VI. (6) What ground that eminent and learned man had for the first part of his assertion, *viz.* that the song of *Moses* grew aftewards to be a part of the *Jewish Liturgie*, although he hath not pleased to let us know; yet I am confident he had good ground for what he said. But for the latter part thereof, that the *Evangelist* doth allude unto certain *Psalmes*, used at the finishing of the *Jewish Passeover*; I think there is not any thing more clear and evident. For proof whereof, and that we may the better see with what *set form* of prayers and praises, the *Passeover* was celebrated by the *Jewes* of old; we will make bold to use the words of *Joseph Scaliger*, who describes is thus †. "All things being readily prepared, "and the guests assembled, *Offam azymam in Embamma intingebat Paterfamilias &c.* the father of the family, or master of the house dipped the unleavened bread into the "sawce which was forthwith eaten. Another part thereof being carefully reserved under a napkin, was broke into as many pieces as there were several guests in the Passchall chamber; each piece being of the bigness of an "*Olive*

† *Joseph. Scalig. de emend. Temp. l. 6.*

"*Olive*, and each delivered ſeverally to the gueſts, as they "ſate in *order*. That done, he takes the *Cup*, and having "drank thereof, gives it to the next, he to a ſecond, and "ſo in order to the reſt till they all had drank. The "form of bleſſing which he uſed was this, *Benedictus es* "*Domine Deus noſter, Rex ſeculi, qui ſanctificaſti nos mandatis tuis*, "*& præceptum dediſti ſuper hoc pane Azymo*. Bleſſed art thou "O Lord our God, King of all the world, which haſt san-"ctified us with thy holy precepts, and given us this "commandement about the eating of unleavened bread. "And at the giving of the bread, this form, *Iſte eſt panis* "*ærumnæ quem comederunt patres noſtri in terra Ægypti. Quiſquis* "*eſurit, accedat & paſchatizet*. This is the bread of ſorrow "which our Fathers eat when they were in *Egypt*. Whoſo-"ever is an hungred let him come, and eat this *Paſſeover*. "The formal words uſed at the bleſſing of the *Cup*, were "theſe, *Benedictus es Domine qui fructum vitis creaſti*, Bleſſed art "thou O Lord, which haſt created the fruit of the Vine. And this is called Ποτήριον ὑμνήσεως, the *cup of praiſe*, becauſe whileſt it was paſſing round about the Table they ſung an *hymne of praiſe*, to the Lord their God. Finally, ſnpper being done, and all the ceremonies ended, they ſung the CXIII *Pſalme*, and ſo diſmiſſed the Aſſembly. So far the great and famous *Scaliger*. This laſt affirmed alſo by *Paulus Brugenſis*, who addeth that this Pſalm (being the CXII. in his accompt) with the five that follow are by the *Hebrewes* made into one *hymn*, and called *Allelujah magnum* *; and that they uſe to ſing the ſame not only at the concluſion of the *Paſſeover* (as is obſerved by *Joſeph Scaliger*) but alſo in the New Moons, and the three great Feaſts (*in tribus præcipuis feſtis & in neomeniis*) thoſe *viz.* of *Pentecoſt*, the *Trumpets*, and the feaſts of *Tabernacles*: and finally that Chriſt our Saviour conforming to the *formes* eſtabliſhed, *poſt comeſtionem agni Paſchalis, hymnum prædictum cum Apoſtolis recitavit*, did after the eating of the *Paſchal* Lamb, ſing the ſaid *hymn* with his *Apoſtles*.

* *Paulus Brugenſ. in Pſal.* 112.

(7) This though it make it clear and evident, that at the celebrating of the *Paſſeover*, the *Jewes* had their preſcribed *formes* of prayer, and praiſe, and benediction: yet for the VII.

more validity thereof, we will relate the same out of *Beza* also: whose words we will lay down at large without alteration. * *Sciendum* (saith he) *agitata fuisse hæc convivia in* "*privatis ædibus* κατ' φρατρίας, *i. e. per contubernia, non paucorum* "*quam denum virorum, interdum etiam vicenum, qui nisi pedibus de* "*more lotis, totos etiam nonnulli corporibus, non sedebant, sed dis-* "*cumbebant, Agno illo solido cum panibus Azymis vescentes. Hac* "*autem cœna peracta consurgentes, altera pedum ablutione facta rur-* "*sum discumbentes ad secundas mensas sese comparabant. In has ve-* "*ro secundas mensas pro bellariis inferebantur in triblio Acetarium,* "*ex intybis & lactucis agrestibus; quarum amaritudinem adhibito* "*quodam embammate temperabant. Tum vero Paterfamilias panem* "*Azymum integrum in duas partes dividens, sic uni benedicebat,* "Benedictus es Domine, Deus noster, Rex universi, in esu "panis Azymi. *Alteram autem partem sub mappa reconditam ad* "*finem convivii servabat: quo peracto, idem Paterfamilias alteram* "*illam partem depromens, in tot frustra fractam quot erant in illo* "*contubernio convivatores, primus ipse sumebat, reliqua vero frusta* "*sigillatim & ordine discumbentibus cæteris porrigebat, cum his ver-* "*bis;* Iste est panis ærumnæ quem comederunt majores no- "stri in terra *Ægypti.* Quisquis esurit accedat & paschati- "zet; cuicunq; opus est accedat, & paschatizet. *Deniq; po-* "*culum acceptum & degustatum, præeunte hac benedictione,* "Benedictus es Domine, qui fructum vitis creasti, *idem Pa-* "*terfamilias proxime tradebat, & ille secundo, donec poculum per* "*totum convivium circumferretur. His autem omnibus absolutis, Psal-* "*mus CXIII. cum quinq; aliis proxime sequentibus canebatur, quem* "*solemnem hymnum adhuc hodie* magnum Hallelujah *vocant:* "*neq; post hoc poculum, quod propterea* poculum hymni sive lau- "dationis *dicebatur, comedere quicquam illa nocte fas erat.* The *English* of this *Latine*, as to the sum and substance of it, we have seen before, in that of *Scaliger*; and shall see more at large in that which followeth. In the mean time without all peradventure we have found a *Liturgie*, an *order* of celebrating that holy *Sacrament*, consisting both of *Rules* and *Rubricks*, for the performing of the service; as also of those *formes* of *prayer*, and *praise*, and *benediction*, wherewith that service was performed. And lest perhaps it may be said, that these were some of the traditions of the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, de-

* *Beza Annot. in Mat. 26.*

devised in the declining and corrupted Ages of the *Jewish* Church: *Beza* assures us it is no such matter, but that these rites and formes had been used amongst them, *a primo in Chananitidem ingressu* *, from their first entrance into the land of *Canaan*, which was assoon directly, as they were a Church.

* *Id. Ibid.*

VIII.

(8) To make the matter surer yet, we will observe the *form* and *order* of the *Jewish Passeover*, according as it is described at large by *Ainsworth*, out of the writings of the *Rabbins* † "I will here shew, saith he, the order which the *Jewes* in "the Ages following, kept at the *Passeover*, as themselves "have recorded it. First a Cup of Wine is filled for every "one, and he blesseth for it him that created the fruit of the "vine, &c. and drinketh it. After that he blesseth for the "washing of hands, and washeth his hands. Then is "brought in a *Table* furnished, and upon it bitter herbes and "unleavened bread, and the sawce, and the body of the *Pas-*"*chal* Lamb, and the flesh of the *Chagigah* or feast-offering, "which is for the fourteenth day of the moneth. Then he "beginneth to *blesse God which created the fruit of the earth*; "and takes an herb and dippeth it in the sawce, and eateth "it, he and all that lie at the table, every one; none eateth "lesse then the quantity of an *Olive*. Afterward the Table "is taken away from before him only that maketh the de-"claration (of their deliverance out of *Egypt*, as is comman-"ded *Exod.* XIII. & XII. 17.) Then they fill the second *Cup*, "and the son asketh *what is meant by this service* (according to "*Exod.* XII. 26.) and he that maketh the declaration saith, "*How different is this night from all other nights? For all other nights* "*we wash but once, but this night twice. All other nights we eat lea-*"*vened bread or unleavened, but this night unleavened bread only. All* "*other nights we eat flesh roasted, baked or boyled, but this night* "*roasted only; All other nights we eat of any other herbes, but this* "*night bitter herbes; All other nights we eat either sitting or lying,* "*but this night lying only.* Then the Table is brought again "before him, and he saith, *This Passeover which we eat, is in* "*respect that the Lord passed over the houses of our fathers in Egypt.* "Then holdeth he up the bitter herbes in his hand, and "saith, *These bitter herbes which we eat are in respect that the*

† *Ainsworth Annot. in Exod.* 12.

"*Egyptians made the lives of our Fathers bitter in Egypt.* Then he "holdeth up the unleavened bread in his hand and saith, "*This unleavened bread which we eat, is in respect that the dough* "*of our Fathers had not time to be leavened, when the Lord appeared* "*unto them, and redeemed them out of the hand of the enemy*: and "they baked unleavened *cakes of the dough which they brought out* "*of Egypt.* Then he saith, *Therefore are we bound to confesse, to* "*praise, to laud, to celebrate, to glorifie, to honour, to extoll, to mag-* "*nifie, and to ascribe victory unto him that did unto our Fathers,* "*and unto us, all these signs; and brought us forth from servitude* "*to freedome, from sorrow to joy, from darknesse to great light; and* "*we say before him* Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Praise O ye ser- "vants of the Lord, &c. *unto the end of the CXIV. Psalm.* Then "they blesse the Lord which redeemed them and their Fa- "thers out of *Egypt*, and hath brought them unto that night "to eat unleavened bread therein, and bitter herbes. And "he *blesseth God who created the fruit of the vine*, and drinketh "the second *Cup.* After this he blesseth for the washing of "hands, and washeth his hands the second time; and ta- "keth two cakes, parteth one of them, &c. and *bles-* "*seth God that bringeth bread out of the earth.* Because it is "said the *bread of affliction*, or of poverty, *Deut.* XVI. 3. As "it is the manner of the poor to have broken meat, so here "is a broken part. Afterwards he wrappeth up of the un- "leavened bread and of the bitter herbes together, and dip- "peth them in the sawce, and blesseth God which com- "manded to eat unleavened bread and bitter herbes, and they "eat. Then he blesseth God which commanded the eating "of the sacrifice, and he eateth the flesh of the feast-offering: "and again blesseth God which commanded the eating of "the *Passeover*, and then he eateth of the body of the *Passeo-* "*ver.* After this they sit long at supper, and eat every one "so much as he will, and drink as much as they will drink. "Afterward he eateth of the flesh of the *Passeover*, though it "be but so much as an *Olive*, and tasteth nothing at all "after it: that it may be the end of his supper, and that the "taste of the flesh of the *Passeover* may remain in his mouth. "After this, he lifteth up his hands and blesseth for the third "cup of wine, and drinketh it. Then filleth he the fourth

cup,

"cup, and accomplisheth for it the praise (or *hymn*) and "saith for it the blessing of the song, which is, *All thy works* "*praise thee O Lord, &c.* Psal. CXLV. 10. and *blesseth God* "*that created the fruit of the vine*, and tasteth nothing at all "after it, all the night, except water. And he may fill the "fifth cup, saying for it the *great Hymn, viz. Confesse ye to the* "*Lord, for he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever*, Ps. CXXXVI. "unto the end of that Psalm. But he is not bound (they "say) to that cup as to the four former cups. For this he citeth *Rabbi Maymoni*, and after addeth from the said Author (but from another work of his) "that at the breaking and delivering of the unleavened bread, they do use these words, "*This is the bread of affliction which our Fathers did eat in the* "*land of* Egypt. *Whosoever is hungry, let him come and eat; whoso-* "*ever hath need, let him come and keep the passeover &c.* Compare the words which follow after, *viz. These observations of the Jewes whilest their Common-wealth stood, &c.* with those of *Beza* formerly remembred, *a primo in Chananitidem ingressu*; and then we have an Answer to the doubt which might be raised from the first words of *Ainsworth* in these observations; which seem to intimate that *this Order was not used by the Jewes till the Ages following.* The *prayers*, the *praises*, and the *benedictions*, which are the points which *Beza* speaks of, might be and were used by them at their first entrance on the land of *Canaan*: their frequent washings and reiterating of the *Cup* so often, might not be introduced till the ages following.

IX. (9) Here then we have *set formes* of *Prayer*, and *Praise*, and *Benediction*, used at the celebrating of the *Jewish Sacrifices*; the *song* of *Moses* made a part of the *Jewish Liturgie*, the several rites, and prescribed duties observed in the solemnity of the *Jewish Passeover* and all of very great antiquity: even from the time of *Moses*, saith the old *Samaritan* Chronicle; *a primo in Chananitidem ingressu*, from their first entrance into the promised land, as it is in *Beza*. And for the instituting of these *formes*, besides the power that God hath given unto his Church on the like occasions, they had the president and example of the Lord himself; who had prescribed in one kinde, binding the *Priests* unto a certain *forme* of *benediction*, when

when he bleſſed the people; and in a ſecond place, of *Moſes*, who had tied himſelf unto a *certain form* of words, as often as he ſetled or removed the *Arke*. For we are told in holy Scripture, that whenſoever the *Arke* ſet forwards, *Moſes* ſaid, *Riſe up Lord, and let thine enemies be ſcattered, and let them that hate thee flee before thee.* And when it reſted he ſaid, *Return O Lord unto the many thouſands of Iſrael* *. And for the bleſſing of the people, we finde the *forme* thereof preſcribed by the Lord himſelf, ſaying unto *Aaron* and his ſons, *On this wiſe ſhall ye bleſſe the children of* Iſrael, *ſaying unto them, The Lord bleſſe thee and keep thee; the Lord make his face to ſhine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee, the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace* †. And to this *forme* the *Prieſts* were ſo preciſely tied, that they durſt not vary from the ſame, the *Hebrew* Doctors underſtanding the word *thus*, or *in this wiſe*, to imply both the matter, and the manner, as *viz.* thus ſhall "ye bleſſe, *i. e.* ſtanding; thus, with the lifting up of hands; "thus, in the holy tongue; thus, with your faces towards "the faces of the people; thus, with an high voice; thus, "by Gods expreſſed name *JEHOVAH*, if ye bleſſe in the "Sanctuary. So that it was not lawful to the *Prieſt* in any "place to adde any bleſſing unto theſe three verſes, as to ſay (like that of *Deut.* I. 11.) *The Lord God of your Fathers "make you a thouſand times ſo many more as you are*, or any the like *. Now for the manner wherewithall the *Prieſts* performed this office, it was briefly thus. "The Prieſts went "up unto the bank or ſtage after that they had finiſhed the "daily morning ſervice, and liſted up their hands on high "above their heads, and their fingers ſpread abroad; except "the *High-prieſt*, who might not lift his hands higher then "the *Plate* (whereof ſee *Exod.* XXVIII. 36.) and one pre-"nounced the bleſſing word by word, till the three verſes "were ended. And the people anſwered not after every "verſe, but they made it in the *Sanctuary* one bleſſing. "And when they had finiſhed, all the people anſwered, *Bleſ-"ſed be the Lord God, the God of* Iſrael *for ever and ever* †. By which we may perceive moſt clearly, firſt that the *Prieſts* were tyed preciſely to a *form* of bleſſing, preſcribed by the Lord himſelf. And ſecondly, that to this form of bleſſing thus

* Num. 10. 35.

† Numb. 10. 23, 24, 25, 26.

* *Maymoni* cited by *Ainſw.* in Num. 6.

† *Id. ibid.*

thus prescribed by God, the Church did after adde of her own Authority, not only several external and *significant* rites, but a whole clause to be subjoyned by the *people*, after the *Priest* had done his part. Now as the *Priests* were limited by Almighty God unto a set and *prescribed form*, wherewith they were to blesse the people in the name of God: so did he also set a forme unto the People; in which they were to pay their *Tithes* and *First-fruits* to the Lord their God, towards the maintenance of the Priests. First for the form used at the oblation of the *first-fruits*, it was this that followeth: (the words being spoke unto the Priest) *I professe this day unto the Lord thy God, that I am come unto the Countrey, which the Lord sware unto our Fathers to give us.* Which said, and the Oblation being placed by the Priest before the Altar, the party who brought it was to say, *A* Syrian *ready to perish was my Father, and he went down into* Egypt, *and sojourned there with a few, and became there a Nation, great, mighty and populous. And the* Egyptians *evill intreated us and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. And when we cryed unto the* Lord God *of our Fathers, the* Lord *heard our voice and looked on our affliction, and our labour, and our oppression. And the* Lord *brought us forth of* Egypt *with a mighty hand, and with an outstretched arme, and with great terriblenesse, and with signs and with wonders. And he hath brought us into this place, and hath given us this land, even a land that floweth with milk and hony. And now behold I have brought the* First-fruits *of the land, which thou* O Lord *hast given unto me.* Then for the tendry of the *Tithe* of the third year, which only was payable to the Priest, (those of the other two years being due to the *Levites* in the Countrey) it was to be brought unto *Hierusalem*, and tendred in these following words, *viz. I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine house, and also have given them unto the* Levite, *and unto the stranger, to the fatherlesse, and to the widow, according to all thy Commandements which thou hast commanded me: I have not transgressed thy Commandements, neither have I forgotten them. I have not eaten thereof in my journeying, neither have I taken away ought thereof for any unclean use, nor given ought thereof for the dead, but I have hearkened to the voice of the Lord my God, and have done according to all that thou hast commanded me. Look down from thy holy habitation from heaven, and*

bless thy people Israel, *and the land which thou hast given us; as thou swarest to our Fathers, a land that floweth with milk and honey.* Of this see *Deut.* 26. from the 1 verse to the 16.

X. (10) Led by these precedents, and guided by the wisdome of the Spirit of God, the Church in the succeeding times prescribed a set form to be used *in burning their leaven,* which after they had searched for with such care and diligence that a mouse-hole was not left unransacked, they threw it in the fire, with this solemn form of execration, *viz. Let all that Leaven or whatsoever leavened thing is in my power, whether it were seen of me, or not seen, whether cleansed by me, or not cleansed, let all that be scattered, destroyed, and accounted of as the dust of the Earth;* A prescribed form they also had, in a constant practise for the confession of their sins, to the throne of God. The ground thereof they took indeed from the holy Scripture, where the Lord God commanded, saying, *And* Aaron *shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live Goat, and confesse over him all the iniquities of the children of* Israel, *and all their transgressions in all their sins, putting them upon the head of the Goat,* &c. * Aske *Lyra,* what kind of *Confession* is there meant, and he will tell you that it was a *general Confession* of the peoples sins, made by the mouth of the *Priest,* for and in their names; *sicut facimus in Confessione in principio Missæ* †, as we (the *Priests*) are wont to make in the beginning of the *Masse.* The learned *Morney* comes more home, and informes us thus: *Confessio olim in sacrificio solennis. Ejus præterquam in lege vestigia, in Prophetis formulam habemus. In ipsis* Judæorum *libris verba tanquam concepta extant, quæ* sacerdos *pronunciare solitus* *. Of old they had a solemn or set manner of *confession,* whereof besides those footsteps of it which are remaining in the *Law,* the *form* is extant in the *Prophets.* And in the *Jewish Liturgie* the expresse words are to be seen, which were pronounced by the *Priest.* Now if we aske of *Paulus Phagius,* then whom none more acquainted with the *Jewish Liturgies,* what the precise form was which the *Priest* did use; he will thus inform "us. *Forma confessionis qua tum usus est summus* Pontifex, "*secundum* Hebræorum *relationem hæc fuit &c.* † The *form* "(saith he) used then by the *High Priest* in *confessing* the peo-"ples sins, (as the *Hebrew* Doctors have recorded) was as "fol-

* Lev. 16. 21.

† *Lyr. in Levit. cap.* 18. 21.

* *Mornæus de Missa l.*1.*cap.*5.

† *P. Phagius in Chaldæa Paraphr. in cap.* 16 *Levit.*

"followeth. *O Lord thy people of the house of Israel have sinned, they* "*have done wickedly, they have grievously transgressed before thee. O* "*Lord make atonement now for the sins, and for the iniquities, and for* "*the trespasses that thy people the house of Israel have sinned, and un-* "*righteously done, and trespassed before thee, as it is written in the* "*Law of* Moses *thy servant, that in this day he shall make atonement* "*for you.* This for the people on the *Scape-goat.* And there were two other *confessions* made by the *Priest* also, as the *Rabbins* testifie *: one for himself, the other for himself with the other *Priests*; both on the *Bullock* of the sin-offering, mentioned vers. 6. each of which also had their *certain* and prescribed *formes.* For when he offered the Bullock for a *sin-offering* for himself, he said, *O Lord I have sinned and done wickedly, and have grievously transgressed. I beseech thee now O Lord be merciful unto those sins and iniquities, and grievous transgressions, wherein I have sinned, done wickedly and transgressed against thee* †. And when he offered for himself and the rest of the *Priests*, then he used these words, saying, *I and my house, and the sons of* Aaron *thy holy people have sinned and done wickedly, &c. I beseech thee now O Lord be merciful, &c.* as in the other formes before delivered. Finally as there was a *form* prescribed the *Priest*, in which to make confession of their own and the peoples sins to the Lord their God: so if the people were *impenitent*, and neither would be brought unto repentance, or amendment of life, they had their formes of *excommunication* also. Witnesse the solemn form in use amongst them in *excommunicating* the *Samaritans.* In the denouncing of which censure, they brought together 300 *Priests*, and 300 Trumpets, and 300 Books of the Law, and 300 Boyes, and they blew with the Trumpets: and the *Levites* singing accursed the *Cutthæans* (or *Samaritans*) in the name of *Tetragrammaton*, or *JEHOVAH*, and with the curses both of the higher and the lower house of judicature, and said, *Cursed is he who eats the bread of the Cutthæan; and let no Cutthæan be a Proselyte in Israel, neither have any part in the resurrection of the just* *. Which curse being wrote on tables, and sealed up, was published over all the coasts of *Israel*, who multiplied this great *Anathema*, or curse upon them.

* *Maymoni. apud Ainsw. in cap. 16. Levit.*

† *P. Phagius, loco supr. citato.*

* *Drusius in Seph. Tanhuma.*

XI. (11) Nothing can be more plain then this, that in almost all sacred and religious duties, which were to be performed in publick, the *Jewes* had anciently their appointed and determinate *formes*; as well as their appointed and determinate either *times* or *places*. But against this it is objected out of *Rabbi Maimony*, that from the time of *Moses* unto *Ezra*, *there was no stinted form of prayer heard of in the* Jewish *Church, but every man prayed according unto his ability* *. To which the Answer is in brief, that they who have produced this place out of *Rabbi Maimony*, dare not stand upon it, conceiving it to be no *testimony to command belief*; Secondly, that the *Rabbi* in the place alledged, speaks not of *publick* but of *private* prayers; And thirdly, that the place is curtalled to make it serve the turn the better. For look upon the place at large, and we finde it thus. "We are commanded to pray every day, as it "is written, *And ye shall serve the Lord your God*, Exod. XXIII. 25. "We have been taught that this *service* is *prayer*, as it is written, *And to serve him with all your heart*. Our wise men have "said, what *service* is this with the heart? It is *prayer*. And "there is no *number* of prayers by the Law, neither is there "any set *form* of this prayer by the Law, nor any appointed "*time* for prayer by the Law. And therefore women and "servants are bound to pray, because it is a commandement, "the time whereof is not determined. But the duty of this "commandement is thus, that a man make *supplication* and "*prayer* every day, and shew forth the *praise* of the holy blessed God, and afterward ask such things as be needful for "him by request, and by *supplication*; and afterward give "*praise* and *thanks* unto the Lord for his goodnesse, which he "abundantly ministreth unto him, every one according to "his might. If he be accustomed unto it let him use such "*supplication* and *prayer*: and if he be of uncircumcised lips, "let him speak according as he is able, at any time when he "will; and so they make *prayers* every one according unto "his ability †. This is the place at large in *Rabbi Maimony*. And who sees not, that this must be interpreted of *private* prayer, or else it will conclude as strongly against appointted *times* and *places* for the performance of this holy exercise, as against the formes: and then what will become of the

* *Smectymn. Vind. cat p. 25.*

† *Maymoni*, cited by *Ainf.* Deut. 6. 13.

blessed

blessed *Sabbath*, the day of prayer; or of the holy *Temple*, the house of prayer? Must not they also be discharged on the self-same grounds? Or were it meant of *publick prayer* (as it cannot be) all that can be inferred is no more then this, that God prescribed no set *form* or *number* of prayers in the book of the Law; which makes but little to the purpose. For it was said and shewed before, that *Moses* was more punctual and precise in laying down the *form* and matter of the *legal* sacrifices, by which the *Jewes* were to be nourished in the faith of Christ; and with the which they had not been acquainted in the former times; then in prescribing *formes* of prayers or praises, being *moral* duties, in which they had been trained from their very infancy. Now to this argument derived from the authority of the *Jewish Rabbins*, we must needs adde another which is made against them: and that is, that *the evidence of all this* (as also of much of that which followeth) *comes from no better Author then* Maimonides *, *who wrote not till above a thousand years after Christ*. Against which weak objection (for it is no other) we have a very strong *respondent*, even the famous *Scaliger*. Who having made a full description of those rites and *formes* wherewith the *Passeover* was solemnized in the former times, collected from the writings of the *Jewish Rabbins*, thinks it as idle and ridiculous to except against them, because observed by writers of a later date, though from the best records and monuments of that scattered nation: as if a man reading the *Pandects* of the civil law, composed in *Justinians* time, should make a question whether those judgements and opinions ascribed unto *Papinian*, *Paulus*, *Ulpianus*, were theirs or not †. *Quod nemo sanus dixerit*, which none, saith he, except a mad man, would make question of. And so these rubs being thus removed, and in part anticipated, we will go forwards with our search in the name of God.

* *Smectymn. in Vindicat. p* 23.

† *Scaliger de emendat. Temp. l.* 6.

(12) But first before we end this Chapter, considering that there were *set formes* of *marriages*, and set rites of *burial*, and those of great antiquity in the *Jewish* Church; I will here put them down in the way of *Corollary*. For though they were no part of the *publick worship*, yet doubtlesse they were parts of the *publick Liturgie*: and being performed with XII.

prayer and *invocation* of Gods holy Name, they deserve place here. And first for *marriage*, in the solemnities thereof they observed this *form*. The time appointed being come, the *Bride* and *Bridegroom* were conducted by their special friends, who are stiled υἱοὶ τοῦ νυμφῶνος, * *children of the Bride-chamber*, in St. *Matthews* Gospel, to the marriage house: which from the *blessings* and *thanksgivings* which were used therein on these occasions, was called *Beth-Hillula*, the house of praise. There, in an Assembly of ten men at the least, the writing, or *bill of dowry* being ratified before a *Scrivener* or *publick notary*, the man thus said unto the woman. *Esto mihi in uxorem secundum legem* Mosis *&* Israel, *& Ego juxta verbum Dei colam te* †, *honorabo te, alam & regam juxta morem qui colunt, honorant, & regunt uxores fideliter. Do autem tibi dotem virginitatis tuæ ducentos aureos* (*i. e.* 50 *siclos*) *quin etiam alimentum tuum & vestitum, atq; sufficientem necessitatem tuam, item cognitionem tui juxta consuetudinem universæ terræ* *. That is to say, "Be thou a wife "to me according to the Law of *Moses* and *Israel*, and I "shall *worship* and honour thee according to the Word "of God: *I* shall feed and govern thee according to the "custome of those, who worship, honour, and govern "their wives faithfully. I give thee for the dowry of thy "virginity, two hundred pence, (*i. e.* 50 *shekels* †) as "also thy food, cloathing, and all sufficient necessaries, "and knowledge of thee according to the custome of the "whole earth. Much of which forme, as to the main and substance of it, is exceeding ancient. For in the marriage of *Sampson* we finde the *children of the Bride-chamber*, being the thirty young men *, his *companions* as they are there called: in that of *David* unto *Michal*, the Daughter of *Saul* the bringing in of an hundred *foreskins* of the Philistims, *in loco dotis* †, as the Dowry-money; in that of *Ruth*, the presence of ten men *, to bear witnesse to it. Nor was this done being a businesse of such moment without a special *benediction*. For at the marriage of *Boaz* to *Ruth*, the *people and the Elders said, The Lord make the woman which is come into thine house, like* Rachel, *and like* Leah, *which two did build the house of* Israel; *and do thou worthily in* Ephrata, *and be famous in* Bethlehem; *and let thy house be like the house of* Pharez, *of*

* Mat. 9. 15.

† With my body I thee worship.

* *Cornel. Bertram.*

† A *Shekel* was a piece of money among the *Jewes*, amounting in our coyn to 1 s. 3 d.

* Judg. 14. 11.

† 1 Sam. 18 25.

* Ruth 4. 2.

of the seed which the Lord will give thee of this young woman *. Upon this ground it was, that marriage was not solemnized amongst them without *prayers* and *blessings*; the form whereof in the ensuing times was this, as followeth. *Benedictus sis Domine Deus noster, Rex universi &c.* "Blessed be the Lord "our God, the King of the world, who hath created man "after his own image, according to the image of his own "likenesse, and hath thereby prepared unto himself an ever-"lasting building. Blessed be thou O Lord God, who "hast created him †. Then followeth again, Blessed be "thou O Lord our God, who hast created joy and gladnesse, "the *Bridegroom* and the *Bride*, charity and brotherly love, re-"joycing and pleasure, peace and society. I beseech thee "O Lord let there be suddenly heard in the Cities of *Judah*, "and the streets of *Hierusalem*, the voice of joy and gladnesse, "the voice of the *Bridegroom* and the *Bride*; the voice of exal-"tation in the *Bride chamber* is sweeter then any feast, and "children sweeter then the sweetnesse of a song. Which prayer thus ended, one of the *Bridemen* or *Companions* took a cup (having before been blessed in the wonted *form*) and drinks unto the married couple. As for the *form* and rites of *burial*, not to say any thing either of the washing or embalming of the corps, which was common unto them with other nations, their custome was, after the body was interred, to speak something of the justice of God, and of mans sin which meriteth death; and they prayed God in justice to remember mercy. This said, they gave a *Cup* of *consolation* to the sad hearted *. Finally on the grave or tombstone, they caused these words ensuing to be written, *Sit anima ejus in fasciculo vitæ cum cæteris justis*, Amen, Amen, *Selah*. That is to say, let his soul be in the bundle of life with the rest of the just, *Amen, Amen*, So be it. These as they were the ancient *formes* and ceremonies used in their *marriages* & *burials*; so after when they had erected *Synagogues* in convenient places, they solemnized their *marriages* in a tent, set upon four pillars near their *Synagogue* †: which shewes that there was something in it wherewith the *Priest* or *Prophet* was to intermeddle, and that they did esteem it of a nature not so meerly civil, but that the blessing of the *Minister* was required unto it. But it is time I now go forwards to the Ages following.

*Ruth 4.11,12.

† *Moses & Aaron l.6. cap. 4.*

*Christian Synagogue. *l.1. cap. 6. sect. 8. Paraph. 15, Diat. 1.*

† *Maymoni.* cited in *Fisher's* defence, *cap.17.*

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the condition and estate of the Jewish Liturgie *from the time of* David *unto* Christ.

(1) SEverall *hours* of prayer used amongst the *Jewes*; and that the *prayers* then used were of *prescribed formes*: (2) The great improvement of the *Jewish Liturgie* in the time of *David*, by the addition of *Psalmes*, and *instruments* of *Musick*. (3) The *form* of celebrating Gods *publick service*, according unto *Davids Institutions*, described by the *Jewish Rabbins*. (4) The solemn *form* used in the dedicating of the first and second *Temples*. (5) The *Temple* principally built for an *house of prayer*. (6) The several and accustomed *gestures* used among the *Jewes*, in the performance of Gods *publick worship*. (7) The *weekly* reading of the Law on the *Sabbath* daies, not used untill the time of *Ezra*. (8) The reading of the Law *prescribed* and regulated, according to the number of the *Sections*, by the care of *Ezra*: and of the 18. *Benedictions* by him composed. (9) The *Exposition* of the Law prescribed and *ordered* by the authority of the Church. (10) The first foundation of *Synagogues*, and *Oratories*; and for what employments. (11) The Church of *Jewry* ordained *holy-daies*, and prescribed *formes* of prayer to be used thereon. (12) Set daies for publick annual *Feasts*, appointed by the *Jewish* Church; with a *set form* of prayer agreeable to the occasion. (13) The *form* of celebrating Gods publick service, according as it is described by *Jesus* the son of *Syrac*. (14) *JESUS* the son of God conformes himself unto the *formes* established in the *Jewish* Church. (15) A transition from the *formes* received in the *Jewish* Church, to those in use amongst the *Gentiles*.

(1) The

(1) The nation of the *Jewes*, being thus setled into an established Church by the hand of *Moses*, and several *formes* of prayer, and praise, and benediction prescribed unto them either immediately by the Lord himself, or by the *Church* directed by the wisdome of Almighty God: it was not long, before that divers other points were added, by the like authority, until the *Liturgie* thereof became full and absolute. Of these the first in course of time, was the deputing of certain and determinate *hours* in every day, for the performance of those *moral* duties of *prayer* and *praises*, in which Gods *publick* worship did consist especially; which were the third, the sixth, and the ninth. For clearer knowledge of the which we shall adde thus much, that the *Iewes* did usually divide their day into four great parts (*hours of the Temple* they were called) that is to say, the third hour, which began at six of the clock in the morning, and held on till nine; the sixth, which began at nine and ended at twelve; the ninth, which held from twelve to three in the afternoon; and the eleventh, which was from three, untill six at night. According to which distribution, they had three several hours of prayer, *viz.* the third, the sixth, the ninth, as before was said. For thus saith *David* of himself, *Evening and morning, and at noon-day will I pray unto thee*, Psal. LV. 17. And so the Scriptures say of *Daniel*, that *turning towards* Hierusalem, *he kneeled upon his knees and prayed, and gave thanks before his God three times a day*, as he had formerly been accustomed, *Dan.* VI. 10. *David* who had the opportunity to repair unto the *Tabernacle*, or the house of God, joyned with the *congregation* in those prayes, which were appointed for those *times*. But *Daniel* who lived an exile in a strange land, and at a time in which there was no Temple at *Hierusalem*, only conceived himself obliged to observe the *houres*, which had been antiently in use with the *Jewish* nation; without being punctuall in the *formes*, for ought I can finde. It's true, the *Iewes* used to repair unto the *Tabernacle*, as afterwards unto the *Temple*, and other places set apart for this pious duty (of which more anon) to offer up their *private* prayers and vowes

to Almighty God. For so we read of *Hannah* in the first of *Samuel* chap. I. vers. 10, &c. and so in other places of Gods book of divers others. Of which none is more eminent, because not any one so much objected, as that of the *Publican* and the *Pharisee*, of whom we finde mention in the Gospel, who going *into the Temple to pray*, (as who else did not?) are confidently said to use no prayer that was *of regular prescription* *, because the prayer which they are said to make in the Book of God, *was of a present conception*. But this, if pondered as it ought, can be no Argument I trow, that therefore there was then no *set form* of *publick worship*, to be performed in those holy *places*, because Gods servants used as occasion was, to make therein their *private* prayers to the Lord their God: no better argument, then if it should be proved that there is no set *Liturgie* in the Church of *England*, because devout and godly men use oftentimes to have recourse unto the Church (or *Temple*) for their *private* prayers. In those though powred forth in the *Temple*, the proper and appointed place of *publick* worship, the people were at liberty to make use of their own *conceptions*. But it was otherwise in those acts of *worship*, (so far forth as they do relate unto *invocation*) which were to be performed with the *Congregation*. And so it is resolved by the best and learnedest of all the *Rabbins*; by whom it is affirmed, that in the publick congregation, a private or a voluntary prayer, was not to have been offered to the Lord their God: *Quoniam nec Ecclesia seu cœtus publicus offerebat ex* lege *sacrificium ultroneum* †; because the Church or *Congregation* was not to offer any *sacrifice* but such as was *prescribed* and ordered by the *Law* of God. Which rule as it was constantly observed on all other daies, and at the several hours of prayer, in each several day; so most especially upon the *Sabbaths* and the other *Festivals*; and that upon the self-same reason, *viz. Quoniam in eis non offerendum erat ultroneum quid*, because no *voluntary* oblation might thereon be offered, (as in some cases might be done on the other daies) but only such as were *appointed* in the Law. Now that there were *set formes* of prayer for these several *hours* (besides what is affirmed by * a learned writer of our own) as appeareth by that memorable passage of *Peter* and *John's* going up

* *Smectymn. p.* 8.

† *Maim. ap. Selden. in Eutych. Alex. p.* 49.

* *Selden. Comment. in Eutych. Alex. p.* 46, 47.

up into the Temple *sub horam orationis nonam*, at the ninth hour being an hour of prayer. For if the prayer they went to make, were rather of a sudden and extemporary *conception* *, then of a *regular prescription*; what needed they to have made use of such a *time*, when as the *Congregation* was assembled for Gods *publick* worship? And on the other side, that the prayer which the two *Apostles* went up to make, was such as was *prescribed* the Congregation, is evident by that of *Ludovicus Capellus*, the *French* Oracle of *Hebrew* learning, as one truly cals him †, who saith expressly; *Orationem eam cujus causa* Petrus *&* Johannes *petebant templum fuisse eam, quæ a* Judæis *dicitur* קטנה מנחה *Quæ respondet oblationi vespertinæ lege præscriptæ.* The prayer (saith he) for which *Peter* and *John* went up into the *Temple*, is that which the *Jewes* called the *lesser oblation*, answering to the *evening* sacrifice prescribed by the Law. And indeed *Calvin* intimates no lesse, to my apprehension. For when he askes the question, *An Apostoli in* Templum *ascenderint, ut secundum legis ritum precarentur*, Whether the *Apostles* went into the *Temple* to pray, according to the rites prescribed in the Law *: although he thinks that they went thither at that *time* to have the better opportunity to promote the Gospel; yet he confesseth by the question, that at that time there were *set prayers* made in the *Temple*, after the manner of the *Jewes*.

* *Smectymn.* p. 8.

† B. *Hall.* Answ. to the Vindication.

* *Calv. in Act.*

(2) But to go on from *Moses* unto *David*, I finde but little changed or added in things that did concern Gods *publick worship* and the *formes* thereof. But in the time of *David*, and by his authority, there was a signal alteration made; much outward *forme* and lustre added to the service of God. For whereas formerly the *Levites* were appointed by the Law of *Moses*, to bear about the *Tabernacle*, as occasion was: the *Tabernacle* being by *David* fixt and setled in *Hierusalem*, there was no further use of the attendance of the *Levites* in that kinde or ministery. He therefore thought it fit to set them to some new imployment: some to assist the *Priests* in the publick offices of Gods holy worship; some to be *over-seers* and *Judges* of the people, some to be *Porters* also in the house of God; and others finally to be *Singers* †, *to praise the Lord with Instruments that he had made, with harps, with viols, and with*

II.

† 1 Chron. 23. 4, 5, &c.

with cymbals. Of these the most considerable were the first, and last, the first appointed to assist at the *daily sacrifices, as also at the offering of all burnt offerings unto the Lord, in the Sabbaths, the moneths, and at the appointed times, according to the number, and according to their custome, continually before the Lord* *. The other were instructed in *the songs of the Lord* †, not only such as had been made before in the former times; but such as he composed himself, according to the influence of the holy Spirit. *Josephus* tels us in the general, that after *Absaloms* rebelling was suppressed, and the Kingdome setled, ὠδὰς εἰς τὸν θεὸν καὶ ὕμνους συνετάξατο *, he composed *odes* and *hymnes* to the praise of God; as also that he made divers kindes of instruments, and that he taught the *Levites* to praise Gods name upon the same, both on the Sabbath, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑορταῖς, and on other the appointed *Festivals*. And this we may observe also in the holy Scripture, by the style and title of those *Psalmes*, which were then made by him for that end and purpose. For if we look upon the XCII *Psalme*, we finde it styled, *A song or Psalm for the Sabbath day*, *i. e.* as it is generally expounded, a song made to be sung on the Sabbath day. *Docet inscriptio Sabbatis præcipuè cantatum fuisse hunc Psalmum*, saith *Mart. Bucer* †: Which *Calvin* seconds and approves: To the same purpose also *Lyra*, save that he makes the Author of it to be *Moses*, following therein the old tradition of the *Hebrewes*, *Secundum Hebræos Moyses fecit hunc Psalmum decantandum in die Sabbati* *; as he notes it there. Of the same nature are those *Psalmes*, which in S. *Hieromes* Bible and the *Vulgar Latine*, are entituled, *Laus cantici Davidis in die ante Sabbatum*, & *Psalmus David quarta Sabbati*: being the 93. & 94. of our *English* Bibles. Which what else were they but some *Psalmes* by him intended to be sung in the *Congregation*, upon the Wednesday, and the Friday? Besides it is observed by *Junius*, that from the times of *David* forwards, they sung the 22. Psalm, *ante alias omnes actiones sacras*, before they did begin the *morning sacrifice*; and that they sung each day (as they did the former) and 136 *Psalm* at the conclusion of the *Evening service*. For which consult him in his notes on *Exod.* XXIX. As for the fifteen Psalmes called in the holy Scriptures, *Cantica graduum*, Psalms or

* *ibid.* ver. 31.
† *Id.* ch. 35. 7.
* *Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. 7. cap. 10.*
† *Ap Marlorat. in Psalm. 92.*
* *Lyr. in Psal.*

songs of degrees, being the 120 Psalm, and the fourteen following, according to the *Hebrew* calculation, and the *English* Bibles; they are conceived to be made for a perpetuall and constant part of Gods daily service. For though I finde amongst Interpreters no little difference, about the reason of these titles: yet that to me seems most agreeable to the truth thereof, which is most generally agreed, both by the *Latine* writers and the *Hebrew* Doctors. And amongst them *secundum Doctores Hebræos & Latinos*, it is resolved saith *Lyra*, that they were so called, *eo quod in ascensu* Templi *qui erat per quindecem gradus, cantabantur a* Sacerdotibus *& Levitis, primus Psalmus in primo gradu, secundus in secundo & sic de aliis* *; because they were sung by the *Priests* and *Levites* upon the fifteen stairs or degrees that went up to the *Temple*. And this of *Lyra*, is favoured by the *Chalde Paraphrase*, as is said by *Ainsworth* in his short notes upon the *Psalmes*. Adde here that divers of the *Psalmes* are such as seem to be composed of purpose for stirring up the affections of the *Congregation*, as *viz.* Psal. XXXIV. *O magnifie the Lord with me, and let us exalt his name together.* And Psal. XCV. *VENITE ADOREMUS, O come, let us worship, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our maker.* And Psal. CXLIX. *O sing unto the Lord a new song and his praise in the congregation of the Saints*, with many others of that stamp: and then I doubt not but it will appear to any apprehensive Reader, that those and divers of the rest were made of purpose to be sung *daily* in the celebrating of Gods *publick service*, and so by consequence to be a principal and constant part of the publick Liturgie. And it was usual with the *Jewes* †, when they carried their first fruits to *Hierusalem*, to sing upon the way the 122 *Psalm*; when they came into the *Sanctuary*, with every mans basket on his shoulder, to sing the last in all the Book; and when they were in the Court-yard to sing the 30. So that it seems, they had set *Psalmes* for every duty, which was to be discharged in *publick*; and more then so, set parts and parcels of some *Psalmes*, for the beginning and conclusion of all publick offices. For, for the *introduction* to their prayers the used alwaies this, *O Lord open our lips, and our mouth shall shew forth thy praise*, Psal. LI. 15. and for the close thereof, this clause,

* *Lyr. in Ps. 91.*

† *Christ. Synag. l. 1. c. 6. § 6.*

Let the words of my mouth, and the meditations of my heart, be alwaies acceptable in thy sight, O Lord my strength and my Redeemer; Psal. XIX. *ult.*

III. (3) Now unto these collections from the holy Scripture it will not be amisse to adde from the *Jewish Rabbins*, the *form* and manner in which Gods *publick* service was performed, after the setling and establishing of the same by *David*. "The *Priests* and *Levites*, * say the *Rabbins*, do sing the song "over all the *burnt offerings* of the *Congregation*, which they "were bound to offer, and over all the *peace offerings* of the "solemn Assembly, at the time when the wine (*i. e.* the "*drink-offering*) was powred out. But over the *voluntary* "burnt-offerings which the *Congregation* offered, and the "drink-offerings which were brought for them, they said "not the *song*. A *Levite* that mourned might not serve nor "sing; And there might not be fewer then twelve *Levites* "standing on the bank or stage every day to say the song "over the *Sacrifice*; but they might alwaies have as many "as they would. And they said not the song but by mouth "without instrument: for the foundation of the *Musick* is, "that it be a service by mouth. And there were others stan-"ding there playing with instruments of *Musick*: and they "played on pipes, and psalteries, and harps, and trumpets, "and cymbals There might not be fewer then two *Psalteries*, "nor more then six; nor fewer then two *pipes* (or flutes) "nor more then twelve; nor fewer then two *trumpets*, or "more then an hundred and twenty; nor fewer then nine "*harps*, but as many as they would; and one *cymbal* only. "In all the daies of the solemn *Feasts*, and at the *new Moons*, "there were *Priests* blowing with trumpets, at the hour of the "sacrifice, *Numb.* X. 10. and the *Levites* said the song. The "*trumpets* were of silver, and it was not lawful to have them "of other metal. The *pipes* which they played on were of "cane, or reed: the *Psaltery* was an instrument like a bottle, "and they played thereon. Twelve daies in the year they "played on the *Pipe* or flute before the Altar, *viz.* at the "killing of the first *Passeover*, and at the killing of the se-"cond *Passeover*, and in the first good day of the *Passeover*, and "in the first good day of *Pentecost*, and in the eight daies "of

* *Maim. ap. Ainsw.* in the end of his notes upon the *Psalmes.*

"of the feast of *Tabernacles*. No service almost celebrated without *songs* or *musick*, and that ordained after the Law *Levitical* was given to *Moses*, and all the rites and ceremonies of the same prescribed and limited: which plainly shewes, that *instrumental musick* in the celebrating of Gods *publick worship*, is not derived at any hand from the Law of *Moses*, or to be reckoned as a part of the *rites* and *ceremonies* of the *Levitical* sacrifices. And lest this intermixture of *songs* and *musick* in the officiating of the *moral* worship of God, might either be conceived to have been introduced by the *Jewes*, in the declining times of their zeal and piety; or else ordained by *David* without good authority, and never practised in the purer times of the *Jewish* Church: we will look into the Acts of *Solomon*, *Hezekiah*, *Ezra*. Of *Solomon* and *Ezra* more anon. Of *Hezekiah* this at present, of whom it is recorded in the book of *Chronicles* that in the restauration of Gods worship being much corrupted, *when the burnt offering began, the song of the Lord began also with trumpets, and with the instruments ordained by* David *King of* Israel; *And all the congregation worshipped, and the singers sang, and the trumpeters sounded, and all this continued till the burnt offering was finished* *. Where note, that this was some appointed and determinate song, which had been formerly set out for the like occasions, that which is here entituled, the song of the Lord, or *Canticum Traditum*, as the word is rendred by *Tremelius*: as also that the intermixture of *musical* instruments in Gods holy *service* is referred to *David*. And so 'tis also in the Book of *Nehemiah*, where both the singers, and the songs are referred to him †. *For in the daies of* David *and* Asaph *of old there were chief of the singers, and songs of praise and thanksgiving unto God*, saith the holy Scripture.

* 2 Chron. 29. 27, 28.

† Neh. 12. 46.

IV. (4) Of *Solomon* and *Ezra* next, the greatest and most memorable action of whose times, was the building of the first and second *Temples*; *immensæ opulentiæ Templum*, *, as the last is called by the *Historian*. For that of *Solomon*, assoon as it was fitted and prepared for the service of God, that godly and religious Prince, to whom the Lord had given a *large and understanding heart*, as the Scripture tels us, did not think fit to put it unto publick use, till he had *dedicated* the same

* *Tacit. hist. l. 5.*

to

to the Lord his God, by *prayer* and *sacrifice*. The pomp and order of the *Dedication* we may see at large, 1 King. VIII. To which adde this considerable passage from the book of *Chronicles* *; Where it is said, with reverence unto *Davids* institution, that the *Levites* which were the singers, all of them of *Asaph*, of *Heman*, of *Jeduthun*, with their sons and their brethren; being *arayed in white linen having* Cymbals *and* Psalteries, *and* Harps, *stood at the east end of the Altar, and with them an hundred and twenty Priests sounding with Trumpets; And that it came to passe, as the Trumpeters and Singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising and thanking the Lord, that they lift up their voice with the Trumpets, and Cymbals and instruments of musick, and praised the Lord, saying, For he is good, for his mercy endureth forever.* In which we may observe two things, first, that in celebrating Gods *publick* worship, and in that part thereof which was meerly *moral*, the *Levites* were *arrayed in a white linen* rayment, such as the Surplice now in use in the Church of *England*. And secondly, that they were prescribed what song or *Psalm* they were to sing, being the 136. of *Davids Psalmes*, beginning with *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus, quoniam in æternum misericordia ejus*. And this we may the rather think to be a certain and prescribed *hymn*, not taken up at the discretion of the *Priests* and *Levites*; because we finde the same expressly in laying the foundation of the second Temple. For we are told in the book of *Ezra* †, that *when the builders* laid the foundation of the *Temple* of the Lord, *they set the* Priests *in their Apparel with Trumpets, and the* Levites *the sons of* Asaph *with Cymbals, to praise the Lord, after the ordinance of* David *the King of* Israel: (where note that still this institution is referred to *David*) *And they sung together by course* (quire-wise) *in praising and giving thanks unto the Lord, because he is good, for his mercy endureth for ever toward* Israel. *Lyra* observes upon the place that the *Psalme* here sung, *ab ipso Davide factum, & ad hoc ordinatum* *, was made by *David* for this very purpose: who had not only left command to *Solomon* about the building of the Temple †, but gave him patterns of the work, and much of the materials for the same. Adde finally, that at the *dedication* of each *Temple*, there was a great and sumptuous feast provided for the people of God: where-

* 2 Chron. 5. 12, 13.

† Ezr. 3. 10, 11.

* *Lyr. in Ezr. cap* 3. *v.* 1.

† 1 Chron. 28.

of

of see 1 *King.* VIII. 65. and *Ezra* VI. 16. Which as it was the ground of the ἐγκαίνια, or *feast of dedication*, established after by the *Maccabees*; so gave it no small hint unto the *Christians* to institute the like feasts on the like occasions; whereof more hereafter.

(5) In the mean time to look a little back on *Solomon*, if question should be made to what particular end he did erect that magnificent structure, I answer that it was most specially for an *house of prayer.* The *legal* sacrifices were all of them performed in the outward Courts, and there were all the utensils and vessels, which did pertain unto the same. The *Priest* that *offered sacrifice* came not thither; He had no place nor portion in it. 'Tis true there was an *Altar* in it, but 'twas the Altar of *incense*, not the Altar for *sacrifices.* That stood indeed within the *Temple*, as at the first by Gods own ordinance and appointment, within the *Tabernacle*, where it was placed *before the veile* *. And it was placed there to this end and purpose, that *AARON might burn incense on it every morning when he dressed the lamps, and when he lighted them at even.* By this was figured the offering up of the *prayers* of the Saints, to the Lord their God. We finde it so expressly in the *Revelation.* *And another Angel*, saith the text †, *came and stood at the* Altar, *having a golden censer, and there was given unto him much* incense, *that he should offer it with the* prayers *of all Saints, upon the golden* Altar *that was before the throne; and the smoke of the* incense, *which came with the* prayers *of the* Saints *ascended up before God out of the* Angels *hand.* And hereto *David* doth allude in the book of *Psalmes.* *Let my prayer* (saith he) *be set forth before thee as* incense; *and the lifting up of my hand as the evening sacrifice* *. But that which makes the matter most clear and evident, is the whole scope of *Solomons* prayer, made by him at the *dedication* of it †. The substance and effect whereof is no more then this, that in what misery or distresse soever the people of the Lord should fall into, either by temporal plagues and punishments which assault without, or on the apprehension of their sins which assails within: if they powred forth their souls to God either in or towards his holy *Temple*, the Lord would hear them and deliver them out of all their troubles. And so much

V.

* Exod. 30. 6, 7, 8.

† *Apocal.* 8. 3, 4.

* Psal. 141. 2.

† 1 King. 8.

much is summed up by *Josephus* briefly, Κἂν ἁμαρτών ποτε ὁ λαὸς, ἔπειτα πληγῇ τινι κολασθῇ διὰ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, &c. * "If it shall "so fall out (saith he) that thy people go astray, and "that afterwards being punished by thee, with death, pesti-"lence, or any such chastisement, wherewithall thou re-"claimest those that offend against thee to the observance of "thy Lawes: if then they have recourse unto this *Temple*, "beseeching and requiring thee of mercy, that thou wouldest "please to hear them, and have mercy on them, and deli-"ver them from their adversities. Nor was it without speciall reason, that God amongst so many *Ministeries*, as were performed in and about his *Temple*, should single out the exercise of *prayer*; by which to give denomination to this holy *place*: for by that name, the *house of prayer*, he hath been pleased to call it twice, in one verse of *Esay* †. Or that our Saviour *CHRIST* should be so scandalized at those which *sold Doves*, in the verge thereof, or at the *tables of the money changers* *, being so necessary, or at least convenient, for those who came from remote places, that they might easily provide their offerings there, and dispatch their businesse with the greater speed. Why else was this, but that our *Saviour* looked not on it as a place for *sacrifice*, wherein his *legal* worship was to be performed, in the oblations of Buls and Goats, Turtles and Pigeons, and the like: but as a place intended for his *moral* worship, wherein his people were to offer the *calves of their lips*; or at the least as on a place which was more gratefull to him as an *house for prayer*, then as a slaughter-house for *sacrifice*. His saying that he would have *mercy and not sacrifice*, shewes us how little he esteemed of the *legal* duties in respect of *moral*.

* *Joseph. Judaic. Antiq.* l. 8. c. 2.

† Isa. 56. 7.

* Mat. 21.

VI. (6) So then the *Temple* was an house of prayer, and built most chiefly for that use. Which being an action meerly *moral*, was notwithstanding to be waited on with such rites and *gestures*, wherewith the *earnestnesse* of their *petitions*, and the *humility* of the *Petitioners*, might be at once presented to the Lord their God. Not that these outward rites and *gestures* have in all times and places been the same alike: for I know well they have been, may be varied according unto times and seasons; the customes and conditions of several na-

nations: but that in many of them, and those the principall, there hath been an unanimous agreement over all the world. The first of those which we shall speak of in this place, is that which was first used in this holy *Temple*; which was the *kneeling on the knee*, and then the *lifting up of the hands to God*. For so we finde it of K. *Solomon*, at the first *consecration* of it, and in the *prayer* of *consecration*, that he *kneeled on his knees before the Altar, and his hands spread up unto the heavens* *. But behold a greater then *Solomon* is here; For *CHRIST* our Saviour, when he prayed to God, that that *Cup if it were possible might passe from him*, θεὶς τὰ γόνατα, *he fell upon his knees and prayed*, † as S. *Luke*; procidit super terram, *he fell upon the ground and prayed*, * as *Mark*; procidit super faciem suam, *he fell upon his face and prayed*, as S. *Matthew* hath it †. Our Saviour being both the Lord and the Son of *David*, was not to seek in *David*'s lesson, where he doth call upon the people and invite them saying, *O come let us worship and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker* *. He which is all in all, did all this and more. I know it is conceived that commonly the *Jewes* did *stand* upon their feet in the Act of *prayer*: and for the proof thereof is brought as well the instance of the *Pharisee* and the *Publican*, of both whom it is said that they *stood and prayed*; as also an old saying used amongst that people, *Sine stationibus non subsisteret mundus* †. But clearly this is to be understood of *private* prayers, whether made in the *Temple* as that of the *Publican* and the *Pharisee* before instanced in, or in the *fields*, the waies, a mans secret closet, which cannot but be much subservient unto the general subsistence of the universe; in which they were at liberty to stand or kneel, and did stand most commonly: not of the *publick acts* of *worship* in the *Congregation*. *Davids Venite, adoremus*, makes this sure enough. Yet we will make it somewhat surer if it may be possible, by adding to this text of *David*, the Glosse or Commentary of the *Jewish Rabbins*; and they tell us this, "That in that "place of *David* there are three several *gestures* of humiliation "in the sight of God, and that they all differed from one "another. The *BENDING* of the body spoken of in any "place, is towards the knees, the *bowing* of all the joynts

* 1 Kin. 8. 54.
† Luk. 22. 41.
* Mark 14. 35.
† Mat. 26. 35.
* Psalm. 95.
† *Christ. Synag. l. 1. c. 6. § 5.*

"of the backbone, so that he makes his body as a bow; the "bending of the head is with the face or countenance down-"ward; the bowing of ones self, or *worshipping*, is the dis-"playing of hands and feet, till he be prostrate with his "face on the earth. And they conceived that every one of these had its several use: it being noted by them, "that the "bending of the head with the face to the ground, was to "escape judgement; the bowing of themselves or *worship-"ping*, to obtain mercy; and that the bending of the head "was before the *worshipping*, according to the mysterie of the "*sin offering* before the *burnt offering*. This is observed by *Maimony* in his book of *prayer* *; and so most like to be the usual *gestures* in the Act of *prayer*. In those particulars of *kneeling* and *spreading of the hands* to heaven, the *Jewes* and *Gentiles* hold good correspondence with one another. In other rites concerning prayer they extremely differed: the *Gentiles* looking towards the *East*, whereof more hereafter; and the *Jewes* praying towards the West, if in the *Temple*, because the *Arke* by Gods appointment was placed in the West end thereof. Otherwise when they were abroad, or in forein Countreys, they turned their faces toward *Hierusalem*, from what coast soever; as appears evidently by *Daniel's* practise †, when he was a prisoner in the land of *Babylon*. It is reported also out of *Drusius*, (a man exceedingly well skilled in all the knowledge of the *Hebrewes*) that when they prayed their heads were covered *. Which if it were so, as I have no reason to suspect the author, it was not without good cause affirmed by the Historian (if one should look no further then those outward circumstances) *Novos illic ritus, & cæteris mortalibus contrarios* †: the very same with that which is affirmed of them in the book of *Hester*, *viz. their lawes are divers from all people* *. Finally at the ending of their prayers, the people which were present used to say *AMEN*: which word from thence hath been derived and incorporated into all the languages, which make profession of the faith. Only observe, that they had several *Amens* amongst them †. The first of which they called *pupillum*, when one understandeth not what he answers; the second *Surreptum*, when he saith *Amen*, before the prayer be fully ended; the third

* Cited by *Ainsworth* Exod. 4 31.

† Dan. 6. 10.

* *Christ. Synag. l. 6. c. 6.*

† *Tacit. hist. l. 5.*

* Hester 3. 8.

† *Christ Synag. l. 1. c. 6. § 5.*

third is *Otiosum*, when a man thinks of something else, and so saith it idly; the fourth *Justorum*, of the just, when a mans minde is set on his *devotions*, and thinks upon no other thing. And so much of the rites and *gestures* which they used in prayer.

(7) But it is well observed by *Ainsworth* *, that as the *lamps* (mention whereof is made in the 30. of *Exodus*) do signifie the light of Gods Word, and *incense* the sacrifice of *prayers*: so the doing of both these at one time, (the *incense* being to be offered when the *lamps* were either dressed or lighted, as before was said) did signifie the joyning of the word with prayer. We must look therefore in the next place, what room there was, or whether any room at all for *reading* of the *Law* in Gods holy *Temples*. And first for that of *Solomon*, taking the *Temple* in the largest and most ample sense, not only for the house, but the courts and out-works; it was ordained by *Moses* in the book of *Deuteronomy*, that there the *Law* should publickly be *read*, at the end of every seven years, to the *Congregation*. *At the end of every seven years* (saith he) *in the solemnity of the year of release, at the feast of* Tabernacles, *when all* Israel *is come to appear before the Lord their God, in the place that he shall choose, thou shalt read this* Law *before all* Israel, *in their hearing* †. But then withall we must take notice, that such a reading as is there commanded, could not be taken as a part of the *publick Liturgie*. For by the order and prescript of *Moses*, the Law was to be read publickly before the people in the *seventh year* only: in the year of *release*, because then servants being manumitted from their bondage, and *Debtors* from the danger of their *Creditors*, they might attend the hearing of the *Law* with the greater cheerfulnesse: and *in the feast of Tabernacles*, because it lasted longer then the other *festivals*, and so it might be read with the greater leisure: and then it was but *this Law* too, the book of *Deuteronomy*. This as it was to be performed in that *place* alone, in which the Lord should choose to place his *Tabernacle*, and afterwards to build his *Temple*: so makes it little, if at all, unto the frequent reading of the Law in the House of God. It's true that *Philo* tels us in a book not extant, that *Moses* did ordain the publick reading of the Law every

VII.

* *Ainsw. Annot. in Exod c. 30.*

† Deut. 31 11.

Sabbath day. Τί ὖν ἐποίησεν ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις, &c. * "What "then did *Moses* order to be done on the *Sabbath* day? He "did appoint (saith he) that we should meet all in some "*place* together, and there sit down with modesty and a ge-"neral silence, τῆς νόμων ἀκροάσεως, to hear the Law, that none "plead ignorance thereof. Which custome we continue "still (saith he) hearkning with wonderful silence to the "Word of God, unlesse perhaps we give some joyful accla-"mation on the hearing of it: some of the *Priests* if any "present, or otherwise some of the *Elders* reading the *Law*, "and then expounding it till the night came on. But hereof, by the leave of *Philo*, we must make some doubt. This was indeed the custome in our *Saviours* time, and when *Philo* lived; and he was willing, as it seems, to fetch the petigree thereof as high as might be. So *Salianus* tels him on the like occasion. *Videtur* Philo *Judæorum morem in Synagogis differendi, antiquitate donare voluisse, quem a* Christo *& Apostolis observatum legimus* †. And we must make the same Answer to *Josephus* also, who tels us of their *Law-maker*, that he appointed not that they should only hear the Law once or twice a year; no oftner: ἀλλ' ἑκάστης ἑβδομάδος τῆς ἔργων ἀφεμένους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου * &c. but that once every week we should come together to hear the *Law*, that so we might become the more perfect in it. Which thing, saith he, all other *Law-givers* did omit. And so did *Moses* too by *Josephus* leave. For besides that no such order or command is to be found in the books of *Moses*, there were not then, nor long time after, any set *places* destinate to religious uses, but the holy *Tabernacle*. And how the people being planted all about the Countrey, could be assembled every week before the *Tabernale*, or afterwards (unto the *Temple*) weekly, let *Philo* and *Josephus* judge. And this appears more plainly by the book of God, where we are told that K. *Jehosaphat* sent abroad his *visiters*, who carried *the Book of the Law of the Lord with them, and went through all the cities of* Judæa, *and taught the people* †. A needlesse office, had it been as those Authors tell us; if all the people met together weekly to be taught the *Law*. But that which followes of *Josiah*, is more full then this. Of whom it is recorded, that when *Hilkiah* the

* *Philo ap. Euseb. de Præpar. Evang. l. 8. c. 7.*

† *Salian. Annal. anno m. 2546. n. 10.*

* *Joseph. contr. Apion. l. 2.*

† 2 Chron. 17. 7, 9.

the high Priest, in looking over the decaies and ruines of the *Temple*, had found a *book of the Law* which lay hidden there, and brought the same unto the King: how the good Prince upon the *hearing of the words of the Law, rent his garments* *; and not so only, but *gathered together all the Elders of* Judah *and* Hierusalem, *and read in their ears all the words of the Book*, and joyned together *in a Covenant with the Lord their God*. Had it been formerly the custome, to read the *Law* each *Sabbath*, every week once at least unto all the people; neither had that religious Prince been so ignorant of it; nor had the finding of the book been counted for so strange an accident; nor could it be to any purpose to call the people all together from their several dwellings, only to hear the Law read to them, and go home again, if it were read amongst them weekly on the *Sabbath* daies, and that of ordinary course. So that what ever *Philo* and *Josephus* say, there was no *weekly reading* of the *Law*, either as a distinct and special duty, or as an ordinary part of the *publick Liturgie*, during the standing of the first *Temple*, which was that of *Solomon*. For further proof whereof, if we but look into *Chronologie*, it will there appear, that the finding of the book of God before remembred, did happen in the 3412. year of the worlds creation; not forty years before the desolation of that *Temple*: in which short space, the Princes being careless, and the times distracted, we have no reason to expect such a blessed ordinance.

* 2 King. 22. 11. & 23. 1, 2.

† *Torniell Annales. anno m.* 3412.

VIII. (8) But in the second *Temple*, or rather whilest it stood and flourished, the Law of *Moses* grew to be read more constantly unto the people, then it had been formerly. Not every *seventh* year only, on the feast of *Tabernacles*, as had before been ordered and set down by *Moses*; but upon every *Sabbath* day, and each solemn meeting, and sometimes on the week daies also: nor only in the *Temple* of *Hierusalem*, as it used to be, but in the towns and principal places of each several *tribe*: and then and there, they did not only read the book of *Deuteronomy*, which was the book prescribed by *Moses*; but the whole body of the *Law*. Which excellent and useful ordinance is generally referred to *Ezra*, a *Priest* by calling, and very skilful in the Lawes of *Moses*: who having

having took great pains to seek out the *Law*, and other parts and portions of the book of God, digested and disposed them in that form and method, in which we have them at the present. Of this see *Irenæus l. 3. c. 25. Tertullian de habitu mulierum. Clemens Alexandr. Strom. l. 1. Chrysost. Homil. 8. in epist. ad Hebræos*, and divers others. And if we place this ordinance or institution introduced by *Ezra*, in the 3610. year of the creation *, which was the time wherein that solemn reading of the Law was kept, which we finde mentioned in the VIII. of *Nehemiah*: there will occur betwixt that time and the first general Councel holden in *Hierusalem* 490 years, or thereabouts. Which might be ground enough to the *Apostle* to affirm of *Moses*, that in *the old time he had th m that preached him, being read in the* Synagogues *every Sabbath day* †; and yet not go so high as *Philo* and *Josephus* do, to fetch the petigree, or original rather of the institution. This then I take to be unquestionable, that the *weekly reading* of the *Law*, was brought into the *Jewish* Church in the time of *Ezra*: and being brought in, I take it as unquestionable, that it was used as a part of the *daily office*, an ordinary portion of the *publick Liturgie*. Not to be read at the discretion of the *Minister*, as his own choice or chance directed, and much lesse as an exercise to take up the time, whilest one man tarried for anothers coming, untill the *Congregation* were grown full, and fit for other businesse; as in some Churches of the *Reformation* it is used of late: but as a special portion of the *service* which they did to God. And this appears by the division of the Law of *Moses* into those great sections which the call the *Parasha*, being in number 54, which they read in the 52 *Sabbaths* of the year, joyning two of the shortest twice together, that the whole might be finished in a years space *. Of this thus write the *Hebrew* Doctors. "It is, say they, a common custome "throughout all *Israel*, that they finish wholly the reading "of the Law in one year, beginning in the *Sabbath* which is "after the feast of *Tabernacles*, at the first section of *Genesis*; "in the second, at *These are the generations of Noah*; in the "third, at *The Lord said to Abraham*, Gen. XII. 1, &c. So "they read and go on in this *order*, till they have ended the "Law

* *Id. anno* 3610

† Act. 15. 21.

* *Ainsw. Annot. in Gen. 6.*

"Law at the feast of *Tabernacles* *. By which it seems that as the *form* of their *publick service* was not *voluntary*, so neither were the *parts* thereof *uncertain*, but all set down in rule and *order*, by the authority of the Church, and the wisdome of the governours and chief *Rulers* in it, as might conduce best to the glory of God, and the edification of his people. Nor was this all that *Ezra* did in the advancement of Gods service, of his *publick* worship. For unto him appointed thereunto by the authority of the *Consistorie*, the *Rabbins* generally ascribe those eighteen *Prayers* or *Benedictions*, so much in use amongst the *Jewes*. Of which thus *Maimony*. *Descripsit cunctas benedictiones Ezra*, &c. † "*Ezra*, "saith he, composed all those *benedictions*, which by the *Con-* "*sistorie* were enjoyned to be perpetually observed, so that "it was not lawful to change or alter them, neither to adde "unto them, or diminish from them: every alteration of "those *formulas*, which by their *wise-men* were devised and "confirmed in those *Benedictions*, being accounted for a fault. And this was done, as the same *Rabbin* doth inform us in another place, *Ut scilicet in cujuslibet ore bene disponerentur, omnesq; eas discerent &c.* * "That every man might have them "in his mouth, and be perfect in them, and that thereby "the prayers of the rude and ignorant might be as com-"plete, as those of a more eloquent tongue. Of these 18. the three first, and the three last related to the glory of God, the other twelve (as it is noted in the *Gemara Hierosolymit.*) *ad ea quæ humano generi necessaria* †, to such things as were necessary for the life of man: or as it is inlarged by *Maimony*, to all those things *quæ singulis hominibus habendâ in votis*, which either do concern particular men, or are thought necessary to the state or nation. These *Prayers* or *Benedictions* thus composed, were not alone thought necessary for all sorts of people, and therefore called by the *Jewes*, *preces officii necessario præstandi* *, an *office* of necessity to be performed: but used both by Priest and people, as an ordinary part of their publick *Liturgie*. Whereof we are thus told by *Rabbi Maimony*. *Publicus Minister seu universitatis aut populi Apostolus liberat plebem ab officio suo hic præstando, &c.* † "The pub-"lick Minister (or the *Apostle*, as the called him, of the Con-

* *Maim. ap. Ainsw. ibid.*

† *Maim. ap. Selden in Eutych. Alex. p. 51.*

* *Id. ap. eundem. p. 44.*

† *Ap. eund. m. p. 43.*

* *Ap. eund. p. 47.*

† *Id. p. 47, 48.*

"gregation) did ease the people of this *service*, if when he "said the prayers they did hearken to him, and unto every *Benediction* answered *AMEN*: for by so doing the people also are conceived to pray. But this, saith he, is only "in such cases, when the people is not perfect in those "prayers, or cannot say the same by heart: for they who "can repeat the prayers, do not aright discharge their duty "as they ought to do, in case they did not pray themselves "with the *publick Minister*. And so much for the *Prayers* and *Benedictions* devised by *Ezra*. Which had they been the very *first stinted formes of prayer which ever had been heard of in the Jewish Church*, as some men give out * (although indeed it be not so): it would make more then they imagine, both for the authority and antiquity of *set formes* of worship.

* *Smectymn. Vindicat. p.20.*

IX. (9) But to return again unto the *Reading* of the Law set on foot by *Ezra*, besides that by this institution the reading of the Law of *Moses* became an ordinary part of the *Jewish Liturgie*, for the *Sabbath* daies, he caused it also to be read *upon the second and the fift daies*, (being our Monday and Thursday) *that they might not rest three daies from hearing the Law*; and *at the Evening prayer of the Sabbath daies, because of idle persons*, who perhaps were absent at the morning service †. The difference was only this, that in these *Readings* on the by (if I may so call them) the *Minister* or the Reader was not tyed to read the whole Section, or *Parasha*, as upon the *Sabbath*; but was therein left unto himself, conditioned that he read no lesse then ten verses at each several reading, and that there were *three men to read it* on the daies aforesaid. Now to this reading of the Law in the *Congregation* every *Sabbath* day: was also added at some times, and on some occasions, the *Exposition* of the same: and that I finde to have been done two waies, either by way of *comment* and *application*; or else by reading with the Law, some part or passage of the *Prophets*, as seemed most parallel unto it. Of these the first may seem to take beginning from the Act of *Ezra*, who in that famous reading of the Law, mention whereof is made in *Nehemiah*, cap. VIII. not only caused a *pulpit* of wood to be provided for that

† *Id. in Tephillah ubircath. c.* 12. cited by *H. Thorndike* in his religious Assemblies *c.* 8.

that purpose, that so he might be heard the better: but placed about the same divers *Priests* and *Levites*, to expound the Text, and give the sense and meaning of it, that so the people might the better understand the reading. Whereof, as of a thing never used before, the reason is thus given by *Torniellus*, because the *Hebrew* tongue, wherein the Scriptures were first written, was grown strange unto them, * *Chaldaico seu Syriaco idiomate in locum ejus surrogato*, the *Syriack* or *Chaldee* language being generally received in the place thereof. And hereunto agrees *Cunæus*, who saith expresly, that whilest the former *Temple* stood, *Interpretatio magistrorum commentatio nulla*, there was no glosse or exposition of the Law, made (as of course) unto the people †: that office being supplyed, when there was occasion, by such holy *Prophets* as God raised amongst them at extraordinary times, and for no ordinary purposes. But that these *Expositions* of the Law thus begun by *Ezra*, were afterwards used constantly amongst the *Jewes* every *Sabbath* day; as I do no where finde it, so I dare not say it. If so it were, it could not be done presently, but in tract of time, of which more anon. In the mean time we will behold the second kinde of *Exposition* which before we spake of, that which was made by reading with the *Law* some part or passage of the *Prophets*, which came near unto it. The first beginning of the which the *Jewes* refer unto the furious raging of *Antiochus*, surnamed *Epiphanes*, who had not only defiled the *Temple*, and forbid the use of *Circumcision*, but also did prohibit the reading of the *Law* of *Moses*, upon pain of death. On which occasion, and to prevent the mischief which might thereby grow, if the reading of the *Law* should be quite left off: they chose chapters and divisions out of the writings of the *Prophets*, which were most answerable to those parts of the *Law* of *Moses*, which were read before: as for this section of the Law, *In the beginning God created, &c.* They made choice of that in *Esai.* XLII. 5. *So saith the Lord, the Creator of heaven and earth*, continuing to the 11. verse of the XLIII. these fractions of the Law the called *Haphtara* *. And though the tyranny of *Antiochus* being over blown, they fell again unto the reading of the *Law* of *Moses*, as was used before; yet they con-

* *Torniel. annal. A.M.* 3610. *n.* 9.

† *Cunæus de Repub. Jud. l.* 1. *c.* 17.

* *Christ. Synag. lib.* 1. *cap.* 4.

continued still the reading of the holy *Prophets*, as finding it a very wholsome institution: and sometimes joyned thereunto such *Expositions* as the *Scribes* and *Rabbins* made upon the same, according to their several talents. Certain I am that so it was in our Saviours time, and in the time of his Apostles. For thus we finde in S. *Luke's* Gospel, that when our *Saviour* came into the *Synagogue of Nazareth and stood up to read*, * *there was delivered him the book of the Prophet Esay*, and that when he had read the place, *he closed the book, and gave it again unto the Minister*, (the *Apostle* of the Congregation, as the *Rabbins* call him) and afterwards expounded and applyed the Text. And in his History of the *Apostles*, we finde that *Paul* and *Barnabas* being present at the *Synagogue* of *Antiochia, on the Sabbath day*, sate down †; and that after the *reading of the Law and Prophets, the Rulers of the* Synagogue *sent unto them saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of* exhortation *for the people, say on &c.* In which we have at once the custome of those later times, for the *expounding* of the *Law* in the *Congregation*, as being by this time made a part of Gods *holy Service*: as the place and room also which it held in the *publick Liturgie*, that is to say, next to the reading of the *Law* and *Prophets*; as now the *Sermon* followeth on the reading of the *Epistle* and the *Gospel*. As for the *gesture* which was used by these several *Ministers*, in the discharge of those distinct and several *Offices*, I finde that the reading of the *Law* and *Prophets*, and the exposition of the same, was with the face of him that did it towards the face of the people; whereof see *Luke* IV. 16. And that the *Minister* who read the *Prayers* (whom the called the *Apparitour* of the *Synagogue*) stood with his back towards the people, his face being turned unto the *Arke*.

* Luk. 4. 16, &c.

† Act. 13. 14, 15.

X. (10) This leads me on unto another institution not known before the building of the second *Temple*, or the times of *Ezra*, which was the setting up of *Synagogues*, and *Oratories*, throughout the Countrey. Of these we finde no mention in the former times, and but little use; the totall sum of all Gods *publick* worship, being cast into the *Temple* of *Hierusalem*. For where it is supposed by some that there were Synagogues of the *Jewes* in the time of

David

David, who for the proof thereof did produce these words, *They have burnt up all the Synagogues of God in the Land*, Psal. LXXIV. the supposition and the proof are alike infirm. For not to quarrel the *Translation* which is directly different from the *Greek* and *vulgar Latine*, and somewhat from the former *English*: this *Psalm* if writ by *David*, was not meant by him of any present misery which befell the Church. There had been no such havock made thereof in all *David's* time, as is there complained of. And therefore *Calvin* rather thinks, *ad tempus Antiochi referri has querimonias* *; that *David*, as inspired with the spirit of Prophesie, reflected on those wretched and calamitous times, wherein *Antiochus* made such havock of the Church of God. Nor was there any use of them in those former times, because no reading of the Law, of ordinary course, in the *Congregation*, as before was said. But when the former course was changed, and that the reading of the Law to the people of God, was not licensed only, but enjoyned, then began the *Jewes* to build them *Synagogues*; which afterwards increased so strangely that there was no town of any moment, throughout all *Judæa*, nor almost any city where they dwelt as *strangers*, in which they did not build some *Synagogue*. God certainly had so disposed it in his holy counsels, that so his Word might be more generally known over all the world, and a more easie way laid open for the receipt of the *Messiah* whom he meant to send: that so *Hierusalem* and the *Temple* there might by degrees be lessened in their reputation; and men might learn that neither of them was the only *place*, where they ought to *worship*. As for their *Oratories*, which before I spake of, although I finde not their Original, yet I can tell you of their use. For this saith *Epiphanius* of them. Ἦσαν μὴν τὸ παλαιὸν προσευχῶν τόποι, ἐν τε τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔξω πόλεως, &c. † There were (saith he) amongst the *Jewes* without their Cities certain *Oratories*, whither the people did sometimes resort to make their *prayers* unto the Lord. And this he proves out of the XVI. of the *Acts*, where it is said, *And on the Sabbath we went out of the City by a rivers side, where prayer was wont to be made*, vers. 3. *i. e. Ubi de more & consuetudine haberi conventus consueverant* *, as *Beza* notes upon the

* *Calv. in Psal.* 74.

† *Epiph. hæres.* 80. *n.* 1.

* *Beza in Annot. in Act.* 16, 13.

the Text. The *Latines* called them from the use they were put unto, *Proseuchas*; as, *in qua te quæro Proseucha* *, in the Poet *Juvenal*. And although *Beza* take those *Proseuchas*, to be the very same with the *Jewish Synagogues* †: yet sure there was a special difference between them. For in those *Proseuchas* or *Oratories*, they might only pray; in the *Synagogues* they might not only make their *prayers*, but also *read* the Law and Prophets, and *expound* the same, and in the *Temple* of the Lord, besides those former duties they might offer sacrifice, which was not lawful to be done in the other *places*. And to these times, when now the *Jewish* Church was setled and *Synagogues* erected in almost all places for reading and expounding the Law of God; we must referre those passages from *Philo*, and *Josephus* before remembred: which cannot possibly be made good of the former times, wherein this people wanted all conveniences, for those *weekly* meetings.

* *Juvenal. Sat. 5.*

† *Beza in Act. 16.*

XI. (11) Thus have we seen what care the *Rulers* of that Church took for providing fit and convenient *places* for the performance of Gods *publick* worship, and all the sacred offices thereunto belonging. Had they not think we equall power of adding *daies* and *times* to the commemorating of Gods goodnesse, and laying before him their afflictions, as well as in appointing *places*. Assuredly such power they had, and made use thereof, according as they saw occasion. Witnesse the feast of *Purim*, ordained by *Mordecai* and *Hester*, with the consent and approbation of the whole people of the *Jewes*, to be observed on the 14 and 15 daies of the *moneth Adar yearly, throughout their generations for evermore*: * *that they should make them daies of feasting and joy, and of sending portions unto one another, and gifts to the poor.* Nor was this all, to make them daies of feasting and good fellowship, and no more then so: for this had been to *make their belly their God*, and so by consequence *their glory* must have been *their shame*: but in all probability, there were ordained *set formes* of praise and prayer for so great a mercy, and the continuance of the like. Those who conceived themselves to have *authority* of instituting a new *festival* to the Lord their God; could not but know they had *authority* of instituting a *new form* of prayer

* Hest. 9. 17, &c.

prayer and praise, agreeable to the occasion. And so much we may guesse by that which remains thereof: it being affirmed by one *Antonius Margarita*, a converted *Jew*, once one of the professors (for the *tongue* I take it) in the University of *Leipsich*, that to this day * *legunt diebus illis in Synagogis suis historiam istam*, they read upon the daies of the said *feast* the book of *Hester*: and anciently 'twas not the custome of the *Jewish* Church, to read the Scripture without *set formes* of prayers, and appointed ceremonies. The like may also be affirmed of the Ἐγκαίνια, or the *feast of Dedication*. A feast ordained by *Judas Maccabeus*, and the *Elders* of the *Jewish Nation*: who having cleansed the *Temple* and set up the *Altar*, (which had been impiously profaned by *Antiochus*) did *dedicate the same with songs and Citternes, and with harps and cymbals* †: and that being done, ordained that the daies of the *dedication* should be *kept in their season from year to year, by the space of eight daies, &c. with mirth and gladnesse*. Here we finde *mirth and gladnesse*, as before in the feast of *Purim*. And doubt we not, but there was in the celebration of it as much *spiritual mirth and gladnesse* (at least in the intention of the founders) as there was of carnal: although the *form* and manner of it have not come unto us. Our Saviour Christ had never honoured it with his blessed presence (as we shall shall see he did, hereafter) if it had been otherwise. Besides which *annual feasts* recorded in the holy Scripture, they had another which they called *festivitatem legis*, or the *feast of the law*: ordained by the Rulers of the Church of *Jewry*, for joy that they had finished the publick reading of the Law, in their *Congregations*. For as before I told you the *Jewes* began the reading of the Law upon the *Sabbath* after the feast of *Tabernacles*, and finished it at 52 readings, against the feast of *Tabernacles* came about again. Now 'tis observed by *Joseph Scaliger*, that the feast of *Tabernacles* beginning alwaies on the 15. of the moneth *Tisri*, and holding on untill the 22 inclusively; this festival was alwaies held on the morrow after, being the three and twentieth of this moneth. Which feast as he makes very ancient, (*cujus cultus institutio vetustissima est* *, as his own words

* *Fevardent. in Hest. cap. ult. & Hospinian. de Origine Fest. fol.* 133.

† 1 Maccab. 4. 59, &c.

* *Joseph. Scaliger de emendat. Temp.* 1. 7.

words are) grounding the same upon the reading of the Law in the time of *Ezra*: so I conceive their *form* of worship on the same, was no lesse ancient then those times. For whereas *Ezra* is confessed by those who approve not *Liturgies* *, to be the Author of those 18 *Benedictions*, so much in use amongst the *Jewes*, of the second *Temple*: some of those *Benedictions* seem to me to be composed for the *Meridian* of this feast, though they might also serve at other times, as occasion was. Of which take this as most agreeable to the intention of the festival †. "Blessed art thou O Lord our "God the King of the world, that hast sanctified us with "thy *precepts*, and given us command concerning the mat-"ters of the *Law*. And sweeten O Lord the words of the "*Law* in our mouths, and in the mouth of thy people the "house of *Israel*: and make us all and our children, and our "childrens children, knowers of thy name, and learners of "thy *Law* for it self. Blessed art thou O Lord which teach-"est thy people *Israel* the Law. So far the very words of the *Benediction*: a *Benediction* made by the self-same Author, who as it is conceived by *Scaliger*, did ordain the *Festivall*.

* *Smectymn. Vindicat. p.* 26.

† Cited by *H. Thorndike* c.10. of his religious Assembl.

XII. (12) The like *authority* was exercised by the *Jewish* Church in instituting set and appointed *Fasts* for the chastising of the body and the afflicting of the soul, that so Gods worship might go forward with the greater fervour. Of these we finde some mentioned in the Prophesie of the Prophet *Zachary*, as *viz. the Fasts of the fifth and seventh moneth*, cap. VII. vers. 5. *The fasts of the fourth and tenth moneth*, cap. VIII. vers. 19. The several occasions of the which you may see elsewhere. Besides which *annual Fasts*, they used to fast upon the Monday and the Thursday, *Jejuno bis in Sabbato*, said the vainglorious *Pharisee* in S. *Lukes* Gospel *: and many times they did impose upon themselves a *seven daies* fast; the better to professe their sorrow and bewail their sins. For which consult 1 *Sam.* XXXI. 13. & 1 *Chron.* X. 12. 2 *Esdras* V. 13, 20. And we have reason to believe that there were certain and determinate *formes* of *publick* worship for all the residue, because we finde them on those last. What was the course observed

* Luk. 18. 12.

observed in *reading* of the *Law* upon the *second* and *fift* daies of the week, we have seen before; and shall adde only this at present, that they assembled on those daies in their severall *Synagogues*, not only in the greater towns, but the smaller villages *; as the *Rabbins* tell us. But for the *seven daies* fast, the forme and order of the same according as it was performed by those which dwelt in *Hierusalem*; was this as followeth. "When they prayed after this order in "*Hierusalem*, they went into the *Mountain of the Temple*, against "the East-gate. And when the *Apostle* of the *Congregation* "(the same who in S. *Luke* is called the *Minister*, cap. IV. 20.) "was come unto the prayer which began with this, *He that* "*heard Abraham &c.* and ended with these words, *viz. Bles-* "*sed be thou O Lord God our God, the God of Israel, from generation* "*to generation*: the people answered, *Blessed be the name of his* "*glorious Kingdome to all generations, and for evermore.* Then said "the officer of the Synagogue unto the Priests, which blew "the Trumpets, *Sound ye the sons of* Aaron, *sound*: and then "*prayed* again †. And though it seemeth by the *Rabbin*, that this prescribed form was fitted only to the *Meridian* of *Hierusalem*; yet there is little question to be made, but that it served also for all the *Synagogues* about *Judæa*: there being no imaginable reason, why a prescript *form* of *publick* worship (conceive me in the *moral* parts thereof) which was observed in the *Temple*, should not be used in the *Synagogues*; which in performance of Gods service, was to take pattern from the *Temple*. Only some difference there was in the present case, but such a difference as is a matter of meer nicety, not of any moment. For when this form was used in the *Synagogue*, the people answered *Amen* at the end of the prayer: but when they used it in the *Mountain of the Temple*, that is, within the outmost compasse of it, their answer was, *Blessed be the name of his glorious Kingdome*, &c. as before was said, it being not usual with the people, as the *Rabbins* note *, to answer *Amen* within the *mountain of the Temple*. So punctual were they in their *formes*, as not to vary in a word or title, from that which was prescribed in their *publick Liturgies*. And finally that they had a prescribed form of words for their solemn and occasional *feasts*, is evident

* *Maimon. in Megillah. c.* 1. *n.* 6. *ap.* H. *Thorndike.*

† *Id. in Tanaioth c.* 4. *n.* 14. cited by Mr. *Thorndike* cap. of his Religious Assemblies &c.

* cited *ibid. c.* 7.

by that of *Abel*, cap. II. 17. where the words occurre.

(13) But to look back upon the celebration of the *daily Sacrifices*, besides the testimonies of the *Rabbins*, and that of the *Samaritan Chronicle* produced before; we have it thus described by *Jesus* the Son of *Syrac*, an Author of unquestionable credit to the point in hand. Speaking of *Simon* the son of *Onias*, who was the *High Priest* at that time, and his officiating at the Altar, he proceeds as followeth *. "And "finishing the service at the Altar, that he might adorn the "offering of the most high Almighty, he stretched out his "hand to the Cup (wherewith the *drink-offering* was to be "made) and powred of the bloud of the grape; he powred "out at the foot of the Altar, a sweet smelling savour unto "the most high King of all. Then shouted the Sons of *Aa-*"*ron*, and sounded the silver Trumpets, and made a great "noyse to be heard, for a remembrance before the most High. "Then all the people hasted together, and fell down to the "earth upon their faces, towards the Lord God Almighty "the most High. The *Singers* also *sung praises* with their "voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet "melody. And the people besought the Lord most high, "by *prayer* before him that is merciful, till the solemnity of "the Lord was ended, and they had finished his service. "Then went he down, and lifted up his hands over the "whole *Congregation* of the children of *Israel*, to give the bles-"sing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoyce in his Name. "And they bowed themselves down to *worship* the second "time, that they might receive a blessing from the most High. So far the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*, who lived in the latter end of *Ptolemie Euergetes* King of *Egypt*, as himself tels us in his Preface. Now in these words of his, if we mark them well, we finde particularly all the parts of *publick* worship which before we spake of. The *daily sacrifice* performed by the *Priests* alone; the *moral* part of Gods *divine service* joyntly discharged by *Priest* and *People*. The *Singers* we finde singing *Hymns* and *songs* of praise to the Lord their God; the people first making *confession* of their *sins*, and to that purpose falling flat upon their *faces*; and after pouring out their souls in *prayer* for his grace and mercy: the *High Priest* giving

* Ecclus. 50. 14.

giving of the *blessing* to the *Congregation*, as the Lord appointed; the people bowing down and *worshiping* at the receiving of the same. And all this in a regular and prescribed way: nothing in all the course thereof being left unto the liberty of *Priest* or *people*, but the confession of their private and particular sins, which every one had leave to cast in what mould he would. As for the reading of the *Law* and *Prophets*, it's true we finde no mention of it in this description of the service by the son of *Syrac*. But then perhaps the reason was, because the reading of the Law, was only used as an ordinary part of the *publick Liturgie*, on the *Sabbath* daies: and it appeareth not by the place that this was done upon the *Sabbath*. Finally such and none but such, was the *daily service* of the *Synagogue*, excepting that there was no *sacrifice* to be done therein. Of which this *Maimony* the learnedest and most exact of all the *Rabbins*. "Let a man (saith "he) go alwaies morning and evening to the *Synagogue*, for his "*prayer* is not heard alwaies but in the *Synagogue*. And he "that dwelleth in a City where there is a *Synagogue*, and *pray*-"*eth* not there with the *Congregation*, this is he that is called "a *bad neighbour* *. And certainly, as 'tis well noted to my hand, he well may be called a *bad neighbour*, who will not lend his *neighbours Prayers* the strength of his own: but himself findes the fruit of his own bad *neighbour-hood*, when his own *prayers* want the assistance of his *neighbours*.

* Cited by *H. Thorndike*, *ut supra*.

(14) The mentioning of *Jesus* the Son of *Syrac*, serves here most fitly as an usher to make room for *JESUS* the Son of God, whose testimony to the point in hand, whether by way of *affirmation* or of *approbation*, will be worth our having. For sure there's no man so profanely impudent, as to affirm, so impiously wretched, as to think, that *CHRIST* our Saviour would have kept himself to the *Jewish formes*, in case the *Jewish* Church had done amisse in the devising of such *formes* and other ceremonies, or wanted good *authority* to enjoyn the same. In those points therefore wherein he conformed himself to the *Jewish Ordinances*, there is no question to be made, but that those *Ordinances* were conform to the *Word* of God. When they were otherwise in such points as they made the word of God of *none effect*, by IV.

their traditions, he therein left them to themselves; and gave no countenance at all unto them, by the authority of his *practise*. Their *Synagogues*, for which they had no speciall warrant from the Word of God, he liked well enough; and therefore often honoured them with his blessed presence *. The *weekly reading* of the Law and Prophets, for which there was no order and command of *Moses*, or of any other of Gods Secretaries, (for ought which hitherto appears) he approved right well: taking the book, when it was offered by the *Minister*, reading the place or lesson destinate to the present day, and after preaching on the same †. The course of *publick* worship in the holy *Temple*, he esteemed so highly, that he confirmed the title given unto it in the Prophet *Esay*, namely that glorious Attribute of *DOMUS ORATIONIS*, or *an house of Prayer*. And for the *Feast* of *Dedication*, though of no other institution then meerly *Ecclesiastical* and humane, he thought it no disparagement to the Lord and Master of the Feast, to keep and celebrate the same with the rest of the people: * *It was at* Hierusalem *the feast of the dedication*; *And JESUS walked in the Temple in* Solomons *porch*. But that wherein he shewed himself most punctually conformable to the *Jewish* rites, was in the keeping of the *Passeover*. Of which, thus *Ainsworth* in his notes on *Exodus* †. "These observations of the *Jewes* (saith he) "whiles their Common-wealth stood, and to this day, may "give light unto some particulars in the *Passeover* which "*CHRIST* kept: as *viz.* why they lay down one leaning "on anothers bosome, *Joh.* XIII. 23. contrary to the first "institution of it; why he rose from Supper, and washed "and sate down again, *Joh.* XIII. 4, 5, 12. why he blessed "or gave thanks for the bread apart, and for the cup apart, "*Mark* XIV. 22, 23. why it is said he took the cup after "Supper, *Luk.* XXII. 20. And finally why they sung an "*Hymn* or *Psalme* at the end of the Supper, *Mat.* XXVI. 30. *Beza* goeth somewhat further yet, and to those points before observed, addeth also this, *Ex iis demum intelligitur, quænam sit illa panis benedictio, fractio, & porrectio, itidemq; poculi mutua præbitio* *: by which he makes the blessing, breaking and distributing both of the bread and cup in the blessed *Eucharist*,

* Luk. 4. 16.

† *Ibid.*

*Joh. 10. 22, 23.

† *Ainsworth in Exod.* 12.

* *Beza in Annot. in Mat.* 26.

rist, to have been borrowed from those rites. But he that hath gone furthest is the famous *Scaliger*, who doth affirm expressly of our Saviour *CHRIST*, *nihil immutasse in ritu* *, that he did vary in no point or circumstance from the usual rites, save that he changed those words which the ancients used, in giving to their guests the Bread and Wine; and substituted others in the place thereof, more sutable to his intention. So that what ever poor opinion the world hath entertained of late concerning *Liturgies* and set *formes* of *prayer*; and of the authority of the Church in ordering matters which concern Gods *publick* worship: it seems our *LORD* and Saviour was perswaded otherwise, he had not else so punctually and precisely conformed unto the one, and obeyed the other. And therefore O most blessed Saviour, since thou didst think it no dishonour to thy glorious Majesty to frame thy self unto those publick *formes* and rites of religious worship which were prescribed by that Church, wherein thou didst vouchsafe to sojourn for a certain season: continue unto us that humble modesty, that we may gladly yeeld obedience to those *formes* of worship, which were prescribed by the Church our common mother, assisted by as great a measure of thy grace and Spirit.

* *Scalig. de Emendat. Temp. l. 6.*

(15) Thus having drawn down the beginning and successe of *Liturgies* (or of prescribed and determinate *formes* of worship, call it which you will) from the first times unto the best; from the first giving of the Law to the end thereof: we might now see in what condition they have stood in the *Christian* Church, and that too in the purest and best times of *Christianity*. But we must first observe what the *Gentiles* did, who being another of those integral parts whereof the Church of *CHRIST* consisted (both *Jewes* and *Gentiles* making up one Church to our Lord and Saviour) and having their own *formes* and *rites* of religious worship, (if the idolatrous service of their gods may be so entituled) are in the next place to be looked upon: that we may see how universally all sorts of people have agreed in this, to institute *set formes*, and determinate *rites*, whereby to order and direct their whole devotions. And having shewn XV.

out of their most unquestionable Records and Monuments, with what a general consent they entertained those publick *formulas* which had been recommended to them by the former times; we shall proceed to the affairs of the *Christian* Church, so far forth as they do concern this present businesse. And then I hope it will seem reasonable to the indifferent and sober Reader, that if a *prescribed form* of worship hath been admitted in the world, *semper, ab omnibus, & ubiq*; according to the rule of *Lerinensis*, at all times formerly, in all places too, and by all sorts of people of what Sect soever: it must needs be a most unheard of novelty to reject them now; and hazard all the *publick* worship of Almighty God, either upon no *formes* at all, or such as no man is obliged to observe and hold to. A matter which the very *Gentiles*, though men of excellent wits and eloquence thought not fit to do: their gods, though *gods* of *earth*, made of gold and silver, and far worse materials, being conceived of too great Majesty to be spoken unto, in such an unprepared and unpremeditated manner, as some men now affect to speak in, to the *God* of *heaven*. And this we shall deliver in one Chapter only, with as much brevity as may be; and so passe forward to the *formes* or *Liturgies* used from the first beginnings of the *Christian* Church: which is the matter most especially to be looked into.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

That anciently the Gentiles *had their* Liturgies *or* prescribed formes *of* publick Worship.

(1) THE use of *sacrifice* amongst the *Gentiles* before *Moses* time. (2) *Times, Priests,* and *Temples,* sanctified and selected by the *Gentiles,* for the *publick service* of their gods. (3) A general proof, that anciently the *Gentiles* had their *Liturgies,* and *set formes* of *worship.* (4) *Preparatory formes* used at the celebration of their *sacrifices.* (5) The rites and *formes* used in the *sacrifice* it self. (6) Several short *formes* of words observed amongst the *Gentiles,* both *Greek* and *Latine,* in their *publick sacrifices.* (7) Set *formes* of *Prayer* used unto *Jupiter, Mars, Janus, Juno,* and other of the gods and goddesses. (8) The solemn *forme* used by the *Gentiles,* in *evocation* of the gods of besieged Cities; (9) As also in *devoting* themselves, or enemies to a *certain ruine,* for preservation of the Common-wealth. (10) The several *gestures* of the *Gentiles* in the act of *publick worship, prescribed* and regulated. (11) The rites and *formes* used by the *Greeks* particularly, in the solemn *sacrifices.* (12) A *prescript forme* of *Matrimony,* amongst the *Romans.*

(1) It is observed by *Epiphanius,* that from the time of *Adam* unto that of *Serug,* there was no different opinions in the world about Religion, ὃ γνώμη ἑτέρα καὶ ἑτέρα *, no sides nor factions fostered by the sons of men, in matters which concerned *Gods worship*: but that Gods servants were distinguished from other men, by the piety and integrity of their conversation. Ἦν δὲ μόνον ἀσέβεια καὶ εὐσέβεια. It was the piety and impiety of their lives, (saith he) which made all difference. But in the times of *Serug,* the people being scat- I.

* *Epiphan. in Pan. l. 1. c. 1. n. 5.*

scattered and divided into several Languages, and not communicating with each other as before they used; began to take up severall opinions in the things of God, which brought them at the last unto *Idolatry*: their *errors* in the point of *practise* being grounded on their *misperswasions* in point of *judgement*. Yet so, that there accrewed unto them no particular name, by which to difference them from the rest, till the daies of *Abraham*: from which time forward the world began to be divided into *Jew* and *Gentile*. Ἦν δὲ τὰ πάντα μεμιγμένα, Ἑλληνισμός τε καὶ ἰουδαϊσμὸς *, as he tels us after. Upon which ground it may be probably inferred, that in the *worshipping* of those *Idols*, *Ninus*, or whosoever else brought in *Idolatry*, retained that *forme* of *sacrifice*, and *publick* worship, which they had seen observed and practised in the service of God. For *Belus*, the *Assyrian* Monarch, the son and successor of *Nimrod* (from whom the *Jewes* and *Gentiles* in succeeding times borrowed the names of *Bel* and *Baal*) being the first whose *statua* or image was advanced and worshipped, παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς χρόνοις †, as mine Author hath it, by those that lived under his Dominion: was the first also unto whom they offered *sacrifices*, and other *rites* of divine worship, θύοντές τε καὶ προσκυνοῦντες αὐτῷ, saith the Father plainly. Now *Bel* and *Serug* were Cotemporaries, as appears evidently in all *Chronologie*. And therefore when *Lactantius* tels us of *Melisseus* King of *Crete*, *primum diis sacrificasse* *, that he was the first who offered sacrifice unto the Gods; it must be understood, no doubt, with reference to *Europe*, and these western parts of the world. Or else it must be meant that he set forth the *sacrifices* of the gods, after a more pompous and magnificent manner, then formerly had been accustomed; *ac ritus novos, sacrorumq; pompas introduxisse*, as the words next following do seem to intimate. So that however it be true which *Tully* tels us, *nulla gens tam barbara* †, that there was never any nation known so rude and barbarous, which was not well enough perswaded that there was a God; and that it was imprinted in their souls by the stamp or character of nature, that God was to be *worshipped* by them, and that too in the first place, (πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς, said the *Grecian* Oratour *) yet for the *form* and manner

* *Id. Adv. haeres.* 8. *num.*2.

† *Cyril. Alex. contr. Julian. l.*3

* *Lactant. institut. divin. l.* 1. *c.* 22.

† *Cicero de natura deorum.*

* *Isocrat. orat. ad Demon.*

ner of his *worship*, the *rites* and *sacrifices* which they used in the first times of their *Idolatry*, I rather think they took it on tradition, and from hand to hand, then that the light of nature did direct them in it. But be this as it will, it comes all to one, as to the businesse now in hand; which aimes no further then to shew that anciently the *Gentiles* had their *sacrifices*, when yet no sacrifices were enjoyned by the Law of *Moses* And if they had their *sacrifices*, as 'tis plain they had, and took them up upon the *practise* of Gods servants, as 'tis most probable they did: we may conceive that with those *sacrifices* they did joyn such *prayers* and *praises*, as were agreeable to their occasions and necessities, when they made their *offerings*, accordingly as had been done by the holy *Patriarchs*. Unto what purpose did they προσκυνεῖν, which is the word that *Cyril* useth, were it not that they made their *prayers* to those wretched Idols, and implored their favours?

(2) And it was partly thus in the times succeeding. For when the tribes of *Israel* were disposed and setled into a *constituted* Church, and had their prescribed *rites* of sacrifice, their *Temple*, *Priests*, their solemn and appointed *times*, and set *formes* of worship: it was not long before the *Gentiles* had the like. The difference was no more but this, that the first *sacrifices*, and the *rites* thereof which had been used amongst the ancient *Gentiles*; descended on them by *tradition*: whereas those later adjuncts of *Religious Worship*, (pardon the profanation of the phrase) were taken up on *imitation*. And therefore as they had their *Sacrifices* and their *Altars* in the former times, in the unpolished ages of *Idolatry*: so by degrees as they grew more exact and punctual in their wicked waies, they set apart selected *times* for the performance of their *Idol-worship*, made choice of *persons* to attend that *service*, and consecrated sumptuous *houses* to be the seat or receptacle of those several gods, to whom that service was intended. The several Gods in *Rome*, if one went no further, the stately and magnificent *Temples* unto them belonging, the several *monethly* festivals and *annuall* solemnities, together with those many Colledges of *Priests* maintained and founded for the *service* of those several Gods; were proof enough of this, if there were no more. And though we might con- II.

tent our selves with this general note; yet we will speak a word or two of those *times* and *places*, which they had dedicated to the *service* of the gods they worshipped: to shew that though they could not reach the height of the true Religion, and knew not the intent of those *legal sacrifices*, which were imposed upon the *Jewes*; yet they resolved to come as near it, as they could, and misse. First for the time, the *Grecians* hallowed constantly three daies in every *moneth*, *viz.* the first, the fourth, the seventh. Πρῶτον ἐν ᾗ, τελευτῆς τε καὶ ἑβδόμη ἱερὸν ἦμαρ *, as it is in *Hesiod*: whereof the first was consecrated to *Apollo*, the fourth to *Mercury*, the seventh again unto *Apollo* †, as is observed by *Alexander ab Alexandro*. And this (the last I mean) is noted by the *Scholiast* also. *A novilunio exorsus laudat tres, omnes sacras dicens*, septimam *etiam ut* Apollinis *natalem celebrans* *. Particularly the *Athenians* did offer unto *Theseus* their greatest and more solemn *sacrifice*, upon the eighth day of *October*, because of his arrivall on that day from *Crete* †, and kept an half holiday as it were, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀγδόαις, upon the eighth day of every moneth, because of his descent from *Neptune*, to whom the eighth of every moneth, had before been consecrated. The sect of *Epicures* hallowed the 20 day of every *Moon*, it may be to their god, *the belly*: others the last of every moneth to *Pluto* *. So for the *Romans* who came after in respect of time, besides the second day of every moneth to the *Bonus Genius*, and the fifteenth to *Minerva*, they consecrated the ninth to *Jupiter*: which was indeed the greatest and most solemn of their monethly holidaies, *Nundinas* Jovis *feriae esse ait Gravius Licinius*, as it is noted by *Macrobius* †. Besides which *monethly* times of worship, and those which every private man might separate for his own occasions: both people also had their solemn standing *Anniversaries*, kept with great pomp, and celebrated with variety of *rites* and *sacrifices*: the Catalogue of the which who list to see, may finde them gathered to his hand in that laborious Treatise of *Hospinian*, entituled *De Origine festorum*. By which we see, that though the *Gentiles* did not keep the *weekly* holiday, which was imposed upon the *Jewes*; yet they had several *daies* each moneth as many as the *Jewes*, though not the same, for *publick* worship,

* Hesiod. ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι.

† Alexand. ab Alex. dies Genial. l. 3. c. 18.

* Scholiast. in Hesiodum.

† Plut. in vita Thesei.

* Hospinian de Origine Fest. c. 5.

† Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. c. 16.

ship; and for the number of their *Annual* feasts, their times of pompous and more solemn *worship*, they went far beyond them. But that wherein they came most near the *Jewes*, was in the building of their *Temples*; which in the *form* and distribution of the parts were so contrived, as if their workmen had proceeded by the pattern of King *Solomons* Temple. For as the *Temple* (taking it in the circuit and outworks thereof) did contain three parts, *viz.* the Courts, the *Sanctum*, and the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, according to their several ministeries by the Law required: so were the Temples of the *Gentiles* cast into three parts also, that is to say, the Courts or *Areas* *, the body of the same which they called *Basilicas*, and last of all their *Adyta*, or more secret places, wherein the worshipped deity was supposed to be. The *Areas* of these *Temples*, and the *Porticos*, together with the *nave* or body of them, were easily accessible to all sorts of people; but, for their *Adyta*, they were conceived to be ἀθέατα καὶ ἀφανούμενα †, not to be trod upon, or looked into but by the *Priests*. And hereto *Cæsar* doth agree, where speaking of the *occulta & remota Templi*, the secret and remote parts of their Temples, which sometimes they called *Penetralia*, and sometimes Ἄδυτα, he addes this brief note: *Quo præter sacerdotes adire fas non est* *, that none were suffered but their *Priests*, to go into them.

* *Rosinus Antiqu Rom. l. 2. c. 2.*

† *Jul. Pollux. l. 2. cap. 1. num. 8.*

* *Cæsar de Bello Civil. l. 5.*

III. (3) Thus have we found amongst the *Gentiles*, *Temples* and *Priests*, as well as *Gods* and *Sacrifices*; and more then so, prescribed and determinate *times*, whereon those *Priests* and *Temples* were to be imployed, on which those gods were to be feasted with *oblations*, and made fat with *sacrifices*. The next thing here to be considered are the *certain formes* (if any such be to be found amongst them) which were accustomably used in those solemnities. For that some *certain formes* there were, from which it was not lawfull for the *Priest* to vary in the performance of his office, nor for the people to dissent when they made their *prayers*, or brought their *offerings*; is evident to any one that hath consulted with the ancients: Many of which shall be collected and presented in that which followeth. These they comprised together in a book or volume, which was committed to the *Priests*

for their instruction and direction, to be made use of in their *sacrifices*, or other parts of *worship* as occasion was. So witnesseth *Agellius* plainly, or *A. Gellius*, if you will; for I dispute not of the name, so I have the man. *Comprecationes deorum immortalium quæ ritu* Romano *diis fiunt, expositæ sunt in libris sacerdotum* Populi Romani, *& in plerisq; antiquis orationibus* *. The *prayers* (saith he) which after the *rites* and manner of the *Romans*, are made to the immortall Gods, are all comprised in the books belonging to the *Priests* of the people of *Rome*, and in most ancient *prayers* (or Orations) which still remain upon record. And this I take to be an evidence above all exception; as to the *quod sit* of the point, that such *formes* they had. And these I take it were the books which *Lactantius* cals *Pontificum ipsorum scripta* †; and to the which he doth refer his reader to be more throughly informed, *de sacrificiis & mysteriis deorum*, touching the mysteries or sacrifices of their several gods. Their *Rituals* we may rightly call them. For further proof whereof (if more proof be needfull) I would fain know what else should be the meaning of those *verba certa, & solennia*; which do occur so often in the ancient writers of that people; in case they do not mean those *set formes* or words, which both the *Priests* and *People* were to use, in celebrating their accustomed *sacrifices*, or other parts of *publick* worship. What else should be the meaning of these *solennes preces* which we finde in *Ovid, lib. 6. de Fastis*; of the *solennem precem quindecem virorum*, mentioned in *Statius Papinius, lib. 4. Sylv.* or of that of *Seneca* the Tragœdian *,

* *A. Gellius, Noctes Atticæ. l. 13 c. 21.*

† *Lactant. de divin. Institut. l. 1. c. 21.*

* *Senec. in Oedipo Act. 2. Sce. 2.*

In vota superos voce solenni voca,
Arasq; dono thuris Eoi extrue?

No question, but in all those passages, the *solennes preces*, & *solennis vox* are to be understood of those *formes* of prayer, which were *prescribed* unto the *Priests*, and by him *dictated* unto the *people*: in which regard, as they were sometimes called *verba certa*, so they are called other whiles *verba dictata*. For thus the Poet *Juvenal*, ——*Dictataq; verba*

præ-

prætulit *. *i. e.* as the old *Scholiast* doth expound it, *dictata a Sacerdote vel haruspice*, such words as had been dictated by the *Priest* or *Augur*, according to the publick *Ritual*. And to this purpose that of *Valerius Flaccus*, *Dictat pia vota sacerdos* †, the Priest did *dictate* to the party, the set words or *forme*, in which the vow was to be conceived. And for the *verba certa*, which before we spake of, they are no other then those words or *formes*, which were prescribed in the performance of these *publick* offices. For thus saith *Cicero*, speaking of some of the ancients *Generals*, who willingly had offered up their lives to preserve their Countrey: he tels us of them that they did *seipsos diis immortalibus, velato capite, VERBIS CERTIS pro Repub. devovere* *. So *Varro*, the most famous Antiquarie of the *Latines*, gives us this character or definition of their *dies Fasti*, that they were such, *quibus* certa verba *legitima sine piaculo Prætoribus licet fari* †. And thus the old Grammarian *Pompeius Festus*, telling us what is meant by *Minora Templa*, saith that they are *loca aliqua ab Auguribus VERBIS CERTIS definita* *, places laid out and limited by the *Augurs* under a *certain form* of words, as in another place he tels us, that *Temples* are sometimes called *Fana, a Fando*; and gives this reason of the same, *quod dum Pontifex dedicat CERTA VERBA fatur.*

* *Juvenal. Sat. 6.*

† *Valer. Flaccus Argenautic. l. 1*

* *Cicero de natur. deorum l. 2*

† *Varro de lingu. Latin. l. 5.*

* *Festus Pompeius in Minora*

(4) The *Temple* being consecrated, and the *Priest* in readinesse, we must next go unto the *sacrifice*, to look upon the *rites* and *set formes* of that. These we will borrow from *Rosinus*, who doth at large describe them in this wise, as followeth †. *Cum* sacerdos *victimam ad aram adduxisset, stans manu Aram prehendebat, & preces fundebat. Principium precationis a* Jano *&* Vesta *fieri oportebat, quæ in omnibus sacris præcipua numina erant, & in votis nuncupandis compellationem primam meruerant; inde, quod per eos aditus ad cæteros patere opinio erat. Et observabatur in ea precatione ut* Jupiter *Pater Opt. Max. omnesq; dii cæteri* Patres *advocarentur. Ne quid vero verborum præteriretur, aut præposterè recitaretur, descripto* præire *aliquem, rursusq; alium custodem dari, qui attenderet sedulo; alium qui favere* linguis *juberet & tibicinem canere, ne quid infaustum audiretur, oportebat.* i. e. "when the *Priest* had brought the *sacrifice* "unto

IV.

† *Rosinus Antiq. Rom. l. 3. c. 33.*

"unto the Altar, he stood and held the *Altar* in his hand, "(or his hand rather upon it) and made the ordinary "*prayers*. His *prayers* were to begin with invocation of *Janus* "and *Vesta*, as having the chief place in all their sacrifices, "and being usually first called upon in all their vowes and "supplications; on an opinion that by them the way was "made more facile to the other Gods. And 'twas observed "that in that *prayer* not only Father *Jupiter* the best and "greatest was invoked or called upon, but also all the re-"sidue of the greater deities. And that there might no "word be pretermitted or spoke out of *order*, the custome "was that some did first repeat the *solemn* words as they "were described in the *Ritual*, which were said after him "by the people present; others were appointed for *over-"seers*, to attend the office; others there were who did "command the people silence, and set the *Musician* to his "singing, lest any ominous or unlucky sound should be "heard amongst them. This in the way of preparation. And all this as you see consisted in *prayers* and *orizons* unto the gods, that they would graciously accept the intended *sacrifice*: and those not arbitrary, at the discretion of the *Priest*, but such as were *prescribed* and limited both for the *method*, and the *manner*. Which being written in a book (or *Ritual* as before I call'd it) the *Priest* did thence *præire verba*, pronounce the usuall and *accustomed* words, the *people* saying after him, what he thence pronounced. And whereas it is said by *Rosinus* here, that some of the attendants used to command the people silence, saying *favete linguis*, as we saw before: even those were words prescribed and limited, *solemn* and *formal* words in all *publick* sacrifices. For thus we finde it in the Poet *Horace*, *Favete linguis, Carmina non prius audita, Musarum sacerdos virginibus puerisq; canto* *; & *Statius Papinius*, thus, *Lucanum canimus, favete linguis* †: And *Servius* on those words of *Virgil*, *Ore favete omnes, & cingite tempora ramis*, makes this observation, *Apto sermone usus est in sacrificiis & ludis. Nam in sacris taciturnitas necessaria est, quod etiam Præco magistratu sacrificante dicebat, Favete linguis* *. The like we also have in *Seneca*, in his book

* *Horat. Carm. l. 3. ode 1.*

† *Statius Sylv. l. 2.*

* *Servius in Virgil. Æneid. l. 5.*

de

de beata vita ad Gallionem. But to proceed, as they made way unto their *sacrifices* with certain and determinate *prayers* to those several *numina* to whom the service was intended, so when the *sacrifice* was ended and the *rites* performed; they shut up all with *hymnes* and *praises*, of which thus *Rosinus. Ubi quod diis tributum esset conflagrasset, ad epulas ipsi & convivia convertebantur. Inter vescendum diis laudes canebant, pedibusq; circum aras complodentes ad numeros psallebant, & pulsatis cymbalis choreas agebant* *. *i. e.* "After the portion of the sacri- "fice which was appropriated to the gods, was burnt, they "all betook themselves to feast and banquet: and in the "middle of their meat, sang *hymns* or *songs* of praise unto "their gods, and playing on their *Cymbals* danced about the "Altars. The reason of which last is thus given from *Servius; ut nulla pars corporis sit quæ non sentiret religionem*, that there might be no part of the body without some sense of religious action which was then in hand: the *songs* relating to the minde or soul; the *dancing* to the motions of the body.

* *Rosinus Antiqu. Rom. l. 3. c. 33.*

V. Next for the *sacrifice* it self, he describes it thus. *His peractis, sacrum ab* immolatione *sacerdos inchoabat* †. *Fruges aut* molam *salsam in caput victimæ deponebat, addito thure masculo. Vocabatur ritus ille* immolatio, *quasi* molæ *in caput victimæ collocatio. Deinde vinum aspergebat: sed priusquam id effunderet, scipulo aut simpuvio ligneo, vel fictili admodum parvo & ipse leviter* delibabat: *& astantibus gustandum deferebat, ut pariter libarent. Vocabatur hic ritus* Libatio. *Quo facto setas inter cornua victimæ manu evulsas tanquam prima libamina projiciebat in ignem, conversusq;* ad ortum *obliquum cultrum a fronte* victimæ *ad caudam ducebat. Tandem* victimam *Diis exhibitam & dedicatam jubebat jugulare ministros; qui quod mactarent eas* Cultarii *&* Victimarii, *a nonnullis* Popæ *&* Agones *vocabantur. Reliqui partim admotis vasculis emanantem cruorem excipiebant, partim* victimam *excoriabant & abluebant, partim igne accendebant. Ubi perpurgata erat, mox* Aruspex, Flamen, *aut* sacerdos *cultro ferreo viscera rimabatur, attenteq; explorabat an perlitatum foret. Non autem manu licebat contrectare* viscera, *ne qua offensa pollutis sacris intercideret. Inspectis tandem & exquisitis singulis, ex omni viscere & membro Ministri*

† *Id. ibid.*

nistri partes certas, decisas, farina farris involvebant, & in caluthis sacrificanti *offerebant:* sacerdos *Aris impositas foculo incenso comburebat, quod* reddere *erat &* Litare. *Eum ignem ex* olea, lauru, *&* quercu *corticis crassioris, aut cujus caudex cavus fungosusq; esset, accendere vel* Numinibus *adolere nefas erat, suspecta enim erant ligna illa, tanquam diri ac mali omninis.* So far, and in these words *Rosinus*; the sense and substance of the which take from an Author of these times *, as followeth. "The "*Priest* or sacrificer having ended his preparatory *prayers*, he "laid upon the head of the beast a little corn, together with "a cake made of meal and salt, called in Latine, *Mola*. From "this ceremony, the act of sacrificing hath been called *Im-* "*molatio*. After this he drank wine out of an earthen or "wooden chalice, called in Latine *Simpulum* or *Simpuvium*: "which afterwards was carried unto all the people, that they "might also *libare*, which is lightly taste thereof, which rite "was therefore called *Libatio*. Every one having tasted thereof, "the rest of the wine with Frankincense mixt in it, was to be "powred on the beasts head betwixt the hornes: and the "*Priest* plucking off some of the beasts hairs which grew be-"tween the horns, did cast them into the fire, calling them his "*prima Libamina* or first offerings. Then turning his face to-"wards *the East*, he drew a long crooked knife from "the forehead of the beast unto his tail; commanding his "inferiour *Ministers*, which from this knife were called *Culta-*"*rii*, and *Victimarii*, as also *Popæ*, and *Agones*, to kill the beast. "And of the people standing by, some did with vessels save "the bloud, others did flea or skin the beast, and others washed "it. Anon the *Soothsayer*, *Priest*, or *Flamen* did observe the "intrails, and turning and winding them with a knife, "which was called *Secespita a secando:* for he might not "touch them with his hand, for fear lest some pollution "might befall the sacrifice, and therewith all his hand have "perished. Now after the *Soothsayer* or *Priest* had sufficiently "turned the *intrails*, and found no ill token therein, then "did those *Ministers* or under-officers cut off from every "bowel, some part or portion, which after they had row-"led in barley meal, they presented it in baskets to the *Priest*, who

*Roman. Histor. Anthol l. 2. sect. 2. c. 19

"who laid them on the *Altar* and there burnt them; and "this was properly termed *litare* and *reddere, i. e.* to satisfie "by sacrifice, or to pay the sacrifice which had been ow-"ing to the gods. Adde here, that for the *fire* with which they used to burn their *sacrifice*, it was not to be made of the *Olive tree*, nor of the *Bay-tree*, nor an oake of a thicker bark, or which was of an hollow or spungious body; these trees being of an ominous and suspected quality. And 'tis observable withall, *Singulis diis victimas suas deputatas esse* *, that every god had his distinct and several sacrifice, both in kinde and numbers: which are recited by *Rosinus* in the place aforesaid, and there may easily be found. It is enough that we have noted here those *determinate rites*, those *prescribed formes* and ceremonies, wherewith their *sacrifices* were performed: that it may thereby be demonstrated how little (or indeed nothing in a manner) was left unto the *Priests* discretion, for *form* or matter.

* *Rosinus Antiq. Rom. l. 3. c. 33.*

VI. (6) But then perhaps it may be said, that this is to be understood of such *rites* only, as wholly did consist in action: and that there might some liberty be left (notwithstanding this) in words and matter of expression. That therefore shall be looked on next; and being looked on, will be found to be as much prescribed and limited, as the others were. For first, it was the custome of the *Grecians* in the beginning of their *sacrifices*, to use these *words* (and these *words* alwaies) to the people, τίς τῶδε, *i. e.* who is here? to which the people did as constantly return this answer, πολλοὶ γὠγαθοί, many men and good †. A proeme very pertinent to the work in hand: the *gods* being thought of too great *majesty*, to be attended by a *few*; and *sacrifice* a work of too great *piety*, to be performed in the presence of a *wicked* person. In which regard as well the *Grecians* as the *Romans* did use a *certain form* of words before they entred on their *sacrifices*, whereby they warned all wicked and unholy persons not to come too near. The form used by the *Greeks* was this, Ἔκας, ἔκας ὅστε βέβηλοι *, be all profane far hence, from this holy busnesse. And hereto *Orpheus* doth allude, when he would have the *Temple* doors shut against the *wicked*, lest they should enter in and

† *Aristophan.*

* *Callimachus ap. Servium in Æneid. 6.*

profane the ceremony. Φθέγξομαι οἷς θέμις ἐστι, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις πᾶσιν ὁμῶς *. which words of *Orpheus* are cited both by *Justin M.* and by *Tatianus*, two very ancient *Christian* writers, though by the fault of the transcriber, in stead of θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις πᾶσιν ὁμῶς, which is the true and proper reading, we find there, θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι πάντες ὁμῶς †. Which rather seems to keep the *wicked* and profane persons in the *Temple*, then to shut them out. Now that it was the shutting out of such, which is here intended, appeareth by that passage touching *Epiphanius*, a famous *Sophister*, who having made an hymn in the praise of *Bacchus*, in the reciting of the same (ὡς ἔθος τοῖς τοιάδε ἐπιδεικνυμένοις) according to the usual *form*, τὸς ἀμύητος καὶ βεβήλους ἐξιέναι θύρας ἐκέλευεν *, commanded all unholy and *profane* to avoid the room. And now I am fallen upon this *Hymn* to *Bacchus*, I shall adde thus much, that in the sacrifices made unto him, the *Priests* did thus bespeak the people, Ἀινεῖτε θεὸν, *Sing ye praise to God*; and thereunto the people answered, Σεμέλης Ἰάκχε πλουτοδότα. *O Semeles fili, Iacche, largitor opum* †. But this is somewhat from the purpose, I return again; and in returning finde the self same *form* to have been used also by the *Latines*. *Procul, O procul ite PROFANI, Conclamat vates, totoq; absistite luco*, as it is in *Virgil* *, where he describes the *form* of sacrifice which was then in use much after that, which was collected from *Rosinus*. The like hath *Silius Italicus* on the like occasion †;

* *Orpheus* περὶ θεοῦ *sive de Deo.*

† *Justin Mart. in Paranetico.*

* *Sozomen. Eccl. hist. l. 6. c. 25. καὶ.*

† *Ap. Casaubon. in Annal. Eccl. Exercit. 16. n. 42.*

* *Virgil. Æneid. 6.*

† *Silius Ital. de Bello Punico l. 17.*

Tum puppe e media magno clamore Sacerdos,
Parcite pollutis contingere vincula palmis,
Et procul hinc, *moneo*, procul hinc *quæcunq; PROFANÆ.*

The like hath *Ovid* in the 7 of his *Metamorphosis*, where speaking of *Medea* and her incantations, he thus brings it in *;

* *Ovid. Metam. l. 7.*

Hinc

Hinc procul *Æsonidem*, procul hinc *jubet ire ministros,*
Et monet arcanis oculos removere PROFANOS.

In all which passages the Poets plainly do allude to the usual *formes* wherewith the *Priests* began their sacrifices. And yet for further proof thereof, lest possible it may be thought that the aforesaid *form* of words hath more of the *Poet* in it then of the *Priest*, we have *Tertullian* speaking of those *rites* and ceremonies wherewith the *Gentiles* did initiate or begin their sacrifices, and therein using this expression, *Cum semper impiæ initiationes arceant PROFANOS* *. This *form*, or if you will, those *formal words*, as they were constantly observed in the *beginning* of the sacrifice: so were there others no lesse duly used in the very *middle* of the same. For when the *Priest* did powre the wine upon the head of the beast (whatsoever it was) which was intended for the *sacrifice*, (and so he was to do, as was shewn before) he alwaies used this *form* of words †, *Mactus hoc vino inferio esto.* And thus observed by *Servius* in his notes on *Virgil*, *Quoties aut thus aut vinum super victimam fundebatur, dicebant*, mactus est Taurus vino vel thure, *hoc est cumulata est hostia*, i. e. *magis aucta* *. Yet so that many times the *form* did vary, according to the *service* of the god to whom the *sacrifice* was offered. For if the sacrifice were made to *Janus*, then the words ran thus, † *JANE Pater, uti te strue commovenda, bonas preces bene precatus sum, ejusdem rei ergo, Macte vino inferio esto*: but if to *Jupiter* then thus, *JUPITER Dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto; macte vino inferio esto.* Where note that howsoever there appear a difference in the first part of these two *formes*, which were to be disposed and fitted according to the several occasions of the several *offerings*: yet for the last clause, that which was said upon the powring of the wine on the head of the *sacrifice*, there is no difference at all. And note withall, that the wine here is called *vinum inferium*, either *ab inferendo*, because it was brought in for that end and purpose to be be-

* *Tertul. in Apologet.*

† *Arnobius adv. Gentes l. 7.*

* *Servius in Æned. l. 9.*

† *M. Cato de re Rustica. c. 134.*

stowed upon the gods: or else as *Festus* rather thinks, *quod in sacrificando infra pateræ labrum ponebatur* *, because that in the act of *sacrificing*, it was placed within the lip or brim of the platter.

* *Festus in verborum significatione.*

VII. (7) But not to spend more time (all that we have being too little for this following search) amongst our *Criticks* and *Grammarians*: from *formes* of words though strictly both *prescribed* and practised; let us go on to *formes* of prayers. Where first besides that made to *Janus* before remembred; we have another of that kinde, and on that occasion; said usually *in strue Jano commovenda* (now *strues* was a kinde of cake which the *Gentiles* offered to their Gods †) and is this that followeth. *JANE Pater, te hac strue commovenda bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi, liberisq; meis, domo, familiæq; meæ* *. And besides that to *Jupiter Dapalis*, which we saw but lately, we have another of the same, made at the offering of a *cake* also, which they called *Fertum*, thus, *JUPITER te hoc ferto obmovendo bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi, liberisq; meis, domo, familiæq; meæ* †; the very same, more then the change of the *oblation*, as before to *Janus*. It seems that both these *prayers* and offerings were made unto the aforesaid Gods, upon the coming in of *harvest*, when they had gathered in their corn, and satisfied themselves with the fruits thereof. For the prosperity of which fruits whilest they were yet growing. I finde a very *formal* prayer to be said to *Mars*, at such time as they made *procession* to view their fields, and *pray* unto the gods for their blessing on them. But why to *Mars*, more then to any other of the gods, that I cannot say; unlesse perhaps because he was the proper deity of the *Fratres arvales*, a Colledge or fraternity of *Priests* so named, *quod sacra publica faciunt, propterea ut fruges ferant arva* *, because they used to offer *publick* sacrifice, that the earth might bring forth her increase. But whatsoever was the reason of it, I am sure that the prayer was this; and 'tis the most compleat and perfect of any one that I have met with. *MARS te precor quæsoq; uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiæq; nostræ. Cujus rei ergo, agrum, terram, fundumq; meum*, Suovetaurilia (what they

† *Festus de verborum significatione.*

* *Cato de re Rustica. c.134.*

† *Id. ibid.*

* *Rosinus Antiqu. Rom. l. 3. c. 6.*

they were we have seen before, Num. 4.) *circumagi jussi; uti tu morbos visos invisosq; viduertam vastitudinemq;, calamitates intemperiasq; prohibessis, defendas, avertunceſq; uti tu fruges, frumenta, vineta, virgultaq; grandire, beneq; evenire sinas, pastores, pecuaq; salva servassis; duisq, bonam salutem, valetudinemq; mihi, domo, familiæq; nostræ. Harumce rerum ergo,* Macte hisce Suovetaurilibus *esto* *. Which prayer being very full and punctual, as you see it is, is thus contracted by *Tibullus* †,

* *Cato de re Rustica. c.* 141.

† *Tibullus Eleg. l.* 2. *eleg.* 1.

Dii Patrii purgamus agros, purgamus agrestes;
Vos mala de nostris pellite limitibus.

And on the other side it is as much extended or drawn out in length by *Ovid*, in his book *de Fastis*, where he describes the feast which they called *Palilia* *, and thither I refer the Reader. For other *prayers*, but of a different kinde, as of a different occasion from those before, take this of *Psyche* unto *Juno*: which though it be recorded in a fabulous story, is yet according to the *formes* which were then in use, and is this now following. † *Magni JOVIS germana & conjuga, sive tu SAMI, quæ querulo partu, vagituq;, & alimonia tua gloriatur, tenes vetusta delubra; sive celsæ* Carthaginis, *quæ te virginem, vectura Leonis cœlo commeantem, percolit, beatas sedes frequentas; sive prope ripas* Inachi, *qui te jam nuptam Tonantis, & Reginam dearum memorat, inclytis Argivorum præsides mœnibus; quam cunctus Oriens* Zygiam *appellat: sis meis extremis casibus JUNO sospita, meq; in tantis exantlatis laboribus defessam, imminentis periculi metu libera; quod sciam soles periclitantibus subvenire.* And finally take this for a close of all, used at the consecrating of a Grove for religious uses, at which they *sacrificed* a swine or porker, with this *solemn* form. *Si deus si dea es quorum illud sacrum est, uti tibi jus siet porco piaculo facere, illiusq; sacri* * *coerandi ergo, sive Ego, sive quis jussu meo fecerit, uti id recte factum siet: ejus rei ergo te hoc* Porco *piaculo immolando bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi, domo familiæq; meæ liberisq; meis. Harumce rerum ergo,* Macte hoc porco piaculo im-

* *Ovid. de Fastis lib.* 4.

† *Apuleius de Aureo Asino. l.* 6.

* *Coerare*, an old Latine word, the same with *curare* in the modern.

immolando *esto* *. More of these instances might be produced, were not these sufficient, to shew that even the *Gentiles* were no strangers to *set formes* of prayer; whether we look upon them in their *solemn* sacrifices, or their *occasional* devotions.

* *Extat ap. Caton. de re Rust. c. 139.*

VIII. (8) Now as they used *set formes* of prayer when they applied themselves unto the gods, for the *obtaining* of their favours; so did they tie themselves to *prescribed formes* either of *invocation* or of *adjuration*, when they intended to devote themselves to some sudden death, for preservation of their Countrey; or practised to *entice* the gods of other nations, to leave their former dwellings, and repair to them. This last a thing much used amongst them in those times of darkness, on a conceit, that there was little hope to subdue those people against whom they had waged wars, or to be masters of that City, State or Countrey, whose conquest they had undertaken; till the said People, City, State, or Countrey should be forsaken of their gods. This made the *Greeks* endevour with such care and cunning, to get into their hands the image of *Pallas* called the *Palladium*; being well assured in their own opinion †, that *Troy* could never be surprized or forced, till they were masters of that piece. And to this *Virgil* doth allude, where he complaineth that the gods had forsook their Altars, and dwelt no longer in their *Adyta*, the most retired and inward part of all their *Temples*, as before was shewn. *Excessere omnes* Adytis *arisq; relictis Dii quibus imperium hoc steterat* *, as the Poet hath it. Upon which place it is observed by *Servius* briefly, *ante expugnationem*, evocari *ab hostibus numina, propter evitanda sacrilegia*; which is the same in substance with that before. But for a larger and more full description both of the thing it self, and the reason of it, take this of *Ludovicus Vives*; *Cum oppugnabantur civitates, eratq, in animo Imperatoribus eas demoliri, ne contra deos bellum geri videretur, iiq; suis sedibus moveri inviti, quod nefas erat*, evocabantur *ex obsessa civitate ab Imperatore obsidente, ut in urbem victricem volentes migrarent* †. And this, saith he, did *Camillus* at the siege of *Veii*, *Scipio* at the subversion of *Carthage*, and *Numania*, and *Mummius* at the destruction of *Co-*

† *Virgil. Æneid. l. 2.*

* *Id. ibid.*

† *Ludov. Vives in August de Civita. dei. l. 2. c. 22.*

Corinth. Now for the *forme*, or prescribed words of *evocation*, which were used herein, they were these that follow, as they were used by *Scipio* at the siege of *Carthage*. *Si deus, si dea est, cui populus civitasq;* Carthaginiensis *est tutela, Teq; maxime ille qui urbis hujus populiq; tutelam recepisti, precor venerorq; veniamq; a vobis peto, ut vos populum, civitatem* Carthaginiensem *deseratis, loca, Templa, sacra, urbemq; eorum relinquatis, absq; his abeatis, eiq; populo, civitati metum, formidinem, oblivionem injiciatis, proditiq;* Romam *ad me, meosq; veniatis, nostræq;* urbis *loca, templa sacra, urbs acceptior probatiorq; sit, mihiq; populoq;* Romano *militibusq; meis præpositi sitis, ut sciamus intelligamusq;. Si ita feceritis, voveo vobis Templa ludosq; facturum* *. Shorter was this, but to the same effect and purpose, used by *Camillus* at the siege of *Veii*, when he enticed Queen *Juno* to desert the place. *Te simul JUNO Regina, quæ nunc* Veios *colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamq; mox futuram urbem sequare; ubi te dignum amplitudine tua Templum accipiat* †. It seems the *form* increased both in words and circumstance according to the growth and puissance of the *Roman* State: which was far greater in the time of *Scipio*, then when *Camillus* governed the affairs of *Rome*. Put all together, and you will think the *Tyrians* had good reason for what they did, (the dotage of the times considered) when having *Apollo* in suspicion that he meant to leave them, or possibly might be thus inticed from them, they fastned him unto their *Altars* with a massie chain, * as *Plutarch* doth relate the story.

* *Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 3. c. 9.*

† *Livius in hist. R. Decad. 1. l. 5.*

* *Plut. in vita Alexandri.*

(9) Thus also when some zealous Patriot had a purpose to *devote* himself unto sudden and unavoidable destruction, for preservation of his Countrey, from some imminent ruine: they did it not without a *certain form* of words, dictated to them by the *Priest* who attended on them, for the promotion of that service. That so they did, we have examples many in the stories both of *Greeks* and *Romans*: amongst which that of *Codrus* the *Athenian* King †, and *Decius* the *Roman* General, are of most antiquity. And for the form in which they did it, we have it thus laid down, in that of *Decius*, when in a war against the *Latines*, the *Romans* beginning

IX.

† *V. Velleium Patero. hist. l. 1.*

ning to give ground, he said aloud unto the *Priest* or *Pontifex*, who did attend upon the Army, *Pontifex* præi verba, *quibus me pro legionibus devoveam*, that they should *dictate* to him the accustomed words, in which he was to dedicate or *devote* himself unto the gods, for the preservation of the *Legions*. This said, the *Priest* appointed him to put on his Gown (which they called *toga prætexta*) and with an hood upon his head, and his hand raised up unto his chin, to stand upon a dart or weapon, and to say as followeth. *Jane, Jupiter, Mars pater, Quirine, Bellona, Lares, Divi Novensiles, Dii indigetes, Divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumq; Diiq; manes, vos precor, veneror, veniam peto feroq; uti populo Romano Quiritium vim victoriamq; prosperetis: hostesq; populi* Romani Quiritium *terrore, formidineq; morteq; afficiatis. Sicut verbis nuncupavi, ita pro Repub.* Quiritium, *exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi* Rom. Quiritium, *legiones auxiliaq; hostium mecum, Diis manibus Telluriq; DEVOVEO* *. Which said he furiously cast himself into the middle of the enemies, as if he had been sent by the gods of purpose, *qui pestem ab suis aversam in hostes ferret*, to carry all their anger with him to the adverse party. And that this was the *solemn form* used constantly on those occasions, appears not only by the words of *Decius* to the *Priest* or *Pontifex*, before remembred; but also by the following practise: the self same *form, quo pater DECIUS bello Latino se jusserat DEVOVERI* †, being used after by the younger *Decius*, on the like occasion, in a war against the *Gaules* and *Samnites*. Such also was the *solemn form* which the *Romans* used, when they *devoted* any of their enemies, their Camps, and Cities to the same perdition. A copy or record whereof is still remaining in *Macrobius*, from whom take it thus. * *Dis Pater, sive Jovis Manes, sive quo alio nomine fas est nominare, ut omnes illam urbem* Carthaginem, *exercitumq; quem ego me sentio dicere, fuga, formidine, terrore compleatis, quiq; adversus legiones exercitumq; nostrum arma telaq; ferent, uti vos eos exercitus, eos hostes, eosq; homines, urbes, agrosq; eorum, & qui in his locis regionibusq; agris urbibusq; habitant, abducatis, lumine supero privetis; exercitusq; hostium, urbes agrosq; eorum quos me sentio dicere, uti vos eas urbes agrosq; capita-*

* *Livie. in hist. R. Decad. 1. l. 8.*

† *Id. decad. 1. l. 10.*

* *Macrob. Saturn. l. 3. c. 9.*

ta ætatesq; eorum DEVOTAS *consecratasq; habeatis, illis legibus, quibus quandoq; sunt maxime hostes* devoti: *eosq, ego Vicarios pro me, fide, magistratuq; meo, & pro populo* Romano, *exercitibus Legionibusq; nostris* devoveo: *ut me, meamq; fidem, imperiumq; Legiones exercitumq; nostrum, qui in his rebus gerundis sunt, bene salvos sinatis esse. Si hæc ita faxitis, ut ego sciam, sentiam, intelligamq; tunc quisquis votum hoc faxit, ubi faxit, recte factum esto, ovibus atris tribus, Tellus mater, teq; Jupiter obtestor.* In the performance of which part of their devotions, it is observed by my Author, that when the party, whosoever he was, named the *Earth*, or *Tellus*, he stooped unto the ground and touched it; when he named *Jove*, he lift his hands up to the heavens; and when he came to the *devoting* of the place or people, he layed them then upon his breft. Sufficient evidence, that not alone the *formes*, but their very *gestures* were prescribed and regulated.

(10) For further proof whereof (of the last I mean) if we consult the *Latine* Authors of best rank and credit, it will soon be found, that there was little in the point of *gesture* left at liberty; but almost every circumstance in the *Act of worship*, determined and appointed to their hands: the *Gentiles* generally making their *prayers* upon their *knees*, their *hands* stretched unto the *heavens*, their faces looking towards the *east*, and their *heads* uncovered. These are the most considerable passages in the Act of *worship*; and these we shall run over briefly. First that they prayed upon their *knees*, and more then so, lay *prostrate* sometimes on the earth, in the act of *worship*, is evident by several testimonies, both of their own writers and of the *Christian*. For *Ovid* tels us of the *Roman* Matrons that *genibus nixas deos orasse* *, that they *kneeled* on their knees when they made their *prayers*: the like saith *Livie* also, whereof more anon: and *Apuleius* brings in *Psyche* falling on her *knees* †, when she powred forth her prayers to *Juno*. Thus *Ovid* tels us also of *Deucalion & Pyrrha*, that when they came unto the Temple, *Procumbit uterq; pronus humi* *, they both fell *prostrate* on the earth. And so *Tibullus* of himself, that he would never stick at that, *viz.* to fall down *prostrate*, yea to kisse the pavement.

X.

* *Ovid. Faster. l. 4.*

† *Apul. Metamoph. l. 6.*

* *Ovid. Metam. l. 1.*

Non ego, si merui, dubitem procumbere *Templis*;
Et dare sacratis oscula *limitibus* *.

* *Tibull. l.* 1. *El.* 5.

More of this kinde might be added here, were not these sufficient. And for the *Christian* writers, they observe it also: *Arnobius* noting of the Gentiles, *deorum ante ora* prostratos *esse*, that they fell *prostrate* when they came before their gods; *limina ipsa* osculis *converrentes* †; and did even sweep the pavement with their *kisses*. And *Prudentius* also tels us of them, *genua incurvare Dianæ, & plantis Herculis advolvi* *; that they did bow the knee before *Diana*, and cast themselves down at the feet of *Hercules*. 'Tis true, they used to sit sometimes when as the Priest was at the sacrifice, and presently assoon as their prayers were ended: but then it is as true withall, that by *Tertullian* their irreverence therein is much condemned †, who could not patiently endure it, and therefore sheweth how much he did dislike that irreverent *gesture*. For which consult him in his Book *de Oratione*, cap. XII. Next for the lifting up of the hands to heaven, besides that place of *Virgil*,

† *Arnob. adverf. gentes l.* 1.

* *Prudentius in Apotheos.*

† *Tertull. de orat. l.* 12.

Duplices tendens ad sydera palmas, *

* *Virgil. Æneid.* 1.

which we learnt when children, in our *Grammars*, we finde this *rite* exceeding frequent in that Poet: hardly one book in all the *Æneids* in which that *posture* is not spoke of. In *Ovid* it is frequent also,

Ad sydera supplex Cressa manus tollens, †

† *Ovid. Metam. l.* 8.

In the *Metamorphosis*. And,

Ipse gubernator tollens ad sydera palmas,

In his Book *de Tristibus* *.

* *Id. Trist. l.* 1.

Thus

Thus *Livie* tels us of the matrons before remembred, *nixas genibus, supinas manus ad cœlum ac deos tendere* *, that being on their *knees*, they lifted up their *hands* unto the heavens, and so made their *prayers*. And they are joyned together by *Lucretius* also.

* *Livius in hist. Rom. dec. 4 l. 6.*

Nec procumbere humi prostratum, et pandere palmas
Ante Deum delubra ——— †

† *Lucret. l. 5.*

More of this we need not. And much there needs not to demonstrate, that they turned their faces towards the *East*, in the solemnity of their *devotions*: the point being made so universally apparent, by this note of *Servius*. For whereas it is said by *Virgil*, in the description of a sacrifice,

Illi ad surgentem conversi lumina solem,
Dant fruges manibus salsas: ———

The old *Grammarian* would not have you think that this was spoken of the Sun-rising; *Jam diudum enim dies erat*, For it had long before been day *. Not so, saith he, *Sed disciplinam ceremoniarum secutus est, ut* orientem *diceret spectare eum, qui precaturus offerat*: he only doth observe the ancient discipline and ceremonies, that he who was to pray should look toward the *East*. And this may also be collected from the contrivance of their *Temples*, which were so fashioned, as the great Architect *Vitruvius* noteth, *ut qui adierint ad aram immolantes, aut sacrificia facientes, spectent ad partem cœli Orientem* †, that they who offered sacrifice, or made their *prayers* (for so it followeth in the next words) might look towards the *East*. Finally for the *uncovering* of the head in the *Act* of *worship*, it was used generally by the *Grecians*, both in their *sacrifices* and their *prayers*, and is therefore called *Græcus ritus*, in *Macrobius* *: and by the *Romans* also in the

* *Servius in Virg. Æneid. 10*

† *Vitruvius de Architect. l. 4. c. 5.*

* *Macrob. Saturnal. lib. 1. c. 10. & l. 3. c. 6.*

the *prayers* and *sacrifices* made unto *Hercules* and *Saturn*, whereof consult *Macrob. lib.* 1. *c.* 8. & 10. and *Dionysius Halicarnass. hist. Rom. lib.* 1. as also in all Acts of *worship* whatsoever, performed at that great and ancient Altar, called *Ara Maxima* *, of old erected by the *Grecians*, before the coming of *Æneas* into *Italy*, with his *Trojan* ceremonies.

* *Macrob. l.* 1. *cap.* 10.

XI. (11) And now I am fallen upon the *Grecians* and their gestures in the *Act* of *worship*, I will lay down the *forme* and ceremonies, in which their *sacrifices*, which were their greatest Acts of *worship*, were performed and celebrated. Of these I had intended to say nothing here, partly because the punctual practise of the *Romans* would give sufficient light and evidence unto the business now in hand; but principally because the Estates of *Greece* being very many, and those too absolute and independent, I doubted I should finde but small agreement in their rites and *formes*. But finding a *set form* of sacrifice used by those of *Athens*, painfully collected to my hand by Mr. *Francis Rous* of *Oxon.* in his three books of the *Athenian Antiquities* †; in honour of his learned industry, I will here present it, leaving the allegations and authorities to be consulted in the Authors margin. Thus then saith he. * "The *Priests* being purified and prepa-"red, they came and stood round the *Altar*, having with "them a basket in which was the knife hid, (covered with "flowre and salt) wherewith they cut the throat of the *Vi-"ctime*. Then they purified the *Altar*, going about it with "the right hand towards it: which *lustration* was made with "meal and holy water sprinkled thereon. This water is "called χέρνιψ in which they quenched a firebrand taken from "the *Altar*, with which they bedewed the standers by, ac-"counting it a *cleansing*: from whence χέρνιβας νέμειν was "forbidden him, whom they took for a forlorn and pollu-"ted wretch. Then they cast some of the flowre on them. "And having thus expiated, they cryed out, τίς τῇδε; *who "is here?* to which they made reply πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί, *many and "good.* Then they prayed, speaking with a loud voice be-"fore they began, Εὐχώμεθα, i. e. *Let us pray.* Supplications "being ended, they drew the *Victime* so, as if it were to "the

† *Archaiologiæ Atticæ libri tres.*

* *Id. l.* 2. *c.* 9.

"the gods above, the head might look upwards; if it were to "the *Heroes* or *Demy gods*, with his throat downwards. Then "they slew him and skinned him, and cutting out the huck, "shin-bones and hanch they covered them with fat which is "called κνίσσα, (whence the gods of the Heathen are said by "*Nazianzen* κνίσσῃ χαίρειν, to rejoyce in the fat) to the "end that they may burn all out in a great flame. For the *Gre-* "*cians* accounted it unlucky, if it did not so consume, and "thought that it was not καλλιέρημα. Upon the ιερὸς they "cast small pieces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, "beginning with the shoulder (which in *Greek* is ὦμος) from "whence this action is called ὠμοθεσεῖν. The reason *Eu-* "*stathius* gives, ὡς δοκεῖν &c. that they might seem to con- "sume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded "by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason of "which injunction they did so strain courtesie with their "gods, that the illiberal or niggardly sort of people, "would sell that which was left, and so make a *gain* of "their *devotion*. That which they offered was the haunch- "bone, or the entrails, or somewhat of no great worth; "where by entrails you must understand the spleen, the li- "ver, and the heart, which *Homer* calleth πολύγχνα. These "the ancients did divide amongst them at *sacrifice* to feed on, "and afterwards cut out the rest to roast: for when they "had finished their devotions, they let loose the reins to all "voluptuousnesse. For many times they left nothing of "their *sacrifice*, especially when they offered unto *Vesta*: "whence the proverb Εἰσίᾳ δύειν, to *sacrifice* to *Vesta*, is "to eat up all. He also notes from *Aristophanes*, that they had their *meat-offerings*, and their *drink-offerings*; that in their *meat-offerings*, it was required that it should be sound and without blemish, whether it were an oxe, sheep, goat, swine, or calf; that he whose poverty was such that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, might with acceptance to the Gods offer a little *cake* or *Mola*, which by the richer sort was mingled with oyle and wine; and finally that in stead of this, the wealthier sort used to cast frankincense upon the *Altar*. Such were the prescribed rites and formes, in which the *Athenians* offered sacrifice to the

gods of *Attica*: and doubt we not but that the other States of *Greece*, as they had *gods* to whom to *sacrifice*, and *sacrifices* for their *gods*; so were they also regulated by a *prescript form*, in which their gods were to be *worshipped*, their *sacrifices* to be tendred.

XII. (12) But to return again to the *Roman formes*, to put an end to this discourse, we will a little look on their *formes* of *marriage*, so far forth and no further, as they did relate to religious *worship* and *invocation* of their Gods. For though they made no care nor conscience in breaking of the *bond* of *marriage* upon all occasions; yet did they seldome make a *marriage* to which the gods were not invited, or not called upon. For anciently there was no making of a *marriage* wherein the *Soothsayers*, or *Auspex* was not consulted. This *Servius* hath observed in his notes on *Virgil*, *Romani nihil nisi captatis faciebant auguriis, præcipue NUPTIAS* *; the *Romans* did not any thing (saith he) without consulting with the *Augur*, especially in point of *marriage*. In celebrating of the which, as there were certain *formal* words, so were there also *solemn* sacrifices. First for the *formal* words of *marriage*, *Boetius* doth report them thus. *Coemptio certis solennitatibus peragebatur, & sese in coomendo invicem interrogabant, Vir ita, an sibi mulier materfamilias esse vellet, illa respondebat velle: item MULIER interrogabat, an sibi vir Paterfamilias esse vellet, iller respondebat velle*, &c.† That kind of *marriage* (saith he) which is called *coemption*, was done with certain and *determinate* solemnities, proposing to each other these *interrogatories*. The man demanded of the woman, if *she would be his wedded wife*, and she said *I will*: and then the woman asked the man if *he would be her wedded husband*, and he said *he would*; which said, the man took the woman into his hands, and from thenceforth she was his *wife*. Next for the *solemn* sacrifice performed at *weddings*, there was a *form* of marriage which they called *Confarreatio*, because the married couple used to eat of a *barley cake*, which had been *offered* in the sacrifice: from whence perhaps the use of *Bride cakes* came first into this Countrey with the *Romans*; as many other of their customes did. And this was solemnized saith the great Lawyer *Ulpian*, *Certis verbis, & testibus decem præsentibus, & solemni sa-*

* *Servius in Virg. Æneid. l. 1.*

† *Boetius Comment. in Ciceronis Topica. l. 2.*

* Cited by *Rosinus Antiqu. Rom. l. 5. c. 37.*

sacrificio facto, in quo panis farreus adhibetur, under a *certain* and prescribed *form* of words, ten witnesses at the least being present, and a solemn sacrifice, wherein the *barley cake* was used, which before we spake of. The beast prepared for the sacrifice, was commonly a swine or porker, as it is in *Varro* *. And if a *sacrifice* were offered, as it seems to be, no question but it was attended with *prayers* and *orizons* unto the gods, for the prosperity of the parties. This affirmed plainly by *Valerius Flaccus* in his *Argonautica*.

* *Varro de re Rustica. l. 2. c. 4.*

Inde ubi sacrificus cum conjuge venit ad aras
Æsonides, unaq; adeunt, pariterq; precari Incipiunt &c. †

† *Valer. Flaccus Argonaut. l. 8.*

Finally, besides the laying down of money at the time of *marriage*, in the way of dowry, from whence it seemeth to be called *coemption*: the *Bridegroom* used to put a ring on the fourth finger of his *spouse*, when he made the *contract*. The thing affirmed by *Juvenal* amongst the Ancients, where speaking of a *contract* or *espousal*, he thus glanceth at it, *Jamq; a tonsore magistro Pecteris, & digitis pignus fortasse dedisti* *. The reason of it given by *Gellius*, and since him by others, because it was observed by the *Anatomists*, *repertum esse nervum quendam tenuissimum ab eo uno digito ad Cor hominis pergere ac pervenire* †, that from that finger there passed a small and slender nerve to the heart of man. More of this we may see hereafter, when we are come unto the *forme* of *marriage* in the *Christian* Church; to the determinate formes whereof we are come at last.

* *Juvenal. Sat. 6.*

† *A. Gellius Noct. Attic. l. 10. c. 10.*

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

That in the times of the Apostles Liturgies, *or* Set Formes *of ministration in the* Christian *Church, were composed and used.*

(1) THE *Jewes* and *Gentiles* made one *Church*, by *CHRIST*, our Saviour. (2) A *form* of *prayer* prescribed by *CHRIST*, to his disciples. (3) The institution of the *Christian sacrifice*, with the *set form* thereof, by our *LORD* and Saviour. (4) That the *Lords Prayer*, with other *Benedictions*, were used by the *Apostles* in the celebration of the blessed *Eucharist*. (5) A *form* of celebrating Gods *publick* service, prescribed in the first of S. *Paul* to *Timothy*, according to the judgement of the *Fathers*. (6) The *form* and manner of Gods *publick service*, described in the first to the *Corinthians*. (7) The *Hymnes* and *Psalmes* used in the Church of *Corinth*, were not voluntary but prescribed and *set*; and of the *musick* therewith used. (8) That is probable, that the *Apostles* ordained *Liturgies*, for the *publick* use. (9) What may be said touching the *Liturgies* ascribed unto S. *Peter*, *Mark*, and *James*. (10) The *form* of ministring the Sacrament of the blessed *Eucharist*, described by *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*. (11) That of the ministring the Sacrament of holy *Baptism* described by him; and seconded by the *Constitutions* ascribed to *Clemens*. (12) Places appointed in this Age for Gods publick worship, and honoured with the name of Churches.

I. (1) Thus have we taken a distinct and several view of those *formes* of worship, which anciently were used by the *Jewes* and *Gentiles* whilest they stood divided; whilest they were separated

rated by that *partition wall* which the *Apostle* speaks of, whereby they were indeed divided both in opinions and affections. But that *partition wall* being *broken down* by our *LORD* and Saviour *, he did withall *abolish in his flesh that enmity* which had been between them, even the *Law of Commandements contained in Ordinances, for to make in himself of twain one new man; so making peace* between the parties, *ut reconciliaret ambos in uno corpore, that he might reconcile both to God*, being united *in one body by the crosse* of *CHRIST*. And indeed how could he do otherwise, who was aswel designed by Almighty God, to be a *light to lighten the Gentiles*, as to *be the glory of his people Israel* †? The promise which God made to *Abraham* was not unto his *seed* alone, but to all the *nations* of the world by it: and although *Shiloh* was to come from the loins of *Judah*; yet was he also *expectatio Gentium* *, as the vulgar reads it, and *to him should the gathering of the people be*. Therefore how ever he was pleased to declare at first, that he was *not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel* † and did accordingly grant out a *limited* Commission unto his Disciples *; yet he enlarged it in the end; giving them an especial charge to *goe teach all nations* †. And when he found them backward in pursuit thereof, he quickned *Peter* by a vision *, and called *Paul* as it were of purpose, *to bear his name before the Gentiles* †, *to open their eyes, and to turn them from darknesse unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God* *. So that although the *Jewes* and *Gentiles* were not collected into one body, in our Saviours time, I mean the time in which he pleased to sojourn here upon the earth: yet being done by his *authority*, and by the conduct and direction of his blessed *Spirit*, it can be said of none but him, *quod fecit utraq; unum*, that *he made both one* †, bringing them both into one *Church*, and making both partakers of the same communion, who were before at such a distance, as was conceived to be irreconcilable. Unto the constituting of which *Church*, our Saviour brought not any thing of *rite* or *ceremony*, determined nothing that we meet with in his holy Gospels, touching the *time* or *place* of *publick* worship, the *form* and manner of the same: save that he gave a general intimation, that *Hierusalem* should no

* Ephes. 2. 14, &c.

† Luk. 2. 32.

* Gen. 49. 10.

† Mat. 10. 6.

* Mat. 10. 5.

† Id. 28. 19.

* Act. 10. 11.

† Act. 9. 17.

* Act. 26. 18.

† Ephes. 2. 14.

* Joh. 4.21. longer be the place *, in which men ſhould be bound to *worſhip*. The pains he took were principally ſpent in points of *doctrine*, clearing the truths of holy Scripture from thoſe falſe gloſſes and corrupt traditions, which had been put upon it by the *Scribes* and *Phariſes*; and ſetting forth a clearer body of Divinity, then had been taught the people in the Law of *Moſes*; that the Father might be *worſhipped* in ſucceeding *times*, with a greater meaſure of *the Spirit*, and a more
† Joh. 4.23,24. perfect knowledge of *the truth* †; then he had been formerly. As for the circumſtances and out-parts of *worſhip*, he left them in the ſtate he found them, that is to ſay, to the diſpoſing of the *Church*, in whoſe power it was to inſtitute ſuch *rites* and ceremonies, as might apparently conduce to the increaſe of piety, and to the ſetting forth of Gods praiſe and glory. Himſelf had given a perſonal and moſt exemplary obedience to the Church of *Jewry*, *conforming* to ſuch *rites* and ordinances (wherein there was no deviation from the Law of God) as had in former times been ſetled by the power thereof. And therefore had no cauſe to think, but that a like obedience would be yeelded in the after Ages, unto a *Church* of his collecting; a *Church* conducted in thoſe points which pertain to godlineſſe, by ſuch a viſible co-operation of the Holy Ghoſt: eſpecially conſidering what a fair example of *conformity* he ſhould leave behinde him. Beſides all people of the world, both *Jewes* and *Gentiles* were ſetled at that time in a full perſwaſion of the neceſſity of ſet *times* and determinate *places*, for the aſſembling of themſelves together in the acts of *worſhip*: and had their preſcribed *formes* both of *prayer* and *praiſe*, their *Rituals* and eſtabliſhed ceremonies; and therewith alſo an opinion that thoſe things were to be performed by the *Prieſt* alone. Which being agreed on in the general, both people might be brought with more facility, to fall on ſome particular *concluſions*, to which they were inclined already by their common *principles*. And ſo indeed it proved in a ſhort event: *times*, *places*, and *ſet formes* for worſhip, being unanimouſly and univerſally received amongſt them, within a very little while after our *LORDS* departure. The *Jewes* already had their *Synagogues*, their

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Prosouchas or *Oratories*, as before was said. How small a labour was it to the blessed *Apostles*, and their successors in that work, to turn those *Synagogues* of theirs into *Christian Churches*, for preaching of the *Word* of God, and the administration of the *Sacraments*: accordingly as they did win upon the *Jewes* to embrace the Gospel? Nor is this only a bare speculation, it was done *de facto*, it being recorded in a book ascribed unto *Athanasius*, that on the converting of the *Jewes*, inhabitants of *Beritus*, to the faith of Christ, τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐποίησεν *, that the Bishop who had laboured in it, converted the *Synagogue* of the *Jewes* into a *Christian* Church, and dedicated it to our Lord and Saviour. And for the *Temples* of the *Gentiles*, when once their superstitions were suppressed, and the Gospel countenanced by authority, they were converted also to the self-same use †, as the *Jewish Synagogues* had been in other places: Gods servants being in the mean time contented with such *safe retreats*, as their necessities inforced them to make use of in those fiery times; or with such *publick places* of Assembly, but mean and under the degree of envie, as either upon sufferance or by special leave they were permitted to erect. As soon, if not more suddenly, all parties also were agreed on the *times* of worship, which was reduced with general and joynt consent unto the *first day* of the week, the *Lords day*, or the *Sunday*, call it which you will; wherein all members of the *Congregation* were to meet together for Gods *publick* service. A businesse, wherein the *Church* proceeded with great care and wisdome: setting apart one day in seven, to hold the fairer quarter with the *Jewes*, who were so zealous of a *Sabbath*; but altering the day it self, and paring off those *legal* ordinances which had made it burdensome, the better to content the *Gentiles*. Yet so that they had also their *daily* meetings as occasion served, for celebration of the Sacrament of the blessed *Eucharist*, in those *fiery times*. Whereof, as being instituted for the *Christian Sacrifice*, and of the *Evangelical Priesthood* to attend the same; we shall speak anon.

* *Athanas. de passione imaginis Dom. nostri. To. 2. gr. l. p. 631.*

† *Vid. Bed. hist. Eccles. 1.*

II. (2) In the mean time, the next thing here to be considered is the *form* and order wherein the Church did celebrate Gods *publick* service in those purer times: those *formes* of *prayer* and invocation, wherewith they did addresse themselves to the Lord their God. That all Religious offices in the house of God should be performed in *form* and order, is not only warranted but enjoyned by the Apostles *Canon* * made for those of *Corinth*; and consequently for all Churches else. And that for the avoiding of *Battologies*, and all effusions of raw and undigested prayers, besides what hath been shewn before to have been generally in use both with *Jew* and *Gentile*, in being bound and regulated by *set formes* of prayer: we have a *form* laid down by our *LORD* and Saviour, both for our use, and imitation. And first that it was made for our *imitation* is generally agreed on, even by those, who otherwise approve not *set formes* of prayer. *Calvin* doth so resolve it, saying, *In hunc finem tradita est hæc regula, ad quam preces nostras exigere necesse est, si legitimas censeri deoq; probari cupimus.* † And in the words not long before, *Non jubet* Christus *suos conceptis verbis orare, sed tantum ostendit quorsum vota omnia precesq; referri deceat.* The meaning in both passages is no more then this, that *Christ* obliged not his Disciples to the very words, but only shewed them how they were to *pray*, and what to *pray* for, if they would order them aright, and did desire to have them acceptable in the sight of God. To this doth *Musculus* agree, besides many others, whom here indeed I had not named, but that he doth translate the Text in a different manner, from all the rest which I have met with. For whereas *Beza*, *Calvin*, *Erasmus*, *Castalio*, *Paræus*, and indeed who not, do read it *sic orate*, as the *vulgar* doth: *Musculus*, to decline the easier all *set formes* of prayer, doth translate it thus, *ad hunc ergo modum orate* *, pray according to this manner, and thereupon infers *non dicit, hanc ergo orationem, vel hæc verba proferte, &c. CHRIST* doth not say, saith he, repeat this prayer, or use these words which you hear me speak; but let your *prayers* be made by this rule and pattern which is laid before you. In which if they intend no more then this, that *CHRIST* our Saviour did not so confine his followers,

* 1 Cor. 14.

† *Calv. in Harm. Evangel.*

* *Musculus in Mat. c. 6.*

lowers to those very words, but that they might expresse their *mindes*, and represent their *prayers* unto the Lord in such other *formes* as might be serviceable to that end and purpose, for which prayers are made: they shall take me with them. I know not any sober minded man, who will gainsay them in this matter, if they mean no otherwise. S. *Austin* did so state it many years agone. *Liberum quidem est* (saith he) *aliis atq; aliis verbis, eadem tamen, quæ hæc oratio continet, in orando dicere; sed non est liberum alia & diversa & contraria dicere* *. But if they mean, that this celestial *form* was made for *imitation* only, not at all for *use*, I mean not to be used precisely in our Saviours words; I must needs crave their pardon, if I leave them there. For when it is affirmed by *Musculus*, *non dicit, hanc ergo orationem, vel hæc verba proferte*, when it is said by *Calvin*, *non jubet Christus suos conceptis verbis orare*; when it is thought to be so *hard a task to prove from Scripture, that the Disciples were tyed to the use of this form* †; and that the often *reiterating thereof in our* publick Liturgie, is judged a matter so *impertinent*, as to be reckoned for *a stumbling block before the feet of many* *: I cannot see but that their meaning is to exclude the *use* of this divine and heavenly *prayer* from Gods *publick* worship, if not from the devotions also of Gods Saints in *private*. This if it be their minde and meaning, as by the *practise* of some men it may seem to be; I must there leave them to themselves. Our Saviours *dicite* delivered plainly and expresly in his holy *Gospel*, is no idle word: who being required by his Disciples to teach them what and how to pray, tels them in plain termes, *Dicite*, say, *Our Father which art in heaven*, with the rest that followeth. And this, as is affirmed by good interpreters, and very faintly, if at all gain-said by *Calvin* (*in his hac de re cum nemine pugnare volo*) was at a different time, and on a different occasion, from that which by S. *Matthew* was before related. Though *sic*, or *ad hunc modum*, as it is in *Musculus*, may serve exceeding well for *imitation*: yet *Dicite*, of it self, without either of them will not be denied, to serve as strongly for the *use*. And sure the *Fathers* so conceived it. Of whom thus *Cyprian*, *Qui enim fecit vivere, docuit & orare*,

* *Augustin in epist. 121. ad Probam.*

† *Vindicat. p. 23*

* *Smectymn. p. 12.*

ut dum prece & oratione quam filius docuit, apud patrem loquimur, facilius exaudiamur *. He, saith the holy Martyr, who made us to *live*, hath also taught us to *pray*, that while we speak unto the *Father* in that prayer and *orizon* which the *Son* hath taught us, we may be heard with more facility. And not long after, *Agnoscat pater filii verba cum precem facimus*; Let the Almighty *Father* hear the words of his blessed *Son*, when we make our *prayers*. The like to which we have in *Chrysostome*, if not hence derived †, *Cognoscit Pater filii sui sensus & verba*, that the heavenly Father knowes right well the words and meaning of his Son. And what else doth *Tertullian* mean, when he informes us that this most excellent *prayer* being then animated by the spirit when it proceeded from the divine mouth of our Lord and Saviour, *Suo privilegio ascendit in cœlum, commendans Patri quæ filius docuit* *, doth by a special priviledge ascend to heaven, commending to the *Father* those devotions which were taught and dictated by the *Son?* Adde here the care that hath been taken in the times of old, that children should be taught this *prayer* in their tender years, (for which consult S. *Austin Serm.* 1. Mat. 2. in *Dominica* 10. *de Christiano nomine*, & *Consil. Rhemens.* cap. 2.) and then I doubt not but it will appear to indifferent men, that this most excellent form of prayer was prescribed for *use*, and not laid down only for our *imitation* and no more then so.

* *Cyprian. de Oratione Dominica.*

† *Opus imperfect. in Mat. Homil.* 14.

* *Tertul. de Oratione.*

III. (3) So then, we have a *form* of prayer prescribed by *CHRIST* to his Disciples, to be *used* by them on occasions, at the least in private. When it became a part of the *publick Liturgie*, and by whose authority, we shall shortly see. In the mean time, the next thing here to be considered, is, the institution of the *Sacraments*: in both of which, our Lord prescribed not the matter only, but the *form* and words, wherewith the one is to be *ministred*, and the other *celebrated*. But you must understand me of that *form*, those words which are *essential* to the Sacraments; and not of those which have been added by the *Church*, for the procuring of a greater reverence to those Acts of *worship*, and the exciting of devotion in all those that attend the *service*.

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The *form* of *Baptism* so determined in those words of *CHRIST*, Go ye and teach all nations, *baptizing them in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost* *: that when the *Arrians* were suspected not to use the same, but rather to baptize *in nomine patris, per filium in Sp. sancto*, as 'tis said they did †; it was decreed in the Councel of *Arles*, that if upon examination it did so appear, those who had been baptized in so void a *form*, should be anew admitted to that holy Sacrament *. And for the Sacrament of the blessed *Eucharist*, so far forth as the rites and *form* of celebration used by *CHRIST* our Saviour, are declared in Scripture, there is no question made amongst learned men, but they were *obligatory* to the Church for succeeding ages. The *blessing* of the bread, the *breaking* of it, and the *distributing* thereof unto his Apostles; the *blessing* of the cup, and the *communicating* of the same to all the company: those formall *energeticall* words, *Take, eat, this is my body*, and *drink ye all of this, this is the cup*, &c. and all this to be *done in remembrance of me*: are rites and actions so *determined*, words so *prescribed*, and so precisely to be *used*, that it is not in the Churches power (unlesse she mean to set up a religion of her own devising) for to change the same. And this I take it is agreed on by all learned *Protestants*. Certain I am it was so in the Churches practise from the first beginning: as may appear to any one who will take the pains to compare the *rites* and *form* of administration used by S. *Paul* and his Associates in the Church of *Corinth* †. with that which was both done and prescribed by *CHRIST*, according as it is related in the holy *Gospels*. A further proof hereof we shall finde ere long. Nor finde I any difference considerable amongst moderate men, touching the *Priest* or *Minister* ordained by *CHRIST*, for the *perpetuating* of this Sacrament, for the *commemorating* of his death and passion, untill his coming unto judgement. The *publick* exercises of Religion would be but ill performed without a *Priesthood*; and that would soon be brought to nothing, at least reduced unto contempt and scorn, if every one that listeth might invade the *office*. Our Saviour therefore when he did institute this Sacrament

* Mat. 28. 19.

† *Nicephoras hist. Eccl. l.* 13. *c.* 35.

* *Concil. Arelatens. Can.* 8.

† 1 Cor. 11. 24, 25.

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(or as the Fathers called it without offence in those pious times, the *Sacrifice* of the blessed *Eucharist*, *Cum novi Testamenti novam docuit oblationem*, to use the words of *Irenæus* *) gave an *hoc facite* unto his Apostles, a faculty to them and their successors in the *Evangelical Priesthood*, to do as he had done before, that is to *take the bread*, to *blesse*, to *break* it, and to *distribute* it amongst the *Faithful*, to *sanctifie* the cup, and then to *give* it to the *Congregation*. Men of no *orders* in the Church, may *edere* & *bibere*, as the Lord appointed; and happy 'tis, they are permitted to enjoy such sweet refection. But for *hoc facere*, that's the *Priests* peculiar. And take they heed who do usurp upon the *office*, lest the Lord strike them with a fouler leprosie then he did *Uzziah* †, when he usurped upon the *Priesthood*, and would needs offer *incense* in the house of God. These points are little controverted amongst sober men. The matter most in question which concerns this businesse, is, whether our *Redeemer* used any other either *prayers* or *blessings*, when he did institute this blessed *Sacrament*, then what were formerly in use amongst the *Jewes* when they did celebrate their *Passeover*: and if he did, then whether he commended them unto his *Apostles*, or left them to themselves to compose such *prayers*, as the necessities of the Church required, and might seem best to them and the *holy Ghost*. This we shall best discover by the following practise; in which it will appear on a careful search, that the *Apostles* in their times, and the Church afterwards by their example, did use and institute such *formes* of *prayer*, and *praise*, and *benedictions* in the solemnities of the blessed Sacrament, of which there is no *constat* in the book of God, that they were used at that time by our Saviour *Christ*. And if they kept themselves to a *prescript forme* in celebration of the *Eucharist*; as we shall shortly see they did: then we may easily believe it was not long before they did the like in all the acts of *publick worship*; according as the *Church* increased, and the *believers* were disposed of into Congregations.

* *Irenæus cont. hæres. l.* 4.*c.*32.

† 2 Chron. 26. 20.

IV. (4) And first beginning with the *Apostles*, it is delivered by the *Ancients*, that in the *consecration* of the Sacrament of *Christs* body and bloud, they used to say the *Lords Prayer*. There

There is a place in *Hierome* which may seem to intimate that this was done by *Christs* appointment. *Sic docuit Apostolos suos* (saith that reverend Father) *ut quotidie in corporis illius sacrificio credentes audeant loqui, Pater noster &c.* *. Whether his words will bear that meaning I can hardly say. Certain I am they are alledged to this purpose by a late learned writer, who saying first, *Eam* (i. e. *orationem Dominicam*) *in Missæ sacro dicendam Christus ipse Apostolos docuit*, that *Christ* instructed his *Apostles* to say the *Lords prayer* in the celebration of that Sacrament (or in the sacrifice of the *Masse*, as he cals it there) doth for the proof thereof vouch these words of *Hierome* †. But whether it were so or not, most sure it is that the *Apostles* are reported to have used that *prayer*, as often as they celebrated the Communion. *Mos fuit Apostolorum* (saith S. *Gregory*) *ut ad ipsam solummodo orationem Dominicam, oblationis hostiam consecrarent* *. It was, saith he, the use or custome of the *Apostles* to consecrate the *host* or Sacrament with reciting only the *Lords prayer*. Which passage if he took from that of *Hierome*, as some think he did †, the one may not unfitly serve to explain the other. The like saith *Durand* in his *Rationale*. The Lord saith he did institute the Sacrament with no other words, then those of *consecration* only: *quibus Apostoli adjecerunt orationem Dominicam* *, to which the Apostles added the *Lords prayer*: and in this wise did *Peter* first say *Masse* (you must understand him of the Sacrament) in the *Eastern* parts. *Platina* saith the like as to S. *PETER*, *Eum ubi consecraverat, oratione* Pater noster *usum esse* †, that in the *consecration* of the Sacrament he used to say the Lords prayer, or the *Pater noster*. See to this purpose *Antonius*, tit. 5. cap. 2. § 1. *Martinus Polonus* in his *Chronicon*, and some later writers. By which as it is clear and evident, that the *Apostles* used the *Lords prayer* in the celebration of the holy *Mysteries*, which is a most strong argument that it was given them to be *used* or said, not to be *imitated* only: so it may seem by *Gregories solummodo*, that they used the *Lords prayer* and nothing else. And therefore that of *Gregory* must be understood, either that they used no other *Prayer* in the very Act of *Consecration*, or that they closed the *form* of consecration with that *prayer* of Christs: which

* *Hieronym. adv. Pelagium. l. 3.*

† *Steph. Durantes de ritibus Ecclesiæ Cathol. l. 2 c. 46.*

* *Gregor. M. Epist. l. 7. Ep. 54.*

† *V. Bellarm. de Missa. l. 2. c. 19.*

* *Durand. Ration. divinorum. l. 4.*

† *Platina in vita Sixti l.*

may well be without excluding of the words of *consecration* which our Saviour used, or such preparatory prayers as were devised by the *Apostles* for that great solemnity. For certainly we must not take the words of *Gregory* to be so exclusive, as to shut out the words of *institution*, or any of those *prayers* or *benedictions*, which our Saviour used, or the *Apostles* guided by the Lords example, might think fit to *imitate*. To think that willingly or rather wilfully they should omit the words of their Lord and Master, which were so *operative* and *energetical*, would prove too great a scandal to those blessed spirits. And therefore *Ambrose* when he puts the question, touching the *consecration* of the Elements, *Consecratio igitur quibus verbis est, & cujus sermonibus*, by what words, and by whose it is made or celebrated *; makes answer, *Domini JESU*, by the words of the *Lord JESUS*. And if the *Elements* are to be *consecrated* by no other words (as the continual practise of the Church of *Christ*, seems to say they may not) there is no question to be made, but that the Apostles used those words of *consecration*, which they had heard before delivered from our blessed Saviour. We could not say they did *hoc facere*, according to the Lords injunction, if it had been otherwise. And no lesse probable it is, that in a work of so great consequence, they fell not presently upon the words of *institution*, making a bare recital of them, and no more then so; and used not some *preparatory* prayers, to set an edge on the devotions of Gods *people*, according as the Lord had done before, who *blessed* the bread before he *brake* it, and therefore of necessity before he *gave* it. Certain I am that so it is affirmed by *Rabanus Maurus*, *Cum benedictione & gratiarum actione primum Dominus corporis & sanguinis sui sacramenta dedicavit, & Apostolis tradidit, quod exinde Apostoli imitati fecere, & successores suos facere docuerunt, quod & nunc per totum orbem terrarum generaliter tota custodit Ecclesia* †. The Lord, saith he, first dedicated or ordained the Sacrament of his body and bloud with *benediction* and *thanksgiving*, and gave the same to his *Apostles*; which the *Apostles* after imitating, did both do themselves, and taught their successors to do it also; so that it is now generally practised by

* *Ambr. de Sacramentis. l. 4. c. 4.*

† *Rabanus Maurus de Institut. Cler. l. 32.*

by the Church throughout the world. Here then we take it *pro confesso*, that in the *celebration* of the blessed Sacrament, besides the words of *consecration* which our Saviour used, the *Apostles* added the *Lords prayer*: and we conceive it to be probable that they used *certain prayers* and benedictions, by way of *preparation* to so great a businesse; of which more anon.

(5) For further proof proof whereof that such *preparatory prayers* and benedictions were used originally in the *celebration* of this Sacrament; we will first see what ground is laid by the *Apostles*, and after look upon the building which hath been raised on the same by the holy *Fathers*. First the *Apostle* layeth this ground *, *I exhort therefore that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men: for Kings, and for all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godlinesse and honesty; for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour.* Which words are generally understood not of *private* prayers, but those which are made *publickly* in the congregation. *Calvin* doth so expound it for the *Protestant* † writers, and so doth *Estius* † for the *Pontificians*, as is elsewhere noted. And that the *western* Church may not stand alone, *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius* do both expound the words, περὶ τῆς καθημερινῆς λατρείας *, of the daily service, which from the first beginning had been celebrated in the Church of God. This I premise as granted, without more adoe. Which being so premised and granted, and the ground thus layed; we are to look upon the building, as before was said, raised by the *Fathers* on the place. And here we will begin with S. *Austin* first, as one that hath more punctually observed the place, and traversed the whole ground and each part thereof, then any one that went before him: who writing to *Paulinus*, doth thus build upon it. † *Multa hinc quippe dici possunt quæ improbanda non sunt, sed eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod* omnis vel pæne omnis *frequentat* Ecclesia; *ut* precationes *accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in mensa Domini, incipiat benedici*: Orationes, *cum benedicitur, & sanctificatur, & ad distribuendum com-*

V.

* 1 Tim. 2. 1, 2, 3.

† *Calv. & Estius in 1. ad Tim. c. 2.*

* *Theophyl. & Oecumen. in 1. ad Tim.*

† *August. ad Paulinum. Epist. 59.*

comminuitur, quam totam petitionem fere omnis Ecclesia *DOMINICA ORATIONE concludit*: Inter pellationes *autem (sive ut nostri codices habent,* postulationes) *fiunt cum populus benedicitur, tunc enim* Antistites *velut advocati susceptos suos per manus impositionem misericordissimæ offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis & participato tanto sacramento,* Gratiarum actio *cuncta concludit, quam in his etiam verbis ultimam commendavit Apostolus.* I have put down the words at large, because they are so full an *Exposition* of the several words, used by the Apostle; and not an *exposition* only but an *application*, according to the severall parts of the *publick Liturgies.* The sense and meaning of them is as followeth. "Many things may be hence inferred (saith he) not to be disliked, but I choose rather so to understand the same, according unto that which I finde observed in every, or at least every Church almost: that is to say, that here by *supplications* we mean those *petitions*, which we make in *celebration* of the Sacraments, before we come unto the consecration of the *Elements*; by *prayers*, the sanctifying and blessing of the bread and wine, when it is put into a readiness to be *distributed* unto the people, which action or *Petition* every Church almost concludeth with the *Lords prayer.* (Where by the way we may observe what place the *Lords prayer* had of old in the *celebration*.) The *intercessions* are made then, when the people do partake of the *publick* blessing; for then the *Prelates* of the Church, like *Advocates*, or sureties, do by the laying on of hands, present them to the merciful protection of the Lord their God. Which ended, and the people being made partakers of so great a *Sacrament*, all is concluded or shut up with *giving thanks*, which therefore is last spoken of by the *Apostle.* So far the words of *Austin*, and it is worthy the noting, that *Venerable Bede* making a Commentary on S. *Paul*'s Epistles, collected out of several passages of this *Fathers* works, puts down these words at large as before recited, for the full meaning of the place *. And if S. *Austine* was not out in his *Exposition*, as I have heard of none that do charge him with it, we have not only *prayers* and *benedictions*, used and commanded to be used at the *celebration*; but such a *prescribed* and

* *Ven. Beda, Comment. in 1. ad Tim. c. 2.*

and determinate form, as quickly was received over all the *Church.* The Commentaries commonly ascribed to *Ambrose*, which if not his, are certainly both very pious and of great antiquity, give us the matter of those *prayers*, which here by the *Apostles* rule, were laid first of all, as a preparatory to the celebration. *Hæc regula Ecclesiastica est tradita a magistro Gentium, qua utuntur sacerdotes nostri, ut pro omnibus supplicent* &c. * "This *Ecclesiastical* Ordinance (saith he) was "given by the Doctor of the *Gentiles*, which our *Priests* use "unto this day, making their prayers to God for all men. "Praying for the *Kings* of the world that they may have their "people in obedience, that being governed in peace they "may serve the Lord in rest and quietnesse of minde; as also "for all those which are in *authority* under them, that they "may govern the Common-wealth in truth and equity, with "plenty of all things, that so all tumults and seditions "being far removed, joyfulnesse may succeed in the place "thereof. For it is *bread that strengtheneth*, and *wine that ma-"keth glad the heart of man.* They *intercede* also for all those "who are in *misery* or *necessity*, that being delivered from the "same they may praise the Lord, the Author of all health "and safety; finally *giving thanks* to God for all those bles-"sings which he affordeth us in this life, that God may so "be praised from whom, and *Christ* by whom so many be-"nefits are bestowed upon us; that all things being com-"posed and quieted which might prove dangerous unto "the Empire, we may have liberty to serve the Lord in "godlinesse and honesty. Thus he. And this I would fain know, how little, if at all, this differs either for matter, *form*, or place, from the *Prayer* entituled, for *the Church militant here on earth*, continued till this day in the Church of *England:* and that according to S. *Ambrose* (if the work be his) *Secundum regulam Ecclesiasticam traditam a Magistro Gentium*, conform unto a rule of S. *Paul's* prescribing. I adde but this, which is observed unto my hand by a very learned and industrious Gentleman † (for I am willing to acknowledge by whom I profit) that in the meaning of the *Apostle*, as well as in the practise of the primitive Church, *prayers*

* *Ambr. Comment. in 1. ad Tim. c. 2.*

† *H. Thorndike* of Religious Assembl. cap. 10. p 377.

prayers and *supplications* were to be made for all men, in the celebration of the *Eucharist* for *Kings*, &c it being neither strained nor forced (as he notes full well) to take the word Ἐυχαειςία or thanksgiving (which S. *Paul* there useth) in that very sense, in which it hath been used by *Clemens* and *Ignatius*, the Apostles Scholars, for the celebration of the *Eucharist*; for the whole action, and all the *Prayers* and supplications which it was celebrate withal. For why not thus, as well in this place of S. *Paul*, as in another not so likely, where the Apostle asks this question *, *How shall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned say AMEN, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what he saith?* Of which thus *Beza* in his notes, *Suspicor Apostolum attingere, celebrandæ Domini cœnæ ritum, & solennem illam gratiarum actionem* †. I am, saith he, of an opinion, that the *Apostle* in this place doth point unto the *rites* of celebrating the Lords holy Supper and that solemn *giving of thanks* which was therein used: a full description of the which, he gives us out of *Justin Martyr*, which we shall see anon in its proper place. Whence had the blessed Sacraments the name of *Eucharist*, if our *Grammarians* and *Philologers* be not much mistaken *, but from this solemn *giving thanks* which was used therein?

* 1 Cor. 14.16

† *Beza Annot. in 1. ad Cor. c. 14.*

* *V. Casaubon. in Annal. Eccl. Exerc. 16. n. 40.*

VI. (6) Thus am I fallen at last upon S. *Pauls* Epistle unto those of *Corinth*, wherein it is conceived that the performances of the Church are most fully handled, as they relate unto the *publick* worship of Almighty God. Which though it be, as in relation to those times in which there were such wonderfull *effusions* of the holy Spirit, yet being that those *effusions* were miraculous, and the *publick* offices of the Church were governed by the immediate inspiration of the holy Ghost, there are not many things therein, which may be drawn into example in these later times, in which we must not look for such *effusions*; For it is well observed by *Chrysostome*, πολλὰ ἀφ' τότε γινομένων θαυμάτων πεπαῦται νῦν †. that many of those miracles which were frequent then, are not to be expected now. These *extraordinary* graces were not given but for an *extraordinary* end, which was the planting of the *Gospel* in the midst of *Paganism*; or where it

† *Chrysost. Homil. 14. n. 18. ad Rom.*

was

was encountred by an obstinate faction of obdurate *Jewes*. And therefore they that do pretend to such special gifts, as were in those times necessary for the ordering and edification of the Church: may by as strong a *Charter*, for ought I can see, lay claim unto the *gift* of *Tongues*, and the power of *Healing*, and the spirit of *Prophesie*; which yet I see but few of them do aspire unto. Passing by those things therefore in this *Epistle*, which are not to be drawn into example, it will appear most clearly from the XIV Chapter, that to the constituting of Gods *publick service* in the congregation, there went these three parts, *Prayer*, *Praise*, and *Prophesie*: which we have formerly observed to be the three ingredients that make up the same. This last, we find much spoke of throughout that Chapter, particularly and by name, vers. 1, 3, 5, 22, 29, 31, 32, 39. The other two he joyneth together in one verse *, *viz. I will pray with the spirit, and will pray with understanding also; I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with understanding also.* Himself informes us what he means by *prophesying*, where it is said that he who *prophesieth, speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort* †. And it is no great difficulty to conjecture what he means by *prayer*. In both which as the times then were, there was a great ambition in the *Prophets* of the Church of *Corinth*, for ostentation of their gifts, to utter them in *Tongues* not understood by the common people. This is the thing most blamed by the *Apostle* in the present Chapter, *viz.* that in their *exhortations* to the people, or *explications* of the Scriptures, they used to *speak in unknown tongues*, and not *interpret* *. And that they did the like in the Act of *prayer* is conceived by *Beza*, where he thus glosseth on the text, *Orabo spiritu*, i. e. *lingua peregrina quam mihi dictat spiritus* †, I will pray in the spirit, that is saith he, in such an unknown tongue as the *spirit* dictates; yet so, that I will pray with the *understanding*, that is, saith he, *ut etiam ab aliis intelligar & alios instituam*, that I may be understood of others, for their information. And this might be, I mean they might affect to pray in an *unknown tongue*, although the *prayers* themselves had been predetermined of both for *form* and matter. *Chrysostome*, if I un-

* 1 Cor. 14. 15.

† *Ibid.* v. 3.

* *Ibid.* v. 5. & 17.

† *Beza in Annot. in 1. ad Cor.* 14.

understand him rightly, seems to say no lesse. For writing on these following words, *Else when thou shalt blesse with the spirit* *, (*i. e.* saith *Beza*, in *peregrina lingua* in an unknown tongue) *how shall he which occupieth the room of the unlearned say* Amen, *at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?* he thus gives the sense. Ἂν εὐλογήσῃς τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ &c. † If thou blessest in a *barbarous* or unknown tongue, the *Laity* (for he had said before ἰδιώτην δὲ τὸν λαϊκὸν λέγει, that by the *unlearned* there, he meant the *Laity*) not understanding what thou sayest, nor being able to interpret, cannot say *AMEN*: because not hearing this, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, that is to say *world without end*, with which the prayer or blessing is concluded *, he cannot say *AMEN* unto it. *Theophylact* from him to the same effect. Σὺ γὰρ ἐπεὶ τὸ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀσαφῶς καὶ ἐν γλώσσῃ †, for whilest thou sayest *world without end*, obscurely in an *unknown tongue*, he hears not what thou sayest, and is nothing benefited. It seems then, that the prayers appointed to be used in the congregation, were *prescribed* and known, or else how could the close or end thereof be so known and *certain*? Nor is this my collection only, it is *Peter Martyrs* too, as well as mine. *Chrysostomus hunc locum tractans*, &c. * So *Chrysostome* on this place (saith he) tels us that if the people did not hear these words, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, they could by no means say *AMEN*. *Ex quo loco habemus etiam primis illis temporibus* preces publicas *consuevisse per hæc verba* in secula seculorum *absolvi*. And from this place we may perceive, that *world without end*, even in those first times, was used in the close of their *publick* prayers. So far *Peter Martyr*.

* 1 Cor. 14 16.

† *Chrysost. in 1. ad Cor. Homil.* 35.

* ὅπερ ἐστὶ τέλος, *Id. ibid.*

† *Theophyl. in 1. ad Cor. c.* 14.

* *P. Martyr. in 1. ad Cor. c.* 14.

VII. (7) And this may yet appear more plainly by that other part of *publick* worship, which S. *Paul* here speaks of, *viz.* that of *singing*. For if they did not sing at randome as the *spirit* moved them, but did confine themselves unto such *Psalmes* or *Hymnes* as were received in the Church; it may the better be believed, that they did hearken also to such *prayers*, as their spiritual guides had provided for them. Now that they did not *sing* at randome, every one

one as the spirit moved him, needs no other argument, but that *confusion* both of *tune* and matter (especially if they used also instruments of *musick*, whereof more anon) which must needs follow thereupon; more dreadful then the noise of *Babel*. Nor is it evident that he to whom the spirit did first prompt such a *Psalm* or *Hymn*, did like the *Chanter* in our *Quires*, or any other of our *Vicars Choral*, sing the *verse* alone, and then the Congregation sing it after him, as the *quire* or consort. For though *Paræus* seem to be of this opinion, *alios decantare hymnos sacros a spiritu dictatos vel meditatos* *, that some, according to their gifts, did sing some holy *Hymns*, which had been dictated by the spirit: yet I subscribe rather unto that of *Calvin*, who thinks that it is meant of *Davids Psalmes*, which were accustomed to be sung in the *Christian Church*, even from the first beginnings of it, according as before in that of *Jewry* †. *Nec vero mihi dubium est* (as he states it there) *quin ritum Judaicæ Ecclesiæ statim ab initio in* Psalmis *fuerint imitati*. *Musculus* is of this minde also, save that to *Davids* Psalmes, he addes such other *Hymnes* and spiritual songs (*sive Psalmos* Davidis *sive alia quædam cecinerint* *) which were composed for the use of the congregation. And certainly it is a matter past all question, that these celestial *songs* of *David* and such others (if more such there were) who did contribute to the making up of the book of *Psalmes*, have been a special part of Gods *publick* worship, even from the cradle of the Church. It had not else been grown to so considerable an esteem in the *publick Liturgie*, in and before the time of *Trajan*, (and consequently of S. *John*) as we finde in *Pliny*: who tels us of the *Christians* then, that they did *stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenq; Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem* †, assemble before light on the daies appointed, and sing praise (or *hymnes*) to *CHRIST*, as God, with one another. But we shall speak with *Pliny* more at large hereafter. In the mean time if any question should be moved, what the *Apostle* did dislike in this act of *singing*, (for somewhat he disliked most certain): we answer, as before in the case of *prayer*, that he disliked their affectation in singing the accustomed *Psalmes* in an *unknown* language.

* *Paræus in 1. ad Corinth. c. 14.*

† *Calvin in 1. ad Cor. c. 14.*

* *Musculus in 1. ad Cor. c. 14.*

† *Plin. Epist. l. 10. Epist. 97.*

S. *Ambrose* toucheth on this string, where he observeth *homines Latinos Græce cantare* *, that many of the *Latines* used to sing in *Greek*, being taken only with the smooth cadence of the words, *nescientes tamen quid dicant*, but yet not knowing what they said. But *Musculus* is more express and positive to the point in hand, conceiving that the fault here found by the Apostle, was that some of them used to sing *Davids Psalmes* in the *Hebrew* Tongue, which was not understood by the *Corinthians*, being most part *Grecians*: and that he therefore did admonish them, *sub sua persona* †, as speaking of himself in his own person, to sing the *Psalmes* in such a *Tongue*, as might be understood of the *Congregation*. If any shall observe yet further from the present Text, that besides the use of *Psalmes* and *Anthems* in the *Congregation*, they used also *instruments* of musick in those early times, when, and as often as they sung those *Hymnes* or Psalmes, *per me licet*, I will be no hinderance. The word here used in the *Original* will bear it well. ψάλλοντες, *citharam pulsantes, fidibus canentes*; and ψάλλειν *proprie de sonitu fidium dicitur* *, say no mean *Grammarians*. And this is noted also by as great Divines. *Psallere propie est ad instrumentum canere*, as we read in *Musculus* †; ψάλλειν *apud Græcos non est canere simpliciter, sed ad musicum instrumentum*, and from thence came the instrument which is called the *Psaltery*, so saith *P. Martyr* *: the very same words do we finde in *Beza* †, who voucheth S *Augustine* for his Author. And although *Musculus* (upon the place) takes it not for a matter probable, *Primos Christianos musicis instrumentis usos fuisse in Ecclesia*, that the first *Christians* had the use of musical *instruments* in their publick meetings: yet being it is said by *Calvin* that these first *Christians* took up the use of *singing* Psalmes, *ad ritum Judaicæ Ecclesiæ*, after the usage of the *Jewes*, as before was noted; why might they not as well have *instrumental* as *vocal* musick, in their *Congregations*, since the *Jewes* used both? But this is only on the by, I insist not on it. Nor would I be mistaken neither, as if there were no use of the *gift* of *prayer*, in those Assemblies of Gods people. I deny not that. All I endevour to make good is no more then this, that as in the first dawning of the *Gospel*, the *Christians* in

* *Ambros. in 1. ad Cor. c. 14.*

† *Musculus in 1. ad Cor. c. 14*

* *Stephanus, & Constantin. in verbo* ψάλλω.

† *Musculus in 1. ad Cor. c. 14.*

* *P. Mart. ibid.*

† *Beza. ibid.*

in their Acts of *publick* worship, did sing *Davids* Psalmes, or used such premeditated *Hymnes*, as were composed by men enabled thereunto, for the *publick* use: so there were also certain and set *formes* of prayer to which the people were accustomed; and unto which, as oft as they were used in the Congregation, they had been taught to say *AMEN.*

(8) But notwithstanding, it is said, that *conceived prayer was in use in the Church of God before Liturgies* *: and a challenge hath been made and published, for the *producing any one Liturgie (rejecting those which are confessed to be spurious) that was the issue of the first* 300 *years* †. This is a two edged sword, or a *gladius anceps*, as the *Latines* call it; and therefore must be answered with a *double* ward. For if their meaning be, in the Church of God, that is in the Assembly of Gods people, in the *Congregation*, there was no *Liturgie* or set *form* of worship during the first three hundred years, because no *Liturgie* of that time is to be produced: they may aswel conclude, that from S. *Pauls* coming unto *Rome* till the time of *Origen*, which was almost two hundred years, there were no *Sermons* preached unto Gods people, because none extant of that time. And if they mean by *Liturgies*, a regulated course and *order* to be observed in the *officiating* of divine service, according to the definition made by *Casaubon*, and approved by the *Altar* of *Damascus*, as before was said: *such Liturgies* they *do acknowledge to be used both by Jewes and Christians* *, as long in use, for ought they say unto the contrary, as *conceived prayers.* And if such *Liturgies*, *Liturgies* so defined as before is said, then certainly *prescribed and stinted formes of Administration*, composed by some *particular men in the Church*, *and* imposed *on others.* For what else is *an Order observed in Church-Assemblies, of praying, reading, and expounding the Scriptures, administring the Sacraments, &c.* † as themselves understand by *Liturgie*; then a *prescribed and stinted form of administration*? And for an *answer* to their *challenge*, in case we cannot shew any whole *Liturgie*, being the issue of the first three hundred years: yet if we can produce such fragments and remainders of them as have escaped the wrack of time, I doubt

VIII.

* *Smectymn. p.* 11.

† *Id. p.* 9.

* *Id. p.* 6.

† *Id. ibid.*

not but a sober minded man will conclude as plainly, that some such *Liturgies* there were; as a man standing on the shore, may gather from the ribs and *rudera* of a broken ship, that some unfortunate vessel hath been cast away, although he neither knew the owner of it, nor ever saw it rigged and tackled in her former bravery. Nor is it so impossible an undertaking, to venture on the shewing of a *Liturgie*, within the space of time prelimited; if men were not possessed with *prejudice*, and took not up too much of their *opinions* upon *trust* and *credit*. Concerning which I rather shall present the judgement of another man, one every way above exception for his abilities in learning, then lay down mine own: and he thus declares it. * "I finde "(saith he) recorded in *Durandus* (but upon what warrant "and authority I cannot finde) that till the time of *Adrian* "the Emperor (which was about 120 years after *Christ*) "their *Liturgies* were all celebrated in the *Hebrew* Tongue; "and that then the *Oriental* Church began, first to celebrate them in the *Greek*. Indeed me thinks it is possible that the *Christians* of the *Gentiles*, might in honour of "the *Apostles*, retain the Apostles *Liturgies*, in the very Tongue "wherein by the *Apostles* themselves they had been first ordained. For it is not to be doubted, but many years passing, (about ten) after our Saviours *Ascension*, before the "*Apostles* left *Syria*, and sundred themselves to preach the "*Gospel* abroad in the world among the *Gentiles*, and forein "nations. It is not to be doubted I say, but the *Apostles* "while they remained in *Jewry*, ordained *Liturgies* in the "*Jewish* Tongue, for the use of those *Jewes* whom they had "converted to *Christianity*: which *Liturgies* by the *Christian* "Disciples of the *Jewish* Nation, dispersed in many Provinces of the *Gentiles*, might together with *Christian* Religion be carried abroad, and gladly entertained among the "*Gentiles*. This is possible I say, but if it be also true (as I "have not observed any thing in *Antiquity* that may certainly impeach the truth of it): yet that which is spoken of "*Durandus* of those *Liturgies* in the *Hebrew* Tongue, must "be understood (I doubt not) of the *Hebrew* then vulgar "and

* *Breerwood* in his Enquiries c. 26.

"and usual, that is to say, the *Syriac* Tongue. In all which disputation one may clearly see, that he takes it for a granted and undoubted truth, that the *Apostles* did ordain *Liturgies* for the use of the Church: the point in controversie being only this, whether or not they did ordain them in the learned, or the vulgar *Hebrew*.

(9) Next to descend unto particulars, there are three *Liturgies* still extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in *Greek* and *Latine*, ascribed to *Peter*, *James*, and *Mark*: which if not theirs (and whether they be theirs or not, is *adhuc sub judice*) are certainly exceeding ancient, as ancient doubtlesse as the third Century: though true it is they have not come unto our hands, without the intermixture of some unwarranted additions. And if we look upon them well, we may easily finde, that whose soever names they carry, they are indeed the ancient *Liturgies* of those several *Churches*, whereof those holy men had once been *Bishops*: and they whose *Liturgies* they were, were willing, it seems, to derive their *pedigree*, as high as possibly they could; to adde some lustre to them by the names of such eminent persons. The *Liturgie* ascribed unto S. *Peter*, what is it for the main and substance, but the foundation or the ground of the *Roman Missall*? as may appear, comparing the *Canon* of the one with the formes and order of the other *, according as they are laid down together in the *Bibliotheca*. And if that *Isidore* of *Sivil* be not much mistaken, S. *Peter* hath a better claim to that, or somewhat of this kinde, then the name and title. By whom we are informed; *Ordinem Missæ vel orationem quibus oblata Deo sacrificia consecrantur, primum a sancto* Petro *institutum esse*, that the order of the *Masse* and the prayers thereof wherewith the Sacrament (or sacrifice) is consecrate, was instituted first by S. *Peter*: and is the very same, saith he, † *cujus celebrationem uno eodemq; modo universus peragit orbis*, which is now universally received over all the world. He means the *Western* world, you must take him so. That attributed to S. *Mark*, if scanned and canvassed with a diligent eye, will be discerned to be no other then the *Liturgie* of the Church of *Alexandria*, of which he was the first *Bishop*, as is elsewhere proved: and

IX.

* *Biblioth. Patr. Gr. lat. To. 2.*

† *Isidor. Hispal. de officiis divin. l. 1. c. 15.*

and will appear to be so on painfull search, by the agreement which it carrieth with that of *Cyril* one of S. *Marks* successors in that See, and a prime pillar of the Church in the time he lived; As also by comparing it with the *Ethiopick Liturgie* derived from *Alexandria*, as the mother City, and extant with it in the *Bibliotheca*, whither I refer you. But that whereof there is the greatest evidence, is that ascribed unto S. *James*: which if not his, is questionlesse the ancient *Liturgie* of the Church of *Hierusalem*, of which he once was supreme Pastor under Christ our Saviour. The publisher hereof in *Greek* and *Latine*, gives us this short note, S. *Cyrillum, Hierosol. Catechesi quinta Mystogogica plura ex illa mutuatum* *. That *Cyril* Bishop of *Hierusalem* in the fifth of his *Mystagogical Catechizings*, did borrow many things from hence. And certainly the observation is exceeding true, as will appear on the examination and comparison of the several passages, which are still extant in them both. Now *Cyril* B. of *Hierusalem*, lived about the year 350 †, and was then at his height both for power and credit; and if we grant the Liturgie ascribed to *James*, to be but 60 years before him, it must needs fall within the compasse of the first three hundred. This though it be enough, we will venture further, and ask what inconvenience would ensue, if this Apostle be affirmed for the Author of it? I mean as to the main and substance of it, though not of all the intersertions and additions which are found therein. That S. *James* did compose a *Liturgie*, is proved by *Sixtus Senensis* out of *Proclus*, sometimes the Patriarch of *Constantinople* *, a man of special eminence in the *Ephesine* Councel. The Fathers of the Synod, surnamed of *Trullo*, affirmed of *James* whom they avow for the first Bishop of *Hierusalem* †, ἐγγεγράφως τὴν μυστικὴν ἡμῶν ἱερουργίαν παραδεδόναι, that he did leave a *Liturgie* behinde in writing, alledging the authority thereof, for proof that water was to be mingled with the wine in the blessed Sacrament: which passage is still extant in the *Liturgie* * intituled to him. And when we finde in *Hegesippus*, as he is cited by *Eusebius*, *Eum ab Apostolis primum constitutum fuisse Episcopum & Liturgum*, as *Cassander* reads it †; why may we not conceive that he had

* *Biblioth. patrum Gr. lat. To. 2. p. 1.*

† *Baron. in Annal. Eccles. anno 351.*

* *Sixtus Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. l. 2.*

† *Concil. Trullan. can. 32.*

* *Liturgia Jacobi in Biblioth. p. 13.*

† *Cassand. in Liturgicis.*

had that adjunct, as the first Author of a *Liturgie* for the publick use? This may be said in the behalf thereof, if one list to plead it. And were there nothing else to perswade me otherwise, then that it is affirmed by *Rivet*, *has omnes profectus esse ab inimico homine* &c. * that this with those before remembred proceeded from that *enemy*, who *sowed his tares in the middle of the good seed whilest the servants slept*; I should not much be set against them. Although I honour *Rivet* for his parts in learning, I never held his words for *Gospel*; no not although they come apparelled in the Gospel phrase. That it is *ancient*, *yea and holy* too, they have not the courage to deny: and yet have so much confidence, which I wonder at, as to ascribe them to the *Devil*; to whom I hope, no holy thing what ever is to be ascribed. Neither *Rivet*, nor any of the Moderns, are so competent Judges in this point, as the Fathers in *Trullo*, nor of like credit with S. *Austin*, who speaking of that noted passage of *Sursum Corda*, used in the *Liturgie* of his time, and long time before, saith they were *Verba ab ipsorum Apostolorum temporibus petita*, words borrowed from the times of the very Apostles.

* *Smectymn. vindicat. p.28.*

(10) This being said touching the *Liturgies* themselves, we should proceed unto the *course* and order in the same observed, and to the *formes* of *prayer* and *benediction* contained therein. But that would be too large a trouble, the business of this *inquisition* not being to transcribe whole *Liturgies*, but to finde them out; besides that most of the material passages, whereof such ancient writers as are of an unquestionable credit, have left us any trace or memory, will call us back to look upon them, in convenient time. On therefore to the next that followeth, whom if we rank according to the place and time which is assigned him by the *Pontificians*, will be the famous *Areopagite*, even *Dionysius*, one of S. *Pauls* first fruits in *Athens*. I know the books ascribed unto him, have been much questioned in these searching daies, whether his or not. Nor do I mean to meddle in so vexed a question. And therefore, though I rank him here, according to the time and place assigned him by the learned men of the *Roman* party: yet I desire no further credit

should

should be given him, then that which he affirmes is made good by others who lived most near the time assigned unto him. Now for the celebration of the Sacrament of the blessed *Eucharist*, he describes it thus. Ὁ μὲν ἱεραρχὴς εὐχὴν ἱερὰν ἐπὶ τοῦ θείου θυσιαστηρίου τελέσας &c. * "The *Bishop* having "ended the *preparatory prayers* said usually at the holy *Altar*, "doth then and thence begin to cense the place, till he hath "compassed it about. Returning back unto the *Altar* he be-"gins the *Psalmes*, the *Clergie* which are present, singing with "him. Then do the *Ministers* read the holy Scriptures "(ἀκολούθως) in their appointed and determinate order. Which "done the *Catechumeni*, and such as are possessed † with un-"clean spirits, or are under penance, are removed out of "the Church: those only being left behinde who were to be "partakers of the holy Mysteries. The *Ministers*, some stand "before the Church doors, to keep them shut; others attend "those *ministrations* which appertain unto their *Order*. Some "of whom chosen for that purpose, present the bread and "cup of Benediction upon the *Altar*, προμολογηθείσης ὑπὸ πάν-"τος τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πληρώματος, a *general confession* being first "made by the whole *Congregation*. Then doth the Bishop say "the *prayers* *, and give the *peace* (or kisse of peace) to all "the company: who having saluted one another (*with an "holy kisse*) the *Diptycks* are forthwith recited. After the *Bi-"shop* and the *Priests* having washed their hands, the *Bishop* "standing against the middle of the Altar, (the *Priests* and "*Ministers* being round about him; and giving praise to "God for all his works) proceeds unto the *consecration* of "the Elements, being then presented to the publick view. "Which being thus *sanctified* and publickly set forth to "view, εἰς κοινωνίαν αὐτῶν ἱερὰν αὐτός τε ἔρχεται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους "προτρέπει, he first partakes thereof himself, and then ex-"horteth others to do the like. The blessed Sacrament be-"ing thus given and received, εἰς εὐχαριστίαν ἱερὰν καταλήγει, "he finally descends to the *giving of thanks*, and so dismisseth "the assembly. This is the *form* of ministration layed down before us in the books ascribed to this *Dionysius*: in which I see not any thing which may advantage those of the Church

* *Dionys. Areopag. de Eccl. Hierarchia, p. 89. edit. gr. lat.*

† ἐνεργούμενοι.

* Εὐχὴν ἱερὰν τελεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἁγίαν εἰρήνην ἅπασι διαγγέλλει.

Church of *Rome*, unlesse it be the use of *censing*; but I see much which makes against them, *viz.* the giving of the whole Communion, *sub utraq; specie*. For should you stumble at the *Altar*, which is mentioned here, *Ignatius* who lived in these very times, *Irenæus* who lived but little after, S. *Cyprian* and almost who not amongst the ancients, will lend an helping hand for to raise you up. And if you would sum up the *form* which is described here at large, we have the *daily service*, which I conceive to be those *leading prayers*, which the *Bishop* first said at the holy *Altar*; the *Psalmes*, the *reading* of the Scriptures in a *prescript* order, which possibly may be the *Epistle* and *Gospel*, as we call them now: then the *dismission* of all such who are not fitted to communicate, the *placing* of the bread and wine on the holy Table, the *general confession* of the peoples sins to Almighty God, the *kisse* of peace and mutual salutation, with the *commemoration* of the righteous. After all this the *prayer* of *consecration*, and the *participating* of the blessed Sacrament, and finally *thanksgiving* for so great a blessing. In all which there is nothing that I can see (except it be the act of *censing*, as before is said) which savoureth not of primitive and *Apostolical* purity; nothing but what is worthy of the name, and piety of *Dionysius*; nothing but what we may observe in other Worthies near about the time, which is assigned unto this Author. Finally, if the Author be not *Dionysius*, which I will not take upon me to determine, yet doubtlesse he is very ancient: and for the books ascribed unto him, they are acknowledged by *Du Moulin* *, to be *utilia & bonæ frugis*, which is as much as need be said in the present case.

* *Petr. Molinæus in tract. de Altar. c.7.*

XI.

(11) Let us next look upon the *form* of *Baptism*, which is another part of the *publick Liturgie*. For howsoever the word *Liturgie* be used sometimes to signifie no more then the *Ministration* of the blessed *Eucharist*, in which respect it is the same with ἱερουργῶν, and is expounded so by *Balsamon* †: yet doth it signifie most commonly the whole *course* and order of celebrating *divine offices*, of what sort soever, as before was noted. And therfore *Bellarmine* was foully out when he made this note, *a patribus Græcis vix aliter accipi, quam pro ministerio sacrificii*

† *Balsam. in notis ad Concil. Sardic.*

Eucharistiæ offerendi *; that it was seldome used otherwise by the Greek fathers, then for the celebrating of the *sacrifice* of the holy *Eucharist*. But let that passe *cum cæteris erroribus*, and go we on unto our businesse, to the *form* of *Baptism*; which we finde thus described by the said *Dionysius* †. "The day "being come in which the party is to be *baptized*, and the "congregation being assembled * in the holy Church, ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ὕμνον τινὰ τῶν λογίων ἐγκείμενον &c. The *Bishop* sings "some *Psalm* contained in the Scripture, the whole Assem-"bly joyning with him: then doing *reverence* towards the "*holy Table*, he turnes unto the party offered unto *Baptism*, "and asks him for what cause he cometh; who being "taught by his *surety*, first making known his ignorance and "want of God, desires that he might be admitted to those "things which pertain to godlinesse. The *Bishop* next let-"ting him know the rules of a *Christian* life, demandeth if "he will conform unto them; the which when he hath pro-"mised to do, his name together with his *sureties* †, are en-"rolled in the publick *Registers*. This done, εὐχὴν ἱερὰν ποι-"εῖ, the *Bishop* saith the *holy Prayer*, which when the whole "Assembly have consented to, by saying *Amen*, the *Deacon* "doth prepare himself to strip him and disrobe him of his "cloathes, and placing him towards the *west* with his hands "lift up, requireth him to bid defiance unto *Satan* thrice: "καὶ τεὶς ἀυτῷ τὴν ἀποταγὴν μαρτυρεῖ, and saying to him the "*set and solemn* words of *abrenuntiation*, when he hath thrice re-"peated them he is turned towards the East, and willeth him, "having both his hands and eyes heaved up to heaven, to "joyn himself to *Christ*, and Gods holy Word. Which ha-"ving promised, and thrice made profession of his faith, the "*Bishop* layeth his hand upon him, and *prayeth* over him. "Then being disrobed, the *Priests* bring the oyle or chrisme, "wherewith the *Bishop* doth thrice *sign him* with the *sign* of "the *Crosse*, and after delivereth him unto the *Priests*, who car-"rie him unto the *Font*, where calling upon God to blesse and "sanctifie the waters, and singing to the Lord one of the songs "or *Psalmes* made by the inspiration of the holy Ghost, the "party is called by his *name*, and thrice dipped in water, "one

* *Bellarm. de Missa. l.* 1. *c.* 1.

† *Dionys. de Eccles. Hierarch. p.* 77. *edit. gr. lat.*

* Εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν χῶρον συναγαγών.

† Τὸν ἄνδρον καὶ τὸν ἀνάδοχον.

"one of the persons of the blessed Trinity being particular-
"ly named and called upon, at each several dipping or *immer-*
"*sion.* This done, they clothe him all in *white*, and bring
"him back unto the *Bishop*, who once more nointeth him
"with the oyle or *Chrisme*, and so pronounceth him to be
"from that time forwards a meet partaker of the blessed
"*Eucharist.* So far, and to this purpose, *Dionysius.* But then withall you must observe, that this was *in baptismo Adultorum*; and that there was not so much ceremony in the *Baptism* of *Infants*; although it was the same in both for the *main* and substance. Now for the *form* of *Abrenuntiation*, we finde it thus laid down in the *Constitutions* ascribed to *Clemens*: of which it may be said as was before of *Dionysius*, that though they be not his whose name they carry, yet are they notwithstanding very ancient; and do exceeding well set forth the *formes* and usages of the *primitive* Church The form is this. * Ἀποτάσσομαι τῷ Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῖς πομπαῖς αὐτοῦ &c. *i. e.* I forsake the Devil and all his works, his pomps and service, his *Angels*, and inventions, with all things under his command. Which done, he doth rehearse the *Articles* of his belief in this form that followeth: πιστεύω καὶ βαπτίζομαι εἰς ἕνα ἀγένητον &c. I beleeve in one unbegotten and only true God Almighty, Father of Christ, maker of all things, and in our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*, his only begotten Son &c. Next after followeth a *set form* of prayer used by the *Bishop*, in consecrating of the oyle or *Chrisme*, and sanctifying of the water. And finally this *prayer* to be said by them, who were newly brought into the Church by *Baptism.* Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ † &c. Almighty God, Father of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*, give me a body undefiled, a pure heart, a watchfull minde, knowledge without error, together with the presence of the holy Spirit, that I may both attain and hold fast the truth, without doubt or wavering, through *Christ* our Lord, with whom be glory unto thee in the holy Ghost, world without end, Amen. The sum of what is said before, in these two last Authors, *Clemens* I mean, and *Dionysius*, because the writings attributed to them, are by the learned thought to be

* *Clement. Constitut. l. 7. c. 42.*

† *Id. ibid. c. 47.*

none of theirs; we shall finde presently confirmed in the words of those who lived shortly after, and are of an unquestioned credit amongst all *Divines* both of the *Protestant* party and the Church of *Rome*. In the mean time we will sit down and repose our selves: concluding here so much of the present search, as may be found in any of the writings of the holy *Apostles*; or such as claim the reputation of being *Apostolical* men, the *Scholars* and *Successors* of the blessed spirits, though now disclaimed for such by our choicer judgements. And yet before I leave this age I will see if any thing occur in St. *Ignatius* touching a form of common prayer, or invocation used by the *Christians* of his time; who being said to be that childe on whom our Saviour laid his hands saying, *Except ye receive the Kingdome of heaven as a little childe*, &c. but howsoever questionlesse the Apostles Scholar, and successor to St *Peter* in the sea of *Antioch*, hath informed us thus, in his Epistle to the *Magnesians*, of which no scruple hath been raised amongst learned men; *omnes ad orandum in idem loci convenite; una sit communis precatio, una mens; una spes in charitate* * &c. By which it seemeth, that as the *Magnesians* had a Church or meeting place, to which they usually resorted as a *House of Prayer*, of which more hereafter; so they had also *una Communis precatio*, one certain form of Common-prayer, in which they all concurred as if spirited by one soul, and governed by one hope, in charity and faith unblamable in the Lord *Christ Jesus*. Which is as much as we could look for in those times, and from a man whose writings are not many, nor of any greatnesse, his custome being to expresse himself as briefly as the nature of Epistles could invite him to.

* *Ignat. Epist. ad Magnes.*

XII. (12) That in this Age, the day of worship was translated from the *last day* of the week to the *first*, or to the *Lords-day* from the *Sabbath*, will not here be doubted; nor can it be much questioned amongst sober men, but that the *Christians* of these times did celebrate the Feast of *Easter*, together with that of *Whitsontide*, as we call them now, in honour of the *Resurrection* of their Lord and Saviour, and of the coming down of the *Holy Ghost*, according to the Annual Revolution of

of those great occasions. That which hath most been doubted for this Time and Age, is, whether the *Christians* had their places of publique worship, and whether those places of worship, had the name of Churches; both which I think may be concluded in the *affirmative* by convincing arguments. And first it is affirmed for an old Tradition in the Church of Christ, and proved so to be by *Adricomius* out of several Authors, that the *Cœnaculum* or upper Chamber, in which the *Apostles* met together after Christs Ascension, was by them used for a place of publick worship: this being said to be that room * in which our Saviour instituted the blessed Sacrament of his body and bloud, the same in which the Apostles met † for the choice of one, in the place of *Judas*, the same in which the holy Ghost descended on them * at the feast of *Pentecost*, the same in which they were assembled to elect the *seven* †. And finally the same in which they held the first Generall Councel * for pacifying the disputes about circumcision, and other ceremonial parts of the Law of *Moses*. This was called then by the name of *Cœnaculum Sion*, or the *upper chamber* of *Sion*, supposed by some to have been a part of the House of *Simon* the *Leper*, but howsoever of some Disciple of rank and quality, who willingly had devoted it to the use of the Church: it being the custome of such men in those early daies, when they were not suffered to erect more magnificent fabricks, to dedicate some convenient part of their dwelling houses for the assembling of Gods people, and the acts of worship. Thus finde we in the *Recognitions* of *Clemens*, that the House of *Theophilus* in the city of *Antioch* (to whom S. *Luke* dedicated both his *Gospel* and book of *Acts*) was by him converted to a Church for the use of Christians; and in the Acts of *Pudens*, whom we finde mentioned by S. *Paul* in the second to *Timothy*, that he gave his house unto the Church for the same use also; and such an *house*, or such an upper chamber rather so given and dedicated is that thought to be, in which S. *Paul* preached at *Troas* †, and from a window whereof *Eutychus* fell down, and was took up dead. But to return again to the *Cœnaculum Sion* before mentioned, certain

* Luk. 22. 12.
† Act. 1. 13.
* Act. 2. 1.
† Act. 6. 4, 6.
* Act. 15. 6.
† Act. 20. 8.

it is that in relation to those duties of Religion, which were there performed, it was inclosed afterwards with a beautiful Church, commonly called the Church of *Sion*; and by S. *Cyril*, a godly Bishop of *Jerusalem*, ἡ ἀνωτέρα Ἐκκλησία τῶν Ἀποστόλων, the upper Church of the Apostles *, in which the Holy Ghost is there said by him to have fallen upon them: begirt in following times with the *cels* or *lodgings* of *religious* persons in the form of a Monastery, of which *Bede* thus: *In superiori montis Sion planicie, monachorum cellulæ Ecclesiam magnam circundant, illic, ut perhibent, ab Apostolis fundatam, eo quod ibi spiritum sanctum accepere, in qua etiam locus cœnæ Domini venerabilis ostenditur* †: that is to say, in the uppermost plain of Mount Sion, the Cels of Monks begirt a fair and spacious Church there founded, as it is affirmed, by the holy Apostles, because in that place they had received the Holy Ghost, and where they shew the place in which the Lord did institute his holy Supper. Where by the way this Church is said to have been founded by the Apostles, not that they built it from the ground, but because being given unto them by some godly and devout Disciple, it was by them consecrated for a place of Gods publick worship. Now that the Christians of this time had the like places for publick worship, as well in other Cities as in *Jerusalem* and *Troas*, is evident enough from a remarkable passage in S. *Pauls* Epistle, according to the Exposition of the ancient Fathers. *What* (saith the Apostle) *have ye not houses to eat and drink in, or despise ye the Church of God, and shame them that have not* *? Where by the *Antithesis* or opposition, between common *Houses* destinate unto eating and drinking on the one side, and the *Church of God* designed unto Religious uses on the other side, it appeareth plainly unto me, that by those words *Ecclesiam Dei*, or the *Church* of *God*, we are not to understand the Congregation, or the men assembled, but the very place of the Assembly. And to this sense the general current of the Fathers gives a strong assurance, none speaking more plainly then S. *Austin*, and therefore I shall give you his words at large. *Ecclesia homines sunt* (saith he) *de quibus dicitur: ut exhiberet sibi gloriosam Ecclesiam. Hanc tamen vocari*

* *Cyril. Hier. catech.* 16.

† *Beda Tom.* 3. *de locis sanctis.*

* 1 Cor. 11. 22

cari etiam ipsam domum orationum, idem Apostolus testis est, ubi ait; Nunquid domos non habetis ad manducandum & bibendum; aut Ecclesiam Dei condemnitis *? that is to say, the word *Ecclesia* or the *Church*, doth properly signifie those men, of whom it is said by the Apostle, *that he might present it to himself a glorious Church*; and yet that it doth also signifie the House of Prayer or publick worship, is testified by the same Apostle, saying, *Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in, or despise you the Church of God*, &c. See to the same effect and purpose S. *Basil* in his moral. Reg. 30. The Commentaries on S. *Pauls* Epistles, ascribed to *Hierome*, 1 Cor. 11. *Sedulius* on the same Epistle; St. *Chrysostome* upon the place, and finally the same affirmed by *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius* (all good men and true) to whom for further satisfaction I refer the Reader. The like Argument may be also borrowed from those Texts of the Apostle, in which he maketh mention of the *Church* which was *in the House* of some particular persons, whom he there remembreth; the Church which was in the house of *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, Rom. 16. 4, 5. and again, 1 Cor. 16. 19. The Church that is in the house of *Nymphas*, Col. 4. 15. the Church that was in the house of *Philemon*, in the first words of that Epistle. Where clearly he intendeth not by that expression the Christian Families of those persons, whom he there remembreth, but the Assemblies of Gods people, convened together in their Houses, which they had dedicated to those pious and religious exercises, as by many other godly persons, had been elsewhere done. For where he mentioneth the Families of such godly Christians, who had not given their Houses, or some convenient parts thereof, to this publick use, he doth it in a different expression, and of lesse significancy; as the house of *Onesiphorus*, 2 Tim. 4. 19. The *household* of *Aristobulus*, Rom. 16. 18. The *household* of *Narcissus*, vers. 11. *Asyncritus* &c. and the Brethren that are with them, vers. 14. *Philologus* &c. and all the Saints that are with them, vers. 15. *Brethren*, and *Saints*, and *Households*, in the Texts last mentioned, but Churches in the Text before; because the houses of those men, or some parts thereof had been

* *Aug. qu.* 57. *sup. Levit.*

been converted into Churches for the publick use, as the houses of these last were not. And for this Exposition of these Texts of Scripture, I must ingenuously confesse my self indebted to *Joseph Mede* (a man of most acute and discerning judgement, who taking his hint from *Oecumenius*, hath very rationally pressed and enforced this Argument. This therefore being took for granted, as I think it may, we have not only set and appointed places for Gods publick worship in *Jerusalem*, *Troas*, and *Corinth*; but also at *Laodicea*, where *Philemon*, at *Colosse* where *Nymphas*, at *Rome* where *Aquila* and *Priscilla* had their habitations, and questionlesse in many other places accordingly, and these too honoured by the Spirit of God with the name of *Churches*. Which makes it the more strange unto me, that the name of *Church* (as it denoteth the publick meeting place of Gods people, the material Church) should grow so much into contempt in these later daies, that our own *Sectaries* at home should in derision call those *holy places*, by the name of *Steeple-houses*, or that the Hugonots in *France* in opposition to the Papists should call them *Temples*, choosing to symbolize rather with the Jewes, then their Christian Brethren.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

What doth occur concerning Liturgies *and* Set Formes *of worship, betwixt the* death *of the* Apostles, *and the* Empire *of* Constantine *the Great.*

(1) THe *form* observed in *Baptism*, and ministration of the *Eucharist*, and in the celebrating of the *Sundaies service*, according unto *Justin Martyr*. (2) The *order* used in *Baptism*, and in the *publick* meetings of the Congregation, in *Tertullians* time. (3) That in those times the use of *Psalmes* and *Hymnes*, was intermingled with the other parts of *publick* worship. (4) *Tertullian* cleared from a wrong sense imposed on him, in the point of *worship*, by some late writers. (5) The *course* and *order* of the *ministration*, according to the Author of the *Constitutions*, who lived about those times, in their accompt who place him latest. (6) The *order* of *reading* holy Scripture in the *Congregation*, prescribed and regulated in those times. (7) Proofs for a *publick* Liturgie or *Set form* of *Prayer*, from the works of *Origen*; (8) As also from the writings of S. *Cyprian*. (9) Touching the *Prayer* prescribed by the Emperour *Constantine*, for the use of his Army; (10) That prescribed *formes* of *prayer* were not occasioned by the *Arian* or *Pelagian* Heresies, as it is supposed. (11) What was decreed conducing to *set formes* of *Prayer* in the ancient Councel of *Laodicea*. (12) Several *offices* or *set formes* of *Prayer* at that time in use, agreeably unto the several sorts of people in the *Congregation*. (13) A list of several solemn *Festivals*, appointed by the Church for Gods *publick* worship in these early daies. (14) Churches erected by the Christians in these two Ages for the publick duties of Religion.

I. (1) What doth occur concerning *Liturgies* or *set formes* of prayer, in the first and *Apostolical* ages of the Church of *CHRIST*, we have seen before. We will next look into those times which intervened betwixt the blessed death of S. *John* the Apostle, and the establishment of the glorious reign of *Constantine* the Emperor: during which time the *Church* was alwaies strugling between hope and fear, whether to conquer and bring in the *Gentiles*, or be mastered by them. And yet in those uncertain times we finde apparent certainty of those *publick* formes, which we are in quest of: and that not only for the *ministration* of the holy *Sacraments*, but also for the *celebration* of the *daily service* of Almighty God. And first beginning with the Sacrament of *Baptism*, I finde it thus in *Justin Martyr*. Ὅσοι ἂν πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ' ὑμῶν διδασκόμενα &c. * "Whosoever is "perswaded and doth believe that those things which we "teach are true, and doth resolve to live accordingly, are "taught to fast and *pray*, and call on God for the remission "of their sins; the whole Church also *fasting* and *praying* "with them; then are they brought by us to a certain place, "in which water is, and are regenerated in the same man-"ner as we were before; being baptized in the Name of the "Lord God Father of all things, and of *JESUS CHRIST*, "and of the holy Ghost. This laver, as he after tels us, is cal-"led φωτισμὸς †, *Illuminatio*, because the mindes of those "who dispose themselves to learn those things, are en-"*lightned* by it. Then he proceeds, and lets us know, "μετὰ τὸ ὅτως λοῦσαι, ἐπὶ τὸ πεπεισμένον &c. * that after the party "was *baptized*, they brought him to the place of the Con-"gregation, whither the brethren were assembled, κοινὰς "εὐχὰς ποιησάμενοι, to make their *Common prayers* to God both "for themselves and him that was *baptized*, εὐτόνως *animo in-"tento* saith the *Latine*, with all the earnestnesse they could: "that they might all be found fit and worthy to know the "truth, and become fruitfull of good works, that so they "might be found to have been faithful keepers of Gods Com-"mandements, and finally enjoy everlasting life. Which

* *Justin Martyr in Apol. secunda p. 93. edit. gr. lat.*

† *Ibid. p. 94.*

* *Id. ibid. p. 97.*

prayers

"prayers being ended, ἀλλήλους φιλήματι ἀσπαζόμεθα, we salute "one another with an holy kisse. This is the *form* summed up in brief by *Justin Martyr*; in which if we finde not any thing of the *Crosse*, the several *abrenuntiations*, nor any of the other *ceremonies* spoken of before: it was not that they were not then in use, (as we shall shew very shortly) but that the Father purposed to expresse no more concerning *Baptism*, then the very substance of that Sacrament. And now being fallen on *Justin Martyr*, we will from him before we leave him, describe the form used in the *celebration* of the blessed *Eucharist*, together with the course and order of the *Sundaies service*. First for the *Sundaies service* it was thus, as followeth. Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ &c. * "Upon the "*Sunday* all which inhabit in the Towns or Villages, do "meet together in one place: and there, the commentaries "of the *Apostles*, and writings of the *Prophets*, μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ, "as much as serveth for that time, are read unto us. The "*reader* having done, the *Bishop* or *President* of the Congre-"gation, maketh an oration, exhorting the people to the "following of those godly lessons and instructions, which "are laid before them. Then we rise all together, καὶ εὐχὰς "πέμπομεν, and send our *prayers* up to the Lord. Our prayers "being finished, and bread, and wine, and water being of-"fered or presented in a readinesse, the Bishop, ὁ Προεστώς, "or if you will, the *President* of the Congregation, did offer "up *prayers* and thanksgiving to the Lord with all his might. Where by the way, the word in the *Original* is ὅσον δύναμις. Which howsoever it be turned by *Langius* into *quantum pro virili sua potest*, and that by some translated thus †, *according unto his ability*; as if the *Bishop* did not pray by a *present Liturgie*, but according to his *own abilities* in the *gift* of *prayer*: yet plainly here it means more then εὐπόνως, in the former place, to shew the *earnestnesse* he used in the performance of his office. Now for the *ministration* of the *Eucharist*, he describes it thus. * Παυσάμενοι δὲ εὐχῶν &c. "Prayers being "done, we salute one another with an *holy kisse* Then is "presented to the *President* bread, with a cup of water and "wine, who receiving them gives *praise* and glory unto

* *Id. p. 98.*

† *Smectymn. p. 7*

* *Justin Martyr. Apol. 2. p. 97.*

"God the Father of all things, in the name of the *Son* and "*Holy Ghost*, and rendereth *thanks* unto the Lord in that he "doth vouchsafe these his creatures to us: which prayers "and *giving* of *thanks* being ended, the people which are pre-"sent do with a joyfull acclamation say *Amen*. The *President* having thus consecrated the *Eucharist*, (for so I take it is the meaning of these words ἐυχαειςήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Πρεσβύτερος) and the *people* having testified their assent thereto, those who "are called *Deacons* distribute unto every one there present, "the consecrated bread, and wine, and carrie it to those "who are absent. Καὶ ἡ τροφὴ αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν ἐυχαειςία. "This nourishment, saith he, is called by us *Eucharist*, whereof "it is not lawful unto any to be partakers, but such as do be-"lieve our Doctrine, and have been *baptized* for the remission "of their sins: and purpose to form their lives according un-"to their profession. This was the *course*, or *order* of divine service in the time of this holy *Martyr*: in which we have an intermixture of *prayers* and *praises*, the *reading* of the holy Scriptures, and then the *Sermon*, (as now the *Sermon* followeth on the reading of the *Epistle* and *Gospel*) and after all the *celebration* of the *Eucharist*, the whole being shut up with *thanksgiving* to the Lord our God. A clearer illustration of this course, we shall see anon.

II. (2) Mean while proceed we to *Tertullian*, and see how he describes the rites of *Baptism*, as in his time used. *Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed & aliquanto prius in Ecclesia sub* Antistitis *manu contestamur nos* renuntiare Diabolo, & pompæ & Angelis ejus. *Dehinc ter mergitamur, amplius aliquid respondentes quam Dominus Evangelio determinavit.* * We go, saith he, unto the water, and there, as not long time before, we promise in the hands of the *Bishop*, that *we will renounce the Devil, and his pomps, and his Angels.* Then are we thrice dipped into the water, making more answers (to the *Interrogatories* proposed unto us) then the Lord prescribed in his holy *Gospel*. And for the *Crosse*, though we finde nothing in this place, we have it surely in another, viz in that so celebrated speech of his, *Caro signatur, ut anima muniatur* †, that is to say, the flesh is marked or *signed* with the *sign of the Crosse* (for of that

* *Tertul. de Coron. Militis.*

† *Id. de resurrectione Carni.*

that he speaketh) that the soul may be defended and fortified against all assaults. Next let us look on their Assemblies, their customes and behaviour there; and he makes this relation of the *course* or *order* used by the *Christians* of his time in the Congregation. *Coimus in cœtum & congregationem, ut ad deum quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus orantes. Ea vis deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro Ministris eorum & potestatibus, pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. Coimur ad sacrarum literarum commemorationem, si quid præsentium rerum qualitas aut præmonere cogit aut recognoscere. Certe fidem sanctis vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus; disciplinam nihilominus præceptorum inculcationibus densamus* * * *Tertullian. Apologet. cap. 39.*

"We meet, saith he, in an *Assembly* or Congregation, that "we may besiege God in our prayers, as with an army. Such "violence is acceptable unto God. We pray for *Emperors* "and their Ministers, and *Potestates*, for the state of the "whole world, the quiet government of the affairs thereof, "and for the putting off of the last day. We are assembled "to commemorate or hear the *holy Scriptures*, if the condi-"tion of our present state doth either need to be premoni-"shed or reviewed. Assuredly by the repetition of those "holy words, our faith is nourished, our hope assured, our "confidence confirmed: yet so that the severity of disci-"pline is strengthened by the frequent inculcating of Gods "commandements. In which description of their meetings, there is no mention of the *Eucharist*, not that it was not celebrated then in all *publick* Assemblies, but because as *Cassander* well observeth, *ad Paganos & nondum initiatos sermo haberetur*, he did addresse his whole discourse to heathen men, such as were not yet initiated in the faith of Christ; to whom the *Christians* of those times imparted not the knowledge of the holy *Misteries*. In other of his books, especially in those entituled *ad uxorem*, there's enough of that.

III. (3) Nor is it to be thought, because *Tertullian* speaks not of the present place, nor *Justin Martyr* in the passage produced before, that they *sung* no *Psalmes*; nor gave that part of worship no convenient place in the performance of their

service. We finde that, and the course of their *publick* worship thus pointed at unto us in another place. *Jam vero prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut* Psalmi *canuntur, aut* adlocutiones *proferuntur, aut* petitiones *delegantur; ita inde materiæ visionibus subministrantur* *. Now, saith he, as the *Scriptures* are read, or *Psalmes* sung, or *Exhortations* made, or *Prayers* tendred; so is matter ministred unto her visions. Where we may see, that *singing* of the *Psalmes* was in use amongst them, as well as any other part of *publick* worship, of what sort soever. Conceive by *singing* here, as in other books and Authors about this time, such *singing* of the *Psalmes* as is now in use in the *Cathedrals* of this Kingdome, after a *plain tune*, as it is directed in the *Rubricks* of the *Common-prayer* book: and not the *singing* of the Psalmes in Meeter, as hath been used and is still in *Parochial* Churches. The *singing* in those times in use, was little more then a melodious pronunciation, though afterwards upon occasion of a *Canon* made in the Councel of *Laodicea*, it came to be more perfect and exact, according to the rules of harmony: and in St. *Austins* time was so full and absolute that he ascribes a great cause of his conversion to the powers thereof, calling to minde those frequent tears, *quas fudi ad cantus Ecclesiæ tuæ*, which had been drawn from him by this sacred Musick by which his soul was humbled, and his affections raised to the height of godlinesse. But whatsoever was the *musick* of these first times, *musick* assuredly they had in their publick service, as *Tertullian* tels us, whom we may credit in this point. And if we please to look, we may be also sure to finde the same in that place of *Pliny*, which before we touched at. Which here take more at large in the *Authors* words. The *Christians* on examination did acknowledge †, *quod soliti essent stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenq; Christo tanquam deo canere secum invicem: seq; sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent; His peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusq; coeundi ad capiendum cibum promiscuum tamen & innoxium.* "They did confesse, saith he, "that they were accustomed to assemble on their *appointed* "*times*,

* Id. de Anima cap. 9.

† Plin. Ep. 97. l. 10. & Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 27.

"*times*, before day light, and to sing *hymnes* or songs of "praise to *CHRIST*, as to a God, amongst themselves; and "to binde themselves by oath or *Sacrament*, not to the doing "of any wickednesse, but not to commit thefts, robberies, "or adulteries, not to deceive the trust reposed in them, "nor to deny a thing deposited, if it were demanded; and "this being done they used to depart, and then meet again "to eat together, their meat being ordinary, and the man-"ner of their eating inoffensive. Which last was added, as I take it, to clear them of that slander which was raised against them by their malicious enemies: who charged them with eating humane flesh, and the bloud of Infants, as you may see in most of the *Apologies* which the *Christians* published in those times. Note also that their meeting thus to eat together, which is here last spoken of by *Pliny*, was for their *love-feasts* or Ἀγάπαι, described so fully by *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick*; and by him also joyned to the description of their *course* or *order* at their publick meetings.

(4) But here perhaps it will be said, that *the question is not* at the present, *about a set order or Rubrick of Administrations*, but about *set and imposed formes of prayer* *. And that although *Tertullian* do describe a set *course* and *order*, yet he is quite against a *set forme* of prayer; where he saith, "*That* "*the Christians of those times did in their publick Assemblies pray* "sine monitore quia de pectore, *without any prompter but their* "*own hearts* †. And say they, that it should be so, *the same* "*Father* (as they call him) proves in his Treatise *de Oratione*. "*Sunt quæ petuntur* &c. There are some things to be asked "according to the occasions of every man; the lawfull "and ordinary prayer (that is the Lords prayer) being "laid as a foundation, it is lawful to build upon that foun-"dation other *prayers*, according to every ones occasion. So they, and to them it may thus be answered, that either those two passages of *Tertullian* are ill layed together; or else they must be understood of *private*, not of *publick* prayer. For that the later place is meant of those *private* prayers, which every man may make for his own occasions, is beyond all question. And in their *private* prayers it is not denied,

IV.

* Vindication of *Smectymn. p.* 19.

† *Smectymn p* 7

denied, but men may use what words and what *formes* they please; so they consider as they ought, what it is they aske, and of whom they aske it. And if this place be meant of *private* prayer, as by the Authors drift and scope it appears to be; then must the other passage be so understood, or else they are ill laid together, as before was said. Now that the other place so insisted on, is also meant of *private* not of *publick* prayers, will appear by this, that there *Tertullian* speaks of the *private* carriage of the *Christians*, and of their good affections to the *Roman* Emperors; but medleth not with their behaviour as a *publick* body, assembled and convened for a *publick* end. For if he should, it must needs sound exceeding harshly, that every member in the congregation should be left unto the liberty of his own expression; and their *devotions*, if so ordered, could be entituled nothing lesse then *common prayers*, by which name *Justin Martyr* cals them, as before was shewn. But that we may the better understand *Tertullians* meaning, we will first take the words at large, and then conjecture at the sense. The words are these *, *Illuc suspicientes* Christiani *manibus expansis, quia innocuis; capite nudo, quia non erubescimus; sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus; precantes sumus omnes semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus, vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, & quæcunq; hominis vel* Cæsaris *vota sunt.* "We *Christians* looking towards "heaven, pray with our hands stretched out to protest our "innocence; bare-headed, because not ashamed; without a "*Monitour*, because by heart: beseeching God alwaies for "all our *Emperours*, that God would send them a long life, "an happy reign, a secure house, valiant souldiers, faith-"full Counsellors, an industrious people, and whatsoever "else the prayers of a private man (for it is *hominis* not *ho-"minum*) or those even of the Emperour himself, can extend "unto. And this he sheweth to be the subject of those *prayers* which he himself did use to make for the *Roman* Emperors, in the words next following, *Hæc ab alio orare non possum, quam a quo me scio consecutum.* I pray for all this to no other then to him alone, of whom only I am certain to

* *Tertullian Apologet. c* 30

to obtain the same. And sure *Tertullian* was a *private* person; nor do we finde that he prayed thus with others in the *Congregation:* or if he did, yet being the heads are *certain* which are spoke of here, the *form* may also be *prescribed* for ought appears unto the contrary, which was used there. And for the *Monitor*, 'tis true, the *Gentiles* had of old their *Monitors*, not only to *direct* them in what *words*, but to what *God* also they should make their *prayers*. Which thing the *Christians* needed not, who knew they were to make their *prayers* unto *God* alone; and being accustomed to pray in the Congregation, according to the *form* prescribed, for the Emperours safety, and the prosperity of his affairs, could without any *Monitor* or *prompter* pray by heart, for those things which concerned the weal and safety of the *Emperors*, and those who were in office and authority, by and under them. What the *Prayers* were, used by the *Christians* of those times, it is hard to say, there being so little of them extant in Authors of unquestioned credit: but that they used *set formes* of *prayer* is not hard to prove, as we shall see in the next Centurie, when we have looked into the works of *Origen*, and spent a little time in S. *Cyprians* writings. If in their books, one of which was cotemporary with *Tertullian*, the other living very near him if not with him also, we finde *prescribed formes* of prayer: I hope it will be granted without great difficulty, that in *Tertullians* time they had prescribed *formes*, although those *formes* appear not upon good record.

(5) But first before we come to that, we will lay down the *course* and order of the *ministration*, according as I finde it in the *Constitutions* ascribed to *Clemens:* the Author of the which, whosoever he was, lived about these times, and may perhaps be credited in a *matter* of *fact*, although of no authority (with the learned) in a *point* of *Doctrine*. Now he describeth both the Churches and the service thus. Ὅταν συναθροίζῃς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν &c. * "When thou (he speaks unto the "*Bishop*) doest call the *Congregation* to assemble, as being the "master of the ship, command thy *Deacons* as the mariners, "that places be provided for the *Brethren*, who are as pas- V.

* *Constitut. Clement. l. 2. c. 57.*

"sengers therein. First let the Church be built in form of "an *oblongum*, looking towards the *East*; and let the *Bishops* "throne or chair be placed in the midst thereof; the *Pres-* "*byters* sitting on each side of him, and the *Deacons* ready "and prepared to attend the *Ministery*; to whom it apper- "taineth to place the lay-people in their ranks and seats, "and set the women by themselves. Then let the *Reader* "from the *Desk* or *Pulpit* placed in the middle of the people, "read the books of *Moses*, as also those of *Josuah*, *Judges*, "*Kings* and *Chronicles*, and that of *Ezra*, touching the re- "turn from *Bhbylon*, as also those of *Job* and *Solomon*, and the "sixteen *Prophets*. Ἀνὰ δύο τὲ γινομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων &c. "Two *Chapters* being read, let one begin the *Psalmes* of *David*, "and let the people answer the *Acrosticks*, *i. e.* the closes or "the *burden* of the *song*, as we use to say. Then let the *Acts* "be read, and the *Epistles* of S. *Paul* which he inscribed to "severall Churches by the suggestion of the holy Ghost. Af- "terwards let the *Presbyter* or *Deacon* read the *Gospels* which "*Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John* have left behinde them. "And whilest they read the *Gospel* let the people *stand*, and "hearken to the same with silence. For it is written, *Take* "*heed and hearken O Israel*; and in another place, *stand thou* "*there and hearken*. Then let the *Presbyters* speak a word of "*exhortation* to the people, not all at once, but one by one, "and the *Bishop* last. This done all of them rising up and "turning towards the *East*, (the *Catechumeni* and those "which are under *penance* being first departed) let them "direct their *prayers* to God, after which some of the *Dea-* "*cons* are to attend upon the *sacrifice* of the holy *Eucharist*; "others to have an eye on the Congregation, and to see "that silence be well kept. Then let the *Deacon* which as- "sists the *Bishop*, thus bespeak the people, μή τις κατὰ τινός· μή τις "ἐν ὑποκρίσει. Let no man here have malice against his bro- "ther; let no man harbour any dissimulation: which said "the men salute the men, the women those of their own "sex, with an *holy kisse*. After the *Deacon* saith the *Prayer* "for the *whole Church*, the universal world, and the parts "thereof; as also for fertility, for the *Priests*, the *Magistrates*,

"for

"for the *Bishop* and *King*, and the peace of all. Ὧν ἡγουμένων
"οἱ διάκονοι προσαγέτωσαν τὰ δῶρα τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστή-
"ριον &c. * This done, the *Deacons* are to bring the offer- * *Id. l.* 8. *c.* 22.
"ings to the *Bishop*, laying the same upon the Altar; the
"*Priests* assisting on each side, as the Disciples do their Ma-
"ster. Then the *Bishop* praying to himself, together with
"the *Priests* or *Presbyters*, and being arrayed in a *white ve-*
"*sture*, standing at the *Altar* and making the sign of the
"*Crosse* upon his forehead, shall say, *the Grace of God Almigh-*
"*ty, and the love of our Lord JESUS Christ, and the fellowship of*
"*the holy Ghost be with you all*; and all the people shall re-
"turn this Answer, *And with thy spirit.* Then shall the
"*Bishop* say, *Lift up your hearts*, and they reply, *We lift them*
"*up unto the Lord.* The Bishop thus, *Let us give thanks unto the*
"*Lord*; the people next, *It is meet and right so to do.* And
"then the Bishop, *It is meet, right, and our bounden duty* above
"all things, to praise thee the true God, who wast from all
"eternity, before the foundation of the world was laid.
"Finally, this being done, let the *Bishop* give unto the peo-
"ple the *blessing* of *peace* †. And as *Moses* did command the † *Id. l.* 2. *c.* 57.
"*Priests* to blesse the people in these words, *The Lord blesse*
"*thee and keep thee, the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and*
"*grant thee peace*: so shall the *Bishop* use this form. *Conserva*
"*Domine populum tuum incolumem* &c. Preserve O Lord thy
"people in safety, and blesse thine inheritance which thou
"possessest, and hast purchased with the bloud of *CHRIST*,
"and callest a *royal Priesthood*, and holy nation. Afterwards
"let him go to the *consecration*, all the people standing, and
"praying softly to themselves; and the *oblation* being made,
"let every one severally receive the body and bloud of
"our Lord and Saviour, coming *in order* thereunto, and
"with fear and reverence; the women being also veiled or
"covered, as becomes their Sex. And whilest that this is
"doing, let the doors of the Church be shut, that neither
"any *Infidel* or *unbaptized* person be present at it. So far
and to this purpose *Clemens*, or whosoever was the Author
of the *Constitutions*: which how it doth agree with the pub-
lick *formes*, still extant on record in the works and monu-

ments of ſuch Ancient writers, of whom there is no queſtion amongſt learned men, we ſhall ſee anon.

VI. (6) One thing muſt firſt be taken into conſideration, and that is, whether in the *reading* of the holy Scripture, the Miniſter was left to his own *election*, although not for the number of the *ſections* or *chapters* as we call them now, yet to read what and where he would, without appointment of the Church. A point which hath already been re-
* The Preface to the book of Common prayer.
ſolved by the Church of *England*, * declaring, "How it "was ſo ordered by the antient *Fathers*, that all the whole "Bible (or the greateſt part thereof) ſhould be read over "once every year; intending thereby, that the *Clergy*, and "eſpecially ſuch as were Miniſters of the *Congregation*, ſhould "(by often reading, and meditation of Gods word) be "ſtirred up to *godlineſſe* themſelves, and be more able to ex-"hort others by wholeſome Doctrine, and to confute them "that were adverſaries to the truth: and further that the "people by dayly hearing of holy Scripture read in the "Church, ſhould continually profit more and more in "the knowledge of God, and be the more inflamed with "the love of his true Religion. And certainly it was a good and godly inſtitution, ſavouring moſt abundantly of the *primitive* wiſdome: though now, I know not how it comes to paſſe, it be made a matter of no moment, *ſive biennio, ſive triennio abſolvatur lectio ſacræ Scripturæ*; † whether the Scriptures be read over in two years or three, ſo it be read at all in the *Congregation*. So little thanks or commendations hath this unhappy Church of *England*, for labouring to revive the ancient orders of the *Primitive* times, and to bring the people of the Lord to be acquainted with his holy word. But it is ſaid, that in the *primitive* times, there was no ſuch cuſtome, but all was left both for the choyce
† *Altare Damaſc. c.* 10. *p.* 633.
* *Id. ibid.*
and number of the *leſſons*, *arbitrio Eccleſiæ*, * to the diſcretion of the Church; that is to ſay, for nothing elſe can be the meaning, to the diſcretion of the Miniſter. And this they prove from that of *Juſtin Martyr* produced before, where it is ſaid, that they did read the writings of the Prophets and Apoſtles, μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. *i. e.* as they tranſlate

ſlate it, *quoad tempus fert*, as the time would bear. But μάχας ἐγχωρεῖ, if tranſlated rightly, is indeed *quantum licet*, as much as is lawſull and permitted: which quite deſtroyeth their meaning, and confirmes the Churches. Εγχωρέω, *concedo, admitto. Hinc* ἐγχωρεῖ *imperſonaliter, exponitur* licet, locus eſt, *facultas eſt*, in the common *Lexicon.* * And this appears further by the beſt *claſſick* Authors; οὐκ ἐνεχώρει μένειν, *non licebat manere*, in *Xenophon*; ὅταν τύχῃσι ἐγχωρεῖ, *quam primum licuerit*, in *Herodotus*; ſo in others alſo. And that it was thus in the antient practiſe appeareth very plainly by that of *Auſtin*, (though of a later ſtanding then the times we ſpeak of) where it is ſaid, that in the meeting or aſſembly for religious worſhip, *ſcripturarum divinarum lecta ſunt ſolemnia*, † the ſolemn and appointed *leſſons* out of holy Scripture were read unto the Congregation. And if they were *ſolennia* then, that is, ſet out, determined and appointed for times, and ſeaſons: I cannot think that they were otherwiſe in theſe former daies, unleſſe it were on extraordinary and great occaſions; in which that courſe might poſſibly be diſpenſed withall; as in the times of perſecution, and the like extremities.

* *v. Stephani Theſaurum.*

† *Auguſtin. de civit. dei. l. 22. cap. 8.*

(7) And ſo we come unto the third age of the Church; and there we ſhall begin with *Origen*, who grew into eſteem and credit in the beginning of this Century, and ſo continued till the midſt. By him it is obſerved, and exceeding rightly, *in Eccleſiis obſervationibus nonnulla eſſe hujuſmodi, quæ omnibus quidem facere neceſſe eſt, nec tamen rationem eorum omninibus patere*; that in the *uſages* of the Church there are many things which of *neceſſity* are to be done by every man, although the *reaſon* of them be not known to all. * Which ſaid in generall, he thus deſcends unto particulars: *Nam quod* genua flectimus *orantes, & quod ex omnibus cœli plagis ad ſolam* Orientis *partem converſi orationem fundimus, non facile cuique puto ratione compertum. Sed & Eucharistiæ ſive percipiendæ, ſive eo ritu quo geritur explicandæ, vel eorum quæ geruntur in* baptiſmo, *verborum geſtorumque et ordinum, atque* interrogationum *ac* reſponſionum, *quis facile explicet rationem? Et tamen omnia hæc operta et relata portamus ſuper humeros noſtros cum ita implemus*

VII.

* *Origen in Numer. cap. 4. Homil. 5.*

ea et exequimur, ut a magno Pontifice et ab ejus filiis tradita & commendata suscepimus. "For when we *kneel* (saith he) in the "time of prayer, and that of all the points in heaven we "turn unto the *East* when we make our prayers; I think "the reason why we do so is not known to any. Or "who can readily assign a reason of those rites and cere-"monies, used both in the receiving of the *Eucharist*, or at "the consecrating of the same; or of those many things "which are done in *baptisme*, the words and gestures, the "order there observed, the *Interrogatories* and the *Answers*? "And yet all these we undergo, whether revealed or hid-"den from us, when we do so fulfill and perform them all "as they have been commended and delivered to us, either "by our great Bishop, or his sonnes. Here then we have an evident proof, that there were severall *rites* and *ceremonies* used by the *Christians* of this time in the officiating of divine service: severall *words* and *gestures* used, both in the celebration of the *Eucharist*, and administration of *baptisme*, and divers *Interrogatories* with their prescribed Answers to be used therein. Which *Interrogatories* doubtlesse are the same, which we recited out of *Clemens* in the former Chapter; and which this Author also doth recount in another place. * *Recordetur uniusquisque fidelium, cum primum venit ad aquas Baptismi, cum signacula fidei prima suscepit, & ad fontem salutaris accessit, quibus ibi tunc usus sit* verbis, *& quid denuntiaverit Diabolo: non se usurum pompis ejus, neque operibus ejus, neque ullis omnino servitiis et voluptatibus ejus pariturum.* Let every faithfull Christian call to remembrance what *words* he used, what he denounced against the Devil, when first he came unto the waters of *Baptisme*, and received the first signs of faith, how he renounced all his pomps and works, and did professe that he would never yeeld obedience to his lusts and pleasures. So that a prescribed form there was of *abrenunciation*, in the Sacrament of holy *Baptisme*: and think we that there was not also a prescribed *form* of prayer, in the time of *Origen*? Himself shall tell you that there was; and more then so, shall give us such a fragment of a *prescribed prayer*, as by that peece we may conjecture at the whole. For thus saith he.

* *Id. in Numer. cap. 21. Homil. 12.*

Frequenter

* *Frequenter in oratione dicimus, Da omnipotens, da partem cum Prophetis, da cum Apostolis* Christi *tui, tribue ut inveniamur ad vestigia unigeniti tui.* We say this often in our prayers, Give us Almighty God, give us our portion with thy *Prophets* and with the *Apostles* of thy *Christ*; and grant that we may tread the footsteps of thine onely sonne. In which, saith he, we ask we know not what; for in effect we say no otherwise, then make us to be hated as the *Prophets* were, to fall into calamity and persecution as the *Apostles* did. A prayer this was no question, and a prescribed prayer, said often by the people, in their publick worship. And what else think we were those prayers which in another place he calleth εὐχὰς προσαχθείσας, those *solennes preces*, as the *Latine* hath it: † which he saith there, they used συνεχέστερον καὶ δεόντως νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, constantly and of duty both night and day, that is, at *morning* and at *evening* prayer. Assuredly it is not likely, that if there were *prescribed prayers*, such as he calleth *solennes preces* in the times of *Origen*: men should be left at liberty in *Tertullians* daies, being so small a time before, to use *extemporary prayers* in Gods *publick* worship, of their own fancies and devising.

* *Id. in Hieremiam cap. 15. Homil. 11.*

† *Id contra Celsum. lib. 6.*

(8) The like we may affirm of S. *Cyprian* also, in whom mention more then once, of those *solennia* which were used in the celebration of the blessed Eucharist. *Solennibus adimpletis, calicem* Diaconus *offerre præsentibus cœpit*; * the solemn prayers (and therefore a *set form* of prayers) being finished, the *Deacon* began to offer the Cup or Chalice to such as were present. And in another place speaking of the Cup, he calleth it *Calicem solenni benedictione sacratum*, the Cup which had been consecrated with a solemn (or *set form* of) benediction. Of which we may conclude as before we did, that if the forms were solemn or prescribed in S. *Cyprians* daies, they were not likely to be otherwise in *Tertullians* time: what ever other fancies have been raised about it. And that they used the solemn or *set form* of words in the ministration of holy things, in S. *Cyprians* daies, besides the generall proof before produced, appears most plainly in his book *de Oratione*; where we have it thus. † *Ideo* & Sacerdos ante

VIII.

* *Cyprian Sermo. de lapsis.*

† *Id. de oratione Dominica.*

ante Orationem, Præfatione *præmissa parat fratrum mentes, dicendo* Sursum corda: *ut dum respondet plebs*, Habemus ad Dominum, *admoneatur nihil aliud se quam Dominum cogitare debere.* Therefore (saith he) the *Priest* before the prayer (that of *consecration*) doth by a *Preface* readily prepare the mindes of the Brethren, saying, *Lift up your hearts*: that then the people make this answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*, they may be put in minde, that they must think of nothing but the Lord, when they are pouring out their prayers. This passage of the *Preface* (as our Church still calls it) we had seen before out of the *Constitutions* ascribed to *Clemens*; and it is also to be found in those antient *Liturgies* of *Rome*, *Hierusalem*, and *Alexandria*, assigned unto SS. *Peter*, *James*, and *Mark*, as before was said. That attributed to S. *Peter*, thus. Ἄνω χῶμεν τὰς καρδίας ἡμῶν. * to which the people make this answer, Ἔχομεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον. The very same with that of *Cyprian*. And so is also that of *Mark*, or rather of the Church of *Alexandria*, save that the word χῶμεν is left out, and it runs simply thus, Ἄνω ἡμῶν τὰς καρδίας. In that ascribed to S. *James* there is some difference, the *Priest* saying thus, ἄνω χῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας. † i. e. *Let us lift up our mindes and hearts*; to which the people answer there, ἄξιον καὶ δίκαιον, *It is meet and right so to do.* But this I take to be an error in the Copy, that being the answer of the people to another invitation of the *Priest*, *viz.* to that of *Gratias agamus Domino*, Let us give thanks unto the Lord: And so it seems to be by that which followeth of the *Priest*, in S. *James* his Liturgy: who on the peoples saying it *is meet and right*, goeth forwards in the usuall form, ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄξιόν ἐστι καὶ δίκαιον, *it is very meet and right and our bounden duty*, &c. But to return again unto S. *Cyprian*, we may conjecture by this peece, that in his time there was an whole and perfect *Liturgie*, though it be not come unto our hands. And there's another passage in that very book, *de Oratione*, which points us to that form of *abrenunciation*, which was then used by the Church in holy Baptisme. *Potest autem sic intelligi, ut quum seculo* renunciavimus, *et divitias ejus & pompas fide gratiæ spiritualis abjecimus, cibum nobis*

* *Liturgia S. Petri in Biblioth. SS. Patrum.*

† *Liturgia S. Jacobi, in Biblioth.*

*nobis tantum petamus & victum**. That passage in the *Pater noster* Give us this day our daily bread, may be thus interpreted, that we which have renounced the world, the riches and the pomps thereof by the benefit of faith and grace spiritu-all, should only crave of God our meat and victuall. In which we have the matter, although not the *form*: but that a *form* there was, we were shewed before out of the *Constitutions* ascribed to *Clemens*: and will now further prove it by *Tertullian* also, who thus brings it home. *Aquam ingressi, christianam fidem in suæ legis verba profitemur*; renunciare nos Diabolo, et pompis ejus et angelis ejus, *ore nostro contestamur* †. Entring, saith he, into the water, we make professiion of the *christian* faith, in the very words of his own law: and with our own mouth do contest, that we *renounce the Devil and his pomps, and Angels*. Compare these words with those of *Clemens* formerly delivered; and tell me if you can where the difference lieth. And there's another passage in that book of *Cyprians*, which points us to the *houres* of prayer, at that time in use; *viz.* The third, the sixth, the ninth. Which having shewed to have been formerly in use with *Daniel*, and other holy men of God, he addeth that besides those houres observed of old, *Orandi spatia & sacramenta creverunt*, * the times and the occasions of prayer were both increased. *Nam et mane orandum est ut resurrectio Domini matutina oratione celebretur; recedente item sole ac die cessante necessario orandum est*, &c. "For in the *morning* we must pray that the "Lords resurrection may be celebrated by our *morning* pray-"er; and when the Sun is down and the day determined, "we must needs pray also, that praying for the returning "of the *light*, we may desire of God our Saviours coming, "who will conduct us all unto light eternall. So great assurance have we of the point in hand, both for the *form* and *hours* of prayer, from this book of *Cyprians*, that any further search were almost unnecessary. Now lest it may be said, as I know some say, that this is none of *Cyprians* true and genuine writings, but thrust upon him by some *Sciolist* of a later standing; S. *Austin* shall come in for witnesse, who very frequently doth attest unto it, as *viz. Epist.* 47. & 107. *lib.*

* *Cyprian de oratione Dominica.*

† *Tertullian. de spectaculis. c.* 1.

* *Cyprian. de orat. Dominica.*

107. *lib. de gratia, & libero arbitrio.* cap. 13. *& lib.* 1. *contra Julianum, & de bono perseverantiæ,* cap. 2. Finally to dismisse S. *Cyprian,* the *Magdeburgians,* though no great friends unto the antient usages of the Church, were so convinced, (or satisfied, to say the least) with this book of his; that they resolve it for a certainty, past all peradventure, that anciently there were *set formes* of publick prayer. *Formulas denique precationum absque dubio habuerunt,* as they state it there; * and for the proof thereof referre us to this book of *Cyprians.*

* *Histor. Ecclesiast. Cent.* 3. *cap.* 6.

IX. (9) This being thus proved, we may affirm with grief, as some do with scorn, that *great must be our losse, who are so unhappily deprived of the best improvement, the Church made of her peace and happinesse, during the first three hundred years* †. No question but the *Liturgies* which were then composed did savour strongly both of the piety and affection of those blessed times. Whether *the blessed* Constantine *was herein as unhappy as ourselves*; or whether he *needed not have composed a form of prayer for his Guard to be used by them on the Lords day, but rather might and would have taken them out of the former Liturgies, if there had been any* *: will prove a very easie *quære,* with whatsoever confidence it be made a difficulty. For certainly there might be former *Liturgies,* and yet no *form* of prayer found in them for that use and purpose, for which that *prayer* was made by blessed Constantine. For we have now a *Liturgie* in the Church of *England* (and tis my prayer we may long have it, malgre the machinations of unquiet men) in which are many *forms* of prayer for Gods *publick* worship: yet not so many, nor so sutable to all occasions, but that some men make bold to set forth their own. Besides the Emperours Army did consist as the times then were, partly of *Christians,* and partly of the *Gentiles* †: and possibly it had not proved such an easie matter to bring the *Gentiles* to the use of a *form* of prayer (the *Christian* Souldiers being suffered to repair unto the Church upon *Sundaies,* and there to make their *prayers* to the Lord their God) which had been wholly taken from the *Liturgies* of the *Christian* Church. But for the prayer enjoyned by the blessed

† *Smectymn. p.* 9.

* *Id. ibid.*

† *Eusebius de vita Constant. l.* 4. *c.* 18.

blessed *Constantine*, it was as followeth. *Te solum Deum agnoscimus, te Regem profitemur, te adjutorem invocamus, per te victorias consecuti sumus, per te hostes superavimus, a te & præsentem felicitatem consecutos fatemur, et futuram adepturos speramus; tui omnes supplices sumus, a te petimus ut Constantinum Imperatorem nostrum, una cum piis ejus liberis, quam diutissime salvum & victorem conserves* *. In *English* thus. "We do acknowledge thee "for the only God, we confesse thee to be the King, we "call upon thee as our helper and defender: by thee alone "it is that we have got the victory, and subdued our ene- "mies; to thee as we do referre all our present happinesse, "so from thee also we expect our future. Thee therefore "we beseech that thou wouldst keep in health and safety, "our noble Emperour *Constantine*, with his hopefull proge- "nie. This was the very *form* imposed. And I believe the blessed *Constantine* would never have troubled himself to compose this *form*, had he not thought that set and *prescribed forms* of prayer had been very necessary, and more to be considered of, than the *extemporary prayers* of his ablest *Ministers*. For doubtlesse, in a Camp, wherein there were so many of the *Gentiles*, there must be some *Priests*, to offer sacrifice unto the Gods whom those *Gentiles* worshipped. And it is told us by *Eusebius* †, that he had alwayes in his Camp for divine Offices divers *Priests* and *Bishops*, Chaplains in ordinary to his Majesty: and it were hard if none of them could have made a shift, to vent some short *extemporary prayer* for the use of the Army. The blessed *Constantine* had been most *unhappy*, if it had been so: and pity 'twas, that some of those who are so vehemently bent against all set *formes*, had not been *Preachers* to his Army. Assuredly they would have eased him of that needlesse trouble. Especially since we are told, what liberty every man might take unto himself, in praying both what and how he listed.

* *Id. ibid. cap* 20.

† *Id.*

(10.) For as they say *, this *liberty* in prayer was not "taken away, nor *set* and imposed *forms* introduced, until the "time that the *Arian* and *Pelagian* heresies did invade the "Church; and then because those *hereticks* did convey and "spread their poyson, in their *formes* of *prayer* and *hymnes*, the

X.

* *Sinecdymn. p.* 7.

"Church thought it convenient to restrain the *liberty* of ma-
"king and using publick forms. A piece of learning not more new, then strange, to us who never heard of the like before: and such as in conclusion doth destroy it self. For if upon the spreading of the *heresies* before remembred, the *Church thought it convenient to restrain the liberty of making and using publick forms*: there must be *publick formes* before, both *made and used* in the Church; and therefore sure they came not in upon that occasion. And if the *Arians* and *Pelagians* had a mind to disperse their *poysons*, and do it with the greater freedome: they might have done more to purpose (a thing which we observe by too sad experience) in arbitrary and *extemporary prayers* of each mans devising, then being tyed and limited by a prescript *form*, how well soever fitted and contrived to advance their ends. That which they mean, if they mean any thing, is this, that in the time when *Chrysostom* was Bishop of *Constantinople*, the *Arians* held their Congregations without the City. But grew at last unto that boldnesse, that when the *Orthodox* Professors held their publick meetings as on all *Saturdaies* and *Sundaies* they used to doe, the *Arians* got within the gates, καὶ ὡδὰς ἀντιφώνους πρὸς τὴν Ἀρειανὴν δόξαν συνηθέντες ᾖδον,* and there sung certain *hymns* and *Anthems*, quire-wise or *alternatim*, answering one another, which they had fitted to their lewd and impious tenets. This they continued for the greatest part of the night, and at day-break *singing* these *hymnes* or songs even in the middle of the City, they went out again to their own places of Assembly. This when it was observed by *Chrysostom* to allure many simple men to that wicked faction; he called out some of his own flock, ἂν καὶ αὐτοὶ ταῖς νυκτεινοῖς ὑμνῳδίαις σχολάζοντες, who falling on the same course, and being intent on this *night-musick*, might both suppresse the insolency of the *Arian* party, and confirm his own people in the faith. This is the story which they aim at, and this makes nothing to the purpose. For what hath this to doe with set *forms* of *prayer*, so long in use before the time of *Chrysostom*? Or if it had, yet all that *Chrysostom* did on this occasion, was not to take away or restrain the liberty of *making*

* *Socrat hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 8.* & *Sozomen. hist. Eccl. l. 8. c. 8.*

king and using publick forms; but rather to increase those forms which were made before. For tis said plainly in the storie, ἤυξησε δὲ πρῶτος καὶ τὰς ἀεὶ νυκτερινὰς εὐχὰς, that he *increased* the wonted *prayers*, by adding those *night-Anthems* to the *publick* service *. But they say still that some restraint there was, of a former liberty, and such as was brought in upon occasion of those *heresies* which before we spake: it being first ordained say they in the Councel of *Laodicea*, that none should pray *pro arbitrio, sed semper eadem preces*, that *none should use liberty to varie in prayer, but use alwayes the same form* †. Somewhat indeed was done in that ancient *Synod*, and somewhat also to this purpose; but neither so as is delivered, nor on that occasion. Not upon that occasion doubtlesse. For if *Baronius* * rightly calculate the times, as I think he doth, the Councel of *Laodicea*, with those of *Arles*, *Ancyra*, and *Neocæsarea*, was holden in the year 314. the *Arian* heresie began not till the next year after, and the *Pelagian* neer an hundred years from that, *An.* 413. *Chrysostom* not being Bishop of *Constantinople*, untill the yeer 397. or thereabouts. So that the Fathers in this Councel, must needs be all inspired with the spirit of *prophecie*, seeing they could provide such a certain remedy, so many years before the mischief.

* *Socrat. hist. Eccl. l.6.c.8.3.*

† *Smectym. p.7.*

* *V. Baron. Annal. Eccles. To.3. & 5.*

(11) Now as this Councel did not any thing on this occasion, so whatsoever it was they did, it was not so, as is delivered. The Canon pointed to, is this † Περὶ τοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπέραις ὀφείλειν γίνεσθαι. That the same *office* of *prayers* should be alwayes used, both in the morning, and the evening, at *nine*, and night (for so I take it we must render ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις, rather then post off both services til the afternoon.) These are the words, which though they serve most evidently for *set formes* of *prayer*, *composed* by men of eminency for the *Churches* use, and then *imposed* upon the *Clergy* by the Churches power: yet we are told that the *forms* herein spoken of, were of every severall mans *own composing*, * and that the meaning of the Councel was no more then this, *viz. To forbid men from varying their* own *prayers as they listed*, and *to enjoyn them still to use*

XI.

† *Concil. Laodicen. Can.18.*

* *Smectymn. p. 7.*

* *Vindication. p. 20.*

use the same. * By what authority the *Canon* may be thus perverted from its proper meaning, I am yet to seek. But sure I am that never was the mind or meaning of that ancient *Synod:* or if it had, they would have put it in such terms whereby their mind and meaning might have been discovered in the former times. But *Zonaras*, whose glosses and interpretations I finde sometimes approved by these later *Scholiasts*, gives us another meaning of the *Canon*, and no doubt a truer: sure I am, more agreeable to truth of story, and the condition of those times. And he expounds the same directly contrary to that which is by them intended; and makes the meaning to be this, That no man should have *liberty* to compose *forms* of prayer, or to recite them in the Congregation; but only to adhere to those in Gods *publick service*, which had been countenanced and confirmed by long *proscription*, τὸ μὲ τὸν βυλόμενον ἁπλῶς ἐυχὰς ἰδίας συνηθέναι, καὶ ταύτας λέγειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐυχὰς, ἅς ἦν τὰς ἤδη παραδιδομένας γίνεσθαι ἐν πάσῃ συνάξει. † So his own words are. And this is quite against *set formes* of ones *own divising*. Nor could a worser choyce in all antiquity have been pitch'd upon, to countenance set formes of ones *own devising*, than was this notable *Synod* of *Laodicea*: wherein there is so much determined for setling the received *forms*, and abrogating such abuses as had been crept into the same; as in no other publick monument of this time and age. Three of which *Canons* I shall here produce, and those three which immediately precede that now in question. By that we may perceive most manifestly, how little hope is to be found from *Laodicea*, how cold the wind blowes from those *Eastern* parts. The first takes care to regulate that part of *publick* worship, which did consist in singing *hymnes* or *psalmes* to the praise of God, determining that none besides the ordinary and appointed *Singers*, should go up into the desk (or pulpit) and sing out of the parchmines, in the Congregation. * Μὴ δεῖν ἑτέρους πλέον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν ψάλλειν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. That is the substance of the *Canon*. And that, as it excludes all other persons from singing in the Church, but the publick *singers*, such as were called unto that *Office*; so it excludes all

† *Zonaras Comment. in Concil. Laodicen.*

* *Concil. Laodicen. Can. 15.*

all other books of that condition, from being brought into the *Church*, but the *publick* parchments, such as were framed and authorized for that very *service*. Yet so that I conceive with *Balsamon*, that is to be understood no otherwise, then that it was not lawfull unto every man, to go into the Pulpit, καταρχεσθαι τῶν θείων ψαλτῳδημάτων, * to name the *Psalme*, and to begin it (as some about this time had presumed to doe): it being permitted, as he noteth, after the *Psalme* was so begun, συμβάλλειν τοὺς λαϊκοὺς, that *lay men* of what rank soever, if they had tuneable voices, or could sing their parts, might then joyn with them, as in consort, to make up the *harmony*. The next care taken by this *Councel* was, that the *Gospels* and other parts of the holy scripture, might be read upon the *Saturday*, or the old *Jewish Sabbath*. Περὶ τοῦ ἐν σαββάτῳ εὐαγγέλια μετ' ἑτέρων γραφῶν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι † · Whereof the reason is thus given by *Balsamon*, because that day had been formerly spent in feasting, ὡς μηδὲ ἐκκλησιαστικῶν συνάξεων γινομένων, * and that the people used not to assemble on it, for *religious* offices: which to redresse it was determined by this *Canon*, that on that day as well as others, πάσαν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀκολουθίαν τελεῖσθαι, all sorts of Ecclesiastical ministrations were to be performed. The last was for the ordering of the *Psalmes*, concerning which it was ordained that between every portion of the *Psalmes* (for they divided the whole *Psalter* εἰς καθίσματα διάφορα, † into severall portions) ἀνάγνωσιν * γίνεσθαι, some part of holy Scripture should be intermingled, lest else the people might be tyred with continuall *singing*. Here then we have certain prescribed *rules* and *orders* for the *officiating* of Gods *publick* service, the *Psalmes* divided into *portions*, those *portions* intermingled with the *reading* of the holy Scripture, a prescribed *office* ordered for the *Saturday*, and finally, a punctuall direction not only who should name or begin the *psalme*, but from what *book* it should be read.

* *Balsam. in Concil. Laodicen.*

† *Concil. Laodic. Can.* 15.

* *Balsamon, in Can.* 16. *Laodicen.*

† *Id. in Canon.* 17.

* *Concil. Laodic. Can.* 17.

(12) But there's another *Canon* of this Councel which looks more backward, and did not so much introduce any new *orders* into the Church, as confirm the old: and doth indeed give as full a view of the severall parts and *Offices* of the XII.

the *publick* service, as any other of that time whatever. The first part of the service we have seen before in *Justin Martyr*, that which he calleth κοινὰς εὐχὰς, the *Common prayers* of the Church, at which all sorts of people were and might be present. This ended with the *Sermon*, as we saw before. And we shall see now more particularly what they had to doe, after that was done. For howsoever it may seem in that place of *Justin*, that presently upon the conclusion of the *sermon*, they went unto the celebration of the blessed *Eucharist*; yet that is on a supposition, that there were none present but *beleivers* only, and such as were prepared to *communicate*. But being that in those severe Ages of the Church, they had not only *Catechumeni*, such as desired to be admitted into the bosome of the Church, and had not yet received the Sacrament of *Baptisme*; but such as having been *baptized*, were for their *lapses* and offences put to open *penance*; as well as *godly* and religious persons, against whom no barre could be pretended: the *offices* of the Church were to be so fitted, that every one of these conditions might not want his part. And this is that which we find described in this Canon thus.

* *Concil. Leodicen. Can.* 19. Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἰδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας ἐπιστρόπων, &c.* After the *Bishop* hath done his *sermon*, let first the prayers be said for the *Catechumeni*; they being gone, the *prayers* for such who are under *penance*, are to be dispatched; and when they have received *imposition* of hands, and are also gone, then let the *prayers* for the *faithfull* be thrice made thus. μίαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην, διὰ σιωπῆς, &c. the first softly, every man secretly to himself, the second and the third aloud, which done, the Peace (or kisse of peace) is to be given, and so they are to go to the Oblation. And let none but such as be in Orders enter within the rayl, εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον εἰσίεναι, or come within the place where the Altar stands, to receive the Sacrament. So farre the *Canon* of the Councell, by which it is apparent that each sort of *Auditors* had a peculiar course or *office*, besides that part of *publick* service in which they joyned all together, as before was said. But whether the prayers here spoken of, were left at *liberty*, to the discretion of the Minister, or in a prescribed and determinate

minate *form*, we must see elsewhere. And in my minde we cannot see it at a fuller view, then in the *Constitutions* ascribed to *Clemens*, undoubtedly more antient then the times we speak of; where we finde it thus: Ἀνασάντων ἁπάντων ὁ διάκονος ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τινος, &c. * "All rising up, let the *Deacon* go "into some eminent place, and say, *None of the hearers, none of* "*the unbelievers* depart the place. And silence being made, he "saith, Εὔξασθε κατηχούμενοι, *Pray ye hearers*. And all the faith-"full shall pray for them with a good devotion, saying, "Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy upon them.* † Then let the "*Deacon* thus proceed, ὑπὲρ τῶν κατηχουμένων, &c. Let us all "pray to God for the *Catechumeni*, that our good God of his "abundant love to mankinde would gratiously hear their "prayers, and give them help, and grant them the requests "of their hearts, make known to them the Gospel of his "*CHRIST*, illuminate their understandings, instruct them "in knowledge, and teach them his commandements, &c. "ἔτι ἐντευξώμεθα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσαμεν, &c. Moreover let us be-"seech God for them, that having obtained remission of "their sins by *Baptisme*, they may be meet partakers of the "holy *Eucharist*, and dwell for ever with the Saints, &c. "Now unto every point or period contained in this *solemne* "prayer, the people answered Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mercy* "*on them*, after the manner of the *Letany*; and the whole "prayer being ended, they bowed their heads under the "Bishops hands, by whom they were dismissed with a *bene-*"*diction*, conform unto the *Canon* of the *Laodicean Councel*, "which before we spake of. Which done, the *Deacon* stand-"ing, as before, said thus, Προέλθετε κατηχούμενοι ἐν εἰρήνῃ. *De-*"*part ye* Catechumeni *in peace*. (The *Ite missa est*, in the "*Western* Churches, is the same with this.) Then follow "prayers for the *Energumeni*, or such as were possessed with "unclean spirits: and that being ended, together with ano-"ther for the *baptized* or *illuminati*, the *Deacon* said, Εὔξασθε οἱ "ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἐντεῦξις, * Pray ye devoutly which be *under pe-*"*nance*; and then goeth on. Pray we for those which be "*under penance*, that God would shew them the way of re-"pentance, accept their recantation and *Confession*, and finally

* *Constitut. Apost. lib. 8 c. 5.*

† *Id. cap. 6.*

* *Id. ibid. cap. 8.*

"beat down *Satan* under their feet, *&c.* the people still "subjoyning unto every clause, Κύριε ἐλέησον, *Lord have mer-* "*cy on them* Thus much and more unto this purpose in the *Constitutions.* And I the rather am inclined to admit these *formes*, or to resolve it at the least, that set *formes* they had for these severall *Offices*; because the *Minister* by whom they were performed, was of no higher Order then a *Deacon.* For had the prayers been left to the discretion or ability of him that made them, assuredly, the *Bishop* or the *Presbyters*, being men of greater gifts, and more practised in them then the *Deacons* were supposed to be: would not have left a businesse of that weight and moment to be discharged by men of the *lowest Order*, themselves attending on the service, as if not concerned. And so much for, and on occasion of the so celebrated Councel of *Laodicea*, one of the ancientest upon true record, in the Church of Christ.

XIII. (13) You see by this, that in the time of the renowned *Constantine*, and long time before, the Church was sorted and disposed into ranks and files; and every sort of men had a particular *forme* of *service* fitted and framed thereunto, besides those *common prayers* wherein all did joyn. We will next see, whether they were not in condition, as well to amplifie the *times*, and beautifie the *places* of Gods publick worship, as to agree upon the *forms*: and then we will go forwards in our purposed search, till we have set the businesse above all gainsaying. And for the *times* we shewed before, with what a generall consent, they had transferred the *Jewish Sabbath*, on the which God rested, unto the *first day* of the week on the which *Christ* rose. Nor was it long before they had their *dayly* meetings, and thereon their set *hours* of prayer, *morning* and *evening*, as was proved before from S. *Cyprians* words. To which was after added, as appeareth by the Councel of *Laodicea* before remembred, an *hour* of prayer at *nine* of the clock, ἐν τῇς ἐννάτοις,* saith the text: which hours are still observed in all the *Cathedrals* of this Kingdome. Besides these, as their numbers multiplyed, and their affairs were crowned by God with peace and happinesse, they instituted severall *Annual Festivals*,

* *Concil. Laodicen. Can.*

to

to be obſerved with greater ſolemnity and concourſe of people, then any of their ordinary aſſemblies; in memory of eſpeciall bleſſings which God had given them by his *Sonne*, or conferred on them by his *Saints*. Of theſe, the feaſts of *Easter* and *Whitſuntide*, as they are moſt eminent, ſo they are moſt antient, as being inſtituted in the times of the Lords *Apoſtles*: to which were added in ſhort time, the *two dayes* next following, that ſo thoſe ſacred Feſtivals might be ſolemnized with the greater meaſure of devotion; in which regard, *Easter* is called by *Gregory Nyſſen*, τριήμερος πανδημία, * or the three dayes feaſt. See of this alſo, *Anguſtin de Civitate Dei*, l. 22. cap. 8. The feaſt of *Chriſts Nativity*, began if not before, in the ſecond Age. *Theophilus Cæſarienſis*, who lived about the times of *Commodus* and *Severus* makes mention of it, and placeth it on the 25. of *December*, *quocunq; die* 8. *Galend. Januar. venerit*, ſo his own words are, as we ſtill obſerve it. A Feſtivall of ſo great eminency, that *Chryſoſtom* enticuleth it μητρόπολιν τῆς πασῶν ἑορτῶν, † the mother or *Metropolis* of all other Feaſts. See for this alſo in *Nicephorus*, where it will be found to have been univerſally received before the time of *Diocletians* perſecution; who burnt many eminent *Chriſtians* at *Nicodemia*, whileſt they were celebrating this great Feſtivall in the houſe of God *. That of the *Incarnation* was ordained in the beginning of the third Century; there being an Homily of *Gregory* ſurnamed *Thaumaturgus*, who lived, *An.* 230. entituled *de Annunciatione B Virginis*: another (for of this there is made ſome queſtion) writ by *Athanaſius*, who lived in the beginning of the following Age, whereof there is no doubt amongſt learned men. That of the *Paſſion* or *Good-Friday* as we call it now, is of the ſame antiquity, as the other was; for we finde mention of it in the Books of *Origen* †. And for the Feaſts of the *Apoſtles*, *Evangeliſts*, and other bleſſed Saints of God, they took beginning moſt of them, in the time of *Conſtantine*, who by his Edict gave command to all the Deputies and Lieutenants of the *Roman* Empire, that the memorialls of the Martyrs ſhould be duely honoured, and ſolemn Feaſts to be appointed for that end and purpoſe, * moſt of which brought their Faſts or Vigils along

* *Gregor. Nyſſen. Homil. 1. de Paſchat.*

† *Chryſoſt. Orat. de Phalagon.*

* *Niceph. hiſtor. Eccl. l. 7. c. 6.*

† *Origen contra Celſum. l. 4.*

* *Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. 4 c. 23.*

with them. The Church loſt nothing of that power by our Saviours coming, which ſhe enjoyed and practiſed in the times before; but did ordain both Feaſts and Faſts too if ſhe ſaw occaſion, and as ſhe found it might conduce to the advantage of Gods publique worſhip. Now as the *Chriſtians* of theſe two Ages did augment the *Times*, ſo they increaſed the places alſo of Gods publique worſhip. In the firſt Age they had their meetings or Aſſemblies in ſome private houſes, which being ſeparated from all profane and common uſe, were by the owners dedicated to Religious exerciſes, and therefore honoured in the Scriptures with the name of Churches. But as they grew in numbers, ſo they grew in confidence; and in theſe Ages had their Churches viſible, and obvious to the eyes of all men. Witneſſe hereto *Ignatius* the Apoſtles Scholar, and ſucceſſor to St. *Peter* in the See of *Antioch*, who lived in the beginning of the ſecond Century, and writing to the *Magneſians* (an epiſtle hitherto unqueſtioned by our modern *Criticks*) doth exhort them thus: *Omnes ad orandum in idem loci convenite, una ſit communis precatio, una mens, una ſpes in charitate*, &c.* That is to ſay, Aſſemble all together in the ſame place, to poure forth your prayers unto the Lord, let there be one common prayer amongſt you, one mind, one onely hope, in love and an unblamable faith in Jeſus Chriſt, *run all together as one man to the Temple of God, as to one Altar, as to Jeſus Chriſt, the High Prieſt of the uncreated and immortall God.* Witneſſe hereto for the middle of this ſecond Century, two ſeverall Epiſtles of Pope *Pius* the firſt, (and thoſe unqueſtioned hitherto) which we ſhall have occaſion to make uſe of in the laſt Chapter of this Tract, and the ſixth Section of that Chapter. And finally witneſſe hereunto for the cloſe thereof, theſe words of *Clemens Alexandrinus*, where ſpeaking of the ſpiritual Church or the Congregation of Gods Elect, he doth phraſe it thus. Οὐ νῦν τὸν τόπον ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄθροισμα τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καλῶ.† I call not now (ſaith he) the place but the Congregation of Gods Elect by the name of the Church. By which it is moſt plain and evident, that the word *Eccleſia*, or the Church, ſignified in his time, as well the place of the Aſſembly as the generall body

* *Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magneſ.*

† *Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 7.*

body of the Congregation, or Elect of God. Now that these Churches mentioned by *Ignatius* in the first beginning, and specially by *Clemens* in the latter end of this second Century, were not only some rooms in particular houses, or the whole houses of some men dedicated and applyed to Religious offices, will appear most plainly, by that of *Gregory Thaumaturgus* in the following Age, where he divides the Churches extant in his time into five parts or distributions, * according to the remoter or nearer admission then given to Penitents: a distribution which few houses built for private uses, though afterwards dedicated to Gods serservice, and no one room in any house could be capable of. But it appeareth more plainly, by that great number of Churches or places of Gods publique worship, which either were destroyed or taken from the *Christians* in the persecution of *Aurelianus* and restored again by *Galienus* the *Roman* Emperors; for which consult *Eusebius*, *Hist. eccl. lib.* 7. *cap.* 12. But it appeareth most plainly by another passage in the said *Eusebius*, where speaking of the peaceable times which the Church enjoyed immediately before the persecution raised by *Diocletian*, he tells us of the *Christians*. *Antiquis illis ædificiis haud quaquam amplius contenti, amplas spatiosasque in omnibus urbibus ex fundamentis erexerunt ecclesias* †. That is to say, That not contenting themselves longer with those *antient edifices* which had been built unto their hands in the times foregoing, they erected large and goodly Churches from the very foundation in all the Cities of the Empire. By which last evidence, it appeareth that the Christians had in most Cities, some Churches or places of Assembly of an old erection, as old perhaps as the last times of the Apostles, and that those old erections being grown unable to contain their multitudes, they were necessitated to build new ones of a larger size, and of capacity proportionable to such infinite numbers. Which places of Assembly as they first called *Ecclesiæ*, as they also did the Congregation or Assembly it self; so in the middle of this Age, they began to be called *Dominicæ* by the *Latines*, and in the same signification by the *Greeks Kuriacæ*, from which last word, the *English* word

* *Greg. Thaumat. Canon. cp.*

† *Eusb. Hist. Eccl. lib.* 8.

Church, and the *Kirk* of the *Scots*, are very probably supposed to have been divided. From this time forwards the Christians spared no cost to adorn their Churches, the Fabricks more magnificent then they had been formerly, the ornaments within proportionable to the outward beauties, the Altars furnished with rich plate, even to the envy and astonishment of the spightfull *Gentiles*. Insomuch as *Felix* a Proconsul, in the time of *Julian* the *Apostate*, a little after the middle of the following Century, at such time as the Churches were given up unto spoyl and rapine, is said to have cryed out on the sight thereof, ἰδὲ ὁποίοις σκεύεσι ὑπηρετεῖται ὁ Μαρίας υἱός. That is to say, *Behold, in what rich vessels, they administer to the Son of Mary*. So little was it thought in those happy times, that there should one day come a generation of men professing piety, who should deface those *Altars*, and destroy those Temples, and cry, *Down with them, down with them even to the ground*. But of this great increase of Churches, with their solemnities and forms of Dedication, we shall speak more hereafter in the close of all.

CHAP. VII.

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Apparent proofs for Liturgies *and* ſet forms *of worſhip, betwixt the Reign of* Conſtantine, *and S.* Auſtins *death.*

(1) THE form of *Baptiſme* deſcribed by *Cyril* of *Heruſalem*, conform unto the antient patterns; (2) As alſo of *adminiſtring* the bleſſed *Euchariſt*. (3) Concluſive proofs for *Liturgies* or *ſet forms* of worſhip in S. *Baſils* time; (4) And from the writings of S. *Chryſoſtom*. (5) The *Liturgies* of *Chryſoſtom* and *Baſil* vindicated; and the objections anſwered which are made againſt them. (6) *Liturgies*, or *ſet forms* of worſhip in the *Weſtern* Churches, by whom, and what degrees eſtabliſhed. (7) Proofs for the antient *Liturgies*, and preſcribed *forms* of worſhip, from S. *Auſtins* works. (8) What was decreed concerning *Liturgies* or preſcribed *forms* of worſhip in the *African* Councels. (9) The *form* of *ordering* Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, *preſcribed* and regulated. (10) A preſcribed *form* of *Marriage*, and ſet rites of *buriall*, uſed antiently in the Church of *CHRIST*. (11) Touching the habit uſed of old by Gods *Prieſts* and *Miniſters*, in the *officiating* his Divine ſervice in the Congregation. (12) Severall *geſtures* uſed by Gods people in the *Congregation*, acccording to the ſeverall parts of *publick* worſhip. (13) A brief Eſſay concerning the Antiquity of the *Gloria Patri*; the time when it was firſt made a part of the publick *Liturgies*, and the accuſtomed geſture at the pronouncing of the ſame.

(1) We are now come unto the *ſetled* ages of the Church, when ſhe had got the better of *idolatry*, and ſtood no more in fear of the *Gentiles* fury: and ſo in probability are like to ſee I.

3.

a fuller and more perfect view of her *publick* forms; then in those more remote and dangerous times, in which she durst not stand so much in the open sight. The times from *Constantine* unto S. *Austin*, were the most glorious and *triumphant*, that ever were beheld by the *militant* Church: within which compasse we intend to contain our selves, and to conclude the search which we have in hand. And first we meet with *Cyrill*, a right godly *Bishop*, who in his *mystagogicall Orations* made by him in his younger years,* upon the rites and *mysteries* of the holy Church, presents us with such peeces of the antient *Liturgies* (that of *Hierusalem* especially) that by them we are well assured of the whole, that some such there were, though we are so unfortunate not to have them now. The first contains the rites of *Baptisme*, in which it is declared, that those who are admitted to it, ἐς τὸν πρόναον, τοῦ βαπτισθέντος οἶκον. "Being brought within the porch unto the "place of *Baptisme*, and standing with their faces towards the "*West*, are commanded to stretch forth their hands, and to "defie the Devil, as if present by them. The form of which "defiance or *Abrenunciation* he delivereth thus,† "*Renuntio tibi Satana, et omnibus tuis operibus, et omni pompæ illius* (or *tuæ* "rather) *& omni tuo cultui*: the very same with that which "we have seen before of the former times. This done, the "party which is to be *baptized*, ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν, be-"ing turned from the *West* towards the *East*, is bid to say, "*Credo in patrem, & filium, & Spiritum sanctum, & in baptisma* "*pœnitentiæ*. That is to say, I believe in the Father, and in "the Sonne, and in the holy Ghost, and in the baptisme of "repentance. This said, and being brought further into the "Church, ἀποδύονται τὸν χιτῶνα, they put off their cloathes, "to shew, that they put off the *old man* with all his works: "and being thus naked are anointed with the holy *Chrisme*, "Thence being brought unto the Font (ἐπὶ τὴν ἁγίαν κολυμ-"βήθραν) every one of them is interrogated whether he doth "believe in the name of the *Father*, and of the *Sonne*, and of "the *holy Ghost*: and having made *confession* of their *faith* (ac-"cording as we saw before from the *Constitutions*) they were "thrice dipped into the water, in memory of our Saviours

* *Hieron. de illust. Scriptor.*

† *Cyril Hierosol. Catech. Mystag.*

* *Id. Catech.* 2.

laying

"laying in the grave three dayes, (the formall words of "*baptisme*, being therewithall pronounced, though not here "expressed.) Which done, the party is again anointed on "the forehead, nostrils, ears, and breast, * (upon the reasons "there declared) καὶ ἐνδυσάμενος τὰ λευκά, † and cloathed in "white garments; which concludes the action. But here it is to be observed, that this last anointing was in the way of *confirmation*: it being the custome of those times, in the baptizing of all such as were *Adulti*, or of riper years, to minister both *Baptisme* and *Confirmation* at the same time, * as our incomparable *Hooker* rightly noteth. And note withall that in the anointing of the *forehead* in this later unction, the party baptized was *signed* with the *sign* of the *crosse*. ἐλαίῳ ἐλίπανε σε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ μετώπου, διὰ τὴν σφραγῖδα, ἣν ἔχεις τοῦ θεοῦ, † as the Father there. Which is no more then that so celebrated passage of *Tertullian*, *Caro signatur ut anima muniatur*, * declares to be the antient and unquestionable practise of the Church of *CHRIST*.

* *Id. Catech.* 3
† *Id. Catech.* 4.
* *Hooker Eccles. Politic. l.* 5. §. 66.
† *Cyrill. Catech. mystagog.* 4.
* *Tertull. de resurrect. carnis.*

(2) Next for the *celebration* of the *Eucharist*, he describes it thus †. Things being in readinesse, the *Deacon* bringeth water for the hands to the chief *Minister*, καὶ τοῖς κυκλῷ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ πρεσβυτέροις, * and to the *Priests* that stand a-"bout the *Altar*, and then saith aloud, *Complectimini & oscu-"lemini vos invicem*, embrace and kisse ye one another; which "is done accordingly; and this in token of that union "both of hearts and souls, which is and ought to be between "them. Then saith the Priest, *Sursum corda*, or, *Lift up your "hearts*; the people answer, *We lift them up unto the Lord*: the "*Priest* again, *Let us give thanks unto the Lord*; the people say, "*Dignum & justum est*, or, *It is meet and right so to do.* And by this place (I note this only by the way) we make up the breach in S. *James* his *Liturgy*, being the antient *Liturgy* of the Church of *Hierusalem*, as before was said: which breach we shewed and touched at *obiter*, in the former *Chapter*. Μετὰ ταῦτα μνημονεύομεν οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, &c. "Then (saith he) we make men-"tion of heaven, earth, and sea, and all the creatures rea-"sonable and unreasonable, and also of the *Angels* and "*Archangels*, and the powers of heaven, praising God and

II.
† *Cyrill. Cateches. mystagog* 5.

 saying

"saying, *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabbati: Holy,* "*holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth.* By which celestial *hymnes* "we do not only sanctifie our selves, but beseech our good "and gracious God, that he would send his holy Spirit on "the gifts presented, (that is to say, the bread and wine) that "so the bread may be made the body of *Christ*, and the wine "his blood. Then do we call upon the Lord, ὑπὲρ κοινῆς "τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν εἰρήνης, for the generall peace of all the Chur-"ches, the tranquillity of all the world, for Princes and "their Armies, for our friends and brethren, for all that be "in *need, sickness, or any other adversity*, and in a word, for eve-"ry one that wanteth help from the hands of God. The rest that followeth as a part of this generall prayer, upon the alteration of the *form* and *person*, *viz.* from παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν θεὸν, *We call upon the Lord*, in the *third* person, unto δεόμεθά σε in the *second* person; is most judiciously concluded by Dr. *Rivet*, to be the fraud and forgery of some Impostor *: whose judgement in the same I heartily both applaud and follow. But to proceed with that which is received for true and genuine, and of unquestionable credit. This generall prayer being thus concluded, † followeth that, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, which *Christ* our Saviour gave unto his Disciples; the *Lords prayer* he means: and meaning so, shewes plainly that the Church conceived how the *Lords prayer* was given to be said and *used*, not to be imitated only. "Then saith the Priest thus, *Sancta sanctis*, unto the "holy all things are holy, or holy things are for holy per-"sons; the people answering, *Unus sanctus, unus Dominus,* "*JESUS CHRISTUS*, That is to say, there is but one ho-"ly, one Lord, JESUS CHRIST. Then sang the *Priest* "the divine *hymnes*, exhorting you to the communion of "the holy mysteries, and saying, *Gustate & videte quam suavis* "*est Dominus.* O taste and see how good the Lord is. This "said, they came to the communion, not with their hands "spread out, nor disjoyned fingers, but with the left hand "placed under the right, receiving the Lords body in the "palms of their hands (lest any of the consecrated bread "should fall to the ground); and therewith (*viz.* to the

* *Rivet. Critici sacri, l. 3. c. 10.*

† *Cyrill. Cateches mystagog 5.*

Priests

"prayer when he gave the same) each one said *AMEN*. After they had received the communion of the body of "*CHRIST*, they received the Cup also of his blood (where "still we have the whole communion, *sub utraque specie*, what "ever new doctrines have been coyned at *Rome*) not stretching out the hands, ἀλλὰ κύπλων καὶ τρόπῳ προσκυνήσεως καὶ "σεβάσματος, but falling down, as when men are in the Act "of *worship* or *adoration*, they said *AMEN*, as formerly at the "receiving of the bread. Εἶτα ἀναμείνας τὴν εὐχὴν. Last of "all, tarrying for the parting or *concluding* prayers, they "gave *thanks* to God, who had vouchsafed to make them "worthy of his holy mysteries. This was the course, and these the footsteps of the *forms* observed of old times in the mother Church, the holy City of *Hierusalem*. And if we may conjecture *ex pede Herculem*, what the dimensions were of the body of *Hercules*, by the proportion of his foot; we may as well conjecture by these evident *footsteps*, what the whole bodies were of the antient *Liturgies*.

(3) From *Cyrill* on unto S. *Basil*, another famous Bishop of the *Eastern* Churches. Who having made some rules for the better ordering of those who did intend to lead a *Monastick* life; and being accused that in the singing of the *Psalms*, and regulating the manner of that *melody*, he had somewhat *innovated*, contrary to the received custome of the Church: was forced to make his own *Apology*, and send it to the Clergy of *Neo-Cæsarea*. Thus then saith he*. τὰ νῦν κεκρατηκότα ἔθη πάσαις ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαις συνῳδά ἐστι καὶ σύμφωνα. &c. "The "*rites* (saith he) which we observe amongst us, are such as "are agreeable and consonant to all the Churches of God. "Our people rising in the night, do before day repair unto "the *Chappell*, or house of *prayer*: and having made confession of their sinnes to God, in sorrow, tears, and great "compunction of the soul, they rise at last from *prayer*, and "take themselves unto the *Psalmes*. Being divided into "two parts, they sing as it were in turns, one seconding "another (or *Quire-wise* as is used in our *Cathedralls*) so taking "time to meditate on the words of God, and therewithall "making our hearts and minds more attent thereto. Then

III.

* *Basil. Ep.* 63.

"one to whom that charge or office appertained, began some "other *Psalme* or *hymne*; and all sung together after him: "by which variety of singing, μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι, some "prayers being interserted or mingled with it, they past o-"ver the night: and on the dawning of the day, all of them "joyned together, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας, as if they "had but one heart and one mouth amongst them, and sung "unto God a *Psalme* of *Confession* (most likely one of the se-"ven *Penitentiall* Psalmes); and after every one made in his "own words a profession of his penitence; and so all retur-"ned. Where note, that howsoever this *form* of service was fitted only for a company of private men, who had embraced the *monastick* life; and to be used only by them in their private *Oratories*: yet the most part thereof was borrowed from the *publick* forms, at that time extant in the Church. Of the which rites or forms retained amongst them were the beginning of their service with a *confession* of their sinnes, then *prayers* to God, and then the *singing* of the Psalms. That which was *singular* herein, and needed the *Apology*, was that they met together before day, and spent more time upon the *Psalmody*, then in *reading*, or *preaching* of the word, or in *common-prayer*, or any of the other parts of *publick* worship. *Basil* could tell as well as any, wherein the *form* of service used amongst his *Monks*, agreed with that which was received and used in *publick* Churches; and wherein it differed: as having took the pains to compose a *Liturgie*, or rather to complete and polish, and fit unto the *publick* use, such as had formerly been extant. And though that Copy of it which occurres in the *Bibliotheca*, and in the writings of *Cassander*, have some things in it which are found to be of a latter date: yet we shall cleer that doubt anon, when we come to *Chrysostom*, against whose *Liturgy* I finde the like objections. Mean time take this of *Basil* for a pregnant argument, that in his time, and long before it, the service of the Church was not only ordered by *Rules* and *Rubricks*; but put into set *forms* of worship: which we have noted in his books *De spiritu sancto*, and is this that followeth. For speaking there touching those *publick* usages which came in-

to

to the Church from the tradition of the *Apostles*, he instanceth in these particulars *. Τῷ τύπῳ τοῦ σταυροῦ κατασημαίνεσθαι, &c. "The signing with the *sign* of the *crosse* all those who "place their hopes in Christ, what writing teacheth; that "in our prayers we should turn towards the *East*, where is "it taught us in the Scripture? And then, τὰ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως "ῥήματα, Those words of invocation wherewithall in the "holy *Eucharist* we *consecrate* the bread, and cup of bene-"diction, which of those blessed Saints have left in wri-"ting? For not content with those things which the *Apo-"stles* or the *Gospell* have committed to us, many things have "been added since, both in the way of *Preface* and of *conclu-"sion*, which are derived from unwritten tradition—— And not long after thus of *baptisme*, having first spoke of *consecrating* the water, of the *Chrysme* or oyl, and the three dippings then in use: those other things, saith he, which are done in *Baptisme*, *viz.* ἀποτάσσεσθαι τῷ Σατανᾷ, καὶ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, the *abrenunciation* which is made to *Satan* and to all his Angels, out of what Scripture is it brought?

* *Basil. de sancto spiritu. c. 27.*

(4) Next for S. *Chrysostom*, the evidence we have from him, is beyond exception. οὐ καθάπερ ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς, † &c. "It is not now, saith he, as in the old Testament, wherein "the *Priest* eat this, and the *people* that: it being unlawfull "for the *people* to eat those things which were permitted to "the *Priest*. It is now otherwise with us. For unto all "is the same body, and the same Cup presented. And in "our very *prayers* it is easily seen, how much we attribute "unto the *people*. Καὶ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐνεργουμένων, &c. For both "those who are *possessed* with the Devil, the *Energumeni*, "and those who yet are under *penance*, both by the *people* "and the *Priest* (κοιναὶ γίνονται εὐχαὶ) *common prayers* are made: "and we say all one and the self same prayer, even that "which is so full of *mercy*. Where, by the way, though in the *Greek* it be, καὶ πάντες μίαν λέγουσιν εὐχὴν, they *say* all one *prayer*, yet in the *Latine* it runs thus, *Omnes unam eandemque precem concipiunt*: which would make well for unpremeditated and extemporary prayers, if it were possible that all the Congregation, both *Priest* and *people*, should fall upon the

IV.

† *Chrysost. in 2. ad Corinth. hom. 18.*

the same *conception*. But to go on. Πάλιν ἐπειδὰν ἕιρξωμεν, &c. "Again, saith he, when we repell all such from the "* holy *Rayls*, which cannot be partakers of the holy *Table*: "there is another *prayer* to be said, and we all lie alike upon "the ground, and all rise together. Then when the *Peace* "(or sign of *peace*) is mutually to be given, and taken, we "do all equally salute (or kisse) each other. Thus also in "the celebration of the sacred mysteries, as the *Priest* prayeth "for the *people*, so do they for him: these usuall words, "μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος σοῦ, † *And with thy spirit*, importing nothing "else but this. And finally that prayer, wherein we *give* "*thanks to the Lord our God* *, is common unto both alike: "the Priest not only giving thanks to God, but the whole "Assembly. For when he hath demanded their suffrage first, "and they acknowledge thereupon, ὅτι ἀξίως καὶ δικαίως τοῦτο, "† that *it is meet and right so to do*, then he begins the holy "*Eucharist*. Nor is it strange, nor should it seem so unto "any, that the *people* should thus hold conference with the "*Priest* or *Minister*, considering that they sing those holy "*hymnes*, together with the *Cherubins* *, and the *powers of* "*heaven*. So he. And all this out of question, must needs be understood of *prescribed forms*, such as the *people* said by heart, or could read in books that either lay before them, or were brought with them: such as they were so throughly versed in, as to make *answer* to the *Minister* upon all occasions. For what else were those *common prayers*, those κοιναὶ εὐχαὶ which he speaks of; what else that μία εὐχή, that one self same *prayer*, that prayer so full of *mercy* in which all did joyn? were they not so *determinate* and *prescribed* that all could say them with the *Minister*? And were not those returns and *Answers*, so *prescribed* and *set*, that all the *people* knew their Q. and were not ignorant of their turn, when they were to speak? Severall other passages of the antient *Liturgies*, might here and there be gathered from this *Fathers* writings, if one would take the pains to seek them. But I shall save that pains at present, and indeed well may. For what need search be made for *pieces*, when we have the *whole*, a whole and perfect *Liturgie* of this *Fathers* making: unlesse it be

* Τῶν ἱερῶν πρεσβύλων.

† *Et cum spiritu tuo.*

* *Gratias agamus Deo.*

† *Dignum est & justum.*

* *Ideo cum Angelis & Archangelis.*

be to shew of what antient *pieces* the whole work is made.

(5) For in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, in the writings of *Cassander*, and in the great collection of this Fathers works, published by the honoured and admired Sir *Henry Savil*; there is an entire *Liturgy*, which bears his name. Διάταξις τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου Χρυσοστόμου *. So it is entituled. The like we finde under S. *Basils* name, both in *Cassanders* writings, and the *Bibliotheca*. The question is, whether they are the works of those, whose names they carry. For my part, I conceive they are, for the main and substance, though not without some abstractions and additions in the change of times: and hope that when such Arguments are answered, which are produced unto the contrary, it will appear so unto others. And first for that of *Basil*, it is objected by *Hospinian*, *Veterem translationem cum Græco exemplari, & nova versione non convenire* †: That the old translation agrees not either with the new, or the *Greek* Originals. Assuredly, a very gentle *Argument*, such as will do no hurt at all to any understanding *Disputant*; and therefore purposely omitted, as I think by Dr. *Rivet*, who in his censure of those *Liturgies* did consult that Author. And yet this is the only argument of moment which is made against it; which being so gentle as it is would require no answer. Or if it did, and that the difference of *translations* from one another, or of the old translation from the *Greek* Originall, be a sufficient argument to discharge this *Liturgie*; there could not very many works of the old *Greek* Fathers be affirmed for theirs: their old *translations* being so incongruous, so manifestly different from the Authors minde, as by continuall observation they are found to be. The next objection, if it may be called so, is of a *gentler* strain then this: it being charged also by *Hospinian*, that in the *Commemoration* of the dead, *Basilii & Chrysostomi nomen legitur* *, the names of *Basil* who must be alive, when he made this *Liturgy*, and that of *Chrysostom*, who lived after him, do both occurre. But there is no such matter to be found in the *Originall*, extant in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, nor the translation of the same thereunto annexed: which plainly shewes the old tran-

V.

* *Chrysost. opera Vol. 6. edit. Saviliana.*

† *Hospinian. hist. Sacrament. l. 2. cap. 14.*

* *Id. ibid.*

translation (if thence the Argument were taken) did differ very much from the *genuine* Copy. Besides, the same objection being made against the *Liturgy* of S. *Chrysostom*, we shall there meet with it; for there indeed the said *commemoration* is to be found. Besides which it is noted by *Hospinian* also, that in this *Liturgy* there is this prayer for Pope *Nicolas*. *Nicolai Sanctissimi & universalis Papæ, longa sint tempora*; whereas Pope *Nicolas* lived not (saith he) till the year 857. which was 500. years after *Chrysostoms* death; and that there is a prayer for the Emperour *Alexius*, the first of which name began his reign, *An.* 1080. and not before*. To which we say, that neither in the Copy extant in the *Bibliotheca*, nor in that published by Sr. *H. Savil*, are either of these two last errors to be found; which shewes they came not out of the *Originals*. Secondly, that possibly the businesse of Pope *Nicolas*, may be nothing but a meer mistake: For whereas he that published that old translation, which as it seems *Hospinian* met with, had found *Sanctissimi & universalis Papæ N.* (which *N.* we know is used indefinitely for ὁ δεῖνος in the *Greek*) he out of his abundant ignorance of a *Nicolas Nemo*, make Pope *Nicolas*. Or had it been Pope *Nicolaus* in the antient Copies, *Hospinian*, who objects the same, might with small search have found some *Patriarchs* of *Constantinople*, of that very name: and they we know did use to call themselves *universall Bishops*, for 'twas the thing which *Gregory* the great so stomacked in them. But then it will be said, that every one of those *Nicolai* lived after *Chrysostom* was dead; and that *Alexius* was not Emperour, untill 700. years after his decease. Most true, for every man of sence must needs conceive, that the names of *Emperours* and *Patriarchs* must needs be changed, as the old die, and new Successours come in place: or else we should collect an excellent Argument for the Church of *Rome*, in finding prayers for the deceased in S. *Chrysostoms* Liturgy. Might not one say as well, that certainly, the *Liturgy* now used and established in the Church of *England*, is not the same which was *set forth* and *published* in Qu. *Elizabeths* Reign, because the name of our dread Soveraign Lord K. *Charles* doth occurre therein; and that there is

* *Id. ibid.*

is a prayer in it for Qu. *Mary* and the Royall Issue? But finally, it is objected by *Hospinian* *, and this as well as that *Rivet* builds on also †, that *Carolus Calvus* in a Letter to the *Ravennates*, saith that the *Liturgy* used in the Church of *Constantinople*, was that of *Basil*, and not *Chrysostoms*: *quod mirum esset si Chrysostomus ejus Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus, Liturgiam composuisset*; which had been strange saith *Rivet*, if *Chrysostom*, which was Archbishop of that City, had composed a *Liturgy*. However, by their own confession we have a *Liturgy* of S. *Basils* making; and that it is somewhat worth the having: and it shall go exceeding hard, but we will have another of S. *Chrysostoms* also. For it is noted to my hand by our learned *Brerewood*, from *Jeremy* a late Patriarch of *Constantinople*, that in the *Greek* Churches or *Festivals* they use the antient *Liturgy* of *Basil*, and on common daies that of *Chrysostom* *. By which it seems that *Carolus Calvus*, or whosoever gave him that intelligence, was an *holy-day-man*; and took no notice of the *service* of that Church upon *common dayes*.

* *Id. ibid.*
† *Rivet. Critici sacri. l. 4. c. 3.*
* *Brerewoods Enquiry, cap. ult.*

(6) Thus have we found two *Liturgies* for the *Eastern* Churches, both made within the compasse of the first four hundred years from our Saviours birth: and with the proof of this we might here set down, and not be put to further travail; but that I think the *Western* Church would not take it well, if we should leave her worse provided then the *Eastern* was. Now that there was by this time, and before, *set* and established *forms* of prayer in the *Western* parts, is evident by those remainders, or fragments of them, which we produced from *Cyprian* for the Church of *Africa*, from *Justin*, and *Tertullian*, for the Church of *Rome*, both which though born in other Countreys, yet did live there most. Which *Liturgy*, that I mean of *Rome*, as it might have its first grounds from S. *Peter*, whose name it carrieth; so were there many helping hands put to it, in succeeding times, to make up the work. Of which thus *Platina*. *Nuda primo hæc erant & omnia simpliciter tractabantur.* Petrus *enim ubi consecraverat oratione* Pater noster, *usus erat. Auxit hæc mysteria* Jacobus *Episcopus Hyerosolymitanus*; *auxit* Basilius, *auxere & alii.* VI.

* *Platina in Xysti. I.*

Nam Celestinus *missæ* introitum *dedit*, Gregorius *KYRIE ELEISON*, *Gloria in excelsis* Telesphorus, *&c**. These things saith he, at first were but plain and naked. For *Peter* when he consecrated, used the *Pater noster*; *James* Bishop of *Hierusalem* much increased the mysteries; the like did *Basil* and some others. *Celestine* made the *Introite*, *Gregory* added to it the *Kyrie eleison*, *Telesphorus* the *Gloria in excelsis*, *Xistus* the first put to it the *trisagion*, or, *Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hoasts*; *Gelasius* the *Collations*, (perhaps the *Collects*). The *Gospell and Epistle* were brought in by *Hierom*, the *ALLELUJAH* borrowed from *Hierusalem*, the *Creed* from the Councel of *Nice*; the *commemoration* of the dead by Pope *Pelagius*, the kissing of the *Pax* by *Innocent* the first; and *Agnus Dei* was not sung, saith he, till the time of *Sergius*. If so, then as not *Rome* it self, so neither was the *Liturgy* of *Rome* made in one day. It took up longer time then so, to come unto that bulk and greatnesse, in which now it stands. But out of doubt a *Liturgy* it had in the best times of it: So had the Church of *Millain*, those of *France*, *Spain*, *England*; not every where the same, nor much different from it. *Facies non omnibus una, Nec diversa tamen, qualem decet esse Sororum*, as once the Poet said in another case. And so it stood untill the *Western* Empire was conferred on the Kings of *France*, who by their power, and the importunity of the Popes of *Rome*, setled the *Roman* or *Gregorian Missall* over all the West. Till those times they had severall *Liturgies*, as before was said. That of the Church of *Millain* called commonly *Officium Ambrosianum*, not because made by him Originally; but because he reduced it to a better and more *setled form*; is extant still, and used by speciall sufferance in the Church of *Millain* to this very day †. So also for the antient *Liturgy* of the Church of *Spain*, which they call the *Mosarabick Liturgy*, which received great increase both for *form* and *order* from *Isidorus Hispalensis*, and therefore is most commonly ascribed to him; it is still used in *Toledo* *, by the like permission. By whom the *Liturgy* of *Spain* was first composed, or setled, it is hard to say; that Countrey yeelding but few Writers whose works have come unto our hands: but sure a *Liturgy* they

† *Bellarm. de Missa. lib. 2. 18.*

* *Id. Ibid.*

they had, long time before the birth of *Isidore*, and that most punctually observed in the *Cathedralls* or mother Churches. From which when the *Parochiall* Churches began to vary, as it seems they did, the Councel of *Girona*, (*Concilium Gerundense* the *Latines* call it) *An.* 517. recalled them to their antient duty; enjoyning them to hold conformity in all the Acts of *publick* worship, with the mother Church, the chief *Cathedrall* of the Province; and that as well for the order of the service, the *Psalmody*, the *Canon*, as the use and custome of the ministration *. *Sicut in* Metropolitana *Ecclesia agitur, ita in Dei nomine, in omni* Tarraconensi *Provincia, tum ipsius* Missæ *ordo, quam* psallendi *vel* ministrandi *consuetudo servetur.* So the Fathers ordered. By which it doth appear most fully, that antiently the Church of *Spain* had its proper *Liturgy*, a prescribed *form* of ministration: and that not only fitted for the use of the *Cathedralls*, or mother Churches; but such to which the *Parish* Churches were to yeeld conformity. And for the *Gallick* Church, though they have now no other *Liturgy* then that which they received from *Rome*, power and practice of the Emperours of the *Caroline* race being most operative at home in their own dominions: yet antiently she had a *Liturgy* of her own, (for which see *Beda's* history of the Church of *England*, l. 1. c. 27.) as had other Churches. Concerning which it was thus ordered at the Councell of *Vannes*, a City of *Gallia Lugdunensis*, *ut intra Provinciam nostram sacrorum, & ordo* (or rather *ordinis*) *psallendi una sit consuetudo* †, That in that Province there should be one *uniform* course in all sacred offices, and in the order of singing, from thenceforth observed. This was in *An.* 453. or thereabouts. Not that there had not been before those times a *setled* and established *Liturgy* in the Church of *France*; but that too many had presumed (as is since done in other places) to neglect their *rules*, and venture on *new forms* of their own devising. Finally, for the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England* (for of the *British* rites or *forms* there is nothing certain) it seems to be coevall with the *Church* it self, whether we look upon the same as *reformed* or *planted*: not borrowed or derived from *Rome*, as both the *Papist* and the

* *Concil. Gerund. Can.* 1.

† *Concil. Veneticum. Can.* 15.

Non-conformist bear the world in hand; but fitted to the best edification of this people, *ex singulis quibusq; Ecclesiis* *, out of the *rituals* and received *forms* of the most flourishing Churches at that time in being, when first the *Gospel* was made known to the *English* Nation. The passage is at large in *Beda*, and thither I referre the Reader.

* *Beda in hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 27.*

VII. (7) Nor was it otherwise then thus in the *African* Churches in case we should not reckon them, as they are most commonly among the Churches of the *West*. For, besides what was noted from S. *Cyprian* in the former Chapter, we finde some fragments of the antient *Liturgies* in S. *Augustine* also. Take this, although not all, as a taste for all. *Quod ergo in sacramentis fidelium dicitur, ut* Sursum corda habeamus ad Dominum, *munus est Domini: de quo munere ipsi Domino Deo nostro* gratias agere, *a Sacerdote post hanc vocem (illi) quibus hoc dicitur admonentur, &* dignum & justum esse *respondent* †. Wherefore (saith he) that in the Sacraments of the faithfull it is said, that *we lift up our hearts unto the Lord*, is the Lords own gift: for which all they who have affirmed so of themselves, are after monished by the *Priest* to *give thanks to God*, which they acknowledge in their answer to be *meet and right*. See to the same effect, *Epist.* 156. and in other places. Which with the rest before observed out of other *Fathers*, make it cleer as day, with what an high injustice they proceed against this blessed Church of *England*, who have accused her for *prescribing responsories to be said by the people*, the *Minister* being (as they say) *ordained by Scripture to be the peoples mouth to God* *. Which *Responsories*, I am sure, I dare boldly say it, are freer of *impertinencies* and *tautologies* (though they charge this on them) then any of the best of their *extemporary* prayers, be they whose they will. And with as little justice do they use S. *Austin*, whose words they *bring to prove that it was free for Christians to pray as their occasions did require, without being limited to prescribed prayers* †. This they are brought to prove indeed, they say well in that. For they are thus brought in, in another place, *viz. And to the same purpose (that there were* then *no such stinted Liturgies)* S. Austin *in his* 121. *Ep.* Liberum est, &c. *It is free to ask the same*

† *August. de bono perseverant. c. 13.*

* *Smectymn. p. 12.*

† *Vindication, p. 17.*

same things which are in the Lords prayer, aliis atque aliis verbis, *sometimes one way, and sometimes another* *. But doth this prove think they, that in those times *there were no stinted Liturgies*, which is the matter to be proved. I cannot possibly beleeve they think so, whatsoever they say. The Father in that place as they know full well, speaks of *private* prayer, and sheweth, that in addressing our desires to God, we are not bound to use the very syllables and words of the *Lords prayer* only. I trow, none ever said we were. Certain I am, that there is no such *doctrine* preached by any of the sonnes of the Church of *England*. Besides, if *there were publick Liturgies in S.* Austins *times*, as they seem to grant, because they say, they *will not peremptorily say there were not*; † and we say they are *peremptory* enough, when there is ground for it: then certainly what ever might be done in private, it was not *free* nor lawfull to *ask the same thing* in the publick service of the Church, *aliis atque aliis verbis*, in other words then were prescribed in those *Liturgies*. And so *the testimony out of* Austin, *is* neither so *full unto the purpose*, as they did *intend* *; nor hath it proved the matter it *was brought to prove*. So farre was that good Father from decrying either the benefit or use of *publick Liturgies*, that, as we saw before, he derives their petigree not only from the Apostles times, (*ab ipsis Apostolorum temporibus*, as his own words are) but also from their words and warrant: and therefore was not like to countenance so bold a freedom of praying in Gods publick worship, with what words we listed, or indeed any other then the *prescribed forms*.

* *Smectymn.* p. 7.

† *Vindication, ibid.*

* *Id. ibid.*

(8) But this being only his opinion as a private man; it may be some will take it to be more *authentick*, if he delivered it in *Synod*, and had therein the suffrage and consent of all the *Fathers* there assembled. And possible it is that it may be so. For in the body of the *Canons*, which as they stand in *Balsamons* collections are called the *Canons* of the Councel of *Carthage*, and so they are in that of *Zonaras*; but as collected by *Justellus* are called in generall, the *Canons* of the Church of *Africa*; there is one runs thus entituled. *De precibus quæ debent fieri ad Altare.* Touching the prayers VIII.

to be made at the Altar *. *Hoc quoque placuit ut precationes quæ in Synodo confirmatæ sunt, sive* Præfationes, *sive* Commendationes, *sive* manus impositiones, *ab omnibus peragantur, & omnino aliæ adversus fidem nunquam proferantur: sed quæ a sapientioribus collectæ sunt dicentur. i. e.* It seemeth good unto us, "(say the Fathers) that those *prayers* which have been approved of in the *Synod*, whether that they be *Prefaces* or "*Commendations*, or *laying on of hands* (that is in *ordination*, as I conceive, and I will tell you why, anon) be performed by "all; that none which be against the faith be said in *publick*, "but only such as have been formerly composed by wise and "understanding men. This Canon, if it were made in any time, between the yeer 395. and 430. it is most likely that S. *Austin* had a hand in the making of it, for so long he sate *Bishop* of the Church of *Hippo* †. For if it were decreed in the third of *Carthage*, which seems to have a touch of something of it, *Can.* 23. it must be then *An.* 397. as it is ranked by *Baronius*: if in the Councel of *Milevis*, whither some referre it *, it falls into the yeer 416. by the same account: at one of which S. *Austin* was, and at both of them might be present, for ought I know unto the contrary. But the truth is, the *Canons* of these *African* Councels, are much disordered in all *collections* of them which I yet have seen: this *Canon* in the collection made by *Zonaras* being the 117th. in that of *Balsamon*, *Can.* 106. in the *Code* published by *Justellus*, his 103. and amongst those ascribed to the *Milevitan* Councel, 'tis in rank the 12th. But howsoever it be placed in this rank or that, it seems it was not made without good occasion. For as it is observed by *Balsamon*, Ὡς ἔοικε τινὲς ἐπίσκοποι ἐπιχειρεῖν λέγειν εὐχὰς ἀσυνήθεις †. Some *Bishops* then, as since some *Presbyters* have done, endeavoured to introduce new forms of their own devising. And yet it was not only the *Bishops* fault; some of the *Priests* were no no lesse active in the *innovation*, and unto them it is referred by *Zonaras* *. Αἱ περὶ τῶν ἱερέων λεγόμεναι εὐχαὶ, ἐν ταῖς πρὸς θεὸν ὑμνῳδίαις διάφορεί εἰσιν, as he tells us there. And this not only in the *ministration* of the daily *prayers*, but ἐν χειροτονίᾳ, in the very act of *Ordination*, in which the Bishop *laying hands*

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* *Codex. Can. Eccl. African. c.* 103.

† *v. Baron. in Annal. Eccl. An.* 395. 430.

* *Binius in editione Concil. To.* 1.

† *Balsamon. notæ in Concil. Carth.*

* *Zonaras in Concil. Carthagin. Can.* 117.

τῇ τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῇ, upon the head of him that was to be *ordained*, used *certain prayers*. Finally, he resolves that in all the severall Acts of *publick* worship, before remembred, the *prayers confirmed* (αἱ κυρωθεῖσαι) not first *devised* in that *Synod* should be only used, καὶ μὴ νέας παρὰ τινῶν εἰσαγομένας κατὰ τῆς πίστεως *, and that no new ones brought into the Church by any one, whosoever he was, should be entertained. The reason of the which as 'tis touched before, so is it more expresly manifested in that of the *Milevitan* Councel, if it were of that, *Ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam vel per minus studium sit compositum* †, lest else perhaps, either through ignorance or want of care, something against the rule of faith be composed and published. So then, this was no new restraint, and much lesse the first, whereby the *liberty* of *prayer*, or praying by a *form* of ones *own devising*, was *prescribed* and *limited*, as some give it out *: but a *Reviver* only or a *Confirmation* of the antient *Canons*, by which it had been *limited* and *prescribed* before. As for the *Canon* of the third of *Carthage*, in which it seems to be permitted to the *Minister*, to use such *prayers* in the *officiating* Gods divine service, concerning which, *cum fratribus instructioribus contulerit* †, he had before conferred with the learned brethren: when they can prove that *Canon* to be made in the *third* Councel of *Carthage*, I shall bethink my self of an Answer to it. But sure I am, that in the third Councel of *Carthage*, *Cæsario & Attico Coss.* as it is said to be in all *collections* of the Councels, were made but 24 *Canons* as it is in *Balsamon*, but five and twenty as in *Zonaras*, whereof this is none. And no lesse sure, that it is told me by *Baronius*, *haud omnes in hac Synodo sanciri* *, that all the *Canons* attributed to this Councel, were not made therein: nor is it to be found in the *collection* of the *Canons* of the Councels of *Carthage* either of *Zonaras* or *Balsamon*, or in the *Codex Canonum* published by *Justellus*; and therefore in all probability made in none at all.

* *Id. ibid.*

† *Concil. Milevit. Can. 12.*

* *Smectymn. p. 7.*

† *Id. ibid.*

* *Baron. Annal. Eccl. An. 397. n. 46.*

(9) Next look we on the other parts of the *publick Liturgies*, (for other parts there were besides the *ministration* of the Sacraments, and the daily service) and we shall finde as undenyable autorities for defence of those, as any of the for- IX.

former, before remembred. Of these, I shall insist upon no more at this present time, then the *form* of *ordering Bishops, Priests, and Deacons*, and that of solemnizing *matrimony*, to which we shall adjoyn their *form* and *rites* of *buriall*, and so descend at last to a conclusion. And first for that of *Ordination*, whereas the antient *form* thereof had been interrupted and many of the *Rulers* of the Church had been too sensibly indulgent to their own *affections* in the dispensing of the same: it pleased the Fathers in the fourth Councel of *Carthage*, not so much to ordain and constitute *new forms*, and ordinances, as revive the *old*. A *Councel* of that note and eminence, that as the Acts thereof were approved and ratified by Pope *Leo* the great * (if that adde any thing unto them); so by the same the following Ages of the Church did use to regulate and dispose the *publick* Discipline. *Adeo ut hoc Concilium Ecclesiæ disciplinæ ad pristinam consuetudinem revocatæ, quasi promptuarium, semper meritoque apud posteros habitum fuit* †, as saith *Binius* truely. Now amongst those, they which first lead the way unto all the rest, declare the *form* and manner to be used in all *Ordinations*, whether of *Bishops*, *Priests* and *Deacons*; or of inferiour *officers* in the Church of *Christ*. And first for *Bishops*, especiall care being taken for an inquisition into their Doctrine, life, and conversation *: it is decreed, that when a *Bishop* is to be *ordained*, two other Bishops are to hold the Book of the *holy Gospel* over his head; and whilest one of them doth pronounce the *blessing*, the rest there present lay their hands upon his head. *Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo Episcopi ponant & teneant Euangeliorum codicem super caput & cervicem* (or rather *verticem*) *ejus*; *& uno super eum fundente* benedictionem, *reliqui omnes Episcopi qui adsunt, manibus suis caput ejus tangant* †. So the *Canon* goeth. And this is still observed in the Church of *England*, save that the laying of the book on the parties *head*, is turned (and as I think with more *significancy*) into the putting of the same into his hand. Then for the ordering of the *Priest*, or *Presbyter* it is thus declared. *Presbyter cum* ordinatur, *Episcopo eum* benedicente, *& manum super caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes* Presbyteri *qui præsentes sunt manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius teneant* *. When

* *Binius in titulo Concil. To.* 1. *p.* 587. *edit. Col.*

† *Id. ibid. p.* 591.

* *Concil. Carthag.* IV. *Can.* 1.

† *Ib. Can.* 2.

* *Ib. Can.* 3.

When a *Presbyter* is to be *ordained*, the *Bishop* giving the *benediction*, (or saying the words of *consecration*) and holding his hand upon his *head*, all other *Presbyters* then present are to lay their hands upon his head, neer the hand of the *Bishop*. And this is also used and required in the Church of *England*, save that more neer unto the rule and prescript of Antiquity, three *Presbyters* at least are to be assistant in laying hands upon the party to be *ordained*. And last of all for that of *Deacons* it was thus provided, *solus Episcopus qui eum* benedicit, *manum super caput illius ponat* *, that the *Bishop* only who *ordains*, should lay his hand upon his head. The reason of the which is this, *quia non ad Sacerdotium, sed ad ministerium consecratur*, because he is not consecrated to the Office of *Priesthood*, but to an inferiour *ministry* in the house of God. Nor is the *Deacon* otherwise *ordained* then thus, in the Church of *England*. Here are the *rites*, the *visible* and externall signs: but where I pray you are the *forms*, the *prescribed words* and prayers which are now in use? I answer, that they are included in those two phrases, *benedicere*, and *fundere benedictionem*, to blesse, to give the benediction, or pronounce the blessing. For as a Writer of our own very well observes, *Benedicere hic nihil aliud est quam verba proferre, per quæ horum Ordinum potestas traditur* †: To blesse, saith he, or give the *benediction*, is nothing more nor lesse, then to say those *words* by which the power of *Order* is conferred on every or either of the parties which receive the same. And that the *form* of words then used, was prescribed and set, not left unto the liberty of every *Prelate*, to use what form of *words* he pleased, so he kept the sense; we saw before in that of *Zonaras*: where he affirmed, that the Canon formerly remembred about the using *prescribed* forms in the Church of God, did reach to *Ordination* also: ἐν γὰρ τοῖς χειροτονίαις ὁ Ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπιθεὶς τὴν χεῖρα τῇ τοῦ χειροτονουμένου κεφαλῇ ὅτω τὰς εὐχὰς ἐπλέγει *. In *Ordinations*, saith the *Scholiast*, the *Bishop* or *chief Priest* laying his hands on him that came to be ordained, was to recite the *usuall* and *accustomed prayers*. *Statas preces exequi solitus est*, as the *translator* of the *Scholiast*. And this may be observed withall, that though this Coun-

* *Ibid. Can.* 4.

† *Mason de Minist. Angl. l.* 2. *cap.* 17.

* *Zonaras in Concil. Carth. Can.* 117.

cel be of good antiquity, as being held *An.* 398. yet almost all the Acts thereof, and those especially amongst the rest, were rather *declaratory* of the antient customes of the Church of *CHRIST*, then *introductory* of new: as both *Baronius* * and *Binius* do affirm and justifie.

* *Baron. Annal. Eccl. An.* 398.

X. (10) That which remains, concerns the *form* of *marriage*, and *rites* of *buriall*; to which a little shall be added of those *pious gestures* used by them in the Act of *publick* worship: and that being done, I shall conclude. And first for *marriage*, there is no question to be made, but that from the beginning of *Christianity* it hath been celebrated by the *Priest* or *Minister*, with *publick* prayers and benedictions, and most times with the celebration of the blessed *Eucharist*; whereof thus *Tertullian*. *Unde sufficiam ad felicitatem ejus* matrimonii *enarrandam, quod Ecclesia conciliat, & confirmat oblatio, & obsignatum Angeli enunciant, Pater ratum habet* †? How can I be sufficient, saith this antient Writer, to declare the happinesse of that *marriage*, which the Church celebrates, the *Sacrament* confirmeth, which being solemnized is proclaimed by the *Angels*, and ratified by our heavenly Father? To adde S. *Ambrose* to *Tertullian*, a latter to a former Author, may be thought impertinent, yet being a *Father* of the Church, and one against whom no exception lieth, take him with you also; and you shall finde in him, *Conjugium sacerdotali benedictione sanctificari oportere* *, that marriage was to be sanctified with the *Priests* blessing. The ring in marriage is as antient as *Tertullian* also, who mentioneth it in his *Apologetick*, *cap.* 6. and it is given saith *Isidore* by the *Bridegroom* to his *Spouse* or Wife, *Vel propter mutuæ fidei signum, vel ut eodem pignore eorum corda jungantur* †; either to testifie their mutuall faith, or rather for a pledge of that conjunction, which is agreed upon between them, both in heart and minde. The reason it is put on the *fourth finger* was observed before; which lest it should be thought to be meerly *gentile*, you shall also have it from a *Christian* Author, *Quod in eo vena quædam sanguinis ad cor usq; perveniat* *; because there goeth a vein from thence to the very heart. That the *Brides* antiently went to Church in *white* apparell, appeareth in the

† *Tertullian, ad uxorem. l.* 2.

* *Ambros. Epist.* 70. *ad Vigilium.*

† *Isidor. Hisp. de officiis. l.* 2. *cap.* 9.

* *Id. ibid.*

the same Author also; though it was mixt with *purple* then, which is now disused: and that they were conducted to the Church by *Paranymphs* or *Bridemen*, as we call them now, is no lesse evident, but from an antienter record. Where it is said, *Sponsus & Sponsa cum benedicendi sunt a Sacerdote, a parentibus suis vel Paranymphis offerantur* *: That both the *Bridegroom* and the *Bride*, must be conducted to the Church to receive the benediction of the *Priest*, either by their Parents or their *Bridefolks*. Finally, to the making of a *marriage* in those early dayes, they had their *Tabulas dotales* †, their writings and instruments of dowry; by which the married couple became possessed of each others goods; from whence it comes that in the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, the man doth actually *endow* his Wife *with all his worldly goods*, and that *in facie Ecclesiæ* even in the sight and hearing of the Congregation. Next for their *form* or *rites* of *buriall*, not to speak any thing of those preparatory actions which were done within doors, in the embalming of the body, and making it ready for the Sepulture: the Corps was brought unto the Grave with *Psalmes*, and spirituall *hymnes*; and being had into the Church, the *Priests* and people said the *accustomed* prayers, such as were destinate to that businesse. This we shall cleerly see by those *funerall rites* with which the body of *Macrina*, the Sister of *Gregory Nyssen*, was brought unto her *buriall*, as himself describes it *. "The Bier, saith he, being car-
"ried by men of eminency in the *Clergy*, was on both sides
"attended by no small number of *Deacons* and other *Eccle-*
"*siastical* Officers, τὰς ἐκ κήρου λαμπάδας ἔχοντες πάντες, each
"with a Taper in his hand. And this was not without
"some *mystery*; ὁμοφώνως τῆς ψαλμῳδίας ἀπ' ἄκρων ἐπὶ ἐχάτου
"μελῳδουμένης, the *Psalmody* continued most melodiously from
"the beginning to the end, in consort, not unlike the so
"much celebrated Song of the *three Children*: The space be-
"twixt the house from whence we came, and the buriall
"place, being seven or eight furlongs; so that by reason
"of the throng which hindred us from hasting forward, we
"spent all the day. Ἐπειδὰν ἐν ἐκτὸς τοῦ οἴκου κατέστημεν, &c.

* *Concil. Carthag.* IV. *Can.* 13.

† *Isidor. Hispal. de divin. officiis. l.2.c.19.*

* *Gregor. Nyssen. de vita S. Macrinæ.*

"Being come within the Church, we set down the *Bier*, "and first betook our selves to *prayer* (εἰς προσευχὴν) which "moved much sorrow in the *people*; then unto *Psalmes* a-"gain, which were much interrupted by the cries and la-"mentations of the *Virgins*, which were then in place. "But we requiring them by signs, to keep silence, καὶ τοῦ "κήρυκος εὐχὴν ὑφηγουμένου, καὶ τοὺς συνήθεις ἐκβοῶντος τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ "φωνὰς, κατέστη πρὸς τὸ χῆμα τῆς εὐχῆς ὁ λαὸς, and the *Deacon* "preparing unto *prayer*, and crying to the people in the "*accustomed* words, they put themselves into a *posture* of "*prayer*, though with much ado. *Prayers* being done, the "body was committed to the *Grave*; and all the company "departed to their severall houses. A short *collation* being prepared at an house neer hand for the principal Mourners: to which were sometimes added the poor and needy, the Widow and the Fatherlesse child, *pupillos & viduas saturantes* *, as it is in *Origen*. More of these *rites* who lift to see, let him consult for the first part hereof, the *Psalmody*, *Nazianzen. orat. in laudem Cæsarii*, *Hierom in vita* S. *Pauli*, and his Epistle *ad Eustochium de Paulæ obitu*; S. *Chrysostom*, *Homil.* 70. *ad populum Antiochen. Augustin. Confessionum l.* 6. c. 12. And for the latter part, the *prayers accustomably* used in those solemnities, see *Cyprian*, Epist. l. 1. *Ep.* 9. *Augustin Confession.* l. 6. c. 12. *Paulinum in vita* S. *Ambrosii*, *Cyrillum Hierosol. Catech. mystag.* 5. *Euseb. de vita Constant.* l. 4. c. 71. and others. Finally for the *Funerall Sermon*, although condemned of late, in some of the *Reformed* Churches, there is no man so much a stranger to *antiquity*, none who hath ever looked into the works of the Fathers, *Basil* or *Ambrose*, *Nazianzen* or *Nyssen*, and indeed whose not; who findes them not to be exceeding frequent in those pious times. For by that means the *dead* were honoured in the *commemoration* of their faith and piety; and those who were alive received both *comfort* and *instruction*, in being perswaded to the *imitation* of their very examples. *Sic & defunctis præmium, & futuris dabatur exemplum*, as *Minutius* hath it.

* *Origen. lib.* 3. *in Job.*

(11) Next for the *rites* and *gestures* which were in use, (even in the best and purest times of the *Christian* Church) at

at the performance of all Acts of *publick* worship, I finde some *proper* to the *Priest*, some *common* both to *Priest* and *people*. That which was *proper* to the *Priests*, to such as did attend at the *holy Altar*, was, that they did attire themselves in a *distinct habit*, at the time of the *ministration*; not only from the rest of the *common people*, but even from that which themselves used to wear at other times, though both grave and decent. The colour *white*, and the significancy thereof to denote that *holinesse*, wherewith the *Ministers* of God ought to be apparelled: and seems to have been much of the same condition both for use and meaning, with the *surplice* still retained in the Church of *England*. This we finde cleerly evidenced in the *Constitutions* ascribed to *Clemens*, as may be seen in the sixth Chapter of this book. *num.* V. and there the Reader may observe it. Besides which, being as I take it, of unquestioned credit, to the point in hand; S. *Hierom* tells us in the generall, that in the act of *ministration*, they used a different habit, from what they ware at ordinary daies and times. *Religio divina alterum habitum habet in* ministerio, *alterum in usu vitaq; communi* *; which is sufficient for the generall, that it was so antiently. And what this *different habit* was, he tells us more particularly in his reply against *Pelagius* who it seems disliked it: and asks him what offence it could be to God, that *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, or those of any other inferiour Order, *in administratione sacrificiorum* candida veste *processerint* †, did in the *ministration* of the Sacraments bestirre themselves in a *white vesture*. Nor was this *white* vesture taken up in the *West* parts only, which some observe to have been more inclinable to superstition then the *Eastern* were: it was received and used in the *East* parts too, as appears by *Chrysostom*. Who shewing the *Priests* of *Antioch*, of which Church he was, unto how high a calling the Lord had called them, and how great power they had to repell unworthy men from the *Lords Table*; addes, that they were to reckon that for their Crown and glory; and not that they were priviledged to go about the Church in a *white* garment*. Τῦτο ὑμῖν ἀξία, τῦτο στέφανος ἅπας. οὐχ ἵνα λευκὸν χιτωνίσκον καὶ ἀποστίλβοντα περιβαλλόμενοι περίησθε, as he pleads

* *Hieronym. in Ezekiel. cap.* 44

† *Id. adv. Pelag. lib.* 1.

* *Chrysostom. Hom.* 83. *in Matth.*

pleads it there. So antient is the use of *white* vestments, during the time of *ministration* in the Church of *Christ*: and from those elder daies it came down to ours, being received long since in the Church of *England*. For in the Constitutions made for the Province of *Canterbury* by Archb. *Walter*, it was decreed, with a *præcipimus ut qui* Altari *ministrat* suppelliceo *induatur* *, that he who ministred at the *Altar* should be attired in his *surplice*. And in the reformation of this Church, both in the times of K. *Edward* the VI. and Qu. *Elizabeth* of blessed memory; when as the Church was freed from those *massing garments* which superstition in the declining times of piety had introduced into the same: the *surplice* was thought fit to be still retained by reason of its *antient* and unspotted petigree from the *primitive* times. I know it hath been said by some, that the first use hereof was heathenish, and that it was first borrowed from the *Priests* of *Egypt*: and I know well, the *Priests* of *Egypt*, were at their *publick* sacrifices, arayed in *white*. S. *Hierom* so informs me, saying, *Vestibus lineis uti Ægyptios sacerdotes* †: and so doth *Pliny* also in his naturall History, who tells us, *Vestes lineas sacerdotibus Ægyptiis gratissimas esse* *. And I could adde, that so it was in many of the Pomps and *sacrifices* of the *Romans* also, of which, thus *Virgil* in the *Æneids*.

* *Lindwood. Provincial. de officio Archidiaconi.*

† *Hierom. in Ezekiel. c.* 44.

* *Pliny. Natural. hist. lib.* 19.

——Puraque in Veste Sacerdos
Setigeræ fœtum suis, intonsamq; bidentem,
Attulit ——

Upon which words it is observed by *Servius*, *puram vestem dici, qua festis diebus uti consueverant sacrificaturi* †; that on the *Festivals*, the *Priests* who were to sacrifice were cloathed in pure and unspotted Vestures. But this seems better, as I take it, to shew the generall use hereof amongst all *Nations* whatsoever, that either worshipped the true God, or adored the false: then to be used as an argument to disgrace the *habit*. For they which have been pleased to object that such a garment as the *surplice*, had antiently been worn by the *Priests* of *Isis*, in their idolatrous and wretched sacrifices: might

† *Servius in Virg. Æneid. l.* 12.

might have observed as well, that before that time it had been imposed by the best Kings of *Judah* on the *Priests* and *Levites*, when they sung *praises* unto God, as was shewn before *: And if they should object from thence that it is *Jewish* at the best, and so not fit to be continued in a *Christian* Church: they may remember if they please, that though it was a garment of the *Priests* and *Levites*, yet was it none of those that were appointed or imposed for the *legall* sacrifices, but only was for the *morall* service of Almighty God. This makes it evident, that as the *white* garment of the *Priest* or *Levite* was used in the *morall* service of God, before it had been taken up by the *Priests* of *Egypt*; so was it also used in the *primitive* Church, before it came to be abused by the Church of *Rome*.

* *Vid chap. 3.*

(12) Next for those *rites* which were alike common both to *Priest* and *people*, they did consist especially in those various *gestures* which antiently were used amongst them, according to the severall parts of Gods *publick* worship. Sometimes they sate, and that was commonly as it seems during the reading of the *Lessons*, or whilest the *Minister* was in his *exhortation*, or at the *singing* of the *Psalmes*: And this I do collect out of *Justin Martyr*, who shewing that the writings of the *Prophets* and *Apostles* were *read* unto the people in the Congregation; and that being done, the *President* or *Bishop* went unto the *Sermon*; then addes, ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν †, they all *rose* up together, and betook themselves unto their *prayers*. And in the place of *Basil* before remembred, the *Monks* are said to rise up from their *prayers*, εἰς τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν καθιστάνται, and to proceed unto the *Psalmes*. Which, as it shews that there were severall *gestures* in the Act of *worship*; so I conceive that *sitting* was the gesture which was used during the *Lessons*, *Psalms*, and *Sermon*: At other times they used to *stand*, as at the *Creed*, the *Gloria Patri*, and at the reading of the *Gospell*. Their standing at the *Creed* was antiently used to shew their readinesse in standing for the *Faith*, and the profession of the same before persecuting Judges; never imposed by any *Canon* or decree of Councel, for ought I can finde, but taken up on the authority

XII.

† *Justin Martyr. Apol. 2.*

rity of antient practice, and afterwards much strengthned by a decree for standing up at the holy *Gospels*, of which the *Creed* was but the summary or Abstract. It was not long before the same gesture had been taken up (for I finde not that it was imposed by publique *sanction*) at the reading also of the *Creed*, as being the sum and substance of the holy *Gospels*. *Et cum Symbolum est verbum Evangelicum quoad sensum, ergo illud stando sicut Evangelium dicitur* *. Of standing at the *Gloria Patri* we shall speak more at large in the following Section. And as for the *standing* at the *Gospell*, it was decreed, if not before, by Pope *Anastasius*, by whom it was ordained, saith *Platina*, *Ne Sacerdotes ullo modo* sederent, *sed curvi & venerabundi* starent, *cum evangelium caneretur aut legeretur in Ecclesia* †. But by his leave the *Decretall*, from which this must be taken, goes a great deal further, and doth not only reach the *Priests*, but *cæteros omnes præsentes* *, all who were present in the Church. And doubtlesse 'twas in use before, though but now enjoyned; *Sozomen* blaming it in the *Alexandrians*, (and he lived long before the time of *Anastasius*) that at the *reading* of the *Gospels* ἐκ ἐπαίρεσθαι ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, the *Bishop* stood not up as in other places †. Yet you must understand it so, that they used not to *stand* upright, *sed curvi & venerabundi*, saith the letter *decretall*, but with the *bowing* of the *body*, as in the way of *adoration*: and more then so too, if the name of *JESUS* did occurre in the reading of it, they used with all reverence and duty to *bow* the *knee*; which in those parts and times was the greatest sign both of humility and subjection. Of this we need no other witnesse then the great S *Ambrose*, who speaking in his *Hexaemeron* *, touching the particular office of each severall member; he makes the *bowing* of the *knee at the name of JESUS* the proper duty of that part. *Kneeling* they used both in the act of *prayer* and invocation, as also in the *participation* or receiving of the blessed Sacrament. First in the act of *prayer* or invocation, for when *Tertullian* blamed it in the *Gentiles*, that they did *assidere sub aspectu contraq; aspectum ejus* †, sit down irreverently before their Gods, as soon as they had done their *prayers*: And when as *Origen* asks the reason, *quod genua flectimus*

* *Durand rationale divin.*

† *Platina in vita Anastasii.l.*

* *Anastas. Ep. ap. Binium. in To. 2. Concil.*

† *Sozomen. hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 19.*

* *Ambros. in opera Hexaem. l. 6. c. 9.*

† *Tertullian. de Orat. cap. 12.*

flectimus orantes *, why we should *kneel* upon our *knees* in the time of prayer: both of them put it out of question, that in the Act of *prayer* or invocation the Christians of those early times were upon their *knees*. Next for the reverence which they used in the time of *participation*, the least that can be said of them is, that they *received* the Sacrament upon their *knees*. What else can be the meaning of that of *Ambrose*, where he informeth us of the *Christians* of his time, that they did *carnem Christi in mysteriis adorare* †, adore the flesh of *Christ* in the holy mysteries; or that of *Chrysostom*, ἀνάπεσον καὶ μετέχε *. "When thou seest all things ready at "the great Kings Table, the Angels ministring at the same, "the King in presence, and thou thy self provided of a "Wedding garment, cast thy self down upon thy *knees* at "least, and so *communicate*. And what else think you caused the *Gentiles* to accuse the *Christians* living in S. *Austins* time, for worshipping *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, two good *belly-gods* †; but that they were observed to *kneel* when they received the *bread* and *wine* in the blessed Eucharist? And all this done with *hands stretched out*, and heads uncovered, *manibus expansis, capite nudo*, as *Tertullian* hath it *; and as S. *Basil* doth observe of *Gregory Nazianzen*, ὃ κατεκαλύπτετο ἐπὶ τῶν εὐχῶν †, that he used not to be *covered* in the time of *prayer*. Adde, that they turned towards the *East* in the act of *worship*, whereof consult with *Justin Martyr*, in his Book of Questions and Answers *ad Orthodopes*, Qu. 118. *Tertullian* in his *Apologetick*, chap. 16. *Origen* in his 5. *Homily* on the book of *Numbers*; not to say any thing of those who came after them: And then we have a perfect view of the most usuall and materiall orders, used by the *Primitive* Christians in Gods publique service.

* *Origen. in Numer. Homil.* 5.

† *Ambros. de Sp. S. lib.* 3. *c.* 12.

* *Chrysost. Homil.* 3. *in Ephes.*

† *August. contra Faustum. man. l.* 20. *c.* 13.

* *Tertullian. Apologet. c.* 30.

† *Basil. Ep.* 63.

Before I do conclude this Age, I shall subjoyn some few notes on the *Gloria Patri*, retained on so good grounds in this Church of *England*, so oft repeated in the divine service of the same; so solemnly and reverently pronounced by those who either understand their own Christian duties, or the intentions of the antient holy Catholick Church. And those remembrances I shall reduce unto these three heads.

First, I shall shew the Antiquity and Originall of it; secondly, when, and by what authority it became a part of the publick *Liturgies*; and thirdly, in what posture Gods people used to to put themselves, as often as there was occasion to pronounce the same.

I. Concerning the *Antiquity* of the *Gloria Patri*, I know it is referred by some to the Councell of *Nice*, or the times immediately succeeding; and that it is by them conceived to have been framed of purpose for a Counterpoise to the *Arian heresie*, and to train up the people in the right perswasion of the holy *Trinity*. And were it so, it need not be ashamed of its Originall, or look into the world for a better petigree: the space of 1300. yeers and more being abundantly sufficient to procure it credit, and set it farre enough above the reach of contentious men. But yet S. *Basil* who lived neer that Councel goes a great deal higher, and fetcheth the Originall of it ἐκ τῆς τῶν Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως,* from the tradition of the *Apostles*: and cites some of the antient Fathers, and amongst them S. *Clemens* the Apostles Scholar, and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* †, who died long time before this Councell, and in whose writings this *doxology* was expresly found. For the *Apostles* being commanded by their Lord and Saviour to teach and *baptize* all people *in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost*, there is no question to be made, but that in due conformity to their Masters pleasure they did accordingly proceed: and for a preparatory thereunto required of such as were to be added to the Church, a solemn profession of that *faith* into which they were to be *baptized*. And this Confession of the *faith* he calls ἀρχὴν πνὰ καὶ μητέρα τῆς δοξολογίας, the Original and mother as it were of that *Doxologie*, then and of long time used in the Church of *Christ* *. And then it followeth in these words, βαπτίζειν ἡμᾶς ὡς παρελάβομεν, πιστεύειν δὲ ὡς ἐβαπτίσθημεν δοξάζειν δὲ ὡς πεπιστεύκαμεν. *i. e.* That as they had received, so they did *baptize*, and as they did *baptize*, so they did believe, and as they did believe, so they also *glorified* †. But they *baptized* in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost; and they believed in the Father, and in the Sonne,

* *Basil. de Sp. S. c. 27.*

† *Id. ibid. c. 29.*

* *Id. ibid. c. 27.*

† *Id. ibid. Ep. 78.*

Sonne, and in the holy Ghost; and therefore also had some form of ascribing *Glory to the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost*: which was the form remaining on record in those antient Fathers, whose names there occurre. And this he further proves by an antient ceremony used of old at *candle tinding*, which he ascribeth also τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἡμῶν, to the tradition of the *Fathers*; but by which of them devised or first introduced, that he could not tell. Onely he noteth, that at the first bringing in of the *evening lights*, the people were accustomed to say these words, Ἀινοῦμεν πατέρα, καὶ υἱὸν, καὶ ἅγιον πνεῦμα θεοῦ *, *We glorifie or praise the Father and the Son and the holy Spirit of God*: (just as we use to say in these *Western* parts upon the very same occasion, *God send us the light of heaven*). Which as the Father calleth τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν, an antient ceremony, an old form of words; so doth he tell us therewithall, οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἀσεβῆν ἐνομίσθησαν, that the observation of the same was not imputed unto any (as the other is) either for superstition or impiety. The *Scholiast* on *Nicephorus* (whosoever he was) doth observe this custome, and gives us the whole form at large of this Ἐπλύχνιον, whither I referre you †: this being only by the way.

* *Id. de Sp. S. cap. 29.*

† *In Nicephor. hist. Eccl. l. 18. c. 51. edit. gr. lat.*

'Tis true the following words, *Sicut erat in principio*, &c. which make up the whole frame of this *doxologie* (as it is now used in the Church) came not in till afterwards, upon occasion of the spreading of the *Arian heresie*: by which it was most impiously maintained and taught, *erat quando non erat*, that there was once a time when the Sonne was not, and so not coeternall with his heavenly Father. And though I cannot say with the learned Cardinall that this addition was put to it in the Councell of *Nice* *, because I finde it not in the Acts of that Councell, or otherwise then by him ascribed unto it; yet certainly it was adjoyned unto it much about that time, and questionlesse on that occasion. And so much is affirmed in the Councel of *Vaisons* in *France*, *Concilium Vasense & Vassionense* the *Latines* call it: where it is said, *Propter hæreticorum astutiam qua Dei filium non semper cum Patre fuisse, sed a tempore cœpisse blasphemant, in omnibus clausulis post* Gloria Patri, *& filio & spiritui sancto, dicitur, sicut erat in principio,*

* *Baron. Annal. Eccl. An. 325.*

* *Concil. Valens. c. 5.*

*principio, & nunc est, & in secula seculorum**. Which points both to a former usage in some other Churches where this addition was received (whereof more anon) and to the crafty malice of the *Arian hereticks*, for a most soveraign Antidote to whose poysons it was first devised. A further proof of which, I shall shew you presently.

II. Such being the Antiquity and use of this *doxologie*, we wil next see when and by what authority it first became a part of the *publick Liturgies*. I know *Nicephorus* ascribes it unto *Flavianus Patriarch of Antioch*, *An.* 380. or thereabouts: who as he saith, ὑπεργοῦντος τοῦ χρυσοῦ τὴν γλῶτταν, by the advise and help of *Chrysostom* (being then a *Minister* in that Church) did first ordain it †. But certainly it was of longer standing in the Church then so. For it is said by *Sozomen* that when *Leontius* the *Arian* was Bishop of that See, which was in the yeer 350. some five and twenty yeers, no more, after the Councell of *Nice*, the people being divided in opinions about the Deity of our Saviour, did so use the matter, that when they met to glorifie the name of God in the Congregation, and sung the holy *Anthems* Quire-wise (κατὰ χοροὺς in the Authors words) as the custome was, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῶν ᾠδῶν τὴν οἰκείαν προαίρεσιν ἐπεδείκνυον*, they manifested their dissent from one another, in the conclusion of those *hymnes* or *Anthems*: the *Orthodox* Professours using the whole form as it was prescribed by the Church, and saying, *Glory be to the Father and to the Sonne, and to the holy Ghost, As it was in the beginning, &c* †. The Hereticks pronouncing it with this alteration, *Glory be to the Father, by the Sonne, in the holy Ghost*, &c. to make it serviceable to their sense. And for *Leontius* himself who was most observed, he did so mutter the whole *doxologie* between his teeth, καὶ σιγῇ τὴν δοξολογίαν παρεφέρε, and passed it over with such silence as the Author hath it, that the most diligent stander by could hear no more from him but εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, *world without end*, Amen *. This makes it evident, that as this form of giving glory to each person of the blessed *Trinity*, was the κριτήριον, the badge or cognizance by which the *Orthodox* Professours were distinguished from the *Arian hereticks*; and therefore called most properly by renowned

† *Niceph. Eccles. hist. l. 18. cap. 51.*

* *Sozom. Eccles. hist. l. 3. c. 20.*

† *Theodoret. hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 24.*

* *Id. ibid.*

nowned S. *Basil*, ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ὀρθοῦ φρονήματος *, the *evidence or demonstration of a sound belief*: so presently upon the first compleating of it, it came by generall consent to have a proper place in the *publick Liturgies*, and was accustomably repeated in the *Eastern* Churches at the conclusion of such *hymnes* or *Anthems*, as were composed and sung to the honour of God. Which also is affirmed in these words of *Cassian*, an antient writer, *viz. Hac glorificatione Trinitatis per omnem* Orientem *solere* Antiphonam *terminari*, that throughout the *East*, the *Anthems* were concluded with that *doxologie*, that form of giving glory to the blessed *Trinity* †.

* *Basil. Ep.* 78.

† *Cassian. l.* 2. *cap.* 8.

Now as the *Eastern* Churches used to adde this *formula* to the conclusion of such *hymnes* or *Anthems*, as they composed for Gods service in the Congregation; so was it added in the Churches of these *Western* parts, at the close of each of *Davids* Psalmes, which made up a great part of the *publick Liturgies*, by the perswasion of S. *Hierom*. Who living in the *Eastern* parts for a certain time, and noting with what fruit and benefit, the *doxologie* was added there at the end of the *hymnes*, addressed his Letters to Pope *Damasus* (who entred on the *See* of *Rome*, *An.* 367.) advising or desiring call it which you will, *ut in fine cujuslibet Psalmi*, that at the end of every Psalme, he would cause this *doxologie* to be added, *viz. Gloria Patri, &c. Sicut erat in principio, &c* *. To the intent that the profession of the faith set forth by the 318. Bishops in the Councell of *Nice*, *in vestro ore pari consortio declaretur*, should be avowed and published with a like consent in all the Churches of his *Patriarchate*. I know indeed some learned men are of opinion, that this Epistle is not *Hieroms*; and perhaps it is not. But whether it be his or not (which I will not stand on) most sure it is that *Damasus* did the thing which that Letter speaks of in the Churches of his jurisdiction. Of which thus *Platina* in his life. *Instituit quoque ut Psalmi alternis vicibus in ecclesia canerentur, utq; in fine eorum hæc verba ponerentur, Gloria Patri & filio, &c* †. *Damasus* (saith he) ordained that the *Psalmes* should be sung *Quirewise* (or by each side of the *quire* in turns) and that at the end of every *Psalme* they should adde these words, *Glory be to*

* *Ext. in Concilior. Tom.* 10. *inter Epistolas et Decr. Damasi.*

† *Platina in vita Damasi.*

the Father, and to the sonne, &c. Which being thus ordained in the Churches of the *Roman Patriarchate* became forthwith admitted also into other Churches of the *West*, as appears plainly by that *Canon* of the Councell of *Vaisons* which you had before; which I choose rather to referre with the Collectour of the Councells to the time of *Theodosius* the 2d who lived after *Damasus*, then with *Baronius* to the yeer 337. when no such form to which that *Canon* doth relate, had gotten any footing in the *Western Liturgies*. Now the said *Canon* taking notice of a former usage of some other Churches, where this *doxology* was added at the end of the Psalmes, ordains the like to be observed in the Churches of *France*; *quod & nos in universis Ecclesiis nostris dicendum esse decrevimus* *, as their words there are. And to this purpose, besides that of *Cassian* (which we shall presently produce for another point) we may adde these words of Pope *Vigilius* (he began his Popedom, *An.* 535.) who in his Epistle unto *Eleutherius* gives us this short note, *In fine Psalmorum ab omnibus Catholicis ex more dici, Gloria Patri, & filio*, &c †. That is to say, that *Gloria Patri* was subjoyned at the end of the Psalmes, according to the antient custome, by all *Catholick* persons.

* *Concil. Valens. Can.* 5.

† *Ep. Vigilii in Concil. Tom.* 2.

III. As for the *gesture* which was used both by Priest and people at the repeating of this *doxologie*, it was the same with that which is still retained. They said it *standing* on their feet. And this appears expressely by the words of *Cassian*, who telleth us, that in the Province of *Gaul Narbonnoyse* where he then lived, it was the custome of the Church *in clausula psalmi omnes* astantes *concinere cum clamore, Gloria Patri*, &c *. That at the close of every Psalme the whole Congregation *standing up* did sing together with a loud voice, *Glory be to the Father*, &c. Contrary to the custome of the *Eastern* Churches. In which it is to be observed, that the singularity noted by that Author to have been used in those Countreys at the pronouncing of the *Gloria Patri*, was not in that the Congregation *stood upon their feet* at the repeating of the same, which was most like to be the custome of the *East* Churches also; but that it was subjoyned in *Gaul Narbonnoyse*, (as in all Churches of the *West*) at the end of the Psalms, whereas

* *Cassian. lib.* 2. *cap.* 8.

whereas it was used only in the *East* at the end of the *Anthems*, as before was shewn you from this Author. Now *Cassian* was S. *Chysostoms* Scholar, if not his Convert, and lived about the yeer 430. before the Church was overgrown with needlesse ceremonies, or that the native piety of the true Religion was overshadowed by the superstitions of the Church of *Rome*. 'Tis true, we finde not any *Canon* which enjoyned this *gesture*, but that it was first taken up by the voluntary usage and consent of *Christian* people: who might conceive that *gesture* to be fittest for it, in regard that it contained not only a bare form of *giving glory to the Lord*, but also a *profession* of the *Christian faith* in the great mystery of the holy undivided *Trinity*; and therefore fit to be pronounced in that very *posture*, in which from all antiquity they rehearsed their *Creed*. And being so taken up, as before was said, it hath been still retained in the generall practise of the Church to this very day, not by any *Canon* of the Church, or *decree* of Pope, or other Ecclesiasticall *Constitution*; but *ex vi Catholicæ consuetudinis*, by force of a continuall *Catholick* custom which in such points as these hath the power of law. For though in *Articles* of the faith, which are the *credenda* of the Church, we may say with *Hierom*, *Non credimus quia non legimus* *, We are not bound to submit our belief unto them but as they are expressed in the word of God, or else deducted from the same by plain and evident illation: yet in the outward *forms* of *Worship*, which are the *Agenda* of the Church, we must say with the good *Fathers* of the *Nicene* Councell, τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω †, *Let antient customes be observed and prevail amongst us*. And this is that for which S. *Basil* pleadeth so heartily in the very case of this *doxologie*. Where first he layes it for a ground, εἰ γὰρ ὑπεχειρήσαμεν τὰ ἄγραφα τῶν ἐθῶν, &c. That if we take away all *unwritten* usages from the Church of God, as being of no efficacy in his publick service, we shall do great detriment to the *Gospell*; μᾶλλον δὲ εἰς ὄνομα ψιλὸν, and in conclusion make the preaching of the word but a powerlesse name *. Of which kinde, he accounts and nameth the *signing of the true believers* with the sign of the Crosse, τὸ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς τέτραφθαι κατὰ τὴν προσευχὴν, *their turning towards the East* when they said their prayers, the form of consecrating

* *Hieron. adverf. Jovinian.*

† *Concil. Nicen. Can.*

* *Basil. de Sp. S. c. 27.*

crating the Bread and Wine in the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, the hallowing of the water for the Sacrament of Baptisme, the *trina immersio* used of old, καὶ τὸ ἀποτάσσεσθαι Σατανᾷ καὶ τοῖς Ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ, and the *renouncing* of the *Devil* and his Angels, still in use amongst us. And of this kinde was that particular *gesture* which is now in question, not recommended to our observation by any particular law or *Canon*; but only by *successionall tradition*, and the continuall practise of the *Christian* Church; which is authority sufficient for a greater matter.

And in this track the Church of *England* went at her *reformation*, when she ordained according to the antient *Canons*, that at the end of every Psalme throughout the yeer, and likewise, at the end of *Benedictus*, *Benedicite*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*, shall be repeated, *Glory be to the Father, &c. As it was in the beginning, &c* *. But for the *gesture* to be used, referred it to the antient practise of the Church of Christ, as formerly the Church had done in the self same case. Which practise hath been constantly preserved since the *Reformation*, in all the *Cathedralls* of this Kingdome, in the Chappels Royall, and in some Parish Churches also: to which and to the usage of the *primitive* times it is more just and reasonable that all particular persons should conform themselves, then that the antient and unblamable usages of the Church of God should be changed and varied according to the wilde affections of particular men. The Church is now as much in danger to be infected and destroyed by the *Socinian* Blasphemies, as ever heretofore by the *Arian heresies*: and therefore this *doxologie* as necessary in these present times, and to be said with as great reverence and solemnity by all good *Christian* people, as in those before. We cannot better make profession of our faith in the holy *Trinity*, then by this form, and in the constant uniformity of that antient *gesture*, which hath been recommended to us from the purest Ages, and the most glorious lights of the *Christian* world.

* *Rubrick* before *Te Deum*.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Touching the Dedication of Churches and the Anniversary Feasts thereby occasioned.

(1) DEdication of Religious places used antiently by all Nations, and the reasons why. (2) A Repetition of some things that were said before with reference and application to the point in hand. (3) The *Tabernacle* consecrated by Gods own appointment, and the consequents of it. (4) Antiquity of the like Dedications amongst the *Romans*, and by whom performed. (5) The Form, and Ceremonies used in those Dedications by the Antient *Romans*. (6) The Antiquity and constant usage of such Dedications in the Church of Christ. (7) *Titulus* and *Encænia* what they signifie in the Ecclesiasticall notion. (8) The great *Solemnities* and *Feasts* used by the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in the *Dedication* of their *Temples*: (9) As also by the *primitive* Christians. (10) Dedication *Feasts* made Anniversary by the *Roman Gentiles*, (11) And by the Christians in the times of their greatest *purity*: (12) Continued till our times in the Church of *England*. (13) The Conclusion of the whole, and the Authors submission of it to the supreme Powers.

(1) Having thus found out *Liturgies* and *set Forms of worship* in the best and purest times of the *Christian* Church, together with certain *places* and appointed *times* for the performance of those Offices of Religious worship in the said *Liturgies* prescribed: it remains now that we speak somewhat as by way of Corollary, touching the Dedication of those places, in which those Acts and Offices of Religious worship were to be performed: it being consonant to Reason, that *holy Actions* should be celebrated in an *holy place*, and places are not I.

 other-

otherwise *hallowed*, then by the Dedication of them unto holy use. For howsoever in themselves they be but ordinary houses, made of Lime and Stone, and may be put to any use which the Founder pleaseth; yet being once consecrated by the *word* and *prayer*, they become forthwith *Holy Ground*, and carry with them such an awfull reverence in Religious minder, as is not given to other houses, houses to eat and drink in as the Scripture calleth them. And so we are to understand that of *Thomas Aquinas*, who in the stating of this question, hath resolved it thus. *Quod Ecclesia, & Altare, & alia hujusmodi inanimata consecrantur, non quia sunt gratiæ susceptiva, sed quia ex consecratione adipiscuntur quandam spiritalem virtutem, per quam apta redduntur divino cultui* *. *Churches*, saith he, *Altars*, and things inanimate are not therefore consecrated, because they are susceptible of any divine Grace conferred upon them; but because they do obtain thereby some *spirituall fitnesse*, which before they had not, and which doth render them more proper for Religious Offices. Besides which influence which they gain by these Consecrations on the minds of such who piously resort unto them, they are thereby exempted also from the power of those by whom they were first built or founded, who otherwise might challenge a *propriety* in them. That which the ground and charge of building made the house of man, is made by *Consecration* the House of God; and being once dedicated to his holy service, the property thereof is vested in him, and in him alone. The Founder cannot take it back, or reserve any part of it for his own private use or pleasure, without sin and sacriledge. Such was that of *Ananias*, who when he sold his House kept back part of the mony †; as if he would divide the summe betwixt God and himself. The *Gentiles* by the light of nature had discerned thus much, and therefore in the *Consecration* of their Temples they did use these words, *Se ex profano usu & humano jure, Templum cellam, mensas, Arulas, quæq; eo pertinent eximere* *: That is to say, That they exempt from the right of men, and all profane and common usage, the Temple, Table, Volts and Altars, and all things which pertained unto them, appropriating them unto the service of that God, to whom the Fabrick

* *Thom.* 3. *par.* *qu.* 83. *Artic.* 3.

† Acts 5. 2.

* *Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l.* 6. *c.* 14.

Fabrick was intended in the dedication. A matter of such generall use, that it was commonly observed both by the *Patriarchs* before the law, by the *Jews* under the law, by the *Gentiles* without the law, and finally by the *Christians* (being a body made up both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*) in the times of the Gospell. In looking over whose proceedings touching this particular, and thereby justifying the right use of those Dedications, we will first search into the Antiquity, Universality, and first Authors of them, next into the great solemnities and magnificent Feasts, accustomably observed in them; and finally on the Annuall Revolution of those solemn Feasts, appointed by all sorts of men in memoriall of them.

(2) And first for laying down the Antiquity and first Authors of them, it is necessary that we look back on something which was said before, touching the practise of the *Patriarchs*, and some of the godly Princes of the house of *Jacob*. And first, whereas the Scripture telleth us of *Abraham*, that *he planted a Grove in* Beersheba, *and called there on the Name of the Lord, the everlasting God* *: The meaning of which place is by Expositors left uncertain, as before we noted; yet the succeeding practise both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, in consecrating Groves for superstitious and Idolatrous uses, (mention whereof is very frequent in the Scriptures) makes it plain and evident that they conceived this *planting* of a *Grove* by *Abraham*, was but the consecrating of it to the service of God, for invocating on the Name of the Lord *Jehovah*. Greater Antiquity then this, as we need not seek; so a more holy Author of those Dedications we can hardly finde. And yet the practise and Authority of *Jacob* is not much short of it, either in point of reputation or respect of time; of whom it is recorded, that he *took the Stone which he had put for his Pillow, and set it up for a Pillar, and poured Oyl on the top of it* †, and then, and not till then that it was thus consecrated, he called the name of the place *BETHEL*, which by interpretation is the *House of God*. Look what effect this Act of *Jacob* did produce, and we shall finde first that God took unto himself the name of the God of *Bethel*, as a place dedicated for his Worship, *Gen.* 31. v. 13. And

II.

* Gen. 21. 33.

† Gen. 28. 17.

2ly. that in reference to this consecration, it was thought the fittest place for *Jacob*, even by God himself, to *offer sacrifice to the Lord, and to pay his vows*, Gen. 35. 16. Nor can I doubt but that when *Jeroboam* the son of *Nebat*, made choice of *Bethel* *, to be the seat for one of his *Golden Calves*, he had respect unto the consecration of this place by the *Patriarch Jacob*; there being otherwise many places in his new gotten Kingdom of more convenience for his Subjects, unlesse obnoxious to the Power of the Kings of *Judah*, then this *Bethel* was. The Act of *Jacob* in consecrating the Stone at *Bethel*, gave the same limit to *Jeroboam* to profane the place by setting up his Golden Calves; as *Abrahams Grove*, gave to the Idolatrous *Jews* and *Gentiles* for polluting the like places with as impure abominations. And probable enough it is that by these Acts of *Abraham* and *Jacob*, the *Maccabees* proceeded to the Dedication of the *Altar*, when profaned by *Antiochus*; though they made use only of their own Authority in honouring that work and the celebration of it with an Annuall Feast, of which see *Macc.* 1. chap. 4. v. 59. &c. Which Feast being countenanced by our Saviour, as is elsewhere said, gave the first ground unto the Anniversary Feasts of Dedication used in the best and happiest times of Christianity; of which thus *Isidore* of *Sivil*, *Annuas Festivitates dedicationis, Ecclesiarum ex more veterum celebrari in Evangelio legimus, ubi dicitur, facta sunt Encænia, &c* †. Where we have both the customs and the reasons of it, that is to say, the antient practice of Gods people amongst the *Jews*, occasionally mentioned and related too in the holy Gospell. This being repeated and applyed, we must next see by what Authority Gods people afterward proceeded on the like occasions.

* 1 King. 12 9.

†De Eccles. Officiis. l. 1. c. 3.

(3) Greater Authority we finde for the Dedication of the Tabernacle, then for the consecrating the *Grove* or *Pillar*, which before we spake of, even the command of God himself; who though he had appointed it to be made, prescribed as well the matter as the *form* thereof, descending even unto the nomination of the Workmen that were to take care of the Embroydery of it, did not think fit it should be used in his publick worship, till it had first been dedicated to that end and purpose. For thus saith God to *Moses* in the

the way of precept: *And thou shalt take the anointing Oyl and anoynt the* Tabernacle, *and all that is therein, and shalt* hallow *it, and all the Vessels thereof, and it shall be holy, and thou shalt* anoint *the* Altar *of the burnt Offering, and all his Vessels, and* sanctifie *the Altar, and it shall be an Altar most holy, &c* *. And thus did *Moses* in conformity to the Lords Commandement, of whom it is affirmed, *Thus did* Moses *according to all that the Lord commanded him, so did he* †. That is to say, he reared up the Tabernacle, and disposed of every thing therein in its proper place, *hallowing* the *Tabernacle*, and the *Altar*, and the Vessels of it as the Lord commanded, and then, and not till then, was it thought fit for the Acts of Sacrifice, and to be honoured with the presence of the Lord their God. For as it followeth in that Chapter, first *Moses* offered on the *Altar* (so prepared and consecrated) a burnt Offering and a meat Offering as the Lord commanded, v. 29. And secondly, *A cloud then covered the tent of the Congregation, and the glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle*, v. 34. No Fathers need be called in here to explain these Scriptures, which every one can understand, who is able to read them, and every one who understandeth them may conclude from hence, that God had never took such order for consecrating of the Tabernacle, the Altars and others Vessels of it, had he not meant to leave it for a Document and example to succeeding times, that no place should be used for his publique worship, till it was sanctified with prayer, and set apart by some Religious Ceremonies for that holy purpose. According to which great example we finde a solemn dedication of the Temple, when first built by *Solomon*, performed by *prayer* and Sacrifices in most solemn manner, 1 *Kings* 8. A second Dedication of it, when first restored by *Zorobabel*, in the time of *Ezra*, where it is said, That *the children of Israel, the Priests and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the Captivity kept the Dedication of this House of God with joy* *. And finally, *Josephus* telleth us, that when *Zorobabels* Temple was pulled down by *Herod*, and built again after a more magnificent manner then before it was, with what alacrity and pomp the *Jews* did celebrate the Dedication of the same †. A Temple gloriously set out to the outward view (*immensæ opulen-*

* Exo.40.9,1

† Ver. 16.

* Ezra 6.16.

† *Antiq. Juda. l.15.c.14.*

opulentiæ Templum, it is called by *Tacitus* as before was said) and dedicated by the Founder with as great magnificence, of which more hereafter. Sufficient evidence to prove, that whether the Temple be considered as a *House of prayer*, or a place for Sacrifice, it was not to be used for either, not sanctified and set apart for those holy Actions. Having thus seen what was done in those solemn Acts of Dedication, by the Lords own people, as well before as under the Law of *Moses*; let us next see how far those Actions of Gods people have been followed by the Antient *Gentiles*, who though without the Law of *Moses*, yet were instructed well enough by the light of nature, that Sacred Actions were not to be used in *unhallowed* places.

IV. (4) And here to go no further then the *Roman* story, being the best compacted, and most flourishing estate among the *Gentiles*; we have in the first Infancy thereof a Temple *dedicated* by *Romulus* unto *Jupiter Feretrius*, of which thus *Livy*. *Jupiter Feretri (inquit Romulus) hæc tibi victor Rex Regia arma fero, Templumq; iis Regionibus quas meo animo metatus sum, dedico, sedem opimis spoliis quæ Regibus Ducibusq; hostium cæsis, me Autorem sequentes posteri ferent.* Unto which words of *Romulus*, being the formall words of the Dedication, *Livy* addes his own, *Hæc Templi est origo, quod omnium primum Romæ sacratum est* *: That is to say, this the Originall of that *Temple*, which first of all was dedicated in the City of *Rome*. Concerning which, we are to know, that *Romulus* having vanquished *Tolumnius* a poor neighbouring King, in the head of his Army, and brought his Armour into *Rome* in triumphant manner, designed a *Temple* unto *Jupiter*, from hence named *Feretrius*, for the safe keeping and preserving of those glorious Spoils. And having so designed the Temple, thus bespeaks the god; *viz. O Jupiter Feretrius, I by this favour made a Conquerour, do here present unto thee these Royall Arms, and dedicate or design a* Temple *to thee in those Regions which in my minde I have marked out for that great purpose, to be a seat for those* rich Spoyls, *which Posterity following my example, having slain Kings or such as de command in chief, shall present unto thee.* Which formall words did so appropriate that place to the service of *Jupiter*, that afterwards it was not to be put unto other

* *Hist. Rom. Dec. 1. l. 1.*

other uses. This done by *Romulus* himself, but afterwards when *Numa* had brought in Religion, and that the Priesthood was established, though Kings and Consuls might design and *dedicate*, that is to say, prepare a Temple for their Gods (for so the word doth signifie in their Antient Rituals) yet the Consecration of them was appropriated to the *Pontifex maximus*, and the chief Priest did usually perform that Ceremony, as appeareth plainly by the case of *C. Flavius*. For whereas by the Lawes of *Rome* it was permitted only unto Consuls, or such as did command in chief, to erect Temples for the Gods, *Cornelius Barbatus* then chief Priest, was required by the people notwithstanding to consecrate the Temple of *Concord* built by this *Flavius* though a man of no publique office in the Common-wealth; of which *Livy* thus. *Ædem Concordiæ in area* Vulcani *summa nobilium invidia dedicavit; coactusq; consensu populi* Cornelius Barbatus *Pontifex maximus* verba præire, *cum more majorum negaret nisi Consulem aut Imperatorem posse Templum dedicare* *. Where note, that *Templum dedicare* in the Authors language, is only to erect and prepare the *Temple*, and to declare unto what Deity it was intended, which was the point that formerly hadbeen permitted only unto Kings, Consuls, and chief Commanders, and therefore not allowable to this *C. Flavius*, being a mean and private man: and then that *verba præire* to dictate or direct the words by which it was to be blessed and consecrated was the High Priests Office, which this *Cornelius Barbatus* was compelled to do by the common people, because that it was contrary to their antient custome to grant that honour to so mean a man, as this *C. Flavius*. The like performed by *Plautus Elianus* being then chief Priest of the *Romans*, in the Consecration of the Capitol, when the foundation of it was new laid in the time of *Vespasian*, of which more hereafter; and so *Vopiscus* telleth us of the Emp. *Aurelianus*, that having subdued *Zenobia* the gallant Queen of the *Palmireni*, he give order unto one of his Ministers to build a Temple with the Spoils of the conquered people: which done, he addeth, that he would write unto the Senate, *ut Pontificem mittat qui dedicet Templum* †, requiring them to send the *Pontifex* or chief Bishop, by whom it might be consecrated

* *In Hist. Rom. Decad.* 1. *l.* 9. *in fine.*

† *Fla. Vopis. in vita Aurel.*

crated accordingly. An office questionlesse which had not been appropriated to the *Pontifex maximus*, if there had not been some certain Form, some appointed Ceremonies, accustomably used in those Consecrations, which none but men of that high place were by Law to execute.

V. (5) Now that there was some certain form, some appointed Ceremonies, accustomably used by the chief Bishop upon these occasions, appeareth from that of *Pompeius Festus* an old *Grammarian*, by whom the *Latine* word *Fanum* (which signifieth a Church or Temple) is derived from *fando*; and so derived upon this reason, *quod dum Pontifex dedicat, certa verba fatur*, because the *Pontifex* or chief Priest speaketh *certain words* (that is to say, a certain and set form of words) in the Dedication. Which form of words, or some part of them at the least, together with the other Rites and Ceremonies used in those solemnities, I cannot better shew then in that Summary or Abstract of them which *Alexander ab Alexdro*, hath drawn up in this manner following. *Ea vero consecratio vel a Consule vel Imperatore accenso foculo fit, cum Tibicine*, verbis priscis & solennibus, *præeunte vero Pontifice maximo præsente carmen, capite velato & concione advocata, ac jussu populi* * : That is to say, "The Consecration was performed by the "Consul or chief Commander of the Army, a small fire in "a Pan or Chafing-dish being carryed by them, or before "them (as the use then was) the Crier with a loud voice "using the *old and solemn form of words*, as they were dictated "by the *Pontifex* or chief Priest, the *Pontifex* or chief Priest "repeating a set and certain Song with his head covered, the "whole body of the people being called together, and their "command required to make good the Acts (which last "clause touching the Authority or command of the people, "was only in the time of the Popular Government, and was "not used when the Emperours had obtained the State) And then it followeth in the Author, *Templi vero* consecratio *fiebat, ut qui Templum ædemve* dedicaturus *erat, postem tenens accenso foculo, &* advocato Numine *cui Templum ædesve sacrantur, &c.* That is to say, "Which done, the *consecration* was "dispatched in this manner following, the Founder of the "Temple (for so I understand the word *Dedicaturus* in the "present

* *Genial. Dier. lib.6.c.14.*

"present place) laying fast hold on one of the Posts or Pil-
"lars of it, with a small fire-pan in his hand, as before was
"said, and calling on the Deity to whom the House or
"Temple was by him intended, did openly declare, *that he exempted from the right of men, and all profane and common usage, the Temple, Tables, Volts, and Altars, and all things which pertained unto them*, (the *Latine* of which words we have seen before) *eaq*; conceptis verbis *ipsi Numini* (tunc Numen nominat) *divina humanaq; omnia, consecrare.* "And that he dedicated and ap-
"propriated to that sacred Deity (which Deity he then also
"named) those and all other both Divine and Humane
"things, in expresse words framed and premeditated for that
"purpose. The like hath *Servius* noted on these words of *Virgil, In medio mihi Cæsar erit, Templumq; tenebit*, that is, saith he, *I will bestow this Temple on him*, the Author using in this place a word or term frequent in the *Pontificall* of the antient *Romans*, or such a word as the *Roman Pontifex* did use in those Dedications *. *Nam qui Templum dicabat* postem tenens *dare se dicebat Numini, quod ab illo necesse fuerat jam teneri, & ab humano jure discedere. i. e.* "For he that was to dedicate the
"Temple, *laying hold on one of the Posts or Pillars of it*, declared
"that he bestowed it upon the Deity, which by that Deity
"was even then to be holden and enjoyed, and to be aliena-
"ted for ever from the right of man. Where by the way, this holding of the Post or Pillar by the Founder, was in the name of the very *Numen*, to whom the Temple was intended; and was like the holding the Ring or Key of the Church doore, by him that is inducted to the cure of Souls, whereby he takes possession of it in the name of God. I have laid down these passages at large in the words of the Author, that we may see, that there were *verba prisca & solennia*, an antient and set form of words accustomably used in those Consecrations; though the whole form, and all the *solemn words* which were used therein are no where extant in my Authors for ought I can finde.

* *Georg. l. 3.*

(6) We are now come unto the *Christians*, where we shall finde, that from their first having the use of Churches to assemble in, the Dedications of those Churches were in use amongst them. And first St. *Cyril*, a right godly Bishop of VI.

Jerusalem, speaks of a Church in that City, called commonly *the upper Church of the Apostles*, not called so because dedicated to them, but because dedicated by them: and therefore said by *Beda*, to be *Ecclesia ab Apostolis fundata*, of the foundation of the blessed Apostles, because being given to them, for the use of the Church, it was by them dedicated and appropriated to Gods publique service. Of this we have spoke more at large in the last Section of the fifth Chapter of this Narration, and therefore shall not here repeat it. In the next Century we finde Pope *Pius* writing thus in an Epistle to *Justus Viennensis* a chief friend of his in the yeer 158. or thereabouts. *Soror nostra* Euprepeia (*sicut bene recordaris*) *titulum domus suæ pauperibus assignavit*; *ubi nunc cum pauperibus nostris commorantes*, Missas *agimus* *. Our sister *Euprepeia* hath turned her house into a Church (remember what was said of this, in the last Section of the sixth Chapter) for the use of the poor servants of Christ, where now abiding with our said poor Brethren, we celebrate the Masse or Sacrament of the blessed Supper. And in another Epistle to the same *Justus*, thus. *Pastor Presbyter* Titulum *condidit & digne in Domino obiit*: That is to say, *Pastor* the Priest or Presbyter, hath built a Church, and so died worthily in the Lord. Why we have rendred *Titulus* by the word Church, and how those places being at first but private houses, were turned into Churches for publick use, we shall see anon, in the mean time we may take notice, that neither of these two Epistles have hitherto been questioned by our modern *Criticks*, nor ranked amongst those counterfeit *Decretals*, whose authority hath been so deservedly abrogated by the learned *Protestants*. In the next Century after him lived *Felix* the first, who entred on the See of *Rome*, *An.* 272. and not long after him lived *Marcellinus*, succeeding in the same See, *An.* 296. of the first of which it is affirmed by *Metaphrastes*, that he consecrated the house of *Cecilia*, and of the second by *Damasus*, that he consecrated the house of *Lucina*, making them thereby Churches (or places of Religious worship) for the use of Christians. But these being times of persecution, afford us not so clear nor so frequent evidences, as the Age next following; in which the first glad sight which the Christians saw

* *Pius* P. *ad Just Vienn.*

saw were the *Encænia*, the Dedication of those Churches, which either had been taken from them, and profaned by Idolatry, or otherwise were laid waste, and made unserviceable in those fiery times. No man more forward in this work then the Emperour *Constantine*, who having founded the Temple of the holy Martyrs in *Jerusalem*, prepared himself for the *ENCÆNIA* or Dedication of the same: Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τῶν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μαρτύρων, &c. as in the Title of the fourth Chapter *de Laud. Constant. Eusebius* hath it *. Thus *Athanasius* writing unto the Emperour *Constantius*, and speaking of a Church not consecrated, prayeth that the Emperour might live to see it done, and celebrate the Ceremonies of it. *Tu tamen interim Deo dilectissime* Auguste *vivas multos annorum recursus, & solennia Dedicationis perficias*, as the *Latine* hath it †. Thus not to wander into more particulars in these *Eastern* Churches, the Author of the *Panegyrick* in *Eusebius* telleth us once for all, that never any King but *Christ* had filled all Countries and Cities of the World with these Dedications. *Quis Rex, &c. omnem locum, Regionem & Civitatem, tam Græcum quam* Barbaricum, *regalibus suis Palatiis, divinorumq; Templorum Consecrationibus adimplevit*? as the words there are *. A matter judged so necessary in those yeerly times, that the *Arians* charged it as a grievous crime on *Athanasius*, that he had celebrated Divine service in a Church not consecrated; for which he thus Apologizeth to the angry Emperour. *Encæniorum Festum non celebravimus religiosissime Auguste, &c.* And so proceeds, shewing the necessity, which did enforce him to do; namely, the incapacity of all other Churches thereabouts to receive the multitudes then assembled, the unresistable importunity of the people, and such other impulsions. The like cleer evidence we have for the *Western* Churches, there being a Sermon of St. *Ambrose*, entituled *De Dedicatione Basilicæ* †, preached at the Dedication of a Church built by *Vitalianus* and *Majanus*, the ground of his discourse taken from the good *Centurion*, of whom the *Jews* told our Saviour in St. *Lukes* Gospel, *that he loved their Nation, and had built them a Synagogue* *. The same Father writing to his Sister, speaks of a Church which himself had consecrated, *Nam cum Basilicam Dedicassem, &c* †. And writing unto *Felix* Bishop of *Como*, invites him to the *consecration* of a Church then newly built by

* *de laud. Const. l.4.c. 40.*

† *Athan. Apol. ad Constant.*

* *Euseb. l. 10. c. 4.*

† *Ambros. Serm. 89.*

* Luk. 7. 5.

† *Ambros Epist. lib. 10. Ep. 85.*

by one *Bassianus*, requiring him not to fail of his being there, in regard that he had promised for him, *Ne duos Sacerdotes redarguas, te qui non affueris, & me qui tam facile promiserim* *. The like authority we have from *Paulinus* also, another Bishop of those times, invited by *Sulpitius Severus* his especial friend, *Ad Basilicam quæ proxime in nomine Domini consummabitur, dedicandum*†. To be present at the dedicating of a Church of his foundation, as soon as it was finished, and made fit for those sacred Ceremonies. More of this Argument, both in the *East* and *Western* Churches we shall see hereafter, when we are come to the magnificent Feasts and great Solemnities used antiently by the Christians in these Consecrations.

* *Id. Epis.* 5. *l.* 1.

† *Paulin. Nol. Epist.* 11.

VII. (7) In the mean time, as well for the better understanding of somewhat which was said before, and of some things that follow after, there are two words, that is to say, the *Titulus* of the *Romans*, and the *Encænia* of the *Greeks*, to be considered and explained. The word *Titulus* in the former Section we have rendred *Church*, according to the *Ecclesiasticall* notion of it: Churches being called *Tituli* by the *Roman* Christians of those times, either because by their *Dedication* the name of Christ our Lord was as it were inscribed upon them (as the manner then was to set the names or Titles of the owners upon their houses and possessions) or because they gave a Title of Care or Denomination to the Presbyters who officiated in them, and to whose charge they were committed at that time, as they do now unto the Cardinalls in the Church of *Rome*. Thus *Platina* saith of *Evarist* (he succeeded in the See of *Rome*, *An.* 122.) *Titulos in urbe Romana Presbyteris divisit* *. That he assigned unto the Presbyters or Priests of *Rome* their severall Churches: the *Roman Presbyters* till that time officiating in their turns, or as their Bishop did appoint them, in the Church Episcopal. Thus are we to understand that passage of *Rabbanus Maurus* (cited in the last Section of our first Chapter) where speaking of *Jacobs* anointing the *Pillar*, he telleth us of him, *erexit Lapidem in* Titulum, *vocans eum locum domum Dei*, that by so doing he erected the Pillar into a consecrated place or Church, calling it by the name of *Bethel* or the house of God†. His meaning is, that by the anoynting of this Pillar, the place did after get the Title of a Church, or reputation of a Temple, by the name of *Bethel*. And thus we are

* *Plat. in vit. Evarist.*

† *De Institut. Cleric. l.* 1. *c.* 14.

are to understand that passage in the Canon Law, in which it is decreed, that Bishops shall admit none into holy Orders, *sine merito & Titulo*, that is to say, not being sufficiently qualified in respect of merit, and not provided of some Church to officiate in. For should the word *Titulus* be interpreted of any Academicall or Civil Title, any man graduated in the Universities, or dignified with the Title of Gent. Esquire, &c. and otherwise of sufficiency in point of learning, might challenge *Orders* from the Bishop, which was the thing the Canon did purposely strike at, the better to prevent the multitude of wandring Clerks, who having no Churches of their own, would thrust themselves into other mens Cures, to the dishonour of their Order, the great disturbance of the Church, and the confusion of all sacred and spirituall Offices. What inconveniences the grosse neglect of this prudent Canon hath brought upon the Church in these latter times, *Notius est quam ut stilo egeat*, is too well known to be related. And finally, thus the word *Titulus* must be understood in the two Epistles of Pope *Pius*, which before we spake of according to the Ecclesiasticall notion of it in those elder times. The next word here to be explained, is the *Greek* ἐγκαίνια, promiscuously used both for the Act and Ceremonies of the *Dedication*, and for the celebration of the Feasts of such Dedications, either once or annually. The word derived from ἐγκαινίζω, which is to consecrate and devote to an holy use; and it is so taken in the 9 Chapter to the *Heb.* v. 19. where it is said, ὅθεν οὐδὲ ἡ πρώτη χωὶς αἵματος ἐγκεκαίνισται. In the first institution of which Festivall, as it related to the *Jewes*, in the Book of *Maccabees*, the dayes thereof are called, αἱ ἡμέραι ἐγκαινισμοῦ θυσιαστηρίου *, *the dayes of the Dedication of the Altar.* But in the Gospel of S. *John*, in one word, ἐγκαίνια, i. e. *Encænia*, for so both *Beza* and the vulgar translation read it; the word as it denoteth both the Dedication, and the Festivals of it, being continued long after in the Church of Christ. A word so frequently used by the old *Greek* Fathers, that it occurreth no lesse then seven times in one Column of the *Greek*, and *Latine* Edition of *Athanasius*, that is to say, in his Apology to *Constantius* the then *Roman* Emperour †. More of this we shall see hereafter in some following Sections. Now I note only for the close, that the

* *Macca.* 4. 59.

† *Athan. Tom.* 1. *fol.* 685.

Dedication of Churches or places for Religious Worship, hath all the characters of Antiquity, universality and consent of people: *Semper, ubique, & ab omnibus*, as *Vincentius Lerinensis* hath it, which are required unto the knowledge or notification of an Apostolicall Tradition, as this seems to be.

VIII. (8) Our second rank of Arguments to prove the high esteem which the *Dedication* of sacred places had in former times, is taken from the great Solemnities, the generall Concourse of people, the magnificent Feasts, used antiently by all sorts of men on those occasions. First look upon the Dedication of *Solomons* Temple, and we shall finde, that there assembled at that time, and on that occasion, *the Elders of Israel, and all the heads of the Tribes, the chief of the Fathers of the children of Israel*, 1 King. 8 1. All the men of *Israel*, v. 2. the *Priests* and *Levites*, v. 4. Nor were the sacrifices short of this great Assembly, it being said, that *Solomon sacrificed to the Lord* 22000 Oxen and 120000. Sheep, v. 63. so many that they could not be told nor numbred for multitude, v. 5. Here is sufficient not only for a solemn Sacrifice, but a Royall Feast, sufficient for the entertainment of a million of people, and such a Royall Feast indeed was made by *Solomon*, to adde the greater honour to the Dedication of that glorious Temple. For so it followeth in the Text. *And at that time* Solomon *held a Feast and all Israel with him, a great Congregation, from the entring in of* Hamath, *unto the River of* Egypt, *before the Lord our God seven dayes and seven*
* 1 King. 8. 65. *dayes, even fourteen dayes* *. The second Temple, as it was short of this in bignesse and externall beauties, for which see Ezr. c. 3. v. 12. so fell it short also in the Pomps of the Dedication, the people being then in a low condition, impoverished by their long Captivity, and not fully setled. And yet the Scripture doth inform us, *That the children of* Israel, *the Priests and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the Captivity, kept the* Dedication *of this house of God with joy. And offered at the* Dedication *of this house of God, an hundred Bullocks, two hundred Rams, and four*
† Ezr. 6. 16, 17. *hundred Lambs* † Far short indeed of the magnificence of *Solomons* in those glorious dayes, described so fully in the 4 of the 1 of *Kings*, and yet agreeable enough to their present fortunes, as before was noted. Of the Solemnities and Feasts of the Dedication in the time of *Judas Maccabeus*, we have spoke already,

ready, and shall speak more thereof anon, that being the Originall of the like Annuall Feasts in the Church of Christ. Proceed we next unto the Dedication of this Temple when new built by *Herod*, of which *Josephus* telleth us thus. Τῷ θεῷ τὰς εὐχαριστίας ἐποιοῦντο, ἑορτάζοντες καὶ καταστεφανοῦντες τὸν ἀνάκτορον. That is to say, *They celebrated a great Feast in honour of the restauration of the Temple* *. Which being told us in the generall, he next after addeth, "That the King offered 300. Oxen unto "God, and the rest of them, each one according to his ability "offered so many Sacrifices, as that scarcely they may be com- "prehended in number, for that their multitude exceeded "their estimate. The *Romans* guided by example or the light of nature, performed these Dedications with as great solemnity, (and probably with as sumptuous Feasts) as the *Jewes* had done in the times before them. Concerning which, besides what hath been said already, we need but look upon the Dedication of the Capitol, in the time of *Vespasian*; the pomp and order of it thus described by *Tacitus*, first in the way of Preamble or preparation. *Undecimo Kal.* Julias, *serena luce, spatium omne quod Templo dicabatur, evinctum vittis Coronisq;. Ingressi milites, quibus fausta omina, felicibus Ramis. Dein* Virgines vestales, *cum pueris puellisq; Patrimis Matrimisq;, aqua rivis & fontibus amnibusq; hausta perluere* †. That is to say, On the 11th "of the Kalends of *July*, or 21. of *June*, being a goodly fair "day, the whole Plot of the Temple was bound and tied a- "bout with Fillets and Garlands. The Souldiers whose "names had lucky significations, entred in with Olive bran- "ches in their hands (for so I think the Author meaneth by "*felicibus ramis*). Afterward the vestall Virgins, with Boyes "and Girles that had both father and mother alive, washed "it with waters fetched from Rivers, and Springs and run- "ning streams. It followeth in the Author, *Tum Helvidius "Priscus Prætor* præeunte *Plauto Eliano* Pontifice, *lustrata Bove "Taurisq; area* (or rather *suovetaurilibus area*) *&c.* Then "*Helvidius Priscus* the Prætor, *Plautus Elianus* the chief *Ponti- "fex* dictating the solemn words of the Dedication (for so I "understand the word *præeunte* in that place) hallowed the "Floore with a solemn sacrifice of a *Swine*, a *Sheep*, and a *Bul- "lock*, and laying the Entrails upon a green Turf, calling first upon

* *Joseph. l. 15. c. 14.*

† *Cor. Tacit. hist. l. 4.*

"upon *Jupiter*, *Juno*, *Minerva*, and the rest of the Gods Pro-
"tectors of the Empire, *That they would prosper the work, exalt*
"*and advance this their own habitation, begun by the devotion of men,*
"*with their divine and celestiall power*, the Magistrates, and Priests,
"the Senate and Gentlemen, with a great part of the people
"pressing with great desire and joy, to behold the Ceremo-
"nies. And though this seemeth to be the Dedication only of the *Area* or Plot of ground, on which the *Capitol* was built, yet it shews very plainly withall, with what solemnity and pomp of Ceremonies the antient *Romans* used to celebrate their Dedications.

(9.) But for the Christians it is evident and cleer enough, that they were no sooner freed from the tyranny of persecution, in the time of *Constantine*, but they kept those Dedications, as with great solemnities, so also with magnificent Feastings, called therefore ἐγκαινίων ἑορταὶ, Dedication Feasts *; celebrated with a great concourse of Prelates and people from all parts, and solemnized with publique Prayers and eloquent Orations; one of which is exstant still in *Eusebius*, *hist. Eccl. lib.* 10 *cap.* 4. So when the Emperour *Constantine* had founded the Temple of the holy Martyrs in *Hierusalem*, he prepared himself for the ἐγκαίνια, or Dedication of the same, inviting thereunto most of the famous Prelates of those parts, all which he entertained and feasted in a sumptuous manner. Which with the pomp and other the solemnities of the Dedication, see in *Eusebius*, *de laudibus Constantini*, lib. 4. chap. 40. 43, 44, 45. as also in *Theodoret*, hist. Eccl. lib. 1. c. 31. To this *Nicephorus* thus addeth, *Erat is decimus quartus* Septembris *dies, qui ab eo tempore in Ecclesia* Hierosolymitana *quotannis, publice ab omnibus Festus & celebris agitatus est, octo ex ordine diebus conventibus celebrandis*, as *Langius* the Translator reads it, for I have not the Originall now by me †. It was, saith he, the 14 day of *September*, which from that time forwards was annually kept holy in the Church of *Jerusalem*, by all sorts of people; the Church being then assembled in an holy Congregation, for eight dayes together. But this belongs more properly to another place, and there we shall again meet with it. Nor was the Ceremony or Religious part of these Dedications performed with lesse solemnity then with joy and Feasting; that

* *Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib.* 10 *c.* 3.

† *Hist. Eccl. l.* 8 *c.* 50.

that part thereof belonging antiently to the Bishop, as proper and peculiar to him, and not communicable unto any of inferiour Orders; and that as well to adde the greater reputation to that sacred Action, as to preserve the dignity and esteem of the Episcopall calling; and of this the Dedication of a Church in *Millain*, by St. *Ambrose* Bishop of that City spoken of before, may be a very fit example, as indeed it is. A matter of so high repute, that the Popes at last began to draw it to themselves, that so they might the better correspond in all manner of Prerogative with the old *Pontifex maximus* in the time of the *Romans*. For thus *Gelasius*, who entred on the Popedom, *An.* 492. *Nobis patefactum est, quod absque præcepto sedis* Apostolicæ, *non nulli factas Ecclesias, vel Oratoria sacrare præsumant* * : We are informed, saith he, that some amongst you do presume to *consecrate* Churches and Oratories, without the leave and licence of the See *Apostolick*. Which is to be understood with reference to the Bishop of the *Roman Patriarchate*, which properly and Originally were under his jurisdiction, as their proper Primate, and not to any other Bishops of *Italy* much lesse of *France*, *Illyricum*, or remoter Countreys: and so we are to understand him in his first Epistle, inscribed to the Bishops of *Lucania*, another of the *Suburbicarian* Provinces, which made up that Patriarchate, in which he positively declareth, *Ne quis Ecclesias, non petitis pro more præceptionibus*, consecrare *audeat*, that none of them should consecrate any new built Church, without leave from him according to the antient custome; where we may note, that this restraint or prohibition, was layd upon the Bishops only, as they who only in themselves, were capable of officiating in that sacred Action. And being it was a sacred Action, and such an Action as was to be performed by none but Bishops in their severall charges, I cannot doubt but that there was some set and appointed form, in which that Action was then celebrated by those reverend persons; though what that form was, of what particular Ceremonies, what prayers and benedictions it did then consist, I have not found amongst the Authors of those times, at least in such unquestioned Authors, as I dare relie on.

* *De Consec. lib. cap.* 27.

X. (10) Our third and last rank of Arguments to prove the great esteem in which these Dedications were held of old, is the observing of those Feasts annually in their severall courses, which had been once celebrated in the honour of so great a work. To this, the first hint given in the state of *Jewry*, was that of *Judas Maccabeus*, who having kept the Dedication of the Altar eight dayes together, ordained, that the dayes of the Dedication of the Altar, should be kept in their season from yeer to yeer, by the space of eight dayes &c *. The like done also by the *Romans* in the time of their *Gentilisme*; which, whether it were done in imitation of the *Jews*, or that the *Jews* took up this custome to hold conformity with the *Romans*, (who then were grown considerable in the eye of the world) it is hard to say. But for the *Romans* sure it is, that they observed the *Anniversary* of many of their Dedications in a festivall way; whereof, if we consult the *Roman* Kalender, we shall finde them thus disposed of in their severall Moneths. *Jan.* 11. *Carmentalia, Juturnæ ædes dicata in Campo Martio.* 16. *Concordiæ Templum a Camillo ex voto positum. Febru.* 1. *Sospite Templi dicatio. May* 25. *Templum Fortunæ datum. Jun.* 1. *Monetæ ædis Dedicatio.* 4. *Herculis ædes in Circo.* 5. *Templum fidei sponsoris Jovis.* 6. *Vestæ Templum dicatum.* 7. *Mentis Templum dicatum.* 28. *Quirini Templum in colle Quirino. August* 1. *Consecratio Templi Martis. Sept.* 14. *Capitolii Dedicatio ab Horatio.* This was before the rebuilding of it by *Vespasian.* These *Dedication Feasts*, are specified, as before is said, in the *Roman* Kalender, as being generally observed. And others questionlesse, there were, of inferiour note, peculiar only unto certain Provinces and Cities, and not so universally received, as the former were. And here we must observe withall, that all the Dedications mentioned in the Kalender, are put down as Festivalls, and not as memorable Actions hapning on such and such a day, as some may possibly conceive. For *Dempster* in his Comment upon the Kalender reckoneth them every one as *Annuall* Festivalls, and gives this Title to the Moneths in their severall order. *De Januario & ejus diebus Festis, de Februario & ejus diebus Festis, & sic de cæteris:* Besides that all of them are accompted such by *Ovid*, in his Book *de Fastis.* So fre-

* Maccab. c. 4. v. 56. 59.

frequent were those Festivals amongst the *Romans*, and so Religiously observed both by *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

(11) And being thus Religiously observed by the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, it is the lesse to be admired, if the Christians being a Church made up of both, did observe them also; grounding themselves especially upon the practice of the *Jews*, countenanced by our blessed Saviour, to which the observation of them is ascribed by *Isidore*, as before was noted, or had not *Isidore* given it for the ground thereof in the way of *Position*, we might have found it well enough by the first example of this kinde in the way of *practice*. The first Anniversary Feast of this nature which we finde in Ecclesiastical History is that of the 14. of *September*, held *Annually* in *Jerusalem* (as before was told us from *Nicephorus*) in memory of the Dedication of the Church of the holy Martyrs, so solemnly celebrated by the Emperour *Constantine*; and held by them eight dayes together without intermission; which was as much as had been done in the *Encænia* of the *Jews*, before remembred, proposed (no question) for their pattern in that Annuall Festivall. The like occurreth in *Greg. Nazianz.* ἐγκαινία τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος, &c. *De Encæniis honorandis lex vetus est, eaq; præclare constituta, vel potius de Templis* (and not *de rebus novis*, as it is foolishly translated) *per Encænia honore complectendis*. Not once for all, but every yeer by way of *Annuall* remembrance. For so it followeth in the Author, καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, *Idque non semel tantum verum sæpius, nimirum qualibet anni conversione diem eundem advebente* *; where we may see, that as they kept these Feasts Annually, on the same day of the yeer, so they pretended to that Institution of the *Maccabees* for the ground thereof. The Father addeth a further reason. *Ne alioqui res pulchræ progressu temporis evanescant, atque oblivionis gurgite obscuratæ dilabantur*; lest otherwise such famous things might be forgotten in long tract of time, and be at last quite buryed in the grave of oblivion. There are also two Sermons of St. *Austins*, entituled, *in Anniversario Dedicationis Ecclesiæ*, being the 152. and 153. of those *De tempore*. And howsoever that these Sermons inscribed *De Tempore*, have been suspected by the learned *Criticks* of this

XI.

* *Orat.* 43. *in initio.*

Age, not to be St. *Austins*; yet *Perkins* running them over in particular, makes no exception against them, or either of them; neither do any other of the Protestant Doctors, as appeareth by *Rivet* in his *Specimen Critici Sacri*, lib. 4. c. 16. This makes it cleer and evident, that these Anniversary Feasts were not taken up on the Authority of Pope *Felix* the fourth, (as some untruly have suggested) who came not to the See of *Rome* untill the yeer 520. many years after the decease of *Gregory Nazianzen*, and some yeers also after the death of St. *Augustine*, though true it is, that by the Authority of that Pope, they became more frequent then they had been formerly, there being a Decretall to that purpose, published by him in the words ensuing. *Solennitates dedicationum Ecclesiarum & sacerdotum solenniter sunt per singulos annos celebrandæ, ipso* Domino *exemplum dante*, &c. The feasts of the Dedication of Churches, and consecration of Bishops (for so we understand by *Sacerdotes* in that place and time) are to be celebrated yeerly according to the Lords example, who went up to *Jerusalem* with the rest of the people, to solemnize the Feast of the Dedication, as the Scripture telleth us. Where we may see, that the Pope builds not this injunction on his own sole power, but as that power was countenanced by our Saviours practise. And now I am gone a little beyond my bounds (that is to say, the death of St. *Augustine*) to which I had limited my self, I shall make bolde, to pursue this Argument so far, till I have brought these Dedication Feasts to our present times. For *Felix* having made the Decretall before remembred, found such conformity thereunto in the *Western* Churches, that in the Councel of *Mentz*, *An.* 813. there was made a Catalogue of the Festivall dayes, which generally were then observed, as *Easter*, the *Ascension*, *Whitsuntide*, &c. and in the close of all, *similiter etiam Dedicatio Templi*; where plainly the *Encænia* or Dedication Feasts of particular Churches, is placed in no lower rank, as it relates to the solemnity of the same, then *Easter*, *Whitsuntide*, or any other of the greater and more eminent Festivalls. The like was also done, in the Councell of *Lyons*, *An.* 1244. where we shall finde a larger Catalogue of Holy-dayes, then we had before,

before, there being many added since the Councell of *Mentz*. And in that Catalogue of the Feasts or Festivall dayes, the Dedication Feasts of particular Churches, stand in the same tearms as before they did, whereof see the Decretall, *de Consecratione, Dist* 3. c. 1.

(12) Now to come nearer to our selves (that I may give some satisfaction in this point to those who desire it of me) there was a Councell held at *Oxon. An* 1222. where amongst other Ordinances tending to the good Government of the Church, the Festivalls were divided into three severall ranks. In the first rank whereof were those, *quæ omni veneratione servanda erant*, which were to be observed with all reverence and solemnity. Of the which sort were *omnes dies Dominici*, and all the other Festivals, yet observed amongst us, together with many Festivals of the Blessed Virgin, which we keep not now; and in conclusion, *Festum Dedicationis Ecclesiæ cujuslibet in sua Parochia*, Feasts of the Dedication of particular Churches, which in their severall Parishes were to be observed, with the same reverence and solemnity which the others were. So also in a Synod of Archbishop *Islips* †, who was promoted to that See, *An.* 1349. it was decreed, that on the principal Feasts there named, there should be a more strict and precise restraint from work and labour, then had been before. And among them we finde the Dedication Feasts of particular Churches, to be as high in their esteem, as any of the greater Festivals. By that which hath been said, it appeareth most evident, that the Dedication Feast was to be Annually observed in each severall Parish, and that it was to be observed as solemnly, as any of the greater Festivals; and that it was to be observed and celebrated on that very day of the week, moneth, and yeer, whereon the Church was consecrated at the first. Which being found to draw along with it no small inconvenience, it pleased King *Henry* 8. *An* 1536. to send out his Injunctions, amongst other things for restraint of Holy-dayes. In which Injunctions that which doth most concern this businesse, are these two particulars. 1. That the *Dedication* of Churches shall in all places throughout this Realm, be cele-

XII.

* *Lindwood.*

† *Lind. lib.* 2. *tit. de feriis.*

celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the moneth of *October* for ever, and upon no other day. 2. That the Feast of the Patron of every Church within this Realm, called antiently the Church Holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed, as an Holy-day, as heretofore hath been used. But that it shall be lawfull to all and singular persons, resident or dwelling within this Realm, to go to their work, occupation, or mystery, and the same truly to exercise, and occupy upon the said Feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said Feast or Church Holy-day be such, as must be else universally observed and kept as an Holy day, by this Ordinance following *. Now how far these Injunctions were observed in these particulars, whether they determined on the death of the Lord *Cromwell*, by whose authority in the Convocation House they were first set out, and recommended to the King, I am not able to determine upon any certain. But forasmuch as I am able to conjecture, by my own observation, or collect from conference with old people, I think the point may thus be stated. That is to say, that in such places where the day of the Dedication of the severall Churches, or the Church Holy-day, as they call it now, be worn out of memory, they either are observed, on the first Sunday in *October*, or the next Sunday after *Michaelmas* day (which is called the *Festum Dedicationis Ecclesiæ* in the *Martyrologie*) or not kept at all. But where there is any constant Tradition of the day or time of the Dedication of particular Churches, or of the Festivals of that Patron, or Tutelary Saint, to whose name or memory (according to the custome of those darker times) the said Churches had been formerly dedicated; in all such places, as I take it, the Festivals have been transferred to the Sunday following, and then observed with great joy and cheerfullnesse, in liberall entertainments, harmlesse sports, and manlike exercises. And in this estate they did continue in many parts of this Realm, by the name of the *Feasts* or *Wakes* of such and such places respectively, till the precisenesse of some Ministers, and the severity of some Magistrates, prohibiting all lawfull Recreations on the Lords day brought them both out

* Acts and Monu. part 2. p. 387.

out of use and credit; which gave occasion to the King to revive the Declaration of King *James*, touching lawfull Sports, and thereby to restore those Feasts to their former frequency; for which consult his Majesties Declaration, bearing date the 18. of *October*, in the 9 year of his Reign, *An.* 1633. But it is time to close this Corollary (somewhat extravagant I confesse, but not impertinent altogether to my main design) and therewithall to conclude this Narrative of *Liturgies* and *set forms of worship*; to the officiating whereof Churches, and Churches Dedicated, are of so great use.

XIII. (13) Thus have I drawn together for the *publick* use, what I have met withall, concerning *Liturgies* and *set formes* of *publick* worship: that so it may appear to the *sober Reader*, how much some men have laboured to abuse the world, in making them the off-spring of the latter times. By this, the *sober Reader* may perceive, if he list to see it, that to *draw the line of Liturgie so high*, as from the very times of *Moses*, is nothing so *unparalleld a discourse* as some men have made it *: and that there were such *stinted Liturgies* as that for which the Church of *England* pleadeth, in *Tertullians* time, and some time before; how strange soever they have made it. This, if it be made good, it is all I look for; because I did propose no further in the undertaking. My purpose only was, to draw down the descent and petigree of *Liturgies* and *set forms* of *publick* worship, as farre as any of the *Jewish* or our *Christian* Antiquaries, could conduct me in it (taking the practise of the *Gentiles* in, upon the by): without descending to particulars, either this, or that. Not that I think the *Liturgie* of the Church of *England* may not be justified and approved in all parts thereof, in all the *Offices* and *ministrations* comprehended in it; or that it may not easily be proved to be truely *Christian* †, and to have nothing *Roman* in the whole composure: but that I should but *actum agere*, and fall upon a point already handled. The learned pains of our *incomparable Hooker* in this very kinde, made up of so much modesty and judgement as that whole work is; hath took off long since those exceptions, which had been made against

* *Smectymn.* p. 6.

† Humble Remonstrance, p. 13.

against the severall *Offices*, and whole *course* thereof, by those unquiet spirits who first moved these *controversies*. Who so desires a thorow *indication* of it, both for form and matter, he may finde it there. This which is done, in all humility I tender to the acceptation of all Orthodox and Religious men, whose service it was principally intended for: and next to the censure of the Supream Powers, before whose *Barre* the cause of *Liturgie* is brought to receive its sentence. If it can *balance* with the one, it cannot but do *service* to the other, in preservation of that *form* and *order* which hath made her *glorious*. However I have done my *duty*, humbly submitting the successe to *Almighty God*, to whom be praise and glory now and evermore.

A BRIEF DISCOURSE

TOUCHING

The *FORM of PRAYER* appointed to be uſed by *PREACHERS* before their *Sermons*, CAN. 55.

By *PETER HEYLYN*, D.D.

MAT. 6. 9.

After this manner therefore pray ye.

LONDON,

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *Henry Seile*. 1657.

The Preface.

IT was about the yeer 1636. when the unlicenſed Preſſe, which had been almoſt out of work ſince the time of the old *Martin Mar-prelat*, began to teem again with a new brood of libellous Pamphlets, the *Females of Sedition*, as a learned Gentleman truely calls them; in which the Biſhops were reproached with *innovating* in the worſhip of God, here by Law eſtabliſhed, in order to ſome dark deſign to bring in *Popery*. The antient uſages of the Church, grounded on *Law*, required by *Canon*, and authorized by the ſtamp of Supream *authority*, had lien ſo long under the Rubbiſh of neglect and diſcontinuance, by the remiſneſſe

(to ſay no worſe of it) of the former Government, that the endeavour of reducing them to uſe and practiſe, was forthwith clamorouſly branded with the odious name of an *Innovation*; though when it came unto the triall, the Innovation lay at their doors who had raiſed the clamor. Amongſt which *Innovations* ſo uujuſtly charged, there was none made a greater and more generall noiſe, then the requiring *a ſet Form of Prayer to be uſed by Preachers before their Sermons*; imputed by *H. E.* to the late Archb as an act of his, and yet confeſſed ſo much he was tranſported by his ſpleen and paſſion) to be preſcribed in the Canon of 603 full 30. years before that Prelate had attained the See of *Canterbury*.

During theſe heats, I was requeſted by the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Biſhop of *W.* to eaſe him

him of ſome pains, in ſearching into the conſtant practice of this Church ſince the Reformation as to that particular; as alſo to conſider of the grounds and motives which might induce the Biſhops of thoſe times to compoſe the Canon, in which that Form had been preſcribed; that having ſatisfied himſelf in all points which concerned that Argument (towards which my poor endeavours were not likely to contribute much) he might with greater confidence require the Clergy of his Dioceſſe to conform unto it. An employment which I undertook with a ready cheerfulneſſe, as one that had been alwayes trained up in the School of obedience, and looked upon the juſt motions of my Superiors as in the nature of commands. What ſatisfaction this diſcourſe then gave unto his Lordſhip, I forbear to adde, and what content-

ment it may give to the Reader now, I forbear to guesse. The fate of books depends not in these times, as in those before, on the capacity of the Reader, but on his private interesse, so as it is not to be hoped that such as are approved by some, will be liked of all, though most of those who may mislike can give no sufficient reason for it. All therefore which I have to doe, is to submit it to the judgement of the equal and unbyassed Reader, from whom I am as willing to receive satisfaction in any controverted point, as to use my best endeavours to give it to him. And so good Reader, I conclude with those words of the Poet,

Tu vero, si quid novisti rectius istis,
Candidus imperti; si non, his utere mecum.

That is to say,

If thou hast better reasons, lend me thine,
Or otherwise make bold with these of mine.

The

The Contents of the Sections.

(20) Bid-

A

A BRIEF DISCOURSE,

Touching the form of Prayer appointed to be used by Preachers before the Sermon.

CANON 55.

INventæ erant Epistolæ, ut certiores faceremus absentes, si quid esset quod eos scire, aut nostrum, aut ipsorum, interesset. Epistles were devised, as *Tully* writes to *Curio*, to this end and purpose, that we might certifie the absent, of those things which are most proper for their knowledge, and our relation; They are our Messengers for love, our Posts for business, our Agents in the managing and dispatch of the weightiest Affairs, such as most nearly do concern us; which being a chief Use, and Benefit of *Letters*, no marvail, if they have been used in all former ages, not only to maintain an intercourse between friends in point of *amity*, but to lay down in them our resolutions, as occasion is, in point of *controversy*. The severall writings in this kind of the antient Authors, as well the *Christian*, as the *Gentile*, what are they, but so many precepts & directions, by which to regu-

late our *conversations*; or reasons, and authorities on the which to rest our *Iudgements*. Upon which ground, (my most honoured Lord,) I have adventured to declare by this way of letter, what I have found upon due search, in answer to the proposition, which your Lordship recommended to me, touching the form of prayer appointed in the Canon to be used by Preachersc before the Sermon: Of which, such question hath been made in these busie times, whether it ought to be by way of *invocation*, as a formall prayer; or else by way of *exhortation*, as a *bidding* of prayer: for resolution of the which, I shall first lay down the very *Canon*, and after briefly shew unto you, what is most like to be the true intention of it, out of the publike monuments of this Church, and constant practice of those men, who are above exception for the point in hand, and also by such other pregnant reasons, as I have thought most proper to confirm the same.

(2) Now for the title of the *Canon* it runs thus; *Can.* 55. *The form of a prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermons*; the body of it, Is this.

"Before all Sermons, Lectures, and Homilies, Preach-
" ers, and Ministers shall *move* the people to joyn with them
" in Prayer, in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as con-
" veniently they may: Yee shall pray for *Christs* holy *Catho-*
" *lick* Church, that is, for the whole congregation of
" *Christian* people dispersed through the whole world, and
" especially for the Churches of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ire-*
" *land*: & herein I require you most especially to pray for the
" Kings most excellent Majesty our Soveraign Lord, *James*
" King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defen-
" der of the faith, and supreme Governour in these his
" Realms, and all other his Dominions, and Countreys, over
" all Persons, in all causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal;
" yee shall also pray for our gracious Queen *Anne*, the no-
" ble Prince *Henry*, and the rest of the Kings, and Queens
" royall issue. Yee shall also pray for the ministers of Gods
" holy Word, and Sacraments, as well Archbishops, and
" Bishops, as other Pastors, and Curats: Yee shall also pray
" for the Kings most honourable council, and for all the *No-*

bilitie

"*bilitie*, and Magistrates of this Realm, that all, and eve-
"ry of those in their several callings, may serve truly, and
"painfully, to the Glory of God, and the edifying, and
"well-governing of his people, remembring the accompt they
"must make; Also yee shall pray for the whole *Commons* of
"this Realm, that they may live in true faith, and fear of God,
"and humble obedience to the King, and brotherly chari-
"ty one to an other. Finally, let us praise God for all those
"that are allready departed out of this life in the faith o
"Christ, and pray unto God, that we may have grace to di-
"rect our lives after their good examples; that this life
"ended, we may be made partakers with them of the glori-
"ous resurrection in the life everlasting; Alwaies conclu-
"ding with the *Lords prayer*.

(3) So farr the letter of the *Canon*; in which there was not any purpose, nor in the Makers of the same, to introduct into the Church any *form* of prayer, or *invocation*, save those, which were layd down in the Common prayer book: (nor indeed could they, if they would; the Statute 1 *Eliz.* being still in force) but to reduce her Ministers to the antient usage of this Church, which had been much neglected, if not layed aside: The *Canons* then established were no late Invention, as some give it out; but a Collection of such Ordinances, and pious Customes, as had been formerly in use since the *reformation*: which being scattered, and diffused in several Injunctions, Orders, and Advertisements published by K. *Henry* the 8. K. *Edward* the 6. and Q. *Eliz.* or in the *Canons* of particular *convocations* in those times assembled, or otherwise retained in continuall Practice, was by the care, and wisdome, of the Clergy in the Synod at London *An.* 1603. drawn up together into one body, and by his Maj. then being authorized in due form of law; And being so authorized by his Maj. the *Canons* then made had the force of laws, and were of power to bind the Subjects of all sorts according to their several & respective concernments, as fully & effectually as any Statute, or Act of Parliament can bind the Subject of this Realm, in their goods and properties; For which consult the Statute, 25. *H.* 8. *cap.* 19. and the pra-

tice sin ce. Which as it may be said of all, so more particularly of the *Canon* now in question, of which it is to be considered, that the main body of the same had been delivered formerly allmost verbatim in the Queens *Injunctions*, published by her Royall, and Supreme authority, in the first year of her reign, *Anno* 1559. which I will therefore here put down, that by comparing both together, wee may the better see the true intention of that *Canon*; and what is further to be said in the present businesse.

(4) The Queens *Injunction* is as followeth. The title this: *The form of Bidding the Prayers to be used generally in this uniform sort:* And then the body of it, is this: "Yee "shall pray for *Christs* holy *Catholick* Church, that is, for the "whole *congregation* of *Christian* people, dispersed through-"out the whole world, and especially for the Churches of "*England*, and *Ireland*: and herein I require you most es-"pecially to pray for the Queens most excellent Majesty, our "Soveraign Lady *Eliz.* Queen of *England*, *France*, and *Ire-"land*, Defender of the faith, and supreme Governour of "this Realm, as well in causes Ecclesiastical as Temporal: "You shall also pray for the ministers of Gods holy Word, "and Sacraments, as well Archbishops, and Bishops, as o-"ther Pastors, and Curats: Yee shall also pray for the "Queens most honourable councill, and for all the *Nobility* "of this Realm: That all, and every of these in their cal-"lings may serve truly, and painfully, to the glory of God, "and edifying of his people, remembring the accompt they "must make: Also you shall pray for the whole *Commons* "of this Realm, that they may live in true faith, and fear of "God, in humble Obedience, and brotherly Charity one to "another: Finally let us praise God for all those that are "departed out of this life in the faith of *Christ*, and pray un-"to God, that we may have grace to direct our lives after "their good example, that after this life, we may be made "partakers of the glorious *resurrection* in the life everlasting. These are the very words of the *Injunction*, wherein it is to be observed, that as the *Canon* hath relation to this *Injunction*, so neither this *Injunction*, nor any thing therein injoyned

was

was of new erection, but a Reviver only of the usuall form which had been formerly enjoyned and constantly observed in King *Edwards* dayes, as we shall see by looking over the *Injunction* published (and the practice following thereupon) in the said Kings reign.

(5) Now the Injunction of K. *Edw.* the 6. is in this form following: The title thus, *The form of bidding the Common prayers*: and then the form it self: "You shall pray for the "whole *congregation* of *Christs* Church, and especially for this "*congregation* of *England*, and *Ireland*, wherein first I com-"mend to your devout prayers the Kings most excellent "Majesty, supreme head immediately under God, of the Spi-"ritualty, and Temporalty of the same Church: And for "Q. *Katharine* Dowager, and also for my Lady *Mary*, and "my Lady *Eliz.* the Kings Sisters: Secondly you shall pray "for my Lord *Protectors* grace, with all the rest of the Kings "Majesties Conncill: for all the Lords of this Realm, and "for the *Clergy*, and *Commons* of the same; Beseeching al-"mighty God to give every one of them in his degree Grace "to use themselves in such wise, as may be to Gods glory, "the Kings honour, and the weal of this Realm: Thirdly "you shall pray for all them that be departed out of this "world in the faith of Christ, and they with us, and we "with them at the day of Judgement, may rest both bodie "and Soul with *Abraham*, *Isack* and *Iacob* in the Kingdome "of heaven. This was the form first published in the begin-ning of the reign of King Ed. 6. and it continued all his time; save that the latter clause was altered, and that for praising God for Saints departed put instead thereof, as we may see in Bishop *Latimers* sermon preached at *Stanford*, whereof more anon.

(6) Hitherto are we cleer for King *Edwards* time, and no lesse cleer are we for King *Henries* also, especially for the latter part thereof, in which the use of *Bidding* prayers, or *moving* the people unto Prayer had by him been impo-sed upon the Clergy, before this time the people had been trained up in a very grosse ignorance, not knowing expli-citely the Articles of their belief, accustomed to a *Latine*

service in their publique Churches,& to adaily stint of *Paternosters*, and *Ave-Maries* in the *Latin* tongue which few or none of them understood. But that King,having taken on himself the title of *supreme* head of the Church of *England*, and adding of the same to the stile Imperiall, *viz. Anno* 1535. there issuedout an order by his Authority in this form that followeth. " *This is an order taken for Preaching, & Bid-* "*ding of beads* in al sermons *to be made within this Realm*.First, " wholoever shall Preach in the presence of the Kings High- " nesse, and the Quene's Grace, shall in the bidding of " *Beads* pray for the whole *Catholique* Church of *Christ*, as " well quick as dead,and especially for the *Catholique* Church " of this Realm, and first, as we be most bounden, for our " Soveraign Lord K. *Henry* the 8. being immediately next " under God the only supreme head of this *Catholique* Church " of *England*. And for the most gracious Lady Q. *Anne* his " wife, and for the Lady *Elizabeth* Daughter and Heir to " them both. And no further.

" *Item* the Preacher in all other places of this Realm, not in " the presence ofthe kings said Highness,& the Queens Grace, " shal in the bidding of the *Beads*,pray first in maner,& form, " and word for word as is above ordained, and limited: Ad- " ding thereto in the second part, For all Archbishops, and " Bishops, and for all the whole Clergy of this Realm, And " specially such as the Preacher shall name of his devotion; " And thirdly for all Dukes, Earls, Marquess, and for all the " whole *Temporalty* of this Realm, & specially for such as the " Preacher shall name of devotion: And finally for the " soules of all them that be dead, aud specially for such as it " shall please the Preacher to name. So farre the very words of the *Injunction*, as it relates unto the businesse now in hand, which differs very little, if at all, in form and fashion (though there be some difference in the matter) from those which followed in the reign of K. *Edward* the 6. and Q. *El.* both of which out of question took their hint from hence.

(7) Besides it is to be observed, that the said King having assumed unto himself the stile,and title of *supreme head* of the Church of *England*, as before is said, did before this by Pro-

clamation

clamation dated *Iune 9. An.* 1534. declare, and signify his Roiall pleasure, that all, and all manner of Ecclesiasticall persons should teach, preach, publish, and declare in all maner of Churches, the said his just Title, Stile, and Iurisdiction, on every Sunday, and high Feast throughout the year, which after was enjoyned in the *Injunction* of the year *An.* 1536, set out by the Lord *Cromwell*, being then Vicar generall, with the Kings authority: As also in the *Injunctions* of K. *Edward* the 6. *An.* 1547. which again was revived in the Queens *Injunctions*, *Anno* 1559. As after in the first *Convocation* of King *Iames* in the year 1603. And besides this, it was appointed in the said *Injunctions* of King *Henry* the 8. that the Preacher or Parochial Priest should every Sunday, in the Pulpit rehearse distinctly the *Lords prayer*, the *Articles of the Creed*, and the ten *Commandements* in the *English* Tongue, for the better instructing of the People in their duties both to God and Man, which being ordered at the same time as the bidding of the *Beads* in the *Form* spoken of before, was first enjoyned, shews plainly the intention and effect of both, to be no other than to instruct the people in the principles of faith and piety. So that as well to teach the people how to pray, and what things they chiefly were to pray for, in the publique meeting, as to make known unto them the Kings just title, by which they were to recommend him in their dovotitions, the form before remembred of *Bidding* prayers, or *Beads* was prescribed the Priests, by them to be proposed unto the people in their severall Sermons: For instance of the which, in point of practice in the said Kings time, we need but look upon a Sermon of Bishop *Latimers* (being that before the *Convocation*, *An.* 1536. which was the 28. of King *Henries* reign) In which being entred on his matter, as the use then was, he thus *bids* the prayers. "That all that I say shal "may turn to the glory of God, your Soules health, and "the edifying of *Christs* body, I pray you all to pray with "me unto God, and that also in your Petitions, you desire "that these two things he vouchsafe to grant us, First a mouth "for me to speak rightly: next Eares for you, that in hearing "me, you may take profit at my hands, & that this may come

to

"to effect, you shall desire him unto whom our Master *Christ* "bad, we should pray, saying even the same prayer, which "Christ himself did Institute. Wherein we shall pray for "our Soveraign Lord the King, chief, and *supreme head* of "the Church of *England* under *Christ*, and for the most ex-"cellent, gracious, and vertuous Lady, Queen *Iane* his most "lawful wife, and for all his, whether they be of the Clergy, "or Laitly, whether they be of the Nobility, or else other his "Grace's Subjects, humbly beseeching Almighty God, that "every one of us, even from the highest to the lowest, may in "his degree, and calling, earnestly endeavour to set forth the "glory of God, and the Gospel of his Sonne *Christ Iesus*, "that so living in his fear, and love, we may in the end of "our dayes depart out of this life in his friendship, and favour. "For these graces and what else his wisdome knoweth more "needful for us, let us pray, as wee are taught, saying: Our "Father &c. Put all that hath been said together, and the summe is this. That if we do interpret the *Canon* of the year 1603. by the Queens *Injunctions*, and construe both of them, according to the *Injunctions* in King *Edwards* and King *Henryes* dayes, we shall see plainly, that the *Form of prayer* appointed by the *Canon* is no new Invention, neither obtruded on the Church by the Bishops of these times, on a design to stint the Spirit (as some now give out) or on a like design of Archbishop *Bancroft*, and the Prelates of his time (as is said by others:) but carried aud transmitted from hand to hand, since the very first beginning of the Reformation; nor did it stand thus only in point of Law, not being reduced unto *practice*, but stood thus also in the *practice* of our Predecessors (though not so frequently in these last as the former times) as shall be presently made good by witnesses and Proofs of unquestioned credit.

(8) Mean while the *Canon*, aud *Injunctions* being laid together, there will be little difference found between them, in summe, and substance (except that *praying for the dead*, used in the latter times of King *Henry* the 8. and the beginning of the reign of King *Edward* the 6. hath since been changed into praysing God for their departure in the

in the faith, and Gospel of our Lord and Saviour) & at all nothing in the *form*, or any circumstance considerable in the present businesse: for if wee look upon the prayer therin appointed, wee shall find these four things to be considered. 1. The substance, or matter of it being the heads therein recited. *viz.* the *Catholick* Church, the Kings Majesty the Q. the royall issue, the L Ls. *spiritual*, and *temporal*. 2. The phrase, or garb of speech, wherein the matter is expressed in *those words*, or *in other in the same effect*. 3. The quantity of time, which is allowed for those expressions, *as briefly as conveniently we may*: and last of all the *form* thereof, being the point that is most in question, which plainly is to be by way of *exhortation*; Yee shall pray, and I require you most especially to pray; and not by way of *Invocation*, with an immediate addresse to almighty God, as men use it now: Therefore as in K. *Edwards*, and the Queens *Injunctions* it is called a *Bidding* of Prayers: The *form of bidding prayers generally to be used after this uniform sort*, and the form of *bidding* the Common prayers. The form of *bidding the beads* in King *Henries Injunction*; So in the *Canon* it is called a *Mooving*: it beeing therein ordered, that before all Sermons, Lectures and Homilies, Preachers and Ministers shall *move* the people to joyn with them in prayer, &c. *Bidding*, and *Moving*, are two words, but to one effect; for when we *bid* the people pray, we *move* them to it: and in the *congregation*, wee have no way to *move* the people but by that of *bidding*, or *exhorting*. Prayer as saint *Basill* hath defined it, ἀ τησίς ἐστι ἀγαθοῦ παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβῶν εἰς Θεὸν γινομένη, is requiring of some good from the hands of God, and doth imply a punctuall, and immediate addresse unto him, which is the peoples office to the Lord Almighty: *Bidding* of Prayer, as the *Injunctions*, or *moving* men to pray, as the *Canon* hath it, is the Priests office to the people: wherein he not only exhorts them to the performance of that duty, but layeth them down a Summary, and brief recitall of those things, which they are to pray for as members of that one mystical body, whereof *Christ Iesus* is the head: Now where it is alleged by some, who have turned *Bidding* into *Praying*, that in the *Canon* it is not ordered precisely, that ministers

shall *move* the people to joyn with them in prayer, in this form, that followeth, but only in *this form*, or *to this effect*. Its true, what they allege as unto the words, though not as to the use they make thereof: For by these words to this effect, the Church hath no intent, or meaning, to give men liberty to devise new forms of Prayer, nor indeed could shee if shee would (as before we noted) or to desert as well the usage of those men, which had been most obedient to her publick orders, as the *Injunctions*, on the which, the said use was founded: Wherefore these words, *to this effect*, must have no reference to the form, and manner of expression (for it is called in the *Canon* a *moving of the people to joyn in prayer*) but only to the words and phrase, it being not the Churches purpose to bind her Ministers precisely to the words, which are there layd down, but that in that very form of words, or *other words to that effect*, they should *move* the people to be mindfull of those particular heads, for which they were to joyn with him at the close of all in the *Lords prayer*, as appeareth plainly by that passage of the Prayer in Bishop *Latimers*, spoken of before.

(9) That this, and none but this was the *Churches* meaning, will be easily proved, and made apparent by the practice of the chiefest, and most eminent persons; who are called by *Aristotle* οἱ ἔνδοξοι ἄνδρες. For those who have the best authority to interpret *Canons* (I mean my *LLs*. the two Archbishops, with the greater part of the Bishops) have and do use no other *form* than that of *bidding* or of *Moving*; And so doe also many antient Doctors both in the Vniversities, and Cathedrall Churches; who being originally accustomed to the *form* of *Bidding*, have not yet turned their stile to a *form* of *Praying*: But since to speak of those, who are now alive, may possibly be subject to misconstruction, wee will take Counsel with the dead, whose actions of this kind may be our example, and their proceeding in this point our warrant: of these I will make instance of five alone (though I could in more) all of the *Hierarchie*, all men of high esteem in their several times, and therefore such as may be followed with most safety in the present businesse: Of these the last in

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in course of time was the most Learned Bishop *Andrews*, of whom to say no more, we may say with safety, that he was *Canonum observantissimus*, who being, as he was, a practiced Preacher long time before and after the making of the said *Canon*, did use no other *form* of Prayer, than that of *Bidding*: All those, that heard him cannot but confesse, that so it was, and in the body of his Sermons collected by my Lord of *Canterbury*, that now is, and my Lord of *Ely*, that then was, there are some Tracts, and footsteps of it, which make it evident unto those that heard him not. For this consult his 3d. Sermon in *Lent*, *An.* 1593. his sixth in *Lent* 1596. his sixth for *Whitsuntide*, *An.* 1613. More specially in his second of the *holy ghost*, *Anno* 1608, in which immediately upon the division of his text, as his custom was, he thus *moves* the people, or which both comes to one, he thus *bids* the prayers. "But "for that there is no speaking of the Spirit, without the "Spirit, nor hearing neither; to the end, that hearing, and "speaking he may help our infirmities, &c. And in his ninth Sermon of the fifth of November, 1617. the division ended, as before, he thus proceeded: "That these be done, "and that they may be done, and that those things which shal "be spoken, may tend to this, that they may be done, &c. which last 2 passages being the preambles, or introductions unto his *form* of *bidding prayers*, give us an hint of that which we may find layed down at large in his Latine Sermons extant in his *opuscula*, collected by the same most reverend Prelates: particularly in that before his Sermon preached *pro forma*, when he went out Doctor, and that at the departure of the Prince *Electour Palatine*, in both of which he calls upon his audience to joyn with him in prayer by way of *bidding*, *moveing*, or *inviting*, *Invitemus huc numen*, *precemur*, *preces offeramus*, and such like phrases: All which thus layed together, doe most plainly shew, that he did go that way, which was prescribed by the *Injunctions*, revived, and ratifyed in the *Canon*, and traveld by those worthies, that went before him.

(10.) I mean to instance next in Bishop *Iewell*, who lived, and flourished after the setting out of the Queens *Injunctions*,

junctions, and dyed long time before the making of the *Canon*: In a collection of his Sermons by John *Garbrand* of *Oxon*. printed 1583: there are these 3 passages, which declare most plainly how he did understand the said *Injunction*; one giving light unto the other: Of these the first occures in that upon the first of *Haggai*, where having spent two leaves upon the entrance to his matter, and made division of his text, we find it in a line by it self, and a different character, this word *Pray*, and that noting out the place in which his form of *bidding prayer* was at that time used: More fully in his Sermon upon the 13 of the *Rom. v.* 12. where having entred on his matter, he thus *moves* the people, or as the Stile then was, thus *biddeth the Prayers*. "But before I proceed to "declare further, that which is to be spoken at this present, "let us turn our hearts to God, even the Father of lights, "that it may please him to open the Eyes of your understan-"ding, and to direct all our doings to his Glory. Most fully, and indeed as fully as may be to this purpose, in that on *Luc.* 11. 15. where having read his text, he doth thus *move* the people to joyn in prayer. "That it may please God so "to order both my utterance, and your understanding, that "whatsoever shall be spoken or heard may turn to the glory "of his holy name, and to the profit, and comfort of his "Church, Before I enter into the exposition of these words, "I desire you to call upon our gracious God, with your ear-"nest, and hearty prayer; and here I commend unto you "Gods holy *Catholick* Church, and therein the Queens most "excellent Majesty, by the especiall grace of God Queen of "*England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the true, antient, "and *Apostilick* faith, and the highest Governour next un-"der God of this Church of *England*, &c. that as God of his "Mercy hath marveilously preserved her to the possession of "her right, to the great comfort of all her subjects hearts, and "to the *reformation* of the Church, so it may please him to "aid, and increase her with his holy Spirit, to the continuance, "and performance of the same. The Queens most honou-"rable Council, with the residue of the Nobility, the good "estate of both of the Vniversities, and all other Schools of

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"Learning the only *Nurseries* of this Realm, The Bishops, &
"Preachers, that the number of them maybe increased, and
"that they may have grace to set forth the truth of Gods
"Gospel, as their duty is, diligently, sincerely, soberly,
"timely, and faithfully: And the whole *Commons* of this
"Realm, and specially such as speak ill, or think ill of Gods
"holy word, that they may have grace to regard the Sal-
"vation of their Sonles, to lay aside all blind affection, to
"hear the word of God, and so to come to the Knowledge of
"the truth. This is the form by him then used, which plainly is by way of *Exhortation*, not of *Invocation*, a *form of Bidding-Prayer*, according as it is prescribed in the *Injunction*, and no direct prayer, with addresse to God, as is now devised against the *Injunction*, and the *Canon*. And here it is to be observed, that in this form of Bishop *Iewels*, there is not only a conformity to the *Injunction*, that is by *Bidding*, and *Exhorting* only, but that therein he recommends unto them, those particular heads, which in the said *Injunction* are contained, the last excepted; As for the words, or phrase of speaking, he useth not the same precisely, which are layed down in the *Injunction*, but other words amounting *to the same effect*; which also sheweth, that whatsoever liberty is given us in the *Canon* by these words, or *to this effect*, by no meaus giveth us any power to change the *form* of *moving*, *Bidding*, or *exhorting*, but only sheweth to what effect they must, and may *bidd*, *move*, or *exhort* the people.

(11) The next in order of Ascent (for so we purpose to proceed) is Archbishop *Parker*, the first Archbishop of *Canterbury* in Queen *Elizabeth* reign, who being *Provicechancellor* of *Cambridge* in King *Edwards* time, & preaching at the Funeral (there) of *Martin Bucer*, in the conclusion of his Sermon doth thus begin his *exhortation ad preces* (as it is there called) or (which comes both to one) doth thus *bidd the prayers*. *Ut igitur velum ignorantiæ cordibus nostris detrahetur, et discutiatur ab occulis invidiæ caligo, atque profundâ cogitatione, et consideratione hunc tristem casum pro occasione à Deo oblatâ confiteamur, &c. Coram Deo clemente, et misericorde nos prosternamns, et piis precibus ab eo*

misericordiam invocemus. In quibus Commendo vobis Ecclesiam Catholicam, *Sanctam Dei Communionem, ut cum dignâ confessione & ci progrediatur in cognitione ejus voluntatis, et in Domini nostri, et Salvatoris fide persistat: orate insuper pro omnibus iis, qui per errorem atque infidelitatem manifestò deprehenduntur extra Ecclesiam, vel qui hypocriticâ dissimulatione habentur de eadem (cum sint reverâ synagoga Satanæ) ut vocem Christi summi Pastoris unanimes audiant, et efficiamur unum ovile, unum grex, uno ore, et corde gloriam tribuentes Deo Patri Domini nostri* Jesu Christi. *Orate* pro *Ecclesiâ* Anglicanâ *et* Hibernicâ, *et ambarum* supremo capite *proximé à Christo Illustrissimo et Clementissimo Domino nostro Rege* Edwardo *ejus nominis sexto, &c.* Precemur *etiam pro nobis ipsis, ut quemadmodum Patres Veteris Testamenti versabantur in continuis votis, et expectatione primi adventus* Servatoris *nostri in carne, &c. sit et nos sub novo testamento, sobriè, piè, et justè vivamus in hoc mundo, accerrimâ cupiditate secundum ejus adventum manentes, et unà cum dormientibus Fratribus plenam redemptionem Corporum nostrorum ejus glorioso corpori conglutinandorum sitientes, consociati* Abrahamo, Isaaco, Jacobo, &c. This I have here set down in the Latine tongue, according as I find the same in the *opera Anglicana* of the said *Martin Bucer, pag.* 898. which if it be compared with the Kings *Injunctions*, will manifestly appear to be conform thereto in each particular (the speciall recitation of the Kings Sisters, the *Protectours Grace*, the Clergy, and Nobility being all included, though cut off with &c.) and commeth also very near to that of Bishop *Iewell* before remembred, both of them keeping to the Form of *bidding*, *moving*, or *exhorting*, but taking to themselves the liberty of their own expression for the phrase, and stile, according to the purpose, and effect of the said *Injunction*. And it is worth our noting too, that presently upon the end of this *exhortation*, or *bidding of the prayers* used by Dr. *Parker*, there followeth in the book these words; *Hic factæ sunt tacitæ preces.* Byl which we may perceive most evidently, that it was then the peoples practice, & is now our duty immediately upon the *bidding of the prayers*, or on the Preachers *moving* of the people to *joyn with them in prayer*,

prayer, as the *Canon* hath it, To recollect the heads recommended to them, and tacitly to represent them to the Lord in their devotions, or otherwise to comprehend them in the *Pater-noster*, with which the Preacher, by the *Canon*, is to close up all.

(12) And now being come to the times of King *Edwasd* the sixth, wee will next look on Bishop *Latimer*, the fourth of these five Prelates, whom before I spake of, who living in King *Henry*, and King *Edwards* times, and in their times using that form of *Bidding prayers*, which is prescribed both in the *Canon*, and *Injunctions*, shews plainly, that the antient practice in this kind was every way conform to the present *Canon*, and the old *Injunctions*. And first to keep our selves to King *Edwards* reign, we have eight passages in his Sermons, preached in that Kings time, whereby we may perceive, what the usage was, six of them layed down in brief, and two more at large: the two last being as a comment on the former six; of the six brief, the first accures in his 2d Sermon before King *Edward* thus: *Hitherto goeth the Text; That I may declare this the better to the edifying of your Soules, and the glory of God, I shall desire you to pray, &c.* so in his third before the King, March the 22. *Before I enter further into this matter, I shall desire you to pray, &c.* And in the fourth, *March* 29. *That I may have grace so to open the remnant of this Parable, that it may be to the glory of God, and edifying of your soules, I shall desire you to pray, in the which prayer &c.* and in the 5th Sermon before the King on the 6th of Aprill, having entred on his matter, he thus invites them to their prayers; *And that I may have grace, &c.* So in the sixt Aprill the 13. *This is the story, and that I may declare this text, so as it may be to the honour of God, and the edifying of your Soules and mine both, I shall desire you to help me with your prayers, in the which &c.* The last is in a Sermon before that King preached at the Court in *Westm. An.* 1550. where he doth it thus, *Here therefore I shall desire you to pray, &c.*

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p. 108.

(13) These instances compared with the other two make the matter plain, whereof the first is in the seventh before King *Edward*, Aprill 19. 1549. Thus, This day " wee have

"have in memory [*Christs*] bitter passion, and death, the "remedy of our Sinne. Therefore I intend to treat of a piece "of the story of his passion; I am not able to treat of all; that I "may doe this the better, and that it may be to the honour of "God, and the edification of your Soules and mine both, I "shall desire you to pray, &c. In this prayer, *I shall desire you* "to remember the *Soules departed* with laud and praise to "Almighty God, that he did vouchsafe to assist them at the "hour of their death: *I shall desire you to pray, &c. And in the* "*which, &c.* what mean these et cætera's? that we shall see most
p: 88. manifestly in his Sermon preached at *Stamford*, Oct. 9. 1550. which shews indeed most fully; that the form of *Bidding Prayers* then used was every way conform to the *Injunction* of King *Edward* the 6th, and very near the same, which was prescribed after by the Queens *Injunction*. For having as before proposed his matter, he thus *Bids the Prayers*. "And "that I may at this time so declare them, as may be for Gods "glory, your edifying, and my discharge, I pray you to help "mee with your prayers: in the which prayer, &c. For the "Vniversall Church of *Christ* through the whole world, &c. "for the preservation of our Sovereign Lord King *Edward* the "sixt, sole *supreme head* under God, and *Christ*, of the Chur-"ches of *England*, and *Ireland*, &c. Secondly for the Kings "most honourable Councill; Thirdly I commend unto you "the Soules departed this life in the faith of Christ, that yee "remember to give laud, praise, and thanks to Almighty God "for his great goodnesse, and mercy shewed unto them in "that great need, and conflict against the *Devill*, and *Sinne*, "and that gave them in the hour of death faith in his Sonnes "death, and Passion, whereby they conqner, and overcome, "and get the victory: give thanks I say for this, adding pray-"ers, and supplications for your selves, that it may please God "to give you like faith, and grace to trust only in the death "of his dear sonne, as he gave unto them: For as they be gone, "so must wee, and the Devill will be as ready to tempt us, as "he was them, and our sinnes will light as heavy upon us, as "theirs did upon them: and we were as weak, and unable to "resist, as were they: Pray therefore, that wee may have

Grace

"grace to die in the same faith, as they did, and at the latter "day to be raised with *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Iacob*, and "be partakers with *Christ* in the Kingdome of Heaven: for "this, and all other graces, let us say the *Lords prayer*.

(14. Now unto Bishop *Latimer* we will joyn another of the same time, and as high a calling, which is Dr. *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, of whom, what ever may be said in other respects, in this it cannot be objected, but that he followed the *form*, and *order* then prescribed; for in a Sermon preached before King *Edward* the sixt, *Anno*, 1550. being the fourth of that Kings reign, before the naming of his text, for ought appears, he thus *Bids the prayer*. "Most honourable audi-"ence, I purpose by the grace of God to declare some part of "the *Gospell*, that is accustomably used to be read in the "church at this day, & that because without the special grace "of God, neither I can speak any thing to your edifying, nor "yee receive the same accordingly, *I shall desire you all*, that "we may *jointly pray* all together for the assistance of his "grace: In which *prayer I commend* to Almighty God your "most excellent Majesty our Sovereign Lord, King of *England*, "*France*, and *Ireland*, and of the Church of *England*, and *Ire-"land*, next and immediately under God here on earth *su-"pream head*, Q. *Katherine Dowager*, my L. *Maries* grace, & "my L. *Elizabeths* grace your Majesties most dear Sisters, my "L. *Protectours grace*, with all others of your most honourable "council, the *spiritualty*, & *temporaltie*: And I shall desire you "to commend unto God with your prayers, the Souls depar-"ted unto God in *Christs* faith, & among those most especially "our late Sovereign Lord King *Henry* the 8. your most noble "Father; for these, and for grace necessary, *I shall desire you* "to say a *Pater-noster*, and so forth. Which *form* of his agrees most exactly with that order in the Kings *Injunction*; not altered then in that clause, *for the Saints departed*, which, as it seems, continued, till the alteration of the publick *Liturgie*, *Anno* 1552. and then was changed with the same: In other things no difference between him, and that other *form*, which was commanded, and set forth by the Queens *Injunctions*, and between him and Bishop *Latimer*, so little, that it

may seem to be in words more than meaning: In both wee have a clear, and pregnant evidence, that then they used no proper, and direct addresse to God in a formal prayer of their own devising, but only layed before the people some certain heads, they were to *pray* for, which in the Language of that time was called *Bidding of prayer*.

(15) Wee should now look upon the *practice* in King *Henries* dayes, but that I think no question can, or will be made in that particular, considering the severe temper of that Prince in exacting full obedience unto all his *mandates*; or if there be, that *form of prayer* which wee find used by Bishop *Latimer* in his Sermon preached before the *Convocation*, in the 28 of that Kings reign (which before wee spake of) may serve once for all without further *Instances*; which brings the precept and the practice to the like Antiquitie.

Put all that hath been said together, and the summe is this: That if wee do interpret the *Canon* of the year 1603. by the Queens *Injunctions*, and construe both of them, according to the *Injunctions* in King *Edwards*, and King *Henries* dayes, seconded by the constant *practice* in all times succeeding, wee shall see plainly, that in the intention of the Church, wee are to use no prayer before our Sermons by way of *Invocation* to God, but somewhere in them, or before them to use a *form of Bidding prayer* by way of *exhortation* to the auditory: This said, wee will declare in brief how the new form of prayer by way of *invocation*, and addresse to God (which is now generally taken up) came in use amongst us, and afterwards lay down some reasons, not somuch to oppose that form of *Invocation* lately taken up, as to establish, and confirm the other form of *Bidding Prayers*, founded upon the *Canon*, the *Injunctions*, and the antient *practice*.

(16) Now this new form of *Invocation* to deal plainly in it, was first contrived, and set on foot by the *Puritan* faction, who labouring with might and main γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ, as the saying is, to overthrow the publick service of this Church, then by law established, endeavoured to advance in the place thereof an *arbitrary*, and *extemporary form of prayer*, of every private mans devising, and that not only before, but after Sermon.

Calvin

Calvin had so appointed in *Geneva*, and *Knox* in *Scotland*, and rather than not have it so in *England* also, the brethren were resolved to put all in hazard: This when they could not compasse with their noice and clamour, they fell upon a way, which came somewhat near it, & was more likely farre to effect their purpose: Their Lecturers, and Preachers, yea, & followers too, not comming to the Church till the *service* ended, and their own prayer was to beginne: The book of *dangerous practices*, and *positions*, writ as was thought by Bishop *Bancroft* (though not then a Bishop,) will give us some of those examples: take one among them for a tryall, and you shall find him boast himself, that *every Sabbath* (so he called it) not medling with the *Liturgy* prescribed, he used to preach unto his people, *Ego singulis sabbatis, si non alius adveniens locum suppleat (cum præscriptâ liturgias formulâ nihil habens commercii) in cœtu concionem habeo.* What he professed for himself was then the practice of them all (some of them as it is observed in the *conference at Hampton Court*, being content to walk in the church-yard till Sermon time, *rather than to be present at publike prayer*) and is still, I fear used by many *Lecturers* in and about the City of *London*: Thus having limitted all Gods service unto *Preaching*, and some *extemporary prayer* of their own devising, they brought the people at last unto this perswasion, that in the *publick liturgie* there was nothing, but a meer formality, which the law enjoyned; Their *arbitrary, and extemporary forms of Prayer* savouring only of the Spirit, and true devotion, which when they could not bring about at the first attempt, they practised with a counterfeit Devill to undertake it; The seven of *Lancashire*, when they were taught by Mr. *Darrell* to play the *Demoniacks*, were also taught by him to promote the cause. As often as any of those ministers, who were conformable to the Church, & kept themselves unto the forms of the publique *Liturgie* did come to visit them, and in their hearing read some *prayers* out of the *Common prayer book*, the Devill was as quiet as any Lamb, as if he were well pleased with that form of service, or that there was not any thing in those prayers, or the men that used them, to trouble him, or disturb his peace. But when as Mr.

Darrell, and other brethren of the Non conformity approached in sight, who used to fall upon him with whole volleys of *raw* and *indigested* Prayers of their own devising (such as they had prepared and fitted for the present occasion) then were the *wicked Spirits* much more troubled, and perplexed extreamly; whereby you may perceive, that even the *Puritans* also had a kind of *holy-Water*, with which to fright away the Devill, lest else the *Papists* should in any thing have the start before them: And whereas the *Injunction* had restrained the *Clergy* to some certain heads by them to be commended to the peoples prayers, these men took neither care of the *form*, or matter of the said *Injunction*; not of the *form*, for they directed their addresse to Almighty God in manner of a *formall prayer*, as hath since been used against the *Canon*; nor of the *matter* of the same, for they began their prayer, with a long confession, or a discourse rather of their own uncleanesse, and the corruption of mans nature, fill'd it with praise, and thanksgiving for particular blessings, even for their Godly freinds, and acquaintance, and ended it with a kind of a *charm*, or *transubstantiating*, as viz. that *the words which they should speak, might not be entertained as the words of a mortall man, but as they were indeed the words of the immortall, and Living God.* (For in that very stile I have heard it often) nay, they went so farr in the end, that the *visitation of the Sick* prescribed by the Church was quite layed aside, their weak estate being reduced unto that prayer also: Those which were dangerously ill, or but ill at ease, sending their bills abroad to several Preachers by them to be remembred in their *Pulpit-Prayers*. Hereto they also had reduced particular *thanksgivings* for the recovery of such persons, as had been visited with sicknesse, or had escaped any present daunger of what inferiour rank soever it were, which grew so common at the last (and in late times too,) that being once to Preach in the Church of *Westminster*, before many of the nobility and many other persons of great note and honour, the *Verger* there brought me a ticket in these words, *viz. N. N. of the Parish of* St. *Martins Shoomaker, having lately had a dangerous fall, and now being pretty well recovered, desires this congregation to give thanks for him*;

So

So that this *Prayer* of theirs became at last the τὸ καθολικὸν, the generall plaister for all sores, the common receptacle for all lutes, the universall comprehension of all pious offices; The *service* of the Church being thought mean while to be ineffectuall; Nay, by I know not what strange means it found such entertainment among them also, who otherwise were not il affected unto the order of the Church; that in the end the usual *form of Bidding-Prayers* was in a manner layed aside by all sorts of men, and s no w forced to plead its *Birth-right*, and seek for repossession as *ex postliminio*, which it doth as followeth.

(17) And first it may be pleaded from the antient practice, not of our Church alone since the *reformation*, which is done already; but of all Churches in all times, in which there is no constat of any form of *prayer* by way of *Invocation* used, or to be used before the Sermon, Lecture, Excercise, or Homilies, call it what you will; The exposition of the Law in *Ezras* time, which was a *Lecture* at the least, if not a Sermon, was nakedly delivered without any prayer, so were the Sermons of the prophets. Our Saviours Sermon on the Mount had no Prayer before it, that we can meet with; but there was in it questionlesse a *Bidding of Prayers*, and a particular form layed down, after which to pray; For it is said there we shall pray *after this manner*; those of the *Apostles* also were delivered in the self same manner, though in those times in the which no *publick Liturgy* was as yet universally agreed upon, a *formal prayer* before the Sermon might be thought more necessary. In the next Ages, when as the Church was setled, and certain *forms* of *Prayer* prescribed (made either by the Apostles, or Apostolike men) we find not any for this purpose: Nor is there only a *non liquet* of it in the publick *formulas*, but nothing to be found, which reflects that way in any of the Sermons, Homilies, or expositious of the antient Doctors either *Greek*, or *Latine*: As for the later times when as the service of the Church was brought unto that form, wherein it now continues, for the most part in the Church of *Rome*, the Sermon commonly was an enarration, or an explication of the *Gospell*, for the day appointed, or otherwise some of the Homilies of the Holy Fathers,

Neh. 8.

Matt. 6. 9.

and needed no much preparation thereunto, as is now required: Nor doth that use continue only in the Church of *Rome*, but also in the *Greek* and the *Lutheran* Churches (as they call them,) as appeareth plainly by the writings of *Dietericus*, and other Doctors of that party. A thing so universally received among them, that in the alteration of religion made in *Brandenburg*, *Anno* 1614. It was declared by the *Elector* amongst other things; *Evangeliis, et Epistolis, quæ diebus Dominicis explicantur et quotannis repetuntur, Pastores non ita astrictos esse debere, ut ipsis non liceat alium aliquem insignem textum* biblicum *prelegere, & pro concione tractare*: by which wee may perceive that in the *Lutheran* Churches, the Sermons are no other than a brief enarration of or on the *Gospell*, and *Epistle* for the day appointed; and so but little need of preparatory Prayers, as before I noted; so that as not of old in the former times, so neither in the *Lutheran* Churches, or any others of the *Reformation*, which retain any Tract, or footstep of the antient *Liturgies* (as God be thanked here wee doe) is there a shew of any thing (that I can meet with) to countenance, and conclude a *set form* of Prayer made before the Sermon according to the Preachers own conceptions either in *prescript*, or in *practice*. *Geneva* which first bred it, doth alone retain it, and those, which on her commendations have since took it up.

(18) Next we may argue for the *form of Bidding-Prayers*, that at the first, when it was introduced into the Church, it rather was a part of the very Sermon, one of the Principal instructions therein delivered, than any *preparation* to it: In the *Injunctions* of King *Henry* the 8. it is commanded that the Curates should in their Sermons, or Collations, declare unto the people the Kings supream authority, for which end especially the use of *Bidding-Prayers* seems to me to be first ordained, and being so ordained, and withall brought into a *form* (as it still continueth) it was for ought wee know at the Preachers pleasure to bring it in into his Sermon, where he thought most fit. Ten times at least in Bishop *Latimer* we find this *form* of *Bidding-Prayers*. In the first whereof being that before the *Convocation*, he spends three leaves and more

ere

ere he comes unto it; Two allmost in the 2. and 6. before K. *Edward*. Eight almost, being well neer half his Sermon in that before that King at *Westm. An.* 1550. and in the other 6. he doth not use it till he be entred on his matter, as by what hath been said before doth at full appear; Nay by the rule layed down in the Queens *Injunction*, it seems it was not to be used till the end of the Sermon: and therefore no such necessary *preparation* to it, as it is now conceived, and made. For presently on the conclusion of the said *form of Bidding-Prayers*, it followeth thus in the *Injunction*: *And this done, shew the holy dayes, and Fasts.* This by our present *Lithurgie* (confirmed in Parliament before the setting out of the said *Injunctions*) is ordered to be done after the Homily, or Sermon: and might seem inconvenient, if not absurd should it be done in the middle of the Sermon, much more between the Prayer, and the Sermon, which also seems to have been put to *practice* in King *Edwards* time: Doctor *Parker* not descending to the *Bidding of Prayers* (or to his *exhortation ad preces*, as it is there called) till he was come to the conclusion of his matter in the close of all. Now where the *Canon* hath appointed, that the *form* of Prayer there recited be used by Preachers *before the Sermon. i. e.* before the substance of it (the preface & division being only a *manuduction* thereunto, & no parts thereof) as Bishop *Andrews* allwaies used it, or else between the text, and Sermon, as others no lesse eminent than he have been accustomed to doe: Or if it must needs be interpreted to be before them both, as the most would have it, we must then think the Church was pleased to yield a little unto the current of the time, in which that fashion generally had been taken up: And that the Church regarded not so much the circumstance as the main and substance, which was to lay before the people *some heads of Prayer*, and thereby to cut off those long, and tedious prayers, so much used of late, under pretence whereof so many *widdows houses had been devoured*, and all the *publick service* of the Church neglected.

(19) Thirdly it may be pleaded, that the old *form of bidding Prayers* is more agreable to the law, than their new *form* of *Invocation*, which is expresly, and directly against the same: For

For in the Statute 2. and 3. of King *Edward* the 6. *cap.* 1. as afterwards in the first of Queen *Elizabeth cap.* 20. (wherein the *Common-prayer book* now in use was confirmed, and established: It is enacted, that "if any manner of Parson, Vi-"car, or whatsoever Minister, that ought, or should sing, or "say *Common prayers*, &c. shall wilfully, or obstinately standing "on the same, use any other *Rite, Ceremony, order, form*, or man-"ner of celebrating the *Lords supper* openly, or privily, or "mattens, even-song, administration of the Sacraments, or o-"ther *open prayer* [*N: B:*] than is mentioned, and set forth in "the said book, He shall lose, and forfeit to the Queens "Highness, her Heirs and Successours, for his first offence the "profits of all his spirituall Benefices, and Promotions, "comming, and arising in one whole year next after his con-"viction, and also for the same offence shall suffer imprison-"ment by the space of nine months without bayl, or mainprise "&c. & so from one punishment unto another, until at last they come on the third offence, to Deprivation, and imprisonment perpetual. Now lest there should be any doubt, what is here ment by *open prayer*, The said two statutes thus expound it: "*Open prayer* in and throughout this act is meant, that prayer, "which is for others to come unto, and hear either in common "Churches, or private Chapels, and Oratories, commonly "called the *service of the Church*: so as it seemeth by this Statute, that whosoever useth in the Church any *open Prayer*, *i. e.* such prayer as is made for other men to come unto, or hear, which is not mentioned or set forth in the *Common-prayer book*, makes himself subject unto all the penalties in the same conteined: which thing considered as it ought, it is not to be thought, that in the *convocation* of 1603, the church did order, or permit by the aforesaid *Canon* any *form of prayer*, or *Invocation*, which was repugnant to the statutes standing still in force, but only purposed to continue the usuall *form* of *Bidding Prayer*, or *exhortation* unto Prayers, which was agreeable thereto.

(20) In the 4th rank the very place it self comes to be considered, in which this Prayer of theirs is made, which of all places else is most improper for that action, And least intended to

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it by the Church *Pulpits* were made of old for publick speeches to the people and not for Prayers unto the Gods; the *Pulpit* for orations being often mentioned in *Heathen* writers (call it *Suggestum*, *rostrum*, *Pulpitum*, or what else you will) but never any mentioned in them, as a place for Prayer: And so in sacred matters also, the *Pulpit* hath been used for publishing the Law in reference to *Mount Sinai*, whence it first was published; and for the preaching of the *Gospell* in reference to the *mount*, where it was first preached, and for the denouncing of Gods judgments on the Disobedient, in reference to *mount Ebal*, whence the curse was threatned: But that the *Pulpit* should be used as a place to *pray* in, when there are other places destinate to that holy use, was never heard of, as I think, till these later ages, when all things seemed to tend to *Innovation*; Sure I am in the Church of *England* there was no such meaning; for in the 83. *Canon* it is ordained, that *the Parishioners shall provide a comely and decent Pulpit, to be set in a convenient place, and to be there seemly kept for the Preaching of Gods Word*: Nothing else in the *Canon* is expressed, but only *Preaching of Gods Word*; and therefore I may safely say nothing else was meant: especially there being another seat appointed for the *publick prayers*, *Can.* 82. For further proof of which, let us but look unto the *Rubrick* before the Commination where is said, as followeth, "*After morning prayer the* "*people being called together by the tolling of a bell, and assem-* "*bled in the Church, the* English Letany *shall be said after the* "*accustomed manner, which ended the Priest shall goe into the* Pulpit *and say thus.* Here seems to be an other use of the *Pulpit*, besides that of *Preaching*, but indeed it is not. The threatnings of Gods judgements being many times as necessary to, and for Gods people, as the endeerments of his mercies, and both the *Preaching* of his *word*: Now whereas after the said *Commination* there are some certain reconciliatorie Psalms, or Prayers, that follow after; those are not to be said within the *Pulpit*, but where the *Letany* had been said before; for so it is declared in the next *Rubrick*. "*Then shall they all kneel upon* "*their knees, the Priest, and Clark kneeling, where they are* "*accustomed to say the* Letany, *shall say this Psalm*: which

Nehe. 9. 4. Math. 5. 6. 7. Deut. 27 13.

 plainly

plainly shews, that in the intention of the Church the *Pulpit* was not made for a place for the Priest to *pray in*, but rather for a place wherein to teach the people, how they were to pray, which is the *Bidding prayers* in the *Canon* meant,

(21) The same may be concluded also even from the *posture* of the Preacher being in the *Pulpit*; for *Pulpits* being made as before was said, for Speeches, Sermons, and Orations unto the people the Speaker, Oratour, or Preacher was of necessity, or ordinary Course, to turn himself unto the people, that so they might the better both see, and hear him, as in such things is still accustomed; whereas in times of Prayer the Priest, or Minister, ought to turn his face to the upper end of the Church, looking towards the *East*, and so his back to be towards the people: I say that so he ought to do, at least if he intend to follow either the prescript of this Church, or most true antiquity. The *Christians* of *Tertullians* time were generally accused for *worshipping the Sunne*, because that in their prayers they "turned their faces to the East: *Inde suspicio quod innocuerit nos ad* Orientis *regionem precari*: as he there informs us where (*nos*) no question was not meant of the People only, but of Priest, and people. And for the Church of *England* it is appointed in her *Rubrick*, that *at the reading of the Lessons the Minister which reads, shall stand, and turn him so, as he may be best heard of all such as be present*; which shews plainly, he was to look another way, when he said the Prayers: And least it may be said, that the other way was not directly from the people, but a skew upon them (which yet would ill become the Preacher) we find it among other things objected by the *Puritan* faction in Queen *Elizabeths* time, not only that the Ministers did say some part of Divine *service* within the *Chancell*, where he must needs look a skew upon them, but that at other times his face was turned away from them altogether: whereof see *Hooker l. 5. Sect. 30.* which makes me wonder by the way, that all, or most part of our *Reading-Pews* should be of late so placed, that contrary both to the Churches order, & the antient practice, the Minister, when he readeth the Prayers, looks downwards towards the lower end of the Church, and not unto the *East*, as he ought to do; so then the Preacher in the

Apol. p. 16.

Rubr. after the psal.

the *Pulpit* turning himself unto the people, and making himself the object of their eyes, as he of their attentions cannot be thought to pray to God, but if he pray at all, to the people rather: and on the other side, the *form* of *Bidding-Prayers* being by way of *exhortation*, and so purposed, doth fit as well the *posture* of the Preacher, as it doth the place.

(22) Lastly, the *form* of *Bidding-Prayers* stands more with the intention of the Church, then that of *Invocation*, because it doth avoid some inconveniences, and absurdities which doe arise upon the other; For first, whereas the Church prescribes a set *form of Prayer* in her *publick Liturgie*, from which it is not lawfull for any of her Ministers, either to vary, or receed; she did it principally to avoid all unadvised effusions of grosse and undigested prayers, as little capable of piety, as they are utterly void of order, and this she did upon the reason given in the *Milevitan* Councel. *viz.* least else through ignorance, or want of care, any thing should be utterd contrary to the rule of faith, "*ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam vel per minus studium sit compositum*, as the *Canon* hath it: But were men suffered to enjoy a liberty of Praying, and saying what they listed before their Sermons, in vain had the Church bound us to set *forms* of prayer in the *Common Liturgy*, upon severall penalties, when men might afterwards run ryot how they pleased in their particular prayers before their Sermons, without blame or censure: And though perhaps in some Churches of the *Reformation*, in which there is no publique *Liturgy*, or set *form* of *divine service*, to which both Priest and people, are obliged to conform themselves, it may be lawfull for the Preacher to use such prayers both before and after Sermon, as the consideration of that great work, and the necessities of the people may invite him to; yet it is otherwise with us in the Church of *England* where all these points are carefully provided for in the Book of *Common-Prayers* which in these other Churches are made the Subject of the Preach-

ers. Now where some men conceive they obey the *Canon*, in case they pray in that *form*, or *to that effect*, those who do so conceive it, shew in their deeds, that they as little care for the effect, as for the *form*, we plainly see by the effects, what that *effect* of theirs would tend to, what is the issue of that liberty, which most men have taken; too many of that sort, who most stand upon it using such passages in their prayers before their Sermons, that even their *prayers* in the *Psalmists* language are *turned into Sin*: And for the brevity therein required [as *briefly as conveniently they may*] they neglect that also: and study to spinne out their prayers to a tedious length against all *convenience*. Besides whereas the Church intendeth nothing more in her publick *Canons* then an *uniformity* in devotion, this leaving men to themselves in such a speciall part of Gods publick *service*, as that now is made, would bring in a *Confusion*, at the least a *Dissonancie*, and so destroy that blessed concord, which the Church most ayms at: Both which absurdities, or *inconveniences*, call them what you will, are happily avoided by that order of *Bidding-Prayers*, by the Church intended.

(23) A third, and greater *inconvenience*, then the other two, which would, & doth arise from that form of Prayer by way of *Invocation*, is that it doth accuse the *publike Liturgy* insufficient, and defective: For were it thought that the Confession in the Service book, and those particular Prayers, Collects, Hymnes, Thanksgivings, and ejaculations, which are therein used, were either perfect in themselves, or acceptable unto God, to what end should we adde a prayer of our own devising? that were to light a candle before the Sunne, and therefore they that stand upon it, do in effect, as much as if a man should say, my Friends, and Brethren make no account of any thing, which you hear from the *Common-prayer-book*, in which is nothing to be found but the voice of man, but hearken unto me, and by me what the Churches say to the Spirit; or as a *Puritan Trades man* once served my old Chamber-fellow Mr. *L. D.* meeting one time

time by chance at Dinner, my Chamber-fellow being the only Scholar in the Company, was requested to say Grace, which he did accordingly; and having done, the *Tradesman*, whom before I spake of, lifting up both his *hands*, and *whites* to heaven, calls upon them, saying, *Deerly beloved Brethren let us praise God better*; And thereupon began a long grace of his own conceiving. The case is just the same in the present businesse: Nor had those men, who first invented those new forms of Prayer, obtruded them so easily upon the Church, but that withall they laboured to perswade weak men, and did perswade them at the last, that questionlesse such prayers were better, and more powerfull far than any by the Church appointed: Now all this fear of bringing down the reputation of the *Liturgy*, and practising to advance our private prayers above the publike, are easily avoided by that *Bidding of Prayers* enjoyned by Queen *Elizabeth*, and King *Edward* the *6.* and before that in use in the Church of *England*, as doth appear most plainly in King *Henries* time, and therefore questionlesse it was the meaning of the *Canon*, that it should continue. And being it was the meaning of the *Canon*, of them that made it, that the said *form of Bidding Prayers* (for avoiding the inconveniences and mischiefs before recited) to be still continued; the Prelates of the present times, have greater reason to see it carefully, and duly put in execution, by how much the mischiefs and inconveniences, arising from neglect thereof, and from the liberty which some men take unto themselves of praying what, and how they list in the *Congregation*, are now more sensibly apparent than ever formerly.

(24) Other absurdities, or inconveniences in this kind I could produce, but that these few may serve as a tast for the rest, and I am loath to go beyond the compasse of a *Letter*, although I cannot but be fearfull, that I have passed the bounds thereof already: However I was willing rather to trespasse somewhat on good manners, then to be wanting in the least degree to your desire: Beseeching you as

favou-

favourably to accept, those *Considerations*, as they are chearfully & faithfully digested by me in obedience to the intimation of your Lordships pleasure, which in all matters tending tothe Churches *service* carrieth the force of a command upon all the studies and indeavours of

MY LORD

Your Lordships most

Humble Servant.

FINIS.

THE UNDECEIVING OF THE PEOPLE In the point of TITHES.

Wherein is ſhewed,

I. That never any *Clergy* in the Church of God hath been, or is maintained with leſſe charge to the *Subject*, then the eſtabliſhed *Clergy* of the Church of *England*.

II. That there is no Subject in the Realme of *England*, who giveth any thing of his *owne*, towards the maintenance of his *Pariſh-Miniſter*, but his *Eaſter-Offering*.

III. That the change of *Tithes* into *Stipends*, will bring greater *trouble* to the *Clergy*, then is yet conſidered; and far leſſe *profit* to the *Countrey*, then is now pretended.

By *Pet. Heylyn* D. D.

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1 Cor. 9. 7.

Who goeth a Warfare any time at his own charges? Who planteth a Vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?

LONDON,
Printed by *J. G.* for *John Clark*, and are to be ſold at his ſhop under S. *Peters* Church in *Cornhill*. 1657.

To the Reader.

He Lands of Bishops *and* Cathedralls, *being put to sale, there remained nothing to support a sinking Ministry but* Parochial Tithes; *and upon these the eyes of Avarice and Rapine were so strongly fixt, that all endeavours to preserve them were almost grown desperate. The* Horseleach and her daughters *in the book of* Proverbs *are alwayes on the craving hand; nothing but* Give, Give, *to be heard amongst them.* Non missura cutem nisi plena cruoris hirudo, *in the Poets language. When they have once tasted the sweets of blood, they never lose their hold till full, and when full not satisfied. The Prey when brought within the view must be hunted close. And to this end the* Anabaptists *on the one side, and the* Adjutators *on the other so bestirred themselves, that* Petitions *against* Tithes *were hammered in all parts of the Kingdome, the* Parliament *continually vexed with their importunities, the vulgar* Landholders *fool'd into an opinion that they should have those* Tithes *themselves which before they paid unto the* Clergy; *the common Tradesman and Artificer which had none to pay, opening as wide as any of the rest to make up the* Cry. *In this Conjuncture of Affaires,* Anno

1648. *I publiſhed a ſhort and plain Diſcourſe, entituled,* The Undeceiving of the people in point of Tithes, *under the name of* Ph. Treleinie, *the letters of my own name being tranſpoſed into that in the way of* Anagram. *For though I was then ſequeſtred from my Church-preferments, in a condition rather of paying then receiving* Tithes, *and conſequently could have no self-ends in it as the caſe then ſtood: yet I was fearfull leſt the work if avowed for mine, ſhould be neglected as the product of corrupted Intereſts of one that wholly advocated for his own concernments. What benefit redounded by it unto ſome, what ſatisfaction unto others, I had rather thou ſhouldſt hear elſewhere then expect from me. All I ſhall adde now is but this, that I hope it will not be leſſe profitable unto them that read it, nor read by any with more prejudice and diſaffection, now I acknowledge it for my own, then when it came before them in a borrowed name; and ſo fare thee well.*

THE UNDECEIVING OF THE PEOPLE In the point of TITHES.

AMongst those *popular* deceits which have been set abroad of late to abuse the people, there is not any one which hath been cherished with more endeerments, then a perswasion put into them of not paying *Tithes:* Partly, because it carrieth no small shew of profit with it, but principally as it seemes a conducible means to make the *Clergy* more obnoxious to them, and to stand more at their devotion then they have done formerly. Upon these hopes, it hath been the endeavours of some leading men to represent it to the rest as a *publick grievance*, that the *Clergy* being but an handfull of men in comparison of all the rest of the kingdome, should goe away with the *tenth* (or as some say, the *sixth* part) of the fruits of the earth; and that the *Minister* sitting still in his contemplations, should live upon the sweat of other mens brows, and taking pains amongst the people but one day in seven, should have the *tenth part of their estates* allotted to them for their maintenance. And 'tis no marvel if some few, on these mis-perswasions, have importuned the high Court of *Parliament* from time to time with troublesome and clamorous *Petitions* to redresse this wrong; and put them up also in the name of whole *Counties* (although the generality of those *Counties* had no hand therein) to adde the greater credit and authority to them. In which designe, although they have prevailed no further on the two houses of *Parliament*, then to be sent away with this generall promise, *that in due time their* Petitions *should be taken into consideration*; [a] and that it was the pleasure of the several and respective Houses, that in the mean season they should *take care that* Tithes *be duly paid according to Law:* yet they

[a] As in the answer to those of Hartford, Kent, &c.

they which have espoused the quarrell, will not so be satisfied. For when it pleased the *Lords* and *Commons* to set out an *Ordinance* bearing date *Novemb.* 8. 1644. *for the true payment of* Tithes *and other duties according to the laws and customes of this Realme*; there came out presently a pamphlet entituled, *The Dismounting of the Ordinance for Tithes*; followed and backed by many a scandalous paper of the selfe-same strain. And when it seemed good to the said *Lords* and *Commons*, on the precipitancy of some of the *Clergy* under sequestration, to set out their *additionall Ordinance* of the ninth of *August*, *anno* 1647. it was encountred presently with a scurrilous pamphlet, entituled, *A Preparation for a day of thanksgiving to the* Parliament *for their late Ordinance for* Tithes, *newly mounted and well charged with treble damages, for the peoples not giving the* tenth part of their estates *to the Clergy or Impropriators.* And this, according to the style of those *Petitions*, is said to be the *result of the Parliaments friends in Hartfordshire*; though I am verily perswaded that few, if any of the Gentry and men of quality in the Country, were acquainted with it. But be it the *result* of few or many of the *Parliaments* friends (though I conceive they are but back-friends to the *Parliament*, who set so sleight a value on their Constitutions) the Title doth afford two things worthy consideration: First, that the maintenance of the *Clergy* here by Law established, is said to be by giving to them the tenth part of every mans estate: and secondly, that the blow goes higher then before it did, and aims not onely at the devesting of the *Church* of her ancient *Patrimony* but at the depriving of the *Gentry* of their *Impropriations*, which many of them hold by lease, many by inheritance, all by as good a title as the Law can make them. I know there hath been great pains taken by some learned men, to state the *Institution* and *Right* of *Tithes*, and severall judicious Tractates have been writ about it; which notwithstanding have not found such entertainment as they did deserve: partly, because being written in an *Argumentative* way, they were above the reach of the vulgar Reader; but principally, because written by men ingaged in the cause, and such as might be byassed with their own interesse in it. For my part I am free from all those ingagements which may incline mee to write any thing for my private ends, being one that payeth *Tithes*

and

and ſuch other duties as the *Lawes* and *Ordinances* doe injoyn. And though I ſit far off from the fountain of buſineſſe, and cannot poſſibly ſee at ſo great a diſtance, what might beſt ſatisfie the doubts and clamors of unquiet men: yet I ſhall venture to ſay ſomewhat in a modeſt way towards the *Undeceiving of the People* in this point of *Tithes*, whoſe judgements have been captivated by thoſe miſ perſwaſions, which cunningly have been communicated and infuſed into them. And I ſhall doe it in a way, (if I gueſſe aright) which hath not yet been travelled in this preſent point; ſuch as I hope will ſatisfie all them of the adverſe party, but thoſe who are reſolved before-hand, that they will not be ſatisfied. For whereas the whole controverſie turneth on theſe three hinges: firſt, that the maintenance allowed the *Clergy* is too great for their calling, eſpecially conſidering the ſmall number of them: ſecondly, that it is made up out of *the tenth part of each mans eſtate*; and thirdly, that the changing of this way by the payment of *Tithes* into that of *Stipends*, would be more gratefull to the *Countrey*, and more eaſie to the *Clergy*: I ſhall accordingly reduce this ſmall diſcourſe unto theſe three heads. Firſt, I will ſhew, that never any *Clergy* in the Church of God hath been, or is maintained with leſſe charge to the Subject, then the eſtabliſhed *Clergy* of the Church of *England*. Secondly, that there is no man in the Realm of *England*, who payeth any thing *of his own* towards the maintenance of his Pariſh Miniſter, but his Eaſter Offering. And thirdly, that the changing of *Tithes* into *Stipends*, would bring greater trouble to the *Clergy*, then is yet conſidered, and far leſſe profit to the *Countrey*, then is now pretended. Theſe *Propoſitions* being proved, (which I doubt not of) I hope I ſhall receive no check for my undertaking, conſidering that I doe it of a good intent to free the *Parliament* from the trouble of the like Petitions, and that the common people being diſabuſed, may quietly and chearfully diſcharge their *duties* according to the Lawes eſtabliſhed; and live together with that unity and godly love which ought to be between a *Miniſter* and his *Congregation*. This is the ſum of my deſigne, which if I can effect, it is all I aim at: And with this *Declaration* of my minde and meaning, I truſt this ſhort diſcourſe of mine will be, if not applauded, yet at leaſt excuſed. Firſt then I am to prove this point:

I. *That*

I. *That never any* Clergy *in the Church of God, hath been, or is maintained with lesse charge to the* Subject, *then the* established Clergy *of the Church of* England.

For proof of this, we must behold the Church of God, as it stood under the *Law* in the Land of *Canaan*, and as it now stands under the *Gospel* in the most flourishing parts of *Christendom*. Under the Law, the *Tribe* of *Levi* was possessed of 48 Cities, and the Territories round about them, extending every way for the space of 2000 cubits, which in so small a Country was a greater proportion, then the rents received by the Clergy of all the *Bishoprick* and *Chapter Lands* in the Realm of *England*. Then had they besides *Tribes* (whereof more anon) the first-born of Mankinde, and all *unclean beasts*, which were redeemed at the rate of five *shekels* apeece, amounting in our mony to 12 s. 6 d. and of the firstlings of *clean beasts*, their bloud being sprinkled on the Altar, and the fat offered for a burnt-offering, the flesh remained unto the Priests. Of which, see *Numb.* 18. *v.* 15, 16, 17, 18. They had also the *first-fruits* of Wine, Oyl, and Wool, *Deut.* 18. *v.* 4. yea, and of all things else which the earth brought forth for the use of man; the first-fruits of the dough, *Numb.* 15. *v.* 20, 21. the *meat-offerings*, the *sin-offerings*, the *trespasse-offerings*, [b] the *shake-offerings*, the *heave-offerings*, and the *shew-bread*: as also of all *Eucharisticall* sacrifices, the *breast* and the *shoulder*; of others, the *shoulder* and the two *cheeks*, and the *maw*; [c] and the whole burnt-offering, they received the *skin*. [d] Then adde, that all the *males* of the *Tribes* of *Israel*, were to appear thrice yearly before the Lord, and none of them came empty-handed: and that if any had detained any thing in part or in whole, which was due by law, he was to bring a *Ramme* for an offering, to make good that which was detained, and to adde a fift part to it in the way of recompence. Besides, these duties were brought in to the *Priests* and *Levites* without charge or trouble. And if any for their own ease desired not to pay in kinde, but to redeem the same for a summe of money; the estimation of the due was to be made by the *Priest*; [e] and a fifth part added, as before, for full satisfaction. In a word, such and so many allowances had the *Priests* and *Levites*, that setting by the *Tithes* of their corn and cattell, and of all manner of increase; their maintenance had far exceeded that of the *English Clergy*; and adding unto these the

b Levit. 2. 3. & 7. 5. 7.

c Levit. 7. 33, 34.

d Ib. v. 8.

e Lev. 27. 12, 13.

the *Tithes* of all creatures tithable, it doth more then double it. For in the payment of their *Tithes* by the Lords appointment, there was not only a full *tenth* of all kinds of increase, but such an imposition laid on all kinds of graine, as came to more then a *sixt* part of the crop it selfe: insomuch that of 6000 bushels, 1121 accrued into the *Priests* and *Levites*; 4779. remaining only to the Husbandman. For first, out of 6000 bushels (and so accordingly in all after that proportion) a *sixtieth* part at least, (and that they tearmed the *Therumah* of the *evill eye*, or the niggards *first-fruits*) was to be set apart for the first-fruits of the threshing floor; which was one hundred in the totall. Out of the residue, being 5900 bushels, the first *Tithe* payable to the *Levites*, which lived dispersed and intermingled in the rest of the Tribes, came to 590 bushels; and of the residue being 5310 bushels, 531 were paid for the *second* Tithe unto the *Priests*, which ministred before the Lord in his holy Temple; yet so, that such as would decline the trouble of carrying it in kinde unto *Hierusalem*, might pay the price thereof in money according to the estimate which the *Priests* made of it. To which a fift part being added (as in other cases) did so improve this Tithe to the *Priests* advantage; as that which being paid in kind, was but tenne in the hundred, being thus altered into money, made no lesse then twelve. Now lay these severall sums together, and of 6000 bushels, as before was said, there will accrew 1121 to the *Priest* and *Levite*, and but 4779 to the Lord or Tenant. By which accompt the *Priests* & *Levites* in the tithing of 6000 bushels, received twice as much within a little, as is possessed or claimed by the *English Clergy*, even where the *Tithes* are best paid, without any exemptions, which are so frequent in this Kingdome.

But then perhaps it will be said, that the *Levites* made up one of the twelve *Tribes* of *Israel* and having no inheritance amongst the rest but the *Tithes* and *Offerings*, besides the 48 Citties before mentioned, were to be settled in way of maintenance correspondent unto that proportion. But so (they say) it is not in the case of the *English Clergy*, who are so far from being one of twelve or thirteen at most, that they are hardly one for an hundred; or as a late pamphlet doth infer, not one for five hundred.f Who on this supposition, that there are 500 men and women in a Country parish, the lands whereof are worth 2000 l. *perannum*,

f Tithe-gatherers no Gospel-Ministers.

perannum, and that the *Minister* goeth away with 400 l. a year of the said two thousand: concludeth, that he hath as much for his own particular, as any sixscore of the parish, supposing them to be all poor or all rich alike; and then cries out against it as the *greatest cheat and robberie* that was ever practised. But the answer unto this is easie, I would there were no greater difficulties to perplex the Church. First, for the Tribe of *Levi*, it is plain and evident, that though it passe commonly by the name of a *Tribe*, yet was it none of the *twelve* Tribes of *Israel*, the house of *Joseph* being sub-divided into two whole Tribes, those namely of *Ephraim* and *Manasses*, which made up the Twelve. And secondly, it is as evident, that it fell so short of the proportion of the other Tribes, as not to make a sixtieth part of the house of *Jacob*. For in the general muster which was made of the other tribes, of men of 20 years and upwards, such onely as were fit for arms and such publick services, the number of them came unto 635500 fighting men; to which if we should adde all those which were under 20 years and unfit for service, the number would at least be doubled. But the *Levites* being all reckoned from a month old and above, their number was but 22000 in all, (of which see *Num.* 1. 46. & 3. 39.) which came not to so many by 273 as the onely *first born* of the other *Tribes*: and therefore when the Lord tooke the *Levites* for the *first-born* of *Israel*, the odde 273 were redeemed according to the Law, at five *shekels* a man, and the money which amounted to 1365 *shekels* was given to *Aaron* and his sons, *Num.* 7. 47, 48. Which ground so laid according to the holy Scriptures, let us next take a view of the *English Clergy*, and allowing but one for every parish, there must bee 9725, according to the number of the parish Churches; or say ten thousand in the totall the residue being made up, of *Curates* officiating in the Chappels of Ease throughout the Kingdome: and reckoning in all their male children from a month old and upwards, the number must be more then trebled. For although many of the dignified and beneficed *Clergy* doe lead single lives, yet that defect is liberally supplied by such maried *Curates*, as doe officiate under them in their severall Churches. And then, as to the disproportion which is said to be between the *Clergy* and the rest of the people, one to five hundred at the least: the computation is ill grounded, the collection worse. For first, the

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computation ought not to be made between the *Minister* and all the rest of the parish, men, women, and children, Masters, and Dames, men-servants, and maid-servants, & the stranger which is within the gates; but between him and such whose estates are *Titheable*, and they in most parishes are the smallest number. For setting by all children which live under their parents, servants, apprentices, artificers, day-labourers, and poor indigent people; none of all which have any interest in the *Titheable* lands: the number of the residue will be found so small, that probably the *Minister* may make one of the ten, and so possesse no more then his own share comes to. And then how miserably weak is the *Collection* which is made from thence, that this one man should have as much as any sixscore of the rest of the parish, (supposing that the parish did contain 500 persons) or that his having of so much were a *cheat and robbery?* And as for that objection which I find much stood on, that the *Levites* had no other inheritance but the *Tithes* and offerings, *Numb.* 18. 23. whereas the *English Clergy* are permitted to purchase lands, and to inherit such as descend unto them; the answer is so easie, it will make it selfe. For let the *Tithes* enjoyed by the *English Clergy* descend from them to their posterity, from one generation to another, as did the *Tithes* and *Offerings* on the *Tribe* of *Levi:* and I perswade my selfe, that none of them will be busied about purchasing lands, or be an eye-sore to the people in having more to live on then their *Tithes* and *Offerings*. Till that be done, excuse them if they doe provide for their wives and children, according to the Lawes both of God and Nature. And so much for the *parallel* in point of maintenance, between the *Clergy* of this Church and the Tribe of *Levi*.

Proceed we next unto the *Ministers* of the *Gospel* at the first plantation, during the lives of the Apostles, and the times next following; and we shall finde, that though they did not actually receive *Tithes* of the people, yet they still kept on foot their right; and in the mean time, till they could enjoy them in a peaceable way, were so provided for of all kind of necessaries, that there was nothing wanting to their contentation. First, that they kept on foot their *Right*, and thought that *Tithes* belonged as properly to the *Evangelicall Priesthood*, as unto the *Legall:* seems evident unto me by S. *Pauls* discourse: who

proves *Melchisedechs Priesthood* by these two arguments: first, that he *blessed Abraham*; and secondly, that he *tithed* him, or received *Tithes* of him. For though in our *English* translation it be onely said, that he *received Tithes of Abraham*, which might imply that *Abraham* gave them as a gift, or a free-will-offering, and that *Melchisedech* received them in no other sense: yet in the *Greek* it is δεδεκάτωσε τὸν Αβραάμ, which in plain *English* is, that he *tithed Abraham*, and tooke them of him as his due, *Heb. 7. 6.* If then our Saviour be a *Priest after the order of Melchisedech*, as no doubt he is, hee must have power to *tithe* the people as well as to *blesse* them, or else he comes not home to the *type* or figure: which power of *Tithing* of the people, or receiving *Tithes* of them, since he exerciseth not in person; it seems to me to follow upon very good consequence, that he hath devolved this part of his power on those whom he hath called and authorised for to *blesse* the people. Certain I am, the Fathers of the Primitive times, though they enjoyed not *Tithes* in *specie*, by reason that the Church was then unsetled, and as it were in motion to the land of rest, (in which condition those of *Israel* paid no *Tithes* to *Levi*) yet they still kept their claim unto them, as appeares clearly out of *Origen*, and some other Ancients. And of this truth I thinke no question need be made amongst knowing men. The onely question will be this, Whether the maintenance which they had till the *Tithes* were paid, were not as chargeable to the people as the *Tithes* now are (supposing that the *Tithes* were the subjects own.) For my part I conceive it was, the people of those pious times not thinking any thing too much to bestow on God, for the incouragement of his *Ministers*, and the reward of his Prophets. They had not else *sold off their lands and houses, and brought the prices of the things which were sold, and laid them at the Apostles feet*, as we know they did, *Acts* 4. 34, 35. but that they meant that the Apostles should supply their own wants out of those oblations, as well as the necessities of their poorer brethren. I trow, the selling of all, and trusting it to the dispensing of their *Teachers*, was matter of more charge to such as had *lands and houses*, then paying the *tenth* part of their house-rent, or the *Tithe* of their lands. And when this custome was laid by, (as possibly it might end with the Apostles themselves) the *offerings* which succee-

ſucceeded in the place thereof, and are required or injoyned by the *Apoſtolicall Canons*, were ſo great and manifold, that there was nothing neceſſary to the life of man, as honey, milke, fowle, fleſh, grapes, corn, oyl, frankincenſe, fruits of the ſeaſon, yea ſtrong drink, and ſweet meats, which was not liberally offered on the *Altars*, or *oblation-Tables:* inſomuch as the Author of the Book called the *Holy Table, name, and thing, &c.* according to his ſcornfull manner, ſaith of them, that *they were rather Pantaries, Larders, or Store-houſes, then ſo many conſecrated Altars.* And though he make thoſe *Canons* but as ſo *many Pot-guns*, yet as great *Criticks* as himſelfe eſteeme otherwiſe of them, as his *Antagoniſt* in that quarrell proves ſufficiently. And as for that particular *Canon* which requires theſe *offerings*, it is but an exemplification or particularizing of that which is more generally preſcribed by S. *Paul*, *Gal. 6. 6.* where he enjoyneth him that is *taught to communicate to him that teacheth him*, in omnibus bonis, *in all his goods*, as the *Rhemiſts* read it very rightly, and not in all *good things*, as our late tranſlation. Now this *Injunction* reacheth to all ſorts of people, to the poor as well as to the rich, as it appears plainly by a paſſage in S. *Cyprians* works, where he upbraids a *wealthy Widow* for comming empty-handed, and without her offering to the *Altar* of God, and eating of that part of the ſacrifice which the *poor* had offered. g To the improvement of the maintenance of him that teacheth, not onely the rich men were to offer out of *their abundance*, but the poor woman alſo was to bring her *Mite*. They had not elſe come home to Saint *Pauls* commandement, which reacheth unto all ſorts of people without any exception; to every one according to that meaſure of fortune which *God* hath given him: Which clearly ſheweth, that though the payment of *Tithes* fall heavier upon landed men, then poſſibly it might doe in the *Primitive times*, before the Church was in a condition to demand her rights: yet ſpeaking generally of the people of a Church or pariſh, the charge was greater to them then, than it hath been ſince; the greateſt numbers of the people being freed from *Tithes*, (becauſe they have no lands from whence *Tithes* are payable) who could not be diſcharged from the communication of their goods and ſubſtance without a manifeſt neglect of Saint *Pauls* Injunction. More then this yet, beſides what was

g *Locuples & dives in dominicum, ſine ſacrificio venis, & partem ſacrificii quod pauper obtulit ſumis. Cyp. de piet. & Eleemoſ.*

communicated in a private way, for the encouragement and support of him that *taught*; which we may well conceive to be no small matter: the publick offerings of the people were of so great consequence, as did not onely serve to maintain the *Bishop*, according to his place and calling; and to provide also for the *Priests* or *Ministers* which served under him; but also to relieve the poor and repair their Churches. [h] And therefore certainly the faithfull of those times were generally at more charge to maintain their *Ministry*, then the subject is with us in *England*; the greatest part of which by far pay no *Tithes* at all to the *Parish-Minister*, and no man any thing at all towards the maintenance of the *Bishop*, as in former dayes.

h *Beda in histor. Eccles. l.* 1.

Follow we our designe through severall Countries, and we shall finde the *Clergy* of most parts in *Christendome*, either more plentifully endowed, or else maintained with greater charge unto the Subject, then the *Clergie* of the Church of *England*. In *France*, the Author of the *Cabinet* computes the *Tithes* and temporall *Revenues* of the *Clergy*, besides provisions of all sorts, to 80 millions of Crowns; but his accompt is disallowed by all knowing men. *Bodin* reporteth from the mouth of *Monsieur d' Alemant*, one of the *Presidents of Accompts* in *Paris*, that they amount to 12 millions, and 300000 of their *Livres*, which is 1230000 l. of our *English* money; and he himselfe conceives that they possesse seven parts of twelve of the whole Revenues of that kingdome. The book inscribed *Comment d' Estat'* gives a lower estimate, and reckoning that there are in *France* 200 millions of *Arpens*, (which is a measure somewhat bigger then our Acre) assigneth 47 millions, which is neer a fourth part of the whole, to the *Gallican* Clergy. But which of these soever it be we think fit to stand to, it is resolved by them all that the *Baise-maine*, which consists of offerings, Churchings, Burialls, *Diriges*, and such other casualties, amounteth to as much *per annum*, as their standing rents: upon which ground, Sir *Edwin Sandys* computeth their Revenue at six millions yearly. In *Italy*, besides the temporall estate of the Popes of *Rome*, the *Clergy* are conceived to have in some places a third part of the whole; but in most a moyetie. In *Spain*, the certaine rents of the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, are said to be no lesse then 300000 Crowns *per annum*; which is far more then all the Bishops, Deans, and

Preben-

Prebendaries, do poſſeſſe in *England*. In *Germany*, the Biſhops for the moſt part are powerfull Princes; and the *Canons* of ſome Churches of ſo faire an *Intrado*, and of ſuch eſtimation amongſt the people, that the Emperours have thought it no diſparagement to them, to have a *Canons* place in ſome of their Churches. And as for the *Parochial* Clergy in theſe three laſt countries, eſpecially in *Spain* and *Italy*, where the people are more ſuperſtitious then they be in *Germany*, there is no queſtion but that the *Vailes* and *Caſualties* are as beneficiall to them, as the *Baiſe-maine* is to the *French*.

But here perhaps it will be ſaid that this is nothing unto us of the Realm of *England*, who have ſhook off the ſuperſtitions of the Church of *Rome*, and that our pains is ſpent but to litle purpoſe, unleſſe we can make good our *Theſis* in the Churches *Proteſtant*. We muſt therefore caſt about againe: and firſt, beginning with *France*, as before we did, we ſhall finde that thoſe of the *Reformed* party there, not onely pay their *Tithes* to the *Beneficiary*, who is preſented by the Patron to the Cure or title; or to the Church or Monaſtery to which the *Tithes* are ſettled by *Appropriations*; but over and above do raiſe an yearly maintenance for thoſe that miniſter amongſt them. Juſt as the *Iriſh Papiſts* pay their *Tithes* and duties unto the *Proteſtant* Incumbent, and yet maintain their own Prieſts too by their gifts and offerings; or as the people in ſome places with us in *England*, doe pay their tithes unto the Parſon or Vicar whom the Law ſets over them, and raiſe a contribution alſo for their *Lecturer*, whom they ſet over themſelves. In other Countries where the ſupream Governours are *Reformed* or *Proteſtant*, the caſe is ſomewhat better with the common people, although not generally ſo eaſie as with us in *England*. For there the *Tithes* are taken up by the Prince or State, and yearly penſions aſſigned out of them to maintain the *Miniſters*; which for the moſt part are ſo ſmall, and ſo far ſhort of a *Competencie* (though by that name they love to call it) that the Subject having paid his *Tithes* to the Prince or State, is fain to adde ſomething out of his purſe, towards the mending of the Stipend. Beſides, there being for the moſt part in every Church two diſtinct ſorts of *Miniſters*, that is to ſay, a *Paſtor* who hath Cure of ſouls, and performes all *Miniſteriall* offices in his congregation; and a *Doctor* (like

our

our *English* Lectures, which took hint from hence) who onely medleth with the Word. The *Pastor* onely hath his Stipend from the publick treasurie; the *Doctor* being maintained wholly (as I am credibly informed) at the charge of the people: and that not onely by the bounty or benevolence of landed men, but in the way of *Contribution*, from which no sort of people of what rank soever, (but such as live on alms or the poor mans box) is to be exempted. But this is onely in the Churches of *Calvins* platform, those of the *Lutheran* party in *Denmark*, *Swethland*, and high *Germany*, having their *Tithes* and Glebe as they had before; and so much more in *offerings* then with us in *England*, by how much they come neerer to the Church of *Rome*, both in their practise and opinions, (especially in the point of the holy Sacrament) then the *English* doe. And as for our *dear brethren* of the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, who cannot be so soone forgotten by a true born *English* man, the *Tithes* being setled for the most part on *Religious* houses, came in their fall, unto the Crown, and out of them a third was granted to maintain their *Minister*: but also ill paid while the *Tithes* remained in the Crown, and worse then alienated to the use of private Gentlemen, that the greatest part of the burden for support of the *Ministrie*, lay in the way of contribution, on the backs of the people. And as one ill example doth beget another, such Lords and Gentlemen as had right to present to Churches, following the steps of those who held the *Tithes* from the Crown, soon made lay-fees of all the Tithes of their own demesnes and left the *Presentee* such a sorry pittance, as made him burthensome to his neighbours for his better maintenance. How it stands with them now since these late alterations, those who have took the *Nationall covenant*, and I presume are well acquainted with the *Discipline* and estate of the *Scottish Kirk* (which they have bound themselves to defend and keep) are better able to resolve us. And so much for the proof of the first proposition, namely, That never any *Clergie* in the Church of God, hath been, or is maintained with lesse charge of the *Subject*, then the established *Clergie* of the Church of *England*. And yet the proof hereof will be more convincing, if we can bring good evidence for the second also: which is,

II. *That*

II. *That there is no man in the Kingdome of* England, *who payeth any thing of his* owne *towards the maintenance and ſupport of his* Pariſh Miniſter, *but his* Eaſter-offering.

And that is a *Paradox* indeed, will the Reader ſay. Is it not viſible to the eye, that the *Clergie* have the tenth part of our corn and cattell, and of other the increaſe and fruits of the earth ? Doe not the people *give them the tenth part of their eſtates*, ſaith one of my pamphlets? Have they not all their *livelihoods out of our purſes*, ſaith another of them ? Aſſuredly neither ſo, nor ſo. All that the *Clergie* doth receive from the purſe of the Subject, for all the paines he takes amongſt them, is two pence at Eaſter. He claims no more than this as due, unleſſe the cuſtome of the place, (as I think in ſome parts it is) bring it up to ſix pence. If any thing be given him over this by ſome bountifull hand, he takes it for a favour, and is thankfull for it. Such profits, as come in by *Mariages*, *Churchings*, and *Funerall* Sermons, as they are generally ſmall, and but accidentall: ſo he is bound unto ſome ſpeciall ſervice and attendance for it. His conſtant ſtanding fee, which properly may be ſaid to come out of the Subjects purſe for the adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, is nothing but the *Eaſter-offering*. The *Tithes* are legally his own, not *given* unto him by the Subject, as is now pretended, but *paid* unto him as a rent-charge laid upon the land; and that before the Subject, either Lord or Tenant, had any thing to do in the land at all. For as I am informed by Sir *Edw: Coke* in his Comment upon *Littletons Tenures*, li. 1. cap. 9. Sect. 73, fol. 58. *It appeareth by the Laws and Ordinances of ancient Kings, and ſpecially of King* Alfred, *that the firſt King of this Realm had all the lands of* England *in* Demeſne, *and* les grands manours & royalties, *they reſerved to themſelves, and with the remnant they for the defence of the Realm enfeoffed the* Barons *of the Realm with ſuch juriſdiction as the court* Baron *now hath.* So he, the profeſſed Champion of the Common laws. And at this time it was, when all the lands in *England* were the Kings *Demeſne*, that *Ethelwolph*, the ſecond Monarch of the *Saxon race* (his father *Egbert* being the firſt which brought the former *Heptarchie* under one ſole Prince) conferred the *Tithes* of all the kingdome

upon the Church, by his royall Charter. Of which, thus *Ingulph* Abbot of *Crowland* an old *Saxon* writer: i *An.* 855. (which was the 18 of his reign) *King* Ethelwulph *with the consent of his Prelates & Princes which ruled in* England *under him in their severall Provinces, did first enrich the Church of* England *with the tithes of all his lands and goods, by his Charter* Royall. *Ethelward*, an old *Saxon*, and of the bloud Royall, doth expresse it thus k: *He gave the tithe of his possessions for the Lords own portion,* and ordered *it to be so in all the parts of the* Kingdome *under his command. Florence* of *Worcester* in these words: l *King Ethelwolfe for the Redemption of his own soul, and the souls of his Predecessors, discharged the* tenth part *of his* Realm *of all tributes and services due unto the* Crown, *and by his perpetuall Charter signed with the signe of the* Crosse *offered it to the three-one God. Roger of Hovenden* hath it in the selfe same words; and *Huntingdon* more briefly thus; m that *for the love of God, and the redemption of his soul, he tithed his whole dominions to the use of the Church.* But what need search be made into so many Authors, when the *Charter* it selfe is extant in old Abbot *Ingulph*, and in *Matthew* of *Westminster*, and in the Leiger book of the Abbey of *Abingdon?* which Charter being offered by the King on the Altar at *Winchester*, in the presence of his *Barons*, was received by the *Bishops*, and by them sent to be published in all the Churches of their severall Dioceses: a clause being added by the King (saith the Book of *Abingdon*) that *Whosoever added to the gift* n, *God would please to prosper and increase his dayes; but that if any did presume to diminish the same, he should be called to an account for it at Christs judge-*

i *Anno* 855. *Rex Ethelwulfus, omnium Prælatorum & Principum suorum qui sub ipso variis Provinciis totius Angliæ præerant gratuito Consensu, tunc primo cum decimis terrarum & bonorum aliorum sive catallorum, universam dotavit Ecclesiam per suum Regium Chirographum.* Ingulph.

k *Decimavit de omni possessione sua in partem Domini, & in universo regimine Principatus sui sic constituit.* Ethelward.

l *Æthelwulphus Rex decimam totius Regni sui partem, ab omni Regali servitio & tributo liberavit, & in sempiterno Graphio in Cruce Christi, pro Redemptione Animæ suæ & Prædecessorum suorum uni & trino Deo immolavit.* Florent. Wigorn.

m *Totam terram suam propter amorem Dei & Redemptionem ad opes Ecclesiarum decimavit.* Henr Huntingd.

n *Qui augere voluerit nostrã donationem, augeat omnipotens Deus dies ejus prosperos; siquis vero mutare vel minuere præsumpserit, noscat se ad Tribunal Christi reddituru rationẽ, nisi prius satisfactione emendaverit.*

judgement seat, unlesse he made amends by full satisfaction. In which, as in some other of the former passages, as there is somewhat savouring of the errour of those darker times, touching the *merit* of good works; yet the authorities are strong and most convincing for confirmation of the point which we have in hand.

Now that the King charged all the *lands* of the Kingdome with the payment of *tithes*, and not that onely which he held in his own possession, is evident both by that which was said before from Sir *Edw: Coke*, and by the severall passages of the former Authors. For if all the lands in the kingdome were the Kings *Demesnes*, and the King conferred the *tithes* of all his lands on the Church of God, it must follow thereupon that all the lands of the Realm were charged with *tithes* before they were distributed amongst the *Barons* for defence of the kingdome. And that the lands of the whole Realm were thus charged with *tithes*, as well that which was parted in the hands of tenants, as that which was in the occupancy of the King himselfe, the words before alleged doe most plainly evidence, where it is said that he gave the *tenth of all his lands*, as *Ingulph*; the *tithe* of his whole land, as *Henry* of *Huntingdon*; the *tenth part* of his whole kingdome, as in *Florence* of *Worcester*; the *tenth part* of the lands throughout the kingdome, in the *Charter* it selfe. And finally, in the Book of *Abingdon*, the Charter is ushered in with this following title, *viz. Quomodo Ethelwolfus Rex dedit* decimam *partem* regi sui *Ecclesiis*, that is to say, how *Ethelwolf* gave unto the Church the *tenth part of his kingdome.* This makes it evident, that the King did not onely give *de facto*, the *tithe* or the *tenth* part of his *whole Realm* to the use of the Clergy; but that he had a right and a power to do it, as being not onely the *Lord Paramount*, but the *Proprietary* of the whole lands; the Lords and great men of the Realm not having then a property or estates of permanency, but as accomptants to the King, whose the whole land was. And though it seems by *Ingulph* their consents were asked, and that they gave a free consent to the Kings Donation; yet was this but a matter of form, and not simply necessary, their *approbation* and consent being only asked, either because the King was not willing to doe any thing to the disherison of his Crown, without the liking and consent of the Peers; or that having their

consent and approbation, they should bee barred from pleading any *Tenant-right*, and be obliged to stand in maintenance and defence thereof against all pretenders. And this appears yet further by a Law of King *Athelstanes*, made in the year 930, about which time not only the Prelates of the Church, as formerly, but the great men of the Realm, began to be setled in estates of permanency, and to claim a *property* in those lands which they held of the Crown; and claiming, so begun (it seems) to make bold to subduct their *tithes*. For remedy whereof, the King made this Law, commanding all his Ministers throughout the kingdome, that in the first place they *should pay the* tithes o *of his own estate*, (that is to say, that which he held in his own hands, and had not estated out to his Lords and Barons) *and that the* Bishops *did the like of that which they held in right of their Churches; and his* Nobles *and* Officers *of that which they held in* property, *as their own possessions or inheritance*. By which we find that *tithes* were granted to the *Clergy* out of all the lands in the kingdome, and the perpetuall payment of them laid as a *rent-charge* on the same, by the bounty and munificence of the first *Monarchs* of this Realm, before any part thereof was demised to others. And if perhaps some of the *great men* of the Realm had estates in *property* (as certainly there were but few, if any, which had any such estates in the times we speake of) they charged the same with *tithes* by their own consent, before they did transmit them to the hands of the Gentry, or any who now claim to lay hold under them.

o *Ut imprimis de meo proprio reddant Deo decimas; & Episcopi mei similiter faciant de suo proprio, & Aldermanni mei, & Præpositi mei.*

So then, the land being charged thus with the payment of *tithes*, came with this clog unto the *Lords* and *great men* of the Realm; and being so charged with *tithes* by the Kings and Nobles, have been transmitted and passed over from one hand to another, untill they came to the possession of the present owners. Who whatsoever right they have to the other nine parts, either of fee-simple, lease, or copy, have certainly none at all in the *tithe* or *tenth*, which is no more theirs, or to be so thought of, than the other nine parts are the *Clergies*. For whether they hold their lands at an yearly rent, or have them in fee, or for tearm of life, or in any other tenure whatsoever it be, they hold them, and they purchased them on this tacite condition, that besides the *rents* and *services* which they pay to the

the Lord, they are to pay unto the *Clergie*, or unto them who do succeed in the *Clergies* right, a *tenth* of all the fruits of the earth, and of the fruits of their cattell, and all creatures *titheable*, unlesse some ancient custome or prescription doe discharge them of it. And more then so, whether they hold by yearly rent, or by right of purchase, they hold it at lesse rent by far, and buy it at far cheaper rates, because the land it selfe and the stock upon it is chargeable with *tithes*, as before was said, than they would doe, or could in reason think to doe, were the land free from *tithes*, as in some places of this Realm it is. To make this clearer by example of an house in *London*, where, according to the rent which this house is set at, the *Minister* hath 2 s. 9 d. out of every pound in the name of a *tithe*: Suppose we that the rent of the house be 50 l. the *Ministers* due according unto that proportion, comes to 6 l. 17 s. 6 d. yearly; which were it not paid, and to be paid by law to the *Parish-Minister*, there is no question to be made, but that the Landlord of the house would have raised his rent, and not content himselfe with the 50 l. but look for 56 l. 17 s. 6 d. which is the whole rent paid, though to divers hands. And if this house were to be sold at 16 years purchase, the *Grantee* could expect no more then 800 l. because there is a rent of 6 l. 17 s. and 6 d. reserved to the *Minister* by Law, which is to be considered in the sale thereof; whereas if no such *rent* or *tithe* were to issue out of it, he would have as many years purchase for the summe remaining, which would inhaunce the price 110 l. higher than before it was. Now by this standard we may judge of the case of lands, though by reason of the difference of the soil, the well or ill husbanding of grounds, and the greatnesse or smalnesse of the stock, which is kept upon them, it cannot be reduced to so clear a certainty. But whatsoever the full *tithe* of all be worth to the *Minister*, we may undoubtedly conclude, that if so much as the *tithe* comes to yearly, were not paid to him, the *Landlord* would gain it in his rent, and the *Grantee* get it in the sale: no benefit at all redounding to the *Tenant* by it, nor any unto him that buyeth it. Or if we will suppose with one of my pamphlets, (and let it be supposed this once for our better proceeding) that he who *officiates* in a parish where *tithes* are paid in kind without any substractions, hath the fift part of every

landed mans eſtate, that is to ſay, four pounds in every 20 l. *per annum*: the *Purchaſer* or *Tenant*, be he which he will, may poſitively build on this in his better thoughts, that if four pounds in twenty were not paid to the *Miniſter*, the *Tenant* muſt pay to his *Landlord*, and the *Purchaſer* muſt buy it at the ſame rates, as he did the reſt of the land. But being that neither the *Tenant* pays rent for it, nor the *Purchaſer* hath it in his grant from him that ſelleth the land unto him: the *tithe* of the increaſe of their land and ſtock, and other creatures *titheable* in their poſſeſſion can be none of their own; but muſt be his, and onely his, whom the munificence of Kings and Princes, confirmed by ſo many Laws and Statutes, have conferred it on. *His* part indeed it is, not *ours*, (not the *tenth part of our eſtates*, as my pamphlet ſaith) & he receives it of us as a rent or duty, tranſmitted to us with the land from one hand to another; not as a matter of gift, or an act of courteſie.

If then we pay not any thing of our own to the *Pariſh-Miniſter*, which ariſeth to him from the increaſe of corn and cattell, and other creatures *titheable* by the Law of the Land; I think it cannot be affirmed by diſcerning men, who are not led aſide by prejudice and prepoſſeſſions, that we give any thing at all of *our own* unto them, more than our *Eaſter-offering*, be it more or leſſe. 'Tis true, ſome Statutes have been made about the payment of *perſonall tithes*, out of the gains ariſing in the way of *trade*: and I remember Dr *Burgeſſe* writ a book about it, for which he ſtands as highly cenſured by the *Independent* p, as for other things by thoſe of the *Prelaticall* party. But then I think it is as true, that either thoſe Statutes were drawn up with ſuch *reſervations*, or men of *trades* have been ſo backward to conform unto them, that litle or no benefit hath redounded by them to the *Pariſh-Miniſter*, more than to ſhew the good affections which the *Parliaments* of thoſe times had unto the *Clergie*. And if we pay nothing of our *own* towards the maintenance of the *Clergie*, out of the increaſe of our grounds and ſtock, as I have plainly proved we doe not; and that no benefit come unto them from the gains of *trading*, as I think there comes not: if thoſe ſmall *vailes* and *caſualties* which redound unto him from Mariages, Churchings, and the like occaſions, be given unto him for ſome ſpeciall ſervice which he doth perform, and not for his adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments; I hope my ſecond

p As in the Book called Tithe-gatherers no Goſpel-officers.

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Proposition hath been proved sufficiently, namely, that there is no man in the kingdome of *England* who payeth any thing *of his own* towards the maintenance of his *Parish-Minister*, but his *Easter-offering*: If so, as so it is for certain, there hath beene litle ground for so great a clamour as hath been lately raised about this particular: lesse reason to subduct or to change that maintenance which the piety of our Kings have given, and the indulgence of succeeding Princes have confirmed in Parliament, without any charge unto the subject. Which change, though possibly some specious colours may be put unto it, will neither be really beneficiall to the *Clergy* or *Laity*. And that conducts me on to my last *Proposition, viz.*

III. *That the change of* Tithes *into* Stipends *will bring greater trouble to the* Clergy, *than is yet considered; and far lesse profit to the* Countrey, *than is now pretended.*

This is a double *Proposition*, and therefore must be looked on in its severall parts: first, in relation to the *Clergie*, whose ease is very much pretended, and next in reference to the *Occupant*, whose profit onely is intended in the change desired. It is pretended for the *Clergie* q, to be a very *difficult thing to know the* dues *demandable of their severall* parishes, that it *maketh them too much given unto worldly things, by looking after the inning and threshing out of their corn; and doth occasion many scandalous and vexatious sutes betwixt them and their neighbours:* all which they think will be avoided, in case the *Ministers* were reduced to some *annuall stipend*. And to this end it is propounded by the Army in their late *Proposals*, that the *unequall, troublesome, and contentious way of* Ministers *maintenance by* Tithes, *may be considered of, (in Parliament) and a remedy applied unto it.* But under favour of the *Army*, and of all those who have contrived the late *Petitions* to that purpose, I cannot see but that the way of maintenance by *annuall stipends* will be as troublesome, unequall, and cotentious too, as that of *Tithes* by Law established; especially if those annuall stipends be raised according to the platform which is now in hand. For, as far as I am able to judge by that which I have seen and heard from the chief contrivers, the design is this, A valuation to be made of every benefice over all the kingdome, according to the worth thereof one year with another; a yearly summe according to that valuation to be raised

q As in the Kentish Petition and other projects of that kind.

raised upon the lands of every parish, which now stand chargeable with *Tithes*; the money so assessed and levied, to be brought into one common treasurie in each severall County and committed to the hands of speciall *Trustees* hereunto appointed; and finally, that those *Trustees* doe issue out each halfe year such allowances to the *Ministers* of the severall *Parishes*, respect being had unto the deserts of the person and the charge of his family, as they think fittest: yet so, that the *Impropriatours* be first fully satisfied according to the estimate of their *Tithes* and Glebe. This is the substance of the project. And if the moneys be assessed in the way proposed, only upon the *landed men*, whether Lords or Tenants, and not upon *Artificers*, handicrafts, and men of mysterious trades, who receive equall benefit by the *Ministers* labours; the way of maintenance by *stipends* will be as *unequall* altogether, as by that of *tithes*. And if it be but as unequall, I am sure it will be far more troublesome. For now the *Minister* or *Incumbent* hath no more to doe, but to see his corn brought in and housed (being to be cut and cocked to his hand both by law and custome) and being brought in, either to spend it in his house, or sell the residue thereof to buy other provisions. Which if he think too great an avocation from his studies, he may put over to his wife, or some trusty servant, as Gentlemen of greater fortunes doe unto their *Bailiffs*. And I my selfe know divers *Clergie men* of good note and quality, to whom the taking up of *Tithes* brings no greater trouble, than once a month to look over the accompts of their servants: besides, that many of them, keeping no more in their hands, than what will serve for the necessary expence of houshold, let out the rest unto some neighbour at an yearly rent. But when the *Tithes* are turned to money, and that the *Minister* hath neither corn nor hay, nor any other provision for expence of houshould, but what he buyeth by the penny: what an *unreasonable trouble* must it needs prove to him to trudge from one market to another, for every bit of bread he eats, and every handfull of malt which he is to spend? And if corn happen to be dear, (as it is at this present) one quarter of a years provisions bought at the price of the market, may eat out his whole years allowance. Besides, I would fain learn, for I know not yet, whether the valuation be to be made yearly, and to hold

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no longer than that year, or, being once agreed on, to endure for ever. If it be made from year to yeare, either the *Minister* must be at a certain *trouble* in driving a new bargain every year, with each severall and respective *Occupant* within the parish; or at a greater *trouble* in attending the *Trustees* of the County, till they have list and leisure to conclude it for him. But if the valuation once made be to hold for ever, which is I think the true intent of the designe; I would fain know, in case the price of all commodities should rise as much by the end of the next hundred years, as it hath done in the last, and so the next hundreds after that; how scant a pittance the poor Minister will have in time, for the subsistence of himselfe and his family-charge. For since the 26 of King *Henry* the 8th when a survay was taken of all the spirituall promotions in this kingdome, and the clear yearly value of each returned into the Court of the *Exchequer*, the prices of commodities have been so inhaunced, that had not Benefices been improved proportionably, but held unto the valuation which is there recorded, the *Ministery* in generall had been so poor, so utterly unable to have gone to the price of the markets, that many must have digged or begged for an hungry livelyhood.

And yet we doe not see an end of the mischief neither; for when the *Tithes* are changed to a sum of money, and the money brought into a common bank or *Treasury*, the *Minister* will bee sure to undergo a certain losse, and be vexed with more uncertain *troubles*. For when this *Clergie-office* is once erected and setled in a constant course or method, as all offices be; there must be *Treasurers*, *Receivers*, *Tellers*, *Auditours*, besides under-offices, in each severall Countie: every of which will look to have some benefit by his place and office, if not his whole subsistence by it. And I would fain know of these grand *Projectors*, by that time every one of these Cooks hath licked his fingers, and each *Cerberus* hath had his mouth full; how pitifully short the *Commons* must needs prove to the hungry *Clergie*, who are to live on the remainder. Now as the losse is more than certain, so will the *trouble* be as great as the losse, and no lesse certain too, though it be uncertain. For when the poor *Clergie-man* hackneyeth to receive his *Stipend*, how many put-offs shall he finde, ere he speed of his businesse. For either Mr *Treasurer is not at leisure*, or *the*

money is not yet come in, or *better men then he must be sped before him*: and having danced a fortnight in this attendance, may possibly be forced to a *composition*, and take egs for his money, or else pay very dearly for his expedition. Such courses have been formerly complained of in the Kings *Exchequer*; *Committees* in the Countrey are not free from the like complaints: and much I feare, lest this new *office* prove as full of delaies and trouble (for the best of us are but men, and subject to corrupt affections) as either of the others have been found to be. But then, if Mr *Treasurer* have a further power either of augmentation or of diminution, according as he judgeth of the *Ministers* diligence, or looks upon him in respect of his charge and family: what a base vassallage and thraldome must the poore *Clergie-man* be brought to, in having such a *Super-Intendent* to judge of his parts and diligence, or to assigne him an allowance for his wife and children? How punctually must Mr *Treasurer* be attended and crouched unto, gifted, and bribed from time to time, either in hope to have the yearly *Stipend* mended, or else for feare to have it lessned? The *Chancellors* were thought to Lord it with too high an insolency, when the poor Country-*Minister* did appear before them. But these who are to *bear the bag*, and upon whom the *Clergie* must depend for a poor subsistence, will be sure to Lord it over them with contempt enough; more than the *Chancellor* or *Bishop* in the worst times of their Government: in case at last they do not think all wast which is given to *Christ*, under pretence of keeping it for more *pious uses*. And what a trouble and vexation to ingenuous minds this must needs be thought, let the Reader judge.

So then, the way of *Ministers* maintenance by yearly *Stipends* being as *unequall*, and more *troublesome* then that of *Tithes*; let us next see whether it may not prove as *contentious* also. Tis true indeed, there have been many suits in the Courts of *Westminster*, between some *Incumbents* and their neighbours about matter of *Tithes*; but if it be examined where the fault lieth most, I doubt it will be rather found to proceed out of covetousnesse in some parishioners, than any difficulty in discovering the demandable dues, or any contentiousnesse in the *Ministers*. For many Countrey people reckoning all good gains of which they can defraud the *Parson*, are apt enough on all occasions

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to ſubduct their *Tithes*, and either to pretend *cuſtomes*, or plead *preſcriptions*, to decline the payment. And though they commonly attempt it firſt in ſuch trifling matters, as are not conſiderable in themſelves, and would bring a ſcandall on the *Miniſter*, ſhould he be too ſtrict, and trouble them for matters of ſo ſleight a nature: yet when he looks upon the conſequent, and that the withholding or ſubducting of thoſe *petit Tithes*, is but to make a way for the reſt to follow; hee findes more reaſon to inſiſt on a punctuall payment, then otherwiſe the nature of the thing would bear. And if a ſuit enſue upon it, I ſee not why it ſhould be charged upon the *Miniſter*, who is accomptable to God, the Church, and his whole ſucceſſion, from any diminution of the *Churches* rights, by his remiſneſſe or connivence. But wherefoever the fault lies, *contentious ſuits* doe ſometimes happen, there is no queſtion of it. And can we think *contentions* will not alſo riſe about the payment of the *Stipends?* Some men conceive themſelves to be over-rated, others are apt enough to think that the *Tradeſman* who gets more by his *Shop*, than they doe by the *Plough*, ſhould be as liable as themſelves to this common burden; and ſome beleeving that no *Tithes* are due at all, will neither pay in kind, or money. Some courſe muſt then be taken to inforce a payment, where payment is denyed upon theſe pretentions: and there is no *compulſive* courſe without ſome contention. And then ſuppoſing that ſome courſe muſt be taken to inforce a payment, (as I can ſee no hope how it wil be avoyded) I would next know by whom this courſe muſt be purſued. If by the *Truſtees* for the County, they will be like to prove but ill *ſolicitors* in another mans buſineſſe, as being to get nothing but their pains for their labour; beſides that, ſpending, as they muſt, on the common ſtock (and men we know, are very apt to cut large thongs out of another mans leather) the bill of charges for one ſuit, may poſſibly devour the fruits of the whole Benefice. If by the *Miniſter* himſelfe, as it is moſt likely, we are but where we were before, and by avoyding one *contention* for *Tithes* in kind, the *Miniſter* muſt be ingaged in another for *Tithes* in money, which comes all to one. For that ſuch ſuits will follow on this alteration, I look on as a matter unavoidable; conſidering eſpecially, how infinitely the Countrey-man, who aimes at nothing in

the change but his gain or profit, will finde himselfe deceived of his expectation, and consequently will be more stubborn and untractable when he seeth his errour.

For that the change of *Tithes* into *annuall Stipends* will not be so much unto his profit as he doth expect, & hath been intimated to him by some leading men, who have the hammering of the plot, will be no hard matter to demonstrate. I know that nothing is pretended openly in the alteration, but that the *Occupant* may have his *Tithes* at a certain rent; and not be troubled to expect till the *Parson* comes to set out his dues. But I know too, that generally they have been fed with a secret hope, that if the *Parliament* prevailed in the present war, they then should pay no *Tithes* at all, but every man of what estate or trade soever, should be contributory to the charge of the *Ministers* maintenance. Just so the Prince of *Orange* dealt with the *Boors* of *Holland*: assuring them, that if they prospered in the war against the King of *Spain* (which was then in hand) they should *pay no Tithes unto their Ministers*; and in the mean time that the *Tithes* should be taken up towards the maintenance of the warre for the common liberty. But when the war was brought to so faire an issue, that the *Boor* thought to be exempted from the payment of *Tithes*: Answer was made, that they should *pay none to the Minister* as they had done formerly, whereby their *Ministers* in effect were become their Masters; but that the *Tithes* were so considerable a Revenue, that the *State* could not possibly subsist without them; that therefore they must be content to pay them to the *States Commissioners*, as they had done hitherto, and that the *State* would take due care to maintain a *Ministery*. By means whereof they doe not onely pay their *Tithes*, as in former times: but seeing how short the publick allowance made their *Ministers*, doth come of that which some are pleased to call a *competency*, they are constrained (as it were) out of common charity, if not compelled thereto by Order, to contribute over and above, with the rest of the people, for the improvement and increase of the *Ministers* pension. And so it was in *Scotland* also, after the *Lords of new erection* had ingrossed the *Tithes*. I cannot say that there is any such designe as to annex the *Tithes* to the Crown, (though if they be taken from the *Clergie* they ought of common right to returne againe unto

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the Crown, from whence they came) But I dare say the *Landholder* will conceive himselfe as much defrauded of his expectation, as if there was: and when he findes, that in stead of paying no *Tithes* at all, he is to pay a valuable consideration in money for them, will think himselfe so far from being beholding to the *Undertakers* of this project, that he will think the old way better, and more easie to him. His *money* he accompts his *own*, and parts as sadly from it as from so much of his bloud. The *Tithes* he looks upon as another mans, which never were in his possession, or to be reckoned of as a part of himselfe; and therefore lets them goe without griefe or trouble. And I have marked it commonly amongst my neighbours (who I beleeve are of the same temper with other *Occupants*) that the same men who took no thought for parting with their *Tithes* in kindes, having compounded for them at a rate in money, invented more delays, and made more excuses, to put the payment off for a weeke or two, and so from one day to another, than for the payment of their *Tithes* in all their life time. So dear a thing is money to us Countrey people, that he who shall perswade us to redeem a supposed inconvenience with a reall and a constant expence of treasure, will be counted but an *evill Counsellor*. A visible evidence whereof we have now amongst us. For though the *quartering of Souldiers* be the heaviest bondage that ever a free-born people did languish under, and such as men of meanes and quality would buy out upon any tearms: yet generally the Countrey-man had rather make himselfe a slave, and his wife a drudge, and let them spend upon his victualls, than part with money to remove them to some other place. My inference hereupon is this; either the valuation of each severall Benefice will be true and reall to the worth, or not. If not, it may redound indeed to the Ploughmans profit, but then it comes accompanied with a *publick fraud*, which I beleeve no *Christian* State will be guilty of. And on the other side, if the rates be made according to the full worth of the Benefice, it will be little to the profit of the Husbandman; who might have farmed his *tithes* as cheap of the Parson or Vicar; besides the hearts-grief it will be unto many of them to part with ready money for a thing of convenience, without which they might live as happily as their fathers did.

And if it be not to the *profit* of the Ploughman this way, I am ſure that in another way it will not be to his *content* or his *profit* either. For taking it for granted, as I think I may, that I have hit on the deſigne which is now on foot, that is to ſay, that the yearly profits of each Benefice in every County, be brought into one common bank or treaſury within the County, and then diſpoſed of by *Truſtees*, according as they judge of the deſerts of the perſon, and take into conſideration his family-charge: it may ſo happen, (and will doubtleſſe) that in a pariſh where the tax or ſeſſement cometh to 400 l. *per annum*, the *Miniſter* may not be allowed above an hundred. The reſidue will be wholly in Mr *Treaſurers* power, either to feaſt with his friends, or lay up for his children; or at the beſt to ſetle it on ſuch who relate unto him, or can make means and friends to enlarge their penſions, though ſuch perhaps as were never ſeen nor heard of by the *pariſh*, whence the mony comes. And if men think it as it is, an ill peece of husbandry, to have the ſoil carried off their own land, and laid on anothers, to the impoveriſhing of their own, and enriching of his: I cannot ſee but that it will be thought a worſe peece of husbandry, and prove of very ill digeſtion to moſt Countrey ſtomacks; to have the fat of their livings carried to another place, and given unto a man whom they never ſaw, and who is never like to feed their ſoules with the bread of life, or their bodies with the life of bread: their own poor *Miniſter* mean while, from whom they have reaſon to expect it, being ſo diſcouraged and impoveriſhed that he can doe neither. For whereas thoſe who were poſſeſſed of the richer benefices, did uſe to keep good hoſpitality, to entertain their neighbours and relieve their poor, and doe many other good offices amongſt them as occaſion ſerved, both to the benefit and comfort of all ſorts of *pariſhioners*: it may ſo happen, and it will (as before I ſaid) that the *Miniſter* may be ſo ill befriended by Mr *Treaſurer*, and the reſt of the *Truſtees* for the County, that in ſtead of being either a benefit or a comfort to them, in the way propoſed, he may prove a burden, and a charge. And though I doubt not but as great care will be taken, as can be deſired in the choice of thoſe who are to have the diſpoſing of the publick monies: yet to ſuppoſe that men once ſetled in an office of ſuch truſt and power, may not be ſubject unto partialities and

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corrupt affections, were an imagination fitter for the Lord Chancelour *Verulams* new *Atlantis*, or Sir *Thomas More* his predeceſſors old *Vtopia*, or a *Platonick* Common-wealth; then the beſt-tempered government in the Chriſtian world. For my part looking into the deſign with the beſt eyes I have, and judging of it by the cleareſt light of underſtanding, which God hath given me, I am not able to diſcern but that the change of *Tithes* into *Stipends* (in the way propounded) will bring greater *trouble* to the *Clergy* then is yet conſidered; and far leſſe *profit* to the countrey then is now pretended: which is the third and laſt of my *Propoſitions*, and is, I hope, ſufficiently and fully proved, or at the leaſt made probable, if not demonſtrative.

I have ſaid nothing in this Tract of the right of *Tithes*, or on what motive or conſiderations of preceding claim, the Kings of *England* did conferre them upon the *Clergie*: contenting myſelfe at this time with the *matter of fact*, as namely, that they were ſetled on the *Church* by the Kings of this Realm, before they granted out eſtates to the *Lords* and *Gentry*, and that the Land thus charged with the payment of *Tithes*, they paſſed from one man to another, untill it came unto the hands of the preſent *Occupant*; which cuts off all that claim or title which the miſperſwaded ſubject can pretend unto them. I know it cannot be denied, but that notwithſtanding the ſaid Grants and Charters of thoſe ancient Kings, many of the great men of the Realm, and ſome alſo of the inferiour Gentry poſſeſſed of Manours, before the *Lateran* Councell,[r] did either keep their *Tithes* in their own hands, or make *infeodations* of them to *Religious* houſes, or give them to ſuch *Prieſts* or *Pariſhes*, as they beſt affected. But after the decree of Pope *Innocent* the third, (which you may find at large in Sir *Edw: Cokes* Comment upon *Magna Charta*, and other old Statutes of this Realm, in the Chapter of *Tithes*) had been confirmed in that Councell, (*Anno* 1215) and incorporated into the Canons and concluſions of it, the payment of them to the *Miniſter* or *Parochiall* Prieſt, came to be ſetled univerſally over all the Kingdome: ſave that the *Templars*, the *Hoſpitalers*, and *Monkes* of *Ciſteaux* held their ancient priviledges of being excepted for thoſe lands which they held in *occupancy* from this generall rule. Nor have I ſaid any thing of *Impropriations*; partly, becauſe I am perſwaded that the *Lords* and *Gentry*, who have

r *Ante Concilium Lateranenſe, bene poterant Laici decimas ſibi in feudum retinere, vel aliis quibuſcunque Eccleſiis dare. Lindwood in Provinc: cap. de decimis.*

have their *Votes* or *Friends* in *Parliament*, will look well enough to the ſaving of their own ſtakes;but principally,becauſe comming from the ſame originall grant from the King to the Subjects, and by them ſettled upon *Monaſteries* and *Religious* houſes,they fell in the ruine of thoſe houſes to the *Crown* again, (as of due right the *Tithes* ſhould doe, if they be taken from the Clergy ;) and by the *Crown* were alienated in due form of Law, and came by many mean conveyances to the preſent Owners. Onely I ſhall deſire that the *Lords* and *Commons* would take a ſpeciall care of the *Churches Patrimony*, for feare leſt that the prevalency of this evill humour which gapes ſo greedily after the *Clergies Tithes*, doe in the end devour theirs alſo. And it concerns them alſo in relation to their right of Patronage, which if this plot go on, will be utterly loſt: and Churches will no longer be *preſentative* at the choice of the *Patron*; but either made *Elective* at the will of the *People*, or elſe *Collated* by the *Truſtees* of the ſeverall Counties (ſucceeding as they doe in the power of Biſhops) as now *Committee-men* diſpoſe of the preferments of the *ſequeſtred Clergy*. If either by their power and wiſdome, or by the Arguments and Reaſons which are here produced, the peoples eyes are opened to diſcern the truth, and that they be deceived no longer by this popular errour, it is all I aim at: who have no other ends herein but onely to *undeceive them in this point of Tithes*; which hath been repreſented to them as a publick grievance conducing manifeſtly to the diminution of their gain and profit. If notwithſtanding all this care for their information, they will run headlong in the ways of ſpoil and ſacrilege, and ſhut their eyes againſt the light of the truth, ſhine it never ſo brightly: let them take heed they fall not into that infatuation which the Scripture denounceth, that *ſeeing they ſhall ſee, but ſhall not perceive*; and that the ſtealing of this *Coal* from the *Altars* of God, burn not down their houſes. And ſo I ſhut up this diſcourſe with the words of our Saviour, ſaying, that *no man taſteth* new *wine, but preſently he ſaith, that the* old *is better*.

FINIS.

ECCLESIA VINDICATA:

OR, THE

Church of England VINDICATED.

Part Second.

Containing the Defence thereof

V. *In retaining the Episcopal Government.*

And

VI. *The Canonical Ordination of Priests and Deacons.*

Framed and Exhibited in

An History of Episcopacy.

By *PETER HEYLYN*, D. D.

CYPRIAN Epist. I. XIX.

Inde Schismata & Hæreses abortæ sunt & oriuntur, dum Episcopus qui unus est, & Ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur; & homo dignitate dei honoratus, indignus hominibus judicatur.

LONDON,

Printed by *E. Cotes* for *Henry Seile* over against St. *Dunstans* Church in *Fleetstreet*, M.DC.LVII.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE Quarrels and Disputes about *Episcopacy* had reposed a while, when they broke out more dangerously then in former times. In order whereunto the people must be put in fear of some darke design to bring in *Popery*; the Bishops generally defamed as the principall Agents, the regular and establisht Clergy traduc'd as the subservient Instruments to drive on the Plot: Their actings in Gods publick Worship charged for *innovations*; their persons made the Common subjects of reproach and calumny. *The News from Ipswich*, *Bastwicks* Letany, and the Seditious Pamphlets

from *Fryday street* (with other the like products of those times) what were they but *Testamenta Bellorum Civilium*, preparatory Velitations to that grand encounter, in which they were resolved to assault the Calling? The Calling could not be attempted with more hopes of victory then when it had received such wide wounds through the sides of those persons, who principally were concerned in the safety or defence thereof.

The way thus opened, and the *Scots* entring with an Army to make good the passe; the *Smectymnuans* come upon the Stage, addressing their discourse in Answer to a Book called *An Humble Remonstrance*, to the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, Anno 1640. amongst whom they were sure beforehand of a powerful party to advance the Cause, which made them far more confident of their good successe, then otherwise they had reason to expect in a time lesse favourable. And in this Confidence they quarrelled not the *Rocket* or the Officers Fees, the Oath *ex officio*, the Vote in Parliament, or the exorbitant jurisdiction of the *High-Commission*, at which old *Martin* and his followers clamoured in *Queen Elizabeths* time; *Non gaudet tenui sanguine tanta sitis*. Their stomach was too great to be satisfied with so small a sacrifice, as the excrescences and adjuncts of Episcopacy, which seemed most offensive to their predecessors. They are all now for *Root* and *Branch*, for the very Calling, that having grubbed up those goodly *Cedars* of the Church, the *Bishops*, they might plant a *stinking Elder* (as a Noble person well observed) in the place thereof. Never was Learning so employed to cry down the encouragements and rewards of Learning. The *Branches* needs must wither when the *Root* decayes, and what could else befall *Cathedrals* (as we see it too evidently) but the inevitable exposing of them to a present ruin, by making them Oblations unto Spoil and Rapine?

And now or never was the time for those that had a care of the Churches safety, to put themselves into a

posture

posture of defence; and be provided for the Battail. In which if few appeared at the first on the Churches side, it was not that they durst not give the onset, but that they were *reserved* for succours. For whilst the Humbly reverend *Remonstrant* was pleased to vindicate as well his own as the Churches honour, there was small cause, or rather none, that other men should interpose themselves at all, or rob him of the glory of a sole encounter. *Parq; novum fortuna videt concurrere Bellum atque virum*, as in a case not much unlike was observed by *Lucan.* But when that Reverend pen grew wearyed, not with the strength or number of his Adversaries, but their importunity who were resolved to have the last words, as himself observeth; and that he hath been pleased to give way to others to shew their duty and affection in so just a cause: it was then no hard matter to perswade me to such further courses, as might be thought on and pursued for the Churches peace. And I the rather was resolved to do somewhat in it, because the *Smectymnuans* in a manner had ingaged me in the undertaking, by giviving me the Title of the *Bishops Darling* *; a Title (which though given in scorne) had been ill bestowed, should I be wanting unto those of that Sacred Order, which were supposed to let me hold so principal a place in their affections.

* It seems they have forgotten what their own *Darling HEYLYN*, &c. *Smectym. pag.* 16, 17.

Doubly ingaged by duty and this provocation (which I could not take but for a challenge) I took their Book into my hand; in which I found the whole dispute, as it relates to the *Episcopal* Government reduced to these Propositions, *viz.*

1. That the *impropriation* of name and *imparity* of place (between *Bishops* and *Presbyters*) was not of *divine* right and *Apostolical* institution, but of humane invention and occasionally only, and that a *Diabolical* occasion also, and no more then so.

2. That the eminent Superiority and Power of *Ordination* and *Jurisdiction* which our Bishops claim,

was both unknown to the Scripture and the Primitive times.

3. That antiently in some places of the World the *Episcopal* Government was never known for many years together, the people in those places being instructed in the faith without help of *Bishops*.

Hereupon they inferre in the close of all, That Bishops or *Episcopacy* being at the best a meer *humane Ordinance* may by the same Authority be abrogated, by which it was first established.

This last I must confesse delivered in the way of *Quere*, but so delivered as to carry a *position* in it more pertinent to their aime and purpose then the other three.

In prosecuting of which points as they have shewed the greatest of their wit and cunning, to give the fairest colours to a rotten Cause; so have they brought no new Objections against the *Episcopall Order* and *Jurisdiction*, but what are either answered or prevented in the Learned works of B. *Bilson*, B. *Downham*, and other Worthies of this Church now in blisse with God. *Nihil dictum, quod non dictum fuit prius*: had been an Answer new enough for an old Objection.

But seeing that these Men though they could bring no *new* supply of Arguments to make good their Cause, would not rest satisfied with those *old* Answers which had been given in former times to their Predecessors: I was resolved to deal with them in another way then what hath formerly been travelled. Not in the way of Argumentation or a *Polemical* Discourse, there being no likelyhood of any end in such Disputations, as long as Men had so much *Sophistry* as either to evade the *Argument*, or finde some sleight to weaken and shift off the *Answer*. I rather chose (having found good successe in that kinde before) to manage the whole Controversie as it lay between us, in the way of an *Historicall Narration* as in point of fact; which I conceive to be the readiest

readieſt means to *convince gainſayers*, and ſilence the Diſpute for the times to come. For if Hiſtory be *Teſtis temporum*, the ſureſt and moſt faithfull witneſſe of Mens actions in the carriage of all publick buſineſſes, as no doubt it is; it cannot but be alſo *Magiſtra vitæ* (both which the Orator affirmes of it) the beſt Inſtructreſſe we can have in all Affaires of like nature as they come before us. The *Hiſtory of Epiſcopacy* collected from the Writings of the Antient Fathers, cannot but be of eſpeciall uſe and efficacy in ſetting forth the *Government* of the Church in the pureſt times: eſpecially when thoſe *Fathers* are produced on no other occaſion but either as writing on thoſe Texts of Scripture, in which the Inſtitution and Authority of Biſhops is moſt clearly evidenced; or ſpeaking of the condition of the Church in their ſeverall times, in the Adminiſtration and Government whereof they had moſt of them ſome eſpeciall intereſſe. Out of whoſe teſtimonies ſo digeſted and compared together, I doubt not but it will appear moſt evidently to an indifferent and impartiall Reader, firſt, That our Lord and Saviour *JESUS CHRIST* laid the foundation of his Church in an *imparity* of Miniſters, and that according unto his example the Apoſtles did the like, ordaining the three ſeverall Orders and Degrees of *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* in the holy Miniſtry. Next that the Government of *Biſhops* being founded thus, was propagated over all the World with the faith it ſelf, there being no Nation which received the one without the other. And finally that in matter of *Authority* and *Juriſdiction*, the Biſhops of the primitive and pureſt Ages had full as much as ours of *England* in theſe latter times. And if I have done this, as I hope I have, it may more rationally be inferred, though perhaps not ſo ſafely as the times now are, that Biſhops or *Epiſcopacy* being of *Divine* and *Apoſtolicall* inſtitution, no *humane invention*, cannot with piety be abrogated by a leſſe Authority then

that

that by which it was ordained at the first appointment.

This is the summe and this is the end of my Design. In prosecution of the which, I had drawn down my story to the times of *Constantine*, by whose power and favour the Church began to settle in all parts of the Empire, where it had formerly been persecuted with all kinde of Extremities, which either the wit of Tyranny could invent, or an unconquered patience suffer. And if it does appear by this Disquisition, that the *Episcopal* Government continued from the Apostles times till the time of *Constantine*, not interrupted by the fury of those Persecutions which made such havock amongst men of that Sacred Order; there will be little question made of it for the time succeeding in which both the *Order* and the Men were raised unto the highest pitch of Estimation. But finding one objection of a later date, not to bee satisfied in and by the practise of those elder times, I think it not amisse to make answer to it here before we part. The matter to bee prov'd, and in the proofe whereof they doe so much glory, is, *That there is one Congregation at the least in the Christian World, in which* the Government of Bishops *hath met with Contradiction*, contrary unto that which had beene positively affirmed in the *Humble Remonstrance*. And this they prove from the Bishops own *Darling HEYLYN*, who told them in his Geography, pag. 55. "That the people of *Biscay* in *Spain*, "admit no Bishops to come amongst them; and that "when *Ferdinand* the *Catholick* came in progresse ac- "companied among others with the Bishop of *Pampe-* "*lone*, the people rose up in Armes, drove back the "Bishop, and gathering up all the dust which they "thought he had trod on flung it into the Sea. All this *the Darling* writes indeed, they say true in that. But can any rationall Man inferre from hence, that the People of *Biscay* doe abominate the Episcopall Government; or that it is not there *received without contradiction?*

They

They may conclude as ſtrongly (I am ſure more logically) that the *Dean* and *Prebends* of *Weſtminſter* are enemies to Epiſcopall Government, or at the leaſt *receive it not without contradiction*, becauſe they ſuffer neither Archbiſhop nor Biſhop to exerciſe any *juriſdiction* within that City and the Liberties of it; nor to hold any *Convocation* within that Church, but upon ſpecial leave obtained, and under a ſolemne *proteſtation* not to infringe thereby their antient priviledges. For the truth is, that the *Biſcains* being a poore and indigent Nation, and finding the *Epiſcopall Viſitations* very chargeable to them, procured a *priviledge* in times paſt, that their Biſhops ſhould not come in perſon *to viſit their Churches*; for which conſult the *general Hiſtory of Spain*, fol. 919. And being withall a rugged and untractable people, tenaciouſly addicted to their antient cuſtomes, and kept continually in minde of ſome wrongs and injuries, which had beene offered by their *Prelats* in the times fore-going; they might be eaſily excited to that act of outrage againſt the Biſhop of *Pampelone*, and yet without any the leaſt *contradiction receive* there (as indeed they doe) the *Epiſcopal Government.*

But to proceed, I could not but perceive by this ſcornful attribute, under what prejudice I lay amongſt thoſe of that Party, and therefore that any thing of mine in Anſwer to them would not bee lookt upon with equall and impartiall eyes. The Dore of Truth is never ſo cloſe barr'd, as when *Prejudice* and *Prepoſſeſſion* have blockt up the Entrance. In which reſpect having finiſhed the Diſcourſe which I had in hand, I thought not fit to let it paſſe under my own name, but publiſhed it under that of *Theophilus Churchman* (not without many honeſt Precedents in that kinde before). A Name which might both ſerve to conceale my *perſon* and expreſſe my *relations*, and whereunto I hoped to create no reproach or obloquy by my ſlack performances.

 But

But contrary to what I hoped, the Authour of the Pamphlet called *The Observator observed* (finding perhaps who walked under that Disguise) must needs take him to task; setting upon him first with a petulant scorn, (after his usuall way of throwing dirt on all hee meets with) as not knowing by what name to call him, whether *Goodman*, *Worshipfull*, *Right Worshipfull*, *Honourable*, *Right Honourable*, or *Right Reverend Churchman*. Which said he chargeth it upon him, that there is nothing in his Booke *but what is stoln from Archbishop* Whitgift, *Bishop* Bilson, *Bishop* Hall, *and others*, fol. 37. and reckoning up some others who have written in defence of *Episcopacy*, he acknowledges them all but *Churchman* to be *good men and true*, and consequently *Churchman* neither *true nor good*. Therefore that no man else may suffer by my *imperfections*, I have thought good to lay aside my former *Vizor*, to shew my selfe in my own likenesse, and to cry out with him in *Virgill*: *Me, me, adsum, qui feci in me convertite ferrum*. Let him and all the Enemies of *Episcopacy* make their blowes at me, and if I cannot stand my ground against all their *Batteries*, and justifie my selfe from the *crime* of *falshood* in all the particulars of that *History*, I shall with gladnesse follow their *triumphant Chariot* like a conquered Captive: It will adde something to the Pageant that the *bold Champion of the Bishops* (as hee elsewhere scofs it) hath his place therein.

At this time passing over his reproachfull taunts, I am to cleare my selfe of the *felony* which is charged upon me for *stealing* all things in that Booke from *Archbishop Whitgift*, *Bishop Bilson*, *Bishop Hall*, *and others*; this is *Novum crimen & ante hæc tempora inauditum*, a *felony* not heard of in the *Common law*, to which the Gentleman pretends such a speciall knowledge. The citing of the Authours for every passage absolves mee cleerly from that crime. And I would fain know of him being so perfect an *Historian*, how a man writing the Affairs of the

the former times (which come not within the compaſſe of *Autopſie* or *ocular inſpection*, as we know who ſaith) can poſſibly attaine to the knowledge of them, but by canvaſſing all ſorts of Authours, which either lived in or neer thoſe times, or otherwiſe held Correſpondence and Intelligence with them. It is not for all men (though it be for ſome) to challenge ſuch a ſoveraign or *prætorian* power of coining as well the *matter* as the *words* of their *Hiſtories*, that whatſoever they let fall, their negligences and ignorances, their miſtakes and paſſions, ſhall forthwith be received for *Oracular* truths. We poor Men who pretend unto no ſuch *priviledge*, and write of things done long agoe in the dark ages and obſcure twilights of the Church, muſt help our ſelves by the *light* of *letters*; and thankfully make uſe of *all hands* which hold forth that *Candle*, without fear of *holding up* our own. If this be *ſtealing*, neither the *Magdeburgians*, nor *Baronius*, nor *Torniellus*, *Suiianus*, *Parker*, *Harpsfield*, *Fox*, nor any of our late Compilers of Eccleſiaſticall or Civill Hiſtory can be acquitted from the Crime. Let us all be diſcharged or condemned together; *guilty* or *not guilty*, all or none, there's no queſtion of it.

But I have gone too far on this Gentlemans Errant. And therefore for the *credit* of thoſe *Witneſſes* which I have produc'd, what is deſired of the Reader in relation to them, with other things preparatory to the following Hiſtory, I muſt refer the Reader to the *Generall Preface*; that being informed in all particulars which concern the *Evidence*, he may the better be enabled to give up his *Verdict*. I cloſe up this Addreſſe with theſe words in the Book of *Judges*, cap. 19. v. 30. *Conſider of it, take advice, and* then *ſpeak your mindes.*

THE HISTORY OF EPISCOPACY.

The First Part.

From the first *Institution* of it by our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHIST, untill the Death of St. JOHN the *Apostle.*

By *PETER HEYLYN*, D.D.

HEB. 13. 17.

Obedite Præpositis *vestris & subjacete eis. Ipsi enim per vigilant quasi rationem pro* Animabus *vestris reddituri, ut cum gandio hoc faciant, & non gementes.*

CYPRIAN. Epist. LXV.

Apostolos, *id est,* EPISCOPOS *&* Præpositos Dominus *elegit*; Diaconos *autem post Ascensum* Domini *in cœlos* Apostoli *sibi constituerunt,* EPISCOPATUS *sui &* Ecclesiæ *Ministros.*

LONDON;

Printed for *Henry Seile* over against St. *Dunstans Church* in *Fleetstreet.* 1657.

THE HISTORY OF EPISCOPACY.

The Fifth Part.

From the first Institution of it by our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, until the Death of St. JOHN the Apostle.

By PETER HEYLYN, D.D.

HEBREWS.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰδὼς ὑπερεπείσθημεν περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀγαπητοὶ, τὰ κρείττονα καὶ ἐχόμενα σωτηρίας, εἰ καὶ οὕτω λαλοῦμεν.

CHRYSOST. Hom. LXV.

Ἀποδείκνυσι, ὅτι ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ τῆς Παλαιᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐστὶ κεκοσμημένος ἀπὸ τῆς Καινῆς· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐκείνης ἐκεῖνος ἐστεφανώθη, ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν τῆς Παλαιᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐστὶ κεκοσμημένον.

LONDON:

Printed for Henry Seile over against St. Dunstan's church in Fleetstreet. 1657.

To his ever Honored Maſter

EDWARD DAVIS Clerk,

Maſter of Arts and Vicar of *Shilton* in the County of *Berks*.

SIR,

IT is a Ruled Caſe in St. *Paul*, that no Man *feedeth a Flock*, *who doth not* ſometimes *eat of the Milk of the Flock*; or *planteth a Vineyard*, *who doth not drink* ſometimes *of the fruit thereof*. In which reſpect you may think your ſelf not kindly dealt with, that in ſo long a tract of time I ſhould not conſecrate unto you ſome part of the *Fruits* of my Studies, to which you have ſo juſt a title; whether you look upon me as a *Vine* of your own *dreſſing*, or as a *Sheep* that had his firſt grazings in your *Paſtures* alſo. I muſt needs ſay, that it was once my purpoſe, as it

was my hope, to have preſented you with a more profitable Teſtimony of my Love and Gratitude, proportionable (in ſome ſort) to the Benefit I received by you when I was your *Scholar* in the Free Grammar-Schoole at *Burford* (the moſt beloved place of my birth and breeding) where I was leſſoned and prepared for the Univerſity. But the ſuddain and unexpected alteration in my affairs, when I was almoſt brought to a capacity of acting for you, both then did, and hath ever ſince diſabled me from thoſe performances, which might have been more advantagious unto you, and to me leſſe painful. Now therefore having nothing elſe to beſtow upon you, I muſt make you this Preſent of my Self. *Pauper ſum, & cum nil aliud habeam, do tibi me ipſum*, as *Æſchines* once ſaid in a caſe not much unlike, to the famous *Socrates*. A *Preſent* not unſutable to your condition, who having always held the reputation of a *Regular Churchman*, may poſſibly finde as much contentment in the Work as you have formerly taken pleaſure in the Author of it. And this I have the rather done, not only that ſomewhat of mine might be left behind me to preſerve your memory; but alſo to remain with you

and

and your Poſterity as a witneſs for me, that you have not ſown your Seeds in a barren Soil, and that (what chance ſo ever happen) I cannot be ungrateful, though I may be unfortunaee. You may perhaps (out of your too great paſſion for me) be apt to fear, that I have taken no fit time for publiſhing theſe enſuing Pieces; and ſay to me, what you once taught us out of *Terence*, *Non bene diviſa ſunt hæc tempora*, that the buſineſs is not ſo well timed as it ought to be. But the neceſſity of offering ſomething to the conſideration of the *Higher Powers*, which might conduce unto the Peace and Happineſs of this languiſhing Church, will (I hope) plead in my excuſe; eſpecially in this Conjuncture in which the long-expected *Settlement* of the *Civil State*, is ſo much diſcourſt of. Nor want I herein the advice and reſolution of an *Heathen* Man, who would have all that travel in the ſearch and defence of *Truth*, καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἀναιρεῖν, to pretermit the Contemplation of their private intereſſes. And doing ſo, I cannot fear but that the honeſt zeal which leads me to this undertaking (conſidering there can be no *ſelf-ends* in it, as the caſe ſtands with me) will in concluſion, amongſt ſober and unbiaſſed

Men,

Men, not only justifie the Action, but indear the Author. All that shall be desired of you towards my protection is to commend me and my weak Endevours to the *Blessings of God*, without which neither *Pauls planting*, nor *Apolloes watering* is of any *increase*. And be assured that for the health and happiness of your self and yours, there shall be nothing wanting in the best Devotions of

Lacies Court in Abingdon, May 25. 1657.

SIR,

Your most affectionate Friend,

And

Most obliged poor Scholar

to love and serve you,

Pet. Heylyn.

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THE HISTORIE OF EPISCOPACIE

THE FIRST PART.

FROM THE FIRST INSTITUTION OF It by our Lord and Saviour IESVS CHRIST, untill the death of St. JOHN the *Apostle*.

By *Theophilus Churchman*.

CYPRIAN. Epist. LXV.

Apostolos, *id est*, EPISCOPOS & Præpositos Dominus *elegit*; Diaconos *autem post Ascensum* Domini *in cœlos* Apostoli *sibi constituerunt*, EPISCOPATVS *sui* & Ecclesiæ *Ministros*.

LONDON,
Printed for *Abel Roper*, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the blacke spread Eagle neere the Inner Temple gate in Fleet-street.
1642.

THE HISTORIE OF EPISCOPACIE.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

The *Christian* Church first founded by our Lord and Saviour, in an *Imparity* of *Ministers*.

I. *The severall Offices of* Christ *our* Saviour *in the administration of his* Church.

II. *The aggregation of* Disciples *to him.*

III. *The calling of the* Apostles, *and why twelve in number.*

IV. *Of the* Name *and* Office *of an* Apostle.

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XI. *The ſeverall powers and* prcheminences, *given to the* Apoſtles *by our Saviour* Chriſt.

XII. *That the* Apoſtles *were made* Biſhops *by our Lord and Saviour, averred by the ancient* Fathers.

XIII. *And by the Text of holy* Scripture.

I. OF all the *Types* in holy Scripture, I find not any that did ſo fully repreſent the nature of our Saviours Kingdome, as thoſe of *David*, *Moſes*, and *Melchizedech*. (a) *David* a Shepheard, and a King; *Moſes* a Legiſlator, and a Prince; (b) *Melchizedech* both King of *Salem*, and a *Prieſt* alſo *of the living God*, as that Text hath ſtiled him. Each of theſe was a type of our Saviour Chriſt, according

(a) Pſal. 78. 71, 72.

(b) Gen. 14. 18.

ding to his Regall office; hee being like *Melchisedech*, a *King of Peace and Righteousnesse*; leading his people, as did *Moses*, out of the darknesse and Idolatries of *Egypt*, to the land of *Canaan*: and conquering like *David* (e) all those enemies which before held them in subjection. This office, as it is supreme, so it is perpetuall. That God who tels us in (f) the *Psalmes*, that he had *set his King on Zion, on his holy mountaine*: hath also told us by his Angell, (g) that he should *reigne over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his Kingdome there should be no end.* But if wee looke upon him in his *Sacerdotall* and *Pastorall* offices: if we behold him as a *Lawgiver* to his Church and people: we find him not fore-signified in any one of these, but in all together. (h) A *Priest he was after the order of Melchisedech*; (i) *faithfull to him that did appoint him, as also Moses was faithfull in all his house*; ordering, and disposing of the same, according to his will and pleasure. And as for the discharge of his *Pastorall* or *Propheticall* office, God likeneth him to *David*, by his holy Prophet saying, (k) *I will set up one Shepheard over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant* David, *he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepheard.* Which offices, although subordinate to the *Regall* power, are perpetuall also. He was not made a *Priest* for a time

(e) Heb. 7. 2.
(d) Exod.
(e) 2 Sam.
(f) Psal. 2.
(g) Luk. 1. 33.
(h) Heb. 5. 6, 10.
(i) Heb. 3. 2.
(k) Eze. 34. 23.

or season, but for ever. *Tu es Sacerdos in æternum:* (*l*) Thou art a Priest for ever, said the Lord unto him. A *Priest*, who as he *once* (*m*) *appeared to put away sinne by the sacrifice of himselfe*; so by that (*n*) *one offering hath he perfected for ever all them that are sanctified*; *and sitting downe at the right hand of God*, *he* (*o*) *ever liveth, and maketh intercession for them.* Of the same perpetuity also are those other offices of Christ our Saviour, before remembred. Hee had not beene *fidelis sicut Moses*, faithfull as *Moses* was in all his house: *i.e.* as *Estius* well expounds it, *in administratione populi sibi credita*, in the well ordering of the charge committed to him, had he not constituted a set forme of government, and given the same unto his Church, as a rule for ever. Nor had he faithfully discharged the part of *David*, had he looked onely to his *flock*, whiles himselfe was present; and tooke no care for the continuall feeding of the same, after he was returned to his heavenly glories. And therefore, (*p*) *when he ascended up on high he gave gifts to men*, and *gave some* Apostles, and *some* Prophets, and *some* Evangelists, and *some* Pastors and Teachers; *for the perfecting of the Saints, for the worke of the Ministry; for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of faith, and of the knowledge of the son of God unto*

(*l*) Heb. 5. 6.

(*m*) Heb. 9. 26.

(*n*) Heb. 10. 14.

(*o*) Heb. 7. 25.

Estius in Heb. 3. *v.* 2.

(*p*) Eph. 4. 8, 11, 12, 13.

unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulnesse of Christ.

II. He *gave* them then indeed, after his *Ascension*, when he *ascended up on high*, because he then did furnish them with those gifts and graces, wherewith they were endued by the Holy Ghost, and thereby fitted for the execution of the trust committed to them by their Lord. For otherwise many of them had beene *given* already; not onely in the way of choyce, and designation, but of commission and employment. (q) *Ite, & docete omnes Gentes*, had beene said before. It was not long after our Saviours baptisme by *John* in *Jordan*, that some *Disciples* came unto him. That testimony which came downe from God the Father, when *the Heavens were opened*, (r) *and the Spirit of God descended on him like a Dove*, was of it-selfe sufficient to procure many followers. The evidence which was given by *John* the *Baptist*, added nought to this. And yet that evidence prevailed so farre, that two of his *Disciples*, *when they heard him speake*, (s) forsooke their old Master, and *went after Jesus*. Nor did it satisfie them, that they had *found the Christ*, and had talked with him, but they impart the same unto others also. Thus *Andrew* brings in his owne Brother (t) *Simon*; *Philip* invites his friend *Nathaneel*. One tels another

(q) Mat. 28. 19.

(r) Mat. 3. 16.

(s) Joh. 1. 37.

(t) Joh. 1. 42, 46.

another the glad tidings, that they *had found him of whom* (u) Moses *in the Law, and all the Prophets did write*: and all of them desire to be his *Disciples*. Afterward as his fame increased, so his followers multiplyed; and every miracle that he wrought to confirme his doctrine, did adde unto the number of his *Proselytes*. So great his fame was, and so great the confluxe of all sorts of people, that *Johns* Disciples presently complained, I know not whether with more truth or envie, (x) *Omnes ad eum veniunt*, that all men came unto him, both to heare his preaching, and receive his baptisme. And certainly it was no wonder that it should be so; that all men should resort to him, who was the *way*; or seeke for him, who was the *truth*; or follow after him, who was the *life*. *Lord*, saith Saint *Peter*, (y) *to whom shall wee goe? thou hast the words of life eternall.*

(u) Joh. 1. 45.

(x) Joh. 3. 26.

(y) Joh. 6. 86.

III. The number of his followers being thus increased, he sends them not immediately to preach his *Gospell*. Two yeares he trayned them up in the schoole of piety, where he himselfe was both the Teacher and the lesson, before he ventured them abroad upon that employment; And when hee ventured them abroad, he neither sent them all together, nor with like authority.

(a) *Twelve*

(a) *Twelve* he selected from the rest, whom *he named Apostles.* And he *ordained them* (b) saith Saint *Marke, that they should be with him, and that hee might send them forth to preach* : first to be *with him*, as the constant witnesses of his words and workes, and afterwards to *preach* and publish what they saw and heard. In which regard, *Tertullian* cals them not unfitly, (c) *Legatos à latere*, sent from Christ to teach the nations. *Ex quibus* (out of his Disciples) *duodecem præcipuos lateri suo adlegerat, destinatos nationibus Magistros* : as his owne words are. The same *Tertullian* gives a reason, why Christ made choyse of twelve Apostles, neither more nor lesse: *viz.* (d) because there were twelve fountaines in *Elim*; twelve gemmes or pretious stones in the brest-plate of *Aaron*; and 12. stones taken out of *Jordan* by the hand of *Joshua*, and by him put into the Arke of the Testament. And then he addes, *totidem enim Apostoli prætendebantur*, that the like number of Apostles was prefigured. Other conceits there are of the Ancient Fathers about this number: (e) *Bede*, and (f) *Sedulius*, resemble them to the 12. signes of the *Zodiack*: (g) *Justin Martyr* to the 12. bels in the high Priests garment: *Tertullian* before named, to the twelve oxen that did uphold the molten sea in the Temple of *Solomon*. Others

(a) Luk. 6. 13.

(b) Mark. 3. 14.

(c) De Præscript. adverſ. hæret.

(d) Contra Marcian. l. 4.

(e) In Joh. 6.

(f) Sedulius.

(g) Dialog. cum Tryphone.

(h) Loco supra citato.

Others have other fancies to the same effect; but whether Christ related unto any of them in this designation, as it is no where to be found, so is it not materiall to the present purpose. More neere unto the point in my opinion, is that of *Calvin*, who thinkes our Saviour in the choise of his *twelve Disciples* related to the *twelve Patriarchs* of the Tribes of *Israel:* to shew that as the *Patriarchs* were the roote and seminarie of the Tribes of *Israel*, so the Apostles *(i)* were to be the Parents, or if you will, the Patriarchs of the Church of Christ, *Non ergo frustra Dominus duodecem veluti Patriarchas constituens, Ecclesiæ renunciationem testatus est.* Which guesse of his, though it come neerer to the matter than the other did; yet it falls short also of the true intention of our Lord and Saviour. For *Christ*, who was best able to assigne the reason of his mind herein, hath told us, that he fitted his *Apostles* according to the number of the Tribes of Israel; that his *Apostles* in due time might become their *Judges*. For so himselfe declares it in his holy Gospell; *(k) Verily* (saith he) *I say unto you, that yee which have followed mee in the regeneration, when the Sunne of man shall sit in the throne of his glory, yee also shall sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel:* *(l) i. e.* as *Hierome* doth expound it,

(i) Calvin in Harm. Evang.

(k) Mat. 19. 28.

(l) Hieron. in locum.

it, *Quia credentibus vobis, illi credere noluerunt*; by reason of their obstinacie and unbelieſe, not giving credit to that Goſpell the *Apoſtles* preached. *Twelve* then our Saviour pleaſed to chooſe, whom he *named Apoſtles*, and they themſelves conceived this number not to want its weight: and therefore made it their firſt care to fill up their number, and ſurrogate ſome other in the place of *Judas*. Saint *Peter* very well declared the neceſſity of it, when he came in with his *Oportet*; (*m*) *Oportet ergo ex his viris, &c. Wherefore of theſe men that have companied with us all the time, that the Lord* Jeſus *went in and out amongſt us, muſt one be ordained to be a witneſſe with us of his reſurrection.* So excellently true is that of *Auſtin*, (*n*) *Adeo numerus ille ſacratus eſt, ut in locum unius qui exciderat, non poſſet niſi alter nominari.*

(*m*) Act. 1 21, 22.

(*n*) *Auguſt. in Pſal.* 103.

IV.

As for the name, *quos & Apoſtolos nominavit*, as Saint (*o*) *Luke* informes us: *Baronius* thinkes it was not of our *Saviours* owne diviſing, but by him borrowed of the high Prieſts of the *Jewiſh* nation, who had a ſpeciall kind of Miniſters, whom they called *Apoſtles*, (*p*) imployed by them for the inſtruction of the *Prieſts*, the viſiting of the ſeverall *Synagogues*, the rectifying of ill manners, and the reforming of thoſe publike *Miniſters*, who did not live according to the preſcript of the Law. Whether that

(*o*) Luk 6. 13.

(*p*) *Quos etiam ipſe legare conſueverat ad componendos optimos Sacerdotum mores, ipſas Synogogas inſpiciendas, pravos mores corrigendos, &c.* Annal. A. 32. ſſ. 5.

itwere so or not, or that the Cardinall be not mistaken in the meaning of the Author whom he citeth; I will not meddle for the present: though I conceive by looking on the place in (q) *Epiphanius*, that the succeeding *Patriarchs* of the *Jewish* nation, did rather take this name from Christs *Apostles*, than he from theirs. But for the word as now we use it, it is meerly *Greeke*, signifying in its naturall and originall sense a (r) Messenger, a Legate, an Embassadour; from whom, to whomsoever sent: after appropriated and applyed by the *Evangelists* to signifie those *twelve*, whom our Saviour chose, and called his *Apostles*, as by way of excellence: yet so that many of those men who saw our Saviour in the flesh, and did preach the *Gospell*, are sometimes honoured with that name. (s) *Quod autem exceptis duodecem quidam vocantur* Apostoli, *illud in causa est, omnes qui Dominum viderunt, & eum postea prædicarunt, fuisse Apostolos nominatos*: as Saint *Hierome* notes it. By which wee see, that those two things did principally concurre unto the making of an *Apostle*, viz. to have beene conversant with our Saviour Christ, and to preach his word: which being most exactly verified in those *twelve Disciples*, whom he selected for that purpose; it was most fit that they should chiefly have the honour of so high

(q) *Epiphan. hæres.* 30. n. 5.

(r) *Quos hæc appellatio missos interpretatur.* Tert. de præscript.

(s) *In Epist. ad Gal. c.* 2.

a

a title. But these, although they were two speciall markes of an Apostle; yet they were not all. Others had seene our Saviour in the flesh, and preached his Gospell, which notwithstanding never durst assume that title: (t)*Ignatius*, who affirms it of himselfe, that he had seene the Lord JESUS, doth yet disclaime the power and priviledge of an *Apostle*. ἐγὼ οὐκ ὡς Ἀπόστολος διατάσσομαι, saith he in his Epistle to the *Romans*. So that besides their *seeing* of our Saviour in the flesh, and *preaching* of those things which themselves had seene; the Twelve had a preheminence above the rest of the Disciples, in those three particulars: first, in their neernesse of accesse unto him when he was alive: Secondly, in the latitude of their commission, when he was to leave them: And thirdly, in the height of their authority after his departure.

(t) *Ignat. Epist ad Smyrnens.*

V. For first, the *twelve Apostles*, and no others were the continuall, constant, and domesticall *Auditors* of all his *Sermons*; the diligent beholders and observers of all his *miracles*. With them did he discourse familiarly, propounding questions, answering their demands, and satisfying all their scruples. The *Twelve*, and none but they, were present with him, when he did institute his *holy Supper*: and they alone participated of those prayers and promises which

he made to them from himselfe, or for them to his heavenly Father. Many there were of his retinue, of his Court not few: the Twelve were onely of his Counsell; and of those too, some more especially admitted to his privacies, and of his cabinet counsell, (as it were) then others; whereof see *Mat.* 17. 1. *Mark.* 14.33. *Luk.* 8. 51. And on this ground doth (*u*)*Clemens* tell us, that Christ imparted many things unto these three, after his ascension, which they communicated τοῖς λοιποῖς Ἀποστόλοις, unto the rest of the Apostles: the rest of the Apostles to the 70. As they were neerer in accesse, so were they furnished with a more liberall Commission, when he was to leave them. (*x*) *Ite in universum mundum.* He said unto them, *Goe into all the world, and preach the Gospell to every creature.* No such commission granted to any others, who had their severall precincts and bounds, a limited commission when it was at best. To the *eleven* (for unto them alone did hee give that charge) the whole *world* went but for a *Diocesse.* For this cause (*y*) *Chrysostome* doth honour them with the stile of *Princes*, and Princes of a great command over all the universe. Ἄρχοντες εἶπν ὑπὸ θεοῦ χειροτονηθέντες οἱ Ἀπόστολοι, &c. The Apostles were ordained Princes by the hand of God: Princes which have not onely under them some Townes,

(*u*)*Clemens Alex.ap.Euseb.l.* 2.c.1.

(*x*)Mark.16.

(*y*) *Chrys. Tom.* 8.*p.* 110. *edit. Savill.*

Townes, and Nations, ἀλλὰ πάντες κοινῇ τῷ Οἰκουμένῳ ἐμπιστευθέντες, but such unto whose care the whole world was trusted. So farre that Father. And if wee doubt that their authority fell short in any thing of their commission: the same good Father in the same place, will informe us otherwise. For making a comparison betweene Spirituall and Civill dignities, hee calleth the office of an Apostle (*a*) ὑπατίαν πνευματικὴν, a spirituall Consulship, ἀρχὴν πνευματικωτάτῳ, the most spirituall of all powers or governments; and finally, τῆς πνευματικῶν ἀρχῶν κεφαλὴν, καὶ εἴζαν, καὶ ὑπόθεσιν: the head, the roote, nay the foundation of all spirituall dignities of what sort soever. Doubtlesse the Father had good reason for so high an Eulogie. When Christ affirmed, *Sicut misit me Pater*, (*b*) that *as his Father sent him, so sent hee them*: He said enough to intimate that supreme authority which he had given them in the Church whether it were in *preaching* of the Gospell, in *founding* Churches, *Constituting*, and *ordaining Pastors*, or whatsoever else was necessary for the advancement of his Kingdome. For by these words, as *Cyrill* hath right well observed, (*c*) κεχειροτόνηκε τοὺς τῆς οἰκουμένης καθηγητάς τε καὶ διδασκάλους, he did ordaine them for to be guides, and teachers unto all the world, & the dispensers of his holy mysteries, commanding them not onely

(*a*) *Chrys. ibid.*

(*b*) Joh. 20. 21.

(*c*) *Cyril. in Ioh. Evang. l.* 12.

onely to enlighten the land of *Jewrie*, but all the people of the universe: as also giving them to understand that it was their duty, ἁμαρτωλὸς εἰς μετάνοιαν καλεῖν, to call the sinners to repentance, to heale all those that were afflicted, either in body or in soule, in the dispensing of Gods blessings; not to follow their owne will, but his that sent them: and in a word, as much as in them was, τοῖς διδασκαλίαις τὸν κόσμον σώζειν, to save the world by wholsome doctrines, for to that purpose was he sent by his Heavenly Father. And so we are to understand Saint *Chrysostome*, when he tels us this, that Christ invested his Apostles with the like authority as he received from his Father. (e)*Calvin* affirmes as much or more upon those words of our Redeemer. *Quare non abs re Christus cum Apostolis suis communicat, quam à Patre autoritatem acceperat, &c.* But this authority of theirs will be seen more cleerly, when we behold it in the practice, and execution.

(d) Αὐθεντία δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν δύναμιν. *Hom. in. Joh. c. 20. 21.*
(e) *Calv. in Ioh.*

VI. Five things then of necessity were to concurre in the making or constituting of an *Apostle*, truly and properly so called: first an immediate call from Christ himselfe: secondly, an *Autopsie*, or eye-witnessing of those things which they were afterwards to preach or publish of him: thirdly, their neernesse of accesse: fourthly, the latitude

latitude of their Commission: fifthly, and finally, the eminence of their authority. Of these the first were common with them unto the rest of the Disciples; save that the calling of the *Apostles* to that charge, and function doth seeme to be more solemne, and immediate. But in the rest, which are indeed the speciall or specificall differences, they had no co-partners. This made them every way *superiour* unto the rest of the Disciples, although all *equall* in themselves. Though in the calling of those blessed spirits to that great imployment, there was a *prius* and *posterius*; yet in regard of power & authority, there was neither *Summum*, nor *Subalternum*: And howsoever *Peter* be first named in that sacred *Catalogue*; yet this entitleth him to no more authority, above the rest of the *Apostles*, then *Stephen* might challenge in that regard above the residue of the *Seaven*. Saint *Cyprian* did resolve this cause many hundreds since; assigning unto all the 12. a parity of power and honour. (*f*) *Hoc erant utique & cæteri Apostoli quod fuit* Petrus, *pari consortio præditi, & honoris & potestatis; sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur.* Where cleerly there is nothing given to *Peter*, but a *priority* of order; a *primacie* if you will, but no *supremacie*. Neither doth *Barlaam* give him more, though he inscribe his booke, *de Papæ Principatu.*

(*f*) *Cyprian lib. de unitate Eccles.*

cipatu. (g) Ἀπόστολοι τὰ μὲν περὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἰσότιμοι πάντες ἐτύγχανον, &c. The Apostles, all of them saith hee, in matters which concerned the Church, were of equall honour. If *Peter* had preheminence in any thing, it was that in their sacred meetings he first brake the businesse, καὶ πρωτοκαθεδρείας ἴσως ἀξιοῦσι, and peradventure also had the upper place in the assemblies of that *goodly fellowship*. But what need *Cyprian*, or *Barlaam* come in for evidence, when as wee find this parity so cleerly evidenced in holy Scripture? In the immediatenesse of their calling, and their accesse unto our Lord and Saviour, they were all alike. Hee that called *Peter* from his nets, called also *Matthew* from the receit of custome. If onely *Peter*, and the sonnes of *Zebedec* were taken with him to mount *Tabor* (h) there to behold the glory of his *Transfiguration*; or chosen from amongst the rest to attend his person (i) when he went out into the Garden of *Gethsemane*: this makes as much for the *supremacie* of the sonnes of *Zebedee*, as the sonne of *Jona*. Their mission, and commission were alike to all. He that said *Ite & docete*, Goe into all the world and *preach the Gospell to every creature*, spake it indefinitely to every one; not unto *Peter* only, as the supreme *Pastor*; from whom the rest were to receive a delegated and confined autoritie. Neither had

(g) *Barlaam de Papæ principatu.*

(h) Mat. 17. 1.

(i) Mark. 14. 33.

had hee so often beene molested with that needlesse question, *which of them should be greatest* in their Masters *Kingdome*: had he before determined of it, and setled the supremacie in Saint *Peters* person. And as for those prerogatives, of *Tibi dabo claves*, *Pasce oves meas*: which being spoken unto *Peter*, may seeme peculiarly to belong to him: the Fathers say, that nothing did hereby accrew to *Peter*, but what was common to the rest. *(i) Ecclesiæ enim claves regni cœlorum datæ sunt. Et cum ei dicitur, ad omnes dicitur, Amas me? Pasce oves meas:* as Saint *Austin* states it. But what need more be said to affirme this point, then that of our most blessed Saviour, when he encouraged them to perseverance with this heavenly cordeall, that they should *sit upon (k) twelve Thrones, judgeing the twelve Tribes of Israel?* In which most gracious words of his, as the sitting of the *Apostles* shewes authority; their sitting upon thrones, an eminence of power; their sitting to judge, a power and exercise of jurisdiction; and their sitting thus to judge the twelve Tribes of *Israel*, the universality and extent of their jurisdiction: so doth their sitting on twelve thrones, *singuli in sua sede*, *(l)* as *Jansenius* hath it, intimate an equality of jurisdiction, a parity in point of power.

(i) *August. lib. de Agon. Christian. c. 30.*

(k) Mat. 19. 28.

(l) *Iansen. harm. Evang. in locum.*

But to proceed. Our Saviour finding

VII.

that the harveſt was great, and the labourers as yet but few, and that his houre was now at hand, (m) *appointed other ſeventy alſo, and ſent them two, and two before his face, into every City and place, whither he himſelfe would come.* To them he gave authority to proclaime, and publiſh to the people, that *the Kingdome of God was come nigh unto them:* giving them alſo power to *heale the ſicke*, and to *caſt out Devils*, as hee had formerly to his *Apoſtles.* So that there is no queſtion to be made, but that they were intruſted with a part of this ſacred *Miniſtery*, but whether in an equall ranke we ſhall ſee anon. In the meane time if any queſtion ſhould be asked who theſe Seventy were, and by what names called; we anſwer, *nondum conſtat*, that we cannot tell. (n) *Euſebius* as great a ſearcher into the monuments of antiquity, as the Church ever bred, profeſſeth plainly, κατάλογον μὲν οὐδένα οὐδαμῆ φέρεσθαι, that he could never meete with any liſt or catalogue of them. Some he had taken up on heare-ſay, as *Barnabas*, *Soſthenes*, *Cephas*, *Matthias*, after choſe into the place of *Judas*, and *Thaddeus*. (o) *Papias* mentioneth *Ariſtion*, as another of that number alſo. And *Epiphanius* (p) addes to theſe, *Stephen*, and the reſidue of the Seven, *Marke* and *Luke*, two of the *Evangeliſts*, *Juſtus*, who ſtood in competition with *Matthias*, together

(m) Luk. 10. 1.

Verſ. 9.

Verſ. 17.

(n) *Hiſt. Eccleſ. lib.* 1. *c.* 12. *a.*

(o) *Ap. Euſeb. hiſt. l.* 1. *c.* 33. λθ.

(p) *In Panar. l.* 1. *hæreſ.* 20 *n.* 4.

together with *Apelles*, *Rufus*, and *Niger*, whose names accurre in holy Scripture. These are the most that there is any ground for, in antiquity. As for the Catalogue of their names and actions fathered on *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Tyre*: there is not any thing more false & fabulous: that *Rhapsodist* thrusting into that *Catalogue*, many who were converted by the Apostles, after Christs ascension. Insomuch as (q) *Estius* worthily complaineth, *eos fere omnes qui à Paulo in hoc capite nominantur, aut salutantes, aut salutandi*, that all the men whose names occurre in the 16. chapter to the *Romans*, are by him thrust into the Catalogue of the *Seventy* Disciples: not to say any thing of those many other absurdities, which hee hath noted in that Bedroll.

(q) *Estius in Rom. c. 16.*

VIII.

As for the number of *Seventy*, why our *Redeemer* pitched on that, there is not much dispute amongst the learned. (r) *Tertullian*, who had fitted (as before wee saw) the number of the *Apostles*, to the twelve fountaines in *Elim*; doth also proportion the number of these *Disciples, ad arbusta Palmarum*, unto the number of the *Palm-trees*, that grew thereby. But this being onely in the way of *Allegorie*, we shall passe it over: onely reserving the Application made by *Hierome* for a little longer. That which commeth neerest the matter, and is agreed

(r) *Tertul. contr. Marcion. l. 4.*

upon almost by all sorts of writers, is that our Saviour in this choyse, related to the *Seventy Elders* interessed in the government of the tribes of *Israel*: mention of whom is made, *Num.*11.16. *Ezek.*8 11. (*s*) *Calvin* amongst the rest gives this reason of it, *In numero septuaginta videtur eum ordinem secutus esse, cui jam olim assueverat populus*: and addes withall another note, which may well serve to reconcile the difference about this number, which is betweene the *Greeke*, & the *Latine* copies. For the *Greeke* copies have it generally, ἀνέδειξεν καὶ ἑτέρους ἑβδομήκοντα, that hee *appointed other seventy also*, as our *English* reads it. The *Latine* no lesse generally: *Designavit & alios septuaginta duos*, that he sent out other seventy two: which reading doth occurre in (*t*) *Hierome*, (*u*) *Austin*, and some others. I know indeed, (*x*) *Beza* doth put an handsome slurre on the *Latine* Copies, and thinkes that some poore ignorant scribes (*Librarii indocti*, as he cals them) abbreviating the word *discipulos* into *dlos*: others as ignorant as they, out of *dlos* read *duos*, and so found seventy two Disciples instead of seventy. But surely those renowned Fathers *Hierome*, and *Austine*, were no such *Babies*: not to say any thing of *Beda*, and the rest that followed. And therefore since it is agreed on, that these Disciples were proportioned to the number of

(*s*) *Calv. in harmon. Evan.*

(*t*) *Hieron. in canone Lucæ.*
(*u*) *In Evan. l.2. cap.14.*
(*x*) *Beza in Annot. in Luc.10.*

of the *Elders* of the Tribes of *Israel*: wee must first find what was the number of those Elders, before wee can agree upon the other. Now for the number of those *Elders*, the Scripture saith expressely, they were seventy two, as may appeare by comparing the 25. verse of the 11. of *Numbers*, with the 26. in which wee find that there were *seventy Elders gathered about the Tabernacle*, besides *Eldad*, and *Medad* in the Camp. For making up this number, as afterwards in the translation of the *Bible*, there were sixe chosen out of every Tribe, ἐξ ἀπὸ φυλῆς ἑκάστης, as (y) *Josephus* hath it, which commeth to seventy two in all. But both the *seventy two* Elders, are generally called the *Seventy*; as the Translators of the *Bible* are called the *Septuagint*; both of them *ad rotundationem numeri*: even as the Magistrates in *Rome* were called *Centumviri*, though being three for every tribe, they came unto an hundred and five in all. And this is that which (z) *Calvin* hath observed in the present busineſſe: *viz.* that the Consistorie of the *Jewish Judges*, to which the number of the Disciples is by him proportioned, consisted of no lesse than 72. though for the most part, *ut fieri solet in talibus numeris*, they are called the 70. So then to reconcile the *Latin* with the *Greek* Originall, there were in all 72. *Disciples*, according to the truth of the calcula-

(y) *Ioseph. Ant Iudaic. l. 12.*

(z) *Calvin. in harm. Evang. ut supra.*

tion: and yet but ſeventy in account, according to the eſtimation which was then in uſe. And therefore poſſible the Church of *England*, the better to comply with both computations; though it have ſeventy in the new *Tranſlations*, yet ſtill retaines the number of ſeventy two, in the Goſpell appointed for Saint *Lukes* day in the booke of *Common-Prayer* confirmed by Parliament.

This being the number of the *Diſciples*, it will then fall out, that as there were ſix *Elders*, for every Tribe; ſo here will be ſixe *Presbyters* or *Elders*, for every one of the *Apoſtles*. For thoſe which have compared the Church of *Chriſt* which was firſt planted by the *Apoſtles*, with that which was firſt founded by the *Lord* himſelf: reſemble the *Biſhops* in the Church to the twelve *Apoſtles*; the *Presbyters*, or *Prieſts*, unto the *Seventy*. Which parallell how well it holdeth, and whether it will hold or not, we ſhall ſee hereafter. Meane while it cannot be denyed, but that the *Apoſtles* were ſuperiour to theſe *Seventy*, both in place and power. The Fathers have ſo generally affirmed the ſame, that he muſt needs runne groſſe unto all antiquity that makes queſtion of it. The Councell of *Neocæſarea*, which was convened ſome yeares before that of *Nice*, declareth that the *Chorepiſcopi*,

Chorepiscopi, which were but *(a)* Presbyters in fact, (though in title Bishops) εἰς τύπον εἰσὶ τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, were instituted according to the patterne of the *Seventy*. Saint *Hierome*, in his tractate *ad Fabiolam*, speaking of the twelve fountaines of *Elim*, and the seventy Palmes that grew thereby, doth resolve it thus, *Nec dubium quin de duodecem Apostolis sermo sit, &c.* It is not to be "doubted, but that the Scripture speaketh "here of the twelve Apostles, the waters "issuing from whose fountaines have "moistned the barren drinesse of the whole "world; and that the seventy Palmes that "grew thereby, are the teachers of the se-"cond ranke or order: *Luca testante duo-"decem fuisse Apostolos, & septuaginta Disci-"pulos minoris gradus*: Saint *Luke* affirming "that there were twelve *Apostles*, and se-"venty Disciples of a lower order, whom "the Lord sent two and two before him. In this conceit, Saint *Ambrose* led the way before him, likening unto those Palmes the *Seventy*, *qui Secundo ab Apostolis gradu*, who in a second ranke from the Apostles, were by the Lord sent forth for the salvation of mankind. *Serm.*24. *(c) Damasus* their co-temporarie doth affirme as much, *viz: non amplius quam duos ordines*, that there were but two orders amongst the Disciples of *Christ*, *viz.* that of the twelve *Apostles*

(a) *Leo Ep.* 88.

(b) *Concil. Neocæsar.* 1. *Can.* 13.

(c) *Epist.* 5.

Apostles, and the *Seventy*. (*d*) *Theophylact* concurres with *Hierome* in his conceit about the twelve fountaines, and the seventie Palme trees: and then concludes, that "howsoever they were chosen by Christ, "ὑστέρεοι ἦσαν τῶν δώδεκα, yet were they infe- "riour to the twelve, and afterwards their "followers and schollers. Adde hereunto the testimony and consent of (*e*) *Calvin*, who giving the preheminence unto the *Apostles*, as the chief builders of the Church; addes in the next place the *Evangelists*, such as were *Timothy* and *Titus*, *& fortassis etiam septuaginta Discipuli, quos secundo ab Apostolis loco Dominus designavit:* and peradventure also the *seventy Disciples*, whom Christ appointed in the second place after his *Apostles*. Besides, (*f*) S. *Hierome* giveth it for a Maxime, *Qui provehitur, de minore ad majus provehitur*, that he which is promoted, is promoted from a lower ranke unto an higher. *Matthias* therefore, having beene formerly of the *Seventy*, and afterwards advanced into the ranke and number of the *Twelve*, in the place of *Judas*: it must needs follow that the *twelve Apostles* shined in an higher sphere than these lesser luminaries. Now that *Matthias* had before bin one of the seventy, appeareth by the concurrent testimonies of *Euseb. lib.* 1. *Eccles. Hist. c.* 12. *& l.* 2. *cap.* 1. and of *Epiphanius contr. hæres.*

(*d*) *Theoph. in Luc.* 10.

(*e*) *Calvin. in Institut. l* 4 *c.* 3. *§§.* 4.

(*f*) *Ep. ad Oceanum.*

hæres. 20. *n.*4. to whom, for brevity sake, I referre the Reader. And this the rather, because the Scripture is so full & pregnant in it; it being a condition, or qualification, if you will, required by (*g*) S. *Peter*, in those that were the *Candidates* for so high a dignity, *that they accompanied the Apostles all the time that the Lord Jesus went in and out amongst them.* And that we know none did, but the *Seventy* onely. So then it is most cleare, and manifest, both by authority of Scripture, and consent of Fathers, that our *Saviour* instituted in his Church two rankes of *Ministers*, the one subordinate unto the other: and consequently, laid the first foundations of it, in such a Fatherly, and moderate *imparity*, as bound all following times and ages, that would not willingly oppose so Divine an ordinance, to observe the like.

(*g*) Act. 1. v. 21.

X. And yet it is not to be thought, that this *superiority* thus by him established, doth contradict those other passages of holy Scripture, wherein he doth prohibit all dominion over one another. They much mistake the businesse who conceive it so. The *Jewes* in generall, and all the followers of Christ particularly, expected that the promised *Messiah* should come with power, restore againe the lustre of the *Jewish* Kingdome, and free them from that yoke and

bondage, which by the *Romans* had beene laid upon them. *We thought*, (*h*) said *Cleophas*, *that this had beene hee that should have delivered Israel.* And what hee thought, was solemnely expected by all the rest. (*i*) *Domine, si in tempore hoc restitues regnum Israel, Lord*, say they, even in the very moment of his Ascension, *wilt thou at this time restore againe the Kingdome unto Israel?* Upon which fancie and imagination, no marvell if they harboured some ambitious thought; every one hoping for the neerest places, both of power and trust about his person. This was the greatnesse which they aimed at: and this our Saviour laboured to divert them from: by interdicting all such power and Empire, as Princes, and the favorites of Princes have upon their vassals. (*k*) *Yee know* (saith hee) *that the Princes of the Gentiles exercise Dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them:* Vobis autem non sic, *But so it shall not be amongst you.* Where plainly it appeares, both by the text and context: first, that this strife and contestation was onely amongst the twelve *Apostles*; and therefore howsoever it may prove that there was to be a parity or equality amongst themselves, yet it will never prove, but that they were, and might be still superiour unto the *Seventy*. And secondly, that Christ our Saviour doth

(*b*) 24.21.

(*i*) Act.1.6.

(*k*) Mat.20.25. Luk. 22.25.

doth not prohibit them the use and exercise of all authority, on those who were inferiour and subordinate to them; but onle such authority as the *Princes* of the *Gentiles*, and the great Lords and Ministers about them did exercise upon their subjects. The power and government of the Apostles in the Church of Christ was meerly πατρικὴ, such as a Father beareth unto his children: but not δεσποτικὴ, a Lordly, and imperious rule, such as a Master exerciseth on his slaves and servants: (*l*) *Not as Lords over Gods inheritance*, (*m*) *but as the helpers of their joy*, say the two Apostles. And herein stands the difference, according unto that of (*n*) *Chrysostome*, *Principes mundi ideo fiunt, ut dominentur minoribus suis*, The Princes of the earth were made to this end and purpose, that they might Lord it over their inferiours, and make them slaves, and spoyle them, and devour them, abasing them unto the death, for their owne profit and glory: *Principes autem Ecclesiæ fiunt, &c.* But the Governours or Princes of the Church were instituted to another end. *viz.* To serve their inferiours, and to minister unto them all such things, as they have received from the Lord.

(*l*) 1 Pet. 5. 3.

(*m*) 2 Cor. 2. 24.

(*n*) *Chrysost. in oper. imper. in Mat. hom.* 35.

This eminence and superiority over all the Church, which was thus settled in the *Apostles* by our Lord and Saviour, will

XI.

appeare more fully, if we consult the severall ministrations committed unto them, and to them alone. For unto them alone it was, that *Christ* committed the whole power of *preaching* of his holy Word, *administring* his blessed Sacraments, *retaining* and *forgiving* sinnes, *ruling* and ordering of his flocke: giving them also further power of *instituting*, and *ordaining* such, by whom these severall offices were to be performed till his second comming. None but the Twelve were present with him, when hee ordained the blessed Sacrament of his body and blood: and unto them alone was said (*o*) *Hoc facite*, do this: *i.e.* take bread, and breake, and blesse it, and distribute it, *in remembrance of mee*. To the eleven alone it was that he gave commission to (*p*) go into all the world and preach the Gospell to all creatures, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost. They onely had that powerfull & immediate mission, (*q*) *Sicut misit me Pater*, As my Father sent mee, so send I you; and upon them alone he *breathed*, saying, (*r*) *Receive the Holy Ghost: whose sinnes you do remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose sinnes you do retaine, they are retained.* Finally, they, and none but they were trusted with the *feeding*, and the *governance* of the *Flocke* of *Christ*, (the word ποιμαίνειν in the *Greeke*

(o) Luk. 22. 19.

(p) Mat. 28. 19.

(q) Joh. 20. 21.

(r) Joh. 20. 22. 23.

Greeke doth imply them both) for howsoever (*s*) *Pasce oves meas*, was in particular spoken to S. *Peter*; yet was that charge incumbent on them all, as before wee noted from Saint *Austin*. By all which passages and texts of Scripture it is cleere and manifest that the *Apostles* were by Christ *ordained* to be the sole and ordinary Teachers, *Bishops*, and *Pastors* of the Church, next and immediately under his most blessed selfe, who still continueth (*t*) ὁ μέγας τῶν προβάτων ποιμὴν, *the great Shepheard of the Sheepe*, as *Paul*; (*u*) *the Shepheard and Bishop of our soules*, as Saint *Peter* cals him. The *Seventy* had no part in this new Commission, the dispensation of the word, and Sacraments, but at second hand; as they were afterwards intrusted with it, by the holy *Apostles*, either as *Prophets*, *Presbyters*, or *Evangelists*, according to the measure of the Grace which was given unto them: or specially designed to some part therein, after the *Ascension* of our Lord and Saviour, by the immediate designation of the Holy Ghost. And when they were entrusted with a part thereof, yet were they still *secundi Ordinis*, Ministers of a second ranke, inferiour unto the *Apostles*, both in place and power, to whom all latitude of power was given. Nay, the *Apostles* tooke an hint from this different *mission*, to institute two

(*s*) Joh. 21. 15. 16.

(*t*) Heb. 13. 20.

(*u*) 1 Pet. 2. 25.

ſeverall ſorts of Miniſters in the Church of *Chriſt*: the one ſubordinate unto the other, as were the *Seventy* unto them. And this by vertue of theſe words in their Commiſſion, *Ita mitto vos*; *i. e.* as the Arch-Biſhop of *Spalato* very well applyeth it, *Sicut ego* "*à Patre habui poteſtatem eligendi Miniſtros*, "*etiam diverſi ordinis, ita & vos pariter ha-* "*beatis*. As I received power from my hea- "venly Father, of inſtituting *Miniſters*, even "of divers *Orders*, ſo I give it you. And therefore whatſoever the *Apoſtles* did therein, they did it after Chriſts example, and by his authority: and conſequently, the imparity of Miniſters by them ordained, was founded on the Law of God, and the originall inſtitution of our Saviour *Chriſt*, by whom the power of *Ordination* was to them committed, and by them unto their *Succeſſours* in the Church for ever.

De Repub. Eccl. l.2 c.3. n.7.

XII. To bring this Chapter to an end, our Saviour Chriſt having thus furniſhed his Apoſtles with thoſe ſeverall powers, faculties, and preheminences which before wee ſpake of; he thought it beſt to recommend them to the bleſſings of Almighty God, whoſe worke they were to goe about. And therefore being to take his fare-well of them, did in a very ſolemne manner beſtow his benediction on them. (x) *Elevatis manibus ſuis benedixit eis*, He lifted up his hands,

(x) Luk. 24. 50.

hands, and blessed them, as Saint *Luke* hath it. Which benediction Saint *Austin* takes to be a consecrating of those holy men unto the power and dignity of *Bishops*. (y) *Ipse enim priusquam in cœlos ascenderet, imponens manum Apostolis, ordinavit eos Episcopos*: as the Father hath it. Which whether it were so or not, I meane so done with such an outward forme and ceremony, and in that very point of time, is perhaps uncertaine: But sure I am, that for the thing it selfe, which is here delivered, the Fathers, many of them do agree with *Austin*; affirming, *passim*, in their writings, that the *Apostles* were made *Bishops* by our blessed Lord. Saint (z) *Cyprian* voucheth it expressely. The Deacons ought to understand, *quoniam Apostolos, i.e. Episcopos, & Præpositos Dominus elegit*, that the Lord *Christ* himselfe did choose the *Apostles*, that is, the Bishops and Rulers of the Church: and that the Apostles after his ascension did ordaine the *Deacons* to be the Ministers of their *Episcopall* function, and the necessities of the Church. (a) Saint *Ambrose* doth affirme the same, *Caput itaque in Ecclesia Apostolos posuit, &c.* Christ, saith he, made the *Apostles* the head (or supreme Governours) of his Church, they being the Legats or Ambassadours of Christ, according unto that of the Apostle, 2 *Cor*. 5. 20. And then

(y) *Aug. quæst. N.Test. qu.14.*

(z) *Cyp. lib. 3. Ep 9.*

(a) *Ambros. in 1. ad Cor. c. 12.*

then he addes, *Ipsi sunt Episcopi*, that they were Bishops. (*b*) More plainly in his Comment on the *Ephesians*, *Apostoli Episcopi sunt, Prophetæ, explanatores Scripturarum*. The *Apostles*, saith he, are *Bishops*, and Prophets, the expositors of Scripture. But because question hath beene made, whether indeed those Commentaries are the workes of *Ambrose*, or of some other ancient writer; he tels us in his notes on the 43. *Ps.* that in those words of Christ, *Pasce oves meas*; (*c*) *Peter* was made a Bishop by our Lord and Saviour. *Significat Ambrosius Petrum Sacerdotem, hoc est, Episcopum electum, illis verbis, Pasce oves meas*: as the place is cited by the Arch-Bishop of *Spalato*. And thus Saint *Chrysostome* speaking of the election of the *Seven*, (*d*) saith plainly; καὶ τοι οὐδέπω οὐδεὶς ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, ἀλλ' οἱ ἀπόστολοι μόνον, that then there were no Bishops in the Church, but onely the Apostles.

(*b*) *In Comment. in Ephes.* 4.

(*c*) *De Repub. Eccles. l.* 2. *c.* 2. *n.* 4.

(*d*) *Chrys. hom.* 14. *in Act.* 6.

XIII. But what need more be said in the present businesse, than that which is delivered in the holy Scripture, about the surrogation of some other in the place of *Judas*: (*e*) wherein the place or function of an Apostle is plainly called *Episcopatus*; *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter*, let another take his *Bishopricke*, as the *English* reads it. His *Bishopricke*, (*f*) *i.e.* saith *Chrysostome*, τὴν ἀρχὴν, τὴν ἱερωσύνην, his principality, his Priesthood, the

(*e*) Act. 1. 20.

(*f*) *Chrys. hom.* 3. *in Act.* 1.

the place of government that belonged unto him, had he kept his station. A text most plain and pregnant as the Fathers thought, to prove that the *Episcopall* dignity was vested in the persons of the Lords Apostles. The Comment under the name of *Ambrose*, (g) which before we spake of, having said, *Ipsi sunt Episcopi*, that the Apostles were *Bishops*, addes for the proofe thereof these words of *Peter*, *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter*. And the true (h) *Ambrose* saying of *Judas*, that he was a Bishop [*Episcopus enim & Judas fuit*] addes for the proofe thereof the same very text. Finally, to conclude this matter, Saint *Cyprian*, shewing that Ordinations were not made (i) without the privitie of the people, in the Jewish Church, addes that the same was afterwards observed by the holy Apostles, *Quando de ordinando in locum Judæ Episcopo*; when *Peter* spake unto the people, about the ordering of a *Bishop* in the place of *Judas*. But for a further proofe of this, that the Apostles were ordained Bishops by our Lord & Saviour, we shall see more hereafter in convenient place (k) when wee are come to shew, that in the government of the Church, the *Bishops* were the proper *Successors* of the *Apostles*; and so esteemed to be by those, who otherwise were no great friends unto *Episcopacie*. In the meane

(g) *Ambros. in 1 ad Cor. c. 12.*

(h) *Id. Serm. 50.*

(i) *Nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia. lib. 1. ep. 4.*

(k) *Vide chap. 6. n. 12.*

Lib. 2. Summæ de Eccl. c. 32. ap. Bell. de Rom. Pont.

time we may take notice of that impudent assertion of *Johannes de Turre cremata: viz. Quod solus Petrus à Christo Episcopus est ordinatus:* that *Peter*, onely *Peter* was made *Bishop* by our Saviour *Christ*, and that the rest of the Apostles received from *Peter* their *Episcopall* consecration: wherein I find him seconded by *Dominicus Jacobatius*, *lib.* 10. *de Concil. Art.* 7. A paradoxe so monstrous and absurd, that howsoever *Bellarmine* doth reckon it amongst other the *Prerogatives* of that Apostle, in his first Booke *de Romano Pontifice*, *cap.* 23. yet upon better thoughts, he rejects it utterly in his 4. Book upon that argument, *Cap.* 22. and so I leave it.

Thus having showne in what estate the Church was founded by our Saviour, and in what termes he left it unto his *Apostles*: we must next see what course was tooke by them to promote the same; what use they made of that authority which was trusted to them.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The foundation of the Church of *Hierusalem* under the government of Saint *James* the Apostle, and *Simeon*, one of the Disciples, the two first Bishops of the same.

I. Matthias *chosen into the place of* Judas.

II. *The comming of the* Holy Ghost: *and on whom it fell.*

III. *The greatest measure of the Spirit fell on the* Apostles; *and so by consequence the greatest power.*

IV. *The severall* Ministrations *in the Church then given; and that in ranking of the same, the* Bishops *are intended in the name of* Pastors.

V. *The sudden growth of the Church of* Hierusalem, *and the making of Saint* James *the first* Bishop *there.*

VI. *The former point deduced from* Scripture.

VII. *And proved by the generall consent of* Fathers.

VIII. *Of the* Episcopall *chaire, or Throne of Saint* James, *and his successors in* Hierusalem.

IX. Simeon *elected by the* Apostles *to succeed Saint* James.

X. *The meaning of the word* Episcopus, *and from whence borrowed by the Church.*

XI. *The institution of the* Presbyters.

XII. *What interest they had in the common business of the Church, whilst Saint* James *was Bishop.*

XIII. *The Councell of* Hierusalem, *and what the* Presbyters *had to do therein.*

XIV. *The institution of the* Seven; *and to what office they were called.*

XV. *The names of* Ecclesiasticall functions, *promiscuously used in holy Scripture.*

I. OUr Saviour *Christ* having thus authorized his *Apostles* to preach the Gospell over *all the world,* to *every creature*; and given them power as well of ministring the Sacraments, as of retaining and remitting sinnes, as before is said: thought fit to leave them to themselves: onely commanding them to *(a) tarry in the City of* Hierusalem *untill they were indued with further power from on high:* whereby they might be fitted for so great a worke. *(b) And when hee had spoken those things, while*

(a) Luk. 24 49.

(b) Act. 1. 9.

while they beheld, hee was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight. No sooner was hee gone to the heavenly glories, but the *Apostles* with the rest, withdrew themselves unto *Hierusalem,* as hee had appointed: where the first care they tooke was, to fill up their number, to surrogate some one or other of the Disciples, in the place of *Judas*, that so the Word of God might be fulfilled, which he had spoken by the *Psalmist*, (c) *Episcopatum ejus accipiat alter.* A businesse of no small importance, and therefore fit to be imparted unto all the *Brethren:* not so much that their suffrage, & consent herein was necessary, as that they might together joyne in (d) *prayer* to Almighty God, to direct the action, whose businesse indeed it was, and unto whom alone the whole election properly pertained. All that they did was to propose two men unto the Lord their God, (*Et* (e) *statuerunt duos*, saith the text) such as they thought most fit for so great a charge, and so to leave it to his providence, to *shew* and manifest which of the *two* he pleased to *choose.* In the appointment of which two, whether that *statuerunt* being a verbe of the Plurall number, be to he referred to all the multitude, as *Chrysostome* is of opinion, or onely unto the Apostles, and the Seventy, as some others thinke, it comes all

(c) Psal. 69 26.

(d) Act. 1. 21.

(e) Act. 1. 23.

all to one. For the whole number being but (*f*) *an hundred and twenty*, and being that the *Apostles* with the Seventy (out of which ranke the nomination of the two was made) made up the number of foure-score: it must needs be that the appointment in effect, was in them alone. And though I rather do incline to *Chrysostome*, in this particular, that the appointment of these two was done by all the multitude in generall; yet I can yeeld by no meanes to the next that followeth. (*g*) For shewing some politicke, and worldly reasons, why *Peter* did permit the people to have an interest in the businesse, he first asked this question; ἐλέσθαι [ὁ Πέτρος] αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐξὸν; whether it were not lawfull for Saint *Peter* to have chose the man. And then hee answereth positively, καὶ πάνυ γε, that it was most lawfull, but that hee did forbeare to do it, lest he might seeme to do it out of partialitie. In this I must crave leave to dissent from *Chrysostome*. The power of making an Apostle was too high a priviledge, to be intrusted unto any of the sonnes of *Adam*. *Paul* was not made Apostle, though an (*h*) *abortive* one, as hee calls himselfe, (*i*) *either of men, or by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father*. What priviledge or power soever *Peter* had as an Apostle of the Lord in making *Bishops*, or as a *Bishop* of

(*f*) Act. 1. 15.

(*g*) *Chrysost. in hom. 3. in Act.*

(*h*) 1 Cor. 15.

(*i*) Galat. 1. 1.

of the Church in ordaining *Presbyters*: he had no power to make *Apostles*. The Pope might sing *Placebo*, if it had beene otherwise: and we should have *Apostles* more than ten times twelve, if nothing were required unto it, but Saint *Peters Fiat*.

But to proceed: this weighty businesse being thus dispatched, and *Matthias* (*k*) who before was of the Seventy, being numbred with the eleven *Apostles*, it pleased God to make good his promise of powring on them in a plenttfull and signall manner, the gifts and graces of his holy Spirit. Not on the Twelve alone, or the Seventy onely; but on the whole body of the Disciples; even on the whole 120. which before we spake of. I know that *Beza*, and some others would limit this effusion of the holy Ghost to the *Twelve* alone. Why, and to what intent he doth so resolve it, though I may guesse perhaps, yet I will not judge: but sure it is, hee so resolves it. (*l*) *Solis Apostolis propria est hæc Spiritus sancti missio, sicut proprius fuit Apostolatus*, as his owne words are, in his Annotations on the text. The same he also doth affirme in his Book *de Ministrorum Evangelii gradibus*, cap. 5. But herein *Beza* leaves the Fathers, and the text to boote. (*m*) Saint *Austin* tels us, that the Holy Ghost came from heaven, *& implevit uno loco sedentes centum viginti*,

(*k*) *Epiphan. hæres.* 20 *n.* 4.

(*l*) *Beza in Act.* 2.

(*m*) *Tract.* 2. *in ep Johannis.*

viginti, and filled one hundred and twenty ſitting in one place. *(n)* Saint *Chryſoſtome* affirmes the ſame, τί δὴ; Ἀρ' ἐπὶ τοῦ δώδεκα μόνους ἦλθεν, &c. what, ſaith he, did it come on the twelve alone, not upon the reſt? And then he anſwereth, ὐδαμῶς, not ſo by no meanes, it fell on all the 120. which were there aſſembled. Nor doth he onely ſay it, but he proves it alſo, alleaging in defence of his aſſertion that very plea and argument which was uſed by *Peter*, to cleare himſelf, and his aſſociates from the imputation of being drunken with new wine, *viz. Hoc eſt quod dictum fuit per Prophetam Joel*, *(o)* This is that which was ſpoken by the Prophet *Joel*, *I will powre out of my Spirit upon all fleſh*, *&c.* Beſides, the text and context make it plaine enough, that this effuſion of the holy Ghoſt was upon them all. In the firſt Chapter of the *Acts* *(p)* we find them *all together* (the whole 120.) *with one accord*: and in the firſt verſe of the ſecond chapter, we find them *all together with* the ſame *accord*: and then it followeth, that there appeared cloven tongues, like as of fire, *(q)* *ſeditque ſupra ſingulos eorum*, and ſate upon each of them; *and they were all filled with the Holy Ghoſt*. If they were *all together*, (as we found before) and *all were filled with the Holy Ghoſt*: no queſtion but there were more filled with it than the twelve Apoſtles.

(n) Hom. 4. in Act. c. 2.

(o) Act. 2. 16.

(p) Act. 1. 14.

(q) Act. 2 3 4.

Apostles. And when as *Peter with the eleven stood up*, making an apologie for the rest, and saying (r) *These men are not drunken, as ye suppose*: it must needs be that others, besides the twelve, and indeed all the company were suspected of it. Adde, as by way of surplusage, and *ex abundanti*, that the *Seven* chosen by the multitude to *serve the Tables*, (s) who questionlesse were of the number of the Seventy, are said to have beene (t) *full of the Holy Ghost*, before that the Apostles had laid hands on them.

(r) Act. 2. 14, 15

(s) *Epiphan. hæres.* 20. n. 4.

(t) Act. 6. 3.

III.

So then it is most evident, as I conceive it, that the *Holy Ghost* was given to every one of the Disciples, the whole number of them: to every one according to his place, and station; according to that service and imployment, in which the Lord intended to make use of him. *For* (u) *unto one was given by the spirit the word of wisedome, to another the word of knowledge, and to another the gift of healing by the same spirit: to another the working of miracles, to another prophesie, to another discerning of spirits, to another divers kinds of tongues, to another the interpretation of tongues.* Every one of them had their severall gifts; the *Apostles* all (x) ὁι πάντα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς εἰχοντα χαρίσματα, as wee read in *Chrysostome*. What ever was divided amongst the residue, for the advance-

(u) 1 Cor. 12. 8, 9, 10.

(x) *Hom.* 32. *in* 1. *ad Cor. c.* 12.

ment of Gods glory, and the improvement of his Church, that was united in the persons of the holy *Apostles*: whom God had ranked as much above them in their gifts and graces, as they were in place. By meanes whereof it came to passe, that howsoever the Lord out of these 120. made choyce of some to be *Evangelists*, some to be *Prophets*, and others to be *Pastors*, *Presbyters*, and *Teachers*: yet the *Apostles* still retained their superiority, ordering and directing them in their severall Ministeries, to the best edifying of the Church. For thus wee read how *Paul* disposed of *Timothy* and *Titus*, who were both *Evangelists*: sending them, as the occasions of the Church required, from *Asia* to *Greece*, and then backe to *Asia*, and thence to *Italy*. How he sent (y) *Crescens* to *Galatia*, *Titus* to *Dalmatia*, *Tychicus* to *Ephesus*: commanding *Erastus* to abide at *Corinth*, and using the ministerie of *Luke* at *Rome*. So find wee how hee (z) ordered those that had the spirit of *Prophecie*, & such as had the *gift of tongues*; that every one might use his talent unto *edification*: how he ordained *Bishops* in one place, *Elders* or *Presbyters* in another, as wee shall see hereafter in this following story. The like wee may affirme of Saint *Peter* also, and of the rest of the *Apostles*, though there be lesse left

(y) 2 Tim 4.

(z) 1 Cor. 14.

left upon record of their Acts, and Writings, than are remaining of Saint *Paul*: whose mouthes and pennes being guided by the *Holy Ghost*, have beene the *Canon* ever since of all saving truth. For howsoever *Marke* and *Luke* two of the *Evangelists*, have left behind them no small part of the booke of God, of their owne enditing: yet were not either of their writings reckoned as *Canonicall* in respect of the Authors, but as they had beene taken from the *Apostles* mouthes, and ratified by their authority, as both (*a*) Saint *Luke* himselfe, and (*b*) the Fathers testifie. And for a further marke of difference, betweene the Apostles and the rest of the Disciples, wee may take this also: that though the rest of the *Disciples* had all received the Holy Ghost, yet none could give the same but the *Apostles* only. Insomuch that when *Philip* the *Evangelist* had preached the Gospell in *Samaria*, (*c*) and converted many, and baptized them in the name of the Lord *Jesus Christ*; yet none of them *received* the *Holy Ghost* till *Peter* and *John*(*d*) came down unto them, and *prayed for them, and laid their hands on them*, as the Scriptures witnesse. That was a priviledge reserved to the *Apostles*, and to none but them. (*e*) Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ δῶρον μόνων δώδεκα ἦν, as it is in *Chrysostome*. And when the two *Apostles* did

(*a*) Luk. 1.

(*b*) *Hieron. in Marc. Clemens apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 15.*

(*c*) Act. 8. 12.

(*d*) v. 14, 15, 17.

(*e*) *Hom.* 18. *in Act.* 8.

did it, they did it without *Philips* helpe or cooperation, who joyned not in it, nor contributed at all to so great a worke, for ought we find in holy Scripture.

IV. In this regard it is no marvell, if in the enumerating of those ministrations, which did concurre in the first founding of the Church, the Apostles alwaies have preheminence.(*f*) *First*, *Apostles*; *secondarily*, *Prophets*; *thirdly*, *Teachers*, *&c.* as Saint *Paul* hath ranked them. Nor did he ranke them so by chance, but gave to every one his proper place, προτάττων τὸ προπμότερον, saith Saint (*g*) *Chrysostome*, first placing that which was most excellent, and afterwards descending unto those of a lower ranke. Which plainly shewes, that in the composition of the Church, there was a *prius*, and *posterius* in regard of order, a προπμότερον, or more honourable, as the Father calls it, in regard of power: as in the constitution of the body naturall, to which the Church is there resembled, some of the members do direct, and some obey, some of them being *honourable*, some *feeble*, but all *necessary*. The like may also be observed out of the 4. chap. of the same *Apostle* unto the *Ephesians*: where the *Apostles* are first placed, and ranked above the rest of the ministrations, *Prophets*, *Evangelists*, *Pastors*, and *Teachers*: of which some were to be but temporary

(*f*) 1 Cor. 12. 28.

(*g*) *Hom.* 32. *in* 1. *ad Cor. c.* 12.

(*h*) 1 Cor. 12. 22, 23.

porary in the Church of *God*: the others to remain for ever. For as Saint (*i*)*Chrysostome* doth exceeding well expound that "Scripture, Πρῶτον Ἀπόστολος, first, he doth "name *Apostles*, as they in whom all "powers and graces were united: Secondly, *Prophets*, such as was *Agabus* in the "*Acts*: thirdly, *Evangelists*, οἱ μὴ φθάνοντες πανταχοῦ, such as had made no progresse into many countries, but preached the Gospell in some certaine Regions, as *Aquila*, and *Priscilla*: and then *Pastors*, and "*Teachers*, who had the government of a "Country or Nation, οἱ φθάνοντα τόπον ἡγουμένοι, "such as were setled, & employed in a certaine place or City, as *Timothy* and *Titus*. If then a question should be made, whom S. *Paul* meaneth here by *Pastors* and *Teachers*; I answer it is meant of *Bishops*, οἱ φθάνοντα τόπον ἡγουμένοι, as the Father hath it, such as were placed over some certaine Cities: and that the *Bishops* were accounted in the ancient times, the onely ordinary *Pastors* of the Church, in the roome, and stead of the Apostles, (*k*) we shall shew hereafter. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because that in the first Epistle to those of *Corinth*, written when as there were but few *Bishops* of particular Cities, Saint *Paul* doth speake of *Teachers* onely; but here in this to the *Ephesians*, writ at such time as *Timothy*,

(*i*) *Hom.* 11. *in Ephes.* 4.

(*k*) Chap. 6. *n.*

mothy, and *Titus*, and many others had formerly beene ordained *Bishops*, hee addes *Pastors* also. Certaine I am that both *Theophylact*, (*l*) and *Oecumenius* do expound the words by *Bishops* onely, τοῦ τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἐμπεπιστευμένους, τοῦ ἐπισκόπους, such Bishops as both *Timothy* and *Titus* were by them accounted. Nay even (*m*) Saint *Hierome* seemeth to incline this way, making the Prelates of the Church, or the *Præsides Ecclesiæ*, as he calls them there, to be the *Pastors* and *Teachers* mentioned by Saint *Paul*: *i. e. Pastores ovium*, *magistros hominum*; *Pastors*, in reference to their *Flocks*, *Teachers* in reference to their *Disciples*.

(*l*) *Theoph. & Oecum. in Ephes.* 4.4 11.

(*m*) *Hieron. in Ephes.* 4.

V. But to goe on unto our story. Our *Saviour* having thus enabled and supplyed his *labourers* with the gifts and graces of his *Spirit*; it could not be but that the *harvest* went on a pace. (*n*) The first *day added to the Church* 3000. *soules*. And after that, *God added daily to it such as should be saved*. The miracle wrought by the hands of the two *Apostles* at the (*o*) *Beautifull gate*, opened a large dore to the further increase thereof. For presently upon the same, and *Peters* Sermon made upon that occasion, we find that the (*p*) *number of the men which heard the word and beleeved, was about five thousand*. Not that there were so many added to the former number, as to make up *five*

(*n*) *Act.* 2.41.47

(*o*) Act 3. 2.

(*p*) Act. 4. 4.

five thousand in the totall: but that there were *five thousand added* to the Church, more than had beene formerly: (*q*) Saint *Chrysostome*, and *Oecumenius* both affirming, that there were more converted by this second Sermon of Saint *Peters*, than by the first. So that the Church increasing daily more and more, (*r*) *multitudes both of men and women* being continually *added to the Lord*; and their numbers growing *dreadfull* to the *Jewish* Magistrates: it seemed good to the *Apostles*, (who by the intimation of the *Spirit* found that there would be worke enough else where) to choose one or other of their sacred number, to be the *Bishop* of that Church, and take charge thereof. And this they did not now by lots, but in the ordinary course and manner of election, pitching on *James* the sonne of *Alpheus*, who in regard of consanguinity is sometimes called in Scripture (*s*) the *Lords brother*, and in regard of his exceeding piety, and uprightnesse, was surnamed the *Just*. Which action I have placed here, even in the cradle of the Church, upon good authority. For first, (*t*) *Eusebius* tels us out of *Clemens*, that this was done μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, after the ascension of our Saviour; (*u*) *Hierome* more plainly; *statim post passionem Domini*, immediately upon his passion. We may with good security conclude

(*q*) *Chrys. hom.* 10. *in Act.* 4. *& hom.* 25. *in Act.* 11.

(*r*) Act. 5. 14.

Vers. 26.

(*s*) Gal. 1. 19.

(*t*) *Eccles. Hist. l.* 2. *c.* 1.

(*u*) *In Scrip. Eccles.*

clude from both, that it was done not long after *Christs* Ascension, assoone almost as the beleevers were increased to a considerable number. And lastly, that (x) *Ignatius* hath made Saint *Stephen* to be the Deacon, or subservient Minister to this *James* the Bishop of *Hierusalem*: and then wee must needs place it in some middle time betweene the feast of *Pentecost*, and the 26. of *December*, when Saint *Stephen* was martyred. So early did the Lord take care to provide *Bishops* for his Church, and set apart a speciall *Pastor* for his holy City.

(x) *Ignat. in ep. ad Trall.*

V I. 'Tis true, there is no manifest record hereof in *holy Scripture*, but then withall it is as true, that in the Scripture there are many pregnant circumstances, whereon the truth hereof may well be grounded. (y) Saint *Paul* some three yeares after his conversion, *went up unto Hierusalem to see Peter*, but found no other of the *Apostles* there, save onely *James the Lords brother*. Aske *Hierome*, who this *James* was, whom Saint *Paul* then saw, and he will tell you, that it was *James* the Bishop of *Hierusalem*. (z) *Hic autem Jacobus Episcopus Hierosolymorum primus fuit, cognomento Justus*. And then withall we have the reason why *Paul* should find him at *Hierusalem*, more than the rest of the *Apostles*: *viz.* because the rest of the *Apostles* were dispersed abroad, cording

(y) Gal. 1. 18, 19.

(z) *Hier in Gal.* 1.

according to the exigence of their occasions; and *James* was there residing on his *Pastorall*, or *Episcopall* charge. (a) *Fourteene yeares* after his conversion, being the eleventh yeare after the former enterview, he went up into *Hierusalem* againe, with *Barnabas* and *Titus*: and was together present with them at the first generall Councell held by the *Apostles*. In which, upon the agitation of the businesse there proposed, the Canon and determination is drawne up positively and expressely, in (b) the words of *James*. Do you desire the reason of it, *Peter* and others being there? *Chrysostome* on those words of Scripture, (c) *James answered saying*, doth expresse it thus; (d) ἐπίσκοπος ὢν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας, this *James* was Bishop of *Hierusalem*. And this no question was the reason, why *Paul* reciting the names of those with whom especially he had conference at his being there, puts (e) *James* in the first place before *Peter* and *John*; *viz.* because that he was *Bishop* ther, as *Estius* hath noted on that text. The Councell being ended, *Paul* returneth to *Antioch*, and there by reason of some men that came from (f) *James*, *Peter* withdrew, and separated himselfe, *eating no longer with the Gentiles*. Why takes the Apostle such especiall notice that they came from *James*, but because they were sent from him, as

(a) Gal. 2. 1.

(b) Act. 15. 20

(c) Act. 15. 13.

(d) *Hom.* 33. *in Act. c.* 15. *v.* 23.

(e) Galat. 2. 9.

(f) Vers. 12.

from their *Bishop*, about some business of the Church: this *James* being then Bishop of *Hierusalem*, [ἐπίσκοπος Ἱεροσολύμων] as both (*g*) *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius* note upon the place. Finally, nine yeares after this, being the 58. of Christs nativitie, *Paul* makes his last journey to *Hierusalem*: still he findes *James* there. (*h*) *And the day following Paul went in with us unto James, &c.* as the text informes us. *Chrysostome* notes upon the place, that *James* there spoken of was the Lords brother, καὶ ἐπίσκοπος Ἱεροσολύμων, and Bishop of *Hierusalem*. So that for 20. yeares together, we have apparent evidence in Scripture of *James* residing at *Hierusalem*: and that as Bishop there, as the Fathers say.

(*g*) *Theoph. & Oecum. in Gal. 2.*

(*h*) Act. 21. 18.

(*i*) *Chrysost. hom. 46. in Act.*

VII. For that Saint *James* was Bishop of *Hierusalem*, there is almost no ancient Writers but beares witnesse of it. (*k*) *Ignatius*, who was made Bishop of *Antiochia* within eight yeares after the death and martyrdome of this *James* in their account, who place it latest; makes *Stephen* to be the Deacon of this *James*, as *Clemens* and *Anacletus* were to *Peter*: which is an implication that *James* was Bishop of *Hierusalem*, out of which City we do not find that *Stephen* ever travelled. *Egesippus*, who lived neere the Apostles times, makes this *James* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, as both Saint (*l*) *Hierome* and

(*k*) *Ignat. ep. ad Trallian.*

(*l*) *Hieron. in ac.*

and (m) *Eusebius* have told us from him. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* not long after him, doth affirme the same. And out of him and other monuments of antiquity, *Eusebius* doth assure us of him, πρῶτον τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγχειρίσθῆναι θρόνον, (o) that hee was the first that held the *Episcopall* throne or chaire in the Church of *Hierusalem.* (p) Saint *Cyrill* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, speakes of him as of his Predecessour, [ταύτης τῆς ἐκκλησίας] in that Church: (q) ἐπίσκοπος ὁ πρῶτος τῆς παροικίας ταύτης, as the first Bishop of that Diocesse. And *Epiphanius* for his greater credit, makes him not onely the first Bishop that ever was, *Hæres.29.n.3.* but Bishop of the Lords owne throne: (r) ᾧ πεπίστευκε κύριος τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, and that too by the Lords appointment. S. *Ambrose* doth assigne this reason, why *Paul* going unto *Hierusalem* to see *Peter*, should find *James* there, (s) *quia illic constitutus erat Episcopus ab Apostolis*, because that by the rest of the Apostles hee was made Bishop of the place. Saint *Hierome* (t) doth not onely affirme as much, as for his being Bishop of *Hierusalem*, but also doth lay downe the time of his creation, to be not long after our Redeemers passion: as we saw before. Saint (u) *Chrysostome*, besides what was alleaged from him in the former section, tels in his Homilies

(m) *Euseb. l.4. c.21.*
(n) *Apud Euseb. hist. l.2. c.1.*
(o) *Ibid. & l.7. c.14.*
(p) *Catech. 4. cap. de cibis.*
(q) *Catech. 14.*
(r) *Epiph. adv. hæres. 78. n.7.*
(s) *Ambros. in Gal. 1.*
(t) *De Scriptor. Eccles.*
(u) *Hom. ult. in Ioh.*

on Saint *Johns* Gospell, ὅτι ὁ Ἰάκωβος τὸν θρόνον ἔλαβε τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων, that Saint *James* had the Bishopricke of *Hierusalem*. Where by the way I cannot but take notice of a lewd forgery, or at the best a grosse mistake of *Baronius*, who to advance the Soveraignty of the Church of *Rome* (*x*) will have this *James* to take the Bishopricke of *Hierusalem* from Saint *Peters* hands; and cites this place of *Chrysostome* for proofe thereof. But surely *Chysostome* saith no such matter: for putting the question, how *James* was made the Bishop of *Hierusalem*, since *Pasce oves meas* was said to *Peter*: returnes this answer, τοῦτον ὁ τοῦ θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης, that Christ made *Peter* not the *Pastor* of a particular place, but of all the universe. That *James* received his Bishopricke from *Peter*, not one word saith *Chrysostome*: 'Tis true, the *Latin* reads it as the *Cardinall* doth; But such an undertaker as hee was, should have sought the fountaines. As for Saint *Austin*, he agrees herein with the other Fathers, in his second booke against *Cresconius*: (*y*) where speaking of the Church of *Hierusalem*, he describes it thus, *quam primus Apostolus Jacobus Episcopatu suo rexit*, whereof Saint *James* the Apostle was the first Bishop. Adde here the joynt consent and suffrage of 289. Prelates in the sixth (*z*) Generall councell of *Constantinople*, affirming *James*

(*x*) *An.* 34. *n.* 291

(*y*) *Cap.* 37.

(*z*) *Concil. Constant. in Can.* 32

James the Lords brother to be the first Bishop of *Hierusalem*: not to say any thing of *Oecumenius*, and *Theophylact*, whom before we cited. Never was point in issue tried by a fuller evidence.

VIII.

And yet one other circumstance occurres to confirme the point; which is, that till *Eusebius* time, (*a*) the chaire, or *Cathedra Episcopalis*, wherein Saint *James* was said to be inthroned, was very carefully preserved by his successours, as a sacred monument, and gladly shewed to all that desired to see it: σαφῶς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιδείκνυν τῶν, as the Author hath it. An evidence of no meane consideration, as being vouched by an author that lived before the superstitious reverence and esteeme of Reliques had beene introduced into the world; or any impostures of that kind put upon the people. Unto which testimony of *Eusebius*, we may adde that of *Beda* also, (*b*) who in his *Martyrologie* doth place the memoriall or cōmemoration of the Apostles inthronizing in that chaire or throne, upon the 27. of *December*: wherein I dare not joyne with him as unto the day; though I approve his observation of the fact or ceremony, as being every way conforme to the ancient custome of the Church. One onely thing I have to adde, and rectifie, which concernes S. *James*, & is briefly thus. S. *Hierome* (*c*) tels us

(*a*) *Eccl. hist. l. 7. c. 14.*

(*b*) *Beda Martyrol. Decemb. 28*

(*c*) *Hieron. de Script. Eccles.*

us out of *Egesippus*, *huic soli licitum esse ingredi Sancta Sanctorum*; that it was onely lawfull to Saint *James* to enter into the *Holy of Holies*: whereas in truth it should not be *huic soli licitum*, but *huic solitum*. And this appeares to be the true and ancient reading, by comparing the translation of *Sophronius*, with Saint *Hieromes* text: wherein we have it ἔθος δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ εἰσελθεῖν, &c. that it was his custome so to doe: the *Jewes* permitting him to enjoy that priviledge, in the declining times of their State and Temp'e, by reason of the holinesse of his conversation. Finally, to conclude with *Hierome*, *(d)* this blessed man of God was martyred in the 7. yeare of *Nero* (*An. Chr.* 63.) *postquam triginta annos Hierosolymis rexerat Ecclesiam*: after hee had beene Bishop of *Hierusalem* 30. yeares, that is to say, 29. yeares compleat, and the 30. currant. By which account it must needs follow, that the making of this *James* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, was one of the first actions of the *Apostles*, after they were endued with the *Holy Ghost*.

(d) *Id. ibid.*

IX. *James* being dead, *Simeon* another of the Lords disciples, was made the Bishop of that Church, *Peter*, and *Paul*, and *John*, and many other of the *Apostles*, being then alive, and all concurring in this choyce, and consenting to it. *(e)* *Eusebius*, as he tels the story,

(e) *Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 10.*

story, makes it a very solemne businesse, scarce such another *Precedent* to be found in all antiquity. And he relates it thus, as followeth: Μετὰ τὴν Ιακώβου μαρτυρίαν, &c. After the martyrdome of *James*, & the taking of *Hierusalem* (by the *Romans*) it is affirmed that the *Apostles* and Disciples of our Lord and Saviour which were yet alive, together with those of the Lords kindred after the flesh, many of whom continued living till that time, resorted thither. Their businesse was to enter into consultation, τίνα χρὴ τῆς Ιακώβου διαδοχῆς, whom they should find most worthy to succeed in the place of *James*: and having well considered of it, they all with one accord, ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης, saith that Author, agreed on *Simeon* the sonne of *Cleophas*, one of our Saviours kindred also, (*f*) as fit and worthy to possesse the Episcopall Throne, and looke unto the government of that Church or Diocesse. So that in this election there did not onely meete together the *Lords kindred*, who might perhaps desire to keepe that holy honour in their owne family; not the Disciples onely of the lower ranke, who might perhaps be easily induced to consent thereto, to gratifie the kindred of their Lord and Master: but there met also the *Apostles*, men guided and directed by the Spirit of God: and all of these comming from

(*f*) τοῦ δ' αὐτόθι παρεγκίας, θρόνου ἄξιον εἶναι. *Id Ibid.*

from ſeverall parts and countries did, ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης, with one accord, with one unanimous aſſent, agree upon the choyce of this worthy man, to be the *Biſhop* or chiefe Paſtor of the mother City, which place he held untill the time of *Trajan*, during whoſe Empire he received the crowne of Martyrdome, *Anno* 109.

X. Here then we have two *Biſhops* of *Hieruſalem*, made by the generall and joynt conſent of the *Apoſtles*: and thoſe two Biſhops not in name and title, but in power and office; according to the *Eccleſiaſticall notion* of the word, and as the ſame is taken in the writings of the *Fathers* before alleaged. I know the word *Epiſcopus*, in the primitive and proper notion doth ſignifie a *ſuperviſor* or *over-ſeer*, as it is rendred in our laſt tranſlation, *Act.* 20.4. Such were the officers of the *Athenians* (*g*) whom *Suidas* ſpeakes of, ſent by that State to looke into the government of the Cities under their dominion; οἱ ὃ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φύλακες ἐκαλοῦντο. And theſe, ſaith hee, were called Biſhops, and guardians. In this laſt ſenſe the word is often uſed by *Plutarch*, (*h*) as where he calleth *Numa*, Ἐπίσκοπον, the *Biſhop* or guardian of the Veſtall virgins; and their God *Terminus*, ἐπίσκοπον καὶ φύλακα φιλίας καὶ εἰρήνης, the *Overſeer* and preſerver of peace and amity. Thus do wee read in *Sophocles* of

(*g*) *Suidas in Epiſcopo.*

(*h*) *Plutarch. in Numa.*

of certaine officers called τȣ̃ νεκρȣ̃ ἐπισκόπȣς, such as took care about the dead: of others in the civill laws, *qui pani, & cæteris rebus venalibus præsunt*, which had the oversight of the markets, and those called *Episcopi*. And thus doth *Tully* tell us of himselfe, (*k*) *Vult me Pompeius episcopum esse, &c.* that *Pompey* had made him the overseer, or the guardian of *Cãpania*, & the whole sea-coast. This being the meaning of the word in its native sense, it pleased the *holy Ghost* to make choice thereof, to signifie the *Pastor* or *superieur Minister*, to whom the governance of the Church was trusted; one who was vested with a cõstant & fixed preheminence, as wel over the Clergie, as the Laity, committed to his charge; such as both *Timothy*, & *Titus* are described to be, in S. *Pauls* epistles, (*l*) of whõ we shall say more hereafter. S. *Austin* rightly understood the word, & the originall of it, (*m*) when he told us this *Græcum est enim, atque inde ductum vocabulum, quod ille qui præficitur, eis quibus præficitur superintẽdit, &c.* The word, saith he, is *Greek* originally, and from thence derived, shewing that he which is preferred, or set over others, is bound to take the oversight and care of those whom hee is set over. And so proceeding unto the *Etymologie*, or grammar of the word, he concludes it thus, *ut intelligat se non esse* Episcopum, *qui præesse dilexerit, non prodesse*,

(*i*) *LL. Munerum.*

(*k*) *Cicero ad Atticum. l. 7.*

l V. Chap. 5.

(*m*) *De civ. Dei. l. 19. c. 19.*

that hee deſerves not to be called a *Biſhop*, which ſeeketh rather to preferre himſelfe, than to profit others. Saint *Auſtin*, being himſelfe a *Biſhop*, knew well the meaning of the word, according to the *Eccleſiaſticall notion*, and ſenſe thereof. And in that notion, the Scriptures generally, and all the Fathers univerſally have uſed the ſame: out of which word *Epiſcopus* (whether *Greeke*, or *Latine*) the *Germans* had their *Biſchop*, & we thence our *Biſhop*. If ſometimes in the holy Scripture, the word be uſed to ſignifie an ordinarie *Presbyter*, it is at ſuch times, and ſuch places only, when as the *Presbyters* had the chiefe governance of the flocks, next & immediately under the *Apoſtles*, and where there was no *Biſhop*, properly ſo called, eſtabliſhed over them: as we ſhall ſee hereafter in the Churches of S. *Pauls* plantation.

XI. Having thus ſeene the ſudden, and miraculous growth of the Church of God, in, and about the City of *Hieruſalem*; and ſeene the ſame confirmed and ſetled in *Epiſcopall* government: our next enquirie muſt be made into the *Clergie*, which were to be ſubordinate to him, and to participate of the charge to him entruſted, according to his directions. And in this ſearch, we firſt encounter with the *Presbyters*, the firſt, as well in time, as they are in dignity. The *Deacon*, though exceeding ancient, yet comes

comes short in both. We shewed you in the former chapter, how our Redeemer having chosen the Twelve *Apostles*, appointed *other Seventy* also, and *sent them two and two before him, to prepare his way.* Of these the Lord made choyce (*n*) of some to be *Evangelists*, and others to be *Prophets*, some to be *Pastors*, and *Teachers*, and others to be *helpes in Government*, according to the measure, and the purpose of his grace bestowed upon them, in the effusion of his spirit. And out of these thus fitted and prepared for the worke of God, I doubt not but there were some chosen to assist S. *James*, in the discharge of the great trust committed to him, by the common counsell, and consent of the *Apostles*. Such as were after added unto them, according to the exigences of that Church, I take it to be all of Saint *James* ordaining: who being a *Bishop*, and *Apostle*, is not to be denied the priviledge of ordaining *Presbyters*, it being a thing which both the Apostle *Paul* did doe in all the Churches which he planted, and all succeeding *Bishops* since have done in their severall *Dioceses*. Certaine it is, that there were *Presbyters* in the Church of *Hierusalem*, before the election of the Seven: (*o*) *Ignatius* telling us that *Stephen* did minister, Ιακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς Πρεσβυτέροις, &c. to *James*, and to the *Presbyters*, which were in *Hierusalem.*

(*n*) 1 Cor. 12. & Eph. 4. 8.

(*o*) *Ignat. ep. ad Hieron.*

salem. And certaine also it is, that the *Apostles* first, and *Bishops* afterwards ordained *Presbyters*, to be assistant with them, and subservient to them, in their severall charges: and this they did, according as the Fathers say, in imitation of our Lord and Saviour; who having chose his twelve *Apostles*, appointed *Seventy others* of a lower ranke, (n) *Secundos Christi Discipulos*, as S. *Hicrome* calls them. Not that the *Presbyters* of the Church do succeed the *Seventy*, who were not founded in a perpetuity by our Saviour *Christ*, (p) as the *Archbishop* of *Spalato* hath well observed: but onely that they had a resemblance to them, & were ordained εἰς τόπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, (q) as the Councell of *Neo-Cæsarea* affirmed before, as secondary and subservient Ministers in the Church of God. And this is that which *Beda* tels us in his Comment on the Gospell of Saint *Luke* (r) that as the Twelve *Apostles* did premonstrate the forme of *Bishops*, so the *Presbyters* did beare the figure of the *Seventy*.

(n) *Hier. ad Fabiolam.*

(p) *De Rep. Eccles. l.2.c.2 n.6.*

(q) *Concil. Neo-Cæsar. Can.* 13.

(r) *Beda in Luk.* 10.

XII. Another resemblance betweene the *Presbyters* and the *Seventy* may perhaps be this, that as our Saviour in the choycing of these disciples related to the number of the *Elders* in the state of *Jewrie*: so the *Apostles* thought it fit to give unto the *Ministers* thus by them ordained (though they regarded not

not the number) the name of *Elders*, according to the cuſtome of that State before. *Presbyters*, they are called in the *Greeke* originalls, which being often rendred *Seniores* in the vulgar *Latine*, occaſioned that our firſt Tranſlatours (who perhaps looked no further than the *Latine*) turned it into *Elders*: though I could heartily have wiſhed they had retained the name of *Presbyters*, as the more proper, and ſpecificall word of the two, by farre. But for theſe *Presbyters* of the Church of *Hieruſalem* (from whenceſoever they may borrow or derive their name) we find thrice mention of them in the Booke of the *Acts*, during the time Saint *James* was Biſhop, *viz.* in the 11. 15. 21. In the firſt place we read, that when the *Diſciples which dwelt at Antioch*, had made a contribution for the brethren of *Judæa*, (ſ) they *ſent it to the Elders* there by the *hands of Barnabas and Saul.* Aske (t) *Oecumenius* who theſe Elders were, and he will tell you, ἔπι τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἶχον ἀξίαν οἱ Απόστολοι, that they were the *Apoſtles*. And like enough it is, that the *Apoſtles* may be comprehended in that generall name; they being indeed the elder brethren. Aske (u) *Calvin* why this contribution was ſent unto the *Presbyters* or Elders, being there were particular officers appointed to attend the poore, as is ſet downe in the 6. Chap. of the *Acts*; and he

(ſ) Act. 11. ult.

(t) Cap. 18. *in Act. Apoſtol.*

(u) *In Act.* 11.

he will tell you, that the *Deacons* were so appointed over that businesse, that notwithstanding they were still inferiour unto the *Presbyters*; *nec quicquam sine eorum auctoritate agerent*, and were not to do any thing therein without their authority. So for that passage in the 21. S. *Luke* (*x*) relates how *Paul*, at his last going to *Hierusalem*, went in unto *James*, and *that all the Elders were present*; and addes withall, what counsell and advice they gave him, for his ingratiating with the *Jewes*. Here find we *James* the Bishop attended by his *Presbyters*, at the reception of Saint *Paul*: and they together joyning with him in the consultation then in hand, the businesse being great and weighty. And therefore *Chrysostome* (*y*) observes, ὀχ ὡς ἐπίσκοπος αὐθεντικῶς διαλέγεται, that *James* determined nothing in it, as a *Bishop*, of his sole authority: but tooke *Paul* into counsell with him: and that the *Presbyters* on the other side, carried themselves with great respect and reverence towards him, [μθ' ὑποτολῆς] giving him an account, or reason of their following counsell. The *Bishop* never sit and in a firmer chaire, than when his Chapter doth support it.

(x) v. 18. 19. &c.

(y) *Chrys. in Act.* 21.

XIII. But that which is indeed the matter of the greatest moment, is that which doth occurre in the 15. chapter of the *Acts*, touching the *Councell* of *Hierusalem*: wherein the

the *Presbyters* are so often mentioned, as if without their presence and assistance, the *Apostles* had beene able to determine nothing. Some would faine have it so perhaps, but it will not be. Saint *Paul* was so assured of the doctrine by him delivered, as not to put it to the triall of a mortall man: and the *Apostles* of a spirit so infallible in the things of God, as not to need the counsell and assistance of inferiour persons. How many points of doctrine did Saint *Paul* determine without repairing to the *Apostels*? how many did the *Apostles* preach and publish without consulting with the *Presbyters*? Somewhat there must be in it more than ordinary, which did occasion this conjuncture; and is briefly this. Some of the *Jewes* which had but newly beene initiated in the faith of *Christ*, and were yet very zealous of their ancient ceremonies, (z) came from *Hierusalem* to *Antiochia*; and there delivered doctrines contrary unto those which *Paul* taught before. It seemes there were some *Presbyters* amongst them, for it is said, they taught the people: and they pretended too, that they did teach no other doctrine, than that which had beene authorized by the *Apostles*. The doctrine was, that *except men would be circumcised after the manner of* Moses, *they could not be saved*. *Paul* might have over-ruled this case, by

(z) Act. 15. 1.

by his owne authority. But partly for the satisfaction of the *Antiochians*, and partly for the full conviction of these *false teachers*, he was content, by *revelation* (*a*) *of the Spirit*, to put the matter over to the resolution of such of the *Apostles* as were then abiding in *Hierusalem*: that by their generall attestation, they might confirme his doctrine to be sound, and true. As for the *Presbyters*, it concerned them to be present also, as well to cleare themselves from authorizing any such *false brethren* to disturbe the Church, as to prevent the like disorders in the time to come. This is the summe of the proceedings in this businesse. And this doth no way interest the *Presbyters* in the determination of points of faith, further then as they are concerned either in having beene a means to pervert the same; or for the clearing of themselves from the like suspicions. And yet I cannot but affirme withall, that pure and primitive antiquity did derive from hence the forme, and manner of their *Councels*: in which the Presbyters did oftentimes concurre, both for voyce and hand, I meane as well in giving of their suffrages, as the subscription of their names. Certaine I am (*b*) that in the Councell held in *Arragon*, *An.* 490. or thereabout, it was provided among other things, *ut non solum à Cathedralibus, verum*

(*a*) Gal. 2. 2.

(*b*) *Concil. Tarracon. Can.* 13.

verum etiam de Diocesanis: that certaine Presbyters should be chosen, as well out of the *Diocesan*, as the *Cathedrall* Churches, to attend that service; and that the *Metropolitan* should send out his letters unto that effect: according as is still observed in holding of the *Convocation* of the Church of *England*.

XIV. Next to the constituting of the *Presbyters* in time and order, was the election of the *Seven*; and this the *Apostles* did put over to the people onely: not intermeddling in the same at all, further than in commending them to the grace of God, that they might faithfully discharge the trust committed to them. The Church was then in that condition, that the Disciples lived in one place together, (*c*) and *had all things common*: some of them selling their estates, and *laying downe the price thereof at the Apostles feete*, that by them it might be distributed as occasion was. But being it fell out, (*d*) that some did thinke themselves neglected in the distribution, the Apostles, both to free themselves of so great a trouble, as also to avoid suspicion of being partiall in the businesse, required them (*e*) to make choyce of such trusty men, as they conceived most fit to be the Stewards of their goods, and the dispensers of the common stocke. This was the

(*c*) Act. 4. 32, 34, 35.

(*d*) Act. 6. 1.

(*e*) Act. 6. 3.

charge the *Seven* were called to by the people: which being no *Ecclesiasticall function*, but a Civill trust; no dispensation of the Word and Sacraments, but a dispository power of the common treasure: it was most consonant to the rules of reason, that the election of them should be left to the people onely. I know these Seven are commonly both called, and accounted *Deacons*: but I find no such thing in the texts, or story. Neither in that chapter, nor in all the *Acts*, is the word *Deacon* to be found: nor find I either *Stephen* or *Philip* (of whom the Scripture is most copious) to be so intituled. *Philip* indeed is called (f) *unus de septem*, but no more, *one of the Seven*, but no such stile as *Deacon* added: which makes me thinke their office was not such as it is conceived. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because I find Saint *Chrysostome*, and others of the same opinion. Saint (g) *Chrysostome* putting it unto the question, what dignity or office these men had, what ordination they received, and namely, whether that of *Deacons*; makes answer first, that in his time the use was otherwise, the *Presbyters* being there intrusted with the distribution of the Churches treasure, and then concludeth, ὅτε διακόνων, ὅτε πρεσβυτέρων ὤμοσε τὸ ὄνομα, that it appeared not in his opinion, that they were either *Presbyters*,

(f) Act. 21.8.

(g) *Hom.* 14. *in Act.* 6.

byters, or *Deacons*. The Fathers of the sixt Councell in *Constantinople* (*h*) building upon those words of *Chrysostome*, do affirme the same; determining expressely that those *Seven* mentioned in the *Acts*, were not ordained to any ministration at the *Lords Table*, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν τῶν χρείας καὶ τραπεζῶν διακονίας, but onely to the service and attendance of the *Common Tables*. In which regard (*i*) Saint *Hierome* looking backe unto the primitive institution, doth call the *Deacons* of his time, *mensarum & viduarum Ministros*, in his Epistle to *Euagrius*. For howsoever I beleeve not, on my former ground, that the *Seven* spoken of in the *Acts*, had either the office or the name of *Deacons*, as it was used afterwards in the Church of God: yet I deny not but the Church tooke some hint from hence, even in the times of the *Apostles*, to institute that holy order, & to appoint it to some speciall ministery in Gods publique service: as doth appeare both by the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, and the Records of primitive and pure antiquity. That *Philip* did both *preach* the Gospell, and *baptize* the converts; or that *Stephen* did both *preach* the Gospell, and *convince* the adversarie: related not to any power or faculty which they received by the addition or accesse of this new office. For being they, and all the residue were of

(*h*) *Concil. in Trullo, Can.* 16.

(*i*) *Hieron. in epist. ad Euagr.*

the (k) *Seventy*, as the Fathers say: and that they had received the *Holy Ghost* before, as the (l) Scriptures tell us: their *preaching* and *baptizing*, must relate to their former calling. And it had beene a degradation from their former dignity, being *Presbyters* at the least before, to be made *Deacons* now.

(k) *Epiph. adv. hæres.* 20. n. 4.

(l) Act. 6. 3.

XV. Thus have we seene the instituting of the severall orders of *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, in the holy *Hierarchie*: according to those severall names, which were in tract of time appropriated to their severall functions in the Church of God. And certainly it did require some space of time, to estrange words from their naturall to a borrowed sense, to bring them to an *Ecclesiasticall*, from a *Civill* notion. So that it is no wonder, if at first the names and appellations of these severall functions were used promiscuously, before that time had limited and restrained them to that expresse and setled signification which they still retaine. That glorious name of an *Apostle*, which of it selfe did signifie a *Messenger*, (*Græcè Apostoli, Latinè Missi appellantur*, (m) as Saint *Austin* hath it) was given by Christ as a peculiar name to his twelve Disciples. And yet we find it sometimes given to inferiour persons, as to (n) *Andronicus* and *Junias*, in the 16. chap. to

(m) *Tract.* 54 *in Evang. Iohannis.*

(n) Rom. 16. 7.

to the *Romans*: sometimes reverting to its primitive and ancient use, as where the *Messengers of the Churches* are called *Apostles*, as (o) in the 2. to those of Corinth, *Apostoli Ecclesiarum gloria Christi*; the Messengers of the Churches are the glory of Christ. So was it also with that reverend and venerable title of *Episcopus*, borrowed and restrained from its generall use, to signifie an *Overseer* in the Church of God: one who was trusted with the government, and super-intendencie of the flocke of Christ committed to him: according to the acceptation of the word in the most ancient Authors of the Christian Church. And yet sometimes wee find it given unto the *Presbyters*, as in the (p) first of the *Philippians*: in which *Paul* writing to the *Bishops* and *Deacons*, is thought by *Bishops* to meane *Presbyters*; partly because the *Presbyters* had then the government of that Church under the *Apostle*, and partly because it was against the ancient *Apostolicall* constitution, that there should be many *Bishops* (properly so called) in one City. Thus also, for the title *Presbyter*, which by the Church was used to signifie, not as before, an ancient man, which is the native sense, and construction of it; but one in *holy orders*, such as in after times were called by the name of *Priests*: it grew so generall for a while;

(o) Cap. 8. 23.

(p) Cap. 1. v. 1.

as to include both *Bishops*, and *Apostles* also; as (q) *Beza* notes upon the first Epistle of Saint *Peter*, chap. 5. And that perhaps upon the reason given by *Ambrose*, (r) *Omnis Episcopus Presbyter, non tamen omnis Presbyter Episcopus*, because that every *Bishop* was a *Presbyter*, although not every *Presbyter* a *Bishop*. And yet sometimes we find in Scripture, that it returned unto its primitive, and originall use: as in the first to *Tim.* cap. 5. v. 1. in which πρεσβυτερος, is used to signifie an ancient man. πρεσβυτερα, an ancient woman, as by the text and context doth at full appeare. The like occurreth sometimes also in the ancient Writers. Last of all, for the word *Diaconus*, which in it selfe doth signifie any common Minister, or domesticke servant, the Church made use thereof to denote such men, as served in the inferiour ministeries of the Congregation; such as according to the *Ecclesiasticall* notion of the word we now call *Deacons*; as in (s) the first of the *Philippians*, and in the ancient Writers *passim*. Yet did it not so easily put off its originall nature, but that it did sometimes revert to it againe: as in the 13. of the *Romans*, (t) in which the Magistrate is called *Diaconus*, being the publike minister of justice under God Almighty; and *Phœbe* in the 16. (u) of the same Epistle, is called διακονος, a servant of the Church of

(q) *Beza. Annot. in* 1 *Pet.* 5. 1.

(r) *Ambros. in* 1. *ad Tim. c.* 3.

(s) Phil. 1. 1.

(t) Rom. 13. 4.

(u) Vers. 1.

of *Cenchrea*. Indeed the marvell is not much that it should be so long before the Church could fasten and appropriate these particular names to the particular officers of, and in the same; considering how long it was before she got a name unto herselfe. The word ἐκκλησία, which is used in Scripture to denote the Church, doth signifie amongst the ancient learned Writers, a meeting or assembly of the people for their common businesse: as (x) μὴ ποιεῖν ἐκκλησίαν τοῖς Θεῷξι. Not to omit the *Thracians* to the common Councell. So in *Aristophanes*. The like we find also in *Thucidides*, (y) καταστάσης ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἀντιλογίαν ἦλθον, that having constituted the assembly, they fell upon their altercations. The first time that wee find it used to denote the *Church*, is *Mat.* 16. 18. and after frequently in holy Scripture: yet so, that it returned sometimes to its native sense, as in the 19. of the *Acts*, wherein wee read, τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔθ συγκεχυμένῳ, that the *assembly* (of the *Ephesians*) was confused, *v.* 32. and ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, he dismissed the *assembly*, *v.* 41. And therefore they which from identity of names in holy Scripture, conclude identity of offices in the Church of *Christ*; and will have *Presbyter*, and *Episcopus* to be both one calling, because the names are sometimes used promiscuously in the first beginnings: may, with like equity

(x) *In Acharn. Act.* 1. *scen.* 4.

(y) *Histor. l.* 1.

equity conclude that every *Deacon* is a Magistrate, and every *Presbyter* an *Apostle*, or that the Church of *Ephesus* was nothing else than an assembly of the *Citizens* in the Towne-hall there, for the dispatch of businesse which concerned the Corporation.

CHAP. III.

The Churches planted by Saint *Peter*, and his *Disciples*, originally founded in *Episcopacie*.

I. *The founding of the Church of* Antioch *by Saint* Peter; *the first* Bishop *there.*

II. *A reconciliation of the difference about his successors in the same.*

III. *A list of* Bishops *planted by him in the Churches of the* Circumcision.

IV. *Proofe thereof from Saint* Peters *generall Epistle to the* Jewes *dispersed.*

V. *And from Saint Pauls unto the* Hebrewes.

VI. *Saint* Pauls Præpositus, *no other than a* Bishop, *in the opinion of the* Fathers.

VII. *Saint* Peter *the first* Bishop *of the Church of* Rome.

VIII. *The*

Γ μικ ἐν διωγμὸς καὶ ὠφελήσεν εἰς τὸν λόγον: I.

It is the observation of Saint (a) *Chrysostom*, that the Church never thriveth better than in persecutions. And this hee speakes, on the dispersion of the Disciples after the martyrdome of *Stephen*: then which there could not any thing fall out more fortunately, for the advancement of the Gospell. (b) *They which were scattered abroad* (saith the holy Text) *upon the persecution which arose about* Stephen, *travelled as farre as Phœnice, and Cyprus, and Antioch,*

(a) *Hom. in Act. cap.* 11.

(b) Act. 11. 19

preaching the Word to none but the Jewes only. At first indeed to none but the *Jews* alone. The Vision had not yet appeared to *Peter*, to authorize his going in unto the *Gentiles:* nor had *Cornelius* and his houshold, as yet beene made partakers of the Holy Ghost. The *Jewes* were they to whom the promises of God had first been made: who as they were dispersed into many places; so did Gods Word goe after them, and found them out; either converting them unto the Faith, or else convincing them of their incredulity. But in no City of the East were they so thicke set; as in *Antiochia*, the regall seate and City of the Kings of *Syria*: in which by ancient (*c*) priviledge, first granted by *Seleucus Nicanor*, they were all free Denizens, and enjoyed all immunities whatsoever, with the Greekes and Macedons (*d*). This made them plant here in great multitudes, together with their Wives and Children: and so by consequence, the greater opportunity was offered for the enlargement of the *Church*. Newes hereof being brought unto *Hierusalem*, and Peace by that time being setled *throughout the Churches*, Saint *Peter* (*e*), as hee *passed throughout all quarters*, is said to have come downe unto *Antioch* also, and to have undertaken the charge therof; as being the most famous City of the *Easterne* parts.

(*c*) *Ioseph. Antiqu. Iud. l.* 12. *c.* 3.

(*d*) *Ioseph. de Bello Iud. l.* 7. *c.* 24.

(*e*) Act. 9. 31, 32

parts. It's true, the *Scriptures* tell us nothing of this, but the *Fathers* doe: and negative prooses from Scripture, in a point of History, are of no authority. *Origen* (*f*) calls *Ignatius*, *Episcopum Antiochiæ post Petrum secundum*, the second that was *Bishop* of *Antioch* after *Peter*: and therefore *Peter* must of necessary consequence be first Bishop there. *Eusebius* (*g*) saith the same with *Origen*, as to Saint *Peters* being Bishop there, and so doth *Felix* Pope of *Rome*, in the fifth Councell of *Constantinople*, *Actione prima*. But not to trust to consequences onely, though those cleare enough; *Eusebius* (*h*) in his *Chronicon*, saith expressely, *Petrus Apostolus Ecclesiam Antiochenam fundavit, ibique Cathedram adeptus sedit*, that *Peter* the Apostle founded the Church of *Antioch*, and sate Bishop there. S. *Hierome* (*i*) doth affirme the same, *Primum Episcopum Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ Petrum fuisse*, and makes it one of those things which Saint *Luke* omitted. *Luke* being an attendant of Saint *Paul* in his peregrinations, tooke not such speciall and particular notice of Saint *Perers* actions: and therefore his omission of it is no argument that it was not so. More of Saint *Peters* being Bishop of the Church of *Antioch*, see in the same Saint *Hierome* in his Book *de Ecclesiast. Scriptoribus*: And in Saint *Gregories* (*k*) Epistles; *lib. 6. ep. 37.*

(*f*) *Homil. 6. in Lucam.*

(*g*) *Euseb. eccle. hist. l. 3. c. 35.*

(*h*) *Id. in Chron.*

(*i*) *Hieron. in c. 2. ad Galat.*

(*k*) *Ipse firmavit sedem in qua septem annis quamvis discessurus sedit.* Greg

where he is ſaid to have continued Biſhop there ſeven yeares; as indeed moſt authors doe agree.

II. This founding of the Church of *Antioch* by Saint *Peter*, and his aſſuming of the *Biſhopricke* or charge thereof, is by *Euſebius* (*l*) placed in the fourth yeare of the 203 *Olympiad*: which falleth by computation into that 38. yeare of Chriſts *Nativity*, being the fourth yeare after his *Aſcenſion*. But then withall, we muſt reſtraine Saint *Peters* Biſhopricke in *Antioch*, and his foundation of that Church, only unto the *Jewiſh* Congregations there. Preaching unto the *Gentiles*, was not yet thought lawfull. And when it was, it pleaſed God to make choyce of others to promote that worke. Whereof when tidings came unto (*m*) *Hieruſalem, they ſent forth* Barnabas *that hee ſhould goe as farre as* Antioch: And when he found the taske too great for himſelfe alone, he *went to Tarſus*, ſaith the Text, *to ſecke for Saul*, whom he brought with him to that City. By theſe the gaining of the Gentiles in that famous City, was begun and finiſhed. In this regard Saint *Paul* is to be reckoned a co-founder at the leaſt of the Church of *Antioch*; and ſo *Ignatius* (*n*) doth account them, in his Epiſtle to the *Magneſians*, where he relateth that the Diſciples were firſt called Chriſtians at *Anti-*

(*l*) *Euſeb. in Chron.*

(*m*) Act. 11. 22. Ibid. 25.

(*n*) *Ignat. ep. ad Magneſ.*

Antiochia, Παῦλος καὶ Πέτρος θεμελιώσαντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, the Church whereof was founded by *Paul* and *Peter*. And this may serve to reconcile the difference which doth occurre amongst the Ancient writers, about Saint *Peters* next successour in the See of *Antioch*. *Origen*, (o) *Chrysostome*, (p) *Theodoret*, and *Felix*, whom before we spake of, doe make *Ignatius* to be Saint *Peters* next successour: where by the way we have Saint *Peters* being Bishop there, avowed by *Chrysostome* and *Theodoret*, into the bargaine. And on the other side, (q) *Eusebius*, and Saint (r) *Hierome* place *Euodius* first, and after his decease, *Ignatius*: wherein *Ignatius* (s) doth himselfe concurre with them, counselling or exhorting the *Antiochians*, to call to minde *Euodius* that most holy Bishop ὃς πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη παρὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν, who first received the government of that Church from the holy Apostles. Now for the reconciliation of this difference, taking it first for granted, as I thinke we may, that at first there were in *Antiochia* two severall Congregations of converted *Christians*, the one of *Jewes*, the other of the *Gentiles*, whereof Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* were the severall heads: the Authour of the *Constitutions* ascribed to (t) *Clemens* (who in a matter of this nature may well bee credited) will give

(o) *Homil. de transl. Ignatii.*
(p) *Dialog.* 1.

(q) *Hist. l.* 3. *c.* 16.
(r) *de script. eccles. in Ignatio.*
(s) *Epist ad Antioch.*

(t) *Constitut. Apostol. l.* 7 *c.* 48.

give us an handſom hint: informing us that (the Apoſtles being to betake themſelves to their other buſineſſe, or the buſineſſe rather of the Lord) Saint *Peter* did ordaine *Euodius*, and Saint *Paul*, *Ignatius*, to be the Biſhops there in their ſeverall charges. Upon which ground *Baronius* doth infer, and not improbably, that the wall of ſeparation being beaten downe, and both the Congregations of *Antiochia*, made into one *Church*, (*u*) *Ignatius* did willingly reſigne his preſent intereſt unto *Euodius*, whom he ſucceeded alſo after his deceaſe. But be this how it will, certaine I am that the preferment of *Euodius* to the See of *Antioch*, is placed by *Euſebius* in the 45. yeare of Chriſts Nativity: who having ſate there ſixe and twenty yeares, did leave the ſame unto *Ignatius*, Anno 71. Saint *John*, and perhaps other of the Apoſtles, being then alive. More then ſo, (*x*) *Chryſoſtome* affirmes expreſſely, not onely that ſome of the *Apoſtles* were then alive, but that he was made Biſhop by them; καὶ τῶν μακαρίων Ἀποστόλων χεῖρες, and that the hands of the *Apoſtles* touched his holy head. And ſo much for the Biſhops of *Antiochia*, which lived and were co-temporary with the Apoſtles.

(*u*) *Baron. Annal. Eccl. An. 45 n. 14.*

(*x*) *Serm. de Ignat. Tom. 5. p. 499. edit. Savil.*

III. But to goe forwards with Saint *Peter*, having thus ſetled and confirmed the Church

Church of *Antioch*, and by this preaching to *Cornelius* opened a doore unto the Gospell in *Cæsarea*, and amongst the *Gentiles*; he followed on the course of his *Apostleship*: Preaching unto the *Jewes* dispersed in the *Easterne* parts, as namely throughout *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia*, and *Bythinia*, (y) as himselfe intimates in his first Epistle. And when he was to leave those parts, and make for *Italy*, he left them not without a *Ministery*: nor did he leave that ministery without some *Bishops*, to governe and direct the *flocke*. The Roman *Martyrologie* doth reckon in these Churches of Saint *Peters* founding, (z) *Cornelius*, the first fruites of the Gentiles, *Quem B. Petrus Episcopali honore sublimavit*, made by him Bishop of *Cæsarea*. (a) *Metaphrastes*, if hee may be credited, as in most things, which doe not tend to miracles, I thinke he may, relateth that Saint *Peter* in his peregrination did ordaine *Bishops* in the Churches of *Sidon*, *Berytus*, and *Laodicea*; that he made *Marson* Bishop of *Tripolis*, and *Prochorus* of *Nicomedia*: and finally that in the Provinces of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, and *Bythinia*, he did not onely plant Churches, but he founded *Bishoprickes*. But waving these things as I finde them, and the report of *Agapetus* in the fifth Councell of *Constantinople*, that the first Bishop of *Bizantium* was

(y) 1 Pet. 1. 1.

(z) *Februar.* 2.

(a) *Citat. ap. Baron. An.* 44. *n.* 10.

(b) *Concil. Constant 5. Act. 2.*

(c) 1 Pet. 5. 1.

(d) *Oecumen. in 1. Pet. cap. 5.*

(e) *Nazian. in Apologet.*

(*b*) was of *Peters* founding, though of unquestionable credit: let us repaire unto the *Scriptures*. There finde we the *Apostles* stirring up the *Pastors* to have a care unto the *flocke*. (*c*) *The Elders which are amongst you I exhort, who am also an Elder, and a witnesse of the sufferings of Christ, Feed the flocke of God which is among you.* Aske (*d*) *Oecumenius* who these *Presbyters*, or Elders were, and he will tell you they were *Bishops*. And then he gives this reason of it, πρεσβυτέρους δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐν τῇ πράξεων βίβλῳ οὕτω λεγομένους, that *Bishops* are called *Presbyters* in the booke of *Acts*. But *Oecumenius*, being of a later standing; may possibly bee undervalued, when he speakes alone: and therefore we will *stare super vias antiquas*, enquire amongst the ancients, and aske their Judgements in the case. And here we meete with *Gregory Nazianzen*, (*e*) who pencilling and describing a perfect *Prelate*, makes amongst others, this to be a speciall quality belonging to him, μὴ βίᾳ καθέλκειν, ἀλλὰ πειθοῖ προσάγεσθαι, not to constraine their people to the works of piety by force & violence, but to allure them by perswasions. For proofe whereof hee instanceth in this present Text, Feede the flocke of Christ which is among you, not *by constraint, but willingly, of a ready minde.*

IV. But this construction may be verifyed from

from the *Text* it selfe, as well as from the *Glosses* of the Ancient Writers; and that from three particular words or phrases, that occurre therein. For first, Saint *Peter* calling himselfe their *Fellow Presbyter*, ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος in the *Greeke*, shewes plainely that they were not simple *Presbyters*, which he thus exhorteth, but *Presbyters* invested with some higher dignity, such as had some resemblance of the *Apostolicall* Function. In which regard Saint *John* the Apostle in his two last Epistles, cals himselfe a *Presbyter*, *the Elder*, as our *English* reades it. Which word he used, as (*f*) *Oecumenius* hath observed, either because he was growne aged when he wrote the same, ὁ ἐπίσκοπον καλῶν ἑαυτὸν, or intimating that he was a *Bishop*, according as the word *Presbyter* would beare in those former times. And why not thus, since *Beza* doth affirme on those words of Saint *Peter*, (*g*) *Generale esse nomen Presbyteri*, that the name of Presbyter was very generall: so generall as it seemes by him, *ut etiam ipsi Apostoli hoc nomine comprehendantur*, that even the holy Apostles are comprised therein. And therefore *Beza* being Judge, Saint *Peter* may meane *Bishops* here, though hee calls them *Presbyters*. And that hee meaneth *Bishops*, may be also gathered from the word ποιμαίνετε, *Feed ye the flocke which is among you:*

(*f*) *Oecum. in 2 Ioh. epl.* 1. *v.* 1.

(*g*) *Beza Annot. in* 1 *Pet. c.* 5.

ποιμαίνειν, in the *Greeke* not signifying to feed onely, and no more then so; but such a *feeding* as implyeth a rule or governance annexed unto it, which is the proper Act of *Bishops*. Inferiour *Presbyters* may βόσκειν, feed the particular flocke committed to them by the word of Doctrine: The *Bishop* onely may ποιμαίνειν, so feede them with the word of Doctrine, as that he also rule them with the rodde of Discipline. In this respect as the Apostle joynes the (*h*) *Shepherd and the Bishop* in a line together: So primitive Antiquity did arme the *Bishop* with a *Crozier* or *Pastorall* staffe, to shew the union of those Offices in the selfe-same person. But hereof wee shall speake more fully in another place: And indeed neede not speake more of it upon this occasion, considering that there is another word behinde in Saint *Peters* Text, which putteth the matter out of question. *Feede ye the flocke of God which is among you*, saith the Apostle, ἐπισκοποῦντες, saith the Text, *taking the oversight thereof*, as our *English* reades it; *doing the Office of a Bishop*, as the word doth signifie. The ordinary *Presbyters* may be called σκοποῦντες, or *Seers* if you will, according to the notion of that word, in the first of *Samuel*: the *Bishops* are ἐπισκοποῦντες, such as doe over-see the *Seers*. So then the *Presbyters* whom Saint *Peter* speakes

(*h*) 1 Pet. 2. 25.

(*i*) Phil 3. 17. cap. 9. v. 9.

speakes of, being such as might ποιμαίνειν, and ἐπισκοπεῖν, both *feede*, and *Oversee*, and *Governe*; it is apparent they were *Bishops*, and not simple *Presbyters*.

But in this point Saint *Peter* shal not goe alone; Saint *Paul* will put in for a share, and keepe him company: who writing to the *Hebrewes*, even to the very *Hebrewes* of Saint *Peters* Province; doth advise them thus, Πείθεσθε τοῖς ἡγουμένοις ὑμῶν, &c. (*k*) *Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit your selves, for they watch for your soules, as they that must give account, &c.* If you would know of *Chrysostome* (*l*) who these *Rulers* are, hee will tell you that they are the *Pastors* of the Church, whom if you take away from the Flocke of Christ, πάντα ἀνέτρεψας, καὶ ἠφάνισας, you utterly destroy, and lay waste the whole. Next aske (*m*) *Theophylact*, then whom none ever better scanned that Fathers writings, what hee meanes by *Pastors*; and hee will tell you, περὶ ἐπισκόπων λέγει, that he speakes of *Bishops*. The very same saith (*n*) *Oecumenius*, noting withall that ὑπείκετε, which we read *submit*, doth signifie τὴν ἐπιτεταμένην πειθὼ, a very punctuall and exact obedience. But to goe higher yet then so, *Ignatius* the *Apostles* Scholler, one that both knew Saint *Paul*, and conversed with him, will tell us that the *Rulers*, or ἡγούμενοι, which Saint *Paul* here

V.

(*k*) Heb. 13. 17

(*l*) *Chrysost. in* 13. *ad Heb.*

(*m*) *Theophy. in* 13. *ad Heb.*

(*n*) *Oecumen. in locum.*

here speaketh of, were no other than *Bishops*. For laying downe this exhortation to the *Trallenses*, τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ, be subject to your *Bishop*, as unto the *Lord*; he gives the selfe-same reason of it, which Saint *Paul* here doth, *viz. Because he watcheth for your Soules, as one that is to render an account to Almighty God,* The like we also finde in the *Canons* commonly ascribed to the *Apostles*; which questionlesse are very ancient; in which, the obedience and conformitie which is there required of the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, to the directions of their *Bishop*, is grounded on that very reason, alledged before. And for the word, ὁ ἡγούμενος of Saint *Paul*, it is not such a stranger in the writings of the elder times, but that they use it for a *Bishop*; as may appeare by that of the Historian, where hee calls *Polycarpus* Bishop of the Church of *Smyrna*, (c) the προηγούμενος of that Church; *Ignatius* writing, as he saith, not onely to the Church of *Smyrna*, ἰδίως τε τῷ ταύτης προηγουμένῳ Πολυκάρπῳ, but also unto *Polycarpus* Bishop of the same.

(c) *Euseb. hist. l. 3. cap. 30 ad fin.*

Where lest it may be thought that the preposition doth adde unto the nature of the word, we find the same *Historian* speaking of the same *Polycarpus* in another place; where he gives notice of an Epistle written in the name of the Church of *Smyrna*;

Id. l. 14. c. 14 ad fin.

ἧς αὐτὸς ἐκκλησίας ἡγεῖτο, of which this *Polycarpus* had the Governement, and a *Bishop* doubtlesse. In the which place ἡγεῖτο, is conforme most fully to the τῆς ἡγουμένοις of Saint *Paul*, differing no otherwise then the *verbe* and *participle*.

VI. Now those which in the Greeke are called ἡγούμενοι, in all the old translations that I have met with, are called *Præpositi*; *Obedite Præpositis vestris*, as the *Latines* read it: and amongst them *Præpositi* are taken generally for the same with *Bishops*. Saint *Cyprian* (*o*) thus, *Ob hoc Ecclesiæ præpositum prosequitur*; for this cause doth the enemy pursue him that is set over the Church, that the Governour thereof being once removed, he may with greater violence destroy the same. More clearely in another place (*p*), What "danger is not to be feared, saith he, by of-"fending the Lord, when some of the "*Priests* not remembring their place, nei-"ther thinking that they have a *Bishop* set "over them, challenge the whole govern-"ment unto themselves, *Cum contumeliâ &* "*contemptu Præpositi*, even with the re-"proach and contempt of the Prelate, or "him that is set over them? Most cleare-ly yet (*q*), where speaking of the insolency of a *Deacon* towards his *Bishop*, he makes *Episcopus*, and *Præpositus* to bee one same thing; willing the *Deacon*, *Episcopo*, *Præposi-*

(*o*) *Cyprian. l.* 1. *cp.* 3.

(*p*) *Id. lib.* 3. *cp* 14.

(*q*) *Id. lib.* 3. *ep.* 9.

to suo plena humilitate satisfacere, with all humility to satisfie his *Bishop*, or *Præpositus*. Saint *Austin* speakes as fully to this purpose, as Saint *Cyprian* did. (r) *Ad hoc enim speculatores*, i.e. *populorum Præpositi in Ecclesiis constituti sunt, &c.* "For this end are "Bishops (for *speculatores* and *Episcopi*, are "the same Office, though in divers words) "I meane the *Prelates* or *Præpositi*, ordain-"ed in the Churches, that they should "not spare to rebuke sinne. In the same worke *De civitate*, (s) hee speakes plainer yet. For speaking of these words of the Divine, *I saw seates, and some sitting on them, and judgement was given*, hee expounds it thus. "This is not to be understood, saith "he, of the last judgement: *Sed sedes præ-"positorum, & ipsi Præpositi intelligendi sunt, "per quos Ecclesia nunc gubernatur*, but the "seates of the *Præpositi*, and the *Præpositi* "themselves, by whom the Church is "now governed (and they were Bishops "doublesse in Saint *Austins* time) must be understood. More of this word who list to see, may finde it in that learned Tract of Bishop *Bilson*, entituled, *The perpetuall government of Christs Church* (t); who is copious in it. *Beza* indeed, the better to beare off this blow, hath turned *Præpositos* into *Ductores*; and instead of *Governours*, hath given us *Leaders*. Where if he meane such

(r) De civitat. Dei l. 1. c. 9.

(s) Id l. 20. c. 9

(t) Chap. 9.

such *Leaders*, as the word importeth, Leaders of Armies, such as Command in chiefe, Lieutenants Generall, hee will get little by the bargaine. But if he meane by Leaders, onely guides and conducts, (*u*) *Paræus*, though hee follow him in his translation, will leave him to himselfe in his Exposition: who by *Ductores* understandeth *Ecclesiæ Pastores & gubernatores*, the Pastors and Governours of the Church. Neither can *Beza* (*x*) possibly deny, but that those here are called *Ductores*, *qui alibi Episcopi vocantur*, which elsewhere are entituled *Bishops*. But where hee doth observe, that because the Apostle speaketh of *Præpositi* (*y*) in the Plurall number, therefore Episcopall jurisdiction was not then in use; it being indeed against the ancient course and *Canons*, to have two *Bishops* in one Church: there could not any thing be spoken, (to pretermit the incivility of his expression) more silly and unworthy of so great a Clerke. For who knows not that the *Jewes* being dispersed into many Provinces and Cities, must have severall Churches; and therefore severall *Bishops*, or *Præpositos*, to beare Rule over them?

(*u*) *Paræus comment. in Heb.* 13

(*x*) *Beza Annot. in Heb.* 13. 17.

(*y*) *Ex eo quod loquitur Paulus in plurali numero.* Ibid.

VII. This businesse being thus passed over, and the Churches of Saint *Peters* planting in the *Easterne* parts, being thus left unto the care and

and charge of ſeverall *Biſhops*: we will next follow him into the *Weſt*. And there wee finde him taking on himſelfe the care of the Church of *Rome*, or rather, of the Church o f God in *Rome*, conſiſting for the moſt part then of converted *Jewes*. The current of antiquity runnes ſo cleare this way, that he muſt needs corrupt the fountaines, who undertakes to trouble or diſturbe the ſtreame. His being there, and founding of that Church, his being *Biſhop* there, and ſuffering there an ignominious, yet a glorious death, for the ſake of *Chriſt*; are ſuch noted truths, that it were labour loſt to inſiſt upon them. Onely I ſhall direct the Reader to ſuch pregnant places in the moſt ancient and incorrupted Writers, as may give ſatisfaction in thoſe points to any one that will take paines to looke upon them. And firſt to looke upon the *Greekes*, he may find *Papias* and *Clemens*, ancient Writers both, alleaged to this purpoſe by *Euſebius Hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 2. c.* 14. *Caius*, & *Dionyſius* Biſhops of *Corinth*, both of good antiquity, alleaged in the ſame booke, cap. *ne.* *Euſebius* ſpeaking for himſelfe, not onely in the 13. chap. of the ſame booke alſo, but alſo in his *Chronicon*, in which he notes the yeare of his firſt commiſig to that City, to be the 44. after *Chriſts* nativity. See to this purpoſe alſo, Saint *Chryſoſtome* in his Homily

mily *De Petro & Paulo*, Saint *Cyrill* of *Alexandria*, in his Epistle to Pope *Celestine*: *Theodoret*, *Sozomen*, and others. Next for the *Latines*, there is hardly any but saith somewhat in it: whereof see *Irenæus l. 3. c. 3. Tertullian* in his booke *de præscript. adv. hæret. Lactant. lib. 4. cap. 21. Optatus, lib. 2. contr. Parmen. Hierome* in his tract. *De Eccl. Scriptoribus*, Saint *Austin in Epist.* 165. and other places, not to descend to later Writers of the *Latine* Churches, whose interest it may seeme to be. To close this point, (z) Saint *Austin*, whom I named last, shall speake once for all, who reckoning up the Bishops in the Church of *Rome*, thus be-
" gins his Catalogue: *Si enim, &c.* If the
" succession of the Bishops there be a thing
" considerable, *quanto certius, & verè salu-*
" *briter ab ipso Petro numeramus?* how much
" more certainly, and assuredly do wee
" begin the same with *Peter*, who bare the
" figure of the whole Church? And then goes on, *Petro successit Linus*, *Linus* succeeded *Peter*, *Clemens* him, and so to *Anastasius*, who then held the See.

(z) *Aug ep.* 165

VIII.

Nor can it be replyed that *Peter* tooke the Church of *Rome* into his *Apostolicall* care, and had not the *Episcopall* charge thereof, as some now suppose. The tables of succession make that cleare enough. Saint *Peter* the *Apostle* could have no *Successours*, but

the *Bishop* might. *Linus*, or whosoever else succeeded, nor did, nor could pretend succession to the preheminences, & miraculous priviledges, which were required necessarily unto the making of an *Apostle*, challenge an interest by succession, in his *Pastorall* office they both might and did. The Writers of all ages since do afford them that. Onely the difference is amongst them, who was the first that did succeed him in his *Pastorall* charge. S. *Austin* gives it unto *Linus*, as before we saw: next *Clemens*, and then *Anacletus*. *Irenæus* (*a*) doth agree with *Austin*, placing *Linus* first, but placing *Anacletus* second, and then *Clemens* third: and so doth (*b*) *Epiphanius* also. (*c*) *Optatus* reckoneth them, as before in *Austin*. Saint (*d*) *Hierome* sometimes ranketh them, as *Irenæus*, and *Epiphanius* did, *Linus*, *Cletus*, *Clemens*; and sometimes placeth (*e*) *Clemens* first, as *Tertullian*, and *plerique Latinorum*, most of the ancient *Latine* writers had done before. I know there is much paines taken to compose this difference amongst our Antiquaries, those most especially of the Papall party. But in my mind there cannot be a better course taken to effect the same, than that which was observed before in the case of *Antioch*. And to effect this composition, *Ignatius*, and some other Fathers give a ground as probable, as that

(*a*) *Adv. hæres. l. 3. c. 3.*

(*b*) *Hæres 26.*
(*c*) *Lib. 2. contr. Parmen.*
(*d*) *Hieron. de Script Eccles. in Clement.*
(*e*) *Id ibid. in Petro.*

that which was laid downe before in the former businesse. For first it is affirmed by *Irenæus*, that (*f*) S. *Paul* had as great an interest in the foundation of the Church of *Rome*, as Saint *Peter* had. *A duobus Apostolis Petro & Paulo Romæ fundatæ & constitutæ Ecclesiæ*: as his own words are. The like saith (*g*) *Epiphanius* in another language, making both of them Bishops of that Church. Next it is said expressely by *Ignatius*, (*h*) who might well speake on certaine knowledge living in those times, that *Anacletus* (for I conceive that *Cletus*, & *Anacletus* were the same) was *Deacon* to S. *Peter*, and *Linus Deacon* to Saint *Paul*, who doth indeed make mention of him in his second Epistle unto *Timothy*. This ground thus laid, why may we not conceive, as before in *Antioch*, that in the first planting of the Church of *Rome*, there were two severall Churches, or congregations; that of the *circumcision* being collected by Saint *Peter*, that of the *Gentiles* first drawne together by Saint *Paul*; each of them being *Bishop*, or chiefe *Pastor* of their Congregations? Secondly, that when the two *Apostles* perceived the time of their sufferings to draw neere, *Peter* ordained *Anacletus* Bishop of the Churches of the *Circumcision*, and that *Paul* did commit to *Linus* the government of the Churches of the *Gentiles*: both whom they had employ-

(*f*) *Iren. l. 3 c. 3*

(*g*) *Adv. hæres. 27. num. 6.*

(*h*) *Ep. ad Tral.*

ed before as Deputies and Substitutes to attend these charges, whilst they themselves did travell to and fro, as occasion was, and the necessities of the Church required. Thirdly and lastly, that *Linus* being dead, *Clemens* (who had before beene specially designed by Saint *Peter* to possesse his place) succeeded *Bishop* of the Churches of the *Gentiles* there, who finally surviving *Cletus*, or *Anacletus*, call him which you will, and the division betweene *Jew* and *Gentile* being worne away, united the two Churches in his person, as the sole *Bishop* of the whole. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because that (*a*) *Epiphanius* making up a catalogue of the Popes of *Rome*, first joynes together *Peter* and *Paul*, next coupleth with the like conjunction *Linus* and *Cletus*: and after brings in *Clemens*, *Euaristus*, *Alexander*, *&c.* in a line successively. And yet the Tables of succession may well stand as they have done hitherto; first *Linus*, after *Cletus*, and thirdly *Clemens*: because that *Linus* dying first, left *Cletus* in possession of the *Pastorall* charge, and *Cletus* dying before *Clemens*, left him the sole surviver of the three, which possibly may be the reason why many of the *Latines* reckon *Clemens* for the first Bishop after *Peter*: whom they conceive to be sole *Bishop* of that Church: as indeed

(*a*) Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, Λῖνος καὶ Κλῆτος, *&c. Epiph. hær.* 27.

indeed it was, before there was a Church of *Gentiles* founded in that famous Citie. For being formerly designed by Saint *Peter* to be his *Successour*, and afterward enjoying the whole charge alone, as *Peter* for a season did: it might not seeme improper to report him for the second *Bishop*; that is the second of the whole. And then again, *Clemens* is placed by some next and immemediately after *Linus*, whose successor he was in the *direct* line, as *Bishop* of the more famous Church, *viz.* of the *Gentiles*; and by some also after *Cletus*, whom he succeeded at the last, in the line *collaterall*. However, be this so, or not, we have three Bishops sitting in the Church of *Rome* betweene the martyrdome of *Peter*, and the death of *John*: first, *Linus*, who held the same twelve yeares: *Cletus* or *Anacletus*, who survived, and held twelve yeares more: and *Clemens*, finally, who suffered martyrdome at *Rome*, the next yeare after the decease of Saint *John* at *Ephesus*.

I X. I take it then for a most manifest and undoubted truth, not onely that Saint *Peter* was at *Rome*, but that he also tooke upon him the Episcopall charge, and was the Bishop of that City. The Arguments devised in this later Age to evince the contrary, do nothing lesse in my opinion, than prove the point for which they were first

devised. For first it is objected, that the *Episcopall* charge requiring residence, could not consist with that of an *Apostle*, who was to be perpetually in motion. Which argument, if it be of any force, will militate as well against Saint *James* his being Bishop of *Hierusalem*, as against Saint *Peters* being Bishop of the Church of *Rome*. And then will *Calvin* (*i*) come in very opportunely in to helpe us, who speaking of Saint *James* his constant residence in *Hierusalem*, "doth resolve it thus. *Quanquã cõmune illi cũ "reliquis collegis mandatũ erat, &c.* Although, "saith he, the Lords cõmandement of prea-"ching to all Nations, was common unto "him with the residue of the Lords *Apostles*, "yet I conceive, that they did so divide the "charg amongst thẽ, as to leave him alwaies "at *Hierusalem*, whither such store of stran-"gers did use continually to resort. *Id enim "perinde erat ac si Evangelium longè longé-"que promulgâsset in locis remotis*; for that, "saith he, was as sufficient, as if he had pro-"mulgated, or preached the Gospell in the "parts remote. This if it may be used for *James*, will serve for *Peter*. Assuredly there was a greater confluence of all sorts of strangers to the City of *Rome*, than used to be unto *Hierusalem*: and therefore *Peter* being there, might spread abroad the Gospell with the greater speed, and with no lesse suc-

(*i*) *Comment. in Act. c. 21.*

successe than those others did, who did not fixe themselves in a certaine station. But whereas (*k*) *Calvin* doth object in another place, that Saint *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, and saluting many of the Saints there, makes no speech of *Peter*; and that writing many of his Epistles from the City of *Rome*, he makes no mention of him neither: this may inferre indeed, that Saint *Peter* was then absent, when those things were done, as one that had not so immured himselfe in the walls of *Rome*, but that he travelled up and downe in severall quarters of the world: doing sometimes the office of an *Apostle*, discharging otherwhiles the place and function of a *Bishop*. All the Epistles of Saint *Paul* which beare date from *Rome*, were written in the first two yeares of his being there: and therefore any argument derived from thence must be very weake, either to prove that *Peter* never was at *Rome*, or never *Bishop* of that place: being so many ancient Writers do affirme them both. And yet I would not have the *Papists* thinke that this makes any more for the *Popes* supremacie, because he sits in *Peters* seat: than it did make for *Vibius Rufus* (*l*) to attaine *Tullies* eloquence, or *Cæsars* power, because he married *Tullies* widow, and bought *Cæsars* chaire; though the poore Gentleman, as the story telleth

(*k*) *Institut. l. 4. c. 6. n. 14, 15.*

(*l*) *Dion. in Tiber. hist. l. 57.*

leth us, σεμνυνόμενοι ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ, did presume on both.

X. But to goe on, the Church of Christ being thus settled by Saint *Peter*, both in *Rome*, and *Antioch*: his next great care is for *Alexandria*, the great and most renowned City in the parts of *Africa*: that so there might be no prime City in all the habitable world, to which the Gospell was not preached. In the discharge of this great businesse, was Saint *Marke* employed; a principall and constant follower of Saint *Peters*, who mentioneth him in his Epistle by the name(*m*) of *sonne*. *The Church which is at Babylon saluteth you, and so doth* Marcus *my sonne*. The planting of this Church is thus remembred by *Eusebius*(*n*) τοῦτον ὁ Μάρκος πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγύπτου στειλάμενος, &c It is affirmed, "saith he, that *Marke* did first (of all Christs "followers) passe into *Egypt*, and there "promulge and preach the Gospell, "which before he writ; and that hee first "did plant the Church of *Alexandria*: in "which his undertakings had so good "successe, that on his very first endeavours, "ἐκ πρώτης ἐπιβολῆς, as the Author hath it, "great multitudes both of men and women did beleeve in *Christ*; his holinesse, "and strict behaviour gaining much upon "them. This Church as he first founded in the faith of *Christ*, so did he take upon himselfe

(*m*) 1 Pet. 5. 13

(*n*) *Euseb. hist. l. 2. c. 15.*

himselfe the charge thereof, and became *Bishop* of the same. This witnesseth S. *Hierome* of him, (o) *Marcus interpres Petri Apostoli, & Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ primus Episcopus:* that *Mark* the interpreter of S. *Peter*, was the first Bishop of the Church of *Alexandria.* The same he also doth affirme in his Epistle to *Euagrius*; whereof more anon. And when (p) *Eusebius* doth informe us, that in the eighth yeare of the Emperour *Nero*, *Anianus*, a right godly man, ἀνὴρ θεοφιλὴς καὶ τὰ πάντα θαυμάσιος, as the story calls him, succeeded *Marke* the Evangelist in *Alexandria*: he doth inferre *ex consequenti*, that *Marke* was *Bishop* there before him. So that it seemeth he sate there 19. yeares by this account. For he came hither *An.* 45. being the third of *Claudius Cæsar*; and finished his course in the eighth of *Nero*, which was the 64. of our Redeemer. Finally, (q) *Anianus* having continued Bishop here 23. years, dyed in the 4. yeare of *Domitianus*, being *An: Chr.* 87. and had *Abilius* to succeed him: after whom *Cerdo* did succeed, in the yeare 100. what time *Abilius* left this world, S. *John* the Apostle being yet alive. So that there were foure Bishops of *Alexandria* succeeding one another in that weighty charge, during the lives of the Apostles: a pregnant evidence that they both instituted and approved the calling.

(o) *Hieron. in Proem. super Matt.*

(p) *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. l. 2. c. 23. κδ.*

(q) *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 12. ιγ.*

XI.

Now for the Church of *Alexandria*, there are somethings observed by the Fathers, which are worth our noting, and may give great light to the present businesse; It is observed by (r) *Epiphanius*, that *Alexandria* never had two *Bishops*, ὡς αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις, as had other cities: which words not rightly understood have made some (s) conceive, that anciently *Bishops* were the same with *Presbyters*, it being against the usuall custome to have two *Bishops* in one Church or city. But if we looke considerately upon *Epiphanius*, there is no such matter: all that he drives at being this, that whereas in most other Churches, for the preventing of schismes and factions amongst the people, in the electing of their *Bishops*, it had beene ordinary for the *Bishop* yet in place, to consecrate some one or other that should assist him whilst he lived, and succeed after his decease: onely the Church of *Alexandria* never had that custome. And they that had that custome, as it seemes, did not like it well: for whereas *Valerius* (t) Bishop of *Hippo*, out of a vehement desire to have S. *Austin* his successour, did consecrate or ordaine him Bishop, whilst as himselfe was yet alive. Saint *Austin* was resolved for his part not to do the like: it being a thing prohibited by the *Nicene* Councell. *Quod ergo reprehensum est in me, nolo reprehendi in filio meo*, as he there resolveth. So that the place in

(r) *Hæres.* 66. n. 6.

(s) *Smectymn.* p. 53.

(t) *Aug. ep.* 110.

in *Epiphanius* tendeth unto this alone, *viz.* to shew the reason why *Athanasius* could not succeed *Alexander* in that See, though by him designed: which was, that he being yet alive, it was against the custome of that Church to ordaine another. Saint (*u*) *Hierome*, secondly, observeth, that the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria*, *unum ex se electum in excelsiori gradu collocatum* Episcopum *nominabant*, did use to choose one from amongst themselves, whom being placed in a more eminent degree, than any of the rest, they called a *Bishop*. And this, saith he, continued in that Church, *à Marco Evangelista, ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos:* from the time of *Mark* the *Evangelist* untill the Bishopricks of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*. Some hereupon (*x*) inferre, that the persons who brought in the imparitie of *Ministers* into the Church, were not the *Apostles*, but the *Presbyters*. An inference as faulty, as was that before. All that Saint *Hierome* meanes is this, that from the time of *Marke*, till the daies of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria* had no other *Bishop* than one whom they had chosen out of their owne body: just as a man may say, on the like occasion, that from the first foundation till the time of Sr *H. Savill*, the Colledge of *Eaton* never had a *Provost* but one, whom they had chosen out of their owne society. Now (*y*) *Heraclas*

(*u*) *Ep. ad Euag.*

(*x*) *Smectymn.* p. 31.

(*y*) *Euseb. hist. l. 6. c. 12. 18.*

raclas before he was ordained Bishop was not a *Presbyter* of that Church, although a *Reader* in the *Schooles* of that famous City; & belike *Dionysius* also was. And therefore it is well observed by the (z) Cardinall; that *Hierome* writing to *Euagrius* relateth, *quid in ea Ecclesia usque ad hæc Dionysii tempora in electione Episcoporum agi consueverit:* what was the usage of the Church of *Alexandria* in the election of their *Bishops*, untill the times of *Dionysius*. However wee have gained thus much by *Hierome*, that from *Mark* downward till those times, and a long time after, there wanted not a Bishop, properly so called, in that famous Church: and therefore sure they came not first into the Church, *Diaboli instinctu*, (*) by the devils instinct, as hee elsewhere saith.

(z) *Annal. An.* 1248. *n.* 5.

(*) *Hier. Comment. in Ep. ad Titum.*

XII. There is another observation in the Commentaries ascribed to *Ambrose*, which having some resemblance unto that before, and a like sinister use being made thereof: I shall here lay downe: and after give some *Annotations* on it to explaine the place. The Author of those Commentaries affirmeth, that (a) *Timothy* whom *Paul* created *Presbyter*, "was by him called a *Bishop*, because the "first *Presbyters* were called *Bishops*: it being "the custome of the Church (for so I thinke "the sense must be made up) *ut recedente eo* "*sequens ei succederet*; that he [the first] departing,

(a) *Comment. in Eph. c.* 4.

"parting, the next in order should succeed. "But being it was found that the following "*Presbyters* were utterly unworthy of so "high preferment, that course was altered; "and it was provided by a Councell, *ut non* "*ordo, sed meritum crearet Episcopum, &c.* "that merit, and not seniority should raise "a man, hee being appointed by the suf- "frages of many Priests, to be a *Bishop*, left "an unfit person rashly should usurpe the "place, and so become a publicke scandall. These are the Authors words, be he who he will. And from hence *Beza* (*b*) doth collect that *Bishops* differed not from *Presbyters* in the Apostles times; that there was onely in every place a *President* of the *Presbytery*, who called them together, and proposed things needfull for their consideration; that this priority went round by course, every one holding it in his turne for a weeke, or more, according as the *Priests* in the *Jewish* Temple had their weekly courses: and finally, that this *Apostolicall* and primitive order was after changed, upon the motives, and inducements before remembred. Some of our (*c*) moderne writers against *Episcopacie*, have gone more warily to worke than so, affirming from those words of *Ambrose* (or whosoever was the Author) that this "*Rectorship*, or priority was devolved at first "from one Elder to another by *succession*; "when

(*b*) *Resp. ad tract. de diverf. minist. gradibus c.23.*

(*c*) *Smectymn. p.31.*

"when he who was in the place was re-
"moved, the next in order amongst the
"*Elders* succeeded: and that this course was
"after changed, the better to keepe out un-
"worthy men, it being made a matter of
"election: and not a matter of succession.
These men come neere the point in their *exposition*, though they keepe farre enough in the *application*, inferring hence that the *imparity of Ministers came in otherwise, than by divine Authority*. For by comparing this of *Ambrose*, with that before mentioned out of *Hierome*, the meaning of the Author will be onely this, that as in some places the *Presbyters* elected one of their owne *Presbytery* to be their *Bishop*: so for preventing of *Ambition*, and avoiding *faction*, they did agree amongst themselves, *ut uno recedente*, that as the place did vaike by death or deprivation, by resignation, cession, banishment, or any other meanes whatever, the *Senior* of the whole *Presbytery* should succeed therein; as the Lord Major is chosen for his yeere in *London*. But after upon sight of those inconveniences, which did thence arise, it was thought fit in their election of the person, rather to looke upon his *merit*, then his *Seniority*. So that for all this place of *Ambrose* (were those Comments his) the *Bishop* may enjoy a fixt preheminence, and hold it by

by divine authoritie, not by humane ordinances.

XIII.

But to returne unto Saint *Peter*, and to the Churches by him planted, and founded by him in *Episcopacie* in these *Westerne* parts; I shall in part relie on the Authority of the *Martyrologie* of the Church of *Rome*: though so farre onely, and no further, as it is backed by venerable *Bede*, and *Vsuardus*, ancient Writers both, the latest living in the (a) yeare 800. and besides them, in some particulars by other Authors of farre more Antiquitie. And these, for better methods sake, we will behold according to the severall Countries, into which Saint *Peter* either went himselfe, or sent forth his Disciples to them, to preach the Gospell. And first for *Italy*, besides the Church of *Rome* before remembred. We find (b) *Epaphroditus*, (not he that is commemorated by Saint *Paul*, in his Epist'e to the *Philippians* as (b) *Baronius* witnesseth against himselfe) (c) *à beato Petro Apostolo Episcopus illius Civitatis ordinatus*, made Bishop by Saint *Peter* of *Tarracina*, of old called *Anxur*: *Pancratius* (d) made by Saint *Peter* Bishop of *Tauromenium* in the Isle of *Sicilie*; as the *Greeks* also do affirme in their *Menologia*: *Marcianus* (e) Bishop of *Syracusa*, to whom the said *Menologies* do beare record also: *Hermagoras* (f) a Disciple of Saint *Marke*, the first Bishop of *Aquileia*, now

(a) *Bellarm. de Scriptor.*

(b) *In Annal. Eccles. A.60.*

(c) *Rom Martyr. Mart. 22.*

(d) *April. 3.*

(e) *Iun. 4.*

(f) *Iun. 25.*

now in the Signeurie of *Venice*: *Paulinus* (g) the first Bishop of *Luques* in *Tuscanie*: *Apollinaris*, (h) created by Saint *Peter* the first Bishop of *Ravenna*, in praise of whom (i) *Chrysologus*, one of his Successours, and an holy Father, hath composed a *Panegyricke*: *Marcus* (l) ordained Bishop of *Atina*, at Saint *Peters* first comming into *Italie*: and last of all *Prosdocimus* the first Bishop of *Padua* (m) *à Beato Petro ordinatus*, made Bishop thereof by Saint *Peter*. Next to passe over into *France*, we find there *Xystus* (n) the first Bishop of *Rhemes*, and *Fronto* (o) Bishop of *Perigort* [*Petragorricis*,] ordained both by this Apostle: As also *Julianus* the first Bishop of *Mayne* (q) *Cononiensium* in the *Latine*) of his ordination. And besides these we read that *Trophimus* (p) once one of S. *Pauls* Disciples was by Saint *Peter* made the first Bishop of (q) *Arles*. And this besides the *Martyrologies*, and other Authors cited by *Baronius* in his Annotations, appeareth by that memorable controversie in the time of Pope *Leo*, before the Bishop of *Vienna*, the chiefe City of *Daulphine*, and him of *Arles*, for the place and dignity of *Metropolitan*. In prosecution of the which it is affirmed (r) by the *Suffragans*, or Com-provinciall Bishops of the Province of *Arles*: *quod prima inter Gallias Arelatensis Civitas missum à Beatissimo Petro Apostolo, Sanctum Trophimum, habere meruit*

(g) *Iulii* 12.

(h) *Iulii* 23.

(i) *Chrys. serm* 128.

(l) *Rom. Martyr. Apr.* 28.

(m) *Novemb.* 7.

(n) *Sept.* 1.

(o) *Octob.* 25.

(q) *Ian.* 27.

(p) *Acts.*

(q) *Martyrol. Rom. Decem.* 29.

(r) *Epist. contr. Provinc. ad S. Leonem. in fine. lib.*

meruit Sacerdotem; that first of all the Cities of *Gaul*, that of *Arles* did obtaine the happinesse to have Saint *Trophimus* for their *Bishop*, (for so *Sacerdos* must be read in that whole Epistle) sent to them from the most blessed Apostle Saint *Peter*, to preach the *Gospell*. For *Spaine*, we find this testimony once for all, (*s*) that *Ctesiphon*, *Torquatus*, *Secundus*, *Cæcilius*, *Judaletius*, *Hesychius*, and *Euphrasius*; *Romæ à Sanctis Apostolis Episcopi ordinati*; *& ad prædicandum verbum Dei in Hispanias directi*: having beene ordained *Bishops* at *Rome* by the Apostles (*viz.* Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paul*) were sent into *Spaine* to preach the Gospell: and in most likelihood, were Bishops of those Cities, in which they suffered, the names whereof occurre in the *Martyrologie*. If we passe further into *Germany*, we may there see *Eucherius*, one of S. *Peters* Disciples also, by him employed to preach the Gospell to that Nation; which having done with good effect in the City of *Triers*, *Primus ejusdem Civitatis Episcopus*, (*t*) hee was made the first Bishop of that City. And unto this *Methodius* also doth attest, as he is cited by *Marianus Scotus*, who tells us, (*u*) that after he had held the Bishoprick 23. yeares, *Valerio Trevericæ Ecclesiæ culmen dereliquit*, he left the government of that Church unto *Valerius*, who together with *Maternus*, (both being Disciples of Saint

(*s*) *Rom. Martyr. Maij* 15.

(*t*) *Decemb.* 8.

(*u*) *Ap mar. Scotum in An.* 72.74.

Peter) did attend him thither: & that *Maternus* after fifteene yeares did succeed *Valerius*, continuing Bishop there 40. yeares together. I should much wrong our part of *Britaine*, should I leave out that, as if neglected by the *Apostle*, concerning which wee are informed by *Metaphrastes* (whose credit hath beene elsewhere vindicated) that this Apostle (*x*) comming into *Britain*, and tarrying there a certaine time, and enlightning many with the word of grace, ἐκκλησίας τε συστησάμενος, ἐπισκόπους τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ διακόνους χειροτονήσας, did constitute *Churches*, and ordaine *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* in the same. Which action as he placeth in the twelfth yeare of *Nero*, being the 67. of our Redeemer: so he professeth, that hee had his information out of some writings of *Eusebius*, which have not come unto our hands, but with a great deale more of that Authors workes, have perished in the ruines and wracke of time. Nor is it strange that the Apostle should make so many of his Disciples *Bishops*, before or shortly after they were sent abroad to gaine the nations to the Faith; that being the usuall course in the like imployments: as may appeare by *Austins* (*y*) being consecrated *Bishop*, immediately after his first comming into *England*. The reason was, as I conceive it, that if God prospered their endeavours with desired successe,

(*x*) *Commem. Petri & Pauli ad diem 29. Iunii.*

(*y*) *Beda hist. Eccl. l. 1 c. 27.*

succesſe, they might be furniſhed with a power of ordaining *Presbyters*, for their aſſiſtance in that ſervice. And ſo much for the Churches planted by Saint *Peter*, and by his *Diſciples*.

CHAP. IV.

The Biſhoping of *Timothy* and *Titus*, and others of Saint *Pauls* Diſciples.

I. *The converſion of* Paul, *and his ordaining to the place of an* Apoſtle.

II. *The* Presbyters *created by Saint* Paul, Act. 14. *of what ſort they were.*

III. *Whether the* Presbyters, *or* Presbytery *did lay on hands with* Paul, *in any of his* ordinations.

IV. *The people had no voyce in the* election *of their* Presbyters, *in theſe early times.*

V. Biſhops *not founded by Saint* Paul *at firſt, in the particular Churches by him planted, and upon what reaſons.*

VI. *The ſhort time of the Churches of Saint* Pauls *plantation, continued without* Biſhops *over them.*

VII. Timothy *made Bishop of* Ephesus, *by Saint* Paul, *according to the generall consent of* Fathers.

VIII. *The time when* Timothy *was first made* Bishop, *according to the Holy Scripture.*

IX. Titus *made Bishop of the* Cretans; *and the truth verifyed herein by the Ancient Writers.*

X. *An answer unto such objections as have beene made against the* subscription *of the Epistle unto* Titus.

XI. *The Bishopping of* Dionysus *the* Areopagite, Aristarchus, Gaius, Epaphroditus, Epaphras, *and* Archippus.

XII. *As also of* Silus, Sosthenes, Sosipater, Crescens, *and* Aristobulus.

XIII. *The Office of a* Bishop, *not incompatible with that of an* Evangelist.

I. WEE are now come unto Saint *Paul*, and to the Churches by him planted, where wee shall meete with clearer evidence from Scripture then before we had. A man that did at first most eagerly afflict the poore Church of *Christ*; as if it were the destiny not of *David* onely, but also of the Sonne of *David*, to be persecuted by the hands of *Saul*. But as the (a) *Rhemists* well observe, that the contention

(a) *Rhemist. Testam. Act.* 15.

tion betweene *Paul* and *Barnabas*, fell out unto the great increase of *Christianity*: so did this persecution raised by *Saul*, fall out unto the great improvement of the Gospell. For by this meanes, the Disciples being scattered and dispersed abroad, the Gospell was by them disseminated in all the parts and Countries where they came: and *Saul* himselfe being taken off, even in the middle of his fury, became the greatest instrument of Gods power and glory, in the converting of the *Gentiles*. For presently upon his owne conversion, we finde him Preaching in the (*b*) *Synagogues of Damascus*, thence taking a long journey into (*c*) *Arabia*, from thence returning to *Hierusalem*, afterwards travelling towards (*d*) *Tarsus* his owne native soyle, and thence brought back to (*e*) *Antioch*, by the meanes of *Barnabas*. And all this while I looke upon him as an *Evangelist* onely, a constant, and a zealous Preacher of the Gospell of Christ, in every Region where he travelled. His calling unto the *Apostleship*, was not untill the Holy Ghost had said unto the *Prophets* (*f*) *Lucius*, *Simeon*, and *Manahen*, ministring then in *Antiochia*, *Separate mihi Barnabam & Saulum*, separate me *Barnabas* and *Saul*, *for the worke whereunto I have called them*. An extraordinary call, and therefore done by extraordinary meanes,

(*b*) Act 9.20. 22.
(*c*) Gal.1.17. 18.
(*d*) Act 9.30.
(*e*) Act.11.26.
(*f*) Act.13.1.2.

and Ministers. For being the persons here employed in this Ordination, neither were *Apostles*, nor yet advanced for ought wee finde, unto the estate and honour of *Episcopacy*: it must bee reckoned amongst those *extraordinaries*, which God pleased to worke, in, and about the calling of this blessed *Apostle*. Of which we may affirme with (g) *Chrysostome*, ὅτως ὁ δὲν ἀνθρώπινον ἦν γινομένων, that of the things which did befall Saint *Paul* in his whole vocation, there was nothing *Ordinary*, but every part was acted by the hand of God. God in his *extraordinary* workes, tyes not himselfe to ordinary meanes and courses, but takes such waies and doth imploy such instruments, as himselfe best pleaseth, for the more evident demonstration of his power and glory. So that however *Simeon*, *Manahen*, and *Lucius* did *lay hands upon him*; yet being the call and designation was so miraculous, hee might well say that he was made *an Apostle* (h) *neither of men, nor by men, but of Jesus Christ and God the Father*. (i) *Chrysostome* so expounds the place, *Not of Men*, ἵνα δηλώσῃ ὅτι οὐκ ἄνθρωποι αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσε, so to make it manifest, that he received not his call from them; nor *by men*, because he was not sent by them, but by the Spirit. As for the worke, to which he was thus separated by the Lord, aske the said Father what it was, and

(g) *Chrysostom hom. 20. in Act.*

(h) Gal. 1. v. 1.
(i) *Hom. 27. in Act.*

and he will tell you εἰς τὴν Ἀποστολὴν, that it was the office of an *Apostle*: and that hee was ordained an *Apostle* here, ὥστε μετ' ἐξουσίας κηρύττειν, that he might Preach the Gospell with the greater power. Aske who it was that did ordaine him, and he will tell you, that howsoever *Manahen*, *Lucius* and *Simeon*, did lay *hands upon him*, μᾶλλον δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, yet he received his *Ordination* by the Holy Ghost. And certainely, that he had not the *Apostleship* before, may be made manifest by that which followed after. For we doe not finde in all the story of his Acts, that either he ordained *Presbyters*, or gave the *Holy Ghost*, or wrought any *miracles*, which were the *(k) signes of his Apostleship*; before this solemne *Ordination*, or imposition of the hands of the said three Prophets: as afterwards we find he did in severall places of that booke, and shall now shew. (as it relates unto our present busines) in that which followeth.

(k) 2 Cor. 12. 12.

II.

Paul being thus advanced by *God the Father*, and *his Sonne Jesus Christ*, to the high place of an *Apostle*, immediaiely applyeth himselfe unto the same: Preaching the Word with power, *(l)* & miracles, in the Isle of *Cyprus*, from thence proceeding to *Pamphilia* and other Provinces of the lesser *Asia*, every where gaining Soules to Almighty God. Having spent three yeares in those parts

(l) Act. 13. 11. &c.

parts of *Asia*, and planted Churches in a great part thereof, he had a mind to goe againe to *Antioch*, (*m*) *from whence he had been recommended to the grace of God, for the worke which he had fulfilled.* But fearing left the Doctrine he had Preached amongst them, might either be forgotten, or produce no profit, if there were none left to attend that service: before he went, hee thought it fitting to found a *Ministery* amongst them, in their severall Churches. To this end, *They* (*i. e.* He and *Barnabas*) *ordained* (*n*) *them Presbyters in every Church, with prayer and fasting:* and that being done, they recommended him unto *the Lord, in whom they beleeved.* This is the first *Ordination* which wee finde of *Presbyters* in holy Scripture; though doubtlesse there were many before this time. The Church could neither be instructed, nor consist at all, without an ordinary *Minister* left amongst the people, for the Administration of the Word and Sacraments. However, this being as I said, the first record thereof in holy Scripture; we will consider hereupon, first to what Office they were called, which are here called *Presbyters*; Secondly, by whom they were Ordained; and thirdly, by what meanes they were called unto it. First, for the Office what it was, I finde some difference amongst *Expositors*, as well new as old.

(*m*) Act. 14. 26

(*n*) Act. 14. 23.

old. *Beza* conceives the word in a generall sense, and to include at once, *Pastors* and *Deacons*, and who ever else were set apart for the rule and governement of the Churches to them committed. (o) *Presbyteros*, i.e. *Pastores, Diaconos, & alios Ecclesiæ gubernationi præfectos*, as his owne words are. Here we have *Pastors*, *Deacons*, *Governours*, included in this one word *Presbyters*. Aske (p) *Lyra* who those governours were, which *Beza* cals *præfecti* in a general name, and he will tell you they were *Bishops*. *Nomine* Presbyterorum *hic intelliguntur etiam alii Ecclesiæ Ministri*; ut Episcopi *& Diaconi*: Under the name of Presbyters, saith he, are comprehended also other Ecclesiasticall Ministers, as *Bishops* and *Deacons*. The (q) *ordinary glosse* agrees herewith, as to that of *Bishops*; and gives this reason for the same, *Illo autem tempore ejusdem erant nominis Episcopi & Presbyteri*, that in that time *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were called by the same name. And (r) *Oecumenius* holds together with them, as to that of *Deacons*: noting that *Paul* and *Barnabas* had *Episcopall* authority, ἐξ ὧν ὁ μόνον διακόνους, in that they did not onely ordaine *Deacons*, but also *Presbyters*. So that it seemeth Saint *Paul* provided here against all occasions, setling the Churches by him planted in so sure a way, that there was nothing left at random,

(o) *Annot. in Act.* 14 *v.* 23.

(p) *Lyra. in Act.* 14.

(q) *Gloss. Ordinar. in Act.* 14.

(r) *Oecum. in Act.* 14.

which either did relate to government, or point of Doctrine. And yet if any shall contend, that those who here are called *Presbyters*, were bur simply such, according to the notion of that word, as it is now used; I shall not much insist upon it. I onely shew what other Authours have affirmed herein; and so leave it off.

III. The next thing here to be considered, is who they were that were the Agents in this Ordination. *Cum constituissent illis*, when *they had* Ordained: and *they*, is there a relative, and points to *Paul* and *Barnabas*, mentioned *v.* 20. *They* preached the Gospell, *they* returned to *Lystra*, and finally *they* here *Ordained*. Of any one that *laid hands* with them on these *Presbyters* heads, which was the ceremony by them used in this Ordination (as the word χειροτονήσαντες doth plainely manifest) *ne My Lucilianum*, not a word in Scripture. Indeed it cannot be conceived that in those places wherein there were no men in *Sacred Orders*, any should joyne with the *Apostles* in that *sacred Action*. So that the *Presbyters*, which were here ordained, could have no other hands laid on them than those of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, if they joyned together; and did not rather severally and apart performe that ceremony. And if that the *Apostles* by the imposition of their owne hands only, could performe

performe it now; how came they to bee shortned after? how came they so bevested of that sacred priviledge, as to want others to be joyned with them, and not to make a *Presbyter* without the co-assistancy of the *Presbytery*? The Holy Ghost was no lesse powerfull in them after this, then it had beene formerly: neither did *Paul* or want or crave the helpe of any, in giving of the Holy Ghost on the like occasions, in the times that followed. Certaine I am, when *Paul* was at *Ephesus*, though (*s*) *Timothy*, and others were then present with him, yet none but hee laid *hands* upon the twelve Disciples: And yet upon the laying on of his hands, *The Holy Ghost came on them, and they spake with tongues and prophesied.* Which if it were an Act of *Ordination*, as *Beza* thinkes (*t*), and it is likely so to be, because the Text saith, that they spake *with tongues and prophesied*: then have we here more *Presbyters* created by laying on of *Pauls* hands onely, without helpe of others. As for that passage in the first Epistle to *Timothy* (*u*), wherin the *Presbytery* may be thought to *lay hands* upon him; let it be ballanced with another in the second Epistle (*x*), where the *Apostle* doth assume the whole performance to himselfe, as his proper Act: and then the difference which appeares will be quickly ended. If *Timothy* re-

(*s*) Act. 19. v. 6

(*t*) *Beza Annot. in Act.* 19. *v.* 1.

(*u*) 1 Tim. 4. 14

(*x*) 2 Tim. 1. 6.

received those gifts which did enable him for the Holy Ministery, by laying on of *Pauls* hands onely, as it seemes hee did; what interest could the *Presbytery* challenge in that sacred Action? If hee received it joyntly from the *Presbytery*; what influence had Saint *Pauls* hands on him, more then all the rest? Assuredly Saint *Pauls* hands were not growne so impotent, that they needed helpe; or that hee could not give the graces of the *Holy Ghost*, by laying on his owne hands onely, as he had done formerly. And therefore if the *Presbytery* did concurre herein, it was not that the businesse could not bee performed without them, but either to declare the good affections which they did beare unto the person, or to expresse their joyfull approbation of his calling to that sacred function (*y*), of whom so many Prophesies had gone out before; or finally to contribute their prayers and blessings, to the solemnity of so grave and great a worke. And so, I thinke, the businesse will be best made up, if *Paul* be suffered to enjoy the honour of giving unto *Timothy*, by the imposition of his hands, the gifts and graces of the Spirit; and the *Presbytery* be permitted not to want their share in the performance of the outward ceremony. Certainely that the power of Ordination was in one alone, that is to

(*y*) 1 Tim. 1. 16. & 1 Tim. 4. 14.

to say, in the Apostle, is affirmed by *Calvin* (z). Who having canvassed the point, doth resolve at last, *Unum tantum fuisse qui manus imponeret:* Which is indeed the safest *tenet*, and most agreeable unto Antiquity. And therefore *Estius*, in my minde, did resolve it well, when hee did thus divide the businesse: (a) *Ceremoniam impositionis manuum, a pluribus fuisse adhibitam; sed solum* Paulum *ea peregisse, quæ* [*Sacramento*] *erant substantialia.* Unlesse perhaps we may conceive, as perhaps we may, that *Timothy* received two Ordinations: the one unto the Office of a *Presbyter*, in which the Presbytery might concurre, as to the outward pompe or ceremony; the other to the function of a *Bishop*, in which, because the Presbyters might not concurre, no not so much as to the outward Act or ceremony, he was Ordained by laying on of *Pauls* hands onely.

(z) *Calvin in 2 ad Tim. 1. v. 6.*

(a) *Estius in 1 ad Tim. c. 4. v. 14*

IV. The last thing offred to consideration, is the election of the persons which are here ordained; which some refer unto the people: Concerning that the word χειροτονήσαντες, which Saint *Luke* here useth, doth signifie a popular manner of election, used by the *holding up of hands.* (b) *Ortum est hoc verbum ex Græcorum consuetudine, qui porrectis manibus suffragia ferebant*, as *Beza* notes it on the place: who hereupon translates the word,

(b) *Beza Annot. in Act. 14. 23.*

Cum per suffragia creassent, wherein he hath beene followed by some Translators of our *Bibles*, who expresse it thus, *When they had created Elders by election*. But whatsoever use the word might have in the old *Grecke* Writers; assuredly, it either had no such use now; or if it had, it quite excludes the people of those Churches, from having any hand in this Election. χειροτονεῖν, however used amongst the *Grecians*, to signifie the approbation of the people, testifyed by the holding up of their hands: yet in the Church-construction, it signifyeth Ordination, done by the laying on of *hands*. And this, to save the labour of a further search, is very throughly avouched by (*c*) *Calvin*, where he acknowledgeth, that amongst Ecclesiasticall Writers, the word χειροτονία, was used *pro solenni ordinationis ritu*, for the solemne ceremony of *Ordination*, which is in holy Scripture called imposition of hands. Particular instances hereof he that lists to see, may finde them gathered to his hand in the learned worke of Bishop (*d*) *Bilson*, before remembred. But whereas (*e*) *Calvin* hence collecteth, that *Paul* and *Barnabas* permitted the election of these *Presbyters* to the common suffrage of the people, and that themselves did onely preside therein, *Quasi moderatores, ne quid tumultuose fieret*, onely as Moderators

(*c*) *Calvin in Act. c. 14. v. 23.*

(*d*) *The perpet. governm. of Ch. Ch. c. 7.*

(*e*) *Calvin ut supra.*

derators of the businesse, to see that it was fairely carryed: what other ground soever he might have for his conjecture; assuredly hee could collect none from the word here used. For if that χειροτονεῖν did signifie election by holding up of hands, (*f*) *qualiliter in Comitiis populi fieri solet*, as in assemblies of the people it did use to be; as hee himselfe affirmes it doth: then certainely none but *Paul* and *Barnabas* holding up their hands, (for none but they were χειροτονήσαντες in the present businesse) the whole election of these *Presbyters* must be given to them. But indeed it was neither so, nor so. Neither the *Apostle* nor the *people* had any hand in the elections of those times, but the *Spirit* of God, which evidently did designe and marke out those men, whom God intended to imploy in his holy *Ministery*. The words of *Paul* to *Timothy* make this cleare enough, where it is said, (*g*) *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophesie, &c.* and that there went some (*h*) *prophesies before* concerning *Timothy*, the same Saint *Paul* hath told us in the first chapter of that first Epistle. (*i*) *Chrysostome* notes upon these words, that in those times ἀπὸ προφητείας ἐγίνοντο οἱ ἱερεῖς, the Priests and Ministers of God were made by *prophesie*, that is, saith he, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου, by the Holy Ghost. And

(*f*) *Id. ibid.*

(*g*) 1 Tim 4. 14.

(*h*) 1 Tim. 1. 18.

(*i*) *Hom. 5. in 1 ad Tim. c. 1.*

And this he proves by the selection of *Paul* and *Barnabas* to the worke of God, which was done by *prophesie* and by the *Spirit*. And finally glossing on those words, *Noli negligere gratiam, &c.* he doth thus expresse it, "Ὁ Θεὸς σε ἐξελέξατο, God, saith he, did e-"lect thee to this weighty charge, he hath "committed no small part of his Church "unto thee; ὐκ ἀνθρωπίνῃ γέγραφας ψήφῳ, no mor-"tall man had any hand in that designati-"on: and therefore take thou heed that "thou disgrace not, nor dishonour so Divine a calling. More might be said, both from (*k*) *Theodoret* and *Oecumenius*, to confirme this Truth; but that I thinke it is sufficiently confirmed already.

(*h*) *Theodor. & Oecum. in locum*

V. So then, the *Presbyters* of these times, being of Gods especiall choyce, his owne designation; and those upon the laying on of such holy hands, furnished by the *spirit* with such gifts and graces as might enable them sufficiently to discharge their calling: the marvell is the lesse, if in those early dayes, at the first dawning, as it were, of Christianity, we finde so little speech of *Bishops*. In the ordayning of these *Presbyters*, as also of the like in other places, the *Apostles* might, and did no question, communicate unto them, such, and so much authority, as might invest them with a power of government, during the times of their owne

owne necessary absence from those severall Churches. So that however they were *Presbyters* in Degree and Order, yet they both were and might be trusted with an *Episcopall* jurisdiction in their severall Cities; even as some *Deanes*, although but simply *Presbyters*, are with us in *England*. And of this ranke I take it were the *Presbyters* in the Church of *Ephesus*, (*l*) whom the Apostle calleth by the name of *Bishops*: that is to say, *Presbyters* by their Order and Degree, but *Bishops* in regard of their jurisdiction. Such also those ordained by Saint *Paul* in the Church of (*m*) *Philippos*, whom the Apostle mentioneth in the very entrance of his Epistle to that people. Which as it may bee some occasion, why *Bishops* properly so called, were not ordained by the *Apostles*, in the first planting of some Churches: so there are other reasons alleaged for it, and are briefely these. For first, although the *Presbyters* in those times were by the Holy Ghost endued with many excellent gifts and graces, requisite to the Preaching of the Word, yet the *Apostles* might not thinke fit to trust them with the chiefe government, till they had fully seene, ayd perfectly made tryall of their abilities and parts that way. And this is that which *Epiphanius*(*n*) meaneth in his dispute against *Acrius*, saying, ὅπου δὲ ἐχ' εὑρέθη τὸ ἄξι-

(*l*) Act. 20. 28.

(*m*) Phil. 1. 1.

(*n*) *Epiphan. adv. hæres.* 75. *n.* 5.

" ⊖ ἐπισκοπῶν ἔμενεν ὁ τόπος χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου, &c. that " where there were no fit men to discharge " that Office, the place remained without " a *Bishop*: but where necessity required, and " that there wanted not fit men to supply " the place, there Bishops forthwith were appointed. But that which I conceive to be the principall reason, was this, that the *Apostle* did reserve unto himselfe the chiefe authority in all the Churches of his planting, so long as he continued in, or about those places: And this he exercised either by personall *visitations*, mention whereof is made in the 14. 21. and 15. 36. of the Booke of *Acts*; or else by his *rescripts* and *mandates*, as in his sentencing of the incestuous *Corinthian*, although absent thence. But when hee was resolved to take (*o*) a journey to *Hierusalem*, and from thence to *Rome*; not knowing when hee should returne to those Easterne parts, and knowing well that multitude of governours doe oft breed confusions, and that equality of Ministers did oft end in factions: he then resolved to give them *Bishops*, to place a Chiefe, in and above each severall *Presbytery*, over every City; committing unto them that power aswell of *Ordinations*, as inflicting *censures*, which he had formerly reserved to himselfe alone. This great *Apostle*, as for some space of time he taught the

(*o*) Act. 19. 21.

the Church, without helpe of *Presbyters*; so for another while he did rule the same without helpe of *Bishops*. A time there was wherein there were no *Bishops*, but the *Apostles* onely, to direct the Church; and so there was a time wherein there were no *Presbyters*, but they, to instruct the same.

VI. However it must be confessed that there was a time, in which some Churches had no *Bishops*. And this, if any, was the time that Saint (*p*) *Hierome* speakes of, *Cum communi Presbyterorum consilio ecclesiæ gubernabantur*, when as the Churches were governed by the common counsaile of the *Presbyters*. But sure it was so short a time, that had not the good Father taken a distaste against *Episcopacy*, by reason of some differences, which hee had with *John* the Bishop of *Hierusalem*: hee could not easily have observed it. For whether Bishops were ordained (*q*) *In Schismatis remedium*, as he saith elsewhere, for the preventing of those Schismes, and factions which were then risen in the Church; or that they were appointed by the *Apostles* to supply their absence, when they withdrew themselves unto further Countries: this government of the Church in common by the *Presbyters*, will prove of very short continuance. For from the first planting of the Church in *Corinth*, which was in *Anno* 53. unto the

(*p*) *Hieron. in Tit. c. 1.*

(*q*) *Id. ad Euagrium.*

the writing (*r*) of his first Epistle to that Church and people, in which hee doth complaine of the schismes amongst them, (*s*) was but foure whole yeares. And yet it doth appeare by that place in *Hierome*, for ought I can see, that the divisions of the people in Religion, some *saying I am of Paul*, and *I of Apollo*, and *I of Cephas*, every one cleaving unto him by whom he had received Baptisme, were the occasion that it was decreed throughout the world, as that Father saith, *Ut unus de Presbyteris electus, superponeretur cæteris*, that one of the Presbyters should be set over the rest, to whom the care of all the Church should appertaine, that so the seedes of schisme might be rooted up. And from the time when *Paul* ordained those *Presbyters*, in *Lystra* and *Iconium*, and those other Churches, which was in *Anno* 48. according as *Baronius* calculates it, unto Saint *Pauls* returne unto *Hierusalem*, which was in *Anno* 58. are but ten whole yeares. Before which time, immediately upon his resolution to undertake that journey, and from thence to *Rome*, he had appointed *Bishops* in the Churches of his owne plantation: so that the governement of the *Presbyters*, in the largest and most liberall allowance that can be given them, will be too short a time to plead prescription. Now that Saint *Paul* ordained Bishops

(*r*) *Baronius* so computes it. *Annal.*

(*s*) *Hieron. in Titum.c.* 1.

Bishops in many of the *Asian* Cities, or in the Churches of those Cities which himselfe had planted, before his last going thence into *Greece* and *Macedon*: may well be gathered out of *Irenæus*, who lived both neere those times, and in those parts, and possibly might have seene and knowne some of the Bishops of this first foundation. Now *Irenæus* his (*t*) words are these. *In Mileto enim convocatis Episcopis & Presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso & reliquis proximis civitatibus, &c.* "*Paul*, saith he, calling together in *Miletum*, the *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, which were of *Ephesus*, and other the adjoyning Cities, told them what things were like to happen to him in *Hierusalem*, whither he meant to goe before the *Feast*. Out of which words of *Irenæus* I collect thus much. First, that those *Presbyters* whom *Paul* called to *Miletum*, to meete him there, were not all of *Ephesus*, though all called from *Ephesus*: *Ephesus* being first appointed for the Randevouz, or place of meeting: and secondly, that amongst those *Presbyters* there were some whom *Paul* had dignified with the stile and place of *Bishops*: In which regard the Assembly being of a mixt condition, they are entituled by both names; especially those *Presbyters* which had as yet no *Bishops* over them, having the charge and

(*t*) *Iren. l. 3. c. 14.*

jurisdiction of their Churches, under the *Apostles*, as before was said. And this perhaps may be one reason, why the *Apostle* in his speech to that assembly, makes no words of *Timothy*: who being present with the rest, received his charge together with them: as also why he gave the *Presbyters* of *Ephesus* no particular charge, how to behave themselves before their *Bishop*; there being many *Bishops* there, which were not under the command of *Timothy*. However we may gather thus much out of *Irenæus*, that though wee find not in the Scripture the particular names of such as had *Episcopall* authority committed to them, but *Timothy* & *Titus*: yet that there were some other Bishops at that time of S. *Pauls* ordination, who doubtlesse tooke as great a care for *Thessalonica* and *Philippos*, for *Lystra* and *Iconium*, as for *Crete* and *Ephesus*. And that these two were by Saint *Paul* made Bishops of those places, will appeare most fully, by the concurrent testimonie of auncient Writers.

VII. And first for *Timothy*, that he was Bishop of the Church of *Ephesus*, and the first Bishop there, appeareth by an ancient treatise of his death and martyrdome, bearing the name of *Polycrates*, who was himselfe not onely Bishop of this Church of *Ephesus*, but borne also within sixe or seven

ven and thirty yeares after the writing of the *Revelation* by Saint *John*. Which treatise of *Polycrates* entituled, *De martyrio Timothei*, is extant amongst the lives of Saints, printed at *Lovaine*, *An*.1585. and cited by the learned Primate of *Armagh* in his briefe Discourse touching the *originall* of *Episcopacie*. Certaine I am that *(u) Sigebertus* doth report *Polycrates* to be the author of a booke entituled, *De passione Sancti Timothei Apostoli*; but whether that it ever came unto the hands of those of *Lovaine*, I am not able to determine. More like it is, the book is perished, and the fragments of the Treatise which remaine in *Photius*, *(x)* touching the death and martyrdome of *Timothy*, is all which have escaped that shipwracke. And yet in those poore fragments there is proofe enough that *Timothy* was Bishop of the Church of *Ephesus*: in which it is expresly said, ὅτι ὁ Ἀπόστολος Τιμόθεος ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου Παύλου καὶ χειροτονεῖται τῆς Ἐφεσίων μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος καὶ ἐνθρονίζεται· that *Timothy* was both ordained and inthroned Bishop of the *Metropolis* of *Ephesus* by the great Apostle. Secondly, this appeareth by the testimony of *Eusebius*, who reckning up Saint *Pauls* assistants, his σύνεργοι, and coadjutors, as it were, bringeth in *Timothy* for one; and this addes thus of him, *(y)* Τιμόθεός γε μὴν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ παροικίας ἱστορεῖται πρῶτος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐληλυθέναι, that as histories recorded of him, he

(n) *Sigebertus de Eccl. Script.*

(x) *Photius in Biblioth. n. 254.*

(y) *Eccles. hist. l. 3. c. 4.*

he was the first Bishop of the *Diocese* of *Ephesus*. Thirdly, by (z) *Epiphanius*, who in a glance gives him the power and stile of Bishop, where he relateth, ὡς λέγει Τιμοθέῳ ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι, that the Apostle speaking unto *Timothy*, being then a Bishop, doth advise him thus, *Rebuke not an Elder, &c.* Fourthly, by (a) *Ambrose*, if the worke be his, who in the preface to his Commentaries on the Epistles unto *Timothy*, thus resolves the point, *Hunc ergo jam creatum* Episcopum, *instruit per Epistolam*; that being now ordained a Bishop, he was instructed by Saint *Pauls* Epistle, how to dispose and order the Church of God. Fifthly, by (b) *Hierome*, who in his Tract *De Eccles. Scriptoribus*, doth affirme of *Timothy*, *Ephesiorum Episcopum ordinatum à Beato Paulo*, that he was ordained Bishop of the *Ephesians* by Saint *Paul*. Sixthly, by (c) *Chrysostome*, as in many places, so most significantly and expresly in his Comment on the Epistle to the *Philippians*, saying, *Paul* saith in his Epistle unto *Timothy*, Fulfill thy ministrie, ἐπισκόπῳ ὄντι, being then a *Bishop*: ὅτι δὲ ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, for that he was a Bishop appeares by *Pauls* writing thus unto him, *Lay hands hastily on no man*. Seventhly, (d) by *Leontius* Bishop of *Magnesia*, one of the Fathers in the great Councell of *Chalcedon*, affirming publikely, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Τιμοθέου μαχεῖ ἡμῶν, that from blessed

(z) *Epiph. hær. 75. n. 5.*

(a) *Ambr. Præf. in Epist. 1. ad Timoth.*

(b) *Hieron. de Script. Eccles.*

(c) *Chrysost. Hom. in 1. ad Tim. et in Præf. ad eand.*

(d) *Concil. Chal. Act. 11.*

Timothy

Timothy unto his times, there had beene 26. Bishops of the Church of *Ephesus*. Eighthly, by (*e*) *Gregory* the Great, where he saith that *Paul* admonisheth his scholler *Timothy*, *Prælatum gregi*, being now made the *Prelate* of a flocke, to *attend* to reading. Ninthly, by **Sedulius* an ancient writer of the *Scotish* Nation, who lived about the middle of the first *Century*, affirming on the credit of old historie, *Timotheum istum fuisse Episcopum in Epheso*; that *Timothy* to whom *Paul* wrote, had beene Bishop of *Ephesus*. Tenthly, by *Primasius*, (*f*) a writer of the first 600. yeares, who in the Preface to his Commentaries on the first to *Timothy*, gives us this short note, *Timotheus* Episcopus *fuit*, *& Discipulus Pauli*; that *Timothy* was a Bishop, and *Pauls* Disciple: and in his Comment on the text, saith that he had the grace, or the gift of Prophesie, *cum ordinatione Episcopatus*, with his ordination to a Bishopricke. 11. By (*g*) the subscription of the second Epistle, where he is called positively, τῆς Ἐφεσίων ἐκκλησίας πρῶτον ἐπίσκοπον, the first that was ordained Bishop of the *Ephesians*. 12. By (*h*) *Theophylact*, who giveth this reason of Saint *Pauls* writing unto *Timothy*, because that in a Church new constitute ὀ ῥάδιον τῶν τὴν ἐπίσκοπον, &c. it was not easie to informe a Bishop of all things inciden unto his place by word of mouth: and further in his Comment on the fourth

(*e*) *De cura Pastorali pars* 2. *c.* 18.

* *Com in* 1. *a*[d] *Tim. c.* 1.

(*d*) *Primas. in Tim.* 1. *Ep.* 1. *c.* 4.

(*g*) *Subscript. ep.* 2. *ad Tim.*

(*h*) *In Præfat. in* 1. *ad Tim.*

In cap. 4. v. 14, 15.

(*i*) *Oecum. in 1. ad Tim. c. 1.*

(*k*) *Beza Annot. in 1. ad Tim. c. 5. v. 19.*

Chapter of the first Epistle, doth twice or thrice give *Timothy* the name of *Bishop*. 13. By (*i*) *Oecumenius*, whom on these words of the Epistle, *I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus*, gives this glosse or descant: ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐκεχειρότονεν, for there, (or of that place) he ordained him Bishop. An evidence so cleare and full, that *Beza* (*k*) though he would not call him Bishop, confesseth him to be *President*, or πρόεδρος, of the *Ephesine* Presbytery, and that he had authority to receive accusations and complaints against a *Presbyter*, and to judge accordingly. Which what it is else then to be a Bishop, is beyond my fancie to imagine.

VIII.

(*l*) 1 Tim. 1. 3.

(*m*) Act. 18. 19. & 19. 1, 2, 3, &c.

Now for the time in which he was appointed *Bishop* of the Church of *Ephesus* (for on the right stating of that point, the clearing of many difficulties doth depend) it may be best gathered from those words in the first Epistle, where *Paul* relates, that he *besought him to abide still at* Ephesus, *when he* himselfe *went into Macedonia*. Now S. *Pauls* journey into *Macedonia*, which is here intended, is is not that mentioned *Act.* 16. for then there was no Church of Ephesus to be Bishop of. *Paul* had not then seene (*m*) *Ephesus* at all, nor planted any Church there till a good while after. Nor could it be when he left *Ephesus*, to goe the second time into *Macedonia*,

nia, mention whereof is made in the 20. Chapter, for he had sent (*n*) *Timotheus*, and *Erastus before him* thither. But it was after he had stayed *three moneths in Greece*, (*o*) when hearing that the *Jewes laid wait for him* as he *went about to saile into Syria*, hee changed his course, and purposed to returne through *Macedonia*. Then was it, as he went that time into *Macedonia*, that hee brake the businesse unto *Timothy*, requiring or beseeching him to goe to *Ephesus*, to set up his aboad in that populous City, and undertake the government of the Church thereof. To which when *Timothy* had condescended, he was sent before (*p*) with *Aristarchus* and the rest, tarrying at *Troas* in expectation of the Apostles comming. And there he was most like to be, when the Apostles first Epistle came unto his hands, being written not from *Laodicea*, as the subscription doth pretend, but ἐκ Μακεδονίας, out of *Macedonia*, as (*q*) *Athanasius* doth expressely say in his *Synopsis*. For howsoever the (*r*) Apostle *hoped to come to him shortly*, and to instruct him more at large for that weighty businesse: yet well considering how many lets, and hindrances might intervene, he thought it not amisse to prevent the worst; and send that letter of instructions in the meane time to him; (*s*) that *hee might know how to behave himselfe in the house*

(*n*) Act. 19. 22.

(*o*) Act. 20. 3.

(*p*) Act. 20. 5.

(*q*) *Athan. in Synop. Sacræ Script.*

(*r*) 1 Tim. 3. 14.

(*s*) 1 Tim. 1. 15

of God. After this time, I find not that the Apoſtle did employ *Timothy* in any other generall ſervice which concerned the Church: or that he called him from *Epheſus*, being once got thither, ſave that he ſent for him to make haſt to *Rome* (*t*) immediately on his firſt cõming to that City, to be aſſiſtant to him there in that dangerous exigencie. A thing that both the one might crave, and the other doe, without detracting any thing at all from the *Epiſcopall* place and power which *Timothy* had taken on him: all the Epiſtles wherin the name of *Timothy* is joyned with *Pauls*, being writ within the compaſſe of two yeares, which was ſo ſhort an abſence from his *Paſtorall* charge, as might be very eaſily diſpenſed withal, eſpecially when the publique ſervice of the Church was concerned ſo highly. I know that ſome of eminent note* the better to avoid ſome appearing difficulties that concerne this buſineſſe, will not have *Timothy* made Biſhop of the Church of *Epheſus* till after the Apoſtles comming unto *Rome*. But the ſecond of the two Epiſtles doth very throughly refute that fancie; in which Saint *Paul* acquaints him how he had diſpoſed of his retinue; (*u*) *Titus* being gone into *Dalmatia*,* *Creſcens* to *Galatia*, *Eraſtus* taking up his aboad at *Corinth*, and *Trophimus* left at *Miletum* ſicke: taking great care to have the *Cloake* and *Parchments*

(*t*) 2 Tim. 4. 21.

* B. *Downham*, in the Sermon at Lambeth. p. 76, 77, 78, and others.

(*u*) Tim. 4.

* Taking it, as it ſeemeth, in his way to *Crete*.

ments which were *left at Troas*, where *Timothy* stayed for him, *Act.* 20. to be sent speedily unto him. Where by the way, *Miletum*, where *Paul* left *Trophimus sicke*, was not that towne of *lesser Asia*, unto the which the *Elders* were called from *Ephesus*, for after that we find him at *Hierusalem*, *Act.* 21. 29. nor was it at the Iland called *Meleta*, (x) as *Baronius* thinkes, on which Saint *Paul* was cast by shipwracke, *Act.* 28. such alterations or corrections not being easily allowable in holy Scripture. For being that there is in the Isle of *Crete* a towne called *Miletus*, as *Strabo* (y) testifieth; and that Saint *Paul* in his voyage from *Hierusalem* to *Rome*, sayled under *Crete*, and hovered for a while about that coast, *Act.* 27. 7, 8, *&c.* that is most like to be the place, and there I leave him.

(x) *Annal. Eccl. An.* 59. *n.* 1.

(y) *Conditorem ex Mileto, quæ in Creta est, Sarpedonem accipientes. Geogr. l.* 2.

IX.

For being thus fallen on the coast of *Crete*, I thinke it seasonable to enquire some newes of *Titus*: whom the Apostle much about the time that *Timothy* undertooke the charge of *Ephesus*, had made the Bishop of this Iland. (z) *Baronius* thinkes, and not improbably, that at Saint *Pauls* last going out of *Asia* into *Macedonia* (a) when he had gone over those parts, and *given them much exhortation*, and having so done went into *Greece*: that this his going into *Greece* was by and through the *Aegean* sea; that in his passage thither he put in at *Crete*: and finally,

(z) *An.* 57. *n.* 209.

(a) Act. 20. 2.

nally, that he left *Titus* here, *ad curandam Ecclesiam*, whom hee made Bishop for that purpose. This is most like to be the time, the circumstances of the text and story so well agreeing thereunto: for till this time, *Titus* was either attendant on S. *Paul* in person, or sent from place to place on his occasions and dispatches; as may appeare by looking on the concordances of holy Scripture. Now that *Titus* was ordained the first Bishop of *Crete*, hath beene affirmed by severall authors of good both credit and antiquity. For first *Eusebius* (*b*) making a Catalogue of Saint *Pauls* assistants, or fellow-labourers, and reckoning *Timothy* amongst them, whom he recordeth for the first Bishop of the Church of *Ephesus*, addes presently, ὡς καὶ Τίτος ὁ ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν, and so was *Titus* also, the first Bishop of *Crete*. (*c*) Saint *Ambrose* in the Preface to his Commentaries, on the Epistle unto *Titus*, doth affirme as much, *Titum Apostolus consecravit Episcopum*, the Apostle consecrated *Titus* a Bishop, and therefore doth admonish him to be solicitous for the well ordering of the Church committed to him. (*d*) Saint *Hierome*, writing on these words in that Epistle, *For this cause left I thee in Crete, &c.* doth apply them thus, *Audiant Episcopi qui habent constituendi Presbyteros per singulas urbes potestatē*, Let *Bishops* marke this well who have authority

(*b*) *Eccles. hist. l. 3. c. 4.*

(*c*) *Ambr. præf. in ep. ad Titum.*

(*d*) *Hieron. in Tit. c. 1. v. 5.*

rity to ordaine Presbyters in every City, on what conditions, to what persons (for that I take to be his meaning) Ecclesiasticall orders are to be conferred. Which is a strong insinuation, that *Titus* having that authority, must be needs a Bishop. More evidently in his Catalogue of Writers, or in (*e*) *Sophronius* at the least, if those few names were by him added to that *Catalogue*. *Titus Episcopus Cretæ*, *Titus* the Bishop of *Crete* did preach the Gospell both in that, and the adjacent Ilands. (*f*) *Theodoret* proposing first this question, why *Paul* should rather write to *Timothy* and *Titus*, then to *Luke* and *Silas*; returnes this answer to the same, that *Luke* and *Silas* were still with him, τόποις ἤδη ἐκκλησίας ἐγκεχειρικώς, but those had entrusted with the government of Churches. But more particularly (*g*) *Titus* a famous Disciple of Saint *Paul*, ἐπίσκοπος δὲ ὁ Κρήτης, was by him ordained Bishop of *Crete*, being a place of great extent; with a Commission also to ordaine *Bishops* under him. (*h*) *Theophylact* in his preface unto this Epistle, doth affirme the same: using almost his very words. And *Oecumenius* (*i*) on the text doth declare as much, saying, that *Paul* gave *Titus* authority of ordaining *Bishops*, *Crete* being of too large a quantitie to be committed unto one alone; ἐπίσκοπον πρότερον ποιήσας, having first consecrate or made him *Bishop*. Finally, the *Subscription*

(*e*) *Id. de Scrip. Eccles. in Tit.*

(*f*) *Apud Oecumen. Præf. ad Tim.*

(*g*) *Ap. eund. in Præf. ad Titum.*

(*h*) *Theoph. in præf. ad Tit.*

(*i*) *Oecum. in Tit. c. 1. v. 5.*

subscription of this Epistle calls *Titus* the first Bishop of the Church of the *Cretians*: which evidence, though questioned now of late, is of good Authority.

X. For some of late, who are not willing that antiquity should afford such grounds, for *Titus* being Bishop of the Church of *Crete*, have amongst other arguments devised against it, found an irreparable flaw, as they conceive, in this *subscription*. *Beza* (*k*) who herein led the way, disproves the whole *subscription* as suppositious, because it is there said, that it was written from *Nicopolis* of *Macedonia*. A thing, saith he, which cannot be, for the Apostle doth not say, ἐνταῦθα παραχειμάσωμι, *I will winter here*, but ἐκεῖ, *illic*, I will winter *there*: and therefore he was somewhere else when he wrote this Epistle. But *Athanasius* (*l*) who lived neerer the Apostles times, affirmes it to bee written from *Nicopolis*; and so doth *Hierome* (*m*) in his Preface unto that Epistle. The *Syriack* translation dates it also thence, as is confessed by them that adhere to *Beza*. *Theophylact*, (*n*) and *Oecumenius* agree herein with *Athanasius*, and the ancient Copies. As for the criticisme it is neither *here*, nor *there*; for Saint *Paul* being still in motion, might appoint *Titus* to repaire unto *Nicopolis*, letting him understand that howsoever he disposed of himselfe in the mean time,

(*k*) *Annotat. in Ep. ad Tit. in fine*

(*l*) *In Synopsi sacr. script.*

(*m*) *Ad Paulum & Eustochium.*

(*n*) *Comment. in Epl. ad Tit.*

time, yet he intended *there to winter*; and so he might well say, though he was at *Nicopolis* when he writ the same. That *Titus* is there called the first Bishop of *Crete*, or of the Church of the (o) *Cretians*, is another hint, that some have tooke to vilifie the credit of the said *subscription*; asking if ever there were such a second Bishop? Assuredly, the Realme of *England* is as faire and large a circuite, as the Isle of *Crete*: And yet I doe not finde it used as argument, that *Austin* the *Monke* had neither any hand in the converting of the *English*, or was not the first Archbishop of the See of *Canterbury*; because it is affirmed in *Beda's* History, (p) *Archiepiscopus genti Anglorum ordinatus est*, that he was ordained the Arch-Bishop of the *English* Nation. And for an answer to the question, we need but looke into *Eusebius* (q), where we shall finde *Pinytus* a right godly man, called in plaine termes Bishop of *Crete*; *Cretæ Episcopus*, saith the *Latine*, ἐπὶ Κρήτης ἐπίσκοπος, as the *Greeke* Originall: the selfe-same stile, which is excepted at in *Titus*. Now, whereas it is said, that *Titus* was left no otherwise in *Crete*, then as *Pauls* Vicar Generall, Commissary, or Substitute, to order those things in such sort as he had appointed, which he could not dispatch himselfe, when he was there present; this can by no meanes be

(o) *Smectymn. p.* 54.

(p) *Beza hist. eccl. l.* 1. *c.* 27.

(q) *Hist. Eccle. l.* 4. *c.* 20. *ca.*

admitted: the rules prescribed unto him, and *Timothy*, being for the most part of that nature, as doe agree with the condition of perpetuall Governours, and not of temporary and removeable Substitutes. As for the anticipation of the time, which I see some use, relating that Saint *Paul* with *Titus*, having passed through *Syria*, and *Cilicia*, to confirme the Churches, did from *Cilicia*, passe over into *Crete*; where the Apostle having Preached the Gospell, left *Titus* for a while to set things in Order: although I cannot easily tell on what Authority the report is built, yet I can easily discerne that it can hardly stand with Scripture. Wee read indeed in the 15. Chapter of the *Acts*, that he went *thorow Syria and Cilicia confirming the Churches*, *ver. ult.* and in the first words of the following Chapter, we find him at *Derbe* and *Lystra* (*q*) Cities of *Lycaonia*, the very next Province to *Cilicia* Northward, from which it is divided by a branch of the Mountain *Taurus*. Now whether of the two it be more probable, that *Paul* should passe immediately from *Cilicia* unto *Lycaonia*, upon the usuall cõmon road; or fetch a voyage into *Crete*, as (*r*) these men suppose, and be transported backe againe into *Lycaonia*, being an in-land Country farre from any Sea, (which could not bee without some miracle, or great *hiatus* in the

(*q*) Act. 14. 6. *hist. Eccl. l. 4. c.* 20. 22.

(*r*) *Smectymn.* p. 50.

the story) I leave to any man to be imagined.

XI. *Timothy* and *Titus* being thus setled in their *Episcopall* Sees, we must passe on, to see if we can meet with any other of Saint *Pauls* Disciples, or his assistants if you will, that were entrusted with the like Authority. And first we meete with *Dionysius*, the *Areopagite*, ordained by Saint *Paul*, (as is most likely) the first Bishop of *Athens*; but howsoever, questionlesse ordained the first Bishop there. Another *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Corinth*, who in all probability was borne whilst Saint *John* was living, (s) doth expressely say it: *viz.* that *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* being converted to the Faith by the Apostle *Paul*, πρῶτος τῆς Ἀθηναίων παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἐγκεχείρισται, was first ordained Bishop of the Church of *Athens*. The foresaid *Dionysius* the *Corinthian* doth also tell us, that (t) *Publius* succeeded the *Areopagite*, after him *Quadratus*; both which were disciples of the Apostles: the former of the two, being conceived to be the same, whose Father, *Paul* (u) cured so miraculously, in the Isle of *Malta*. Next for the Church of *Thessalonica*, the *Martyrologies* informe us that *Aristarchus*, (x) one of *Pauls* Companions, *ab eodem Apostolo Thessalonicensium Episcopus ordinatus*, was by him ordained Bishop of the *Thessalonians*. And after him succeeded

(s) *Ap. Euseb. Eccl. hist. l. 4. c. 23. ky.* as also, *l. 3 c. 4.*

(t) *Ap. Euseb. l. 3 c. 22. ky.*

(u) Act. 28. 8.

(x) *August. 4.*

ceeded *Caius*, whom Saint *Paul* mentioneth in his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, by the name of *Gaius*, (*y*) *the hoſt*, as he calls him, *of the whole Church*. Certaine I am, that *Origen* (*z*) reports him to be Biſhop here, and that upon the knowne tradition of his Elders. *Fertur ſane ex traditione majorum, quod hic* Caius *Epiſcopus fuerit Theſſalonicenſis Eccleſiæ*, as his owne words are. So for the Church of the *Philippians*, Saint *Paul* hath told us of *Epaphroditus*, one whom he mentioneth oftentimes (*a*) in his Epiſtle to that people, that he was not onely his *Brother*, and *Companion* in labour, and *his fellow Souldier*; *Veſtrum autem Apoſtolum*, but he was alſo their *Apoſtle*. Aske of *Theodoret* (*b*) what Saint *Paul* there meaneth, and he will tell you that he was their *Biſhop*. For in his Comment on the firſt to *Timothy*, he gives this note, *Eos qui nunc vocantur Epiſcopi, nominabant Apoſtolos*, that in thoſe times in which Saint *Paul* writ that Epiſtle, thoſe who are now called *Biſhops*, were called *Apoſtles*. And this he proves out of this paſſage of Saint *Paul*, that ſo, in this reſpect, [*ita Philippenſium Apoſtolus erat Epaphroditus*] *Epaphroditus* is called the *Apoſtle* of the *Philippians*. Which cleerely ſheweth, that in his opinion, *Epaphroditus* was Biſhop of the *Philippians*, as *Titus* of the *Cretans*, and *Timothy* of the *Epheſians*, in whom he afterwards

(*y*) Rom. 16.23
(*z*) *Comment. in Epi. ad Rom. c.* 16.
(*a*) Phil. 2.25.
(*b*) *Theodor. in* 1 *ad Tim. c.* 3.

wards doth instance. *Beza* indeed doth render the Greeke word Ἀπόστολος, by the *Latine*, *Legatus*; in which he hath beene followed by the latter *English*, who read it *messenger*. (c) But *Calvin* doth not onely keepe himselfe to the old translation, though he take notice of the other; but he preferres the old before it; *Sed prior sensus melius convenit*, as more agreeable unto the meaning of the place. For the *Colossians* next, we finde the names of *Epaphras*, and *Archippus*, their two first Bishops, in the Epistle to that Church. And first for *Epaphras*, it is conceived that he first preached the Faith of *Christ* to the *Colossians*: And this Saint *Paul* doth seeme to intimate in the first Chapter of the same Epistle, saying, *As ye also learned of* Epaphras *our deare fellow servant*. Certaine it is, that in the *Martyrologies*, he is affirmed to be the Bishop of this Church, (d) *ab eodem Apostolo ordinatus*, and that he was ordained Bishop by the hands of *Paul*. But being after Prisoner with Saint *Paul* at *Rome*, *Archippus* undertooke the Episcopall charge, whom *Paul* (e) exhorteth to *take heed unto the Ministery which hee had received of the Lord, and to fulfill it*. Most sure I am, that *Ambrose* (f) writing on those words, doth make *Archippus* Bishop of *Colossi*, by the name of their *Præpositus*, or governour, of

(c) *Calvin in Philip. c. 2.*

ver. 7.

(d) *Iulii. 19.*

(e) Colos 4. 17

(f) *Ambros. in Colos. 4. 7.*

which see (*g*) before: adding withall that after *Epaphras* had seasoned them in the Truth of God, *hic accepit regendam eorum Ecclesiam*, *Archippus* tooke the government of that Church upon him.

(*g*) *v. cap. 3 n. 5*

XII.

For other of Saint *Pauls* Disciples, we finde in *Dorotheus*, if he may be credited, that *Silas*, *Pauls* most individuall companion (*h*), was Bishop of the Church of *Corinth*, the truth whereof shall be examined more at large, in the second Century: and that *Sosipater*, mention of whom is made, *Acts* 20, was ordained Bishop of *Iconium*, wherein *Hippolitus* concurring with him, doth make the matter the more probable. Of *Sosthenes*, (of whom see *Acts* 18. 1 *Cor.* 1.) the same two Authors doe report, that he was Bishop of *Colophon*, one of the Cities of the *lesser Asia*. But leaving these more *Easterne* Countries, let us look homeward towards the *West*. And there we find that *Crescens*, whom Saint *Paul*, at his first comming unto *Rome*, (*i*) had sent into *Galatia* to confirme the Churches; was after by him sent on the like occasion into *Gaule*, or *Gallia*, there to Preach the Gospell: for so I rather choose to atone the businesse, than correct the Text, and reade it *Crescens in Galliam* (*k*) with *Epiphanius*. For having with so good successe beene employed formerly in *Galatia*; he might with better

(*h*) *Dorotheus in Synopsi.*

(*i*) 2 Tim. 4.

(*k*) *Epiphan. hæres. 51. n. 11.*

ter comfort undertake the service of Preaching Christ unto the *Gaules*, whereof the *Galatians* were a branch or *Colonie*. Now that he did indeed Preach Christs Gospell there, is affirmed positively both by (*l*) *Epiphanius* and (*m*) *Theodoret*, two very eminent and ancient writers: and (*n*) *Ado Viennensis*, a Writer though of lesser standing, yet of good repute, affirmeth that he was put upon this employment, *quo tempore Paulus in Hispanias pervenisse creditur*, at such time as it is conceived that the Apostle *Paul* went into *Spaine*, which was in *Anno* 61. as *Baronius* thinketh, there being left, and having planted a Church of Christ, in the City of *Vienna*, (now in that Province which is called *Daulphine*) he became the first Bishop of the same; (*o*) *Primus ejusdem Civitatis Episcopus*, saith the *Martyrologie*. And to this, *Ado*, one of his successors, also doth agree; adding withall (*p*) that after hee had sate there some few yeares, he returned backe againe into *Galatia*, leaving one *Zacharias* to succeed him. Finally, not to leave out *Britaine*, it is recorded in the Greeke *Menologies*, that *Aristobulus* (whom Saint *Paul* speakes of "*Rom.* 16.) being one of the *Seventy*, and "afterwards a follower of Saint *Paul*, (*q*) "was by him ordained Bishop of *Britaine*, "(χειροτονεῖται ἐπίσκοπος εἰς τὴν τῶν Βρεταν̃ων χώραν, "as

(*l*) *Epiphan. hæres.* 51.
(*m*) *Theodor. in Epist.* 2 *ad Tim.*
(*n*) *Ado in Chron.*
(*o*) *Decemb.* 29.
(*p*) *in Chronico.*
(*q*) *Menolog. Græc. in Martii.* 14.

"as the words there are) a region full of "fierce and savage people; and that ha-"ving there setled the Church, and ordai-"ned Presbyters and Deacons in the same, "he did there also end his life. The Reverend Primate of (r) *Armagh*, out of a fragment attributed to *Heleca*, sometimes Bishop of *Saragossa* in *Spaine*, doth recite a passage, wherein it is affirmed of this *Aristobulus, missum in Angliam Episcopum*; that he was sent Bishop into *England*, for so the Authour calleth this Country according to the name it had when he writ the same. But these things which relate to the *British* Churches, I rather shall referre to our learned Antiquaries, to be considered of more fully; than affirme anything my selfe.

(r) *De Britannic. eccl. prim. c.* 1.

XIII. But to looke backe on *Timothy* and *Titus*, whom wee left lately in their severall Churches, I heare it said, that notwithstanding all those proofes before produced from the ancient, yet being *Evangelists*, as they were, they could be no *Bishops* (s): *Bishops* being tyed to the particular care of that flocke or Church, over which God had made them Overseers; but the *Evangelists* being Planetary, sent up and downe from place to place, by the *Apostles*, as the necessities of the Church required. Besides that moving in an higher sphere than that of *Bishops*, and being Co-partners with Saint

(s) *Smectymn. p.* 48.

Saint *Paul* in his *Apostleship* or *Apostolicall* function (*t*), it had beene a devesting of themselves of their *Apostolicall* jurisdiction, and preheminence, to become *Bishops* at the last, and so descend from a superior to an inferiour Office. For answer whereunto we need say but this, that the gift of being an *Evangelist*, might, and did fall on any ranke of ordinary Ministers, as might that also of the *Prophet*. *Philip* one of the *seven*, a *Deacon*, as it is generally conceived, but howsoever Ministring unto the Church, in an inferiour place or Office, was notwithstanding an *Evangelist*: and *Agabus*, though perhaps but a simple *Presbyter*, one of the *Seventy* past all question, was a Prophet too. *Philip*, as hee was one of the *seven*, was tyed to a particular employment, and of necessity, sometimes, must (*u*) *leave the Word of God to serve Tables*. Yet the same *Philip*, as he was furnished by the Lord with gifts and graces, for gaining soules to God Almighty, and doing the worke of an *Evangelist*, must leave the *serving of those Tables* to Preach the Word. And *Agabus*, if he were a *Presbyter*, whether of (*x*) *Hierusalem*, from whence he is twice said to come, or of some other Church, that I will not say, might notwithstanding his employment in a particular Church, repaire to *Antioch*, or

(*t*) Vnbishopping of *Tim.* & *Tit.* p. 36.

(*u*) Act. 6. 12.

(*x*) Act. 11. 27, 28. & 21. 10.

Cæsarea, as the Spirit willed him, there to discharge the office of a Prophet. So then both *Timothy* and *Titus* might be *Bishops*, as to their ordinary place and calling; though in relation unto their extraordinary gifts, they were both *Evangelists*. As for their falling from an higher, to a lower function, from an *Evangelist* unto a *Bishop*; I cannot possibly perceive where the fall should be. They that object this, will not say, but *Timothy*, at the least, was made a Presbyter, for wherefore else did the *Presbyterie* (which they so much stand on) *lay hands upon him*. And certainely, if it were no diminution from an *Evangelist* to become a *Presbyter*; it was a preferment unto the *Evangelist*, from being but a Presbyter to become a *Bishop*. But for the *Bishopping of Timothy and Titus*, as to the *quod sit* of it, that so they were, in the opinion of all Ancient Writers, wee have said enough. We will next looke on the authority committed to them, to see what further proofe hereof may be brought from that.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the authority and jurisdiction given by the word of God, to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and in them, to all other Bishops.

I. *The authority committed unto* Timothy *and* Titus, *was to be perpetuall, and not personall onely.*

II. *The power of* Ordination *intrusted only unto* Bishops *by the Word of God, according to the judgement of the Fathers.*

III. Bishops *alone both might, and did* Ordaine, *without their* Presbyters.

IV. *That* Presbyters *might not* ordaine *without a* Bishop, *proved by the memorable case of* Colluthus *and* Ischyras.

V. *As by those also of* Maximus, *and a* Spanish *Bishop.*

VI. *In what respects, the joynt assistance of the* Presbyters *was required herein.*

VII. The *case of the* Reformed Churches *beyond the Seas, declared, and qualifyed.*

VIII. *The care of* ordering *Gods* Divine Service, *a worke peculiar to the* Bishop.

IX. *To whom the* Ministration *also of the* Sacraments *doth in chiefe belong.*

X. Bishops *to have a care that Gods word be preached: and to encourage those that take paines that way.*

XI. Bishops *to* silence, *and correct such* Presbyters, *as preach* other doctrines.

XII. *As also to reprove and* reject *the* heretique.

XIII. *The censure and correction of inferiour* Presbyters, *doth belong to* Bishops.

XIV. *And of* Lay-people *also, if they walk unworthy of their* Christian *calling.*

XV. *Conjecturall proofes that the description of a* Bishop, *in the first to* Timothy, *is of a* Bishop *truly and properly so called.*

I. THey who object that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangelists*, and so by consequence no *Bishops*, have also said, and left in writing, that the authority committed to them by Saint *Paul*, did not belong to them at all, as *Bishops*, (*a*) but *Evangelists* onely. But this, if pondered as it ought, hath no ground to stand on. The calling of *Evangelists*, as it was *Extraordinary*, so it was but *temporarie*, to last no longer, than the first planting of the Church, for which so many signall gifts and graces of the *holy Spirit*, were at first powred

(*a*) Vnbishopping of Tim. & Tit. p. 60, 61, &c.

powred on the *Disciples.* I know not any *Orthodoxe* Writer, who doth not in this point agree with (*b*) *Calvin*: who in his Comment on the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, gives us this instruction, *Deum Apostolis, Evangelistis & Prophetis, Ecclesiam suam non nisi ad tempus ornasse*, that God adorned his Church with *Prophets*, *Evangelists* and *Apostles*, for a season onely: having before observed, that of all those holy ministrations there recited, *Postrema tantum duo perpetua esse*, the two last, (*viz. Pastors* and *Teachers*, which he takes for two) were to be perpetuall. But on the other side, power to *ordaine* fit Ministers, of what sort soever, as also to reprove and censure those that behaved themselves unworthily; authority to *convent* and *reject an hereticke*, to punish by the censures of the *Church*, all such as give offence and scandall to the Congregation by their exorbitant and unruly living: this ought to be perpetuall in in the Church of *Christ*. This the *Apostle* seemes to intimate, when he said to *Timothy*, (*c*) *I charge thee in the sight of God, and before Jesus Christ, that thou keepe this Commandement without spot, and unreprovable, untill the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Now *Timothy* was not like to live till Christs second comming; the *Apostle*, past all question, never meant it so: therefore the power, and

(*b*) *Com. in 4. ad Eph. v. 11.*

(*c*) 1 Tim. 6. 14.

charge here given to exercise the same, according to the *Apostles* rules and precepts was not personall onely: but such as was to appertaine to him, and to his *successours* for ever, even till the appearing of our Lord and Saviour. The like expression do wee find in Saint (*d*) *Matthew*, when our Redeemer said unto his *Apostles*, *Behold I am with you alwaies even unto the end of the world*. Not *alwaies* certainly with his *Apostles*, not to the *end of the world* with those very men, to whom he did addresse himselfe when he spake these words; for they being mortall men have beene dead long since. *Non solis hoc Apostolis dictum esse*, (*e*) this was no personall promise then, saith *Calvin* truly. With them and their successours hee might *alwaies* be, and to the *end of the world* give them his assistance. *Cum vobis & successoribus vestris*, (*f*) as *Denis* the *Carthusian* very well observeth. Saint *Paul* then gives this charge to *Timothy*, and in him unto all his *successours* in the *Episcopall* function; which should continue in the Church till *Christs* second cumming. And therefore I conceive the annotation of the *ordinary glosse* to be sound and good, *in Timotheo omnibus successoribus loquitur Apostolus*, (*g*) that this was spoke in *Timothy* unto all his *successors*. And so the Commentaries under the name of *Ambrose* do informe us also, saying, that *Paul*

(*d*) Mat. 28. ult.

(*e*) *Harmon. Evangel.*

(*f*) In Mat. 28.

(*g*) *Glossa Ordinar. in* 1 *Tim.* 6.

Paul was not so solicitous for *Timothy*, as for his successours, (*h*) *ut exemplo Timothei Ecclesiæ ordinationem custodirent*: that they might learne by his example (*i. e.* by practising those directions which were given to him) to looke unto the ordering of the Church.

(*h*) In 1. Tim. 6

II. This ground thus laid, we must next looke on the authority which the Apostle gave to *Timothy* and *Titus*, and in them to all other *Bishops*. And the best way to looke upon it is, to divide the same as the *Schoole-men* do, into *potestas ordinis*, and *potestas jurisdictionis*; the power of *order*, and the power of *jurisdiction*: in each of which there occurre divers things to be considered. First, for the power of *Order*, besides what every *Bishop* doth, and may lawfully performe, by vertue of the *Orders* hee received as *Presbyter*; there is a power of *Order* conferred upon him as a *Bishop*: and that's indeed the power of *Ordination*, or giving *Orders*, which seemes so proper and peculiar to the *Bishops* office, as not to be communicable to any else. *Paul* gives it as a speciall charge to *Timothy* (*i*) *to lay hands hastily on no man*: which caution doubtlesse had beene given in vaine, in case the *Presbyters* of *Ephesus* might have done it, as well as he. And *Titus* seemes to have beene left in *Crete* for this purpose chiefly, (*k*) that he might *ordaine Presbyters in every City*: which questionlesse had

(*i*) Tim. 5. 22.

(*k*) Tit. 1. v. 5.

had beene unneceſſary, in caſe an ordinary *Presbyter* might have done the ſame. The Fathers have obſerved from theſe texts of *Scripture*, that none but *Biſhops* ſtrictly and properly ſo called (according as the word was uſed when they lived that ſaid it) have any power of *Ordination*. *Epiphanius* (*l*) in his diſpute againſt *Aërius*, obſerves this difference betwixt *Biſhops* & *Presbyters*, (whom the hereticke would faine have had to be the ſame) that the *Presbyter* by adminiſtring the Sacrament of *Baptiſme*, did beget children to the Church: but that the *Biſhop* by the power of *ordination*, πατέρας γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, did beget *Fathers* to the ſame. A power from which he utterly excludes the *Presbyter*; and gives good reaſon for it too: for how, ſaith hee, can he ordaine, or conſtitute a *Presbyter*, μὴ ἔχων χειροθεσίαν ὃ χειροτονεῖν, which in his ordination did receive no power to impoſe hands upon another? (*m*) *Chryſoſtome* ſpeaking of the difference betweene a *Biſhop*, and a *Presbyter*, makes it conſiſt in nothing elſe, but in this power of *Ordination*. "τῷ γὰρ χειροτονίαν μόνῳ, &c. onely in laying on "of hands, ſaith hee, or in *ordination*, a *Bi*"*ſhop* is before, or above a *Presbyter*; and "have that power onely inherent in them, "which the others have not. *Hierome* (*n*) although a great advancer of the place and office of the *Presbyter*, excludes him from the

(*l*) *Hæreſ.* 75. *n.* 4.

(*m*) *Hom.* 11. *in* 1 *Tim. c.* 3.

(*n*) *Epiſtola ad Euagr.*

the power of *ordination*, or any interest therein. *Quid enim facit excepta ordinatione Episcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat?* What, saith he, doth a *Bishop*, saving *ordination*, more than a *Presbyter* may do? Neither doth *Hierome* speake *de facto*, and not *de jure, quid facit*, not *quid debet facere*: (o) as I observe the place to be both cited and applied in some late discourses. *Hieromes non faciat*, is as good as *non debet facere*: and they that looke upon him well, will find he pleads not of the *possession* onely, but the *right* and title. And we may see his meaning by the passage formerly alleaged upon the words of *Paul* to *Titus, cap.* 1. *v.* 5. *Audiant Episcopi qui habent constituendi Presbyteros per singulas urbes potestatem*. By which it seems that Bishops onely had the power of ordaining *Presbyters*; and that they did both claime, and enjoy the same from this grant to *Titus*.

(o) *Smectymn. p.*37.

III. For further clearing of this point, there are two things to be declared and made evident, first that the power of *ordination* was so inherent in the person of a *Bishop*, that he alone both might and did sometimes *ordaine*, without help of *Presbyters*: and secondly, that the *Presbyters* might not do the same without the *Bishop*. And first that anciently the *Bishops* of the Church both might, and did *ordaine*, without the helpe or

co-assistance of the *Presbyters*, appeareth by the ordination of *Origen* (*p*) unto the office of a *Presbyter* by *Theoctistus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, who laid hands upon him; χεῖρας εἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτῷ τεθείκασι, as my Author hath it. Which act of theirs when it was quarrelled by *Demetrius*, he did not plead in barre, that there were no *Presbyters* assistant in it; but that the party had done somewhat (and we know what 'twas) by which hee was conceived to be uncapable of *holy Orders*. So when (*q*) the Bishop, whosoever he was, out of an affectation which he bare unto *Novatus* (not being yet a *Separatist* from the Church of God) desired, παρακαλούμενος ὑπὸ πάντος τοῦ κλήρου, the Clergie being all against it, to ordaine him *Presbyter*: the matter stood upon, as the story testifieth, was not the *Bishops* being the sole agent in it, but because it was forbidden by the ancient Canons, that any one who had beene formerly baptized being sicke in bed, (and that had beene *Novatus* case) should be assumed into the *Clergie*. But not to make a further search into particulars, which are vast and infinite: we have two notable cases that reflect this way, and in them two such generall *Maximes* as will make all sure. In the third Councell of *Carthage* holden in or about the yeare 390. it was proposed by (*r*) *Aurelius*

(p) *Euseb. hist. Eccl. l.6.c.7. n.*

(q) *Id. l.6.c.35. μγ.*

(r) *Concil. Carthag.3.Ca.45.*

lius then Metropolitan of *Carthage*, that it might be lawfull for him to choose or take *Presbyters* out of the Chuches of his *Suffragans*, and to ordaine them *Bishops* of such Cities as were unprovided: and that the *Bishops* of those Churches, whose Clarkes, or *Presbyters* they were, might not be suffered to oppose. To which when all the *Fathers* had agreed. *Posthumianus* one of the Prelates there assembled, puts this case, that if a Bishop had but one *Presbyter* onely, *Numquid debet illi ipse unus Presbyter auferri*, whether that one *Presbyter* should be taken from him. *Aurelius* thereunto replyeth, *Episcopum unum esse posse, per quem dignatione divina Presbyteri multi constitui possunt*, that a *Bishop* by Gods grace might make many *Presbyters*, and therefore that on such occasions, his one and onely *Presbyter* must be yeelded up upon demand. By which it is most cleare and evident, that a *Bishop* may alone performe the Act or Ceremony of *Ordination*, not having any *Presbyter* at all to joyne with him in it. The like occurreth in the second Councell of *Sevill* (held in the yeare 617. or thereabouts) concerning (*s*) *Frangitanus* a *Presbyter* of the Church of *Corduba*, who by the Bishop of that See, (a ruffling Prelate, as appeareth by (*t*) the following Chapter) had beene deposed from his Ministerie: the cause being brought be-

(*s*) *Concil. Hispalens. 2, c. 5.*

(*t*) *Cap. 6.*

fore the Councell, and the whole processe openly declared unto them, the man was presently restored to his *Orders*, and the sentence passed against him declared to be irregular, and contrary to the ancient *Canons*, whereby it was enacted that no Clergieman should be deposed without the judgement of a *Synod*. And then it followeth, *Episcopus sacerdotibus & ministris solus dare honorem potest, auferre solus non potest*; that *Bishops* solely of themselves, may conferre *holy orders* on *Priests* and *Deacons*, but solely of their owne authority, they could not depose them.

IV. So then it is most cleare and evident, that *Bishops* might and did ordaine, without their *Presbyters*, might not the *Presbyters* do the like sometimes, without their *Bishop*? Certainly nothing lesse than so: or if they did attempt it at any time, the whole act was not onely censured and condemned as uncanonicall, but adjudged void and null, from the first beginning. For besides that which hath beene said before, from *Hierome*, *Chrysostome*, and *Epiphanius*, touching the limitation of this power to the Bishops onely; there are three *booke-cases* in the point, which put the matter out of question: *Colluthus*, (t) once a *Presbyter* of *Alexandria*, falling at difference with his *Bishop*, usurpes upon the *Bishops* office, and ordaines

(t) *Athanas. in Apol. 2. Edit. Gr. Lat. p. 784*

ordaines certaine *Presbyters*, himselfe being one. This businesse being canvassed in the Councell of *Alexandria*, before that famous *Confessor Hosius*, and other *Bishops* there assembled: *Colluthus* was commanded to carry himselfe for a *Presbyter* only, as indeed he was: and all the Presbyters of his ordaining reduced to the same condition, εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον εἰς ὃν καὶ πρότερον ἦσαν, in which they were before the said *Ordination*. Where by the way instead of (u) *Colluthus* the last edition of this Author in *Greeke* and *Latine*, doth read *Catholicus*: which must be mended as before, in the relation of this story; where we have * *Colluthus*, and not *Catholicus*. But to proceed. It hapned afterwards that *Ischyras* one of the *Pseudo-Presbyters* ordained by *Colluthus*, accused (x) *Macarius* (one of the *Presbyters* of *Athanasius*) for a pretended violence to be offered to him, then ministring at the holy Table (y) So that the businesse being brought at last unto the judgement of a Councell; and the point in issue being this, whether this *Ischyras* were a *Presbyter*, or not; and so by consequence a dispenser of those sacred mysteries: he was returned no *Presbyter*, by the full consent of all the *Prelates* then assembled. The reason was, because he was ordained by *Colluthus*, ὃς πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐτελεύτησε,

(u) *Lutet.* 1627.

* *P.* 732. 792.

(x) *Id. ibid. p.* 757.

(y) *Id. ibid. p.* 732.

who died a *Presbyter*; and that his *ordinations* had beene all made void, and those that had received them at his hands, λαικοὶ γεγόνασι, καὶ ὅτως συνάγονται, became lay againe, and in that state received the blessed sacrament as the lay-men did. And this saith *Athanasius* was a thing so publique, ὡς ὑδενὶ καθήκειν ἀμφίβολον, that no man ever doubted of the truth thereof.

V.

(z) *Greg. Presb. in vita Nazian.*

The second case was that of *Maximus*, (z) once a familiar friend of *Gregory Nazianzens*, at such time as he was Bishop of *Constantinople*; and by him, having taken a good liking to him, admitted into the *Clergie* of that Church. But *Maximus* being an ungratefull wretch, complots with others like himselfe, to be made *Bishop* of that City: and thereupon negotiates with *Peter*, then *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, to ordaine him *Bishop* of the same; which being done accordingly, (for *Maximus* was by birth of *Egypt*, and possibly might have good friends there, besides his money) and the whole City in a great distemper about the businesse: the whole cause came at last to be debated in the first generall Councell of *Constantinople*, (a) where on full hearing of the matter it was thus decreed, *viz.* that *Maximus* neither was to be taken for a *Bishop*, μήτε τοὺς παρ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντας, nor any of those he had ordained to be accounted

(a) *Conc. Const. 1. cap. 4.*

ted of the *Clergy*, or remaine in any order or degree thereof. Where note, that howsoever *Maximus* came unlawfully unto the *Bishopricke* of *Constantinople*, by meanes whereof all the Acts done by him as a *Bishop*, were made void and frustrate: yet if as *Presbyter*, to which degree he had beene lawfully ordained by *Nazianzen*, he might have given the *imposition of hands*, the *Presbyters* by him ordained, would have held good still. But the third case comes neerest to the businesse, yet as it is thus reported in the Councell (*b*) of *Sevill* before remembred. A *Bishop* of the Church of *Spaine*, being troubled with sore eyes, and having some presented to him to be ordained *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, did onely *lay his hands* upon them, suffering a *Presbyter* that stood by, to read the words of *ordination*. This comming to be scanned in the aforesaid Councell, upon mature deliberation it is thus determined. First, for the *Presbyter*, which assisted, that for his boldnesse and presumption, he had beene subject to the Councels censure, but that hee was before deceased: next for the *Presbyter* & *Deacons*, who were so *ordained*, that they should actually be deposed from all sacred oders. Concluding thus, *Tales enim merito judicati sunt removendi, quia pravè inventi sunt constituti*; that they were worthily adjudged

(*b*) *Concil. Hisp.* II. *c.* 5.

judged to lose those orders, which they had wrongfully received. So little influence had the *Presbyters* in the essentiall parts of *Ordination*, as that their bare reading of the words (though required to it by the Bishop) was adjudged enough, not onely to make them liable to the Churches censure, but also for their sakes to make void the Action. Nay so severe and and punctuall was the Church herein, that whereas certaine *Bishops* of those times, whether consulting their owne ease, or willing to decline so great a burthen, had suffered their *Chorepiscopi*: aswell those which were simply *Presbyters*, as such as had *Episcopall ordination* (for two there were) to performe this office: it was forbidden (*c*) absolutely in the one, limited and restrained in the other sort, as by the *Canons* of the two ancient Synods of *Gangra*, and *Antioch*, doth at full appeare.

(*c*) *Concil. Gangrens. Can.* 13.
(*d*) *Concil. Antioch. l. Can.* 10.

VI. It is true indeed, that anciently, as long, for ought I know, as there is any monument, or record of true antiquity, the *Presbyters* have joyned their hands to, and with the *Bishops*, in the performance, and discharge of this great solemnity. And hereof there are many evidences that affirme the same, as well in matter of *fact*, as in point of *Law*. Saint *Cyprian*, one of the ancientest of the Fathers, which now are extant, affirmes,

firmes, (*e*) that in the *ordination* of *Aurelius* unto the office of a *Reader* in the Church of *Carthage*, he used the hands of his Colleagues. *Hunc igitur à me, & a Collegis, qui præsentes aderant, ordinatum sciatis*, as he reports the matter in a letter to his charge at *Carthage*. Where by *Colleagues* it is most likely that he meanes his *Presbyters*; first, because that Epistle was written during the time of his retreat, and privacie; what time it is not probable, that any of his *Suffragan Bishops* did resort unto him: and secondly, because those words, *qui præsentes aderant*, are so conforme unto the practise of that Church in the times succeeding. For in the fourth Councell (*f*) of *Carthage* held in the yeare 401. it was decreed, that when a *Presbyter* was ordained, the *Bishop* blessing him, and *holding his hand* upon his head, *etiam omnes Presbyteri qui præsentes sunt manus suas juxta manum Episcopi super caput illius teneant*; all the *Presbyters* which are present shall likewise lay their hands upon his head, neere the hands of the *Bishop*. And in the same Councell it was further ordered, (*g*) that the *Bishop* should not ordaine a Clergie-man, *sine consilio clericorum suorum*, without the counsell of his *Clergie*: which also doth appeare to be *Cyprians* practise, in the first words of the Epistle before remembred.

(*e*) *Cyprian. Ep* 33. or *l.* 2. *ep* 5.

(*f*) *Concil. Car.* 4. *Can.* 3.

(*g*) *Id. Can.* 12.

But then it is as true withall, that this conjunction of the *Presbyters* in the solemnities of this Act, was rather *ad honorem Sacerdotii, quam essentiam operis*, more for the honour of the Priesthood, than for the essence of the worke. Nor did the laying on of the *Presbyters* hands conferre upon the party that was ordained any power or order: but onely testified their consent unto the businesse, and approbation of the man, according to the purpose and intent of the last of the two Canons before alleaged. And for the first Canon, if you marke it well, it doth not say, that if there be no *Presbyters* in place, the *Bishop* should deferre the *ordination* till they came: but *Presbyteri qui præsentes sunt*, if any *Presbyters* were present at the doing of it, they should lay their hands upon his head, neere the *Bishops* hands. So that however anciently, in the purest times, the *Presbyters* which were then present, both might and did impose hands with the *Bishop*, upon the man to be *ordained*, and so concurred in the performance of the outward ceremonie: yet the whole power of *ordination* was vested in the person of the Bishop onely, as to the essence of the worke. And this appears yet further, by some passages in the *Civill* lawes, prescribed for the ordering of Ecclesiasticall Ministers; by which, upon neglect

neglect or contempt thereof, the *Presbyters* were not obnoxious unto punishment that joyned with the *Bishop*, because they had no power to hinder what he meant to do. But the *Bishop* onely, *qui ordinat*, or, *qui ordinationem imponit*, he in whom rested the authority, by laying on, or by withholding of his hands, either to frustrate or make good the action: he was accomptable unto the lawes, if hee should transgresse them: for which consult (g) *Novell. Constitut.* 123. *Ca.* 16. and *Novell. Constitut.* 6. And so it also stood in the Churches practise; as apreareth plainly by the degradations of *Basilius*, (h) *Eleusius*, and *Elpidius*, three ancient Bishops, because that (amongst other things) they had advanced some men unto holy *orders*, contrary to the lawes, and ordinances of the Church: of which *Elpidius* was deposed on no other reason, but on that alone. Now had the *Presbyters* beene agents in ordaining as well as the *Bishop*, and the imposing of their hands so necessary, that the businesse could not be performed without them: there had beene neither equity, nor reason in it, to let them scape *Scot-free*, and punish the poore *Bishops* onely, for that in which the *Presbyters* were as much in fault.

(g) Cited by B. Bilson. c. 13.

(h) Sozimen. hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 23. xsl.

VII. Against all this, I meete with no objection in *Antiquity*, but what hath casually

beene incountred in the former passages. This present age doth yeeld one, and a great one too, which is the case of the *Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas: who finding an aversenesse of the *Bishops* at the first, to give them *orders*, unlesse they would desert the worke of *Reformation*, which they had in hand, were faine to have recourse to *Presbyters*, for their *Ordinations*, in which estate they still continue. That thus it was (*i*), appeareth by the *Augustane Confession*, the Authours and Abetters of the which complaine, that the Bishop would admit none unto *sacred Orders*, *Nisi* "*jurent se puram Evangelii Doctrinam nolle* "*docere*, except they would be sworne not "to Preach the *Gospell* according to the "grounds and Principles of their *Reforma-* "*tion*. For their parts they professed, *Non* "*id agi ut dominatio excipiatur Episcopis*, that "they had no intention to deprive the *Bi-* "*shops* of their Authority in the Church; "but onely that they might have liberty to "Preach the *Gospell*, and be eased of some "few rites and ceremonies, which could "not be observed without grievous sinne. "This if it could not be obtained, and that "a *schisme* did follow thereupon, it did "concerne the *Bishops* to looke unto it, "how they would make up their account "to Almighty God. So that the *Bishops* thus

(*i*) *August. Con. in fine.*

thus refusing to admit them into holy Orders, which was the publique ordinary doore of entrance into the Ministery of the Church; necessity compelled them at the last, to enter in by private wayes, and impose hands on one another. In which particular the case of the *Reformed Churches* may not unfitly be resembled unto that of *Scipio*, (*k*) as it is thus related in the story. Upon some want of money for the furtherance of the necessary affaires of State, he demanded a supply from the common treasury. But when the *Questor*, pretending that it was against the Lawes, refused to open it; himselfe a private person, seised upon the keyes: *Et patefacto ærario, legem necessitati cedere coegit*, and made the Law give way to the necessities of the Common wealth. So in like manner, the better to reforme *Religion*, many good men made suite to be supplyed out of the common treasuries of the Church; to be admitted to the *Ministery*, according to the common course of *Ordination*. Which when it was denyed them by the *Bishops*, the Churches *Questors* in this case, they rather chose to seise upon the keyes, and receive *Ordination* from the hands of private persons, then that the Church should bee unfurnished. This I conceive to be the *Case*, at the first beginning. But whether

(*k*) *Valer. Maxim. l. 3. c. 7.*

with the change of their condition, the *case be altered*, or whether they continue in the state they were; I am not able to say any thing. It is a good old saying, and to that I keepe me; ξένον ὢν, ἀπραγμονεῖν, that where I am a stranger, I must be no medler.

VIII. Hitherto of the power of Ordination, committed by Saint *Paul* to his two *Bishops* of *Ephesus* and *Crete*, and in them to all other *Bishops* whatsoever. Wee must next looke upon the power of jurisdiction, and that consists in these particulars: First, in the *ordering* of Gods *Service*, and the Administration of his *Sacraments*. Secondly, in the *Preaching* of his Word, *censuring* those that broach strange Doctrines; and on the other side *encouraging* and rewarding such as are laborious in their calling: and Lastly, in *correction* of the manners of such as walke unworthy of the *Gospell* of *Christ*, whether of the *Clergie*, or the *Laity*. To these three heads, we may reduce the severall points and branches of *Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction*; so farre forth as the same hath beene committed by the word of God, and by the practise of the Church, unto the managing and care of *Bishops*. First for the *ordering* of Gods service, and all things thereunto pertaining, Saint *Paul* gave *Timothy* this direction, (*l*) that *first of all*,

(*l*) 1 Tim. 2. 1.

all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thankes be made for all men: for Kings, and all that be in authority, that men may leade a quiet and a peaceable life, in all godlinesse and honesty. This, as itwas a *common* duty, and appertayning unto every man in his severall place: so the *Apostle* leaves it unto *Timothy*, to see that men performed this duty, and were not suffered to neglect it. For that the prayers here intended, were not the *private Prayers* of particular persons, but the *publique* of the *Congregation*, is agreed on all sides. *Calvin* conceives it so for the *Protestant* writers, *(m) Paulus simpliciter jubet quoties orationes publicæ habentur*, that *Paul* doth here appoint what he would have to bee comprized in our *publique* Prayers. *Estius*, for the *Pontificians*, doth resolve so also, that the place must be understood *(n) de publicis Ecclesiæ precibus*, of the *publique* Prayers, of and in the *Congregation*. And that the Westerne Churches may not stand alone *(o) Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius* doe expound the words, περὶ τῆς καθημερινῆς λατρείας, of the daily service used in the Church of God, who also call it πρῶτον πάντων, the first Christian duty. Now aske *(p)* of *Chrysostome*, to whom it doth belong to see this duty carefully discharged as it ought to be; and he will tell you tis the Priest, or ἱερεὺς, ὅπερ κοινός τις ἐστι πατήρ, as he which

(m) *Calvin in 1 ad Tim.c.2.*

(n) *Estius in 1 ad Tim.c.2.*

(o) *Theophyl. & Oecum in locum.*

(p) *Chrysost. in 1 ad Tim.c 2.*

which is the common Father of the Universe, and therefore to take care of all, as doth the Lord, whose Priest or ἱερεὺς he is: And aske of (q) *Oecumenius*, then whom none better understood that Fathers writings, whom he doth there meane by the *Priest*, or ἱερεὺς, and he will tell you that it is the *Bishop*. Τὸν γὰρ ἐπίσκοπον κοινὸν πατέρα ὄντα, &c. "It doth, saith he, belong unto the *Bishop*, "as the common Father, to make Prayers "for all men, faithfull and infidels, friends "and enemies, persecuters and slanderers. *Lyra* speakes home and fully to this purpose also. For this he makes to be *secundus actus ad Episcopum pertinens*, the second Act belonging to the *Bishops* Office, that prayers be offered unto God.

(q) Oecum. ibid.

IX. The *ministration* of the *Sacraments*, being a principall part of Gods *publique* service, and comprehending *Prayers and supplications*, and *giving of thankes*, must bee looked on next. And this we finde to be committed principally to the *Bishops* care, and by their hands to such inferiour *Ministers* in the Church of God, as they thought fit to trust with so great a charge. To (r) *teach* and to *Baptize*, was given in the charge to the *Apostles*; and unto none but they did Christ say, (s) *hoc facite*, that they should *take the bread* and *breake* and *blesse* it, and so *deliver* it to the Communicants. So also

(r) Mat. 28. 19

(s) Luk. 22. 19

also in the blessing and distributing of the other element. This power they left in generall to their *Successours*, to the *Bishops* chiefely, and such as were found worthy of so high a trust, by their permission. (*t*) *Ignatius* who lived neerest to our Saviours time, and had beene conversant with the *Apostles*, doth expressely say it. Οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, &c. It is not lawfull without the *Bishop*, either to Baptize, or make Oblations, or celebrate the *Eucharist*, or finally to keepe the Love-feasts, or Ἀγάπας which were then in use (for those I take it were the δοχεῖ which the Father speakes of.) *Tertullian* for the second Century doth affirme as much. (*u*) The right, saith he, of giving Baptisme, belongs to the Chiefe Priest, that is, the *Bishop*; next to the *Presbyters* or *Deacons*; *non tamen sine autoritate Episcopi*, yet not without the *Bishops* Licence or authority. In the third Century, the Councell held in *Laodicea* (*x*) is as plaine and full, save that indeed it is more generall, in which the *Presbyter* is tyed from doing any thing (i.e. such things as appertaine to his *ministration*) ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, without the knowledge of his *Bishop*. Saint *Hierome* (*y*) finally, no great advancer of the *Episcopall* authority and jurisdiction, having considered of it better, doth conclude at last, that

(*t*) *Epi. ad Smyrnens.*

(*u*) *Tertul. de Baptismo. c. 17.*

(*x*) *Concil. Laodic. Can. 57. vs.*

(*y*) *Hieron. adv. Luciferian.*

if the *Bishop* had not a preheminence in the Church of God, there would be presently almost as many Schismes as *Priests*. And hence it is, saith he, *Ut sine Episcopi missione neque Presbyter, neque Diaconus jus habeat baptizandi*, that without lawfull mission from the *Bishop*, neither the *Presbyter* nor *Deacons* might *Baptize*. Not that I thinke there was required in *Hieromes* time, a speciall Licence from the *Bishop*, for every *ministeriall* Act, that men in either of those Orders were to execute, but that they had no interest therein, then what was specially given them by, and from the *Bishop*, in their *Ordination*.

X. As for the Act of *Preaching*, which was at first discharged by the *Apostles*, *Prophets*, and *Evangelists*, according to the gifts that God had given them for the performance of the same: when as the Church beganne to settle, it was conferred by the *Apostles* on the severall *Presbyters* by themselves ordained: as doth appeare by Saint *Pauls* exhortation to the *Presbyters*, which hee called from *Ephesus* unto *Miletum*. To this as *Timothy* had beene used before, (z) *doing the worke of an Evangelist*: so he was still required to ply it, being called unto the Office of a *Bishop*: Saint *Paul* conjuring him before *God and Christ*, that notwithstanding the diversions, which might hap-

(z) 2 Tim, 4. 5

pen

pen to him by reason of his *Episcopall* place and jurisdiction, (*a*) he should *Preach the Word*, and not to Preach it onely in his own particular, (*b*) *shewing himselfe a Workeman that needed not to bee ashamed, dividing the word of truth aright*: but seeing that others also did the like, according to the trust reposed in them; whether they had beene formerly *ordained* by the *Apostles*, or might be by himselfe ordained in times succeeding. Those that discharge this duty both with care and conscience, (*c*) *guiding*, and governing that portion of the Church aright, wherewith they are intrusted, *and diligently labouring in the word and Doctrine*: by the *Apostle* are accounted *worthy of double honour*. Which questionlesse Saint *Paul* had never represented unto *Timothy*, but that it did belong unto him, as a part of his *Episcopall* power and Office, to see that men so painefull in their calling, and so discreete in point of government, should be rewarded and incouraged accordingly. By *honour* in this place, the *Apostle* doth not onely meane *respect* and *reverence*; but *support* and *maintenance*: as appeares plainely by that which is alledged from holy Scripture, *viz. Thou shalt not muzzle the Oxe that treadeth out the Corne: and, The labourer is worthy of his hire. Chrysostome* (*d*) so expounds the word, τιμὴν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δεσποτείαν λέγει, τὴν

(*a*) 2 Tim. 4. 2.

(*b*) 2 Tim. 2. 15

(*c*) 1 Tim. 5. 17

(*d*) *Chrysost. hom.* 15. *in* 1 *Tim.* 5.

τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων χορηγίαν, by *honour* here is meant both *reverence* and a *supply* of all things necessary: with whom agree the (*e*) Commentaries which passe under the name of *Ambrose*. *Calvin* (*f*) affirmes the like for our moderne Writers. *Victum præcipue suppeditari jubet Pastoribus qui docendo sunt occupati*; *Paul* here commandeth that necessary maintenance be allowed the *Pastor*, who laboureth in the *Word and Doctrine*: And hereto *Beza* agreeth also in his *Annotations* on the place. Now we know well that in those times wherein *Paul* wrote to *Timothy*, and a long time after, the dispensation of the Churches Treasury was for the most part in the *Bishop*, and at his appointment. For, as in the beginnings of the *Gospell*, the Faithfull *sold their Lands*, and goods, (*g*) *and laid the money at the Apostles feete*, by them to be distributed, as the necessities of the Church required: So in succeeding times, all the Oblations of the faithfull were returned in unto the *Bishop* of the place, and by him disposed of. We need not stand on many Authours in so cleare a businesse. *Zonaras* telling plainely, that at the first, the *Bishop* had the absolute and sole disposing of the revenues of the Church; (*h*) μὴ τινὸς ἐξετάζοντος, no man whoever, being privy to their doings in it. And that they did accordingly dispose there-

(*e*) *Ambros. in locum.*
(*f*) *Calvin in* 1 *ad. Tim. c.* 5.
(*g*) Act. 4. v. ult.
(*h*) *Zonaras in Concil. Chalcedon. Ca.* 26.

thereof, to every man according to his parts and industry, doth appeare by *Cyprian*, where he informeth us, that hee having advanced *Celerinus*, a *Confessor* of great renoune amongst that people, and no lesse eminent indeed for his parts and piety, unto the Office of a *Reader*, (*i*) he had allotted unto him, and to *Aurelius* (one of equall vertue) then a *Reader* also, *Ut sportulis iisdem cum Presbyteris honorentur*, that they should have an equall *share* in the *distribution*, with the *Priests* or *Presbyters*.

(*i*) *Cypr. Ep.* 34 *vel l.*4.*ep* 5.

XI.

But many times so fell out, that those to whom the *Ministery* of the word was trusted, preached (*k*) *other doctrine* to the people then that which had beene taught by the *Apostles*, (*l*) Vaine *talkers*, *and deceivers*, which *subverted whole houses*, *teaching things they should not*, and that *for filthy lucres sake*. What must the Bishop doe to them? Hee must first *charge them* (*m*) *not to Preach such doctrines*, *which rather minister questions then godly edyfying*: And if they will not hearken to, nor obey this charge, ἐπιστομίζειν δεῖ, he must (*n*) *stop their mouthes*, let them be *silenced* in plaine *English*. The *silencing* of such *Ministers* as *deceive* the people, and preach such things they should not, even for *lucres sake*, to the subverting of whole families, is no new matter, as we see, in the Church of God. Saint *Paul* here gives

(*k*) 1 Tim. 1.3

(*l*) Tit. 1. 10. 11.

(*m*) 1 Tim. 1.4.

(*n*) Tit 1.9.

it as in charge to *Titus*, and to all Bishops in his person. Certaine I am that *Chrysostome* (o) doth so expound it. If thou prevailest not, saith he, by admonitions, be not afraid, ἀλλ' ἐπιστόμιζε, *silentium iis impone*, the Translatour reads it, but *silence* them, that others may the better be preserved by it. (p) *Hierome* doth so translate it also, *quibus oportet silentium indici*, such men must be commanded silence. And for the charge of *Paul* to *Timothy*, that he should charge those false Apostles which hee speakes of, not to *Preach strange doctrines*: it carryes with it an authority that must be exercised. *For this cause I required thee to abide at Ephesus*, οὐχ' ἵνα παρακαλέσῃς, ἀλλ' ἵνα παραγγείλῃς; not that thou shouldst intreate, but command such men, to Preach *no other doctrines* then they had from me. (q) *Theophylact* on those words, puts the question thus, in the words of *Chrysostome*, ζητεῖται δὲ, it may bee asked, saith he, whether that *Timothy* were then Bishop when *Paul* wrote this to him. To which he answereth of himselfe, ἔοικε τοῦτο, that it is most probable: giving this reason of the same, because hee is to charge those men not to teach *other doctrines*. (r) *Occumenius* is more positive in the point, and affirmes expressly on these words, that *Paul* had made him Bishop there, before that time. And *Lyra*, (s) if he may bee heard

(o) *Chrysost. tom. 2. n. Tit.* 1.

(p) *Hieron. in Can. Tit.*

(p) *Theophyl. in* 1 *ad Tim. c.* 1

(r) *Occumen. in locum.*

(s) *Lyra in* 1 *Tim. c.* 1.

heard, makes this generall use of the Apostles exhortation, that the first Act here recommended to a Bishop, is *falsæ doctrinæ extirpatio*, the extirpation of false doctrine.

XII. This part of jurisdiction, with those that follow, I shall declare onely, but not exemplifie. For being matters meerely practicall, and the proceedings on *Record*, they will occurre hereafter, as occasion is, in this following History. And that which followeth first, is very neere of kinne indeed unto that before. For many times it happeneth so, that howsoever men bee charged not to *teach strange doctrines*, and that their *mouthes be stopped*, and they put to silence: yet they will persevere however in their wicked courses, and obstinately continue in the same, untill at last their obstinacy ends in heresie. What course is to be taken upon such occasions? The Apostle hath resolved that also. (*t*) *A man that is an Hereticke*, saith he, *after the first and second admonition, is to be rejected.* Rejected? but by whom? why, by *Titus* surely. The words are spoken unto him in the second person, and such as did possesse the same place and office. (*u*) *Hanc sive admonitionem, sive correptionem, intellige ab Episcopo faciendam, &c.* "This νουθεσία, which "Saint *Paul* here speakes of, whether that "it

(*t*) Tit. 3. 10.

(*u*) *Estius in Ep. ad Tit. c. 3.*

"it be meant of gentle admonition, or se-
"vere reproofe, must bee done onely by
"the Bishop, and that not as a private per-
"son, but as the governour of the Church,
"and that both with authority and power,
"by which he also may denounce him *ex-*
"communicate, if hee amend not on the
same. So *Estius*, in his Comment on the
place: and herewith *Calvin* doth accord,
(x) *Tito scribens Paulus, non disserit de Officio magistratus, sed quid Episcopo conveniat.* Paul, saith he, writing unto *Titus*, disputes not of the Office of the civill Magistrate, but of the duty of a Bishop. And this in answer unto some, who had collected from these words of the Apostle, that Heretickes were to be encountred with no sharper weapon, then that of *Excommunication*, *nec esse ultra in eos sæviendum*, and that there was no other course to bee taken with them. In which these Modernes say no more, as to the exercise and discharge of the *Episcopall* function in this case, then what the Ancients said before. I marvaile, saith Saint *Hierome*, (y) speaking of *Vigilantius*, a "broacher of strange (or other) *Doctrines* "in the Church of Christ, that the Bishop "in whose Diocesse he is said to be a Pres-"byter, hath so long given way to his im-"piety: *Et non virgâ Apostolica, virgáque ferreâ confringere vas inutile*; and that hee hath

(x) *Calvin. in Titum. c. 3.*

(y) *Hieron. ad Riparium, adv. Vigilant. a.*

"hath not rather broke in pieces with the *A-*
"*postolike* rod, a *rod of iron*, this so unprofita-
"ble a vessell. In which as the good father manifests his owne zeale and fervour; so hee declareth therewithall, what was the *Bishops* power and office in the present businesse.

The last part of *Episcopall* jurisdiction, which we have to speake of, is the correction of ill manners, whether in the *Presbyters*, or in the people: concerning which the *Apostle* gives both power to *Timothie*, and command to use it. First, for the *Presbyters*, *Against an (a) Elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses*: but if they be convicted, *them that sinne rebuke before all, that others also may feare.* In the declaring of which power, I take for granted, that the *Apostle* heer by *Elder*, doth meane a *Presbyter*, according to the *Ecclesiasticall* notion of that word: though I know that *(b) Chrysostome*, and after him *Theophylact* and *Oecumenius*, doe take it only for a man well growne in yeers. And then the meaning of Saint *Paul* will be briefly this, that partly in regard of the devills malice, apt to calumniate men of that *holy* function, and partly to avoide the scandall which may thence arise, *Timothy*, and in him all other *Bishops* should be very cautious in their proceedings against men of that profession. But if they finde

XIII.

(a) 1 Tim 5.19, 20.

(b) Hom. 15. in 1 Tim. in locum.

¶ them

them guiltie, on examination, then not to smother or conceale the matter, but censure and rebuke them openly, that others may take heed of the like offences. The Commentaries under the name of (*c*) *Ambrose*, doe expound it so, *Quoniam non facile credi debet de Presbytero crimen, &c.* Because a crime or accusation is not rashly to be credited against a *Presbyter*: yet if the same prove manifest and undeniable; Saint *Paul* commandeth that in regard of his irregular conversation, hee be *rebuked* and *censured* publikely, that others may be thereby terrified; And this, saith he, *non solum ordinatis sed & plebi proficit*, will not be onely profitable unto men in *Orders*, but to lay people also. Herewith agreeth, as to the making of these *Elders* to be men in *Orders*, the Comment upon this Epistle, ascribed to *Hierome*: (*d*) *Presbyters* then are subject unto *censure*; but to whose *censure* are they subject? Not unto one anothers surely, that would breed *confusion*; but to the censure of their *Bishop*, λέγει Τιμοθέῳ ὀπισκόπῳ ὄντι, saith (*e*) *Epiphanius*; hee speakes to *Timothie*, being a *Bishop*, not to receive *an accusation against a Presbyter*, (*f*) *Theophylact* also saith the same. For having told us, that if a *Presbyter*, upon examination of the businesse bee found delinquent, hee must bee sharpely and severely *censured*, that others may bee terrifyed thereby, he ads, δεῖ γὰρ καὶ φοβερὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπισκόπον that

(c) *Amb. in* 1. *ad Tim. c.* 5.

(d) *Hier. in Ep.* 1. *ad Tim.*

(e) *Epipha, hær.* 75. *n.* 5.

(f) *Theoph. in* 1. *ad Tim. c.* 5.

that it becomes a *Bishop* (in such cases) to bee sterne and awfull.(g) *Lyra* observes the like in his *Glosse* or *Postills*, *Viz*. that the proceedings against inferiour Clergie-men, *in foro exteriori*, in a *judiciarie* way, is a peculiar of the *Bishops*. But what need more bee said than that of *Beza* (*h*) who noteth on these very words, that *Timothie*, to whom this power or charge was given, was *President* or προεστώς, at that time of the *Ephesian* Clergie. Which is a plaine acknowledgement, in my opinion, that the correction of the *Clergie*, by the law of God, doth appertaine unto the *Bishop*, the προεστώς or *President* of the *Presbyterie*, call him what you will. For what need we contend for words, when wee have the matter? And this appeareth by the severall Councells of *Nice* and *Antioch*, *Sardica*, *Turin*, *Africa* and *Sevill*: in all and every of the which the Censure and proceedings against a *Presbyter*, are left to their owne *Bishops* severally: but a course taken therewithall for their ease and remedie, in case their owne *Bishops* should proceed against them, out of heat or passion.

(g) *Lyra in eund. locum.*

(h) *Beza Annot. in* 1. *ad Tim.* 5.

XIV. For the *Lay-people* next, that *Paul* gave *Timothy* a power of *correcting* them, appeares by the instructions which hee gives him for the discharge of this authoritie, towards all sorts of people: whether that they be *old* or *young*, of what sex soever. *Old men*, if they offend,

must be handled gently, respect being had unto their yeers. (*i*) *Rebuke not an Elder, but entreat him as a Father: i. e.* saith *Chrysostome*, (*k*) take him not up with *harshnesse* and *severitie*, but doe it with such temperance and meeknes, as thou wouldest doe unto thy *Father*, if hee gave offence. His reason is, because it is an irksome thing unto good persons to be reprehended, μάλιστα καὶ παρὰ νέου, especially by one younger than themselves, as then *Timothy* was. The like regard was to be had to *old Women* also, for the selfe same reason. As for the *younger men*, they were to be rebuked as *brethren*, with greater freedome than before, but still with lenitie. δεῖ τοίνυν καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἡδυμυθεῖν διὰ τὸ πικρὸν γμα τῆς ὀπεικείας, the sawce of reprehension must be sweet, though the meat be sowre. Nor was this power committed only unto *Timothy*, but in him to all other *Bishops*, of all times and places, Οὐ Τιμοθέῳ δὲ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσι ἐπισκόποις, so saith (*l*) *Oecumenius*. The function of a Bishop was not instituted in the Church of God, *quasi Clero impositus inspector*, (*m*) as *Beza* hath it; that he might oversee the *Clergie* onely: but for the well ordering and governance of all Gods people. *Episcopi Græcè, speculatores latinè dicuntur, populi respectu*, He that is called a *Bishop* in the *Greek*, saith *Isidore*, (*n*) is called an *overseer* in the *Latine*, and that in reference to the *people*. And then he gives this reason of it, *quod speculetur & prospiciat populorum infra se positorum*

(*i*) 1. *Tim.* 5.

(*k*) *Hom.* 13. *in* 1. *ad Tim.*

(*l*) *Oecumen. in* 1. *ad Tim. c.* 5.

(*m*) *Beza de triplici Episcop.*

(*n*) *Isidor. Etymol. l.* 7. *c.* 12.

rum mores & vitam, because hee *overseeth* the lives and conversation of the *people*, which are under him. The like saith *Austin*, (*o*) as to the reason of the name, and the intent of their preheminencie: the like *Paterius* (*p*) on the Psalmes; and thither I referre the Reader. As for the execution of this power, how, and by whom the same was exercised, being a matter meerely *practicall*, we shall encounter it hereafter, as occasion is, in the successe and prosecution of this storie. Onely take this of *Austin* for a taste or relish, where saying, that there is no greater punishment in the Church, than that condemnation, (*q*) *quam Episcopale judicium facit*, which is pronounced by the *Bishop*: hee addes, that notwithstanding this, *necessitas pastoralis habet separare ab ovibus sanis morbidam*, the *Pastor* must needs separate the scabbie and infected sheepe from the sound and healthie, lest the whole flock be made obnoxious to so great a danger. What interest or concurrent jurisdiction, the *Presbyters* did either challenge or enjoy in these publike *censures*, wee shall see hereafter. But sure, for ought appears to me, S. *Paul* addresseth his discourse to the *Bishop* only: who if, in the succeeding Ages, hee used the Counsell and assistance of his *Presbyters*, in the affaires and weightier matters of the *Church*; hee did but as a warie and wise man would on the like occasions.

(o) *Aug. de Civ. Dei. l. 19. c. 19.*

(p) *Pater. in. Psalm. 106.*

(q) *Aug. de Correp. & grat. c. 16.*

I would here offer, if I might, some conjecturall

XV.

ctarall proofes, that the description of a *Bishop* in the first to *Timothie*, is of a *Bishop* truly and properly so-called, according as the word was used and appropriated by the Ancient Writers. I know the generall current of *Interpreters* is against me in it, by whom the word *Episcopus*, is said to signifie in that place, as well the *Presbyter* as the *Bishop*. Which I conceive they doe upon this reason chiefly, because Saint *Paul* having prescribed the qualities, which are required in a *Bishop*; passeth directly on to the description of a *Deacon*. But if wee look upon it well, I doubt not but we shall perceive some reasons, which may incline unto the contrarie. For first, Saint *Paul* speakes of a *Bishop* (r) in the *singular* number, but of inferiour *Ministers* in the *plurall*. One Church, or Citie, though it had many *Presbyters*, had one *Bishop* onely: And therefore wee may reasonably conceive, that the *Apostle* speaking of a *Bishop*, in the *singular* number, speakes of him in his proper and true capacitie, as one distinguished from, and above the *Presbyters*. Secondly, the *Apostle* seemeth to require in him an Act of Government, as being a man, that is, (s) *to take a care of the Church of God*: and thereupon gives order for an inquisition to be had upon him, whether he hath *ruled his owne house well*. (t) *Chrysostome* hereupon observes, that the Church is likened to an house or familie, wherein there is a Wife and Children,

(r) 1 *Tim.* 3.2.

(s) 1 *Tim.* 3.5.

dren, Men-servants and Maid-servants, καὶ παίτων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀνήρ ἐστι τῆν ἀρχὴν, all which are subject to the government of the husband, who is the *Father* of the *Familie*. So is it in the Church, saith hee, the προεστὼς or Governour whereof is to take care for widows, virgins, all Gods sonnes and servants. A care of too transcendent and sublime a nature, to be entrusted unto every common *Presbyter*, or discharged by him; who as our (*t*) *Hooker* well observeth, though he be somewhat better able to speake, is as litle to judge, as another man: And if not fit to judge, no fit man to governe. Thirdly, (*u*) Saint *Paul* requireth in a *Bishop*, that (*u*) he be given *to Hospitalitie*: *i. e.* that hee receive the stranger, entertaine the native, and in a word, admitt all commers. *Hierome* (*x*) doth so expound it, saying, that if a Lay-man entertaine but two or three, *hospitalitatis officium implebit*, hee hath exceedingwell complied with all the rules of hospitalitie: *Episcopus nisi omnes receperit, inhumanus est*; but that the *Bishop* is accounted a Churle or *Niggard*, if his house be not open unto all. Which howsoever it might possibly agree in those ancient times, to the condition of a *Bishop*, who had the keeping and disposing of the Churches *easures*: yet I can see no possibilitie how it would be expected from the *Presbyter*, that out of his poore pittance from the *Sportula*, hee should be able to performe it. For I beleeve not

(*t*) *In the Preface.*

(*u*) 1 *Tim.* 3. 2.

(*x*) *Hier. in Tit. c.* 1.

not that the Lord intended to worke miracles daily, as in the lengthning and increasing the poore womans oyle. Fourthly and lastly, it is required by Saint *Paul*, that his *Bishop* must not be νεόφυτος, a (y) a *Novice* as our *English* reades it, and exceeding rightly: that is, as (z) *Chrysostome*, and out of him (z) *Theophylact* expound the word, τὸν νεοκατήχητον, one newly chatechised as it were, lately instructed in the faith. Now who knoweth not, but that in the beginnings of the Church, some of these new-plants, these νεόφυτοι, must of necessitie be taken into *holy orders*, for the increase and propagation of the *Gospel*. The *Presbyters* were many, but the *Bishops* few. And therefore howsoever there might be found sufficient *standards*, upon the which to graft a *Bishop*: yet I can hardly finde a possibilitie, of furnishing the *garden* of the Church with a fit number of *Presbyters*, unlesse we take them from the *nurserie*. Hence I collect, that this description of a *Bishop* in S. *Paul* to *Timothie*, is of a *Bishop* truly and properly so called; and that it doth not also include the *Presbyter*. If then it be demanded, whether *S. Paul* hath utterly omitted to speake of *Presbyters*, I answer, no; but that we have them in the next Paragraph, *Diaconos similiter*: which word howsoever in our last translation, it bee rendred *Deacons*: Yet in our old translation, and in that of *Coverdale*, we reade it *Ministers*, according to the generall and

(y) 1.Tim.3.6.

(z) Chrysost. & Theophyl. in loc.

and native meaning of the word. An Exposition neither new, nor forced. Not new, for (a) *Calvin* doth acknowledge, *alios ad Presbyteros referre Episcopo inferiores*, that some referred those words to *Presbyters*, subordinate or inferior to the *Bishop*. Not forced, for if wee search the Scripture, wee shall there perceive that generally *Diaconus* is rendred *Minister*: and that not only in the *Gospells*, before that *Deacons* had been instituted in the *Church* of God; but also in S. *Pauls Epistles*, after the planting of the *Church*, when all the *Officers* therein had their bounds and limits. Thus the *Apostle* speaking of himselfe, and of *Apollos*, (b) saith that they were Διάκονοι δι' ὧν ἐπιστεύσατε, the *Ministers* by whom that people did beleeve; himself he calleth, Διάκονον καινῆς διαθήκης, a *Minister* of the new Testament, 2 *Cor.* 3. 6. Διάκονον Θεοῦ, a *Minister* of GOD, 2 *Cor.* 6. 4. Διάκονον εὐαγγελίου, a *Minister* of the Gospel, *Eph.* 3. 7. *Coloss.* 1. 23. Thus *Tychicus* is called πιστὸς Διάκονος, a faithfull *Minister*, *Ephes.* 6. 26. and againe, *Coloss.* 4. 7. and so is *Epaphras* entituled, *Coloss.* 1. 7. Thus *Timothie* is called Διάκονος Θεοῦ, 1 *Thess.* 3. 2. καλὸς Διάκονος, a good *Minister*, in this very Epistle; and finally is required in the next to this, not onely to *doe the worke of an Evangelist*, but τὴν διακονίαν πληροφορεῖν, to fulfill his *Ministerie*. Hence I inferre, that since *Diaconus* is a word of so large extent, as to include *Apostles*,

(a) *Calv. in* 1. *ad Tim. c.* 3. *v.* 8.

(b) 1 *Cor.* 3. 5.

(c) 2 *Tim.* 4. 5.

Prophets, and *Evangelists*, I see no inconvenience that can follow on it, if it include the office of the *Presbyter* or *Elder* also: and let the *Bishop* have the former Character to himselfe alone, to whom of right it doth belong. But this I onely offer to consideration, as my private thoughts: not being so farre wedded to mine owne opinions, but that on better reasons I may be divorced, when ever they are laid before me.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Estate of holy Church, particularly of the Asian *Churches, toward the latter dayes of* S. John *the Apostle.*

(1) THe time of S. *Iohn's* comming into *Asia.* (2) All the *Seven Churches*, except *Ephesus*, of his Plantation. (3) that the *Angels* of those Churches were the *Bishops* of them, in the opinion of the *Fathers*, (4) and of some *Protestant* Divines of name and eminence. (5) Conclusive reasons for the same, (6) who most like to be the *Angel* of the Church of *Ephesus*, (7) that *Polycarpus* was the *Angel* of the Church of *Smyrna.* (8) Touching the *Angel* of the Church of *Pergamus*, and of *Thyatira*, (9) As also of the Churches of *Sardis*, *Philadelphia*, and *Laodicea.* (10) What Successours these severall *Angels* had in the severall Churches. (11) Of other Churches founded in *Episcopacy*, by S. *Iohn* the Apostle. (12) S. *Iohn* deceasing, left the government of the Church to *Bishops*, as to the Successours of the Apostles; (13) the ordinary *Pastors* of the Church; (14) and the *Vicars* of *Christ.* (15) A briefe view of the estate of *holy Church* in this first *Century.*

Wee now proceed unto S. *Iohn*, and to the Churches of his time, those most especially

which he did either plant or water: who living till the end of this present *Century*, and being the last Surviver of that *Glorious company* of the Apostles, could not but see the Church of *Christ* in her fullest growth, in her protection, both for strength and beauty. Of this Apostle we find not any thing in Scripture, from his descent unto *Samaria*, [a] when he accompanied S. *Peter* thither, by the appoyntment of the residue of that *goodly fellowship*, untill the writing of the *Revelation*. The interveening passages of his life and preaching, we must make up out of such fragments of antiquity, and records of story, as are come safe unto our hands. Where first I must needs disallow the conceit of those, who carry him I know not how to *Ephesus*, making him an inhabitant there, and taking with him to that place, the Mother of our Lord and Saviour: which must needs be, if ever it had beene at all, about the 44. yeere after Christs nativity, that being the time wherein the Apostles and Disciples were dispersed abroad, upon the persecution raised by *Herod*. But that it was not then, nor a long time after, will appeare by this, that when *Paul* came to preach & reside at *Ephesus*, which was in Anno 55. above ten yeers after, there was so little knowledge of the faith of Christ, that they had not so much as heard there [c] *was any Holy ghost*; being baptized only, as themselves confessed, *unto* John's *baptisme*. A thing which could not possibly

a Acts 8.14.

Acts 12.1. &c.

Acts 19.2.3.

possibly be supposed, without a great deale of reproach and ignominy to this blessed Apostle, had he beene here a resiant, as by some reported. And after this, though we are well assured of his being here, yet then he could not have in houshold with him the blessed Mother of our Lord; who dyed in their account, that put it off untill the latest Anno. 48. seven years before the comming of S. *Paul* to *Ephesus*. And therefore I agree rather unto *Epiphanius*, as to the maine and matter of his negative, though not as to the reason of it. For where he tels us, [d] that when *IOHN* went downe to *Asia*, οὐκ ἐπηγάγετο μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἁγίαν Παρθένον, hee tooke not the *blessed Virgin* with him; I hold it to be absolutely true, past contradiction. But wherhe buildeth his negation upon an ἀδαμαυλίγη the silence of the Scripture in it; I hold that reason to be insufficient: there being many things of undoubted verity, whereof there is no mention in the *Holy* Scripture. And I agree too unto [e] *Epiphanius*, where he tels us this, that S. *Iohn's* comming into *Asia* was μεθ' ἡλικίαν γεγαλέαν when he began to be in yeares; the *Holy ghost* then calling of him thither, as well to propagate the Gospel where it was not preached; as to confirme it where it had beene shaken by the force of Heresie. Into what parts the Spirit did before command him, it is hard to say. Some likelyhood there is, that he did preach the Gospel amongst the *Parthians*, (some of which

Epiphan. hæres. 78. n. 11.

Epiph. ibid. n. 2.

which nation had beene present at *Hierusalem* at the first giving of the *Holy ghost*) g his first Epistle being inscribed, *ad Parthos*, as some antients say.

But that he came at last to *Asia*, and there preached the Gospel, is a thing past question. *Eusebius*, h out of *Origen*, doth expressely say it. And though that peece of *Origen* be lost out of which *Eusebius* tooke the same; yet wee may take it on his word without more authority. Nor did he only preach the Gospel in those parts of *Asia*, strictly and properly so called; but he also planted many Churches, & founded in them many *Bishopricks*. All the 7. Churches, except that of *Ephesus*, to which he writ his *Revelation*, were partly, if not totally his foundation: and in all them he constituted *Bishops*, as we shall manifest & declare anon. And as for *Ephesus*, although he came too late to plant it, yet he came time enough to water it; to settle and confirme the same: being much weakned and endangered by the sorceries and devises of *Apollonius Tyanæus*; who for some time did therein dwell; as also by the heresies of *Ebion* and *Cerinthus*, who at that time lived, and therefore rightly doth *Ignatius*, who then lived also, joyn him i with *Paul* and *Timothy*, as a Co-founder of that Church. But being in the middle of his course, he was sent prisoner unto Rom, *Anno* 92. thence confined to *Patmos*, where he continued till the death of the Emperour *Domitian*, which

f Acts 2. 9.
g Possidius in Iudic. operum August.

August. qu: Evang. l. 2. chap. 39.
h Ecc. histor. l. 3. Cap. 1.

i Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. p. 226. Edit. Vedelian.

which was in Anno. 99. during which time he writ the *Revelation*. And of those Churches I conceive it was that *Tertullian* speaketh, where pleading in defence of the *Catholik Faith*, delivered by the Apostles, to the Churches by them severally planted; and by the *Bishops* of those Churches taught, & in their successions: he thus brings them in, [k] *Habemus et Iohannis alumnas*, *Ecclesias*, &c. We have saith he, the Churches, founded by S. *Iohn*. For howsoever *Marcion*, doth reject his *Revelation*, *Ordo tamen Episcopo-rum*, yet the succession of their *Bishops* recko-ned up unto their original, will stand for *Iohn*, to be their founder. And probable at their request it was, that he writ his Gospell. For that he writ it at the intreaty of the *Asian* Bishops, [l] *Rogatus ab Asiæ Episcopis*, is positively affirmed by *Hierome*: though like enough it is, that other *Bishops* besides those of his owne foundation, might contribute their requests, and importunities to so good a purpose, being all equally afflicted with the pest of Heresies.

k Tertul. lib. 4 contra Marci. Cap. 5.

l Hier. descrip. Ecc. in Iohan. & proœm. in Evang. 8. Matth.

III.

The quality and condition of these *Asian* Churches, S. *Iohn* doth punctually describe in his *Revelation*, written in Anno. 97. when as he had beene foure or five yeeres confined to *Patmos*. It seemeth those Churches, most of them at the left, on the Calamity which befell the Apostle in his deportation, being deprived of the benefit of so divine and excellent a spirit, and

pressed by the importunity of these active hereticks, willing to make the best advantage of the present time, began to stagger in the faith, wax cold in their affection to the Gospell, and to give way to such false Teachers as were crept in amongst them, to rectifie what was amisse amongst them, and to informe them of their errours, did he direct unto them his *Apocalypse*, [m] *To the seven Churches in Asia*; so it doth begin. But when he comes unto particulars, to give them every one their particular charge, from him who *walked in the midst of the Golden Candlesticks*; then he addresseth his discourse to the *Angels* only, the *Angels* of those severall Churches. [n] Unto *the Angell of the Church of Ephesus*; and to the [o] *Angell of the Church of Smyrna*; and to the *Angell of the Church of Pergamus*; *& sic de cæteris*. Now aske the Fathers what those *Angels* were, and they will tell you that they were the *Bishops* of those severall Churches. [p] S. *Austin* writing on these words, *Vnto the Angell of the Church of Ephesus*, &c. makes this observation, *Divina voce sub Angeli nomine laudatur præpositus Ecclesiæ*, that the *Bishop* or Governour of the Church, (remember what was, said before of the word [q] *Præpositus*) is praised by the voice of *Christ*, under the name of an *Angell*: But first he gives a reason of his resolution, shewing that this expostulation could not be applyed to those *Ministring spirits* in the heavens, because they still retained their *First love* to God; and there-

Apoc. 1. 4.

Apoc. 2. 1. Cap. 8. 12.

August. Ep. 162. in fine.

Vid. chap. 3. n. 5.

therefore must be understood, *de præpositus Ecclesiæ*, of the Ruers or Governours of the Church, who had given way to false Apostles. The like occurreth in his Comment on the *Revelation*, wherein he maketh the *Angels* of these Churches, to be *Episcopi aut præpositi Ecclesiarum*, the *Bishops* or Rulers of the same. The Commentaries under the name of *Ambrose*, poynting unto this place of the *Apocalypse*, give us this short note, [r] *Angelos Episcopos dicit*, that by *Angels* there he meaneth *Bishops*. And these ascribed to *Hierome*, writing on those words, *Because of the Angels*, 1 Cor. 11. *Angels* observes the same, [s] *Angelos ecclesiis presidentes dicit*, that there by *Angels* S. *Paul* intends the Presidents or Rulers of the Churches. Finally *Oecumenius* [t] saith the same, who speaking of the 7. Churches in *Asia*, to whom S. *John* addresseth his discourses, observes to that *John* ascribes to them, ἰσαρίθμους ἐφόρους Ἀγγέλους an equall or proportionable number of governing *Angels*. And on those words the 7. *stars are the Angels of the 7. Churches*, [u] makes this glosse or Comment, ἀστέρας δὲ τοὺς Ἀγγέλους τοὺς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐφόρους καλεῖ that hee calleth these *Angels*, governours of Churches by the name of stars, because they borrow all their light from the Sun of Righteousnesse.

Amb. in 1 Cor cap. 11.

Hier. ib.

t Oecumen. cap. 1. in Apoca.

Id. cap. 2. in Apocal.

For Protestant Writers which affirme the same, I begin with those which speake most generally and indefinitely: where first we have *Sebastian Meyer*, *Ecclesiarum Prefecti*, & *stellæ* & *An-*

Angel, in sacris literis dicuntur; the Governours of Churches are called, saith he, in holy Scripture, by the name of Stars, and Angels. [y] *Bullenger* to the same effect, *Angeli sunt legati Dei, Pastores Ecclesiarum*, the Angels are the Messengers of God, the Pastors of the Churches; in which, lest possibly wee might mistake his meaning, in the word Pastor, hee tels us not long after, that he meanes the *Bishop*, for speaking of the Angel, or the Pastor of the Church of Smyrna, he tels us that hee was that *Polycarpus*, as it was indeed, *Ordinatus ab Apostolis, ab ipso inquam Iohanne Episcopus*, who was ordeined Bishop of that Church by the Apostles, nay by *Iohn* himselfe. *Paræus* [a] is as generall as the other two, but far more expresse. *Episcopos vocat stellas, &c.* The Bishops are called Stars, saith he, because they ought to out-shine others, aswell in purity of Doctrine, as sincerity of Conversation in the Church of God: *eosdem Angelos vocat, quia sunt Legati Dei ad Ecclesiam*, and they are also called Angels, because they are the Legats or Embassadors of God to his holy Church. And lest we should mistake our selves, and him, in the word *Episcopus*, he laboureth to find out the Bishop of each severall Church, as wee shall see hereafter in that inquisition: for those who speake to the particular, wee begin with *Beza*, [b] who on those words, *unto the Angel of the Church of Ephesus*, gives this Annotation.

x citta. apud Marlorat. in Cap. 1. Apoca. v. 20.

y Bullin. con. 6. in Apocal.

z id. in con. 9.

a Paræus in Apocal. Cap. 1. v. 20.

b Beza Annot. Apoc. c. 2. 1.

tion. Angelo, *i. e.* προεστῶτι, *quem nimirum oportuit imprimis de his rebus admoneri, &c.* To the Angel, that is, saith he, to the chiefe President, whom it behoved to have the notice of the charge there given, and by him to the rest of his *Colleagues*, and the whole congregation: but fearing lest this exposition might give some advantage, for the upholding of the Hierarchie, which he so laboured to pul down, he addes, *de proprio*, that notwithstanding this acknowledgement, Episcopall authority, being a thing of mans invention, *hinc statui, nec potest, nec debet*, nor may, nor ought to have any ground from hence. Finally, *Marlorat* himselfe on those very words, shewes that how ever there were many things in the Church of *Ephesus*, which required reformation, both in the Clergy and the people; *Non tamen populum aggreditur, sed Clerum*, yet the Apostle doth not apply himselfe unto the people, but the Clergy. Nor doth he fashion his discourse to the Clergy generally, *Sed ad Principem Cleri, Episcopum utique*, but to the chief or Principall of the Clergy, which was the *Bishop*.

Marlorat, Ecc. Exposit. in Apocal. c. 2. v. 1.

V. Nay, *Marlorat* goes further yet, and he as he layeth downe his interpretation, so he doth also give a reason of it; and such a one as may well satisfie any man of reason. His reason is, „ *Nam Pastor non modo pro propriis, &c.* Because „ the Pastor is not onely to render an account „ to the supreame judge, for his owne sins a-

Idem Ibid.

"lone, but for the ſins of all his flock, if any of "them by his ſloth or negligence do chance to periſh. And certainly this reaſon is of ſpeciall uſe and efficacy to the poynt in hand. For if the Lord doe looke for an account at the Paſtors hand, for every ſheepe that ſhall be loſt by his ſloth or negligence: it muſt needs follow thereupon, that thoſe of whom ſo ſtrict a reckoning is expected muſt not have power only to perſwade and counſaile, but alſo to correct and cenſure, and by their owne proper & innate authority, to rectifie ſuch things as are amiſſe in their ſeverall charges. The Sonne of God is neither ſo unjuſt, as that the Paſtor ſhould be charged with thoſe enormities, which he hath no authority to amend or rectifie: nor ſo forgetfull as to threaten and rebuke the Paſtor, not onely for the peoples faults, but the Errata of the Presbyters, in caſe he were not truſted with a greater power then any of the reſt, for that end and purpoſe. Which being ſo, and that our Saviour by S. *Iohn* doth ſend out his ſumõns neither unto the Church in generall, nor to the Presbyters in common, but to the Angell of each Church in the ſingular number: it is moſt plaine and evident, as I conceive, that in the time of writing the *Apocalypſe*, as long time before it, the Church of Chriſt had certaine Paſtors, of more eminent note, when they (as we) intituled *Biſhops*, which governed as well the Presbyters, as the reſt of the

the Flocke; and those the Son of God acknowledgeth for stars and Angels. And howsoever the inferiour Pastors both are, and may be called Angels, in a generall sense, as Messengers and Ministers of God Almighty: yet if it be the Angell in the singular number, the Angell in the way of eminence and κάτ ἐξοχὴν, it is peculiar onely to the *Bishop*.

VI. Now that each Church of those remembred in that Booke, had his proper Angell, and that they were not governed by a Corporation or Colledge of Presbyters, to whom those severall Epistles might be sent, by the name of Angels, the word Angell being to be taken collectively, and not individually, as some men suppose, is in the next place to be shewed. And first for proofe, there is a pregnant evidence in a discourse or treatise touching the Martyrdome of *Timothy*: the Author of the which relates, that after S. *Iohn* the Apostle, was revoked from his exile, by the sentence, of *Nerua*, he betooke himselfe to the *Metropolis* of *Ephesus*: ὁ αὐτὸς δ' ἐκεῖθεν ἔτι συμπαρόν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, and being assisted with the presence of, the seven *Bishops*, he tooke upon himselfe the, government of the *Metropolis* of the *Ephesians*, and there continued preaching the Doctrine, of salvation till the time of *Traian*. Which as it is an evident and convincing proofe, that the seaven Churches had their severall *Bishops*, to each Church one *Bishop*: so is it no such difficult

Smectymn. p. 52.

apud Phot. in Biblioth. n. 254.

ficult matter, to find out most of them by name, and what Church each of them did governe. And first for *Ephesus*, some have conceived that *Timothy* was stil alive, & Bishop at that time when the *Apocalypse* was written: which hotly is defended by *Alcasar*, against *Ribera*, *Lyra*, and *Pererius*, who opine the contrary. But surely *Timothy* it could not be, as doth appeare in part by that which was alledged out of the treatise of his Martyrdome, which if it were not written by *Polycrates*) is yet very antient, and authenticke: wherein he is conceived to be dead before: but principally by the quality and condition of that blessed Evangelist, so plentifully endued with the *Holy ghost*, so eminent in piety, and all heavenly graces, that no man can conceive him lyable to the accusatiō, with which the Angell of that Church is charged. And therefore it must either be that *Iohn*, when (on the death of *Timothy*, as I conceive) S. *Iohn* ordained Bishop of this Church, as is reported in the Constitutions, ascribed to *Clemens*: or else *Onesimus*, another of the Successors of *Timothy* in the See of *Ephesus*, who is intituled Bishop of it in the Epistle of *Ignatius*, wrtten to that Church; within twelve yeeres after the writing of the *Revelation*. In which Epistle *Ignatius* blessing God for so good a Bishop, admonisheth the people of their duty, συντρέχειν τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ γνώμῃ, in submitting themselves unto his judgement, or concurring with

V. Paræum in Apocal. cap. 2.

Constitut. Apost. l. 7. c. 48.

Igna. in Epst. ad Ephes.

with it, as their whole Presbytery did: which harmony of the *Bishop* and his Presbyters, he doth compare ὡς χορδαὶ κιθάρᾳ unto the concord of the Strings and Harpe. In which he speakes if you observe, as of a *Bishop* that had beene long confirmed, and setled in his place of government; and knew the temper of his people: one that was vested with a constant, and fixt preheminence above his Presbyters, not with a temporary Presidency, and no more then so.

VII. But whatsoever doubt or scruple may be made, about *Onesimus*, his being Bishop, or Angell at this time, of the Church of *Ephesus*; certaine I am, there can be none pretended against *Polycarpus*, as if he were not then the Angell of the Church of *Smyrna*: he being made *Bishop* of that See 13 yeeres before, as *Bullinger* computes the time, and holding it a long while after, no lesse then 74 yeeres, as the *Annals* reckon it, without vicissitude or alteration. Now that this *Polycarpus* was Bishop of this Church of *Smyrna*, appeares by such a cloud of witnesses, as he that questioneth it, may with equall reason, make doubt of yesterday. And first we have *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch*, one of his Co-temporaries, who taking him *in transitu*, as he was led from *Syria*, towards *Rome* to suffer Martyrdome, did after write to him an Epistle, in which he stileth him, in the superscriptiõ, ἐπισκόπῳ ἐκκλησίας Σμυρναίων,

Bullenger in Apocal. Conc. 9.

Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarp.

the *Bishop* of the Church of *Smyrna*. *Irenæus*, one of his disciples, and who had often heard the good man discourse of his conversatiō with S. *Iohn*, reporteth that he was not only taught by the Apostles, and had conversed with many of those who had seene Christ in the flesh, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς ἐν τῇ Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπίσκοπος; but also was by them appoynted Bishop of the Church in *Smyrna*. Next comes in the whole Church of *Smyrna*, in their Encyclicall Epistle of his death, and Matyrrdom, where he is called an Apostolicall and Prophetical Doctor, γενόμενος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, and Bishop of the Catholike Church of *Smyrna*. After them speakes *Polycrates*, Bishop of *Ephesus*, one of the Successours of *Onesimus*, and so by consequence his neighbour, who being 38 yeeres of age at the time of the death of *Polycarpus*, attesteth to him, saying amongst other things, ὁ ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ μάρτυς that he had beene both *Bishop* and Martyr in *Smyrna*. *Tertullian* who lived about the same time with *Polycrates*, though in another clime or region, is more particular in the poynt: not only making him *Bishop* of *Smyrna*, as the others do; but a *Iohanne collocatum refert*, making him to be placed or established there by S. *Iohn* the Apostle. From these hands, and no doubt from many others, it came at last to *Eusebius*, B. of *Cæsarea*, by whom it is affirmed that he was made *Bishop* of the Church of *Smyrna*,

Irenæus apud Euse. l. 4. c. 10. & con. hæres. l. 3. c. 3.

apud Euseb. Eccl. hist. l. 4. c. 15.

ap. Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 24.

Tertul. lib. de præscript.

Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 30.

Smyrna, προς τοὺς αὐτόπτας καὶ ὑπηρέτας τοῦ κυρίου, by those which had beheld the Lord, and were his Ministers. S. *Hierome* finally doth informe us, that he was a Disciple of S. *Iohns*, *& ab eo* Smyrnæ *Episcopus ordinatus*, and by him ordained *Bishop* of Smyrna. By which it is most clear and evident that he was the Angell or *Bishop* of this Church, and thereto constituted by S. *Iohn*, other of the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord and Saviour, concurring in the Ordination. No titular or nominall *Bishop* only, but such a one as had a body of Presbyters assistant and subservient to him, as doth most evidently appeare out of *Ignatius* his Epistle unto those of Smyrna; wherein he telleth them, μηδὲν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω &c. that they ought not to doe any thing, no not so much as to administer the Sacrament, without the consent and approbation of their *Bishop*.

De Scriptor. Eccl. in Polycar.

Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrnen.

VIII.

The Angell of the Church of *Pergamus* is next in order; but who this was, is not so easie to determine. That there had beene a Bishop of this Church before, is proved by *Paræus* out of *Aretas Cæsariensis*, who makes *Antipas* (whom we find mentioned *Apocal.* 2. 13) to be the Pastor of this Church under the Empire of *Domitian*, who being cruelly put to death by the *Pergamenians*, *successor ejus haud dubiè fuit iste, ad quem scribit*, his successour, as there *Paræus* doth observe, must out of question be the man, to whom as to the Angell of that

Paræus Com. in Apocal. c. 2.

that Church, these things are written. And he informes us this withall, that *similis supplicii metu*, for fear of the like punishment which *Antipas* suffered, though he continued constant in the faith of Christ, he might grow more remisse and negligent in looking to his Pastorall Office. So then, the Angell of this Church, was *Pergamensis Episcopus*, the Bishop of *Pergamus*, as he plainly cals him; and possibly may be that *Gaius* whom *Clemens* makes to be ordained Bishop of this Church, by the hands of some of the Apostles. Or if not he, yet questionlesse some one particular person, as *Paræus* saith: this we may rely upon, though his name we know not. Next is the Angel of the Church of *Thyatira*, *Antistes Thyatirensis*, that is, the Bishop of *Thyatira*, saith *Paræus*. That *Thyatira* had a Bishop, as other the seven Churches had, was affirmed before. And probably the Bishop of it at this time, might be that *Carpus*, who by the name of *Carpus* Bishop of *Thyatira* did suffer Martyrdome, during the persecution raised by *Antoninus*; whereof consult the Martyrologies, compared with *Eusebius lib.* 4. How ever we may take what *Paræus* gives us, that the Angell of this Church was the Bishop of it, one singular and individuall person, to whom our Saviour doth direct his charge: though there be somewhat in the text, which is alledged to the contrary. For whereas in the two former Epistles, and the beginning

Id. in v. 14.

Id. in v. 18.

Apr. 13. Euseb. l. 4. c. 14.

ning of the present, the stile is singular, *I know thy workes*, and *I have somewhat against thee*, here on a suddaine, as it were, the stile is altered; and it is *Vobis autem dico*, but I say to you, and *unto the rest* in *Thyatira*. Hence some infer, that by the word Angell in that place, is meant not any one singular person; but the whole company of Presbyters; and by the rest, the residue of that people there: the people governed, and the governours in the plurall number. But this as I conceive, will availe but little: these alterations or enallages of number, being no rare matters in the Scripture: as doth appeare by that so memorable place in the first of *Timothy*, *Salvabitur autem si permanserint*, where the Apostle doth begin in *she*, and end in *they*. Besides it is observed, that the antienter and better Copies, read it without the copulative, ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς λοιποῖς, *I say to you, the rest in Thyatira*; the spirit there addressing his discourse to those godly men, that had not knowne the depths of Satan. And so, besides the antient Copy, sent hither by the Patriarke of *Constantinople*, and cited by my L^d. B. of *Exeter*, doth *Primasius* read it. *Vobis autem dico, reliqui qui estis Thyatiræ*. *Paræus* also doth observe, *Veterem sine copula*, that the old Latine hath not the conjunction; and that *Andreas* and *Montanus* doe adhere to that. So that for all this observation, the Angell of this Church was a singular person. And this doth

Apoc. 2.2.4.9. 13. 14. 19.20.

Apoc. 2.24.

Smectym. p. 53.

1 Tim. 2.15.

Apoc. 2.24.

Def. of the humble Remonstr. p. 105. Primasius in Apoc. l. 1. c. 2.

* Joh. 4.21. longer be the place *, in which men ſhould be bound to *worſhip*. The pains he took were principally ſpent in points of *doctrine*, clearing the truths of holy Scripture from thoſe falſe gloſſes and corrupt traditions, which had been put upon it by the *Scribes* and *Phariſes*; and ſetting forth a clearer body of Divinity, then had been taught the people in the Law of *Moſes*; that the Father might be *worſhipped* in ſucceeding *times*, with a greater meaſure of *the Spirit*, and a more
† Joh. 4.23, 24. perfect knowledge of *the truth* †, then he had been formerly. As for the circumſtances and out-parts of *worſhip*, he left them in the ſtate he found them, that is to ſay, to the diſpoſing of the *Church*, in whoſe power it was to inſtitute ſuch *rites* and ceremonies, as might apparently conduce to the increaſe of piety, and to the ſetting forth of Gods praiſe and glory. Himſelf had given a perſonal and moſt exemplary obedience to the Church of *Jewry*, *conforming* to ſuch *rites* and ordinances (wherein there was no deviation from the Law of God) as had in former times been ſetled by the power thereof. And therefore had no cauſe to think, but that a like obedience would be yeelded in the after Ages, unto a *Church* of his collecting; a *Church* conducted in thoſe points which pertain to godlineſſe, by ſuch a viſible co-operation of the Holy Ghoſt: eſpecially conſidering what a fair example of *conformity* he ſhould leave behinde him. Beſides all people of the world, both *Jewes* and *Gentiles* were ſetled at that time in a full perſwaſion of the neceſſity of ſet *times* and determinate *places*, for the aſſembling of themſelves together in the acts of *worſhip*: and had their preſcribed *formes* both of *prayer* and *praiſe*, their *Rituals* and eſtabliſhed ceremonies; and therewith alſo an opinion that thoſe things were to be performed by the *Prieſt* alone. Which being agreed on in the general, both people might be brought with more facility, to fall on ſome particular *concluſions*, to which they were inclined already by their common *principles*. And ſo indeed it proved in a ſhort event: *times*, *places*, and *ſet formes* for worſhip, being unanimouſly and univerſally received amongſt them, within a very little while after our *LORDS* departure. The *Jewes* already had their *Synagogues*, their

Pro-

Prosuchas or *Oratories*, as before was said. How small a labour was it to the blessed *Apostles*, and their successors in that work, to turn those *Synagogues* of theirs into *Christian Churches*, for preaching of the *Word* of God, and the administration of the *Sacraments*: accordingly as they did win upon the *Jewes* to embrace the Gospel? Nor is this only a bare speculation, it was done *de facto*, it being recorded in a book ascribed unto *Athanasius*, that on the converting of the *Jewes*, inhabitants of *Beritus*, to the faith of Christ, τὴν συναγωγὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐποίησεν *, that the Bishop who had laboured in it, converted the *Synagogue* of the *Jewes* into a *Christian* Church, and dedicated it to our Lord and Saviour. And for the *Temples* of the *Gentiles*, when once their superstitions were suppressed, and the Gospel countenanced by authority, they were converted also to the self-same use †, as the *Jewish Synagogues* had been in other places: Gods servants being in the mean time contented with such *safe retreats*, as their necessities inforced them to make use of in those fiery times; or with such *publick places* of Assembly, but mean and under the degree of envie, as either upon sufferance or by special leave they were permitted to erect. As soon, if not more suddenly, all parties also were agreed on the *times* of worship, which was reduced with general and joynt consent unto the *first day* of the week, the *Lords day*, or the *Sunday*, call it which you will; wherein all members of the *Congregation* were to meet together for Gods *publick* service. A businesse, wherein the *Church* proceeded with great care and wisdome: setting apart one day in seven, to hold the fairer quarter with the *Jewes*, who were so zealous of a *Sabbath*; but altering the day it self, and paring off those *legal* ordinances which had made it burdensome, the better to content the *Gentiles*. Yet so that they had also their *daily* meetings as occasion served, for celebration of the Sacrament of the blessed *Eucharist*, in those *fiery times*. Whereof, as being instituted for the *Christian Sacrifice*, and of the *Evangelical Priesthood* to attend the same; we shall speak anon.

* *Athanas. de passione imaginis Dom. nostri. To. 2. gr. l. p. 631.*

† *Vid. Bed. hist. Eccles. 1.*

wards to *Athens*, (*Publius* the Bishop being dead, whom he there succeeded) which I somewhat doubt. But whatsoever was his name, or whether he were that *Demetrius*, who as *Clemens* saith, was by S. *Paul*, made Bishop of this place; I take him for the very man whom *Ignatius* speaks of in his Epistle to this people: where speaking of their Bishop, he tels them this, that at the very first sight of him he did plainely see, ὅτι οὐ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων, that neither of his owne desire, nor by choyce of man was he preferred unto that place, but by the love of Jesus Christ, and God the Father: commending him for modesty, and for a carefull walking in Gods Commandements, being like *Zachary*, without reproofe; and finally, not only free from passion, but perfectly adorned with all kind of vertue. A commendation very well agreeing with that bestowed upon this Angel by the Holy Ghost; as did the Character of the Angell of the Church of *Smyrna*, agree unto the quality of *Polycarpus* the then Bishop of it: it being generally observed, as it is most true, that onely these two Angels are presented to us, without fault or blemish. Last of all, for the Angell of the Church of *Laodicea*, *Paræus*, as before conceiveth, that he was the Bishop; *quis vero fuerit, nos latet*; but who this Bishop was, that he cannot tell. Onely he notes him for a man, *qui Episcopi titulum perfunctoriè sustineret*, that onely had the name

Ignat. ad Philadelphens.

Paræus in Apocal. cap. 3.

name of Bishop, but not one lively sparke of Piety, being wholly taken up with luxury, and the love of money. But whether he were *Lucius* mentioned by S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 16. whom *Dorotheus* makes to be Bishop here; or one *Archippus*, said by *Clemens* to be the Bishop of this Church; or *Sagaris*, who by *Polycrates* is affirmed to be the Bishop of this place; I am not able to say positively: though I incline rather unto *Sagaris*, whose Martyrdome being touched upon by *Melito*, in his bookes *de Paschate*, is a strong argument that he departed some good time before him, and so most like to be the man. Nor is it any obstacle unto this conjecture, that Christ did threaten to *spew this Angel out of his mouth*; being he called him to repentance, and promised him a throne, if he overcame.

Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 23.

Id. l. 4. c. 25.

Apocal. 3. 16.

V. 19. 20. 21.

X.

To bring this businesse to an end, these Angels as they had a singularity in reference unto that personall authority which each of them enjoyed in his severall Church: so had they all and every one of them a singularity, in the succession thereunto. For sure it were no difficult matter to a diligent eye, to find out many of their successours, in those severall Sees: since that of *Laodicea*, which was in most apparant danger to lose its Candlesticke, retained a continual and constant successours of Bishops there, from the death of *Sagaris*, to the *Nicene* Councill, and a long time after. Where, by the

the way, I must needs rectifie *Paræus* in this one particular, who shewing that this Church of *Laodicea*, did afterwards recover & get strength againe, instanceth in *Anatolius* and *Stephanus*, both eminent and learned men, and both Bishops there: whereas indeed they were not Bishops of this *Laodicea*, but of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, (called antiently *Seleucia Tetrapolis*) as hee might easily have seene, by a more carefull looking on those places of *Eusebius*, which himselfe hath cited: Now in the *Nicene* Councell, if we like of that, we find the Successours of those severall Angels, subscribing severally to the Acts thereof, amongst other Prelates of that time: as *viz. Menophanes* of *Ephesus*, *Eutychius*, B. of *Smyrna*, for the province of *Asia*; *Artemidorus* B. of *Sardis*, *Soron* or *Serras* B. of *Thyatira*, *Ethymasius* B. of *Philadelphia*, for the province of *Lydia*; and finally *Nunechius* B. of this *Laodicea*, for the province of *Phrygia*, for *Theodotus*, who by *Bilson* is affirmed to have subscribed as Bishop of this *Laodicea*, was Bishop of *Laodicea* in the province of *Syria*, amongst the Bishops of which province his subscription is: which I marvell that most learned and industrious Prelate did not see. And though we find not him of *Pergamus*, amongst them there; yet after in the Councell of *Chalcedon*, doth his name occur. In fine, by the person that speaketh to the Pastors, and those seven Churches, and the name he gives them, it is

Paræus in Apocal. c. 3. v.

Act. Conc. Nic. in subscri.

Perper. gover. chap. 13. p. 269.

is plaine and evident, that their vocation was not onely confirmed by the Lord himselfe; but their Commission expressed. He speaketh, that hath best right to appoynt what Pastors he would have to guide his flocke, till himselfe come to judgement: the name he giveth them, sheweth their power and charge to be delivered them from God; and consequently each of them in his severall charge and City, must have Commission to reforme the errours and abuses in their severall Churches, at whose hands it shall be required, by him that shall sit judge to take account of their doings. And so much for the Angels of the seven Churches in *Asia*, remembred in the booke of the *Revelation*.

XI. But to goe forwards to S. *Iohn*, the Author of it, immediately on his returne from *Patmos*, he sets himselfe unto the reformation of these Churches, calling together the Bishops of the same, as before we shewed: and governing both those and the adjoyning Churches of *Asia minor*, by his Apostolicall authority and preheminence. Which having done, on the intreaty and request of some godly men, he went unto the neighbour nations, ὅπου κὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσουν, in some places instituting or ordaining Bishops, in others rectifying and reforming the whole Churches, and in a word, by the direction of the spirit, founding a Clergy in the same. It seemes the journey was not farre, the places which he visited being said to be τὰ πλησιόχωρα

Clemens Alex. ap. Euseb. hist. l. 3. c. 17.

πὸ χωρα τῆς ἐθνῶν, the neighbouring nations: and indeed the Apostle was now growne too old, to endure much travell, being neere an hundred, at this time. And therefore I conceive that the Episcopall Sees of *Tralli* and *Magnesia*, were of this foundation: being Cities not farre off, and after reckoned as the *Suffragans* of the Archb. or Metropolitan of *Ephesus*. Certaine I am, that they were both of the Sees of Bishops, as doth appeare by the Epistles of *Ignatius*; in which he nameth *Polybius* Bishop of *Tralliis*, and *Damas* Bishop of *Magnesia*: and those not titular Bishops onely, but such as were to bee obeyed, ὡς χρὴ μηδὲν ἄνευ αὐτοῦ ἀντιλέγειν, without gain-saying; and without whose allowance, there was a μηδὲν πρᾶτειν layed upon the Presbyters, who were not to doe any thing in their ministrations, but by his authority. One other Bishop there is said to be of S. *Iohn's* ordaining, *viz.* the Young-man which *Clemens* speakes of, whose aspect being liked by the Apostle, he left him to the care and tutorage of an ancient Bishop of those parts. And when the Young-man afterwards for want of carefull looking to, became debauched, & made himself the Captaine of a crew of Out-lawes; the blessed Saint with much adoe, reclaimed him from that wretched course, and afterwards having new moulded him and prepared him for it, καθέστησε τῆς ἐκκλησίας, made him a Bishop in the Church. But whether that the word will beare that

Concil. Chal. in subscript.

Ignat. Epist. ad Magnesi.

Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. hist. l. 2. c. 17.

that sense, as to the making him a Bishop, or that it only doth imply, that S. *Iohn* placed him in some function of the holy Ministery, *Ecclesiæ ministerio præfecit*, as *Christophorson* reades it, I will not contend. Only I cannot but observe, that where the Bishop to whose care he was committed, is in the prosecution of the Story, called πρεσβύτερος: some have collected from the same, that Bishops in those times were no more then Presbyters. But this will prove, if better looked on, but a plaine mistake: the word πρεσβύτερος in that place, noting the Bishops age, and not his office, as doth appeare by that which followeth in the Story, where he is called ὁ πρεσβύτης, which certainly doth signifie an ancient man, but not a Presbyter.

Vnbishopping of Tim. & Tit. p. 126.

XII.

The *Asian* Churches being thus setled and confirmed in the faith of Christ, partly by the paines and travaile of this blessed man, but principally by the Gospell, and other peeces of Divine holy Scripture, by him written, and published about this time, hee went unto the Lord his God in a good old age, being then 98 yeares old, as *Beda* reckoneth, in the beginning of the second century, *Anno* 101, according to the computation of *Baronius*: the Church at his departure hee left firmely grounded in all the points of faith and doctrine, taught by Christ our Saviour, as well setled in the outward government, the polity and administration of the same, which had beene framed by the

Beda de sex ætatibus.

In Annal. Ecc.

the Apostles, according to the patterne and example of their Lord and Master. For being that the Church was borne of Seed immortall, and they themselves though excellent and divine, yet still mortall men: it did concerne the Church in an high degree, to be provided of a perpetuity, or if you will an immortality of Over-seers, both for the sowing of this Seed, and for the ordering of the Church, or the field it selfe. This since they could doe in person, they were to doe it by their Successours; who by their Office were to be the ordinary Pastors of the Church, and the Vicars of Christ. Now if you aske the Fathers who they were, that were accounted in their times and ages, the Successours of the Apostles; they will with one accord make answer that the Bishops were. To take them as they lived in order, it is affirmed expressely by *Irenæus*, one who conversed familiarly with *Polycarpus*, S. *Iohn's* disciple. He speaking of those Bishops which were ordained by the Apostles, and shewing what perfections were in them required; then addes, *Quos & Successores relinquebant suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes*, whom they did leave to be their Successours, delivering unto them their owne place of government. S. *Cyprian* next writing to *Cornelius*, then Bishop of *Rome*, exhorts him to endeavour to preserve that unity, *Per Apostolos nobis Successoribus traditam*, which was cōmended by the Apostles, unto them their Suc-

Iren. l. 3. c. 3.

Cypr. Epist. 42. vel. l. 2. ep. 10.

Successours. So in another place, speaking of the commission which our Saviour gave to his Apostles, he addes that it was also given to those *Præpositi*, rulers and governours of the Church, *Qui Apostolis Vicaria ordinatione succedunt*, which by their ordination have beene substituted as Successours to them. And least we should mistake his meaning in the word *Præpositi*, *Firmilianus* another Bishop of those times, in an Epistle unto *Cyprian*, useth insteed thereof the word *Episcopi*, not varying in the rest from those very words, which *Cyprian* had used before. *Hierome*, although conceived by some to be an adversary of the Bishops, doth affirme as much. Where speaking of *Montanus* and his faction, he shewes this difference betwixt them and the Church of God: *viz.* that they had cast the Bishop downewards, made him to be the Third in order; *Apud nos Apostolorum locum Episcopi tenent*, but in the Catholick-Church of Christ, the Bishops held the place or roome of the Apostles. The like he saith in his Epistle to *Euagrius*, where speaking of the parity of Bishops amongst themselves, that the eminency of their Churches did make no difference in their authority; he gives this reason of the same, *Omnes Apostolorum successores sunt*, because they were all Successours to the Apostles. So also in his Comments on the Booke of Psalmes, writing upon those words, *Insteed of thy Fathers, thou shalt have children*,

Id Epist. 69. vel. l. 4. ep. 10.

Firmil. ep. Cy. Epist. 75.

Hieron. ad Marcell. adu. Mont.

Id. ad Euagri.

Id. in Psalm. 44.

dren, he tels us that at first, the Apostles were the Fathers of the Church; but they being gon, *Habes pro his Episcopos filios*, the Church had Bishops in their steed: which though they were her children, as begotten by her, *Sunt tamen & patres tui*, yet they were also Fathers to her, in that she was directed and guided by them. S. *Austin*, on the same words hath the like conceit, the Fathers of the Church, saith he, were the Lords Apostles; *Pro Apostolis filii nati sunt tibi, constituti sunt Episcopi*, insteed of those Fathers, the Church hath children, Bishops that be ordained in her, such whom she calleth Fathers, though her selfe begat them, *& constituit in Sedibus patrum*, and placed them in the seats or thrones of those holy Fathers. The like the same S. *Austin* in another place, the root, *&c.* S. *Austin* to the same effect. The root, saith he, of Christian Religion, is by the seats of the Apostles, *& Successiones Episcoporum*, and the succession of the Bishops, dispersed and propagated over all the world. And so S. *Gregory* discoursing of the power of binding and loosing, committed by the Lord unto his Apostles, applyes it thus: *Horum nunc in Ecclesiâ locum Episcopi tenent*, that now the Bishops hold their places in the Church of Christ. Not that the Bishops doe succeed them in their personall graces, their mighty power of working Miracles, speaking with tongues, giving the Holy Ghost, and others, such as these, which were meerly

August. in Psal. 44.

August. Epist. 42.

Id. Epist. 42.

Grego. Magn. hom. 26.

meerly temporary: but in their Pastoral charge and government, as the chiefe Rulers of the Church, the ordinary Pastors of the flocke of Christ.

XIII. Now that the Bishops are the ordinary Pastors of the Church, and so conceived to be by the ancient Fathers, will be made evident by as good authority as the poynt before. *Ignatius*, who conversed with most of the Apostles, writing unto the *Antiochians*, requireth them to call to mind *Euodius* (who was his Predecessor, in the See of *Antioch*) τὸν ἀξιομακαρίστου ποιμένα ὑμῶν, their most blessed Pastor. *Tertullian* discoursing on those words of Christ, *The hireling seeth the Woolfe comming and fleeth*; but that the *Good Shepherd layeth down his life for the sheep, Joh.* 10. inferreth thereupon, *Præpositos Ecclesiæ in persecutione fugere non oportere*, that the Prelates or governours of the Church, are not to flye in persecution. By which it is most clear, (not to dispute the truth of his assertion) that *Pastor & Præpositus Ecclesiæ* doe come both to one. S. *Cyprian* in his tract *de Aleatore*, is more plaine and positive, *Nam ut constaret nos*, i. e. *Episcopos, Pastores esse ovium Spiritualium, &c.* that it might evidently appeare, saith he, that wee, the Bishops, are the Pastors of the Flocke of Christ: he said to *Peter, feed my Sheepe.* And in another place, (for feare the former Booke may prove none of his) expostulating with *Pupianus*, who charged him, as it seemeth, for

Ignat. Epist. ad Antioch.

Tertull. de fuga in persecut.

Cypr. de Aleatore.

Id. Epist. 69.

ſome defect in his adminiſtration, he thus drives the poynt. Behold, ſaith he, for theſe ſix yeeres, *Nec fraternitas habuerit Epiſcopoum*, neither the brother-hood hath had a Biſhop, nor the people a *Præpoſitus* or Ruler, nor the Flocke a Paſtor, nor the Church a governour, nor Chriſt a Prelate, nor God a Prieſt. Where plainely, *Paſtor and Epiſcopus* and ſo all the reſt are made to be the ſame one function. More clearely in another place of the ſame Epiſtle, where he defineth a Church to be *Plebs ſacerdoti adunata, & Paſtori ſuo grex adhærens*, that is to ſay, a people joyned or united rather to their Prieſt, a Flock adhering to their Paſtor. Where by *Sacerdos*, as before, (and in other Authors of the firſt times) he meaneth no other then a Biſhop, as doth appeare by that which followeth. *Vnde ſcire debes Epiſcopaum in Eccleſi &c.* From whom thou oughteſt to underſtand, ſaith he, the Biſhop to be in the Church, and the Church to be alſo in the Biſhop; & that whoever is not with the Biſhop, is not in the Church. *Optatus* ſaith the ſame in brieſe, by whom *Paſtor ſine grege, & Epiſcopus ſine populo*; a Biſhop without a Churchor people, & a paſtor without a Flocke, are joyned together as *Synonyma*. S. *Auſtin* ſpeaking of two ſorts of over-ſeers in the fold of Chriſt, ſome of them being children, and the others hirelings; then addes, *Præpoſiti autem qui filii ſunt, Paſtores ſunt*, the Rulers which are children (of the Church) they are the

Opta. de ſchiſmate. lib. 1.

Auguſt. tract. 46. in Ioh.

the Pastors. And in another place not long since cited, speaking of *Episcopale judicium*, the condemnation that attends the Bishops sentence; he presently subjoynes, *Pastoralis tamen necessitas*, that yet the necessity incumbent on the Pastorall Office, doth many times inflict such sentences for the publicke safety of the Flocke. I might be infinite in this search, but that I have spok somewhat to the poynt already: and am moreover saved all further labour in it, by our learned *Andrewes*, affirming positively and expressely, *Apud veteres Pastorum nomen vix adhiberi, nisi cum de Episcopis loquuntur*, the name of Pastor is scarce used among the Ancients, but when they have occasion to speake of Bishops. And *Binius* in his notes upon the Councels, excepts against a fragment of the Synod of *Rhemes*, said to be held Anno 630. as not of that antiquity which is there pretended: and that he doth upon this reason onely, *Eo quod titulum Pastoris tribuat Parocho*, because the stile of Pastor is there given to the common Presbyter, contrary to the usage of those elder times.

Id. de corrept. & grat. c. 15.

Resp. ad Epist. Petri Molinæi.

Tom. 3. part 2 p. 978.

And certainly it is no wonder that it should be so, that he who is *Episcopus & Pastor animarum*, the Bishop and Pastor of our soules, as S. Peter cals him, should conferre on them both his titles: since he hath substituted and appoynted them to be his Vicars, here on earth. The Pope may chalenge, if he will this title, to himselfe alone: but since antiquity hath given it to all Bishops

XIV.

1 Petri 2. 25.

ſhops equally, to every one as much as to him of *Rome*. S. *Ambroſe* hath reſolved it generally, *Epiſcopus perſonam habet Chriſti*, the Biſhop, ſaith he, ſuſtaineth the perſon of Chriſt, & therefore every woman ought to behave her ſelfe before the Biſhop, as before her Judge: giving this reaſon therewithall, *Quia Vicarius domini eſt*, becauſe he is the Vicar of the Lord. The Cõmentaries on S. *Mathew*, aſcribed to *Chryſoſtom*, doth affirme the ſame: where ſhewing that ſuch men as perſecuted or moleſted thoſe of the holy Sacerdotal order, were either gentiles, or at leſt ſordid and ſenſeleſſe Chriſtians: he gives his reaſon for the ſame: *Quia nec intelligunt, nec conſiderant, ſacerdotes Chriſti Vicarios eſſe*, becauſe they neither underſtand nor doe conſider, that the Biſhops, (whom hee there meaneth by *Sacerdotes*) are the Vicars of Chriſt. S. *Auſtin* to the ſame effect, as before, S. *Ambroſe*. The Biſhop is to be more pure and pious then another man, for he ſeemeth to ſuſteine the perſon of God: *Eſt enim Vicarius ejus*, for he is his Vicar. The Fathers in the Councel of *Compeigne*, Anno 833. thus. *Scire omnes convenit*, it behoveth all men to underſtand what is the nature of the government or Miniſtery of Biſhops, *Quos conſtat eſſe Chriſti Vicarios*, who, as it evidently appeares, are the Vicars of Chriſt. Nay even *Bleſenſis*, though he lived and writ when the Papacy was at the height, makes this Deſcription of a Biſhop. *Ordinatur Chriſti Vicarius, Eccleſiæ Prælatus, &c.*

Ambroſ. in i. ad Cor. cap. 11.

Opus imperfect. in Matth. hom. 17.

Lib. qu. vet. & N. teſt. qu 127.

Concil. Com.

Petr. Bleſenſ. Serm. 47.

He

he is ordained a viear of Christ, a Prelate of the Church, a Father of men, and a Pastor of Soules: So farre the Ancients have attested to the present businesse, and yet there is one Testimony more, which as it is more ancient, so it is as pertinent as any hitherto produced, *viz.* The Declaration of the Fathers in the Councell of *Carthage*, *anno* 258. or rather the attestation of the *Fathers* to that which was affimed by *Clarus* of *Muscala*, one of the Bishops there assembled,[k] who being to give his vote upon the businesse then in agitation, first thus layd his his grounds. *Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri, &c.* The judgement of our Lord and Saviour JESUS *Christ* is plaine and evident, bequeathing that authority unto his *Apostles*, which had been given him by his Father: to which *Apostles* we are now the *successours*, *eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes*, governing the Church by that authority, which they had before. In which we see a cleare and manifest derivation of this power, this *Vicarship*, from God the Father unto Christ, from Christ to his Apostles, and by them also to the *Bishops*, and their *successours* in the Church for ever. Not that each *Bishop* in particular hath some particular *Apostle* whom he doth succeed; I conceive not so: but that the *Bishops* generally doe succeed the *Apostles*, and are in generall *Vicars* unto Christ our Saviour, as to the generall government of

[k] *Conc. Carth. sub, Cypr.*

[l] *De Rep eccles. l.2.c 5.n.3*

the Church of God. [l] *Apostolis datos esse Episcopos successores, non singulis Apostolis, sed in solidum universis*; as the unfortunate Arch-B. of *Spalato* hath right well observed, conforme unto the Tenet of the Fathers, in this very point. The summe of these three sections then, in briefe is this, Christ by the mission which he had from his heavenly Father, devolves all power on his *Apostles*, for teaching, governing and directing his *little flock*: and they being sensible of their own mortality, ordaine by like authority a line of *Bishops* to succeed them, *ad consummationem seculi*, by whom that care might be perpetuated. In whom, as there is *plenitudo potestatis*, a fulnesse of authority for that end and purpose; the *Bishop*, as is said by *Ambrose*[m], being made up of all the orders in the Church (*nam in Episcopo omnes ordines sunt*, as his words there are:) so he both doth & may assume such and so many associates, assistants, and subservient ministers *in partem oneris*, for the discharge of this great trust; as were assumed by the *Apostles*, or ordained by them rather, for the publick service of the Church.

[m] *Amb. in ep. 4.*

XV. Thus have we seen the *Gospel* of our Lord and Saviour, dispersed in very little time, over all parts and quarters of the world: of so much of it at the least, whereof the Acts and monuments have been recorded to posterity: and therewith a transmission also of that forme of go-

government, which was begotten by it, and grew up with it. Nor is there any doubt at all, but that into what coasts soever the Lords *Apostles* preached the one, they also in the same did plant the other. The late discoveries of those parts and Countries which were unknown unto our Predecessours, make this cleare enough: there being no place nor Region how remote soever, where there was extant any thing of the Christian Faith, in which there were not found as apparent footsteps of the *Episcopall* forme of government. A pregnant evidence, that as the Lords *Apostles* were by the *holy Ghost* instructed in that *Faith*, which they were to *preach*; so by the same *eternall Spirit* they were directed to that *forme of government*, which they were to plant. They could not else have fallen so unanimously on the selfe same project: nor had God blessed it with so flourishing and faire increase, a growth so suddaine and miraculous; had it not been a graft of his own heavenly planting. Which graft; what root it tooke in this present Age, in little more then halfe an hundred yeers after *Christs Ascension*; we shall best see by looking on this briefe *Chronologie*, which I have drawn to that intent.

The state of *Holy Church* in this first CENTURY.

Anno Chr.

34. OUR *Saviour* Christ *suffered and rose again, and ascended into glory.*

S. James *made Bishop of* Hierusalem.

35. *The conversion of* Paul.

39. *S.* Peter *takes upon him the* Bishoprick (*or government of the Church*) *of* Antioch.

41. *S.* Peter *Baptizeth* Cornelius *and his family, opening the doore of life unto the* Gentiles.

43. *The* Disciples *first called* Christians *at* Antiochia.

44. Bishops *ordained by Saint* Peter, *in the Churches of* Sidon, Berytus, *and* Laodicea *of* Syria, *and other Cities of the East.*

Saint Peter *commeth to* Rome, *and undertaketh the government of the Churches of the* Circumcision *founded in that City.*

Paul *and* Barnabas *called forth by the holy Ghost, to the* Apostleship *of the* Gentiles.

45. Euodius *made Bishop of* Antioch.

Saint Mark *ordaineth Bishop of* Alexandria.

46. *S.*

46. *Saint* Peter *ordaineth many of his* Disciples *Bishops, and sendeth them abroad into* France, Italy *and* Spaine.

49. *S.* Paul *ordaineth* Presbyters *in Churches of his plantation.*

50. Eucherius *one of S.* Peters Disciples, *made* Bishop *of the Church of* Triers *in* Germany.

51. *The* Jewes *banished from* Rome *by* Claudius Cæsar: *in which regard, S.* Peter *leaving* Rome *committeth the government of his Church to* Cletus, *by birth a* Roman.

The Apostolicall Councell in Hierusalem.

S. Paul *maketh his first journey into* Macedonia.

52. *S.* Paul *first Preacheth at* Athens, Corinth, *&c.*

55. *S.* Paul *taketh up his aboad at* Ephesus, *and from thence writeth to those of* Corinth.

57. Timothy *ordained by S.* Paul *the first Bishop of* Ephesus.

Titus *ordained* Bishop *of* Crete *by the same Apostle.*

Other of Pauls *Disciples ordained* Bishops *for the Eastern Churches.*

58. *S.* Paul *calleth the* Elders *from* Ephesus *to* Miletum.

59. *S.* Paul *brought Prisoner unto* Rome, *takes on himselfe the government of the Churches of the* Gentiles *there.*

60. Archippus *Bishop of the* Colossians.

Epaphroditus *ordained Bishop of the* Philippians.

61. Crescens *made Bishop of* Vienna *in* Daulphine.

Paul *passeth into* Spaine, *leaving the Church of* Rome *to the care of* Linus.

63. Simeon *elected Bishop of* Hierusalem *in the place of* James, *by the joynt consent of the* Apostles *and Disciples.*

64. Anianus *succeedeth* Mark *in the Bishoprick of* Alexandria.

67. *S.* Peter *planteth Churches, and ordaineth* Bishops, *in the Isle of* Britaine.

68. Peter *and* Paul *returne to* Rome.

69. *The martyrdom of* Peter *and* Paul *at* Rome *by command of* Nero.

70. Linus *and* Cletus (*or* Anacletus) *succeed the two Apostles in the government of their Churches there.*

71. Ignatius *succeedeth* Euodius *in the See of* Antioch.

74. Valerius *succeedes* Eucherius *in the Church of* Triers.

80. *S.* John *taketh up his abode in* Asia, *planting and confirming the Churches there, and ordaining* Bishops *in the same.*

81. Linus *being dead,* Clemens *succeedeth him in the government of the Church of the* Gentiles, *in* Rome.

84. Polycarpus *made Bishop of* Smyrna *by S.* John.

87. Abilius *succeedeth* Anianus *in the Bishoprick of* Alexandria.

92. *S.*

92. *S.* John *confined unto* Patmos, *by* Domitianus.

93. Cletus (*or* Anacletus) *being dead, the Churches of the* Circumcision *in the City of* Rome *and parts adjoyning, became united with the* Gentiles, *under the government of* Clemens.

97. *S.* John *writeth the* Apocalypse *to the* Seven Churches *in* Asia.

98. *S.* John *restored to* Ephesus, *foundeth the Churches of* Trallis *and* Magnesia, *ordaining* Bishops *in them both, as in other places.*

99. *At the intreaty of the* Asian *Bishops, S.* John *writeth his* Gospell.

100. Cerdo *succeedes* Abilius *in the Bishoprick of* Alexandria.

101. *S.* John *dieth at* Ephesus *in a good old age; leaving the government of the Church in the hands of* Bishops, *as* Successours *to the* Apostles, *and the Vicars of Christ.*

The end of the first Part.

THE HISTORY OF EPISCOPACY.

The Second Part.

From the Death of St. JOHN the *Apostle*, to the beginning of the Empire of CONSTANTINE.

By *PETER HEYLYN*, D. D.

IREN. Lib. III. Cap. III.

Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis *instituti sunt* EPISCOPI *in Ecclesiis*, *&* Successores *eorum, usque ad nos.*

LONDON;
Printed for *Henry Seile* over against St. *Dunstans Church* in *Fleetstreet*. 1657.

THE HISTORY OF EPISCOPACY.

The Second Part.

From the Death of St. Jerom the Apostle, to the beginning of the Empire of CONSTANTINE.

By PETER BAILIN, D. D.

Idem. Lib. III. Cap. III.

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LONDON:

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THE HISTORIE OF Epiſcopacy.

PART. II.

CHAP. I.

What doth occurre concerning Biſhops, and the government of the Church by them, during the firſt halfe of the ſecond Century.

I. *Of the Condition of the Church of* Corinth, *when* Clemens *wrote unto them his* Epiſtle.

II. *What that* Epiſtle *doth containe in reference to this point in hand.*

III. *That by* Epiſcopi, *he meaneth* Biſhops *truely and properly ſo called, proved by the ſcope of the Epiſtle.*

IV. *And by a text of Scripture therein cited.*

V. *Of the Episcopall succession in the Church of* Corinth.

VI. *The* Canons of the Apostles *ascribed to* Clemens, *what they say of* Bishops.

VII. *A* Bishop *not to be ordained under three or two at least of the same order.*

VIII. Bishops *not barred by these* Canons *from any secular affaires, as concern their families.*

IX. *How farre by them restrained from the employments of the* Common Wealth.

X. *The jurisdiction over* Presbyters, *given to the* Bishops *by those* Canons.

XI. Rome *first divided into* Parishes, *or* tituli, *by Pope* Euaristus.

XII. *The reasons why* Presbyteries *or Colleges of* Presbyters *were planted at the first in* Cities.

XIII. *Touching the superiority over all the flock given to the* Bishop *by* Ignatius.

XIV. *As also of the Jurisdiction by him, allowed them.*

XV. *The same exemplified in the works of* Justin Martyr.

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1. FROM the *Apostles* we proceed unto their *Disciples*, such as conversed with them, and lived neerest to them. And first of all we meet with *Clemens*, once one of *Paul's* Disciples, and by him[a] remembred

[a] Philip 4.3.

bred; afterwards *Deacon* to Saint *Peter*, as [b] *Ignatius* tels us: and finally successor to them both in the administration of the Church of *Rome*, as [c] before was shewed. Amongst the severall monuments of piety which he left behinde him, the most renowned is his Epistle to the Church of *Corinth*; of which *Eusebius* [d] gives this testimony, that it was μεγάλη τε καὶ θαυμασία, famous and very much admired: adding withall that aswell anciently, as in his times, it used to be read publickly in the Congregation. The occasion which induced him to write the same, was a sedition, or a faction rather, raised in the Church, which from the first Preaching of the Gospell there, had been too much addicted to [e] *Divisions*. But what this faction was about, or what occasion was then taken for the production of new broyles, or the reviving of the old; we shall best see by looking on this peece of *Clemens*; recovered from the ruines of Antiquity by the care and industry of *Patr. Yong*, Library-keeper to his Majestie. There finde we the good man complayning [f] that the Church of *Corinth*, so ancient and well grounded in the faith of *Christ* δι' ἑνὶ δύο πρόσωπα στασιάζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, should for the sake of one or two contentious persons tumultuate against their *Presbyters*: and that the scandall of their functiõs should come unto the ears of *Infidels*, to the dishonour of the Lord. Nor

[b] *Epist. ad Trallianos.*

[c] *Chapt. 3. N. 8.*

[d] *Euseb. Hist. Ecc. l. 3 c. 12. 16*

[e] 1 Cor. 3.

[f] *Clemen. Epist. ad Corinth. p. 62*

did the faction reſt in the people onely, though it proceeded to that height as [g] the ejecting of thoſe *Presbyters* whom they had diſtaſted: but it had taken too deep footing amongſt the *Presbyters* themſelves, encroaching with too high an hand on the *Biſhops* office, or wilfully neglecting his authority. For whereas in thoſe times, * as before was ſhewn, the bleſſed *Eucharist*, regularly and according to the Churches Orders, could not be celebrated but by the *Biſhop*, by his leave at leaſt, and that it did pertain to him to appoint the *Presbyters* what turns and courſes they ſhould have in that miniſtration; theſe men perverting all good order, neither obſerved the time and place appointed for that ſacred action, nor kept themſelves unto thoſe turns and courſes, in the performance of the ſame, which were aſſigned them by their *Biſhop*. Certain I am that the diſcourſe of *Clemens* in the ſaid Epiſtle doth militate aſwell againſt the one, as againſt the other: blaming aſwell the *Presbyters* for their irregular proceeding in their *miniſtration*; as cenſuring the *People* for their inſolency, in the ejecting of their *Presbyters*. So that we have two factions, at this time in the Church of *Corinth*: one of ſome inconformable *Presbyters*, ſo farre averſe from being regulated by their *Biſhop*, as they ought to be, that they oppoſed the [h] very calling, rayſing contentions and diſputes about the Name and Of-

[g] *Ibid. p. 58.*

*Part. 1. ch 5.

[h] *Clem. p. 57.*

Office of *Episcopacy*: another of the people against the *Presbyters*, and that pursued with no lesse acrimony and despite, then the former was.

II. For the repressing of these factions at this present time, and the preventing of the like in the times to come, the good old man doth thus proceed. Beginning with the Presbyters, he first presents unto them [i] the obedience that *Souldiers* yeeld to their *Commanders*, shewing them πῶς εὐτάκτως, πῶς εὐεκτικῶς, how orderly, how readily and with what subjection they execute the severall Commands imposed upon them by their *Leaders*: that since all of them are not *Generals*, *Coronels*, *Captains*, or in other office; every one ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι in his rank or station is to obey the charge imposed upon him, by the King or Emperour, and his Commanders in the field. Then represents he to them the [k] condition of the naturall body, in which the head can doe but little without the ministery of the feet, the feet as little (out of question) without direction from the head; that even the least parts of the body are not only profitable, but also necessary, concurring all of them together to the preservation of the whole. Which ground so laid, he thus proceeds in his disourse: Περιδήλων ἐν ὑμῖν ὄντων τούτων, &c. [l] These things being "thus declared and manifested, looking into "the depth of heavenly knowledge, we ought "to

[i] *Id. p.* 48.

[k] *Id.* 49.

[l] *Id. p.* 52, *&c.*

"to doe those things in their proper order, the "*People* in the tendring of their oblations, the "*Presbyters* in the celebrating of the *Liturgy*, ac- "cording to the times and seasons by the Lord "appointed, who would not have these sa- "cred matters done either rashly or disorder- "ly, but at appointed times and houres, and "by such persons as he hath thereunto desig- "ned by his supream will, that being done de- "voutly and Religiously they might be the "more gratefull to him. They therefore "who upon the times prefixed make their Ob- "lations to the Lord, are blessed, and very wel- "come unto him from whose commands they "doe not vary. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀρχιερεῖ, &c. For to the "*High-Priests* was assigned his particular fun- "ction, the *Priest* had his peculiar ministery "prescribed unto him, and the *Levites* theirs: "the *Laymen* being left unto lay imployments. "Therefore let every one of you my brethren, "in his Ranke and Station, offer to God the "blessed *Eucharist*, with a good Conscience; "keeping within the bounds of his *ministra-* "*tion*, appointed to him [m] by the *Canon*. (For "so I take it is his meaning) For not in eve- "ry place was it permitted to the *Jews* to offer "up the daily and perpetuall *Sacrifices*; whe- "ther they were sinne offerings, or *Euchariſti-* "*call* oblations, but at *Hierusalem* alone, nor "there in any place indifferently, but only in "the *Court* of the Temple, at the *Altar*: the "*Sa-*

[m] μὴ παρεκβαίνειν τὸν ὡρισμένον τῆς λειτουργίας αὐτῷ κανόνα. p. 53.

"*Sacrifice* being first viewed and approved of, "both by the *High Priest*, and the foresaid *Ministers*. They that did any thing herein, otherwise then agreeable to his will and pleasure, were to die the Death: you see, my brethren, that as we are endued with a greater knowledge, so are we made obnoxious to the greater danger. The *Apostles* have Preached the *Gospell* unto us from *Christ*; JESUS *Christ* from God: *Christ* being sent by God, as the *Apostles* were by *Christ*; and both proceeding orderly therein, according to his holy will. For having received his Commands, and being strengthened by the Resurrection of our Lord JESUS *Christ*, and confirmed by the word of God, they spread themselves abroad, in full assurance of the *holy Ghost*, publishing the comming of the Kingdome of God: and having Preached the word throughout many Regions, and severall Cities, they Constituted and ordained the first fruits of their labours, such whom in spirit they approved of, to be [n] *Bishops* and *Deacons*, unto those that afterwards were to believe. [o] Nor was this any new device, it being written many ages since in the book of God; *Esay* 60. Κατασήσω τὰς ἐπισκόπους αὐτῶν ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, καὶ τὰς διακόνους αὐτῶν ἐν πίστει, *i. e.* I will appoint them *Bishops* in righteousnesse, and *Deacons* in Faith. Afterwards laying down the History of *Aarons* rod bud-

[n] εἰς ἐπισκόπους διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν, &c. p. 54, 55.

[o] καὶ τοῦτο οὐ καινῶς. p. 55.

budding, and thereby the miraculous confirmation of his Election, he addes[p] that the *Apostles* knowing by our Lord JESUS *Christ* "the contention that would arise ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, about the name or function of "*Episcopacy*; (take it which you will) and being for this very cause endued with a perfect "foresight of that which afterwards should "happen; ordained the aforesaid *Ministers*, "and left to every one their appointed offices, "that when soever they should die, other approved men should succeed in their severall places, and execute their severall parts "in the Ministration. Those therefore which "were either ordained by them, or by those famous and renowned men that followed after "them, with the consent and approbation of "the Church, and have accordingly served unblameablely in the fold of *Christ*, with all "humility and meeknesse, and kept themselves "from basenes and corruption, & have a long "time carried a good testimony from all men: "those we conceive cannot without much injury be deprived of their place and service: "it being no small sinne to reject those men, "who holily and without reproofe have undergone the office of *Episcopacy*, or done "the duty of a *Bishop*.

[p] *Id. p.* 57.

III. So farre the Father hath proceeded, as to the Vindication of *Episcopacy*, or the *Episcopall* function, which you will, from the attempts

tempts and practises of such *Presbyters*, who went about to undermine it, and raise contentions in the Church about it. That which comes after, doth relate to the other *Faction*, the *Faction* raised against the *Presbyters* by some of the unruly people; and that he doth pursue from *pa.* 58. beginning with *Beati sunt Presbyteri, &c.* following the same till *pag.* 70. where he perswades the *Presbyters* that were so distasted, by severall examples both profane and sacred, rather to quit the place for the *Churches* peace, then by their tarrying there to increase the rupture. Now that by *Bishops* or *Episcopi*, in the words before, he meaneth *Bishops*, truely and properly so called; and doth not use the word in so large a sense, as also to include the *Presbyters*, as some [q] men conceive: doth seem most evident to me, by these reasons following. First, from the [r] *Parallell* here made between the severall degrees and offices in the *Jewish* Church, and those established in the *Christian*: which had been very imperfect and inconsequent, if there had not been those severall and distinct degrees of *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* in the one, as of the *High-priests*, *Priests*, and *Levites* in the other *Church*. And that the *Bishops* in the *Christian* Church are called many times Αρχιερεῖς, or *High-priests* in the ancient writers, is no new learning unto those that have read the Fathers. And unto this interpretation of the word *E-*

[q] *Vindication of the Answ. pa.* 136, 137.
[r] *Clem. p.* 53.

piſcopi in that place of *Clemens*, I am the more inclined to ſtand, as to the true and proper meaning of the Father; becauſe I find the ſelf ſame *Parallell* produced by *Hierome*, none of the greateſt Patrons of *Epiſcopacy*. Who tels us firſt, that many of the *Apoſtolicall Traditions* did take their ground or hint from the old *Teſtament*, and gives us next this inſtance of it; or if you will, this reſolution in the caſe: **Quod Aaron, & filij ejus atque Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc ſibi Epiſcopi, Presbyteri atque Diaconi vendicant in Eccleſia*; that ſuch as *Aaron*, and his ſonnes, and the Tribe of *Levi*, were in the *Temple*; the ſame were *Biſhops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons* in the *Church* of GOD. Where plainly that preheminence which *Aaron* had over and above the *Prieſts* and *Levites*; the ſame is given by *Hierome* to the *Biſhops*, over their *Presbyters* and *Deacons* reſpectively. And this is that which is affirmed in the words of *Clemens*, if we mark it well, the Parallell being brought in both, for the ſelfe ſame end. And this to me appears yet further to be clear and evident, by the contentions raiſed by theſe *Corinthian Presbyters* [1] περὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, about the name or dignity of *Epiſcopacy*; the power and priviledges appertaining to that ſacred calling; and the diſcourſe thereon occaſioned, touching the limiting and reſtraynning of theſe buſie *Presbyters*, unto their proper Rank and Station. For had the heat been only

* *Hierome ad Euagrium.*

[1] *Clem. p. 57.*

only raised upon the deposition of their godly *Presbyters*, as by [t] some is said: that had not any way concerned either the name or dignity of *Episcopacy*; (taking *Episcopacy* in that sense as themselves would have it:) that quarrell not being taken up (as they make the case) against the dignity or calling, but the persons only of those *Presbyters*, whom they had deposed.

[t] *Vindic p.* 137

IV.

But I am most of all confirmed herein by the citation of that text of the Prophet [u] *Esay*, though of a very different reading from those now in use: the application of it being so conforme to that of other ancient writers. St. *Hierome* following the translation of the *Septuagint*, [x] doth thus read the text, *Dabo Principes tuos in pace, & Episcopos tuos in justitia*: observes that in the *Hebrew* it is written thus, *Ponam visitationem tuam pacem, & Præpositos tuos in justitiam.* And thence infers the admirable Majesty of holy Scripture, *quod principes futuros Ecclesiæ, Episcopos nominavit*, in that the future Governours (or Princes) of the Church are there, before-hand, called *Bishops*; whose *Visitation* is in peace, and the name or Appellation of their office, doth denote their justice. [y] Saint *Cyrill* also, although he differ from our Author in the translation of the text, following therein the *Septuagint*, as Saint *Hierome* did; yet he agreeth with him in his application. For making a comparison between the

[u] *Clem. p.* 55.

[x] *Hierom. Comment. in* Esa. 6. 60.

[y] *Cyrill Alexan. in Esai. l.* 5. *c.* 60.

the Religion of the *Jewes* and *Christians*; likening the one to gold and silver, the other unto brasse and iron, according to the tenor of the words foregoing: he addeth that the *Jewish* Ministers, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, whom before he spake of, being once removed, ἑτέρους ἀνίστησιν ἄρχοντάς τε καὶ ἐπισκόπους, *Christ* the Redeemer of all people did raise up other Governours and *Bishops* for them, such as did every way excell in Peace and Righteousnesse. And then he makes this use thereof, for our instruction, [z] That since the Princes or Rulers of the Church doe excell in Peace, and the *Bishops* of the same in Righteousnesse: it ought so farre to work upon the people, τὸ ἐν ἁπάσῃ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ, as that they should endeavour to lead their lives in Christian Piety and godlinesse. Here then we have two of the learnedest of the Ancients writing upon the text alledged by *Clemens*; and both expounding it of *Bishops* truly and properly so called, according to the nature of that word in the times they lived: and therefore questionlesse *Clemens* must needs be understood of such *Bishops* also: And herewith you shall have the reason, why *Bishops* and *Deacons* are here joined together, and that there is no mention made of *Presbyters*; not that the *Presbyters* were not ordained by the *Apostles*, aswell as either of the other; but because the *Deacons* in this common broyle did constantly adhere unto their

[z] *Id. in Esaian Tom.5.c.60.*

their *Bishop*, when as so many of the *Presbyters* were in opposition: or else as * *Epiphanius* tels us, because that *Bishops* at the first had more use of *Deacons*, then they had of *Presbyters*: for where the Congregation was but small, (as that of * *Gregorie Thaumaturgus* is said to be, consisting of no more then 17 persons) a *Bishop* onely was sufficient: Ἄνευ δὲ διακόνων ἐπισκόπου ἀδύνατον εἶναι, But being a *Bishop* could not be, or at the least not doe his office, without help of *Deacons*; that *Bishops* and *Deacons* are remembred only. And yet perhaps the meaning of the Author may bee best conceived, certain I am, the doubt or difficulty would be best removed, did we translate διάκονος, by the English *Minister*, as in that place I thinke we may; according to the generall meaning of that word in its native sense: the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, both being but subservient *Ministers* unto the *Bishop* who did allot them out their turnes and stations in the officiating of Gods divine service; the *Presbyters* not having yet assigned them their particular bounds, wherewith to execute the same, as in the time succeeding it is plain they had: of which more hereafter.

* *Epiphan. adv. hæres. 75.*

* *Basil de Spi. san. c. 29.*

V. In the mean time we must examine whether the Church of *Corinth*, to which *Clemens* writ, had not been setled by the *Apostle* in that form of government, which had been every where established in the neighbour Cities. And certain-

tainly I can ſee no reaſon, why *Corinth* ſhould not have a *Biſhop*, aſwell as *Athens*, or *Philippi*, or the *Theſſalonians*, or any other Church of *Greece* or *Macedon*. I ſee much reaſon why it ſhould. For if that *Biſhops* were firſt inſtituted in *Schiſmatis remedium*; for remedy of Schiſme, as Saint *Hierom* ſaith: aſſuredly the Church of *Corinth* being firſt peſtered with that foule diſeaſe, ſhould firſt of all, in all congruity, be fitted with the remedy ſo proper and peculiar to it. A *Biſhop* then they were to have by Saint *Hieromes* rule, and that as ſoon as any other Church what ever: but who this *Biſhop* was, is not yet ſo evident. By *Dorotheus* in *Synopſi*, *Silas*, Saint *Pauls* moſt individuall companion, is ſaid to be the *Biſhop* of this Church, *Corinthiorum conſtitutus eſt Epiſcopus*, as his words there are: wherein [b] *Hippolitus* conccurring with him, doth make the matter the more probable. And though I will not take upon me to juſtifie the reports of *Dorotheus*, where there is any reaſon to deſert him, as there is too often: yet when the point by him delivered doth neither croſſe the holy Scripture, nor any of the ancient writers, as in this he doth not; I know not why his word may not paſſe for currant. Nay if we pleaſe to ſearch the ſcripture, we may find ſome hint, for the defence of *Dorotheus* in this one particular. For whereas we find often menti on that *Silas* did accompany Saint *Paul* in many

[a] *Hieron in Titum cap. 1. & in Epiſt ad Euagr.*

[b] *Baron in Rom. Martyrol. Julii. 13.*

ny of his peregrinations: the last time that we finde him spoke of, is in the 18. of the *Acts*; which time he came unto Saint *Paul*, to *Corinth*. After, there is no mention of him in the book of God: And possibly the reason of it may be this, in briefe, that he was left there by Saint *Paul* to look unto the government of that mighty City. Which when he could not doe by the word and doctrine, Saint *Paul* reserving for a time the jurisdiction to himself, [c] as before was said; and that the factions there did increase and multiply, for want of *Ordinary* power to suppresse the same: Saint *Paul* might then invest him with authoty, making him *Bishop* of the place, both in power and title. This if it may be counted probable, I desire no more. And then as we have found the first *Bishop* in the Church of *Corinth*, we shall with greater ease and certainty finde out a *second*, though his name were *Primus*: for proofe of whose being Bishop here, we have the testimony of *Egisippus*, [d] who took him, in his journey towards *Rome* and abode long with him; giving him speciall commendation both for his orthodoxie and humanity. After succeeded [e] *Dionysius*, next to him [f] *Bachyllus*; of both which we shall speak hereafter in convenient place.

v. 5.

[c] V. chap. 4. n. 5.

[d] *Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 21. x6.*

[e] *Ibid. c. 24. x5.*

[f] *Id. lib. 5. c. 21. x6.*

VI.

From the Epistle of this *Clemens* unto those of *Corinth*, which is his undoubtedly, proceed we next unto the *Canons* commonly called the

Apostles Canons, [g] supposed to be collected by him: but so supposed, that still there is a question of it, whether his or not. That they are very ancient is unquestionable, as being mentioned by [h] *Tertullian*, and cited in some of the ancientest Councels, whereof the acts and monuments are now remaining on record. But being it is confessed on all hands, [k] *quosdam ab hæreticis corruptos*, that some of them have been corrupted by the Hereticks of old, the better to advance their cause by so great a Patronage: we must be very wary how we build upon them. And howsoever *Bellarmine* [l] be exceeding confident, that the first 50. are most true and genuine; and probably it may so be: yet I conceive it safe to admit them on those sober cautions, which are commended to us by *Baronius*: [m] who on a full debate of the point in question, doth resolve it thus: *Illi tantum nobis ex Apostolicis fontibus, &c.* "Those *Canons* only seem to us, saith he, to be "derived from the *Apostolicall* fountaines, "which have either been admitted and incor-"porated by the Fathers into the *Canons* of "succeeding Councels, or confirmed by the "authority of the Bishops of *Rome*, *aut in* "*communem usum Ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ*, or "otherwise have been continually practised in "the *Churches* discipline. The first and last of these three cautions, I conceive to be exceeding sound, and should not stumble at the second

[g] *Bellarm. Baron. alii.*

[h] *Tertull. adver. Praxeam.*

[k] *Binius in notis ad Can. Apo.*

[l] *Lib. De Scriptor. Eccl. in Clemente.*

[m] *Annal. An. 102. n. 17.*

second, had the decrees and ordinances of the ancient *Popes* come incorrupted to our hands. Which ground thus laid, we will now see what the *Apostles Canons* have delivered in the present busineſſe: and that we ſhall diſtribute as it doth relate to *Biſhops*, either in point of their Admiſſion, how and by whom they are to be *Ordained*; or of their carriage and *behaviour* being once admitted, how farre to diſoblige themſelves from the employments of the *world*; or of their Juriſdiction over the inferiour *Clergie*, whom they are to govern. Theſe are the points which are moſt clearly offered us to be conſidered of, in the aforeſaid Canons, and theſe we ſhall preſent, and then conſider of them accordingly.

VII.

And firſt in way of their Admiſſion to that ſacred function, it ſeemeth to be the firſt care of the *Collector*, that it be done according to the minde and meaning of the holy *Apoſtles*: and therefore it is put in the very front; *viz.* that a *Biſhop* is not to be ordained, but by three *Biſhops*, or by two at the leaſt. Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν,[n] as the *Canon* hath it. A *Canon* which hath all the rules and cautions required by *Baronius*, for proofe of its antiquity, and *Apoſtolicall* inſtitution: as being confirmed by many of the *Decretalls*, in caſe they were of any credit; incorporated firſt into the Canons of the Councell [o] of *Arles*, as afterwards in thoſe [p] of *Nice*; and generally

[n] *Canon. Apoſt. 1*

[o] *Concil. Arelat. can. 21.*

Nicen Ca. 4.

continued in the constant practise and perpetuall usage of the Church. Onely the difference is, that the old *Canon* doth admit of ordinations made by two Bishops, if a third may not conveniently be had; wherea the later Councels stand on three precisely: whereof perhaps this was the reason, because in later times there was a greater number of *Bishops* in the Church of God, then had been before; and so the number of three *Bishops* to concurre together, not so hard to meet with. Now they that search into the first occasion of the present *Canon* [q] fetch it from a tradition on record in *Clemens*: *viz.* that *James* the *Proto-Bishop*, the first that ever had a fixt *Episcopall Sea*, was ordained Bishop of *Hierusalem*, by *Peter*, *James* and *John* the sonnes of *Zebedee*. *Peter*, saith he, [r] and *James*, and *John* being by our Redeemer most esteemed of, contended not amongst themselves after his ascension, for the highest place, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων εἱλέσθαι, but rather made choyce of *James* the Just, [t] to be the Bishop of *Hierusalem*. But this, if look[e]d on well, was no ordination, for *James* being one of the *Apostles* needed no such Ceremony: but onely an agreement made by that goodly fellowship amongst themselves, that whilest the rest did Preach the Gospell in the world abroad, Saint *James* should take the charge of the mother City. The Ordination of Saint *Paul* and

[q] *Philodox. ap. Masonum de Minist. Anglic. l. 1. c. 5.*

[r] *Clem. Alex. ap. Euseb. l. 2. c. 1.*

[t] *Objected by Philodox. ap. Masonum. l. 1. cap. 7.*

Bar-

Barnabas [t] unto the *Apostleship*, by the hands of *Lucius*, *Simeon* and *Manaen*, is indeed more pertinent; but that being an extraordinary case, it can make no precedent. But what need any further pedegree be sought, to raise the reputation of this *Canon*? It is antiquity enough that it stands in front and leads on all the residue of the *Canons*, ascribed of old to the *Apostles*. And yet we must observe withall, that as there is no generall Rule, but hath some exception: so the necessities of the Church have many times dispensed with these ancient *Canons*: the Ordination of [t] *Pelagius* the first, once a Pope of *Rome*, and of [u] *Dioscorus* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, being performed by two *Bishops* only, contrary to the Councels or *Nice* and *Arles*; that of P. *Evagrius* [x] Patriarch of *Antiochia*, but by one alone, contrary to the old *Apostolike* Canon. But then we must observe withall, that these exceptions being in extraordinary cases and occasions, are rather a confirmation of the *Canons*, then any diminutiõ to them: according to the good old Rule, *Exceptio firmat regulam in non exceptis.*

[t] *Anastas. in vita Pelagii.*
[u] *Synodal. Ep. Episcoporum Ponti, ap. Biniũ p 173. Tom. 2.*
[x] *Theodo. Hist. lib. 5. c. 23.*

VIII. The Bishop being thus admitted to his charge and function, by a peculiar Ordination; we must next see what is prescribed him in these *Canons* touching his behaviour, whether *Domestick* in his *family*, or publick in the *Commonwealth*. For his *Domestick* carriage, it is ordered thus, [y] Τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα μὴ ἐκβαλλέτω,

[y] *Canon. 5.*

that he doe not put away his wife, on pain of Excommunication, on any shaddow or pretence of Piety what ever. I know my Masters in the Church of *Rome* would faine shift this off, by saying that there is nothing else requited by the present *Canon*, [z] but that they ought to have a care of them, *ipsisque de omnibus quæ ad vitam honestè degendam requiruntur, provideant*, and to provide them all things necessary for this present life. But surely *Zonaras* [a] gives a fairer and more likely glosse; by whom it is affirmed, that if a *Bishop*, or any other person in holy orders, (for the Canon doth extend to all particularly) should under colour of Religion put away his wife; he "was to be excluded from the Church by this "present Canon, till he admitted her againe: "Admitted her again? to what? Assuredly "unto his bed, to cohabitation: Should he "doe otherwise, (saith he) it would redound "to the reproach of Marriage, ὡς ἀκαθαρσίαν "τῆς μίξεως ἐμποιούσης, as if that conjugall society "did beget uncleanes, whereas the Scripture "saith, that Marriage is honorable, and the bed "undefiled: adding with all ἀκώλυτον εἶχον καὶ "οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, &c. that lawfull wedlock in those "times was left free to *Bishops*, and that it "was restrained first by the Synod in *Trullo*, "many hundreds after. *An.* 692. Which being, so the following *Canon* must admit of some qualification, [b] by which it is decreed, Κοσμικὰς

[z] *Binius in Annot. in Can.5.*

[a] *Zonar. Com. in Can. Apo.*

[b] *Can. Apost.6.*

φροντίδας μὴ ἀναλαμβανέτω, that he doe not take upon him any worldly cares, or secular affaires, be it which it will. For if he was allowed to have wife and children, and consequently was necessitated to maintaine a family; it could not be, but he must needs be subject to some worldly cares, in making fit provision for them: Saint *Paul* determining that, [c] *If any man provide not for his own, especially for those of his own house, he hath denyed the faith, and is worse then an Infidell.* So that these being not the *worldly cares* which are intended, as they relate to his *domestick* carriage in his private family; we must next see how farre it doth extend to those worldly cares, or rather secular affaires, if any shall so choose to read it, which doe concerne him in the publike.

[c] 1 Tim. 5. 8.

IX. And here we must first know whether that all intermedling in secular affaires, or worldly matters, be interdicted by this *Canon*, meerly *quà tales* for themselves; or as they were an *avocation* from the worke of the holy Ministery. Not of themselves, *quà tales*, there's no doubt of that; for then their private and domestick cares must also undergo the same prohibition. It seems then only as an *avocation*, as they diverted *Bishops* and the rest in orders from doing the worke of their vocation. *Zonaras* doth conceive it so. Βούλεται ὁ Κανὼν τῇ θείᾳ ὑπηρεσίᾳ σχολάζειν αὐτοὺς, the purpose of the *Canon*

[d] Zon. Comment. in Apost. Can.

Canon is, that they ſhould attend the holy miniſtery, keeping themſelves from all diſturbances and the tumultuouſneſſe of buſineſſe. But then withall we muſt obſerve that *Zonaras* alloweth them to take care of *Orphans*, and to adminiſter their eſtate to the beſt advantage, which is one ſecular imployment, and no mean one neither. In this the Councell of *Chalcedon*, Can 3. doth agree with *Zonaras*, allowing *Clergymen* to be *Guardians* (as we call it) unto thoſe in *Wardſhip*. Can. 3. Though the providing for the *Fatherleſſe* be a work of mercy; yet the adminiſtration of their eſtates διοικησις τῶν ὀρφανῶν, as it is there called is a worke of buſineſſe: And this allowance is affirmed by *Zonaras*, to be conſiſtent with the *Canon*, which is one thing more; and ſuch a one as will make way for many others. The arbitrating of emergent differences between man and man, for the advancement both of *peace* and *juſtice*, is a worldly work, a *ſecular* imployment, paſt all queſtion. May not the Canon be perſwaded to admit of this, and not to have it laid in barre againſt the *Biſhop*, that he hath left his holy calling and made himſelf a *Judge* amongſt his neighbours? Out of doubt it will: And which is ſomewhat more, out of doubt it muſt. Thoſe Canons which are only fathered on the *Apoſtles*, will elſe run croſſe with thoſe which are theirs indeed. When Saint *Paul* [e] leſſoned thoſe of

[e] 1 Cor. 6.

Corinth

Corinth, that rather then they should prophane the *Gospel* with contentious suits, they should referre their differences to their *Brethren:* thinke you it was his purpose either to exclude the Clergy then, or their *Bishop* after, when they had one? No saith Saint *Ambrose*, (if the work be his) [f] *Melius dicit apud dei ministros causam agere*, no better way then to referre the businesse to Gods *Ministers*, who being guided by the feare of God, will determine rightly in the same. Or is the *Bishop* only to be barred this Office? Not so, saith he. For if Saint *Paul* adviseth them to submit themselves unto the judgement of their *Brethren*, it was upon this reason principally, *quia adhuc Rector in eorum Ecclesia non esset ordinatus*, because, as then, there was no *Bishop* in that Church. Saint *Austin* gives it more exactly, makes it a charge imposed upon the *Bishop* by Saint *Pauls* command. For speaking of the pains he took in the determining of such causes as were brought before him, [g] he tels us, that he underwent the same, in obedience only to Saint *Pauls* injunction, *quibus nos molestiis idem affixit Apostolus*, as his words there are; and that Saint *Paul* imposed it not by his own authority, *sed ejus qui in eo loquebatur*, but by the authority of the Holy Ghost which did dictate to him: adding withall, that howsoever it was irksome and laborious to him, yet he did patiently discharge his duty in it *pro spe*

[f] *Ambros. Com. in 1 ad Cor. c. 6.*

[g] *August. de Opere Monarch. c. 29.*

æternæ vitæ, only upon the hope of life eternall. And it is worth the observation, that venerable *Beda*, making a Comment upon Saint *Pauls* Epistle, collected out of severall passages of Saint *Austins* writings; he putteth down this place at large, as the most full and proper exposition of the *Apostles* words, *Secularia judicia si habueritis, &c.* 1 Cor. 6. 4. *If then ye have judgements of things partayning to this life, &c.* Here then we have the *Bishop* interessed in the determining of suits and differences, a secular imployment surely: and yet no violence offered to the sacred Canon. May he not goe a little further, and intermedle, if occasion be, in maters of the Common wealth? [h] Οὐ καταδικάζω τῶν ἐπισκόπων τὲς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι. I doe not blame those *Bishops*, saith *Synesius*, that are so employed: such as are fitted with abilities for the undertaking, being by him (a strict and rigorous man) permitted to employ the same. And more then so, τοῦτο θεῷ μὲν ὕμνος ἐστιν, it maketh for Gods praise and glory that it should be so: that men, on whom he hath bestowed abilities to performe both Offices, should doe accordingly. But these I put down here, as opinions only: the practice of them we shall see in a place more proper. If then it be demanded what those φροντίδες κοσμικαὶ, those Worldly cares, and Secular imploiments are, which the Canon speakes off: [i] *Zonaras* will informe us in another place, that the Canon

[h] *Synesius in Ep. 57.*

[i] *Zonar. Comment. in Conc. Chalced. Can. 3*

non aimeth at the mingling of the *Roman Magistracies* τὴν Ρωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν, with the *Episcopall* or *Priestly* function, which at that time were, questionlesse, incompatible. And then the meaning of the Canon will in fine be this, that *Bishops* or inferiour *Clergymen*, might not be *Consuls*, *Prætors*, *Generalls*, or undergoe such publick Offices in the State of *Rome*, as were most sought for and esteemed by the *Gentiles* there.

X. As for their Jurisdiction over the inferiour *Clergie*, as farre as it is warranted by these *Apostolike canons*; it doth consist especially in these particulars. First, there is granted and annexed unto them, the power of *Ordination*, and to them alone. The second Canon tells us so, [k] Πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἑνὸς Ἐπισκόπου χειροτονείσθω, the *Presbyter* and *Deacon*, and all other *Clerks* must be ordained by one *Bishop*. And if a *Bishop* be required, though but one in all, the *Presbyters* have no authority at all, of conferring *Orders*. But of this before: Being ordained, they were accomptable in the next place to their *Bishop*, in all things which concerned their Ministration: without whose speciall leave and liking, there were not onely many things which they might not doe; but there was nothing in a manner to be done, [l] Μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν: let them doe nothing, saith the *Canon*, without the knowledge of the *Bishop*; neither Baptize, nor celebrate the *Eucharist*, as

[k] *Can. Apost. 2.*

[l] *Can. 38.*

[m] *Ignat. ad Smyrnens.*
[n] *Zonar. in Can. Apost.*

[m] *Ignatius* hath it, of whō more anon; μὴ ἀφορίζειν not repell any man from the Communion, as it is in *Zonaras*. But heare the Canons speaking in another place, they will tell you more particularly, that if a *Presbyter* neglecting or contemning his own *Bishop*, [o] shall gather the people into a Conventicle, καὶ θυσιαστήριον ἕτερον πήξει, and erect another *Altar* for divine worship, not being able to convict his *Bishop* of any impiety or injustice; he is to be deposed, ὡς φιλάρχος, as an ambitions person, seeking a preheminence that belonged not to him. Finally so obnoxious were the *Presbyters* to the command and pleasure of their *Bishop*, that they could not be admitted into any other City [p] ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, without his letters testimoniall; and this on pain of Excommunica- aswell unto the *Presbyter* that should so depart, as to the party that received him. If any *Presbyter* [q] or *Deacon*, leaving the charge appointed to him; shall goe into another *Diocesse* (for so I think παροικία must be read in this place and time) and there abide, without the allowance of his *Bishop*, τοῦτον κελεύομεν μηκέτι λειτουργεῖν, he is to be suspended *ab officio*, especially if he return not presently on the *Bishops* summons. More of this kinde there is in those ancient *Canons*, touching the *Presbyters* dependance on, and plain subjection to their *Bishop*. But I have instanced in such only, as may be cleerly justified by succeeding practise: And so

[o] *Can.* 31.

[p] *Can.* 12.

[q] *Can.* 15.

so much of the Apostles *Canons*, ascribed to *Clemens*.

XI.

From *Clemens*, on to *Evaristus*, his next successor in the government of the Church of *Rome*. I know the Antiquaries of that Church have interloped an *Anacletus* between these two; and let them take him for their labour. But when I finde in *Irenæus* [r], who lived so neer the times we speak of as to converse with those which were then alive, when both these Bishops sate in the Church of *Rome*; and when I finde it in *Eusebius* [s], who with such care and diligence collected the successions of the Prelates in the greater Churches; that *Evaristus* did immediately succeed this *Clemens*: I shall desire to be excused if I prefer their testimony in this case, before that of *Anastasius*, or the *Pontificall*, or *Platina*, or any whosoever of the later daies. Now of this *Evaristus* it is said by [t] *Damasus* in the *Pontificall*, and from him by *Platina*, [t] *titulos in urbe Romæ Prebyteris divisisse*, that he did first assigne the *Presbyters* in *Rome* their particular charges: which also is affirmed by [u] *Rob. Barnes*, one of the great Agents in our Reformation; which words of the Historians being short and dark, we will expound in the expressions of judicious *Hooker* thus, as followeth. [x] For more covenient discharge "of *Ecclesiasticall* duties, as the body of peo-"ple must needs be severed by divers pre-"cincts so were the *Clergie* likewise accor-"dingly

[r] *Iren. l. 3. cap 3.*

[s] *Eusch. hist. Ec. l. 3. c. 28. λδ.*

[t] *In vita Evarist.*

[u] *De vitis Pont. Rom. in Evaristo.*

[x] *Hooker Eccles. Polit. l 5. n. 80.*

"dingly distributed. Whereas therefore "Religion did first take place in Cities, and in "that respect was a cause why the name of *Pa-* "*gans*, which properly signifieth country peo- "ple, came to be used in common speech for "the same that *Infidels* and *unbeleevers* were, "it followed thereupon that all such Cities had "their Ecclesiasticall Colleges consisting of "*Presbyters* and *Deacons*, whom first the *A-* "*postles* or their Delegates the *Evangelists*, did "both ordain and govern: such were the Col- "leges of *Hierusalem*, *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, *Rome*, "*Corinth*, and the rest, where the *Apostles* are "known to have planted our Faith and Reli- "gion. Now because Religion and the Cure "of soules was their generall charge in com- "mon over all that were neer about them, nei- "ther had any one *Presbyter* his severall Cure a "part, till *Evaristus* Bishop in the See of *Rome* "about the yeare 112. began to assigne Pre- "cincts unto every Church, or *Title*, which the "Christians held, and to appoint unto each "*Presbyter* a certain compasse, whereof him- "selfe should take charge alone; the commo- "diousnesse of which invention caused all "parts of Christendome to follow it: So hee. And he saith well that *Evaristus* first began it; but it was shortly after followed by *Higinus* also, who added more divisions to the former number; if I do understand my[y] author rightly. As for the following of this pattern by other Churches,

[y] *Platina in vit. Higini.*

Churches, tis most true indeed, that this invention of his was after followed in the Churches of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*: whereof see *Socrates Hist. Eccles. l.* 5. 3. for that of *Antioch*; and for the other *Epiphanius*, who reckoneth *nominatim* those severall Churches, which were before the time of *Constantine* in that famous City. And doubtlesse in all other Cities as the number of *Christians* did increase, so were the like divisions made, and severall *Presbyters* appointed for those divisions; though we have no such pregnant evidence thereof, as for those before. But then we must observe withall, that such divisions were not in the Country till a long time after; as we shall let you see in due place and time.

XII. As for those Colleges of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* whereof *Hooker* speaketh, founded by the *Apostles* and *Evangelists* in all the Cities wherein they planted the Gospell of *Christ*; and by them conjoyned into one Church under and with the *Bishop*: it was a very excellent and usefull institution, as the times then were. [z] For first it did exceedingly promote the conversion of the world to *Christ our Saviour*: it being a worke too great for one or two to undertake in a populous City; and would require more time to effect the same, then such a weighty businesse could afford. The *harvest* being *great*, it was most expedient, that the *labourers* should also bee *many*: that

[z] *Bilson. perpet. governm. ca.* 14.

that ſo the truth of *Chriſt* might diſperſe it ſelf not onely throughout their Cities, but even unto thoſe Country Townes and Villages, which bordered neer them. A ſecond uſe, was to continue thoſe whom they had converted, in the Faith of *Chriſt*, inſtructing and incouraging the faithfull from houſe to houſe, and from man to man, to ſtand faſt to the Doctrine which they had received, and not to ſhrinke under the bloudy ſtorms of perſecution, which were then ſo frequent. A worke that of neceſſity required many hands; the more, becauſe the faithfull in thoſe dangerous times, had not their publike places of aſſembly; or if they had, durſt not frequent the ſame as in times of peace: and ſo the labour muſt be great, and the perſons many, in Preaching, Teaching, and exhorting in their private houſes, or in thoſe ſecret places where they met by ſtealth, for the receiving of the Sacrament. A third uſe was, that from theſe *Presbyteries*, or Colleges of *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, as from a ſacred ſpring or fountaine, there might bee a continuall ſupply of fit and able men, by whom aſwell the Cities themſelves might bee continually furniſhed for their own occaſions; and alſo that from thence, the ſmaller Towns and Villages within the circuit of thoſe Cities, which for the ſlenderneſſe of their eſtate, and paucity of believers, could not maintain a *Preſbyter* at their proper charge, might be provi-

ded

ded of industrious teachers for their spirituall necessities. For in these times whereof wee speak, and a long time after, the Villages and Country Townes as they were converted to the Faith, and did desire a Minister of the Word and Sacraments to reside amongst them; so they repaired unto the *Bishop* of the City, within whose παροικία or bounds they were, of him desiring a fit man for that businesse: which course continued in the Church for a long time after, untill Churches were endowed with *Tithes*, and Glebe, and Mansion houses, which drew the Patronage or Presentation, as we call it, into hands of such their Founders, and liberall Benefactors to the same. The last, but not the least, was the advising and assisting of the *Bishop* of the Church or City in all doubts and dangers: as well in making Rules and ordinances for the better government of the place; as for the censuring and correcting of such faulty persons, whether of the *Clergie* or *Laity*, as were thought fit to be convented, for an example to the rest. In which regard **Ignatius* calleth the *Presbyterie*, or College of Presbyters (and not the *Priesthood*, *Sacerdotium*, as it is rendred by *Vedelius*) τὸ σύστημα ἱερὸν, σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου, an holy Corporation, Counsellors and Assessors to the *Bishop*. A perfect Image of the which, we have remaining in our *Deanes* and *Chapters* of *Cathedrall* Churches: though not so fre-

* *Ignatius in Ep. ad Trallign.*

quently consulted with in the Churches businesse, as I could heartily desire they were; and as our *Canons* now in force in some sort require.

XIII. The mention which I made so lately of *Ignatius*, leads me on to him; who yeelded up his pious Soule, by Martyrdome, to the hands of God, in the City of *Rome*, whilest *Euaristus* was there Bishop: And in him I shall onely touch upon those Epistles, which I finde mentioned in [a]*Eusebius*; and which [b]*Vedelius* doth confesse, and defend to boot, to be truly his: But by the way I must first tell you, that *Vedelius* in this businesse deals for all the world like the naughty Cow, that gives a good meales milke and kicketh it down with her heel. For having shewed some pains and learning in his *Apologie* for *Ignatius*, in vindicating these Epistles from all those who except against them: yet in the body of the text, when ever he doth meet with any thing, which runneth crosse unto his fancies; that he excepts against himself, as suppositious and adulterate; or else destroyeth a good text with a faulty Comment. But let us take the Author as he gives him to us. [c] Τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ. Be subject to the Bishop (saith the good Father) as unto the *Lord*: and to the *Presbyters* as to *Christs Apostles*. *Vedelius* [d] hereupon observes, that the *Presbyters* are the proper successors of the *Apostles*, contrary unto that of *Bel-*

[a] *Eusb. Hist. Eccles. l.*
[b] *In Apolog. pro Ignatio.*
[c] *Ignat. ad Tral.*
[d] *Vedel. Annotat. in Ep. ad Trallian. c. 3.*

Bellarmine, who makes them, (as he saith) to succeed the *seventy*. In which *Vedelius* doth the *Bishops* a farre greater curtesie, then I believe he did intend them: making the disproportion more considerable between the *Bishop* and his *Presbyters*, then any Champion of the *Prelacy* had done before him. For if *Vedelius* may inferre from our Authors words, that the *Presbyters* are successors unto the *Apostles*; we may aswell inferre from the selfe same grounds, that *Bishops* are the successors of *Christ* our Saviour. The like obedience to the *Bishop*, [c] he presseth in another place of the same Epistle. Αἰδεῖσθε καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν, ὡς χριστόν. Reverence your *Bishop*, as you would doe *Christ*, as the *Apostles* have commanded. And then he gives this reason of it, Τί γὰρ ἐστιν ἐπίσκοπος; for what else is the *Bishop*, but one superior unto all in place & power? what else the *Presbyterie*, but an holy company, the Counsellers and Assessors of the *Bishop*? In which we have as great a difference betwixt a *Bishop* and his *Presbyters*; as is between a Prince and his Privy Counsell. In that to the *Magnesians* [f] thus; Πρέπον ἐν, &c. It becomes you to obey your *Bishop*, not being refractary against him in any thing: for a most terrible thing it is to contradict him and oppose him, in that the contumely or reproach doth redound to God. In his third Epistle, that to the *Philadelphians*, [g] he writeth thus. Καλοὶ μὲν δι,

[c] *Ignat. ibid.*

[f] *Id. ad Magn.*

[g] *Id. ad Philad.*

οἱ ἱερεῖς the *Priests* are good, and so are the *Deacons*, as being Ministers of the word; but better, or more excellent is the *chiefe Priest*, as being onely trusted with the holy of holies, and the secrets of God. The like occurres in that to those of[h] *Smyrna*; Τίμα μὲν τὸν θεὸν, &c. Honour God as the Author and Lord of all things, and your *Bishop* as the *chiefe Priest*, bearing the image of God; that is to say, of God as he is chiefe, and of *Christ* as *Priest*. And though *Vedelius* brands[i] this last as suppositious, and in the former by chiefe Priest[k] will have our Saviour meant, and not the *Bishop*: yet he that looks upon the place without prejudice, will easily discern the contrary; the comparison which there *Ignatius* maketh, being between the Ministers of the Church with one another, and not between the *Ministers* and the *Master*, betwixt them and *Christ*, with whom it were both impious and absurd to make comparisons. It were an endlesse peece of work to instance in all those severall places, wherein the superiority of *Bishops* over all the flock, is pleaded and declared by this blessed Martyr. I therefore shut up all with this Conclusion, οἱ λαϊκοὶ τοῖς διακόνοις,[l] Let the lay people be subject to the *Deacons*, the *Deacons* to the *Presbyters*, the *Presbyters* unto the *Bishop*, and the *Bishop* unto *Christ*, as he to his *Father*: An heavenly and divine subordination. Not one of all the ancient Fathers, that

[h] *Id. ad Smyrn.*

[i] *Vedel. in marg. Epl. ad Philad.*

[k] *Id. in Excercit. n Ep. ad Smyrnens. cap.* 18.

[l] *Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrnen.*

that speakes more clearly and distinctly of the Degrees and Orders in the *Hierarchy*, then this blessed *Martyr*; assigning unto every one his due place and station. If in one place, he calls the *Presbyters* by the name of *Bishops*, as writing unto *Hero*, one of the *Deacons* of the Church of *Antioch* it is plaine he doth: it was at such time and on such occasion, when he himselfe being the *Bishop* of that place was ravished from them; and the chief government thereof was to them committed, (as in the times of vacancie or absence it hath since been done) which gave them the authority of *Bishops*, though not the *order*.

XIV. For point of Jurisdiction next, he gives us first this charge in generall. It is expedient, saith he, that whatsoever things you doe, ἀνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράττειν, doe it not without your *Bishop*: that is to say, as he expounds himself in another place, [n] μηδὲν τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, nothing that appertains unto the Church, or concerns Religion. And this he grounds on the obedience of our Saviour [o] *Christ*, ὃς ἀνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ποιεῖ; who doth not any thing without his Father: resolving finally, that they who give unto their governour the name of *Bishop*, [p] χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πράττα ποιοῦσι, and yet doe what they list without him; doe in effect, as those did unto Christ our Saviour, who said unto him *Lord*, *Lord*, and yet did nothing which he said. As for particulars, he would

[n] *Id ad Smyrn.*

[o] *Id. ad Magnes.*

[p] *Id. ibid.*

would have those which *marry*, or *are given in marriage*, [q] μετὰ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, to take the *Bishop* along with them; that so their marriage may be made according unto Gods commandement, and not for wantonnesse. The *Eucharist* he would not have performed but by the *Bishop*; either by him in person, or by his authority; nor *Baptisme* to bee administred without his licence and permission. This last expressely in his 4. *Epistle*, being that unto the Church of [r] *Smyrna*. It is not lawfull without the *Bishop*, ὅτε βαπτίζειν, ὅτε προσφέρειν, ὅτε θυσίαν "προσομίζειν, either to *Baptize*, or present Obla-"tions, or celebrate the sacrifice of the blessed "*Eucharist*, or solemnize the love feasts; but "all things to be done agreeably unto his di-"rection, according to the will and pleasure of "Almighty God. In which as to the Sacrament of Baptisme, [s] *Tertullian* also doth concurre; as we shall see hereafter in its proper place: And for the celebrating of the *Eucharist* by himselfe in person, and the assembling of the people upon his appointment, the same good Father gives it [t] thus. Ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω. "Let that administration of the *Eucharist* be "held good and valid, which is done by the "*Bishop*, or such as as he permits to do it. And "where the *Bishop* shall appeare, there let the "Congregation be assembled; as where *Christ* "is, there all the hoasts of Heaven doe stand round about him. Those that assemble otherwise

[q] *Id. in Epist. ad Policar.*

[r] *Id ad Smyrn.*

[s] *Tertull. lib. de Baptismo.*

[t] *Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrnens.*

wise then thus, and doe not take the *Bishop* with them in these sacred actions, are by him said, [u] to break the concord of the *Church*, and destroy her order; and consequently are worthy of a greater punishment, then he ὁ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπεγειρόμενος, which doth rebell against his King. Never did advocate for his fee pleade a cause more throughly. So throughly, that I dare take up the Conclusion of that blessed [x] *Martyr:* Αντίψυχος ἐγὼ τῶν φυλαττόντων ταυτὴν τὴν ἐυταξίαν. My soule for theirs who carefully observe this order, and keepe themselves unto the Rules which are here prescribed.

[u] *Id. ibid. paulo post.*

[x] *Id. ad Tarsens.*

XV.

Now that which by *Ignatius* is layd down before us, as to the ministration of the Sacrament, by the *Bishop*, in way of *observation* or *direction*; the same we finde in *Justin Martyr*, who lived about the middle of this second *Century*; exemplified and represented in the way of *practise*. [y] For shewing how a Convert was to be admitted in the *Congregation*, and that he was received with Common Prayers both for himselfe, and for the holy *Catholick* Church, he doth thus proceed. Παυσάμενοι τῶν ἐυχῶν, Prayers being done, we salute one another with an holy kisse. Then doe we offer Bread and Wine mixt with Water, τῷ Προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν to the *President* or Ruler of the brethren; which he receiving, presenteth to the Father of all, by the name of the Son and

[y] *Justin Mart. in Apolog. 2.*

"and holy Ghost, the sacrifice of prayse and "glory, rendring immortall thanks unto him "in that he hath vouchsafed those his gifts un- "to us: who having offered this oblation of "prayer and thanksgiving, the Congregati- "on present say Amen. The *President* or "Προεςὼς having done his part, in celebrating "of the *Eucharist*, and the people crowning "his performance with their best devotions, "οἱ καλούμενοι παρ᾽ ἡμῶν διάκονοι, those who by us are "called *Ministers* or *Deacons* (for both these "words the *Latine* useth) distribute unto eve- "ry one there present a portion of the blessed "bread and wine mixt with water, that he may "communicate thereof; and also carry part "thereof unto such as are absent. Which ali- "ment (being thus consecrated and received) "we call the *Eucharist*, and is delivered unto "none, but such as do believe our doctrine, & "have been washed in the laver of Regenera- "tion. And not long after, making a descrip- tion of their assemblies on the *Sunday*, he first relates that the Commentaries of the *Apostles* and writings of the *Prophets*, as much as the time will suffer, are read before them. Then addeth, that the *Reader* having done, ὁ "Προεςὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν, &c. the *President* "or Προεςὼς makes a *Sermon*, wherein he doth "instruct the people in the performance of "those excellent things, which are contai- "ned in the same. Which done we all arise, "and

"and make our praiers unto the Lord, and then "the bread and wine and water, as before, is offered: the Πρεσβύτερος proceeding to the *Eucharist*, according to the manner formerly described. Here then we have the celebration of the *Eucharist*, and the Preaching of Gods holy word, performed ordinarily by the Πρεσβύτερος or *President* of the Congregation: but what this Πρεσβύτερος should be, is the point in question. For resolution of which doubt, it is cleare and evident, that by Πρεσβύτερος anciently was meant the *Bishop*, as may appear by that of *Eusebius*, calling *Publius* bishop of *Athens* [z] by this name τὸν Πρεσβύτερον αὐτῶν Πόπλιον, as he stiles him there; and so in other places and in other Writers. Nor doe I finde that it was any way applyed to inferiour *Presbyters*, till after the division of the Church into severall *Parishes*, not in some *Cities* onely, but in all parts else: after which times the *Presbyters* or *Ministers* of *Parochiall* Churches having cure of Soules, by and from the Bishop, and having got the name of *Rectors*; came to be called in some writers Πρεσβύτερος also, as wee shall see hereafter in its proper place. But what need any of the ancients come in for evidence, when as the matter is confessed by those, who were the greatest adversaries of Episcopacy? For *Beza* making *Timothy*, whom we have proved sufficiently to have been a *Bishop*, to be the *President* or Πρεσβύτερος of the *Ephesine* Presbyterie; and such a *President*

[z] *Euseb. hist. Ec. l. 4. c. 22. κγ.*

[a] *Beza Annot. in* Tim.5.19.

dent or Πρεσβύτερος, *ut Justinus vocat*, as *Justin Martyr* speaks of in the present place: it must needs be, that *Justin Martyrs* President or Πρεσβύτερος was a *Bishop* also, as *Timothy* is proved to be. Which if it be not cleer enough, we have a second that speaks plainer, and he the greatest Chapion of the adverse party, which had the honour to be bred in the Church of *England*; *Cartwright* I mean, [b] who tels us, with great griefe no question, *that even in* Justins *time there began to peepe out something, which went from the simplicity of the Gospel, as that the name of* Πρεσβύτερος, *which was common to the Elders with the Ministers of the word, was it seemeth appropriated unto one.* So that by the confession of the Adversaries to *Episcopall* government we have gained thus much, that the administration of the Sacrament of the blessed *Eucharist*, did properly and in chiefe belong unto the *Bishop*, as was affirmed by *Ignatius*, and proved in point of practice out of *Justin Martyr*. And so much for the first halfe of the second Century; what is presented to us in the other halfe, we are next to see.

[b] *Cited by B. Downham in his defence, l.4.c.1. sect.17.*

Chap.

CHAP. II.

The settling of *Episcopacie* together with the *Gospell*, in the Isle of *Britaine*, by Pope *Eleutherius*.

I. *What Bishops* Egesippus *met with in his Peregrination; and what he testifieth of them.*

II. *Of* Dionysius B. *of* Corinth; *and of the* Bishops *by him mentioned.*

III. *How* Bishops *came to be* ordained, *where none were left by the* Apostles.

IV. *The settling of the Gospell in the Isle of* Britaine *by Pope Eleutherius.*

V. *Of the Condition of the Church of* Britain *from the first preaching of the Gospell there, till the time of* Lucius.

VI. *That* Lucius *was a King in those parts of* Britaine *which we now call* England.

VII. *Of the* Episcopall Sees *here founded by King* Lucius *at that time.*

VIII. *Touching the* Flamines *and* Arch-flamines, *which those stories speak of.*

IX. *What is most like to be the reason of the num-*

number of the Archbishopricks *and* Bishopricks *here, of old established.*

X. *Of the Successors, which the* Bishops *of this* Ordination *are found to have on true record.*

XI. *Which of the* British Metropolitans *was anciently the Primate of that Nation.*

I. 

Mongst those severall writers of the *Primitive* times, out of whose workes *Eusebius* collected his materials, for the composing of the Ecclesiasticall History, which we still enjoy: one of the ancientest was *Egesippus*, one that took great paines in the selfe same kinde. Five books he writ, as both [a]*Eusebius* and Saint [b] *Hierome* tell us, touching the *Acts* and *Monuments* of the Church of God: this last affirming of the work, that it contained many things, *ad utilitatem legentium pertinentia*, exceeding profitable to the Reader; though written in a plain and familiar stile. Some fragments of his cited by *Eusebius*, we have seen before; the body of his workes being eaten by the teeth of time: and one we are to looke on now, being the remainder of a most accurate and full confession of his Faith, which he left behinde him.[c] There he relates, ὡς πλείστοις ἐπισκόποις συμμίξειεν, that in a journey towards *Rome*

[a] *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. 21. x6.*
[b] *De scriptor. Eccles.*
[c] *Euseb. ut supra.*

Rome, he did conferre with many Bishops; and that he found amongst them all the same form "of Doctrine: there being no City where he "came, no Episcopall succession, wherein he "found not all things so confirmed and setled, "as they were prescribed by the word, taught "by the Prophets, and Preached by our Lord "and Saviour. Particularly he tels us of the Church of *Corinth*, ἐν τῷ ὀρθῷ λόγῳ, that it continued constantly in the Orthodox Faith, till the time that *Primus* was there Bishop: with whom he had much conference, as he sailed towards *Rome*, staying with him many dayes at *Corinth*, and being much delighted with his conversation. Of *Rome* he only doth inform us, that he abode there till the time of *Anicetus*, whose Deacon *Eleutherus* at that time was; who not long after did succeed in his Pastours chaire: *Soter* succeeding *Anicetus*; *Eleutherus* succeeding *Soter*. Where by the way, I wonder how Saint * *Hierom* came to place the comming of *Egesippus* unto *Rome*, *sub Aniceto*, when *Anicetus* was there *Bishop*; considering that *Egesippus* tels us he was there before; and that he there continued μέχρι Ἀνικήτου, untill the time of *Anicetus*, as before was said. Discoursing of the errours of the *Jewes* his Countrymen, he sheweth that after *James* the *Just* was martyred in defence of *Christs* truth and Gospell; *Simeon* the sonne of *Cleophas* and Uncle to our Saviour, was erected *Bishop*: all the

* *De viris ill. in Egesip.*

the *Disciples* giving their voices unto him, as being of their Masters kindred: He addeth that *Hierusalem* (whereof he speaketh) was called for long time, the *Virgin Church*; as being undefiled with the filth of *Heresies*: and that *Thebulis* was the first who broached strange Doctrine in the same; the man being discontented, as it seemed, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον, because he was not made a *Bishop*. So farre the peeces of this Journall, or *Itinerarie* direct us in this present search, as to discern how strong a bulwarke the *Episcopall* succession hath been, and been accounted also, of Gods sacred truths; how strong a pillar for support of that blessed building.

II. At the same time with *Egesippus* lived *Dionysius*, the learned and renowned Bishop of the Church of *Corinth*, successor to that *Primus* whom before we spake of. A man, as both [d] *Eusebius* and Saint [e] *Hierom* say, of such both industry and eloquence, *ut non solum suæ Civitatis & Provinciæ populos*, that he instructed not alone by his Epistles the people of his owne City and Province, but also those of other Churches. One writ he, saith *Eusebius*, to the *Lacedemonians*, at once confirming them in faith and love: another unto the *Athenians*, about the time that *Publius*, their *Bishop*, suffered martyrdome; exhorting them to live according to the prescript of *Christs* holy Gospell. In that Epistle he makes mention of

[d] *Euseb. eccles. hist. l.4.c.22.xy*
[e] *De scriptor. ecc.*

Qua-

Quadratus also, who succeeded *Publius* in that charge; declaring also, that *Dionysius* the *Areopagite* being converted by S. *Paul*, was made the first *Bishop* of that City. Of which three Bishops of *Athens*, *Quadratus* is much celebrated by **Eusebius* for an Apologie by him written, and tendred unto *Adrian* the Emperour, in the behalfe of *Christians*; being the first peece of that kinde that was ever written in the world: and written, as it seemes, with such power and efficacy, * that shortly after *Adrian* desisted from his persecuting of the Church of God, making a law or edict for their future safety. But to goe on with *Dionysius*. A third he writ unto the *Nicomedians*, opposing in the same the heresies of *Marcion*: a fourth unto the *Gortinæans*, in which he much commended their Bishop *Philip*, in that the Church committed to his care and governance πολέσαις ἀνδραγαθίαις, had been made famous by so many trials both for faith and constancy. He writ unto the Church of *Amastris* also, and the rest in *Pontus*; speaking by name of *Palma*, the Bishop there: as also to the Church of *Gnossus*, in the Isle of *Crete*; in which he did perswade *Pintus*, Bishop of the same, μὴ βαρὺ φορτίον ἐπάναγκες τὸ περὶ ἁγνείας ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιθέσαι, not to impose that grievous yoke of chastity upon his brethren, as a matter necessary; but to consult rather the infirmity and weaknesse of them. Finally, there was extant in *Eusebius* time another Epistle of this

*Euseb. l. 4 c. 3.

* Id ibid. c. 9.

this *Dionysius*, to the Church of *Rome*; wherein he magnifieth their abundant charity towards all the Brethren which were in want or persecution, not onely of their owne, but of other Cities: highly commending *Soter*, who was then their *Bishop*, who did not onely study to preserve them in so good a way, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὔξειν, but also did encourage them to improve their bounties. So much remaines of *Dionysius* and his publick Acts: by which we may perceive, that though the *Bishops* of those times (as since) had their particular *Sees* and *Cities*, yet did their care extend unto others also; maintaining a continuall *intercourse* betwixt one another, not onely for their mutuall comfort in those dangerous times, but also for the better government of the Church it selfe; the unity whereof was then best preserved by that *correspondence* which the *Bishops*, in the name of their severall Churches, had with one another. For other *Bishops* of those times, not to say any thing of *Melito* or *Polycarpus*, whom before we spake of; nor of the *Bishops* of the foure *Patriarchall Sees*, which we shall have occasion to remember shortly: those of most fame were [f] *Papias* and *Apollinarius*, Bishops successively of *Hierapolis* a City of *Phrygia*; [g] *Pothinus* Bishop of *Lyons* in *France*; [h] *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*; [i] *Cassius* Bishop of *Tyre*; [k] *Clarius* Bishop of *Ptolomais*, all three in *Palestine*; [l] *Publius Julius* Bishop of *Debelto* a Colony in *Thrace*;

[f] *Euseb. hist. l. 3. c. 23.* λθ.
[g] *Id. l. 4. c. 25.* κζ
[h] *Id. l. 5. c. 6. 5.*
[i] *Id. c. 21.* κ6
[k] *Id. c. 25.* κζ.
[l] *Ibid. c. 18.* ιθ.

Thrace with many others of great eminency; whereof consult *Euseb. Hist Eccles.* 5. *c.* 18. 19. *& cap.* 21. 26.

By this that hath been said of *Dionysius*, and other Bishops of his time, it is cleer and evident, that Bishops had been setled (even in those early dayes) in many Cities, wherein we doe not finde that any had been formerly ordained by the *Apostles*. But how they were so setled, and by whose authority, hath in these later daies been made a question. Our Masters in the Church of *Rome*, appropriate the power of instituting and erecting new *Episcopall* Sees, to their *Bishop* only, as being the only, universall and supreame *Pastor* of the Church. [m] *Bellarmine* hath resolved it so, in terms expresse. *Apostolorum proprium erat*, It properly appertained (saith he) to the *Apostles* to constitute Churches, and propagate the *Gospell* in those Churches wherein it never had been Preached. So farre unquestionably true, but what followeth after? *Et hoc ad Romanum Pontificem pertinere, & ratio & experientia ipsa nos docet*, And that this doth belong to the Popes of *Rome*, both reason and experience teach us. Belong it doth indeed to the Popes of *Rome*, so farre we dare joyn issue with him: but that it doth belong to the Pope alone, and not to any other *Bishops* but by his sufferance and authority, which is the matter to be proved, that there is neither reason nor

III.

[m] *Bellarm de Rom. pont. l. 2. c. 12.*

example for. No reason certainly, for if this did belong to all the *Apostles*, as *Bellarmine* affirms it did, then other Bishops which derive their pedegree from *Andrew*, *James*, *John*, *Paul*, or any other of the *Apostles*, have as much interest herein as the Popes of *Rome*, who challenge their descent from *Peter*. And for examples, if they go by that, they have a very desperate cause to manage. Tis true indeed, that *Clemens*, one of the first Bishops of the Church of *Rome*[u], did ordain severall Bishops in his time, and placed them in the chiefe Cities of those parts of *Gallia* which lay neer unto him, as *viz*. *Photinus* at *Lyons*, *Paul* at *Narbon*, *Gratian* at *Tours*, others in other places also, as *Ino Carnotensis* hath reported of him. But then it is as true withall, that other *Bishops* did the like in their times and places. *Christianity* and *Episcopacie* had not else in so short a time been propagated over all the world; if those which dwelt far off and remote from *Rome*, could not have setled and ordained *Bishops* in convenient places, without running thither, or having a *Commission* thence. And though we have no precedent hereof, in the present age, yet we may see by the continuall practise in the ages following, that *Bishops* were first propagated over all the Churches, by the assistance of such neighbor Churches, in whom there had been Bishops instituted either by the *Apostles* and *Evangelists* themselves, or by their Successors.

[u] *Ino Carnotens. in Chron. MS. citat. a Patr. Junio.*

cessors. *Frumentius* being in some hope of gayning the *Indians* beyond *Ganges* to the Faith of *Christ*, was made a *Bishop* for that purpose, ἀξιωθεὶς τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, as the story hath it: not by the Pope of *Rome*, nor with his privity or consent that we can heare of, but by *Athanasius* the great and famous Patriarch of *Alexandria*. And when *Eusebius* [p] *Samosatanus* had a minde, for the suppressing of the growth of *Arianisme*, to erect *Dolicha* πολίχνη σμικρὰ, as my author calls it, a small City, but greatly pestred with that Heresie, into an *Episcopall* See: we finde not that hee sent to *Rome* for a Commission, but actually ordained *Maris*, Bishop of the place; and went himself to see him inthronized in the same. So in like manner Saint *Basil* ordained *Gregory Nazianzen* Bishop of *Sasima*, making that Town a Bishops See, which before was none: and thereupon [q] *Gregorius Presbyter* writing the life of *Nazianzen*, cals it very properly ἐπισκοπὴν καινοεργηθεῖσαν, a Bishoprick or Episcopall See of a new foundation. And thus Saint *Austin* also in the age succeeding erected an *Episcopall* See in *Fussata*, a City or walled Town in his own Diocesse of *Hippo*, making one *Antonius* the first Bishop there; the Primate of *Numidia* returning with him in the ordination. Nor did they this, as faine the *Cardinall* [t] would have it, *à sede Apostolica facultatem habentes*, by force of any faculty procured from *Rome*; which is *gratis dictum*.

[o] *Socrat. eccles. hist. lib. 1. c. 15.*

[p] *Theodoret. hist. eccles. l. 5. c. 4.*

[q] *Gregor. Presb. in vita Nazian.*

[r] *August. Epist.*

[t] *Bellarm. de ecc. lib. 4. c. 8.*

dictum: but by their own proper and innate authority, as they were trusted with the government of the Church of *Christ*.

IV. So then the Bishops onely of the Church of *Rome* had not the sole authority of instituting *Bishops*, where none were before. That's a dreame onely of the *Pontifician*. Authority they had to doe it, as had others also; and hereof doth occurre a notable and signall evidence in this present Age: *viz.* the setling of the Church of *Britaine*, and planting *Bishops* in the same by Pope *Eleutherius*[t]. Of him it is affirmed in the *Pontifical*, ascribed to *Damasus*, (who lived about the year 370.) *accepisse Epistolam a* Lucio *Britannico Rege, ut Christianus efficeretur per ejus mandatum*; that he received an Epistle from *Lucius* a British King, desiring that by his authority he might be made a *Christian*: Our venerable *Bede*, a right ancient writer, thus reports the story. *Anno ab incarnatione Domini* 156. *&c.* [u] In the 156. year after *Christs* nativity, *Marcus Antonius Verus* together with *Aurelius Commodus* his brother, did in the fourteenth place from *Augustus Cæsar*, undertake the government of the Empire. In whose times, when as *Eleutherius* a godly man was Bishop of the Church of *Rome*, *Lucius* King of the Britains sent unto him, *obsecrans ut per ejus mandatum Christianus efficeretur*, intreating by his means to be made a *Christian*; whose vertuous desire herein was granted; and the

[t] *Damas. in vita Eleuther. apud Bin in Concil. Tom. 1.*

[u] *Beda hist. eccl. lib. 1. c. 4.*

the faith of Christ being thus received by the *Britans*, was by them kept inviolate and undefiled untill the times of *Diocletian*. Wherein as I submit to *Beda*, as to the substance of the story, so I crave leave to differ from him as to the matter of *Chronologie*. For by this reckoning *Eleutherius* must attaine the Popedome *An.* 167. as *Beda* [x] elsewhere doth compute it; which is ten yeeres at least before the time assigned him by most other writers. And therefore I shall rather choose to follow the commonly received account; by which the said two Emperours are brought upon the government of the *Roman* Empire, *Anno* 161. and the attaining of the Popedome by this *Eleutherius* is placed in the 17th. yeere of *Marcus*, *Anno* 177. *Lucius Aurelius Commodus* being dead before. But in this Controversie, as it belongeth to Chronology, I shall not meddle at the present. It is enough, that the planting of the Gospell amongst the *Britans*, was, as the greatest, so the first action of this Pope, done by him, as we read in *Platina* [y], *in ito pontificatu*, at his first entrance on the place: wherein *Philippus Bergomensis* in *Supplemento Chronicorum*, *l.* 8. and *Cocc. Sabellicus*, *Ennead.* 7. *l.* 5. doe either follow him, or concurre with him. How *Lucius* came to be inflamed with this holy zeale, is related diversly. [z] *Nicolas Harpsfield* doth conceive it to be on occasion of the great miracle then lately done by the

[x] *Beda in histor. Epitom.*

[y] *Platina in vita Eleutherii.*

[z] *Harpsfeild in ec. hist. Angl. c. 3.*

Christian legion, obtaining raine from heaven by their fervent prayers, on the Imperiall Army much distressed with drought: by meanes whereof the Emperours dealt very favourably with the Christians, [z] *adjecta etiam accusatoribus damnatione*, even to the condemnation of their false Accusers. Others conceive, that being in himselfe of a sweet and gratious disposition, he was much taken with the reports that had come unto him [a] *de miraculis Christi, & prædicatione Apostolorum*, touching the miracles of *Christ*, and the preaching of his holy *Apostles*. And possibly it might be both, one adding help and strength unto the other. But which soever it was, it seemeth he was not very forward at the first to imbrace the Gospell; being retarded from the same by the obscure and poore condition of the *Christians*[b]. But when he had beene well informed by *Pertinax* and *Trebellius*, Lieutenants in this Island for the *Roman* Emperours, *Romanorum illustres aliquot illam admisisse*, that many men of marke amongst the *Romans* had received the faith: he then resolved to goe through with his good intentions. [c] And being so resolved, he dis-
[c] patched away *Eluanus* and *Meduinus*, *Britans*
[c] both, and both initiated in the faith, to Pope
[c] *Eleutherius*: who giving thankes to God for
[c] so great a blessing, did first of all baptize the
[c] Legates or Ambassadours; and having con-
[c] secrated *Eluanus* Bishop, and fitted *Meduinus* for

* *Tertull. Apol. cap.5.*

[a] *Chron. Giseburcit. ap Armacan. de Primordiis.*

[b] *Ralæus de scrip. Brit. cent.1.*

[c] *Lib. de primo statu Landanen. eccl. citat. apud Armacan. c.4.*

"for a *Doctor* or an instructer of the people, or "made him Presbyter, as I conceive the mea-"ning of the place to be; he sent them backe "againe to *Lucius*. The issue of the businesse "was, *eorum prædicatione* Lucius, *&* *totius* "Britanniæ *primates baptismum susceperunt*, "that by their preaching, both *Lucius* and all "the Noblemen of *Britaine* received the sacra-"ment of *Baptisme*; and that according to the "order of the said *Eleutherius*, the State *Ec-"clesiasticall* was established, *Bishops* ordained, "and the rules of godly living shewed unto "the people. Nor did he trust this worke to those two alone, but he sent with them others also [d], *Fagatus*, and *Deruvianus* (or *Damianus*, as some call him) to assist the worke, and contribute their best endeavours to so great a businesse, as most of our Historians witnesse.

[d] *Platina in vita Eleuther. alii.*

V. This though it were a notable and signall worke, and that we stand indebted for it unto the piety and zeale of that holy Pope; yet was not this the *planting* of the *Gospell* here, but the *watering* of it. The *planting* of it was before, perhaps before it had been planted even in *Rome* it selfe. *Gildas* [e], one of the noted-st Antiquaries of the *British* Nation, doth affirm expressely, *Tempore, ut scimus, summo Tiberii Cæsaris*, that in the latter dayes of *Tiberius Cæsar*, our Saviour *Christ* the Sun of righteousnesse, had with his beames enlightened this frozen Island, and that his *Gospell* was here pro-

[e] *Gildas de excidio Brit. initio*

propagated without let or hinderance. Now *Christ* our Saviour suffered in the 18 yeere of this *Tiberius*; and he againe deceased in the 39 of our Saviour: so that the faith of *Christ* was at the furthest preached unto the *Britaines* within 5 yeeres after the bitter passion of our Lord *Christ* JESUS. Whether at *Rome* so soone, or not, let them prove that can. That it was here so early, we have shewed a proofe above all exception: and yet we have one more to come, as little liable to exception, in the opinion of the *Romanists*, as that before. It is a passage extant in *Baronius* [f], and by him borrowed from the Acts or history of *Mary Magdalen* and her Associats; which tells us this, that after the dispersion of the *Disciples* on the death of *Steven*; *Lazarus*, *Mary Magdalen*, *Martha*, and *Marcella*, *in quos Judæi majori odio exardescebant*, against whom the *Jewes* were more incensed then against any of the rest, were not onely thrust out of *Hierusalem*, but together with one *Maximinus*, one of the *Disciples*, put into a boate without oares, and so committed unto the mercy, or the fury rather, of the Sea, but were at last by Gods great providence brought unto *Marseilles* in safety, together with *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, who made himselfe a partner in the danger with them, and after went from *Gaul* to *Britaine*, *illicque post prædicatum Evangelium, diem clausit extremum*, where having preached the Gospell, he did

[f] *Baron. in Annal. an. 25. n. 5.*

did end his dayes. With this, as for the time of *Josephs* comming into Britain, agreeth the argument made by the *English Ambassadours* at the Councell of *Constance*[g], upon occasion of a controversie, therein agitated, touching the dignity and greatnesse of the Kingdomes of *England* and *France*. In which it was thus pleaded by the *English* Advocates, *statim post passionem Christi*, that presently on the passion of *Christ*, *Joseph* of *Arimathea* that noble Counsellor, who took our Saviour from the Crosse, that he might early, in the morning, apply himselfe unto the dressing of the Lords Vineyard, came with his twelve Associates into *England*, (*i. e.* that part of *Britain* which was then called *England*) and converted the people of it to the Faith. And this I take, building upon the words of *Gildas*, to be more consonant to the truth of Story, then to put off his comming hither unto the 63. yeare after *Christs* nativity, or the 20. after his Ascension[h], as some of our historians doe, on farre lesse authority. But being come, and having preached the *Gospell* here, as it is generally delivered by our ancient writers, he retired himselfe unto the Isle of *Avalonia*[i], which we now call *Glassenbury*, and there applyed himself unto his devotions: leaving the worke by him, begun to receive a further measure of perfection, both from St. *Peter* who was here in person, and from * *Aristobulus* whom Saint *Paul* sent hither, as be-

[g] *Citat apud Armacan. de Primordiis Brit. eccles. c 2*

[h] *Malmesbur. in hist. Monast. Glaston. Job. Capgrave: alii.*

[i] *Polyd. Virg. hist. Angl. l. 2. alii multi.*

* *Vide c. 3 & 4.*

fore was ſaid. And though we doe not finde any evident footſtep, that either *Ariſtobulus* being ordained *Biſhop* of the *Britains*, or that thoſe *Biſhops* who are ſaid to have been ordained by Saint *Peter*, left any to ſucceed them in that ſacred office; or that Religion had gained much upon the people of this Iland, being then hardly civilized, and almoſt continually in warres and troubles: yet did the Sceleton or carkaſſe of it continue ſtill from this time forwards, even to the dayes of *Diocletian*; ſure I am *Gildas* doth expreſſely ſay it [k], that howſoever the Goſpell was received here but very coldly, at the firſt, *apud quoſdam tamen integrè*, *apud alios minus*, *uſque ad perſecutionem Diocletiani tyranni novennem*, yet it continued amongſt ſome in greater, with others in a leſſe perfection, untill the nine years perſecution raiſed by *Diocletian*. And queſtionleſſe from this old brood of Chriſtians *Eluanus* and *Medwinus* before remembred (whereof the one is called *Avalonus* [l], the other *Belga*, this being the old name of that ſept or nation, to which the Iſle of *Avalonia* in thoſe times belonged) receive their firſt affections to the Faith of *Chriſt*.

[k] *Gildas de excidio Brit. in initio.*

[l] *Balæus de ſcriptor. Cent. I. c. 27. 28. Antiq. Brit. alii.*

VI. But of this, little queſtion hath been raiſed amongſt our Antiquaries. The greateſt ſcruple is concerning *Lucius*, and the number of *Epiſcopall* Sees by him erected: whom the oppoſers of this ſtory, allow not to be King of *Britain*, which

which was reduced at that time to a *Roman* Province; and so by consequence of no ability to build so many *Christian* Churches and endow the same, for the advancement of a Religion not publikely allowed of in the *Roman* Empire. But this, as I conceive, is no such objection, but what may easily be answered; considering what was vouched out of *Bede*, before, the ancientest writer of the *English* nation, and no great friend unto the *British*. For they that know the customs of the *Roman* Empire, know this well enough, [m] that nothing was more usuall with them, *quam habere instrumenta servitutis, & Reges*, then to permit Kings in the conquered Countries, making them to be helpes and instruments for bringing the people into bondage. And they that know the passages of the present times, cannot choose but tell, that *Lucius Verus*, living in the times whereof we speak, having put an end unto the warre against the *Parthians*, [n] *regna Regibus, provincias vero Comitibus suis regendas dedisse*; did give those kingdoms which he had subdued, to be ruled by Kings; the Provinces to bee ruled by Earles or Counties. So that our *Lucius* might bee very well a King in *Britain*, notwithstanding the reduction of it to a *Roman* Province; especially considering that besides his birth-right [o], he was confirmed in the same. *M. Antonini Veri tum benevolentiâ, cum authoritate*, both by the power

[m] *Tacit. de vit. Agric.*

[n] *Capitolinus in Vero.*

[o] *Balæus de scrip Brit. Cen. 1. c. 29*

and favour of *M. Antoninus Verus*, then the *Roman* Emperour. A King then *Lucius* was, and a King in *Britain*; in *Britain* as a King of some part thereof, such as [p] *Pratusagus*, and *Cordigunus* [p], of whom *Tacitus* speaketh, had been before: but not a King of *Britain*, as of all the Iland; it being probable that there were other petty Kings and Roytelets aswell as he. But as it hapned after in the *Saxon Heptarchie*, that he which was more eminent then the rest for power and puissance, was called commonly *Rex Gentis Anglorum*, the King or Monarch of the *English* nation: so I conceive, that of these tributary Kings in Britain, such as were in their severall times of more power then others, assumed unto themselves the stile or title of *Reges Britannorum*, the Kings of the Britains; by which name of *Rex Britannorum*, and not *Rex Britanniæ*, *Lucius* is called in *Beda*, as before was said: And thus then the seeming difficulty may be better solved, then by running out, I know not whither, beyond the territories of the Romans, to look for *Lucius* in the North parts of the Isle, which we now call *Scotland*: only because it is affirmed by *Tertullian* [q], *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo esse subdita*, that those remoter parts of Britain, which never had been Conquered by the *Romans*, were subdued to *Christ*: which might well be after the Gospell had been first received in the Southern Countries.

[p] *Tacit. Annal. l. 14. & l de Vit. Agric.*

[q] *Tertul. li. adv. Judæos cap. 7.*

tries. In which as I can no way blame the *Scots* for seeking to appropriate this honour to their owne part of the Iland: so can I not but wonder at our learned *Camden*[r], that without seeing better cards, he should so easily give up such an hopefull game. As for the name of *Lucius*, it is meerely *Latine*, and that derived upon him either from the British *Llos* (fashioned on the *Roman* anvill) as in that language he is called; or taken up from *Lucius Verus*, one of the partners in the Empire at that very time, unto which family he stood indebted for his Crowne and dignity; or given him else upon the post-fact, after the glorious light of truth had shined on him, in which regard the *Britans* call him *Lever Maur*[f], a man of great splendour and renowne, *propter fidem quæ in ejus tempore venit*, by reason of the faith which in his time was brought into this Iland.

[r] *Camden in Bri. descript.*

[f] *Addit. in Nin. ap. Armacan. de Primordiis. c. 3.*

VII.

But to goe forwards with our story: *Lucius* and his Nobles being thus baptized, *Faganus* and *Deruvianus* returne to *Rome*, giving to *Eleutherius* an account of their great successe: of whom being joyfully received, and their Acts applauded, they returned back againe to *Britaine*, accompanied with many others[t], *quorum doctrina gens Britonum in fide Christi in brevi fundata refulsit*, by whose assiduous preaching the whole *British* nation became in very little time to be well setled and confirmed in the faith of *Christ*. Now at this time of their re-

[t] *Matth. West. hist. in an. 186.*

repaire unto the Pope, I conceive it was, that they received instructions from him, for dealing with that godly King to found *Episcopall* Sees in the most convenient places of his Dominions: themselves receiving at that time, in all probability, the Episcopall Character. For after this I find them honoured with the name of *Bishops*, being by [u] *Rodburne* in his Chronicle called *Antistites*, and by the [u] Author of the booke entituled *De Antiquitatibus Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis*, in plaine termes *Episcopi*: *Faganus* being further said by some [x], to have been made the first Arch-Bishop of the See of *York*. Being returned into *Britaine*, and the King throughly established in the faith of *Christ*, it was no difficult matter to perswade him to turn the temples of the *Idols* into *Christian* Churches; and to appropriate the revenues of them to more pious uses. And this he did, as *Matthew* of *Westminster* observes [x], although he differ from us in his calculation, the very next yeere after their returne from *Rome*. *Gloriosus Rex Britonum Lucius*, &c. *Lucius* the glorious King of the *Britans*, when he had seen the faith of *Christ* dispersed and propagated over his dominions, *possessiones & territoria Ecclesiis & viris Ecclesiasticis abundanter conferens*, bestowing with a liberall hand possessions and revenues both on Church and Churchmen, did ratifie the said donations by his publick Charters. And this he saith on the authority of

[u] *Citat. ap. Ar. l. de Primor. c. 6.*

[x] *Idibid. cap. 5.*

[x] *Matth. Westmon. hist. in An.* 187.

of *Gildas*, who in a booke of his entituled *De victoria Aurelii Ambrosii*, not now extant, had affirmed the same. *Radulphus de Diceto* speakes more fully to the point in hand [y]; *Eleutherus*, saith he, sent into *Britaine*, *Faganus* and *Diwanus* (for so he calls him) who having baptized *Lucius* the King, *templa etiam quæ in honorem plurimorum deorum fundata erant*, did dedicate unto the one and onely God, those temples which had been built in former times to the honour of *Idols*. More fully, yet in fewer words, *Gervase* of *Tilbury* doth relate it thus [z]: *Hic Lucius omnia territoria, templis pridem collata, contulit Ecclesiis, & ampliavit:* This *Lucius*, saith he, bestowed upon the Churches those lands and territories which had beene formerly conferred on the *Pagan* temples; and inlarged them also. So that we finde the Church indowed, and *Bishops* instituted in the time of *Lucius*; and that I hold to be above all exception, as will appeare more evidently by the *Episcopall* succession, reckoned from this time: but whether in so large a number, and upon that occasion, as it is layd before us in our common Chroniclers, that is the point to be considered. Now our Historians old and new, very few excepted, report that in those times in *Britaine* there were no lesse then 28 Cities of name and eminency, whereof 25 had anciently been the seats of the heathen *Flamines*; the three remaining, *viz.* *York*,

[y] *Citat. ap. Armachan. lib. de Primord. c.4.*

[z] *Ap. eund. c.6.*

Yorke, *London*, and *Caer-Leon* upon *Vske*, of the *Archiflamines*: and that upon the introduction of the Gospell hither, the temples of the *Idols* being turned into *Christian* Churches, in steed of *Flamines* they placed *Bishops*; *Archbishops* in the place of the *Archi-Flamines*. All our owne writers, which speake of the foundation of these Bishoprickes, from *Geofry* of *Monmouth* downe to *Polydore Virgil*, doe report it thus. And so doe many forreine also, beginning with *Martinus Polonus*, who first tooke it up; and so descending downe to *Platina*, and since to other later Authors, both ours and theirs. [a] *Erant tunc in* Britannia *viginti octo Pontifices Idolorum*, *quos* Flamines *vocabant*; *inter quos tres* Archiflamines *erant*. *Sed prædicti Sancti* (that is, *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*) *de mandato Apostolici*, *ubi erant* Flamines, *instituerunt Episcopos*; *ubi* Archiflamines, *Archiepiscopos*. We had the same before in *English*, save that the Popes appointment (*mandatum Apostolici*) doth here occurre, which there we had not. And how farre this may stand with probability, or with truth of story, is in the next place to be looked on.

[a] *Martin. Polonus in Chron.*

VIII. And for the number of them first, it cannot be denyed but that of old there were no lesse then 28 Cities in these parts of *Britaine* which we now call *England*. *Beda* affirmes it so expressely; *Erat & viginti octo Civitatibus quondam nobilissimis insignita*, that *Britaine* anciently

[b] *Beda Hist. Ecc. Angl. l. 1. cap. 1.*

ently was ennobled with 28. signall and noted Cities, besides Towns and Castles. *Henry* of *Huntingdon*[c] doth not onely declare as much, but lets us know the severall names whereby they had been called in the Britaines time; and by the which the most of them were known in the later ages, when he lived. And possibly there might be *Bishops* in them all, according as the Gospell did enlarge its borders, and Provinces were gained to the Faith of Christ: though neither all so earely as the daies of *Lucius*, nor all of his foundation and endowment, as it is supposed. It was a worke too mighty for a petty Prince to spread his arms at once over all the Iland; especially so many Provinces therof, being none of his. What might be done in times succeeding, and by his example, is not now the question: nor whether that which was done after, might in some sort be ascribed to him, as being the first that gave the onset, & shewed the way to others, how to do the like: as *Rome* is said to have built been by *Romulus* because he began it, the greatest part thereof being built along time after. And this seems probable to me, as to the number of the Sees *Episcopall*, that there were so many: because that *Gregory* the *great* by his constitution, appointed twelve *Bishops* for the Province of *Canterbury*, and twelve also unto that of *York*: which with the foure in *Wales*, which are still remayning, will make up eight and twenty

[c] *Huntingdonen. hist. l. 1. in init.*

[d] *ap. Bedan. hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 29.*

in the totall. But for the *Flamines* and *arch-Flamines*, I must confesse I am not so well satisfied in the probability and truth of that. That by the name of *Flamines* the *Gentiles* used to call the *Priests* of their severall Gods, I know well enough. *Sacerdotes Gentilium Flamines dicebantur*[c], as it is in *Isidore*. But being that one and the same City, had not onely many *Flamines*, but also many Colleges of *Flamines*, according to the number of the Gods they worshipped, some for *Mars*, others for *Jupiter*, and some for *Romulus*; and that there is no ancient writer of the *Roman* stories which mentioneth either *Archiflamines* or *Protoflamines*, as is objected very well by B. *Godwin*[f]: I must confesse I am not so well satisfied in this point, as to deliver it for a certaine and undoubted truth. He that desires to see what may be answered unto those objections, let him consult the learned and laborious worke of *Francis Mason* late Archdeacon of *Norfolk*, *De Ministerio Anglicano*[g], the summe whereof in brief is this, *Licet in una urbe multi Flamines*, that though there were many *Flamines* in one City, yet was there only one which was called *Pontifex*, or *Primus Flaminum*; the Pope or principall of the *Flamine*; of which kind, one for every City, were those whom our historians speake of; And for the *Archiflamiues*, or *Proto-Flamines*, though the name occurre not, yet were there some in power and authority above the

[c] *Isidor. Origin. l.7. c.12.*

[f] *Godwin. Landaven. tract. de conver. Brit.*

[g] *Mason de Minist. Ang. l.2. c.3.*

the rest, who were entituled *primi Pontificum*, (as indeed *Coifi*[h], by that name is called in *Beda*) which is the same in sense with *Archiflamines*, although not in sound. This if it satisfie the Reader, shall not thwart with me; who am no enemy unto the story, or any part thereof which may well be justified. If not, but that it rather be accounted a device of *Monkish* ignorance, I shall desire them, who are so opinionated to consider this, that few of the records of those elder daies, have come entire unto our hands; and that it is no marvell if such an ancient story as this is, (considering through whose hands it passed) hath in so long a tract of time, contracted somewhat of that rust and rubbish wherewith the middle ages of the Church did so much abound.

[h] *Beda hist. eccl. Angl. l.2. c. 13.*

IX. Yet if mine own opinion were demanded in it, though I agree unto the story, both for the number of the *Bishops* and the *Metropolitans*, I must needs think there was some other reason for it then the relation of the number of the *Flamines* and *Archiflamines*, which is there pretended: and that this was not done at once, but in a longer tract of time then the reign of *Lucius*, as was in part affirmed before. That *Lucius* did convert the *Temples* of the *Idols* into *Christian* Churches, setled the revenues of the same upon the *Churches* by him founded, I shall easily grant; so farre forth as the bounds of his dominions will give way

unto it; but being there were but 28. Cities in all that part of *Britaine* which we now call *England*, as both from *Huntingdon* and *Beda* was before delivered; and that King *Lucius* was but a Tributary Prince of those Regions only, which were inhabited by the *Trinobantes* and *Cattieuchlani*, as I doe verily conceive he was: I believe rather that the number of the *Bishops* and *Archbishops* which our stories speake of, related to the forme of government as it was afterwards established in the *Roman* Empire, and not to any other cause whatever. Now they which have delivered to us the state of the *Roman* Empire, informe us this, That for the easier government and administration of the same, [i] it was divided into fourteen *Dioceses* (for so they called those greater portions into the which it was divided:) every *Diocese* being subdivided into severall *Provinces*, and every *Province* in the same conteining many severall Cities. And they which have delivered to us the estate of the *Christian* Church, have informed us this, that in each City of the Empire, wherein the *Romans* had a [k] *Defensor Civitatis* (as they called that Magistrate) the *Christians* when they gain'd that City to the holy faith, did ordain a *Bishop*; that over every *Province* in wch the *Romans* had their *Presidents*, they did place an *Archbishop*, whose seate being commonly in the *Metropolis* of the Province, gave him the name of *Metropolitan*: and

[i] *Notitia Provinc. in div. cap.*

[k] *Notitia Prov. & dignitat. c.*

and finally that in every *Diocese* in which the *Romans* had their *Vicarius*, or *Lieutenant-generall*, the *Christians* also had their *Primate*, and seated him in the same City also where the other was. This ground thus layed, it will appeare upon examination, that *Britaine* in the time of the *Roman* Empire was a full *Diocese*[l] of it selfe, no way depending upon any other portion of that mighty state, as any way subordinate thereunto. And being a *Diocese* in it selfe, it was divided in those times into these three *Provinces*, viz.[m] *Britannia prima*, conteining all the Countries on the South of the River *Thames*, and those inhabited by the *Trinobantes*, *Cattieuchlani*, and *Iceni*: 2. *Britannia secunda*, comprising all the Nations within the *Severne*: and 3. *Maxima Cæsariensis*, which comprehended all the residue to the Northern border. In the which *Provinces* there were no lesse then 28 Cities, as before is said; of which *Yorke* was the chiefe in *Maxima Cæsariensis*; *London* the principall in *Britannia prima*; *Caer-Leon* upon *Usk*, being the *Metropolis* in *Britannia secunda*. And so we have a plaine and apparent reason, not only of the 28 Episcopall Sees, erected anciently in the *British* Church; but why three of them, and three only, should be *Metropolitans*. For howsoever after this there were two other *Provinces* taken out of the former three, *viz. Valentia* and[n] *Flavia Cæsariensis*, which added to the for-

[l] *Ib. in Provinc Occident. sup. c.3.*

[m] *Cambd de divisione Britan.*

[n] *Id. ibid.*

former, made up five in all: yet this being after the conclusion of the *Nicene* Councell, the *Metropolitan* dignity in the Church remained as before it did, without division or abatement, according to the °*Canon* of that famous Synod. And herewithall we have a pregnant and infallible Argument, that *Britaine* being in it self a whole and complete *Diocese* of the *Roman* Empire, no way subordinate unto the *Præfect* of the City of *Rome*, but under the command of its owne *Vicarius* or *Lieutenant Generall*; the *British* Church was also absolute and independent, owing nor suite nor service, as we use to say, unto the *Patriarch* or *Primate* of the Church of *Rome*, but onely to its owne peculiar and immediate *Primate*; as it was elsewhere in the Churches of the other *Dioceses* of the *Roman* Empire. This I conceive to be the true condition of the *British* Church, and the most likely reason for the number of *Bishops* and *Archbishops* here established, according to the truth of Story, abstracted from those errours and mistakes, which in the middle Ages of the Church, have by the *Monkish* writers of those times been made up with them.

° *Concil. Nicen. Can. 6.*

X. But for the substance of the story, as by them delivered, which is the planting of the Church with *Bishops* in eminent places, that appeares evidently true by such remainders of antiquity as have escaped the tyranny and wrack of time. For in the Councell held at

Arles

Arles in *France*, *an.* 314. we finde three [h] *British* Bishops at once subscribing, viz. *Eborius* B. of *York*, *Restitutus* B. of *London*, and *Adelfus* B. of *Colchester*, there called *Colonia Londinensium*. *Gennadius* also, in his Tract, *de viris illustribus*, mentioneth one *Fastidius*, by the name of *Fastidius Britanniarum Episcopus*, amongst the famous writers of old time, placing him *an.* 420. or thereabouts; whom B. *Godwin* [k] I cannot tell upon what reasons, reckoneth amongst the Bishops of the See of *London*. Particularly for the *Bishops* or *Archbishops* of the *British* Church, we have a Catalogue of the *Metropolitans* of *London* collected or made up by *Joceline* [l], a Monke of *Fourneſt*, an ancient Monastery [m] in the North, being 14. in all: which, howsoever the validity therof may perhaps be questioned by more curious wits, yet I shall lay downe as I finde it: taking their names from him; that little story which concernes them, out of other writers. First then we have *Theon* or *Theonus*: 2 *Eluanus*, one of the two Ambassadours sent by K. *Lucius* to the Pope. 3 *Cadar* or *Cadocus*: 4 *Obinus* or *Owinus*: 5 *Conanus*: 6 *Palladius*: 7 *Stephanus*: 8 *Iltutus*: 9 *Theodwinus*: 10 *Theodredus*: 11 *Hilarius*: 12 *Guitelinus* [n] sent as Ambassadour to *Aldrocnus* King of *Armorica* or *Little Britaine*, to crave his ayde against the *Scots* and *Picts*, who then plagued the *Britaines*: 13 *Vodius* or *Vodinus*, slaine by *Hengist* (but some say

[h] *Tom. 1. Concilior. Gall. à Sirmundo edit.*

[i] *Gennad. in Catal.*

[k] *Godwin in Catal. Episc. Londinens.*

[l] *Cit. ap. Armachan. de Primor. c. 5.*

[m] *Camden in Brigant.*

[n] *Geofr. Monmouth, hist. Britan.*

ſay by [o] *Vortiger*) at the firſt entrance of the *Saxons* into this Iſle: 14 And laſt of all *Theonus* who had been ſometimes Biſhop of *Glouceſter*, but was after tranſlated hither, and was the laſt Biſhop of *London*, of this line or *Series*. Of ſome of theſe, *viz.* the ſecond, and the three laſt, there is good *canſtat* in Antiquity: whether there be the like of all the reſidue, I am not able to determine. So for the *Biſhops* or *Archbiſhops* of *York*, of the *Britiſh* line, beſides *Faganus* the firſt Archbiſhop of this See, as before was ſaid; and beſides *Eborius* formerly remembred amongſt the Subſcribers to the Councill of *Arles*: our ſtories tell us of one *Sampſon* [p] ſaid to be made the Biſhop of the place in the time of *Lucius*; of one [m] *Pyramus* preferred unto this honour by King *Arthur*, whoſe domeſtick Chapleine he then was: and finally of *Tadiacus* [n], who together with *Theonus* the laſt Biſhop of *London* of this line or race, fled into *Wales*, the better to avoyd the tyranny of the *Saxons*, who then made havock of the Church. And for the Biſhops or Arch-Biſhops of *Caerleon* upon *Uſk*, which was the third *Metropoliticall* City in the account and eſtimate of thoſe times, we have aſſurance of *Dubritius* [o] a right godly man, ordained Biſhop of the ſame by *Germanus* & *Lupus*, two *French* Prelates, at ſuch time as they came to *Britaine* for the ſuppreſſing of the *Pelagian* hereſie; whoſe Succeſſours we have upon record, under the

[o] *Speed in deſcr. Britan.*

[p] *Godw. in Archiep. Eboracen.*

[m] *Galfrid. Monumet. hiſt. l. 9. c. 8. Math. Weſtmon.*

[n] *Matth. Florilegus in A°. 586.*

[o] *Liber Eccleſ. Landavenſ.*

the title of *Llandaffe* to this very day. That *Gloucester* also in those times was a *Bishops* See, besides what did appeare before, is affirmed by *Cambden*[p], who tells us that the *Bishops* of the same occurre in the subscriptions to some ancient Councels, under the name of *Cluvienses*; for by the name of *Clevum* or *Caer-glowy* was it called of old. But not to wander into more particulars, either *Sees* or *Bishops*; we finde in *Athanasius*[q], that in the Councell of *Sardica*, holden in *An.* 358. some of the *British* Bishops were assembled amongst the rest, concurring with them in the condemnation of the *Arian* heresies. As also, that in the Councell of *Ariminum*, held the next yeere after, the *British* Bishops were there present: [r] three of the which were so necessitous aud poore, that they were faine to be mainteined at the publick charge, *Sanctius putantes fiscum granare quàm singulos*, thinking it farre more commendably honest to be defraied out of the *Exchequer*, then to be burdensome unto their friends. And when Pope *Gregory* sent *Austin* hither for the conversion of the *Saxons*, he found no fewer then seven [s] Bishops in the *British* Churches; viz. *Herefordensis*, *Tavensis*, *Paternensis*, *Banchorensis*, *Elwiensis*, *Wiccensis*, and *Morganensis* (or rather *Meneuensis*) as [t] *Balæus* counts them. All of which, that of *Paternensis* excepted onely, doe still remaine amongst us under other names.

[p] *Cambden in descript Brit. in Dobunis.*

[q] *Athanas. Apol. 2. in initio.*

[r] *Sulpit. Severus in hist. sacr. l. 2.*

[s] *Beda Ecc. hist. l. 2. cap. 2.*

[t] *Balæus Cent. 1. c. 70.*

XI. Now if I ſhould be aſked, whom I conceive to have been the *Primate* of the *Britiſh* Church during the time it flouriſhed, and ſtood upright, neither oppreſſed by the tyranny of *Dioclesian*, nor in a ſort exterminated by the *Saxons* fury; I anſwere, that it is moſt likely to be the *Metropolitan* or Archbiſhop of *York*: And this I doe upon theſe reaſons. For firſt, however it appeares by [u] *Tacitus*, that *London* was a Towne of the greateſt trade, *copia negotiorum et commeatuum maxime celebris*, as that Author hath it: yet neither was it ever made a Roman [x] *Colony*, nor made the ſeat at any time of the *Roman* Emperours. But on the other ſide, *York* was a *Colony* of the *Romans*, even of long continurnce, as appeares not onely by the teſtimony of *Ptolomy* and *Antoninus*; but by this ancient inſcription vouched by Mr. *Cambden*, and by an old Coyne of *Severus* the *Roman* Emperour, bearing this inſcription, COL. EBORACUM LEG. VI. VICTRIX. And as it was a *Colony* of the *Roman* people, ſo was it alſo for a time the ſeat of the *Roman* Emperours: For here the Emperour *Severus* [z] before remembred, yielded up his ſoule: and here *Conſtantius Chlorus* deceaſed alſo, having both kept their ſeat there a good time before: here *Conſtantine* [a] the great advancer of the faith & Goſpell, was firſt brought forth into the world; and here did he firſt take upon him, together with the name of *Cæſar*, the

[u] *Tacit. Annal. lib. 14.*

[x] *Id. ibid.*

[y] *Camden in Brit. deſcript.*

[z] *Id. ibid.*

[a] *Id. ibid.*

the government of that part of the *Roman* Empire, which had belonged unto his Father. So that *Eboracum* or *York*, being the ancient seat of the *Roman* Emperours, what time they pleased to be resident in the Isle of *Britaine*, was questionlesse the seate of their *Vicarii* or *Lieutenants Generall*, when they were absent from the same: and so by consequence, the seat of the *British Primate*, according to the rules and platforme before layd downe. Adde here that for the time the *Romans* held this Iland in their possession, they setled their *Prætorium* for the administration of Justice, in the City of *York*, drawing thither the resort of all the subjects which had any businesse of that kinde, for dispatch thereof: in which regard it is called by *Spartianus* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the City, as by way of excellence. *Veniens in Civitatem, primùm in templum* Bellonæ *ductus est*, speaking of the entrance which *Severus* made into the City of *York*. But that which most of all confirms me, is the subscription of the *British* Bishops to the Councell of *Arles*, as it is published amongst the *Gallick* Councels by *Sirmundus*, thus: *Eborius, Episcopus de Civitate Eboracensi, Provincia Britannia. Restitutus Episcopus de civitate Londinensi, Provincia supradicta. Adelfius Episcopus de civitate Colonia Londinensium; exinde Sacerdos Presbyter, Arminius Diaconus.* By which subscription it is plaine, that the Bishop or Archbishop of *York*, having place of

[b] *Spartian. in vita Severi.*

London, was *Primate* of the *British* Church: there being otherwise no reason why he should have precedence in the subscription. And so much for the setling of *Episcopacy* in the Church of *Britaine*, at this reception of the Gospell from the See of *Rome*: being the first time that the Faith of *Christ* was publickly received and countenanced, not in this Iland onely, but any other part of the world whatever. All which I have layd downe together, that I might keep my selfe the closer to my other businesses; to which now I hasten.

CHAP. III.

The Testimony given unto *Episcopall* authority, in the last part of this second *Century*.

I. *The difference betwixt Pope* Victor *and the* Asian *Bishops, about the feast of* Easter.

II. *The interpleading of* Polycrates *and* Irenæus, *two renowned* Prelates, *in the aforesaid cause.*

III. *Severall* Councels *called about it, by the* Bishops *of the Church then being; with observations on the same.*

IV. *Of*

IV. *Of the* Episcopall succession *in the foure prime* Sees, *for this second* Century.

V. *An answer to some objections made against the same.*

VI. *The great authority and esteem of the said foure* Sees, *in those early dayes.*

VII. *The use made of this* Episcopall succession *by Saint* Irenæus.

VIII. *As also by* Tertullian *and some other Ancients.*

IX. *Of the authority enjoyed by* Bishops *in* Tertullians *time, in the administration of the Sacraments.*

X. *As also in enjoyning fasts, and the disposing of the Churches treasurie.*

XI. *And in the dispensation of the Keyes.*

XII. Tertullian *misalledged in maintenance of the* Lay Presbyterie.

XIII. *The great extent of* Christianity *and* Episcopacie, *in* Tertullians *time, concludes this* Century.

Having thus settled the affaires of the Church of *Britaine*, we will look back again towards *Rome*, where wee find *Victor* sitting as successor unto *Eleutherius*; and the whole Church though free from persecutions, yet terribly embroyled I.

with Schismes and Heresies. For in the later end of *Eleutherius*, *Blastus* and *Florinus* two notorious *Heretieks* had broached this doctrin, [z] τὸν θεὸν εἶναι ποιητὴν κακῶν, that God was the author of sin: and possibly might have spread the venom of their *Heresy* exceeding far, if *Irenæus* that great and learned Bishop of *Lyons*, being then at *Rome*, had not prescribed a speedy and a soveraign *Antidote*, in severall tractates and discourses against the same. But *Eleutherius* being dead, and *Victor* in his place, there hapned such a Schisme in the Church of *Christ*, by his precipitance and perversenesse, that all the water, which *Irenæus* and many other godly men [b] could powre into it, was hardly sufficient to quench the flame. The businesse which occasioned it, was the feast of *Easter*: or indeed not the feast it selfe, upon the keeping of the wch all *Christians* had agreed from the first beginnings; but for the day in which it was to be observed, wherein the Churches of *Asia* had an old tradition, differing from the rest of *Christendome*. For whereas generally that festivall had been solemnized in the Church of *Christ*, on the *Lords day* next after the *Jewish passover*, as being the day which our Redeemer honored with his *Resurrection*: the Christians of the *Asian* Churches kept it, upon the 14. day of the moneth precisely, being the very day prescribed for the *Jewish passover*. A businesse of no great importance,

[z] *Euseb. Ec. hist. l 5. c. 19.*

[b] *Id. l. 5. c. 23 & 24.*

tance, more then for a generall conformity in the Church of *Christ*; yet such as long had exercised the patience of it, even from the time of *Pius* Pope of *Rome*, who first decreed it to be kept on the Lords day, *Die Dominico Pascha celebrari*, [c] as it is in *Platina*; but followed with most heat and violence by this *Victor*, perhaps upon the *Omen* of his name. Of whom *Eusebius* thus [d] reporteth; ἀθείως τῆς Ἀσίας πάσης, &c. that he attempted to cut off the whole Church of *Asia*, together with the Churches adjacent, from the Communion of the *Catholick*; ὡς ἑτεροδόξαι; as if they had maintained some heterodox or dangerous Doctrine contrary to the Faith of *Christ*. A matter taken very tenderly not onely by the *Asian* Bishops whom it most concerned; but also by som other of the western parts, who more endeavoured the preservation of the Churches peace, then the advancement and authority of the See of *Rome*: those of chiefe note which interessed themselves therein, being *Irenæus*, *Polycrates*; the one Bishop of the *Metropolitan* Church of *Lyons* in *France*; the other of the Church of *Ephesus*, the Queen of *Asia*; both honourable in their times and places.

[c] *Platina in vita Pii Pont.*

[d] *Euseb. Ec. hist. l. 5 c. 24.*

II. And first *Polycrates* begins [e] deriving the occasion and discent of their observation, from *Philip* τῶν δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων one of the twelve Apostles (not of the *seven Deacons*, as our *Christopherson* most ridiculously and falsly doth

[e] *Id. Ibid.*

doth translate it) who dyed at *Hierapolis* a City of *Phrygia*; and from Saint *John* ὁ ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ κυρίου ἀναπεσών, who rested on the bosome of our Lord and Saviour; as also from *Polycarpus*, and *Thracias*, Bishops of *Smyrna*, and both *martyrs*; *Sagaris* B. of *Laodicea*, *Papyrus* and *Melito* and many others, who kept the feast of Easter as the *Asians* did. As for himselfe, he certifieth, that following the traditions of his Elders he had done the like; that seven of his kindred had been *Bishops*, ἐγὼ δὲ ὄγδοος, himselfe being the eighth, and all which did so observe the feast of *Easter*, when the *Jewes* did prepare the *Passeover*; that having served God 65. years, diligently canvassed over the holy Scriptures, and held both entercourse and correspondence with many of the brethren over all the world, οὐ πλυόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς καταπλησσομένοις, hee was the least disturbed at those *bruta fulmina*. Adding withall, that he might here commemorate those severall *Bishops* that were assembled at his call to debate the point; ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἐὰν γράφω πόλλα πλήθη ἔσται, but that this bare recitall of their names was too great a trouble: who tho they could not but be sensible of his imperfections, yet thinking that he bare not those gray haires for nought did willingly subscribe unto his epistle. So farre, and to this purpose he. And on the other side, *Irenæus* [y] writing unto *Victor*, utterly dislikes that his severe and riged manner of

[y] *Id. ibid. c. 24. ns. i.*

of proceeding, in cutting off so many Churches from the Communion of our Lord, ἀρχαίᾳ ἔθεσι παραδόσιν ἐπιτηρήσας, onely because they did adhere to the tradition of their ancestors in a point of Ceremony: shewing how much he differed in this businesse from the temper and moderation of his Predecessours, *Soter*, *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Higinus*, *Sixtus* and *Telesphorus*, who though they held the same opinions that he did did notwithstanding entertaine the *Asian* Bishops, when they came unto them, with great affection and humanity; sending to those who lived farre distant, the most blessed *Eucharist*, in testimony of their fellowship and Communion with them. Nor did he write thus unto *Victor* onely, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφόροις πλείστοις ἄρχουσιν ἐκκλησιῶν, but to the Governours or Bishops of many other Churches also. And certainly it was but need that such a moderator should be raised to atone the difference: the billowes beating very highly, and *Victor* being beset on every side for his stiffe perversenesse, by the *Prelates* of the adverse party, πλικτικώτερον καθαπτομένων τοῦ Βικτόρος, sharply assaulting him both with words and writings.

III. For the composing of this businesse, before it grew to such a heat, there could no better means be thought of, then that the Bishops of the Church in their severall quarters should meet together to debate and determine of it. And so accordingly they did. [z] Σύνοδοι δὴ καὶ συγκρο-

[z] *Euseb. hist. eccl. l. 5. c. 22. ky.*

κρατήσεις ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τ'αὐτὸν ἐγίνοντο, and many Synods and assemblies of the *Bishops*, were held about it: *viz.* one in *Cæsarea* of *Palestine*, wherein *Theophilus* B. of the place, and *Narcissus* B. of *Hierusalem* did sit as *Presidents:* another at *Rome:* a third of all the Bishops of *Pontus*, in the which *Palmas*, ὡς ἀρχαιότατος as the chiefe amongst them of that order, did then preside: A fourth there was of the *French* or *Gallick* Churches, in the which *Irenæus* sat as cheife: a fifth of all the Churches about *Osroena* and the parts adjoyning. *Bachyllus* Bishop of *Corinth*, καὶ πλείστοι ὅσοι ἄλλοι, and many other Bishops of particular Churches, held their *Synod* also apart and separate; which all with one consent determined, that the feast of *Easter* was to be observed on no other day then that upon the which our Saviour rose: contrary to the usage of the *Asian* Churches. In agitation of which businesse, I observe these things. First, that *Episcopacy* in so short a time was setled and confirmed over all the world, or so much of it at the least, as had received the Faith and Gospell. Secondly, that on all emergent controversies, that did ingage the Church of Christ, the Bishops, as men most concerned in the Churches Peace, were still most forward also to compose the same. Thirdly, that on the practises of the Popes of *Rome* to enlarge their border, the Bishops of the Church of what part soever, have alwayes been

been most ready to oppose the same; and keep that proud and swelling *See* within the compasse of its proper and peculiar bounds. So farre were those most godly and Religious men, from [a] *making a stirrup for Antichrist to get into his Saddle*, though some have so given out in these later dayes to the dishonor of those glorious lights in the house of *Christ*, and the profane reproach not only of the wisdome of that Church, but also of the holy Spirit of almighty God. Fourthly, that on the rising of such differences, as did disturb the Churches Peace, the Bishops of the Church [b] have an innate and proper power, of convocating and assembling *Councels* both *Nationall* and *Provinciall* for the appeasing of the same; wherein the greatest Champions of the Popedome, doe consent also: Which power as they made use of, as their own peculiar, when as there were no Christian Princes to have a care unto the maine: so since there have been Christian Princes, that power is not extinguished but directed onely. Fifthly, that in those Councels or Synodicall meetings, the Bishops and their Clergy had authority both to debate and to determine of all such matters, as did concerne the Church of *Christ*, either in point of Faith or Ceremony; not seeking any confirmation of their Acts and Ordinances, from that Christian people, who were to yeeld obedience to them. And last of all, that such

[a] *Smectym. p. 30.*

[b] *Bellarm. de Con. l. 1. 12.*

things as by them were then determined, did presently oblige all people under the governance and direction of the said Prelates and Clergy, so met together & assembled, as before is said: as appears partly by that calme which followed over all the Church, upon the holding of these Synods; but principally by that end, which afterwards was put unto this controversie, by the Councell of *Nice*.

IV. But to proceed with *Irenæus* that Religious Prelate, from what hee did as Bishop in the Churches service, for the atoning of her differences and the advancement of her peace; to that which he hath left behinde him concerning Bishops, as a learned writer, the light and glory of this age. Which evidence of his, because it doth relate to the *Episcopall succession* in the Church of *Christ* as a foundation on the which hee doth build his structures; we will first look on the *succession* of the foure prime Sees, by which we may conjecture at the state and quality of all the rest. And this we cannot doe at a better time, then where now we are, the time when *Victor* sate in the Chaire of *Rome*: which being in the close of the present *Century*, gives us opportunity, to looke aswell upon his Predecessors, as his and their *Cotemporaries* in the same. And first for *Rome*, from *Clemens* where we first began, to *Victor* which is now the subject of our History; we finde the names and actions of nine intermediate

[c] *Euseb. in Chro.*

ate *Bishops*: *Clemens* being the fourth, and *Victor* the 14. in that Catalogue; most of the which had suffered death for the sake of *Christ*, whose honour they preferred before worldly glories. For *Antioch* next, I finde that from *Ignatius* who began this *Century*, unto *Serapion* who sate Bishop there in the conclusion of the same, were five Bishops onely: and that in *Alexandria*, from *Cerdo* to *Demetrius* inclusively, were no more then seven. By which it is most cleare and evident that the Bishops in neither of these Churches, held the chair by turns [d] from week to week, or from moneth to moneth as some men suppose, but were invested with a constant and fixt prehemi-nence, such as the Bishops now enjoy in the Church of *Christ*: some of them, in the two last specially, holding out ten yeeres, some twenty, others more then that; as by the tables of *succession* published by *Eusebius*, doth at full appeare. As for *Hierusalem*, the Bishops thereof indeed held not out so long, there being no fewer then thirteen from *Simeon* unto *Marcus* the first Bishop of that Church, which was not of the *circumcision*; and thirteen more betwixt this *Marcus* and *Narcissus*, who closed this *century*. So that within one hundred years there sat nine and twenty Bishops in this Church: which sheweth, as [e] *Baronius* well observeth, *Ecclesiam Hierosolymitanam dira fuisse persecutione vexatam*, that this poore

[d] *Beza de diverf. grad.*

[e] *Bar. in Annal. an. 113.*

Church was terribly afflicted with persecutions. And so it is most like to be: For standing as it did betwixt *Jew* and *Gentile*, and equally hated of them both; how could it choose but suffer under a double tyranny; each of the adversaries striving who should most afflict her? Nor hath *Eusebius* onely given a bare and naked list of names, but calculated punctually and precisely, the time and years, which all the *Bishops* of the three first Sees did possesse the government of those Churches: which he professeth that he could not finde in the last exactly, by reason of the shortnesse of their lives, [f] κομιδὴ γὰρ ἐν βραχυβίοις αὐτοὺς λέγω κατέχει, as his words there are. But what we faile of there, we finde performed after by *Nicephorus* [g]; who hath assigned to every one of them his owne terme and time: in the which whether he be rather censured then rectified by *Petavius* [h], I meane not to examine in this place and time. For howsoever at the first *Hierusalem* was not reckoned for a Patriarchall Church, as the others were: yet in regard of the opinion which was held of the place it selfe, as being honoured with the passion of our Lord and Saviour, and with the Preaching of the holy *Apostles*, and consequently reckoned for the mother City of the Christian Church; the Bishops of that Church were in great esteem, and the *Episcopall succession* there preserved on exact re-

[f] *Euseb. eccl. hist. lib. 4. cap. 5.*
[g] *Niceph. Chron.*
[h] *Animadvers. in Epiph. hæres. 66.*

record, as in the three great *Patriarchall Sees* before remembred.

But here I meet with an Objection that must first be answered, before we see what use is made of this *Episcopall succession* by the ancient writers. For if that those who thus succeeded one another in these severall Churches, were no more then *Presbyters*, as some please to say; then must we quit the cause, and let fall the action. And though I cannot thinke that men of wit and learning, whatsoever they say, doe or can possibly conceive them to be other then *Bishops*, *Bishops* distinct from *Presbyters* both in power and title: yet we are told, and we shall see how truly [i], that *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Higinus*, *Telesphorus*, and *Sixtus*, whom the Papists call *Bishops*, and the *Popes predecessors*, are by *Eusebius* termed *Presbyters*; and therefore (for what else must be the inference?) that *Bishops and Presbyters are the same.* A passage in the which there are almost as many fallacies and mistakes, as words: which I shall briefly represent, and so passe them by. For first, *Eusebius*, whom they cite, doth not call them *Presbyters* [k], but *Irenæus* in *Eusebius*; which so great *Criticks* should have seene. The difference of the Age or time when these Authors lived, maketh a great difference in the use and acceptation in the word: And I believe it cannot easily be found, whatever may be said of *Irenæus*, that *Bishops* are called *Presbyters* by *Eu-*

V.

[i] *Smectym. p. 23.*

[k] *Euseb. eccl. hist. l. 1. c. 24. xs.*

Eusebius, or any writer of his time. 2. It is not evident by the Authors words, that Πρεσβύτεροι is there used to denote the *Office*, but the *Age* or rather *Seniority* of those holy men, which preceded *Victor* in the Church of *Rome*. Or if it were, yet 3ly. it is past all question, that simply *Presbyters* they were not, though by him so called: but Πρεσβύτεροι οἱ προεστῶτες τῆς ἐκκλησίας, such as had had the government of that famous Church; and so were *Bishops* at the least both in name and office. 4. The calling of them by the name of *Presbyters* doth no more conclude that *Presbyters and Bishops were the same*, then if a man discoursing of the state of *London*, should say, that my *Lord Major was a wealthy Citizen*; and thereupon a stander by should make this conclusion, that every Citizen is *Lord Major of London*, and hath as much to doe In the government thereof, as he. 5. The *Papists* doe not call *Higinus*, *Pius*, *Sixtus*, and the rest there mentioned, by the name of *Bishops*; or if they doe, they doe not call them so *quà* Papists; or if so too, and that none call them so but Papists, there is almost no *Father* in the Church of *Christ* who may not presently be endited and condemned of Popery, because there is almost no *Father*, nor any other ancient writer, who doth not call them by that name. 6. and lastly, it is no Popery, nor the language of a Papist neither, to say that *Pius*, *Sixtus*, and the rest there named, were the

Pope

Popes Predecessors: for Predecessors of the Popes they were, in their See and government, though neither in their *tyranny* nor *superstition*. Nor doth this Argument strike only at the Popes of *Rome*, though they onely named; but at all the *Bishops* of the *Primitive* Church, whether of the greater *Patriarchall Sees*, or of any other; who, if the observation of these men be good and valid, were no more but *Presbyters*. The bhst way to refell which fancy, is to behold the latitude and extent of that *jurisdiction* which the *Bishops* of these Churches did enjoy at this present time: which when we have layed down sincerely, according as it stood in the times we speak of, it shall be left to be considered of by any sober-minded man, whosoever he be, whether the men that held such ample *jurisdiction* were no more then *Presbyters*, or whether such *Bishops were the same with Presbyters*, whieh comes both to one.

VI. Now that the latitude of *jurisdiction* belonging to these foure *prime Sees*, especially to those of *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Alexandria*, was as ancient as the times whereof we speake, appeareth plainely by the *Canon* of the *Nicene* Councell. For whereas it was ordered by the aforesaid Councell [d], Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, that *ancient* customes should prevaile, *viz.* the Churches of *Alexandria*, *Rome*, and *Antioch* should enjoy those priviledges which before they

[d] *Concil. Nicen. Can. 6.*

they had: those priviledges or customes, call them which you will, could not of right be counted *ancient*, unlesse we place them at the latest in this second Century, the close thereof being not much above an hundred yeeres before that *Synod*. Now for those priviledges what they were, we are in part informed by the selfe same *Canon*; where it is said, [e] that the *Jurisdiction* of the Bishop of *Alexandria* did extend over all *Egypt*, *Lybia*, and *Pentapolis*: To which though *Epiphanius* addeth *Thebais Maræotica*, and *Ammoniaca*, yet he addes nothing in effect; the two first being Provinces of *Egypt*, and the last of *Lybia*: So that his jurisdiction reached from *Gaza* in the parts of *Syria*, unto the western border of *Cyrenaica*, (for that was the *Pentapolis* mentioned in the Canon) where it conterminated on that of *Africk*. The *Canon* having thus layed out the bounds of the command and jurisdiction belonging unto him of *Alexandria*, proceedeth unto that of *Rome*, who had his *mos parilis*, or τῦτο συνηθὸς, an answerable latitude and extent of power. But for the certainty of this extent we must referre our selves unto [g] *Ignatius*, directing his Epistle to the *Romans*, with this superscription, Εκκλησία ἡγιασμένη καὶ πεφωτισμένη, ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ρωμαίων, to the sanctified and illuminated Church of God, presiding in the place of the *Region* of the *Romans*. If [h] *Bellarmine* can out of this extract an Argument for the Popes supre-

[e] *Id. ibid.*

[f] *Epiphan. adv. hær. 68.*

[g] *Ignat. in epist. ad Romanos.*

[h] *Bellar. de Rom. Pont. l. 2. c. 15.*

supremacy, as he pretendeth to have done, he is a better *Chymist* then I tooke him for. And therefore I must turne him over to be better tutored by *Vedelius*, who howsoever in his notes upon that Father he leane too much on his owne affections and opinions, doth in this very well declare the good Fathers meaning, agreeably unto the tendries of antiquity. And by him[i] we are told, that nothing here is meant by the place or Region of the *Romans*, *nisi quicquid in Italia terrarum Præfecti urbis administrationi suberat*; but onely those parts of *Italy*, which were directly under the civill government of the *Provost* of *Rome*, that is to say, *Latium*, *Tuscia*, and *Picenum*: to which perhaps were added in the following Ages the whole East part of *Italy*, which we now call *Naples*, together with the Isles of *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, and *Sicilia*, all which made up the proper *Patriarchate* of the Bishop of *Rome*. In which regard, as anciently the Bishop of *Rome* was called *Urbicus*, as doth appeare plainly by *Optatus*[k], calling Pope *Zepherinus* by the name of *Zepherinus Urbicus*, the City-Bishop: so the said Provinces or Regions unto him belonging, were called by *Ruffinus*[l], an *Italian* writer, *Suburbicariæ Regiones*, or the City-Provinces. As for the Church of *Antiochia*, it spread its bounds and jurisdiction over those goodly Countries of the *Roman* Empire, from the *Mediterranean* on the West, unto the fur-

[i] *Vedel. exercit. in epi. ad Ro. c. 2.*

[k] *Optat. de schis. Donatist. l. 1.*

[l] *Ruffin. hist. eccl. lib. 1. cap. 6.*

theſt border of that large dominion, where it confined upon the *Perſian*; or the *Parthian* Kingdome; together with *Cilicia* and *Iſauria* in the leſſer *Aſia*: but whether at this time it was ſo extended, I am not able to determine. Certaine I am that in the very firſt beginning of this Age, all *Syria* at the leaſt was under the juriſdiction of this *Biſhop*: *Ignatius*, in his ſaid Epiſtle to thoſe of *Rome**, ſtiling himſelfe τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Συρίας, (not a Biſhop in *Syria*, but) *the Biſhop of Syria*: which ſheweth, that there being many Biſhops in that large Province, he had a power and ſuperiority over all the reſt. Indeed the Biſhops of *Hieruſalem* were hedged within a narrower compaſſe; being both now and long time after ſubject unto the *Metropolitan* of *Cæſarea*[1], as appeares plainely by the *Nicene Canon*: though after they enlarged their border, and gained the title of a *Patriarch*, as we may ſee hereafter in convenient time. Only I adde, that howſoever other of the greater *Metropolitan* Churches, ſuch as were abſolute and independent, as *Carthage*, *Cyprus*, *Millaine*, the Church of *Britaine*, and the reſt, had and enjoyed all manner of *Patriarchall* rights which theſe three enjoyed: yet onely the three Biſhops of *Rome*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, had in the Primitive times the names of *Patriarches*; by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the Cities themſelves, being the principall both for power and riches in the *Roman* Empire,

*Ignat. ad Rom.

*Concil. Ni. C. 7.

pire, the one for *Europe*, the other for *Asia*, and the third for *Africk*.

VII.

This ground thus laid we will behold what use is made of this *Episcopall succession* by the ancient writers. And first Saint *Irenæus*, a Bishop and a Martyr both, derives an argument from hence to convince those *Hereticks*, which broached strange Doctrines in the Church. [m] *Habemus annumerari eos qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt Episcopi in Ecclesiis, &c.* we are able to produce those men which were ordained *Bishops* by the *Apostles* in their severall Churches, and their successors till our times; *qui nihil tale docuerunt neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur*, who neither knew nor taught any such absurdities as these men dream of. Which said in generall, he instanceth in the particular Churches of *Rome*, *Ephesus* and *Smyrna*, being all founded by the *Apostles*: and all of them, *hac ordinatione & successione*, by this Episcopall ordination and succession, deriving from the *Apostles*, the Preaching and tradition of Gods holy truth till those very times. The like we finde also in another place, where speaking of those *Presbyteri*, (so he calleth the *Bishops*) which claimed a succession from the *Apostles*; he tels us this, *quod cum Episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris acceperunt*, that together with the *Episcopall succession*, they had received a certaine pledge

[m] *Iren. contr. hær lib. 3. cap. 3.*

[n] *Ir. adv. hæres. l. 4. cap. 43.*

pledge of truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father. See to this purpose also cap. 63. where the same point is pressed most fully, and indeed much unto the honour of this *Episcopall succession*. Where because *Irenæus* called *Bishops* in the former place by the name of *Presbyters*, I would have no man gather, as some men ° have done, that he doth use the name of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, ἀδιακρίτως *in a promiscuous sense*; much lesse conclude, that therefore *Presbyters* and *Bishops were then the same*. For although *Irenæus* doth here call the *Bishops*, either by reason of their age, or of that common ordination which they once received, by the name of *Presbyters*, yet he doth no where call the *Presbyters* by the name of *Bishops*: as he must needs have done, if he did use the names ἀδιακρίτως *in a promiscuous sense*, as it is supposed. And besides *Irenæus*, being at this time *Bishop*, if not *Archbishop* of the Church of *Lyons*, could not but know that he was otherwise advanced both in *power* and *title*, as well in *Dignity* as *Jurisdiction*, then when he was a *Presbyter* of that very Church, under *Pothinus* his Predecessour in that See: and therefore not the *same man* meerly which he was before. But to let passe aswell the observation as the inference, certain I am that by this argument the holy Father did conceive himselfe to be armed sufficiently against the *Hereticks* of his time, and so much he expresseth

° *Smectym p. 23.*

seth plainly, saying, that by this weapon he was able to confound all those, *qui quoquo modo vel per sui placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cœcitatem & malam sententiam, præter quam oportet, colligunt:* [p] who any way, either out of an evill self-complacency, or vain glorious humour, or blindnesse of the minde, or a depraved understanding, did raise such Doctrines as they ought not. So much for blessed *Irenæus*, a man of peace aswell in disposition and affection, as he was in name.

[p] *Ire. adv. hæres. l. 3. c. 3.*

VIII.

Next let us looke upon *Tertullian*, who lived in the same time with *Irenæus*, beginning first to be of credit about the latter end of this second *Century*, as *Baronius* [q] calculates it; and being at the height of reputation, *an.* 210. as *Pamelius* [r] noteth, about which time Saint *Irenæus* suffered martydome. And if we looke upon him well, we finde him pressing the same point, with greater efficacy, then *Irenæus* did before him. For undertaking to convince the Hereticks of his time, aswell of falshood as of novelties, and to make known the new upstartednesse of their Assemblies (which they called the Church) [t] hee doth thus proceed. *Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum "suarum, evoluant ordinem Episcoporum suo-"rum, &c.* Let them, saith he, declare the "originall of their Churches; let them unfold "the course or order of their *Bishops*, succeeding

[q] *Baron. ann. eccl. anno 196.*

[r] *Pamel in vita Tertull.*

[t] *Tertull. de præs. adv. hæres. c. 32.*

"ding so to one another from the first begin-
"ning, that their first *Bishop* (whosoever he
"was) had some of the *Apostles* or of the *A-*
"*postolicall* men at least who did converse
"with the *Apostles*, to be their founder and
"Predecessour. For thus the *Apostolicall*
"Churches doe derive their Pedegree. Thus
"doth the Church of *Smyrna* shew their *Poly-*
"*carpus* placed there amongst them by Saint
"*John*; and *Rome* her *Clement* consecrated or
"ordained by *Peter*: even as all other Chur-
"ches also doe exhibit to us the names of
"those, who being ordained *Bishops* by the
"*Apostles* did sow the *Apostolicall* seed in the
"field of God. This was the challenge that
he made; And this he had not done assuredly,
had he not thought that the *Episcopall succession*
in the Church of Christ, had been an evi-
dent demonstration of the truth thereof:
which since the *Hereticks* could not shew in
their Congregations or Assemblies, it was a ve-
ry pregnant evidence, that they had neither
verity nor antiquity, to defend their Doctrins;
nor could with any shew of Justice challenge
to themselves the name and honour of a
Church. And such, and none but such, were
those other Churches which he after speaketh
of, *viz.*[t] of *Corinth*, *Philippi*, *Thessalonica*, *E-*
phesus and the rest planted by the *Apostles*, *apud*
quas ipsæ Cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsi-
dentur, in which the Chaires of the *Apostles* to
that

[t] *Id. ibid. ca.* 36.

that time were sate in, being possessed, not by themselves, but by their *Successors.* By the same argument *Optatus* first, and after him St. *Austin* did confound the *Donatists*, that mighty faction in the Church. St. *Austin* thus: *numerate Sacerdotes vel ab ipsa sede* Petri, *& in illo ordine quis cui successerit videte.* Number the *Bishops* which have sate but in *Peters* Chair; and marke who have succeeded one another in the same. A Catalogue of which he gives [x]us in another place, lest else he might be thought to prescribe that to others, on which he would not trust himselfe. Nay so farre he relyed on the authority of this *Episcopall succession* in the Church of Christ, as that he makes it one of the speciall motives, *quæ eum in gremio Ecclesiæ justissimè teneant*, which did continue him in the bosome of the *Catholick* Church. As for *Optatus*, having laid down a Catologue of the Bishops in the Church of *Rome*, till his own times: he makes a challenge to the *Donatists* to present the like, [z]*Vestræ Cathedræ originem edite*; shew us, saith he, the first originall of your *Bishops*, and then you have done somewhat to advance your cause: In which it is to be observed, that though the instance be made onely in the *Episcopall succession* of the Church of *Rome*, the argument holds good in all others also: it being too troublesome a labour, as *Irenæus*[a] well observed, *omnium Ecclesiarũ enumerare successiones*, to run through the

[u] *August. contr. Petil. l. 2.*

[x] *Id. Epist. 165.*

[y] *Id. contr. Epist. Manichæi. c. 4.*

[z] *Optat. de schis. Donat. l. 2.*

[a] *Ire. adv. hære. lib. 3. cap. 3.*

the succeſſion of all particular Churches; and therefore that made choyſe of, as the chiefe or principall.

IX. But to return again unto *Tertullian*, whom I account amongſt the writers of this age; though he lived partly in the other; beſides the uſe he made of this *Epiſcopall ſucceſſion*, to convince the *Heretick*, he ſhews us alſo what authority the *Biſhops* of the Church did ſeverally enjoy and exerciſe in their *ſucceſſions*: which we will take according to the proper and moſt naturall courſe of *Chriſtianity*. Firſt for the Sacrament of *Baptiſme*, which is the doore or entrance into the Church, [b] *Dandi quidem jus habet ſummus ſacerdos*. i. e. *Epiſcopus*. The right, ſaith he, of giving *Baptiſme* hath the high-Prieſt, which is the Biſhop, and then the Presbyters and Deacons; *non tamen ſine Epiſcopi autoritate*, yet not without the Biſhops licence and authority, for the Churches honour; which if it be preſerved, then is peace maintained. Nay ſo farre he appropriates it unto the Biſhop, as that hee calleth it *dictatum Epiſcopi*, *officium Epiſcopatus*, a work moſt proper to the Biſhop, in regard of his *Epiſcopacie*, or particular office: Which howſoever it may ſeem to aſcribe too much unto the Biſhop in the adminiſtration of this Sacrament, is no more verily then what was after affirmed by *Hieron*[c], ſhewing that in his time *ſine Epiſcopi juſſione*, without the warrant of the

[b] *Tertull. lib. de Baptiſm. c. 17.*

[c] *Hieron. adver. Lucifer.*

the Bishop, neither the *Presbyters* nor the *Deacons* had any authority to *Baptize*: not that I think, that in the dayes of *Hierom*, before whose time *Parishes* were assigned to Presbyters throughout the Church, the B^s. speciall consent & warrant was requisite to the baptizing of each several infant; but that the Presbyters & Deacons did receive from him some generall faculty, for their enabling in and to those ministrations. Next for the Sacrament of the blessed *Eucharist*, that which is a chiefe part of that heavenly nourishment by which a *Christian* is brought up in the assured hopes of eternall life, he tels us in another place, [d] *non de aliorum manu quam Præsidentium sumimus*, that they received it only from their Bishops hand; the Πρόεδρος or President of the Presbytery, as *Justin Martyr*, seconded by *Beza*, did before call him. Which exposition or construction lest it should be quarrelled as being injurious to the Presbyters, who are thereby excluded from the honour and name of Presidents: I shall desire the Reader to consult those other places of *Tertullian*, in which the word [e] President is used, as *viz. lib. ad uxorem* and *lib. de Monogamia*, in both of which the man that had a second wife is said to be disabled from Presiding in the Church of God; and on consideration to determine of it, whether it be more probable that Presbyters or Bishops be here meant by Presidents. Besides

[d] *Tertull. de Corona Militis.*

[e] *Præscriptio Apostoli, digamus non sinit præsidere. Tert. ad uxor.*

the Church not being yet divided generally into *Parishes*, but only in some greater Cities, the Presbyter had not got the stile of *Rector*, and therefore much lesse might be called a President, that being a word of power and government, which at that time the Presbyters enjoyed not in the Congregation. And here Pope *Leo* will come in to help us, if occasion be, assuring us that in his time [f] it was not lawfull for the Presbyter in the Bishops presence, *nisi illo jubente*, unlesse it were by his appointment, *conficere Sacramentum corporis & sanguinis Christi*, to consecrate the Sacrament of Christs body and blood. The author of the Tract ascribed to *Hierome*, entituled *de Septem Ecclesiæ ordinibus*, doth affirme as much: but being the author of it is uncertaine, though it be placed by *Erasmus* amongst the ψευδεπίγραφα *docta*, we will passe it by.

[f] *Leo Epist.* 88.

X. From the Administration of the Sacraments, which doe belong *ad potestatem ordinis*, to the power of order; proceed we on to those which doe appertaine *ad potestatem jurisdictionis*, unto the power of Jurisdiction. And the first thing we meet with, is the appointing of the *publick Fasts*, used often in the Church, as occasion was. A priviledge not granted to the common *Presbyter*, & much lesse to the common people; but in those times, wherein the *Supreme Magistrate* was not within the pale or bosome of the Church, entrusted

to

to the *Bishop* onely. This noted also by *Tertullian*, in his book entituled *de jejuniis*; which though he writ after his falling from the Church, and so not to be trusted in a point of doctrine, may very well be credited in a point of custome: *Quod & Episcopi universæ plebi mandare jejunia assolent, non dico de industria stipium conferendarum, sed ex aliqua sollicitudinis ecclesiæ causa*; That *Bishops* use to impose fasts upon the people, is not done of purpose for lucre, or the Almes then given, but out of a regard of the Churches welfare, or the sollicitousnesse which they have thereof. Wherein as he removes a cavill, which as it seemes was cast upon the Church, about the *calling* of those *fasts*: so, plainely he ascribes the *calling* of them to the *Bishop* onely; according unto whose appointment, *in unum omnes ταπεινοφρόνων agitabant*, they met together for the humbling of themselves before God the Lord. So for disposing of the *Churches treasure* (for [h] *Menstrua quaque die modicam quisque stipem vel quam velit*, every moneth the people used to bring their offerings, as we call them now, every man as he would and could) that also appertained unto the *Bishop*. Which as it was distributed most commonly amongst the *Clergy*, for their present maintenance; so was it in the *Bishops* power to bestow part thereof upon other uses, as in reliefe of *widowes* and *poore Virgins*: which appeares plainely in that

[g] *Tertull. lib. de jejuniis c. 13.*

[h] *Id. in Apol. c.*

[i] *Tertul. de Virg. veland. cap. 9.*

place and passage of *Tertullian*[i], in his booke *de Virginibus velandis* : where speaking of a *Virgin* which contrary to the custome of the Church had been admitted into the ranke of *widowes*, he addes, *cui si quid refrigerii debuerat Episcopus*, that if the *Bishop* did intend to allow her any thing towards her reliefe and maintenance, he might have done it without trespassing on the Churches discipline, and setting up so strange a monster as a *Virgin-widow*. And this is that which after was confirmed in the Councell of *Antioch*[k], where it is said, Ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δῶρα γμάτων ἐξουσίαν, that the *Bishop* ought to have authority in the disposing of the things (or goods) that appertained unto the Church; ὥστε διοικεῖν εἰς πάντας τοὺς δεομένους, that so he might dispose them unto such as stood in need, in the feare of God.

[k] *Conc. Antioch. Can. 25.*

XI.

Finally, for the *reconciling* of a *Penitent* to the Church of God, in the remitting of his sinnes, and bringing of him backe to the fold againe; that in *Tertullians*[l] time was a Peculiar of the *Bishop* also. For, speaking of repentance after faith received (*de pœnitentia post fidem*, as he calls it) he is content to give this *efficacy* thereunto, though otherwise he held, being then a *Montanist*, that heinous sinners after Grace received were not to be admitted to repentance; I say he is content to give this *efficacy* thereunto, that for smaller sinnes it may obtaine pardon or remission from the *Bishop*; for

[l] *Tertull. de pudicitia, cap. 18.*

for greater and unpardonable, from God alone. But take his owne words with you for the greater surety, and his words are these; *viz. Salva illa pœnitentiæ specie post fidem, quæ aut levioribus delictis veniam ab Episcopo consequi potest, aut majoribus & irremissibilibus à Deo solo.* In which *Pamelius* [m] seems to wonder at his moderation, as being of a better temper in this point, then was *Montanus*, into whose sect he now was fallen: who would have no man to make confession of his sinnes to any other then to God, and seek for reconciliation from no hands but from his alone. And in another place [n] of the same book also, although he seem to jeer and deride the usage, he granteth that the *Bishops* of the Christian Church did usually remit even the greatest sinnes, upon the performance of the Penance formerly enjoyned: For thus he bringeth in the *Bishop*, whom in the way of scorne he calleth *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Episcopus Episcoporum*, proclaming as it were a generall pardon to such as had performed their Penance; *Ego & mœchiæ & fornicationis delicta pœtenitenti functis dimitto*, that he remitted to all such even the sinnes of Fornication and Adultery. Which words of his, declare not more his errour, then the *Bishops* power in this particular. What interest the *Presbyters* of the Church did either challenge or enjoy in this weighty businesse of *reconciling Penitents* to the Lord their God,

[m] *Pamel Annot. prædict. lib. 159*

[n] *Tertul. lib. de Pudicit. cap. 1.*

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we shall see hereafter, when as the same began to be in practise, and was by them put in execution. Mean time I take it for a manifest and undoubted truth, that properly, originally, and in chief, it did belong unto the *Bishop* both to enjoyne penance, and admit the penitent; and not to the inferiour *Presbyters*, but as they had authority by and under him. Which lest I may be thought to affirme at random, let us behold the manner of this reconciliation, as layed downe by *Sozomen*°, not as relating to his owne times, but to the times whereof we speake: ἑστῶσι δὲ κατηφεῖς καὶ ἐλεινοὶ πεσόντες, &c. They stand, saith he, in an appointed place, sorrowfull and lamented, and when the Eucharist is ended, whereof they are not suffered to be partakers, they cast themselves with grief and lamentation flat upon the ground. Ἀντιπρόσωπος δὲ δεδακρυμένος ἐπίσκοπος, The Bishop then approaching towards him, kneeleth also by him on the ground, and all the multitude also doe the like, with great griefe and ejulation. Τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο πρῶτος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἐξανίσταται, This done, the Bishop riseth first, and gently raiseth up the prostrate penitent, and having prayed for those that are thus in the state of penance, as much as he thinkes fit and requisite, they are dismissed for the present: And being thus dismissed, every man privately, at home, doth afflict himself, either by fasting, or by abstinence from meates and Bathes for a certaine time,

° *Sozomen. Ecc. hist. l. 7. c. 16.*

εἰς ὃ ὅπου αὐτῷ τέτυχεν ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, as long as by the Bishop is enjoyned him. Which time appointed being come, and his Penance in this sort performed, he is absolved from his sinnes, καὶ μετὰ τὸ λαὸ ἐκκλησιάζει, and joyned againe unto the residue of the Congregation. And this, saith he, hath been the custome of the western Church, and especially of the Church of *Rome*, ἀρχῆθεν, from the very first beginning, to this present time. So that both in the Citie of *Rome*, in which *Tertullian* sometimes lived, and in the western Church, whereof he was a member, being a Presbyter of *Carthage*; and in the times in which he flourished, for thus it was from the beginning: the Bishop regularly had the power both of ejoyning penance, & reconciling of the Penitent a it still continueth: Nor doth that passage in *Tertull.* any way crosse the point delivered, where speaking of the severall acts of humiliation [p] which were to be performed by the Penitent, before he could bee reconciled to the Church of God, he reckoneth these amongst the rest, *Presbyteris advolvi, aris*, or *caris Dei adgeniculari*, (for whether of the two it is *adhuc sub Judice*) *omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere*; to cast themselves before the Presbyters, to kneele before the Altars, or the Saints of God, to intreate the prayers of all the brethen. Where cleerly, there is nothing ascribed unto the Presbyters as in the way of reconciliation,

[p] *Tertull. lib. de Poenitent. c. 9.*

but only in the way of intercession, as unto other of the brethren: the maine worke being still reserved unto the *Bishop*.

XII. I know indeed *Tertullian* is alledged by some, as if there were a government of the Church at that time in use, in the which neither the *Bishop* nor the *Presbyters* did beare the greatest stroke; but a society of *lay-elders*, or (if we may admit of such a Monster both in sense and Grammar) a *lay Presbytery*. The place or passage commonly alledged to make good the same, is that in his *Apologetick* for the Christian Church [q], where having shewed the mannner of the Christian meetings in their Congregations, for praier and hearing of Gods word, he addeth, that there are also exhortations, chaistisements, and divine censures, judgement being executed with great advise. Then followeth, *Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti*; the *Presidents* of our meetings are approved *Seniors*, or *Elders* (call them which you will) who have obtained this honour not by money, but by good report. So he: And those whom he cals *seniores*, elders, they will needs have to be such Elders as they dream of, men of the *Laity*, taken in to day, and put out to morrow. A thing which better might become the *Conventicles* of the *Heretick* and *Sectary*, then the Church of Christ.

[q] *Id. in Apol. c* 39

And

And as it seems amongst the *Heretick*s and *Sectaries* such a course there was, [r] *hodie Presbyter qui cras Laicus*, that he which was to day an *Elder*, was on the next day to revert to his *occupation*; this day an *Elder* in the *Consistory*, the next a *Butcher* on the *stall*. The *Christian* Church had no such custome, what ever might be found amongst the *Marcionites*; if then it be demanded who these *Seniors* were, which are here said to have *presided* in their *Congregations*; I answer that they were the *Bishops*: those at whose hands, *de manu Præsidentium*, the people used in those times to receive the Sacrament. *Lay-men* they could not bee, though called simply *Elders*, because they did administer the blessed *Eucharist*: and simply *Presbyters* they were not, and they could not be, because it is there said that they did *preside*, and had the power of *Censure* and *Correction*; which are the works and badges of authority. It then remains they were the *Bishops*, the *Presidents* or Πρωτοστάται of the Church of *Christ*, such as we finde described before by *Justin Martyr*, and are affirmed by *Beza*, to be such as *Timothy* whom we have proved to be a *Bishop*. And this appeares to me yet further by the words themselves; in which we finde that those who did attaine that honour got it by good report, and not by money. And this may very well be, might the *Gentiles* say, had it been spoken of the *Presbyters*, for who would give

[r] *Id. de Præscr. hæret. l. 41.*

money for so poore an office, wherein there was but litle to be gotten, more then ones labour for his pains; or at the best some bare allowance from the *sportula*, and that too on the *Bishops* curtesie? When we can heare you say the like of *Bishops*, through whose hands the money went, who had the keeping and disposing of the *common Treasury*, and might enrich themselves by the spoyle thereof; you then say somewhat to the purpose. Till then it makes but little to the praise of your integrity and candour, that such poore men whose places were not worth the having, should pay nothing for them. This makes it evident to me that the Elders mentioned here, were not simply *Presbyters*: but such whose places were esteemed to be both of Means and Credit; and therefore doubtlesse they were *Bishops*, that did so *preside*. Nor is it any prejudice to the truth thereof, that they are called *Seniores* in the *plurall* number: *Tertullian* speaking not in the behalfe of a particular Church or *City*, wherein could be one *Bishop* only; but pleading in the behalfe of the universall, wherein there were as many *Presidents*, or *Bishops*, or *Presiding Elders*, call them which you will, as there were Cities gained to the Faith of *Christ*.

XIII. Now if we please to take a view of the extent of Christianity, according as it stood in the present *Century*, we cannot better doe it, then by a place and passage of *Tertullian*, who very

very fully hath deſcribed the ſame in his *Apologetick*, preſented to the *Magiſtrates* of the *Roman* Empire, in the laſt yeere thereof, or the next yeere after, as is affirmed both by *Pamelius* [t] and *Baronius* [s] out of ancient writers: For having ſhewne that *Chriſtians* were not to avenge themſelves upon their perſecuters, or to take Arms for the repelling of thoſe injuries which were offered to them, he doth thus proceed: [u] *Si enim & hoſtes exertos, &c.* "For ſhould we ſhew our ſelves, ſaith he, to "be open enemies unto the State, ſhould we "want either ſtrength or numbers? Behold "what miſchiefe is done daily to you, by the "*Moores*, *Marcomannians*, and thoſe of *Parthia*, "Maſters of a few Countries onely; whereas "the *Chriſtians* are diffuſed over all the world; "you count us *Aliens* or ſtrangers to you, & "*veſtra omnia implevimus*, yet we have filled "all places that are yours, Cities, Iſles, Caſtles, "Burrowes, your places of Aſſembly, Camps, "Tribes, Palaces, the very Senate, and the "Market-place, with our numerous troopes. "Onely your Temples are your owne, &c. "Nay, ſhould we onely goe away from you, "and retire into ſome remote corner of the "world, and carry all our families with us, "*Suffudiſſet utique dominationem veſtram tot* "*qualiumcunque amiſſio civium*, the loſſe of ſo "many of your people, how ill ſoever you "conceive of them, would be ſo ſhrewd a

[t] *Pamel. in vita Tertull*
[s] *Bar. in Annal.*
[u] *Tertullian in Apologet. c. 37.*

"weakening unto your dominions, that you "would tremble at that strange desertion, and "be astonished at the solitude and silence of "your emptied Cities, quite destitute of men "to be commanded; there being more enemies "then Citizens remaining in them. Whereas "now, God be thanked, you have the fewer "enemies amongst you, in that you have so "many *Christians*, *pene omnes cives Christianos* "*habendo*, most of your people being of that "Religion. Which as it shewes the great extent of *Christianity* in *Tertullians* time, so doth it shew a like extent also of *Episcopacy*; there being no place where *Christianity* had been received, wherein *Episcopacy* was not planted also. Which lest it might be taken for a bold assertion, without ground or truth, I shall crave leave to step a little out of this present *Century*, and borrow a testimony from S. *Cyprian*, who is next to follow; and if he may be credited, will affirme no lesse: For by him we are told of a certain truth, [x] *per omnes Provincias & per urbes singulas ordinatos esse Episcopos*, that in all Provinces and in every City *Bishops* had long since been ordained, reverend for their age, for their faith sincere, tried in affliction, and proscribed in time of persecution. Nor doth he speake this of his owne time onely, which was somewhat after, but as a matter of some standing, *cum jam pridem per omnes provincias*, that so it had been long agoe: and therefore must

[x] Cyprian E. 52.

must needs be so doubtlesse in this present Age being not long before his owne. And this extent of *Christianity* I doe observe the rather in this place and time, because that in the Age which followeth (the multitudes of *Christians* being so increased) we may perhaps behold a new face of things: the times becomming quicker and more full of action; *Parishes* or *Parochiall* Churches set out in Country-villages and townes, and severall *Presbyters* allotted to them; with an addition also both of trust and power unto the *Presbyters* themselves in the *Cure of Soules*, committed to them by their *Bishops*; with many other things which concerne this businesse. And therefore here we will conclude this present *Century*, proceeding forward to the next in the name of God.

CHAP. IV.

Chap. IV.

Of the authority in the governement of the Church of *Carthage*, enjoyed and exercised by S. *Cyprian* and other Bishops of the same.

I. *Of the Foundation and preheminences of the Church of* Carthage.

II. *Of* Agrippinus *and* Donatus *two of S.* Cyprian's *Predecessors.*

III. *The troublesome condition of that Church, at* Cyprian's *first being* Bishop *there.*

IV. *Necessitated him to permit some things to the discretion of his* Presbyters, *and consent of the* People.

V. *Of the authority ascribed by* Cyprian *to the* people, *in the* Election *of their* Bishop.

VI *What power the* people *had* de facto, *in the said* Elections.

VII. *How far the testimony of the* people *was required in the* Ordination *of their* Presbyters.

VIII. *The power of* Excommunication *reserved by S.* Cyprian, *to the* Bishop *only.*

IX. *No* Reconciliation *of a* Penitent *allowed by* Cyprian *without the* Bishops *leave and licence.*

X. *The* Bishop's *power as well in the encouragement, as in the punishment, and censure of his* Clergy.

XI. *The memorable case of* Geminius Faustinus, *one of the* Presbyters *of* Carthage.

XII. *The* Bishop's *power in regulating and declaring* Martyrs.

XIII. *The* Divine right, *and eminent authority of* Bishops *fully asserted by S.* Cyprian.

(a) Hieron. de Scriptor. Eccl. in Tertull.

SAint *Hierome* (*a*) tels us of S.*Cyprian*, that hee esteemed so highly of *Tertullian's* writings, that he never suffered any day to passe over his head, without reading somewhat in the same; and that he did oft use to say, when hee demanded for his works, *Da mihi magistrum*, reach mee my *Tutor* or *Preceptor*. So that considering the good opinion which S.*Cyprian*, had harboured of the man, for his wit and learning, and the neerenesse of the time in which they lived; being both also members of the same Church, the one a *Presbyter*, the other *Bishop* of the Church of *Carthage*: We will passe on unto S.*Cyprian*, and to those monuments of piety and learning, which he left behind him. And this we shal the rather do, because there is no author of the Primitive times, out of whose works we have such ample treasures of Ecclesiasticall antiquities, as we have in his; none who can gave us better light, for the discovery of the truth in the present search, than that blessed *Martyr*? But first, before wee come to the man himselfe, wee will a little looke upon his charge, on the Church of *Carthage*; as well

well before, as at his comming to be *Bishop* of it: the knowledge of the which will give speciall light to our following businesse. And first for the foundation of the Church of *Carthage*, (*b*) if *Metaphrastes* may be credited, it was the action of Saint *Peter*, who leaving *Rome*, at such time as the *Jewes* were banished thence by the Decree of *Claudius Cæsar, in Africam navigasse & Carthaginensem erexisse Ecclesiam*, is by him said to saile to *Africa*, and there to found the Church of *Carthage*, leaving behind him *Crescens* one of his Disciples, to be the *Bishop* of the same: But whether this be so or not, it is out of question, that the Church of *Carthage* was not only of great Antiquity; but that it also was of great power and credit; as being the *Metropolitan* Church of *Africk*, the *Bishop* of the same being the Primate of all *Africa*, properly so called, together with *Numidia*, and both the *Mauritanias*, as well *Cæsariensis* as *Sitifensis*: So witnesseth S. *Cyprian* himselfe, (*c*) *Latius fusa est nostra Provincia; habet enim Numidiam & Mauritanias duas sibi cohærentes*, as his own words are. And this appeareth also by the subscription of the *Bishops* to the Councell of *Carthage*, (*d*) convented *ex Provincia Africa, Numidia, Mauritania*, as is most cleare on the record. For whereas antiently the *Roman* Empire was divided into foureteen *Dioceses*, reckoning the *Prefecture* of the City of *Rome* for one; every *Diocese* being subdivided into severall *Provinces*, as was said before, (*e*) the *Diocese* of *Africa* was not of the meanest, conteining in it

(*b*) Cited by *Baronius in Annal. Eccl. Anno* 51.

(*c*) *Cypri: Ep.* 45

(*d*) *Concil. Tom.* 1 *p.* 149. *Edit. Binii.*

(*e*) *Notitia Provinciarum.*

ſix large Provinces, and reaching from the greater *Syrtis* Eaſtward, where it confined upon the Patriarchat of *Alexandria* to *Mauritania Tingitana*, on the Weſt, which did belong unto the *Dioceſe* of *Spaine*. Now *Carthage* ſtanding in that Province, which was called *Zeugitana*, or *Proconſularis*, and being the Seate or Reſidence of the *Vicarius*, or Lieutenant Generall of the *Roman* Empire for that *Dioceſe*: the *Biſhop* of it was not only the *Metropolitan* of his own Province; but the *Primate* alſo, in regard of the other five, which were *Tripolitana*, *Byzacena*, *Numidia*, and the two *Mauritanias* before remembred. Nor was he only the ſupreame *Biſhop* in regard of them, but alſo abſolute and independent in regard of others: as being neither ſubject or ſubordinate to the Patriarchs of *Alexandria*, though the prime City of all *Africa*, nor to the *Popes* of *Rome*, the Queen and Empreſſe of the world; againſt whoſe machinations (*f*) and attempts, the Church of *Carthage* for a long time did maintaine her liberty.

(*f*) *Concil. carthaginienſ. 6.*

II. Such being the authority and power of the Church of *Carthage*, we muſt next looke upon the *Biſhops* of the ſame; who though they had not got the name of *Patriarchs*, as thoſe of *Antioch*, *Rome*, and *Alexandria* now had; and they of *Conſtantinople* and *Hieruſalem*, ſhall bee found have in the times ſucceeding; yet had they all manner of *Patriarchall* juriſdiction. Of theſe the firſt I meet withall was *Agrippinus*, who flouriſhed in the beginning of this *Centurie*, *bonæ memoriæ vir*, a man

of

of blessed memory, as S. *Cyprian*, (g) *Venerabilis memoriæ*, of venerable memory, as (h) *Vincentius Lerinensis* cals him. S. *Austin* also mentioneth him in one of his discourses (i) against the *Donatists*, as a predecessor of S. *Cyprians*: and all of them agree in this, that he held those which were baptized by *Hereticks*, were to be re-baptized by the *Catholick* Ministers: for agitation of which businesse, he caused a Councell to be called of all the *Bishops* (k) *Qui illo tempore in Provoncia Africæ & Numidiæ Ecclesiam Dei gubernabant*, which at that time did governe the Church of God in the Provinces of *Africk* and *Numidia*: in which re-baptization of men so baptized, was decreed as necessary. Which howsoever it doth shew that *Agrippinus*, as a man, had his personall errours: yet shews it also, that as a *Bishop* of *Carthage*, he had a power and jurisdiction over all the other *Bishops* of the *Diocese* of *Africk*, and all the *Provinces* thereof, who on his summons, met in Councell, as by those words of *Cyprian* plainly doth appeare. So that we find the holy *Hierarchy* so setled from the first beginners; that as the *Presbyters* were subordinate unto their *Bishops*, so it was there a subordination amongst the *Bishops* themselves; according as it still continueth in those parts of *Christendome*, in which *Episcopall* Government doth remaine in force. But *Agrippinus* being dead, his error or opinion died also with him, though it revived again not long after: and his Successor, by name *Donatus*, looking more carefully unto his charge,

(g) *Cyprian. Epist.* 71.
(h) *Vincent. Lerinen. adv. hæres cap.* 9.
(i) *Aug. de Bap. lib.* 2. *cap.* 7. 8.
(k) *Cypr. Epi.* 71.

charge, endeavoured what he could to free the same from erroneous doctrines. And to that purpose called a Councell of 90. *Bishops* in *Labesitum*, a Colonie in *Africa*, in which *Privatus*, an old *Hereticke* was by their joynt consent condemned; *nonaginta Episcoporum sententiâ condemnatus*, as (*l*) S. *Cyprian* hath it. By which we may conjecture at the great spreading of *Episcopacie*, over all this Province, I meane that of *Africa*: so great, that at this time, being *An.* 242. as *Baronius* (*m*) calculateth it, there could assemble 90. *Bishops*, at the command or summons of their *Metropolitan*: especially if we consider that these were but a part of a greater number. (*n*) S. *Austin* telling us of a Councell held in *Carthage*, by the *Donatists* (placed by *Baronius Anno* 308) in which there met together no fewer than 270. *Bishops* of that one faction. But least it may be said, as perhaps it was, that the *Donatists* increased the number of *Bishops* the better to support their party, if ever the businesse should come to be examined in a *Synodicall* meeting: we find a Councell held in *Carthage* under *Aurelius*, who was *Bishop* there in S. *Austins* time, *Anno* 398. in which assembled to the number (*o*) of 214. *Bishops*, all of them *Orthodox* Professors. With such a strange increase did God blesse this calling. For certainely the Church had never brought forth such a large encrease, if *God even our own God had not given his blessing*.

(*l*) *Cypr. Epi.* 55.

(*m*) *Baron. in Annal.*

(*n*) *Augustin. Epist.* 48.

(*o*) *Concil. Tom.* 1. *edit. Bin. p.* 587.

III. *Donatus* being dead, *Anno* 250. *Cecilius Cyprianus* a right godly man, being then one of the *Presbyters*

byters of the Church, is chosen *Bishop* of the same; and that not only by the joynt consent of the *Cleargie*, their (p) *sed populi universi suffragio*, but by the generall suffrage of the *people*, according to the generall custome of that Church and time. And being so chosen and ordained, did for foure yeares enjoy himselfe in peace and quiet. But a fierce persecution being raised against the Church, by the command of *Decius* then the *Roman* Emperour; being proscribed and threatned death, he retired (q) himselfe; expecting a returne of better times, wherein he might do service to the Lord his God: professing that in this retreat, hee followed the direction of the Lord, *qui ut secederet jussit*, who had commanded him so to do. In this recesse of his, some of his adversaries, (as who liveth without them) which had opposed him in the time of his election, taking an opportunity to ensnare the people and draw them into factions against their *Bishops*: had made a very strong party on their side, calumniating his recesse as a deserting of the flocke of *Christ* committed to him; which more afflicted the good Father, than the proscription of his goods, or any tryall of his patience which had beene laid upon him by the persecuters. Of this conspiracy he certifieth the people of *Carthage* by way of letter, wherein he giveth them to understand how the matter stood. (r) *Quorundam Presbyterorum malignitas & perfidia perficit &c.* "That I could not come to you "before *Easter*, the malice and perfidiousnesse of some

(p) *Cypr. Ep. 55.*

(q) *Idem Epi. 10.*

(r) *Idem Epi. 40.*

"some of the *Presbyters* hath brought to passe:
"whilst mindfull of their own conspiracy, and re-
"taining their former rancour against my being
"*Bishop*, or indeed rather against your suffrages in
"my *election*, and against the judgement of God
"approving the same: they begin againe to set on
"foot their former opposition, renewing their sa-
"crilegious machinations, and lying trecherously
"in wait for my destruction. And after, in the same
"Epistle, *Non suffecerat exilium jam biennii, & à*
"*vultibus & oculis vestris lugubris separatio.* &c. It
"doth not seeme sufficient to them, that I have
"beene now two yeares banished from your pre-
"sence, and to my great affliction separated from
"your sight; that I am overwhelm'd with griefe
"and sorrow, vexing my selfe with my continuall
"complaints, and day and night washing my
"cheekes with teares; because it hath not been
"as yet my good fortune to embrace or salute
"you, whom you had chosen for your *Bishop* with
"such expressions of your love and zeale. *Accessit*
"*huic tabescenti animo nostro major dolor.* And yet
"a greater griefe afflicteth my fainting soule, that
"in so great distresse and need I cannot come my
"selfe unto you, fearing lest at my comming, if I
"should so do, some greater tumult should arise
"through the threats and secret practises of per-
"fidious persons: and that considering, as a *Bishop*,
"I am to take care for the peace and quiet of the
"Church, *ipse materiam seditioni dedisse*, I might
"seeme to be or give occasion of some sedition
likely

"likely to be raised, and so renew the persecution "which is now well slaked. Nay as it seemeth, some of the *Presbyters* of his Church which were not otherwise engaged in the faction, or carried any ill affections towards him; out of an inclination naturall to man, to enlarge their power, and get as much authority into their hands, as the times would give to the advantage of his absence also; and began sensibly to incroach upon his *office*, and undertake such things as appertained to his *jurisdiction*. Thus he complaines of his *Cleargy*, that such as yet stood faire in their respects, and firme in their obedience to him might be confirmed in the same: and that the rest, being made acquainted with their errour, might in fine de- "sist *Tacere ultra non oportet*, &c. (ſ) It is no time, "saith he, to be longer silent, when as the danger "is so imminent both on my selfe and on my peo- "ple. For what extremity of danger may we not "justly feare from Gods displeasure, when some "of the *Presbyters*, neither mindful of the Gospel, "or their own duty, or the day of judgement, nor "thinking that they have a *Bishop* set over them, "*cum contemptu & contumelia præpositi totum sibi* "*vendicent*, with the contempt and reproach of "him that is their *Bishop*, shall arrogate all power "unto themselves. Which their behaviour hee calls also *contumelias Episcopatus nostri*, the reproach and slander of his government; in having such affronts put on him, as never had beene offered to any of his *Predecessors* The like complaint

ſ) *Idem Ep.* 10.

to which he doth alſo make, but with more reſolution and contempt of their wicked practiſes, in an Epiſtle to *Cornelius*, being the 55. in number, acccording to the Edition of *Pamelius*.

IV. I have the more at large layd down the ſtormes and troubles raiſed againſt this godly *Biſhop*, at his firſt comming to the place; becauſe it gives great light unto many paſſages, which concerne his time; eſpecially in that extraordinary power which he aſcribes ſometimes, both to the *People* and the *Presbyters*, in the adminiſtration of the Church as if they had beene Partners with him in the publike government. Which certainly he did not, as his caſe then ſtood, without ſpeciall reaſon. For being ſo vehemently oppoſed from his firſt election to the *Epiſcopall* office; all opportunities eſpied to draw away the peoples hearts and alienate their affections from him; every advantage tooke againſt him during his abſence from the City, to vexe and croſſe him in his doings: what better way could he deviſe to ſecure himſelfe in the affections of the *people*, and the obedience of his *Presbyters*, then to profeſſe that in all his acts and enterpriſes whatſoever, he did and would depend upon the counſell of the one, and conſent of the other. And this is that which he profeſſeth in a letter to the *Preſbyters* and *Deacons* of (*t*) *Carthage*, *quod a primordio Epiſcopatus mei ſtatuerim, nihil ſine conſilio veſtro & conſenſu plebis meæ, privatâ ſententiâ gerere*; that he reſolved from his firſt entrance on that *Biſhopricke*, to do nothing of his

(t) *Idem Epiſt. 6.*

his own head, as we use to say, without the Counsell of his *Clergy* and the consent of his *People*: and that on his returne, (for he was then in exile when he wrot this letter) he would communicate his affaires with them, *Et in commune tractabimus*, and manage them in common with their assistance. And certainly this was a prudent resolution, as the world went with him: For by this meanes he stood assured, that whatsoever *Schisme* or *Faction* should be raised against him, it would be never able to prevaile, or get ground upon him, as long as he had both the *People* and the *Presbyters* so obliged unto him, for the support of his authority. But this being but a private case, and grounded on particular reasons makes no generall Rule: no *Bishop* being bound unto the like, by this example, but where all circumstances do concurre, which we meet with here; and then not bound neither, except he will himselfe, but as it doth conduce to his own security. So that it is to me a wonder, why the example of S. *Cyprian* should be pressed so often, and all those passages so hotly urged, wherein the *Presbyters* or *People* seeme to be concerned in matters of the *Churches* Government; as if both he and all other *Bishops* had been bound by the Law of God, not to do any thing at all in their holy function, but what the *Presbyters* should direct, and the *People* yeeld their suffrage and consent unto. For being but a resolution taken up by him, the better to support himselfe against his *Adversaries*; it obligeth

ligeth no man to the like, as before I ſaid. And he himſelfe did not conceive himſelfe ſo obliged thereby, but that he could and did diſpenſe with that reſolution, as often as he thought it neceſſary, or but expedient ſo to do: performing many actions of importance, in the whole courſe and *Series* of his *Epiſcopall* Government, wherein he neither craved the advice of the one, nor the good liking of the other; and which is more, doing ſome thingsnot only without theirknowledg, but againſt their wils, as we ſhall make appeare in that which followeth. Now whereas the points of moſt importance in the Government and Adminiſtration of the *Church*, are the *Election* of *Biſhops*, the *Ordination* of *Miniſters*, the *Excommunicating* of the *Sinner*, and the *Reconciling* of the *Penitent*: it will not be amiſſe to ſee, what and how much in each of theſe S. *Cyprian* did permit, as occaſion was, either unto the *People* or the *Presbyters*; and what he did in all and every one of theſe, as often as hee ſaw occaſion alſo, without their knowledge and conſent.

V. Firſt for *Election* of their *Biſhops*, it is conceived and ſo delivered (*v*) that *all their elections were ordered by the privity, conſent and approbation of the people, where the Biſhop was to ſerve*: and for the proofe of this S. *Cyprian* is alleaged, as one ſufficient in himſelfe to make good the point. The place moſt commonly alleaged is in his 68. *Epiſtle* touching the Caſe of *Baſilides* and *Martialis*, two *Spaniſh Biſhops*, who had defiled themſelves with

(*v*) *Smectymn. p.* 33. *Sect.* 7.

Idols

Idols and many other grievous crimes: concerning whom, the People of those parts repaired unto him for his resolution. But he remitting the cause back to them, tels them how much it did concern them, *A peccatore Præposito se separare*, to separate themselves from such sinfull *Prelates*, and not to participate with them in the Sacrifice, (*u*) giving this reason for the same, *quando ipsa maxime habeat potestatem, vel eligendi dignos Sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi*: because the People specially have power either of choosing worthy *Prelates*, or of rejecting the unworthy. For that by *Sacerdotes*, here the Father understandeth *Bishops*, (*x*) is confessed on all hands. Nor doth the Father only say it, but he goeth forward to make good the same by Divine Authority, *ut Sacerdos plebe præsente*, that the *Bishop* should be chosen in the presence of the People, under all mens eyes: that so he may be proved to be fit and worthy by their publique testimony. And for the proofe of this, is urged a text from *Moses* in the book of *Numbers*, where God is said to speake thus to *Moses*, "*Apprehende Aaron fratrem tuum*, Take *Aaron* thy "brother and *Eleazar* his son, and thou shalt bring "them to the *Mount* before all the Assembly, and "put off *Aarons* garments, and put them on *Eleazar* his son. By which it is apparant that God "willeth the *Priest* to be made before all the multitude; shewing thereby that the *Priest* should "not bee ordained but in the presence of the "People, that so the People being present, the of-

(*u*) *Cypr. Ep. 68.*

(*x*) *Smectymnus*, 133.

"fences of the evill may bee detected, and the "merits of the good made knowne, and conse-"quently the Election, or rather Ordination may "be good and lawfull, being discussed by the opi-"nion and voyce of all. The like he also proves by the electing of *Matthias Bishop*, in the place of *Judas*, which was performed *in medio Discentium*, in the middest of the *Disciples*; and in the choosing of the *seven*, done in the face of all the *People*. This is the summe of what is there delivered by S. *Cyprian*: and out of this I find three Corollaries or Conclusions gathered. (*x*) First, that the speciall power of judging of the worthinesse and unworthinesse of a man for the *Prelacy*, was in the brest of the *People*.

(*x*) *Smectym. p.*34.

Secondly, the speciall power of choosing or rejecting to his place, according as they judged him worthy or unworthy, resided in the *People*.

Thirdly, that this power did descend upon the *People*, *de Divina Autoritate*, by Divine authority. These are the points collected from S. *Cyprians* words; which with the words themselves out of the which they are collected, are to be taken into consideration, because the waight of all this businesse doth rest upon them.

And first as for S. *Cyprians* words, there is no such command of God touching *Eleazar*, in any Bibles now remaining, as is there layed downe, which thing *Pamelius* (*y*) well observed. And more than so, the text of Scripture now remaining, is contrary to that which is there alleaged: God willing

(*y*) *Pamel. Annot. in Cypr. fol.*63.

willing or commanding *Moses*, to bring *Aaron* and *Eleazar* his son, up into Mount *Hor*, whither the *People* neither did nor might ascend, as it is well observed by our learned (z) *Bilson*. So that *Eleazar* not being chosen by the *People*, but by God immediatly; and his Ordination solemnized on the top of the Mount, (a) *Moses* and *Aaron* being only at the doing of it: this can be no good Argument, that the *Election* of the *Prelate* doth *specially* pertaine unto the *People*. And therefore it is very probable that *Cyprian* met with some corrupted Copy of the Book of God; or else that we have none but corrupted Copies of the bookes of *Cyprian*. As for the *Election* of *Matthias*, though it was done (b) *in medio Discentium*, in the presence of the *Disciples*, as the Scripture tels us; yet surely the *Disciples* had no hand in the *Election*: the calling of an *Apostle* being too high a work for any of the sons of men to aspire unto, peculiar only to the Lord our God, to whom the choyce is also (c) attributed in holy Scripture. As for the *Seven*, being they were to be the *Stewards* of the *People*, in the disposing of their goods for the common benefit of the Church, as before was noted: good reason that the *Election* should be made by them, whose goods and fortunes were to be disposed of. So that there is no Law of God, no *Divine Ordinance* of his, expressed in Scripture, by which the *People* are entituled either unto a speciall power of choosing their *Bishops*, or to a necessary presence of the action; though there be many good and weighty reasons,

(z) Government of the Church, c. 15.

(a) Numb. 20 27, &c.

(b) Acts. 1. 15.

(c) Ibid. ver. 24.

reasons, which might induce the Fathers in the *Primitive* times, not only to require their presence, but sometimes also to crave their approbation and consent in the *Elections* of the *Prelate*. Now for the *presence* of the *People*, that seemeth to be required on this reason chiefly, that their testimony should be had touching the life and behaviour of the party that was to be *Ordained*, lest a wicked and unworthy person should get by stealth into the function of a *Bishop*; it being required of a *Bishop*, by S. *Paul*, amongst other things, that (*d*) *he must have a good report*. And who more able to make this report, than the *People* are, *quæ* [*plebs viz*] *singulorum vitam plenissime novit*, (*e*) who being naturally inquisitive, know each mans life, and hath had experience of his conversation. And as for their consent there wanted not some reasons why it was required, especially before the Church was setled in a constant *maintenance*, and under the protection and defence of a *Christian Magistrate*. For certainely, as our Reverend *Bilson* well observeth, the *People* did (*f*) more willingly maintaine, more quietly receive, more diligently heare and more heartily love their *Bishops*, when their desires were satisfied in the choyce, (though merely formall) of the man; than when hee was imposed upon them, or that their fancies and affections had been crossed therein. But yet I cannot find upon good authority, that *the speciall power of choosing or rejecting, did reside in them*: though indeed somewhat did depend upon their approbation of the party;

(*d*) 1 Tim 3.

(*e*) *Cypr. Epi.* 68.

(*f*) *Bilson* perpetuall Government. *c*. 15.

party; and this no otherwise than according to the custome of particular Churches. In *Africke* as it seemes the use was this (*g*) that on the death or deposition of a *Bishop: Episcopi ejusdem Provinciæ quique proximi conveniant*, the neighbouring *Bishops* of the *Province* did meet together, and repaire unto that *People*, who were to be provided of a *Pastor*, that so he might be chosen *præsente Plebe*, the *People* being present at the doing of it, and certifying what they knew of his conversation. And this appeares to be the generall usage, *per Provincias fere Universas*, through almost all parts of Christendome: Where plainly the *Election* of the new *Prelate* resided in the *Bishops* of the same *Province* so conveened together: and if upon examination of his life and actions, there was no just exception laid against him, *manus ei imponebatur*, he was forthwith ordained *Bishop*, and put into possession of his place and office. But it was otherwise, for a long while together, in the great *Patriarchall* Church of *Alexandria:* in which the *Presbyters* had the *Election* of their *Bishop*, (*h*) *Presbyteri unum ex se Electum*, as S. *Hierom* noteth, the *Presbyters* of that Church did choose their *Bishop* from amongst themselves: no care being had, for ought appeareth in the Father, either unto the *Peoples* consent or presence. And this continued till the time of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, as he there informeth us, of whom wee shall speake more hereafter. But whatsoever interest, either the *Clergy* in the one Church, or the

(*g*) *Cypr. Ep.* 68.

(*h*) *Hieron. ad Euagrium.*

People chalenged in the other; there is remaining still a possession of it in the Church of *England*: the *Chapter* of the *Cathedrall* or mother Church making the *Election* in the name of the *Cleargie*; the *King*, as *Caput Reipublicæ*, the head and heart also of his *people*, designing or commending a man unto them; and freedome left unto the *people*, to be present if they will at his *Election*, and to except against the man, as also at his confirmation, if there be any legall and just exception to be layd against him.

VII. Next for the *Ordination* of the *Presbyters*, it was S. *Cyprians* usuall custome to take the approbation of the *people* along with him; as he himselfe doth informe us in an Epistle of his, to his charge at *Carthage*, inscribed unto the *Presbyters* and *Diacons*, and the whole body of the *people*. (*i*) *In ordinandis clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, & mores & merita singulorum, communi consilio ponderare*, which is full and large. What ever he saith elsewhere to the same effect, is in effect no more than what here is sayd; and therefore we shall save the labour of a further search. Nor was this *Cyprians* custome only. It had prevailed as it seemes in most parts of Christendome; and was so universally received, that even the *Roman* Emperours tooke notice of it. For *Alexander Severus*, one of the hopefullest young Princes in the declining times of the *Roman* Empire, noting this custome of the *Christians*, (*k*) was wont when he promoted any unto the government of *Provinces*, to

(*i*) *Cypr. Ep.* 33. *vel l.* 2. *ep.* 5.

(*k*) *Lampid. in vita Alex. Severi.*

to post up, as it were, the names of the persons, inviting the *people* to come in against them, if they could charge them on just proofe, with any crimes: "And used to say it were a shame not to observe "that care in choosing of the *Rulers* of *Provinces*, "to whom mens lives and fortunes were to be "committed; *cum id Christiani & Judæi facerent* "*in prædicandis sacerdotibus, qui sunt ordinandi*, "when as the *Jewes* and *Christians* did it in pub-"lishing the merit of those *Priests* which were to "be ordained by them. Which kind of publication of the life aud merits of the party, that was to be ordained, may possibly relate aswell unto the the popular manner of electing *Bishops*, at that time in use. But as there is no generall observation, but doth and must give way unto particular occasions: so neither was this rule so generally observed, but that sometimes it was neglected. Even *Cyprian* himselfe how much soever it concerned him to continue in the *peoples* favour, would many times make use of his own authority, in choosing and ordaining men to functions and employments in the Church, without consulting with the *people*, or making them acquainted with his mind therein. For minding to advance (*l*) *Aurelius* unto the office of a *Reader* (an office, but no *Order*, in the Church of God) he tarried not the *peoples* liking and consent: but did it first, and after gave them notice of it: not doubting of their taking it in good part, (*quod vos scio & libenter amplecti*) and so commends him to their prayers. The like we find

(*l*) *Cypr. Ep.* 33.

(m) Id. Epi. 34.

(m) of *Celerinus*, a man highly prized, admitted first into the *Cleargie* by him and his *Colleagues* then present with him in his exile, and then acquainteth the *people* that he had so done, *non humana suffragatione, sed divina dignatione*, not being guided in it by any humane suffrage, but by Gods appointment. And although *Celerinus* and *Aurelius* being knowne unto the *people* by their former merits, the matter might be taken with the lesse resentment; yet this no way can be affirmed of *Numidicus*: who being before a *Presbyter* in some other Church, (n) as *Baronius* very well observeth, and in all likelihood utterly unknowne *de facie*, to those of *Carthage*, was by Saint *Cyprian* (o) of his sole authority, without consulting either with *Presbyters* or *people*, (for ought which doth appeare) taken into the number of the *Presbyters* of that Church, *ut nobiscum sedeat in Clero*, and so to have a place, together with the *Bishop* himselfe, amongst the *Cleargie* of the same, and that we do not finde as yet in S. *Cyprians* writings, that the *people* had any speciall power either in the Election or Ordination of their *Presbyters*, more than to give testimony of their weldeservings, or to object against them if they were delinquent. And more then that is still remaining to them in the Church of *England*: in which the *People* are required at all *Ordinations*, (p) *that if they know any notable crime in any of them which are to be Ordained, for which he ought not to be received into the Ministerie, to declare the same*, and on the declaration of

(n) Baron. in Annal Anno 253. n. 94

(o) Cypr. Ep. 35.

(p) Booke of Ordination.

of the same, the *Bishop* must desist from proceeding further. This is as much as was permitted to them in the *Primitive* times, for ought I perceive; and yet the Church of *England* gives them more than this: the *Presbyter* who is to serve the *Cure* in particular *Churches*, being elected by the *Patrons* of them, for and in the name of the rest of the *people*.

VIII. As for the power of *Excommunication*, I do not finde but that S. *Cyprian* reckoned of it, as his own prerogative; a point peculiar to the *Bishop*: in which he neither did advise either with the *Presbyters* or *People*. When as the wickednesse of *Felicissimus* the leader of the faction raised against him was growne unto the height, the Father of his owne authority denounced him excommunicant (q) *abstentum se a nobis sciat*, as the phrase then was; as he did also on *Augendus*, and diverse others of that desperate party: commiting the execution of his sentence to *Herculanus* and *Caldonius* two of his *Suffragan Bishops*, and to *Rogatianus* and *Numidicus*, two of the *Presbyters* of his charge; whom as for other matters, so for that he had made his *Substitutes*, or *Commissaries* if you wil, *Cum ego vos pro me Vicarios miserim*, as the words are. And they accordingly being thus authorized proceed in execution of the same, and that in a formality of words, which being they present unto us the ancient forme of the letters of *Excommunication* used of old, I will here lay downe, (r) *Abstinuimus communicatione Felicissimum, & Augendum, item Repostum de extorribus, & Irenem, Rutilorum,*

(q) *Cypr. Ep 38 vel l. 3. Ep. 1.*

(r) *apud Cypr. Epist. 39.*

& Paulam Sarcinatricem; quod ex annotatione mea scire debuistis. In which we may observe that this *Excommunication* was so published, that all the residue of the *Cleargie*, to whom the publication of it was committed, might take notice of it: *quod ex Annotatione mea* (or *nostra* rather, as *Pamelius* very probably conjectureth) *Scire debuistis*. So that the processe of the whole is this, that those *Incendiaries* were denounced excommunicate by S. *Cyprian* himselfe, the *execution* of it left to those above remembred, whom he had authorized in that behalfe; and they accordingly proceeding made certificate of it unto the *Cleargie* of *Carthage*, that *publication* might be made thereof unto the *People*. Which differs very little in effect from what is now in use amongst us. Nor did S. *Cyprian* do thus only of himselfe, *de facto*; but he adviseth *Rogatianus*, one of his neighbouring *Bishops*, to exercise the like authority, as properly belonging to his place *de jure*. *Rogatianus* had complained (s) as it seemes, of some indignities and affronts which had beene offered to him by his *Deacon*: which his respect, in making his complaint unto him, as *Cyprian* tooke exceeding kindly; so he informeth him withall, that he had the Law in his owne hands; and that *pro Episcopatus vigore & Cathedræ authoritate haberet potestatem qua posset de illo statim vindicari*; by vigour of his *Episcopall* function and the Authority of his Chaire, he had power enough, to be straightway avenged of him for the same. Yet being the matter was referred

(s) *Cypr. Ep. 65.*

red unto him, he declares his thoughts, that if the *Deacon*, whom he writ of, would repent his folly, and give some humble satisfaction to the offended *Bishop*, he might not do amisse, to remit the fault. But if he did provoke him further by his perverse and petulant behaviour; *fungêris circa eum potestate honoris tui, ut eum vel deponas vel abstineas*; he should exercise the authority of his place, or honour, and either degrade or excommunicate him, as he saw occasion. Here was no sending to the *Cleargie* to have their advice, no offering of the matter unto their better consideration, but all referred unto the *Bishop*, to do therein as unto him seemed best, of his owne authority. So that both *Cyprian*, and other *Bishops*, both *might*, and *did*, and *durst* do many things w thout advising with the *Cleargie*; (*t*) contrary to what some have told us: And this they might do well enough, without dread or feare, that any of their *Sentences* (*u*) might be made *irrita*, or voyd by the *fourth Councell of Carthage*; which was not held untill 130 yeares and upwards, after *Cyprian's* death. And for the interest of the *People* in these publique censures, I find them not at all considered, but where the crime was hainous, and the Church scandalized by the sins and lewdnesse of the party punished. In which case there was such regard had of them, that the sentence was published *in facie Ecclesiæ*, in the full Congregation of *Gods people*: And that aswell that they might the more heartily detest such scandalous and sinfull courses; as that they might

(*t*) *Smectym. Sect. 9. p. 38.*

(*u*) *Ibid.*

might eſchew his company, and converſation, as they would do the company of an Heathen or of a Publican: (x) *Tunc ſe ab ejus conjunctione ſalubriter continet, ut nec cibum quiſquam cum ea ſumat*; not one of them ſo much as eating with the man, who is ſo accurſed. Which as they are S. *Auſtins* words, ſo by the tenor of the place, they ſeeme to intimate S. *Cyprians* practiſe. So that if *Excommunications* had not paſſed in former times, without (y) the *knowledge and approbation of the body of the Church, to which the delinquent did belong*; as ſome men ſuppoſe, it was upon this reaſon only, as themſelves affirme, *becauſe the people were to forbeare communion with ſuch*. And being that in the Church of *England*, the *Excommunication* of notorious ſinners, is publiquely preſented unto the knowledge of the *People*, for that very reaſon, becauſe they ſhould avoyd the company of *Excommunicated* perſons: I ſee not any thing in this particular, (I meane as to the *Publication* of the Sentence) in which the Church of *England* differs from the *Primitive* and antient practiſe. And did our *Biſhops* keep the power of *Excommunicating* to themſelves alone, and not *devolve* it upon others: they did not any thing herein, but what was practiſed by S. *Cyprian*.

(x) *Aug. cont. Ep. Parmen. lib. 3. cap. 2.*

(y) *Smectymn. p. 40.*

IX. For *Reconciling* of the *Penitent*, which naturally and of courſe is to come after *Excommunication*, I find indeed that many times S. *Cyprian* took along with him, the counſell and conſent both of his *Presbyters* and *People*. And certainely it ſtood with

with reason that it should so be, that as the whole *Church* had been scandalized at the heinousnesse of the offence; so the *whole Church* also should have satisfaction in the sincerity of the *Repentance*. Many and severall are the passages in this Fathers writings, which do clearely prove it: none more exactly than that in his Epistle to *Cornelius*, (*a*) where wishing that he were in presence when per- "verse persons did returne from their sins and fol- "lies, *Videres quis mihi labor sit persuadere patienti-* "*am fratribus nostris*, you would then see, saith he, "what paines I take to persuade our brethren, that "suppressing their just grief of heart, *recipiendis ma-* "*lis curandisq; consentiant*, they would consent to "the receiving & the curing consequently of such "evill members. Yet did he not so tye himselfe to this observance, but that somtimes, according as he saw occasion, *unus atque alius obnitente plebe & contradicente, mea tamen facilitate susceptí sunt*, some, though not many, had been *Reconciled* and reimbosomed with the Church, not only without the *Peoples* knowledge, but against their wils. So that the interesse which the *People* had in these relaxations of *Ecclesiasticall censures*, were not belonging to them as in point of right, but only in the way of contentation. The leading voyce was always in the *Bishop*, and so the negative voyce was also when it came to that: He was to give his *fiat* first, before the *Clergy* had any thing to do therin: S. *Cyprian* telling of himselfe, (*b*) *quam prompta & plena dilectione*, that he received such *Peni-*

(*a*) *Cypr. Ep.* 55.

(*b*) *Id. Ibid.*

tents as came unto him, with ſuch affection and facility, that by his over-much indulgence to them, *pene ipſe delinquo*, hee was even capable himſelfe. And if it were no otherwiſe in his time with the Church of *Carthage* in this caſe, there it appeares to be in the third Councell there aſſembled: the *Biſhop* had not only the leading voyce, but the directing and diſpoſing power, a negative voyce into the bargaine. For there it is ordained, (*c*) *Ut Preſbyter Epiſcopo inconſulto, non reconciliet Pœnitentem*, that the *Presbyters* were not to *Reconcile* a *Penitent*, unleſſe it were in the *Biſhops* abſence, or in a caſe of urgent and extreame neceſſity: (as in point of death) it being there declared withall, that it belonged unto the *Biſhop*, (*d*) *pœnitentiæ tempora deſignare*, to appoynt the time, and the continuance of the *penance*, as he ſaw occaſion. And this to be the practiſe of S. *Cyprians* time, is moſt cleere and evident, by the diſpleaſure he conceived againſt ſome *Presbyters*, who had admitted men (which before were *lapſed*) without leave from him, to the bleſſed Sacrament. A matter which he aggravates to the very height, (*e*) charging them, that neither mindfull of the Goſpell, nor their own place and ſtation, nor of the future day of Iudgement, nor of the authority of him their *Biſhop*; they had admitted ſuch as fell in time of perſecution to the Churches Sacraments, not being by him authorized ſo to do. And this he ſaith, was ſure an inſolency, *quod nunquam omnino ſub Anteceſſoribus factum*, which never had been done in any of his Pre-

(*c*) *Concil. Car: III cap. 32.*

(*d*) *Ibid. c. 31.*

(*e*) *Cypr. Ep. 10.*

Predecessors times : and being now done, *cum contumelia & contemptu Præpositi*, was done in manifest contempt and reproach of their *Bishop*, threatning withall, that if they did persist in these wilfull courses, he would make use of that authority, *qua me uti Dominus jubet*, which God had given him for that purpose; *viz.* suspend them from their Ministery, and bring them to a publique triall for their misdemeanours, before himselfe and all the *People.* 'Tis true indeed, that in the outward action and formality of this great work of *reconciliation*, the *Clergy* did impose hands with the *Bishop*, upon the head of him that was *reconciled:* for we find often in S. *Cyprian* (f) *Manus ab Episcopo & Clero imposita*; but this was only, as I said before, in the outward action; the power of admitting him unto that estate, and giving way to his desires in making of him capable of so great a favour, belonging only to the *Bishop*, as before appeares.

(f) *Epist.* 10. 11. *&c.*

X.

Thus have we seene how and in what particulars, as also upon what considerations, S. *Cyprian* communicated some part of his *Episcopall* Authority, either unto the *Presbyters*, or to the *People*; or to both together. Wee will next looke on those particulars, which he reserved wholy and solely to himselfe: and they concerne his *Cleargie* chiefly; in his behaviour towards whom, in matters of reward and punishment, he was as absolute, and supreame, as ever any *Bishop* since his time. And first in matter of reward, the greatest honour whereof

the *Cleargie*, in his time, were capable, was their place of ſitting, diſtinct & ſeparate from the *people*. A place by *Sozomon* (g) called ἱερατῶον as it were, the *Sacrarie*; by the councell of *Laodicea*, (h) entituled Βῆμα, by reaſon it was higher than the reſt, that all the people might behold it; by others, *Presbyterium* (i) the place for *Presbyters*: but by what names ſoever called, a place it was appointed for the *Biſhop* and his *Cleargie* only. Into this place S. *Cyprian* admits *Numidicus*, (k) a ſtranger to the Church of *Carthage*, as before was noted from *Baronius*: but by him added to the number of the *Presbyters* there, *adſcriptus Presbyterorum Carthaginienſium numero*, as his owne phraſe is, that ſo he might enjoy the honour of that place, with the leſſe diſtaſt.

(g) Sozom. l. 5. c. 14.
(h) Concil. Laodi. Can 55.
(i) Canon Sacerdot diſtinct. 2.
(k) Cypr. Ep. 35.

And ſo for point of *maintenance*, which was another part of the *reward*, that did belong to the Laborious and painefull *Presbyter*: the diſtribution of the ſame was wholy in the *Biſhops* power. So wholy in his power, that howſoever it belonged unto none of right, but unto the *Presbyters*: yet, he, having beſtowed on *Celerinus*, and *Aurelius*, the place of *Readers* in the Church; did alſo give unto them or aſſigne the ſame full maintenance, which was allowed to any of the *Presbyters*. (l) *Presbyterii honorem deſignaſſe nos illis jam Sciatis, ut & ſportulis ijſdem cum Presbyteris honorentur, & diviſiones menſurnas æquatis portionibus partiantur.* "Know you (ſaith he) in an Epiſtle to "the whole Church of *Carthage*, that we have aſ-

(l) Id. Epi 34.

"ſigned

"signed them the full honour of *Presbyters*, ap-
"pointing that they should receive the same pro-
"portion of allowance, and have as great a share
"in the monthly *dividends*, as any of the *Presby-*
"*ters* had. Where, by the way, this portion or al-
lowance had the name of *Sportula*, from the re-
ward or fees which anciently were allowed to
Iudges, and by that name are mentioned in the
Civill Laws : which being assigned to the *Presby-*
ters, pro singulorum meritis, according to the merits
of the persons, to some more, some lesse, at the dis-
cretion of the *Bishop*, gave them the name of *Fra-*
tres sportulantes, whereof we read in *Cyprian Ep.*
66. And they were called *divisiones mensurnæ*, the
monthly *Dividends*, because that as the contribu-
butions of the people were made once every
month, *menstrua quaq; die*, as *Tertullian* (*m*) a *Pres-*
byter of this Church, hath told us : so, as it seemes,
the *Dividend* was made accordingly, assoone as the
mony had been brought to the *Bishops* hands. So
also in the way of *punishment*, when any of the
Cleargy had offended, the *Bishop* had authority to
withdraw his maintenance, and withhold his sti-
pend. For when complaint was made to *Cyprian*
(*n*) of *Philumenus*, and *Fortunatus* two of his *Sub-*
deacons, and of *Favorinus* an *Acolythite*, *qui medio*
tempore recesserunt; who formerly had forsooke
their calling, and now desired to be restored again
unto it : although he neither would nor could de-
termine in it, before he had consulted with his
Colleagues, and the whole body of his *people*, (the

(*m*) *Tertul. in Apolog. c. 36.*

(*n*) *Cypr. Ep. 28*

matter being great and weighty) yet in the mean time he suspends them from their *monthly* pay, *interim se à divisione mensurna tantum contineant*, as he there resolves it; leaving the cause to be determined of at better leasure. This was a plaine suspension *a Beneficio*, and could he not suspend *ab officio* also? Assuredly he both could and did, as appeares evidently by his proceeding with these *Presbyters*, who had entrenched upon his *Jurisdiction*, as before was said. Whose great offence though hee reserved unto the hearing both of the *Confessours* themselves, and the whole body of the *people*, for a finall end: (o) yet in the meane time, *prohibeantur interim offerre*, it was his pleasure to *suspend* them for the *Ministery*, from their attendance at the *Altar*. *Suspend* them then he might, there's no doubt of that; but might he not if he saw cause, *deprive* them also. He might assuredly, or otherwise he had never given that counsell to *Rogatianus*, that if the *Deacon* formerly remembred, did not repent him of his faults, (p) *eam vel deponat vel abstineat*, he either might *deprive* or *excommunicate* him, which he would himselfe. He were a very greedy *Bishop*, who would not be content with that allowance of authority, which S. *Cyprian* had.

(o) *Idem Ep.* 10.

(p) *Idem Ep.* 65.

XI. The like authority he used towards the *people* also, not suffering them to be remembred in the *Churches Prayers*, if they had broken or infringed the *Churches Canons*, And this appeareth by the so celebrated case of *Geminius Victor*, (q) who at his

(q) *Idem Ep.* 66.

his death had made *Geminius Faustinus*, one of the *Presbyters* of *Carthage*, *tutorem testamento suo*, the executor of his last Will and Testament: which being like to be a means, whereby *Faustinus* might be taken off from his employment in the Ministery: the displeased *Bishop* doth declare, *ne deprecatio aliqua nomine ejus in Ecclesia frequentetur*, that he should neither be remembred in the *Offertorie*, nor any prayer be made in his name in the Church. And this he did upon this reason, *ne quis Sacerdotes & Ministros Dei, Altari ejus & Ecclesiæ vacantes, ad seculares molestias devocet*, that none hereafter should presume, to withdraw the *Priest* and *Ministers* of God, from their attendance at the *Altar* in the Churches service, unto the cares & troubles of the world. Which passage as it shewes expressely, the great tye which the *Bishops* of those times had upon the Conscience of the *people*; whom they could punish thus after death it selfe: so is it frequently alleaged, to shew that neither *Presbyters* nor *Bishops* (r) were to be *molested with handling of worldly affaires*. And so farre I agree with them, that *Presbyters* and *Bishops* are to be restrained from these worldly matters, so far forth as they are a *molestation* to them, whereby they are disabled from the executing of their holy function, as this *Faustinus* seemes to be, (s) *ab Altari avocatus*, quite taken off from the attendance of his place; so far forth as the ancient *Cannons* on the which *Cyprian* grounds himselfe, they are and ought to be *restrained*. But we have shewne before, (t) that many

(r) Smectym. p. 46.

(s) Cypr. Ep. 66.

(t) V. par. 2. c. 1.

many secular affaires were not inconsistent with the true meaning of those *Canons*; as neither possibly might this of *Faustinus*, had it hapned at some other time, been reputed by him. But at this time, partly by reason of the persecution, and partly on occasion of the factious, the Church was almost (*u*) *destitute* and unprovided. This as he intimates in his 35. Epistle, touching the admission of *Numidicus* into the number of their *Presbyters*; so hee affirmes the same at large in another place: where he declareth, (*x*) *plurimos nostros absentes esse, paucos verò qui illic sunt vix ad ministerium quotidiani operis sufficere*, that many of the *Presbyters* did absent themselves, and that those which did remaine upon their Charge, could not suffice for the performance of the dayly offices. So that the Church being in that necessity, and such a manifest need or want of *Presbyters*, as then appearing in the Church; *Faustinus* could the lesse be spared from the attendance on the Ministery, and consequently *Geminius Victor* the more unadvised, in putting him on such a businesse by which he was *ab administratione Diuina avocatus* (*y*) quite taken off from the employment of his calling in Gods holy Service. And this I rather take to be the true condition of the businesse, and that which gave S. *Cyprian* so great cause of Anger, then with *Saravia*, (*z*) to affirme that the *Decree* or *Canon* whereof *Cyprian* speaketh, was but particular and provinciall, *illi tempori & loco serviens*, calculated for the *Meridian* only of the Church of *Carthage*, and fitted

(*u*) *Desolata Presbyterii nostri copia. ep. 35*

(*x*) *Cypr. Ep. 24.*

(*y*) *Cypr. Ep. 66.*

(*z*) *De honore Præsul. debito. c. 16.*

fitted to the present time; the *Canon* being ancient and universall, as before was shewne.

XII. Another point, in which S. *Cyprian* exercised the height of his *Episcopall* authority, (and an high point it was indeed, as the times then were) was in restraining of those *Indulgences*, which usually the *Martyrs*, or such as were prepared for *Martyrdom*, did too promiscuously bestow on *collapsed* Christians. For in the *Primitive* times, the Discipline of the Church being very rigid and severe, such as in time of persecution had denyed the Faith, either by offering unto *Idols*, or by some formall abnegation under their hand-writing, whom they called *Libellatici*, were doomed unto (*b*) perpetuall penance; no restitution being to be hoped for to the Churches favour, and to the benefits and comforts of it, untill the very moment of their last departure. Yet such was the regard which was born to those, who did already suffer duresse and imprisonment, and were resolved to suffer death, for the sake of Christ; that such to whom they gave their letters of recommendation, (*c*) were by the *Bishops* readmitted into the bosome of the Church. And this at first was done without any sensible inconvenience following thereupon, the *Martyrs* or *Confessors* rather being very wary, on whom they did bestow those favours, and very sparing of them also. But when that it was growne so generall, that either they did *pacem lapsis dare*, receive such men into their favours, and the Churches peace, promiscuously (*d*) without care and difference; or

(*b*) *Albaspin. de Eccl. ritibus.*

(*c*) *Cypr. Ep.* 11. 13, 14, 15.

(*d*) *Id.* Ep. 17. 19, 20, 21, 22.

that the *Presbyt.* taking their warrant for sufficient, without the leave and liking of their *Bi.* admitted them to the *Communion*: then did the Father manifest his dislike thereof, Wherof consult, *Ep.* 11.13, 14,15. For when it once was come to this, he first addressed himselfe unto the *Confessors* or *Martyrs*, to be more sparing of the like *Indulgences*; and after to the *Presbyters* and *People* severally, for the repressing of this foule disorder. And when that would not serve the turne, he resolved at last, that for the time to come, (*e*) *Quamvis libello à Martyribus accepto*, such Bils or Letters, notwithstanding as they had received from those *Martyrs*, they should stay his leisure, and the whole businesse concerning them be respited, untill his returne. Which checke thus given, and certain of the *Presbyters* rebuked and threatned hy him, for their officiousnesse in this kind, as before we saw: it came to passe, that in a very little time, as well the *Discipline of the Church*, as the authority of the *Bishops*, reverted to its former rigor, especially after that on the sight of this inconvenience; the *Lapsi*, or *Collapsed* Christians, were by the generall consent of holy *Church*, admitted unto penance, like to other sinners; which as it hapned chiefly by S. *Cypr.* meanes, so was it brought to passe in S. *Cyprians* time. But here take notice by the way, that though these *Indulgences* had beene granted by these *Confessors*, whilest they were *Martyrs*, but *in voto*; they were not yet to take effect, as the late learned *Bishop* of *Orleans* (*f*) very well observed, till that they had received the crowne of *Martyrdome*:

(e) *Cypr. Ep.* 15.

(f) *Albaspimæ. de rit. Eccl. li.* 1. *observ.* 2.

which hee proves very evidently out of certaine places of S. *Cyprian* compared together; for which I leave you to that Author. It is enough, that the first check that had been given to that promiscuous liberty, which the *Martyrs* tooke, of doing what they pleased with the *Churches* Keyes; was given by *Cyprian*. Whose foot-steps, one of his Successors following, after brought to passe, that none should have the honour of being counted *Martyrs* (*g*) after their decease, but such whose life and sufferings, and the occasion of those sufferings, were first reported by the *Bishop* of the place in which he lived, to his *Metropolitan* or *Primate*, and by the *Metropolitan* to the chiefe *Primate*, who was he of *Carthage*: who on deliberation, was to decree, *Cuinam Martyris cultus deberet impendi*, who ought to have the honour and repute of *Martyrs*, as *Baronius* noteth. And this he proveth out of a passage in S. *Austin*, (*h*) wherein *Mensurius Bishop* of *Carthage*, writing unto *Secundus Primate* of *Numidia*, (for all the *Metropolitans* of *Africa* were called *Primates*) is said to have disliked of those, which without cause or questioning, exposed themselves to open danger; *Et ab iis honorandis prohibuisse Christianos*, and that he did prohibit the *Christian People* to give them that regard and honour, which was due to *Martyrs*. And indeed *Optatus* (*i*) speakes of one who was reputed for a *Martyr*, *Sed nondum vindicatus*, but not asserted to that honour, not established in it. So great was the authority of *Bishops* over that

(*g*) *Baro. in Annal. Eccl. Anno 302. n. 126.*

(*h*) *Brevic. Coll. die 3. c. 5.*

(*i*) *Optat. de Schism. lib. 1.*

of *Martyrs*, whether dead or living.

XIII. But to returne unto S. *Cyprian*, whom we have found so stout a Champion in the defence of his *Episcopall* authority, that though there was a kind of necessity of complying (as the world went with him) both with his *Presbyters* and *People*, yet notwithstanding he knew how to resume his power, and neither take their Counsell nor consent, but on some occasions. Had he done otherwise, he had indeed betrayed the honour of his calling; which in the point of *practise*; which he so often doth extoll, both for *Divinity* of *institution*, and *excellency* of *jurisdiction*, in the way of *Theory*. For if we looke into his writings, we shall soone finde what his opinion was touching the institution of *Episcopacy*; which hee maintaineth in severall places to be *Jure Divino*, no Ecclesiasticall device, no humane ordinance. For grounding the authority of his calling on those words of Christ, *Tibi dabo Claves*, (*k*) he sheweth that ever since that time, the Church hath been constituted upon *Bishops*, and every Act thereof by them administred. "Then addes, *Cum hoc itaque Divina lege fundatum sit*, that since it is so ordered by the Law of "God, or by Divine Law, which you will; he "marveileth much that any one should write such "letters to him, as he had formerly received from some of the *collapsed Christians*. In his Epistle to (*l*) *Cornelius*, he calleth the Office of a *Bishop* in governing the Church of God, *Sublimem & Divinam potestatem*, an high and Divine authority, and tels us

(*k*) *Cypr. Ep.* 27.

(*l*) *Id. Ep.* 55.

us of the same, *de Divina dignatione firmatur*, that it is founded and confirmed by Divine Providence "or favour; In that unto (*m*) *Rogatianus*; *Apostc-* "*los, i.e. Episcopos & Præpositos Dominus elegit*, the "Lord saith he, did choose *Apostles*, that is, the *Bishops* and Governors of the Church: therefore if we that are the *Bishops* ought to do nothing a- "gainst God, *qui Episcopos facit*, who made us "*Bishops*; so neither ought the *Deacons* to do any "thing in despite of us, who made them *Deacons*. Finally in that unto *Florentius Pupianus*, (*n*) who had charged him, as it seemes, with some filthy crimes, he affirmeth often, that the *Bishop* is appointed by God himselfe, *Sacerdotes per Deum in Ecclesia constitui*, that they are placed in the *Church* by God, *Deum Sacerdotes facere*; that God makes *Bishops*; and in a word, *Apostolis Vicaria ordinatione succedere*, they that succeeded the *Apostles*, as their proper *Substitutes*. As for the excellency of the *Episcopall* power, take this once for all; where he affirmeth to (*o*) *Cornelius*, *non aliunde hæreses abortas esse*, that Schismes and Heresies do proceed from no other fountaine, than this, that there is no "obedience yeelded to the *Bishop* or *Priest* of "God (for in the ancient stile of many of the Fa- "thers, *Sacerdos* and *Bishop* is the same) *Vel unus in* "*Ecclesia ad tempus Sacerdos, & ad tempus Judex* "*vice Christi cogitatur*; and that men do not "thinke that there is one *Bishop* only for the time "in a *Christian Church*, one for the time that judg- "eth in the place of Christ. Which words since

(*m*) *Idem Ep.* 65

(*n*) *Idem Ep.* 69.

(*o*) *Idem Ep.* 55.

many of the *Advocates* (p) for the *Popes* Supremacy have drawn against all right and reason from their proper purpose, to the advancement of the dignity of the See of *Rome*; S. *Cyprian* writing this unto *Cornelius*, then the *Bishop* there: we may heare him speaking the same words almost, in his owne "behalfe: *Inde enim Schismata, &c.* (q) From "hence, saith he, do Schismes and Heresies arise, "whilest the *Bishop* being but one in every *Church*, "is slighted by the proud presumption of some "men; and he by man is judged unworthy, whom "God makes worthy of his favours. And because possibly it may bee thought that *Cyprian* might be partiall in the heightning of his own authority; I shall crave leave to back him with Saint *Hierome's* (r) words, none of the greatest fautors of *Episcopacy*, who affirmes as much; who tels us plainly, that the safety of the *Church* depends on the chiefe *Priest* or *Bishop*, *Cui si non exors & ab omnibus eminens detur potestas*, to whom, in case there be not given an eminent and transcendent power, there will be shortly as many Schisms in the *Church*, as *Priests*. But it is time to leave S. *Cyprian*, who went unto the Lord his God through the doore of *Martyrdome*, *Anno* 261, proceeding from the *Church* of *Carthage*, to that of *Alexandria*, the next neighbour to it.

(p) *Pamel. Annot. in Cypr. Ep.* 55.

(q) *Cypr. Ep.* 69.

(r) *Hieron. adu. Luciferian.*

CHAP.

Chap. V.

Of the condition and affaires of the two *Patriarchall* Churches of *Alexandria* and *Antiochia*.

I. *Of the foundation and first Professors of the* Divinity *Schoole in* Alexandria.

II. *What is affirmed by* Clemens, *one of those* Professors *concerning* Bishops.

III. Origen *the* Divinity Reader *there*, *permitted to expound the Scriptures, in the presence of the* Bishop *of* Cæsarea.

IV. *Contrary to the custome of the* Alexandrian *and* Westerne *Churches.*

V. Origen *ordained* Presbyter *by the* Bishops *of* Hierusalem *and* Cæsarea, *and excommunicated by the* Bishop *of* Alexandria.

VI. *What doth occurre touching the superiority and power of* Bishops *in the Works of* Origen.

VII. *The custome of the Church of* Alexandria, *altered in the election of their* Bishops.

VIII. *Of* Dionysius Bishop *of* Alexandria, *and his great care and travailes for the* Churches *peace.*

IX. *The government of the Church in the former times, by letters of* intercourse *and* correspondence *amongst the* Bishops *of the same.*

X.

X. *The same continued also in the present* Century.

XI. *The speedy course tooke by the* Prelats *of the Church, for the suppressing of the Heresies of* Samosatenus:

XII. *The* Civill Iurisdiction, trayne *and thrones of* Bishops, *things not unusuall in this Age.*

XIII. *The* Bishops *of* Italy *and* Rome, *made Judges in a point of title and possession, by the* Roman *Emperour.*

XIV. *The* Bishops *of* Italy *and* Rome, *why reckoned as distinct in that* Delegation.

I. AND being come to *Alexandria*, the first thing presents it selfe to our observation, is the *Divinity*-Schoole there being: which wee must first take notice of, before we looke into the *Church*, which in this Age was furnished hence both with Religious *Bishops*, and learned *Presbyters*. A Schoole, as it appeareth by *Eusebius*, of no small Antiquity; who (*a*) speaking of the times of *Commodus*, saith, ἐξ ἀρχαίου ἔθους, that of an antient custome there had been a *Schoole*, for teaching of *Divinity*, and other parts of Literature, which had been very much frequented in the former times, and so continued till his dayes. According to which plat-forme, first *Schooles*, and after *Universities* had their consideration in the *Church*: from

(*a*) Eu. hist. Eccl. lib. 5. c. 10.

from whence, as from a fruitfull *Seminary*, she hath been stored ever since with the choysest wits, for the advancement of her publique service. But for this Schoole of *Alexandria*, the first Professour there, which occurres by name, is said to be *Pantænus*, (b) ἀνὴρ καὶ τὰ πάντα θείαν ἐνδοξότατος, a man renowned in all parts of Learning; first a Philosopher of the Sect of *Stoiks*, and afterwards a famous *Christian Doctor*. A man so zealously affected to the Gospell of *Christ*, that for the propagating of the same he made a journey to the *Indies*: and after his returne, he tooke upon him the *Professour-ship* in the Schoole afore said, τὸν τῆς θείας δογμάτων θησαυρὸν ἐκκαλυπτόμενος, opening the treasures of Salvation, both by word and writing. And I the rather instance in him, because that under him (c) *Clemens* of *Alexandria* learned his first *Principles* of Religion; and after him succeeded in his *Chaire* or *Office*: who being by birth of *Athens*, and of the same family with the former *Clemens*, the fourth *Bishop* of *Rome*; upon his comming, and abode at *Alexandria*, gained the surname or additament of *Alexandrinus*. Now that *Clemens*, was *Divinity Reader* in the Schoole of *Alexandria*, is said expressely by *Eusebius*; (d) where he affirmeth also, Ὠριγένην τῶν φοιτητῶν γενέσθαι, that *Orig.* was one of his Disciples: Who after comming to the place himselfe, was followed in the same (e) by *Heraclas*, and *Dionysius* successively: both of them *Schollers* in the *Schoole* of *Origen*, both severally and successively Readers or Doctors in the same, and both, first

(b) *Id. ibid.*

(c) *Id. l. 5. c. 11.*

(d) *Id. l. 6. c. 3.*

(e) *Id. li. 6. cap. 12. 15.*

Heraclas, *Dionysius* next, *Bishops* or *Patriarchs* of *Alexandria*. So that within the space of halfe an hundred yeares, this Schoole thus founded, or at the left advanced in reputation by *Pantænus*, brought forth the said foure famous Doctors. *Clemens* and *Origen*, *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, all of them in their times men of great renowne, and the lights and glory of their age. And though I might relate the names of many others men of fame and credit, who had their breeding in these *Schooles*; did it concerne the businesse which I have in hand: yet I shall instance in no more but these, and these it did concerne me to make instance of, because their Acts and Writings are the speciall subject of all that is to come in this present *Chapter*; and were indeed the greatest businesse of that Age.

II. And first for *Clemens*, not to take notice of those many Books which were written by him, a Catalogue whereof (*g*) *Eusebius* gives us, and from him S. *Hierome*: those which concerne us most, were his eight books inscribed ὑποτυπώσεις, which are now not extant, and those entituled στρωματεῖς, which are still remaining. In the first eight, he tels us in the way of story, that (*h*) *Peter*, *James* and *John*, after *Christs* Ascension, how high soever in the favour of their Lord and Master, contended not amongst themselves for the place and honour; ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἑλέσθαι, but made choyce of *James* surnamed the *Just*, to be the *Bishop* of *Hierusalem*: (*i*) that *Peter*, on perusall of the *Gospell*, writ by *Mark*, Κυρώσαι τε τὴν γραφὴν εἰς ἐπεν-

(g) *Euseb. hist. Ec. l.6.c.11.ty:*

(h) *Id.l.2.c.2.*

(i) *Id.lb.c.14.*

ξιν

ξιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, confirm'd the same by his authority, for the advancement of the Church that (*i*) *James* ὃ ὥρος τῶν Ἀποσόλων, to whom the *Bishoprick* of *Hierusalem* had been committed by the *Apostles*, was by the malice of the Iews done to a cruell death: that (*k*) *John* the *Apostle*, after *Domitian's* death, returned to *Ephesus* from *Patmos*, and going at the intreaty of his friends to the neighbour nations, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταςήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὅλας ἐκκλησίας ἁρμόσων, in some parts he ordained *Bishops*, in others planted or established *Churches*, in others, by the guidance of the holy Spirit, electing fit men for the *Cleargy*; telling withall the story of a certaine *Bishop*, to whom the said *Apostle* did commit a young man to be trained up. All which he might affirme with the greater confidence, (*m*) because he tels us of himself, ὡς ἐγκυρα τῆς τῶν Ἀποσόλων γενόμενος διαδοχῆς, that he lived very neere the *Apostles* times, and so might have the better light to discerne their actions. And for the other eight remaining, although there is but little in them, which concernes this Subject, the Argument of which hee writeth not having any thing to do therewith: yet in that little we have mention of the severall Orders, of *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons* in the *Church* of God. And first for *Bishops*, speaking of the domestick Ministeries that belong to mariage, he shewes that by the *Apostles* Rule, (*n*) such *Bishops* are to be appointed for the Church of God, τὸς ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ οἴκῳ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἁπάσης προεστῶσαι μελετήσαντες, as by the orderly government of their private fa-

(*i*) *Id. Ibid. cap. 22 ky.*

(*k*) *Id. l. 3. c. 17. ky.*

(*m*) *Id. l. 6. cap. 11. ky:*

(*n*) *Clemens Alexand. Stroma. lib: 3.*

families, may be conceived most fit and likely to have a care unto the *Church*. Where cleerely, by his ἐπισκόπους he meanes not *Presbyters*, as the *Apostle* is conceived to meane in his Epistle to *Timothy*. For howsoever the *Presbyters* might bee trusted with the charge of a particular Congregation; yet had they never the inspection, the care or governance, τῆς ἁπάσης ἐκκλησίας, of a whole *Church*, or many Churches joyned together, as the word ἁπάσης may be rendred. That was the privilege and power of *Bishops*. So for the two inferiour Orders, we find them in another place, (*o*) where he divides such things as concerne this life, into βελτιωτικὰς, matters of improvement and advantage, and ὑπηρετικὰς, subservient only thereunto; then addes, that in the *Church* of *God*, the *Deacons* exercise the subservient offices; τὴν δὲ βελτιωτικὴν οἱ Πρεσβύτεροι σώζουσιν εἰκότως, but that the *Presbyters* attend those others, which conduce to our amendment or improvement in the way of godlinesse. Out of which words if any man can gather (*p*) that *judging of the conversation or crimes of any members of the Church, that discipline, which worketh emendation in men, is in the power of the Elders*, as I see some do, he must needs have a better faculty of *extraction*, then the best *Chymist* that I know of. In all that place of *Clemens* not a word of *Judging*, nor so much as a syllable of Discipline. A power of bettering and amending our sinnefull lives, he gives indeed unto the *Presbyters*: but that I hope both is and may be done by the *Ministery* of the Word and Sacraments

(*o*) Id ibid. li. 7.

(*p*) Smectymn. p. 38.

ments, with which the *Presbyters* are and have bin trusted. This is the βελτιωτικὴ, the bettering and improving power which belongs to them; and not the dispensation of the Keys, which have been alwaies put into other hands, or if at any time into theirs, it hath been only in a second and inferiour place, not in the way of *judging*, in the course of *Discipline*.

Next let us looke on *Origen*, a man of most prodigious parts both for Wit and Learning; (*q*) who at the Age of eighteene yeares was made a *Catechist*, in the *Church*, and afterward a publique Reader in the *Schooles* of *Alexandria*, a man in whom there was nothing ordinary, either good or ill: for when he did well, none could do it better; and when he erred or did amisse, none could doe it worse. The course and method of his studies, the many *Martyrs* which he trained up in the *Schoole* of Piety, the severall countries which he travelled, either for informing of himselfe or others, belong not unto this discourse. Suffice it, that his eminence in all parts of learning, and his great pains in his profession, (*r*) made him most gratefull, for a time, unto *Demetrius* the *Patriarch* of *Alexandria*, though after upon envy at the mans renowne, he did endeavour to diminish his reputation. For on occasion of the warres in *Egypt*, (*s*) seeing he could not stay in safety there, he went unto *Cæsarea*, the *Metropolitan* See of *Palestine*: where, though not yet in holy *Orders*, he was requested by the *Bishop*, not only to *dispute* in publike, as his

(q) *Hieron. de Script. Eccl. in Origine*

(r) *Euseb hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 7. v.*

(s) *Id. ib. c. 13. x.*

custome was, τας τε θείας ερμήνευειν γραφάς, but also to expound the Scriptures; and that too ὑπὸ τὸ κοινὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας in the open Church. Which when it came unto the knowledge of *Demetrius*, he forthwith signified by letters his dislike thereof: affirming it to be an unaccustomed and unheard of thing, παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκοὺς ὁμιλεῖν, that any *Lay-man* should presume to *preach*, or expound Scripture in the *Bishops* presence.

But hereunto it was replyed by *Theoctistus Bishop* of *Cæsarea*, and *Alexander Bishop* of *Hierusalem* who was also there, that he had quite mistooke the matter: it being lawfull for such men as were fit and eminent, to speake a word of *exhortation* to the *people*, or to preach unto them, παρακαλοῦντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων Ἐπισκόπων, if they were thereunto required by the *Bishop*; instancing in *Euelpis*, *Paulinus*, and *Theodorus*, godly brethren all, who on the like authority had so done before; and they, for their parts, being of opinion, that others besides them had done so too. In a citation of which businesse, there are these two things presented to us, first the regard and reverence, which was had, in those Pious times, unto the person of a *Bishop*; and then the power and authority that was vested in them. For first it seemes that men of whatsoever parts, though of great Spirit and abilities, did notwithstanding thinke it an unfitting thing, to meddle with expounding Scripture, or edifying of the *people*, in case the *Bishop* was in place. And yet as strange and uncouth as it was, or was thought

thought to be, the *Licence* of the *Bishop* made it lawfull. But then withall we must conceive of *preaching* in this place and story, not as a *Ministeriall* office, but only as an *Academicall* or *Scholasticall* exercise: according as it is still used in our *Universities*, where many not in holy *Orders*, *preach* their turnes and courses.

And yet indeed *Demetrius* was not so much out as they thought he was, but had good ground to go upon, though possibly there was some intermixture of envy in it. For whatsoever had been done in the *Easterne* Churches; the use was otherwise in *Alexandria*, and in the Churches of the *West*: in which it was so farre unusuall for lay-men to expound, or *preach* in the *Bishops* presence, that it was not lawfull for the *Presbyters*. For in the neighbour Church of *Carthage* it was thus of old, in these times at least. For when *Valerius Bishop* of *Hippo*, a Diocese within that *Province*, being by birth a *Grecian*, (t) and not so well instructed in the pronunciation of the *Latine* Tongue, perceived his *Preaching* not to be so profitable to the common *people* for remedy thereof, having then lately ordained *Augustin Presbyter*, *eidem potestatem dedit coram se in Ecclesia, Evangelium prædicandi*, he gave him leave to preach the *Gospell* in the Church, though himselfe were present. And this saith *Possidonius*, who relates the story, was *contra usum & consuetudinem Ecclesiarum Africanarum*, against the use and custome of the *African* Churches; and many *Bishops* thereabouts did object as much.

IV.

(t) *Possidon. in vit. Aug c. 5.*

But

But the old man, bearing himselfe upon the custome of the *Easterne* Church, where it was permitted, would not change his course. By meanes wherof it came to passe, that by this example, some *Presbyters* in other places, *acceptâ ab Episcopis potestate*, being thereto licenced by the *Bishop*, did preach before them in the Church, without controule. For *Austin* being afterwards *Bishop* of *Hippo* in the place of *Valerius*, applauds *Aurelius* the *Metropolitan* of *Carthage*, (g) for giving way unto the same: commending him for the great care he tooke in his Ordinations, but specially, *de sermone Presbyterorum qui te præsente populo infunditur*, for the good sermons preached by the *Presbyters* unto the *people* in his presence. But this permission or allowance was only in some places, in some Churches only; perhaps in none but those of *Africke*. For *Hierom* writing to *Nepotian*, (being himselfe a *Presbyter* in the Church of *Rome*) complaines thereof (h) *ut turpissimæ consuetudinis*, as of a very evill custome, that in some Churches the *Presbyters* were not to preach if the *Bishop* were by. And though he was a man of great authority with *Damasus* and others his Successours, *Popes* of *Rome*; yet got he little by complaining, the custome still continuing as before it was. And this is cleare by the Epistle of (i) *Pope Leo*, in which as it is declared unlawfull, to performe divers other Sacred offices in the *Bishops* presence, without his speciall precept and command; so also is there a *non licet* in this point of Preaching, which was not

(g) *Aug. Ep.* 77

(h) *Hieron. ad Nepotianum*

(i) *Leon. Ep.* 88.

to

to be done [*nec populum docere, nec plebem exhortari*] if the *Bishop* were then present in the Congregation. So that this being then an ancient and received custome, must needs be now in force when *Demetrius* lived: and, as it seemes by his expostulation in the case of *Origen*, had beene no lesse observed in *Alexandria*, than in *Rome*, or *Africke*. There was indeed a time and that shortly after, in which the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria* might not preach at all, (*k*) Πρεσβύτερ ἐν Αλεξανδρία ὁ προσομιλεῖ, as it is in *Socrates*. Which generall restraint as it was occasioned by reason of the factions raised by *Arius*, or other troubles of that Church, in the beginning of the Age next following: so it continued till the times of *Socrates*, and (*l*) *Sozomen*, who lived about the middle of the sixt *Centurie*, and take notice of it. So that as it appeared before in the case of *Austin*, that the *Bishops* have a power to *licence*; so it appeares by that of *Arius*, that they also have a power to silence.

(*k*) *Socrat. hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 21.*

(*l*) *Sozom. hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 19*

But to returne againe to *Origen*, the *Bishops* of *Cæsarea* and *Hierusalem* finding how profitable a servant he might prove in the Church of God, did at another time, as he passed through *Palestine* to goe towards *Greece*, ordaine him *Presbyter*. And this was done (*m*) ὑπὸ τῶν τῆδε ἐπισκόπων saith *Eusebius*, by the *Bishops* there, by the two *Bishops* formerly remembred: no *Presbyter* concurring in it for ought there we find. Yet when *Demetrius* moved with his wonted envy, did not only what he could to disgrace the man, but also

V.

(*m*) *Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 17. ky. & c. 7.*

(n) Id. l. 6. c. 7. n

ſought to frame an accuſation againſt thoſe (n) τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ Πρεσβυτέριον αὐτὸν προάξαντας, which had advanced him to the order of a *Presbyter* : we do not find that he objected any thing againſt them, as to the Act of *Ordination* ; but only as unto the *irregularity* of the perſon, by reaſon of a *corporall* defect of his owne procuring. And on the other ſide, when as *Demetrius* ſaw his time, and found that ſome few paſſages in his many writings, either by him or in his name at leſt ſet forth and publiſhed ; had made him liable unto danger, obnoxious to the cenſures of the Church : he did not only excommunicate him, which had been enough, either to right the *Church*, or revenge himſelfe, but he prevailed with many other *Churches* alſo, to confirme the ſentence. (o) *Ab eodem Demetrio Epiſcopo Alexandrino fuiſſe excommunicatione damnatum, prolatamque in eum ſententiam a cæteris quoque Eccleſiis ratam habitam*, as S. *Hierome* hath it. Where as before we had his *Ordination* performed only by the two *Biſhops* of *Cæſarea* and *Hieruſalem*, without the hands of any of the *Presbyters* ; and yet the *Ordination* good and valid, the whole Church after reckoning him for a *Presbyter*, without doubt or ſcruple : ſo here we find him *excommunicated* by one *Biſhop* only, without the votes or ſuffrages of the *Presbyters*, or any ſhew or colour of it ; and yet the Church concurring with that *Biſhop*, though his ancient enemy, in confirmation of that cenſure. So fully was the Church perſwaded in the former times, that theſe were parts of the

(o) Hier. in Apo. cont. Ruffinum.

the *Episcopall jurisdiction* and authority: that there was no objection made against this last, though *Origen* had many friends, and those great ones too: nor nullity or invalidity in the first, although *Demetrius* who by reason of his great place and power, had made him many enemies, did except against it.

VI. From that which doth occurre concerning *Origen* in the bookes and works of other writers, proceed we unto that which doth occurre concerning *Bishops* in the workes of *Origen*. And there we find in the first place the severall Orders of *Bishops*, *Presbyters* and *Deacons*. For speaking of those words of the Apostle, *he that desireth the office of a* Bishop, *desireth a good worke*, (p) he tels us this, *Talis igitur Episcopus non desiderat bonũ opus*, that such a *Bishop* desireth not a good worke, who desireth the Office, either to get glory amongst men, or be flattered and courted by them, or for the hope of gaine from those which beleeve the *Gospell*, and give large gifts in testimony of their Piety. Then addes, *Idem vero & de Presbyteris & de Diaconis dices*, that the same is to be said of *Presbyters* and *Deacons* also. Nor doth he only shew us, though that were sufficient, the severall rankes and Orders in the *Hierarchie*, but also the ascent or griefes from the one to the other, (q) *In Ecclesia Christi inveniuntur*, "In the Church of Christ, saith he, there "are some men who doe not only follow feasts "and them that make them, but also love the chie-"fest places, and labour much, *primùm ut Diaconi*

(p) *Origen in Mat cap. 15.*

(q). *Orig tract. 24. in Mat. c. 23*

"*fiant*; first to be made *Deacons*, not such as the "Scripture describeth, but such as under pretence "of *long prayers devoure widdowes houses*. And ha-"ving thus been made *Deacons*, *cathedras eorum* "*qui vocantur Presbyteri præripere ambiunt*, they "very greedily aspire to the chaires of those who "are called *Presbyters*; And some not therewith-"all content, practise many waies, *ut Episcopi vo-"centur ab hominibus*, to have the place or name of "*Bishops*, which is as much to say as *Rabbi*. And shortly after, having endeavoured to depresse this ambitious humour, he gives this caveat, that he who exalts himselfe shall be humbled; which he desireth all men to take notice of, but specially the *Deacons*, *Presbyters*, and *Bishops*, which do not think those words to be spoke of them. Here have we three degrees of *Ministers* in the Church of God, one being a step unto the other, whereof the *Bishop* is Supreame, in the highest place. And not in place only, but in power also, and authority, as being the men unto whose hands the keys were trusted by our Saviour. For in another place he (r) discourseth thus. *Quoniam ij qui Episcoporum locum sibi vindicant* &c. When they which chalenge to "themselves the place of *Bishops*, doe make the "same confession that *Peter* did, and have received "from our Saviour the *Keys* of the Kingdome of "Heaven, teaching that *what they bind on Earth is "bound in Heaven*, and what *they loose in Earth "is loosed in Heaven*; we must acknowledge that "what they said is true, if withall they have those "things

(r) *Id Tract. 1 in Matth.*

"things for which it was so said to *Peter*. For if he "be *bound* with the *chaines* of his owne sinnes, "*frustra vel ligat vel solvit*, in vaine he takes upon "him to *bind* or *loose*. In the which words (not taking notice of his errour, seeming to make the efficacy of the *Ministery* to depend upon the merit of the *Minister*) wee finde that in the time of *Origen* the dispensation of the *Keyes* was the *Bishops* office.

This if it should not be sufficient to declare their power, we may heare him in another place calling them *Principes populi Christiani*, (*s*) the Princes of the Christian *People*, blaming them, such especially as lived in the greatest Cities (in which hee secretly upbraides the proud behaviour of *Demetrius* towards him) for want of affability and due respect to their inferiours: And writing on these words of our Saviour Christ, *who is that faithfull and wise servant*, &c. he applies them thus: *Peccat* "*in Deum* (*t*) *quicunque Episcopus, qui non quasi* "*conservis servus ministrat, sed quasi Dominus*. That "*Bishop* whosoever he bee, doth offend against "God, which doth not minister as a *servant* to "his fellow servants, but rather as a Lord amongst "them: yea and too often as a sharpe and bitter "Master, domineering over them by violence "(remember how *Demetrius* used him) like the "taske-masters in the land of *Egypt*, afflicting the "poore *Israelites* by force. Finally as he doth acquaint us with their power and eminency; so doth he tels us also of their care and service: (*u*) assuring us,

(*s*) *Id in* Mat. 19. *Tractat.* 12.

(*t*) *Id. in* Matth. 24. *Tractat.* 31

(*u*) *Id. Homil.* 6. *in Esaiam.*

us, that he who is called unto the office of a *Bishop*, *non vocatur ad principatum, sed ad servitutem totius Ecclesiæ*, is not invited to an Empire or a *Principality*, but to the *service* of the whole Church. And this hee keepes himselfe to constantly in that whole discourse (being the sixt *Homily* on the Prophet *Esay*) in which although he afterwards doth call the *Bishop*, *Ecclesiæ Princeps*, yet hee affirmes that he is called *ad servitutem*, to a place of service; and that by looking to his service well, *ad solium coeleste ire posset*, hee may attaine an Heavenly throne. And so much shall suffice for *Origen*, a learned, but unfortunate man, with whom the Church had never peace, either dead or living.

VII. From him then we proceed unto his Successor, *Heraclas*, an *Auditor*, at first of *Clemens*, then of *Origen*, (x) who being marvellously affected with the great learning of the man, κοινωνὸν καθέστη τῆς κατηχήσεως, made him his Partner in the *Chaire*; which after *Origen* was laid by, (y) he managed wholy by himselfe, with great applause. A man that had the happinesse to succeed the two greatest enemies in the world, *Origen* and *Demetrius*; the one in the *Schooles*, the other in the *Church* of *Alexandria*; unto which honour he was called on *Demetrius* death, who had sate *Bishop* there three and forty yeares. On this preferment of *Heraclas* unto the *Patriarchale*, the *Regency* of the *Alexandrian Scholes*, was forthwith given to *Dionysius*, another of *Origens* disciples, who after fourteen yeares or there-

(x) *Euseb. hist. l. 6. c. 12. 18.*

(y) *Id. c. 20. 25.*

thereabout, succeeded also in the *Bishoprick*. And here began that alteration, in the election of the *Bishops* of this *Church*, which S. *Hierome* speakes of. (z) The *Presbyters* before this time, used to elect their *Bishop* from among themselves. *Alexandriæ à Marco Euangelista usque ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant*, as the Father hath it. But here we find that course was altered; though what the alteration was, in what it did consist, whether in the *Electors*, or the condition of the party to bee *Elected*, is not so cleerely evident in S. *Hieromes* words. For my part, I conceive it might be in both, both in the *unum ex se*, and the *collocabant*. For first the *Presbyters* of that Church had used to choose their *Bishop* from amongst themselves, *Electing* alwayes *one* of their own bodie. But in the choyce of these two *Bishops* that course was altered: these two, not being *Presbyters* of the Church, but *Readers* in the *Schooles* of *Alexandria*, and so not chosen from amongst themselves. And secondly, I take it that the course was altered, as to the *Electors*, to the *Collocabant*. For whereas heretofore the *Presbyters* had the sole power of the *Election*, to choose whom they listed, and having chosen to *inthrone* him without expecting what the *People* were pleased to do: the *People* seeing what was done in other Churches, begun to put in for a share; not only ruling, but finally over-ruling the *Election*. What else should further the *Election* of these two

(z) *Hieron. ad Euagrium.*

I can hardly tell; but that their diligence and assiduity in the discharge of the employment they had tooke upon them; the great abilities they shewed therein, and the great satisfaction given thereby unto the *People*, who carefully frequented those publique *Readings*, had so endeered them to the multitude, that no other *Bishops* could content them, had not these been chosen. And this I am the rather induced to thinke, because that in a short time after, the interesse of the *People* in the *Election* of their *Bishop* was improved so high; that the want of their consent and suffrage was thought by *Athanasius*(z) a sufficient barre against the right of the *Elected*, affirming it to bee against the *Churches Canons*, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς κανόνας, and to the precept of the Apostles. But which of these soever it was, an alteration here was made of the antient custome; which is as much as is intended by S. *Hierome* in the words alleaged. How others have abused this place, to prove that the *imparity* of *Bishops* is not of *Divine authority*, but only brought in by the *Presbyters*, we have shewne before. *Part.* I. *Cha.* 3.

(z) *Atha. in Epi. ad Orthodoxos.*

VIII. But to go on with *Dionysius* (for of *Heraclas* and his acts there is little mention) wee find the time in which he sate to be full of troubles; both in regard of *persecutions* which were raised against the Church *without*, and *heresies* which assaulted her *within*. *Novatus* had begun a faction in the Church of *Rome*, grounding the same upon a false and dangerous doctrine; (*a*) the summe whereof we find in

(a) *Eus: hist. Ec. lib. 7. cap. 7.*

in an Epistle of this *Dionysius*, unto another *Dionysius* Pope of *Rome*. And whereas *Fabius Bishop* of *Antiochia*, was thought to bee a fautor of that *schisme*, (*b*) he writes to him about it also. So when *Sabellius* had begun to disperse his heresies, he presently gives notice of it to *Sixtus*, (*c*) or *Xystus Bishop* of the Church of *Rome*; as also unto (*d*) *Ammon Bishop* of *Bernice*, and *Basilides* the *Metropolitan* of *Cyrenaica* or *Pentapolis*, and to diverse others. And when that *Paulus Samosatenus* began to broach strange doctrines in the Church of Christ, (*e*) although he could not goe in person to suppresse the same, yet writ he an Epistle to the *Bishops* assembled there, γνώμην ἐδήλωσε περὶ τῆς ζητουμένης παρεστήσας, declaring his opinion of the point in question. And on the other side, when as the *Persecutors* made foule havocke in the Church, and threatned utterly to destroy the *Professours* of it: he by his letters certifieth his (*f*) neighbouring *Bishops*, in what estate Gods Church stood with him, with what heroicke resolutions the Christians in his charge did abide the fury, and conquered their tormenters by their patient sufferings: so giving honour to the dead, and breathing courage in the living. Indeed what *Bishops* almost were there in those parts of Christendome, with whom he held not correspondence, with whom he had not mutuall and continuall entercourse, by the way of letters, from whom he did not carefully receive in the self same way, both advise and comfort? Witnesse his severall Epistles besides those formerly remembred

(*b*) Id. l. 6. c. 36. μδ.

(*c*) Id. l. 7. c. 5. ε

(*d*) Id. l. 7. c. 21. κε.

(*e*) Id. l. 7. c. 22. κζ.

(*f*) Id. l. 6. c. 34. μα.

(g) Id. li. 6. c. 38

membred, (g) unto *Cornelius* Pope of *Rome*, commending him for an Epistle by him written against *Novatus*; and giving notice to him, of the death of *Fabius*, and how *Demetrianus* did succeed him in the See of *Antioch*: and also to the Church of *Rome*, discoursing of the publike ministeries in the Christian Church. Witnesse that also unto *Stephanus*, the Predecessor of *Cornelius* (h) entituled *De Baptismate*; a second to the aforesaid *Stephanus*, (i) about the faction of *Novatus*. To *Dionysius Bishop* of *Rome*, besides that before remembred from *Eusebius*, a second extant in the workes of (k) *Athanasius*. And one to *Paulus Samosatenus*, the wretched Patriarke of *Antiochia*, of which though there is no mention in *Eusebius* (l) who tells us that he would not vouchsafe to write unto him, yet is it intimated in *Nicephorus*, (m) who affirmes the contrary, and extant in (n) the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, and in (o) the *Annals* of *Baronius*. It were an infinite and endlesse labour, to recite all those, which besides these inscribed unto the *Bishops* of the greater Churches, he writ and sent to others of lesse note and quality, as *viz.* (p) to *Conon Bishop* of *Hierapolis*, the Churches of *Laodicea* and *Armenia*, ἀνδρὸς δὲ πλείστου ὁμοίως, and to whom not all most either *Priest* or *Bishop*, that was of any merit and consideration in the Church of *Christ*?

(h) Id. l. 7. c. 2.

(i) Id. l. 7. c. 4.

(k) Athanas. opera græc. lat. Tom. 1 p. 558.

(l) Euse. l. 7. c. 24

(m) Nicephor. Ec. hist. l. 6. c. 27

(n) Bibl. o. Patr. T. 3 edit. Col.

(o) Bar. An. 265

(p) Euseb hist. l. 6. cap ult.

IX. If you demand to what end serves this generall *muster* of the *Epistles* of this *Prelate*, why I have brought them thus into the field in their *rankes* and *files*, I answer that it was to let you see, what

was

was the Ancient forme of government in the Church of Christ, before they had the happinesse to live under *Christian Princes*, and thereby opportunity of meeting in their *general councels*. For all the *Apostles* being furnished by our Lord and Saviour, with an equality of power and honour; *pari consortio præditi potestatis & honoris*, as (*q*) S. *Cyprian* hath it: by consequence all *Bishops* also, were founded in the like equality. So that the government of the Church as to the outward forme and *polity* thereof, was *Aristocraticall*. And being so, there was in manner a necessity imposed upon the *Prelates* of the Church, to maintaine mutuall *entercourse* and correspondence betwixt one another by letters, messages, and *Agents*, for the communicating of their counsels, and imparting their advise, as occasion was in all emergent dangers of the Church. For howsoever that the Church had followed in some things, the patterne of the *Roman* Empire, and in each *diocesse* thereof (taking the Word according to the civill sense) had instituted and ordained a *Primate*, to whom the finall resolution of all businesses did appertaine, that fell within the compasse of that Diocesse: yet all these *Primates* being of equall power and authority, each of them absolute & independent with the bounds and limits of his owne jurisdiction; there was no other way to compose such differences as were either indeterminable at home, or otherwise concerned the publike, but this of mutuall *entercourse* and correspondence. And this, what ever is opi-

(*q*) *Cyprian de Ecclesiæ unitate*

ned unto the contrary both by the *masters* and the *Schollers* in the Church of *Rome*, who have advanced the *Pope* into the Soveraigne or Supreame direction in all points of doubt: will prove to be the practise of the *Christian* Church in all times and Ages, till the Authority of all other Churches in the worst and darkest times of *Christianity*, came to be swallowed up in the gulph of *Rome*. For presently upon the death of the *Apostles*, who questionlesse had the *frequent resort*, the final ending of al businesses which concerned the Church, a full and plenary authority to direct the same: we find that *Clemens* (r) one of their *Disciples*, sends his Epistle to the Church of *Corinth* for the composing of some *Schismes* which were raised amongst them, and that (s) *Ignatius Bishop* of *Antioch*, another of their *Schollers* sends the like to *Rome*, for their confirming in the faith. Besides which, as he travelled towards *Rome*, or rather was haled thither to his *execution*, he dispatched others of his *Epistles* unto other Churches; & one amongst the rest unto *Polycarpus Bishop* of *Smyrna*, commending unto him the good estate of the Church of *Antioch*. The like we find of *Dionysius Bishop* (t) of *Corinth* a right godly man, of whose Epistles to the *Lacedemonians*, *Athenians*, *Nicomedians*, and those of *Crete*; as also to the Churches in *Pontus*, nay to that of *Rome*; conducing either to the beating down of *heresies*, or to the preservation of *peace* and unity, or to the confirmation of the faith, or rectifying of what was amisse in the Churches *discipline*,

(r) Euseb. hist. Ec. l. 3. c. 12 ιγ

(s) Id. c. 30. λε

(t) Id. l. 4. c. 23. κγ.

pline, there is full mention in *Eusebius*.

Thus when *Pope Victor* by his rash perversnesse, had almost plunged the Church in an endlesse broyle: the *Bishops* of these times bestirred themselves (*x*) by publique writings, to compose the quarrell; particularly *Irenæus* and *Polycrates*, the one the *Metropolitan* of the *Gallick*, the other of the *Asian* Churches. And when that many of the *Bishops* severally had convocated (*y*) *Councils*, and *Synodicall* meetings to make up this breach: upon the rising of the same they sent out their letters, signifying what they had *Decreed*, advising what they would have done by all *Christian People*. For though *Eusebius* (*z*) instanceth in none but the *Bishops* of *Cæsarea* and *Hierusalem*, (in the records of which in two Churches, he had been most versed) which sent out these *Synodicall Epistles*: yet being so many other *Metropolitans*, had called *Synods* also to the same intent; I doubt not but they tooke the same course as the others did, in manifesting their Decrees and Counsailes. Nay so exact and punctuall they were in the continuance of this mutuall amity and correspondence; that there was almost no occurrence of any moment or consideration, not so much as the death of some eminent *Prelate*, (*a*) and the succession of a new; but they gave notice of it unto one another, ending (*b*) their letters of congratulation unto the party so advanced: Examples of the which in *Eccle*. Histories, are both infinite and obvious. By meanes of which continuall intercourse there was main-

(x) *Id. l. 5. c. 23. 24. vel, κε, κς.*

(y) *Ib. c. 22. κγ.*

(z) *Ib. c. 25. κζ.*

(a) *Id. l. 6. c. 7, 8. κς.*

(b) *Id. l. 6. c. 10. 16. & Cyprian: Epist. 42.*

mainteined, not only an *Association* of the severall Churches, for their greater strength, nor a *Communication* only of their counsailes, for the publick safety, but a *Communion* also with each other, as *members* of the *mysticall body* of our Saviour *Christ*. And this is that *Optatus* (c) speakes of, when having made a Catalogue of the *Bishops* of *Rome*, from S. *Peter* down unto *Siricius*, who then held that place; or, as his words there are, *Qui noster est Socius*, who was his Partner or Associate in the common Government of the Church: he addes, *Cum quo nobis totus orbis commercio formatarum in una communionis societate concordant*; with whom the whole world doth agree with us, in one communion or society, by Letters of intercourse and correspondence. For *Literæ formatæ*, or *communicatoriæ*, were these Letters called, as in the 163. *Epistle* of S. *Austin*, where both names occurre.

(c) *Opta. de Schi. Donat. l. 2.*

X. This as it was the usage of the former times, so was there never more need to uphold the same, than in the latter part of this present *Age*. So mighty a distemper had possessed the Church, that no part almost of it was in a tolerable constitution: and therefore it concerned the *Bishops* to be quick and active, before the maladies thereof became incurable. In that of *Carthage*, besides the faction raised by *Felicissimus*, which had no countenance from the Church; there was an erroneous doctrine publiquely received about the *Baptisme* of *Heretiques*. The Church of *Alexandria*, besides the heate she fell into concerning *Origen*

rigen, was much disquieted by the Heresie of *Sabellius*, broached within the same. And that no sooner was suppressed, or at lest quieted for the present, but a great flame brake out in the Church of *Antioch*, which beginning in the house of *Paulus Samosatenus* before remembred, had like to have put all the Church into combustion. *Rome* in the meane time was afflicted more than all the rest, by the *Schisme* raised, and the false doctrines preached therein, by *Novatianus*: and that not for a fit only and no more but so, but in a constant kind of sicknesse, which disturbed her long. In this distemper of the Church, the *Bishops* had no way to consult her health; but by having recourse to their old way of mutuall *commerce* and *conference*: which being it could not be performed in *person*, must be done by *Letters*. And so accordingly it was. Witnesse those severall Letters written by S. *Cyprian* to the *Bishops* of *Rome*: *viz.* from him to *Stephanus*, *Epist.* 71. to *Lucius*, *Epist.* 58. and to *Cornelius*, *Epist.* 42,43,47,54,55,57. to the Church there, *Epist.* 23,29. and from the Church of *Rome* and the *Bishops* of it, unto him againe, *Epist.* 31.46,48,79. In all of which they mutually both give and take advise, as the necessities of their affaires, and the condition of the Church required: Nor was the businesse of the Church of *Carthage*, in agitation between *Cyprian* only and the *Roman Prelates*; but taken also into the care and consideration of *Dionysius Bishop* of *Alexandria*, (*d*) who writ his judgement in it, and advice about

(*d*) *Euseb. hist. Ec. lib.* 7. *cap.* 2.

about it, to *Stephanus* then Pope of *Rome*, who held against S.*Cyprian*, or indeed rather for the truth, in the point in question. What the same *Dionysius* did, for the suppressing of the faction of *Novatus*, raised in *Rome* at first, but after spreading further over all the Church, wee have in part beheld already, by his Epistle unto *Fabius* of *Antiochia* who was suspected to incline that way; and that inscribed unto *Cornelius*, written about that businesse also, which before we spake of. And we may see what S.*Cyprian* did in recompence of that advice and comfort which he had from *Rome*, in his own afflictions, by the great care hee tooke for the composing of her *Schismes* and troubles when shee fell into them; by his *Epistles* to that only purpose: as *viz.* those unto *Cornelius*, intituled (*e*) *Quod ordinationem Novatiani non receperit*, (*f*) *De ordinatione ejus à se comprobata*, (*g*) *Quod ad Confessores à Novatiano seductos literas fecerit*: (*h*) The letters of those seduced *Confessors* to him, and his congratulation unto them upon their returne to their obedience to the Church; *Cornelius* (*i*) writing unto him touching the faction of *Novatian*, and their wicked practises, with his reply unto *Cornelius*. Thus also when *Sabellius* began to broach his heresies within the jurisdiction of *Alexandria*; he did not only signifie the same to the *Bishop* of *Rome*, which by the (*k*) Cardinall is used I know not how, for a prime Argument, to prove the *Popes Supremacy*: but unto diverse other *Bishops*, as before was shewne, to whom assuredly he

(*e*) *Cypr. Ep.* 41.
(*f*) *Id: Ep.* 42:
(*g*) *Id: Ep.* 43.
(*h*) *Id Ep.* 50, 51
(*i*) *Id. Ep.* 48, 49
(*k*) *Baro: in Annal. Eccl: Anno* 260, *n:* 62.

he owed no obedience. This as he did, according to the usage of the Church; at that time in force: so tooke he other courses also for the suppression of that *Heresie*, both by power and pen. For finding upon certaine information (*l*) τινὰς ἐπισκόπων φρονεῖν τὰ Σαβελλίου, that diverse *Bishops* of *Pentapolis*, being within the *Patriarchat* of *Alexandria*, began to countenance and embrace the said desperate doctrines, and had so far prevailed therein, that there was hardly any mention in their Churches of the Sonne of God; he knowing that the care and oversight of the said Churches did belong to him, first laboured by his Messengers and Commissioners to dissuade them from those lewd opinions; and when that would not do the deed, he was constrained to write unto them an *Epistle*, in which he throughly confuted their erroneous tenets. By which as we may see the care and piety of this famous *Prelate*, triumphing in the fall of *Heresie*; so we may see the power and eminency of that famous *See*, having the governance and superintendency of so many Churches.

(*l*) *Athan. de sentent. Dionys.*

XI.

But that which was indeed the greatest businesse of his time, and which the Church was most concerned in, was that (*m*) of *Paulus Samosatenus*, the sixteenth *Bishop* of the Church of *Antioch*, great in relation to the man, one of

(*m*) *Euseb. Eccl. hist. l. 7. c. 22. 27.*

the three prime *Bishops* in the Christian Church; and great inference to the danger which was like to follow. When one of the maine Pillars of a Church is foundred, the whole edifice is in danger of a present ruine. And therefore presently upon the apprehension of the mischiefe likely to ensue, in case there was no speedy course taken to prevent the same, the *Bishops* of all parts repaired to *Antioch*, not only those which were within the jurisdiction of that *Patriarchate*, but such as lived farre off; and in all possibility, might have kept their Churches from the infection of the *Heresie*, being so remote. For thither came (*n*) *Firmilianus Bishop* of *Cæsarea*, in *Cappadocia*, *Gregory* surnamed *Thaumaturgus*, *Bishop* of *Neo-Cæsarea* in *Pontus*, and *Athenodorus* his brother, another *Bishop* of that *Province*, *Helenus Bishop* of *Tarsus*, *Nicomas Bishop* of *Iconium*, *Hymenæus Bishop* of *Hierusalem*, *Maximus Bishop* of *Bostra*, *Theoctecnus Bishop* of *Cæsarea* the *Metropolis* of *Palestine*; and so many others, ἐκ αὐ δπορήσοι τις, that the number of them was innumerable. *Dionysius Bishop* of *Alexandria* was required also to bee there, (*o*) γῆρας ὄμοῦ καὶ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος αἰτιασάμενος, but hee excused himselfe by reason of his age and weakenesse. And well indeed hee might so do, being then

(*n*) *Id. ibid.*

(*o*) *Id. ibid.*

ver y

very ill at ease, and dying (*p*) whilest the *Synod* was in preparation. But what hee could not do in person, hee performed by his penne: writing not only to the Fathers, who were there assembled, which *Eusebius* speakes of; but to the Heretique himselfe, a Copy of the which we have both in *Baronius* and the *Bibliotheca*, as before was said.

(*p*) *Id: ibid:*

As for the other *Dionysius* the then Pope of *Rome*, I finde not any thing that he did, to quench this flame. For though *Baronius* (*q*) being sensible how much it might redound to the Popes disgrace, that hee alone should bee a looker on in so great a businesse, wherein the honour of our Lord and SAVIOUR was so much concerned; hath fained a Councell to bee held at *Rome*, at the same time, and for the same intent, and purpose; yet there is no such thing in *Athanasius* whom he cites to prove it; neither doth *Binius*, though in other things he takes up much of his commodities on the *Cardinals* word, speake the lest word of such a Councell. It may be that the *Popes* then being, had so much worke cut out at home by the *Novatian* faction there; that they had litle leisure to attend a businesse so remote and distant: which is the best excuse I can see for them. And yet well

(*q*) *Baron. Annal. Eccl. Anno* 1272, 18.

fare the Cardinall and his *Binius* too. For though the Pope was neither there, nor had so much as sent his Letters for ought wee can finde; and that the *Synodicall Epistle* written by the Fathers, was inscribed (*r*) to this *Dionysius Maximus Bishop* of *Alexandria*, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πᾶσι συλλειτουργοῖς, and to all other their Colleagues, the *Bishops*, over all the World, and to the *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and the whole *Catholique Church*, as the title runneth: yet they will needes inscribe it to the Pope, none else; *Ad Dionysium Romanum Pontificem scripserunt*, so saith (*s*) *Binius*, *Synodicam ad Dionysium Papam scriptam*: So * *Baronius* hath it; and both ridiculously false.

(r) Euseb. hist. Ec. l. 7. c. 24 λ

(s) Bin. Annot. in Concil. Tom. 1. p. 161.

* Baron. in Annal. An. 272. 17.

But to returne againe unto the Councell, the issue of the whole was this, that *Paulus* was deposed from his place and dignity; *Domnus* succeeding in the seat. And (*t*) whereas *Paulus* notwithstanding his abdication, still kept possession of his House, τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἶκον, the House belonging to his *Bishoprick*, as the story hath it: the Emperour *Aurelian*, being made acquainted with it, did determine thus, that it should bee delivered unto them, οἷς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων πόλιν ἐπισκόποις, to whom the *Bishops* of *Italy* and *Rome* should adjudge the same.

(t) Euseb. hist. Ec. l. 7. c. 24. λ

Now

XII.

Now in this businesse there are these two things to be considered; the man thus sentenced, and those to whom the last part of the Sentence was to be put in execution: both of them yeelding matter worthy of our observation, for the present businesse. For *Paulus* first, the Fathers of the Councell laying downe the course and passages of his behaviour, do describe him thus: (*u*) that being borne of meane and ordinary parentage, hee had amassed great summmes of money, and full heapes of treasure: which hee had gotten by bribery and corruption, from those that were in *Suites* and differences', τῶν ἐν πράγμασιν ὄντων and had repaired to him to bee righted in their severall causes: next, that hee never went abroad in publique, but that hee was attended by a guard; some of them going before him; others following after, to the great scandall of the Gospell: And last of all, that he had caused a *Throne* or *Seate* to bee erected for him, not such as did become one of CHRIST'S Disciples, but high and lofty, such as the Princes of the world (or rather secular Princes) did use to sit in. Which passages (for I omit the rest that follow, as not conducing to the story which I have in hand) as they do manifestly set forth unto us the extreame pride,

(*u*) *Id. ibid.*

and base corruptions of the man: so doe they also give us no obscure light, whereby wee may discerne the customes of the Church in these particulars.

For first, I finde it not objected against *Paulus*; that hee did deale some times in such *Suites* and *differences*, (matters of secular businesse out of question) as were brought before him: but that hee tooke bribes, (x) καταβεβαρεύων τὰς ἀδικουμένους, and received money of such men as came for *Justice*, and yet abused them too, and did nothing for them. So that it is not faulted by the Fathers, for ought I can see, that hee made himselfe a *Judge* amongst his brethren, or tooke upon him to compose such differences, as were brought before him (which certainely was no new matter in these times:) but that hee was corrupt and base; not *Ministring*, but *selling Justice* to the *People*; perhaps not selling *Justice* neither, but making them pay deerely for an unjust Sentence.

(x) Id. ibid.

The next thing I observe is this, that *Paulus* is not charged by the *Synod* for being well attended, or having many followers waiting on him; according to the greatnesse of his place and quality. Their words a in *Eusebius* they are laid before mee, wills beare no such meaning: though some indeed,

deed, (*y*) to raise an *Odium* on the *Prelacie*, do expound it so, as if a great part of his pride and insolency consisted in *that numerous traine which attended on him in the Streetes.* (*z*) Βαδίζων δημοσία καὶ δορυφορούμενος, Hee did not stirre abroad without a *Guard*; saith the Originall, *Magna satellitum stipatus turba*, saith the Translator of *Eusebius*, *Cum satellitio publicitus ingrediens*, (*a*) as the Translator of *Nicephorus* hath it. Now whether wee looke upon this passage in the *Greek*, as given us in the word δορυφορούμενος, or in the *Latine Satellitium*, or *Satellitum turba:* I must professe my ignorance to bee such in both the Languages, that though I finde it charged on *Paulus*, that hee was *guarded* when hee went abroad with a *band* of *Speare-men*; I find it not objected that hee was *Attended* by a *Traine* of *servants*.

Last of all for his Throne, the charge consists not as I take it, in the thing it selfe, for *Bishops* were allowed their *Thrones* in the *Primitive* times; but in the raising of it to a greater height than had beene accustomed. *Cassiodore*, (*b*) I am sure doth expound it so: *Intra Ecclesiam vero tribunal in alto altius quam fuerat extrui, & thronum in excelsioribus collocari jubet, secretarium quoque sterni & parari, sicut judicibus seculi solet.* Hee caused his Tribunall in the "Church

(*y*) *Smectymn. p.* 55.

(*z*) *Id. ib.*

(*a*) *Nicep. Eccl. hist. l.* 6. *c.* 30.

(*b*) *Cassiodor: hist. Tripart. l.* 7.

"Church to bee built much higher than it "had beene formerly, and his Throne to be "placed more aloft than before it was, and "a Closet also to be trimmed and furnished, "as *secular Judges* used to have. By which it seemeth, taking the Authors words as they lye together, that it was not the Throne (c) but θρόνου ὕψωσις the state and *exaltation* of the Throne, that gave the scandall. A Throne he might have had, ὡς χριστοῦ μαθηταὶ, as other *Bishops Christs* Disciples used to have before. But he would have his Throne *exalted*, adorned and furnished like a Closet, ὥσπερ οἱ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχοντες, after the manner of Kings and Princes: Or if the Seate or *Throne* here spoke of, were a *tribunall*, as is said by *Cassiodore*: we must not looke upon him in the Church, but in the *Consistory*: in which he would have nothing *ordinary* like to other *Bishops*, but all things suted and adorned like the Bench or judgement seate of a *Civill Magistrate*.

(c) *Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 7. c. 24. λ*

XIII. As for the men to whom the execution of the sentence was committed, which is the next thing here to be considered, *Eusebius* tels us that they were the *Bishops* of *Rome* and *Italy*. And possibly the Emperour might commit the judgement of the cause to them, because being strangers to the place, and by reason of their absence not

ingaged

ingaged in the businesse, or knowne to either of the two *Pretenders*; they might with greater equity and indifference, determine in it. This is more like to be the reason, then that the *Emperour* should take such notice of the *Popes* authority, as to conceive the judgments and decrees of other *Bishops* to be no further good and valid, (*d*) *quam eas authoritas Romani Pontificis confirmasset*, then as they were confirmed by the *Bishop* of *Rome*, as faine the *Cardinall* would have it. If so, what needed the *Italian Bishops* to be joyned with him? The *Pope* might do it of himselfe without their advise, indeed without the Emperours Authority. This was not then the matter, whatsoever was; and what was like to be the matter we have said already. And more than that I need not say, as to the reason of the reference, why the *Emperour* made choyse rather of the *Westerne* than the *Esterne Bishops* to cognisans the cause, and give possession on the same accordingly. But there is something else to be considered, as to the matter of the reference to the point referred; as also to the persons who by this Soveraigne Authority were inabled to determine in the cause proposed.

(*d*) Baron. in Annal. Anno. 272. n. 18.

And first as for the point referred, whereas there were two things considerable in the

whole proceedings against *Paulus*; *viz.* his dangerous and hereticall *doctrine*, and next his violent and unjust possession: the first had been adjudged before in the *Councell*, and he deposed for the same. With that the *Bishops* either of *Rome* or *Italy* had no more to do, then to subscribe unto the judgement of the *Synod*: or being a matter meerely of spirituall *cognizance*, might in a like *Synodicall* meeting, without the Emperours Authority as their case then stood, have censured and condemned the *Heresie*, though with his person possibly they could not medle, as being of another *Patriarchat*. But that which here I find referred unto them, was a meere *Lay-fee*, a point of *title* and *possession*, and it was left unto them to determine in it, whether the *Plaintife* or *Defendant* had the better right, to the house in question. This was the *point* in *issue* betweene the *parties*; and they upon the hearing of the cause, gave sentence in behalfe of *Domnus*: who presently upon the said award or sentence, was put into possession of the house, and the *force removed*, by the appointment of the Emperour. And it is worth our notice also, that as they did not thrust themselves into the imployment, being a matter meerely of a *secular* nature: so when the *Emperour* required their advice

therein

therein, or if you will make them his *Delegates* and *High Commissioners*; they neither did delay, or dispute the matter, nor pleaded any *Antient Canons*, by which they might pretend to bee disabled from intermedling in the same. A thing which questionlesse some one or other of them would have done, there being so many Godly and Religious *Prelates* interessed therein: had they conceived that the imployment had beene inconsistent with their holy calling.

XIV. A second thing to bee considered in this delegation, concernes the parties unto whom it was committed, which were as hath beene said before, the *Bishops* of *Italie*, and of the City of *Rome*. In which it will not bee impertinent to examine briefly, why the *Bishops* of *Italie* and the *Bishops* of *Rome*, οἱ Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοποι, as by (*a*) *Nicephorus* it is given us in the plurall number, should be herereckoned as distinct: since both the City of *Rome*, was within the limits and bounds of *Italy*, and *Italie* subordinate or rather subject to the City of *Rome*, the Queene and Empresse of the World. For resolution of which *Quære*, wee may please to know that in the distribution of the *Roman* Empire, the continent

(*a*) *Niceph. hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 29.*

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tinent of *Italy*, together with the Isles adjoyning was divided into two parts, *viz.* the *Prefecture* of the City of *Rome*, conteining *Latium*, *Tuscia*, and *Picenum*, the Realme of *Naples*, and the three Islands of *Sicily*, *Corsica*, and *Sardinia*, (*b*) as before was said, the head City or *Metropolis* of the which was the City of *Rome*.

(*b*) *Vide* chap. 3 of this 2. Part.

And secondly, the *Diocese* of *Italy*, containing all the *Westerne* and broader part thereof, from the River *Magra*, to the *Alpes*, in which were comprehended seven other *Provinces*, and of the which the *Metropolis*, or Prime City was that of *Milaine*, μητρόπολις τῆς Ἰταλίας, as in (*c*) *Athanasius*. So that that Church being in the Common-wealth, according to that maxime (*c*) of *Optatus*, and following the patterne of the same, in the proportion and fabrick of her publique Governement, the *Bishops* of the *Diocese* of *Italy*, were no way under the command of the *Patriarch* or *Primate* of the Church of *Rome*, but of their own *Primate* only, which was hee of *Millaine*. And this division seemes to bee of force in the times wee speake of, because that in the subscriptions to the (*d*) Councell of *Arles*, being about 40 yeares after that of *Antioch*; the *Bishops* of *Italy* stand divided into two rankes or *Provinces*, that is to say, *Pro-*

(*c*) *Athanas. in Epist. ad solitar. vitam agentes.*

(*c*) *Optat. de Schis. Dona. l. 2*

(*d*) *Conc. Tom. 1*

Provincia Italiæ, and *Provincia Romana*, the *Province* of *Italie*, of which *Orosius* the *Metropolitan* of *Millaine* subscribeth only, and then the *Province* of the City of *Rome*, for which *Gregorius Bishop* of *Porto* subscribeth first. In after Ages the distinction is both cleere and frequent, as in the Epistle of the Councell of *Sardica* extant (*e*) in *Athanasius*, and an Epistle of the said (*f*) *Athanasius* written unto others. So that according to the *Premisses*, this *Conclusion* followeth, that the *Popes* or *Patriarchs* of *Rome*, had no authority in the Church more than other *Primates*, no not in *Italie* it selfe, more than the *Metropolitan* of *Millaine:* as may appeare, should all proofes else bee wanting, by this place and passage, by which the *Bishops* of the *Diocese* of *Italy* (taking the word *Diocese* in its Civill sense) were put into a joynt commission, with the *Bishops* of the *Patriarchall* of *Rome* with the *Pope* himselfe. Which tending so expresly to the overthrow of the *Popes supremacy*, as well *Christopherson* in his Translation of *Eusebius*; as the great Cardinall *Baronius* in his *Application* of the place, are faine to falsifie their Author. For whereas in the text we have, that he of the *pretenders* was to have possession, ὃς οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ρωμαίων πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι, to whom the *Bishops* of *Italy*, and the City of

(*e*) In *Athanas. Apolog.* 2.
(*f*) *Atha: ad solitar: vitam agentes.*

Rome (g) ſhould adjudge the ſame : *Chriſtopherſon* tranſlates it thus, *Quibus Chriſtiani Italiæ & Urbis Romæ Epiſcopi tribuenda præſcriberent*; *Baronius* (l) with leſſe ambiguity, *Cui Italiæ Chriſtiani, & Urbis Romanæ Epiſcopi dandam præſcriberent*; to whom the Chriſtians of *Italy* and the *Biſhops* of the City of *Rome*, ſhould thinke fit to give it. And for a further teſtimony of this equality betwixt *Rome* and *Millaine*, wee may note alſo on the by, that each Church had its proper and peculiar cuſtomes : *Rome* neither giving law to *Millaine*, nor ſhee to *Rome*. Witneſſe that ſignall difference betwixt them in the *Saturdayes* faſt, which in thoſe times was kept at *Rome*, but not at *Millaine* : according to that memorable ſaying of Saint *Ambroſe*, *quando Romæ ſum, jejuno Sabbato*; *quando hic ſum, non jejuno Sabbato* : Indeed the Church of *Millaine* might well ſtand on her own *prerogatives*, as being little inferiour unto that of *Rome*, either in the *condition* of her *founder*, or the *Antiquity* of her *foundation* : S. *Barnabas* the Apoſtle, being generally reported for the firſt *Biſhop* here ; to whom *Anathalon* ſucceeded, *Caius* after him, and ſo ſucceſſively *Biſhop* after *Biſhop*, till theſe very times. Thus having proſecuted the affaires of this ſecond *Century* from the Church of *Carthage*, unto that of *Alexandria*,

(g) *Euſeb. hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. c. 24. λ.*

(l) *Baron. in Annal. An. 272. n. 18.*

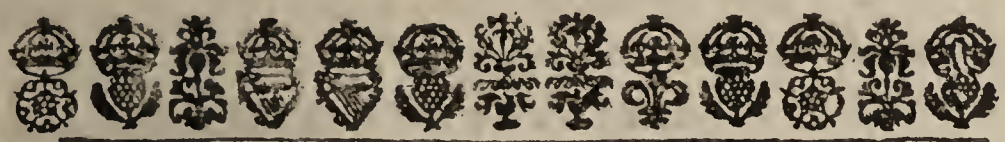
In Aug. Ep. 86. in fine.

Baro. Annot. in Martyr. Rom. Junii 11.

Martyr. Rom. Sept. 25. 27.

dria, from thence to *Antioch:* and on occasion of *Samosatenus Bishop* of this last, being forced to take a journey over unto *Rome* and *Italie*; wee will next looke on the condition of these *Westerne* Churches, and the estate wherein *Episcopacy* stood amongst them for this present Age.

CHAP.



CHAP. VI.

Of the estate wherein *Episcopacie* stood in the *Westerne* Churches, during the whole third *Centurie*.

I. *Of* Zepherinus *Pope of* Rome, *and the decrees ascribed unto him concerning* Bishops.

II. *Of the condition of that Church, when* Cornelius *was chosen Bishop thereof.*

III. *The Schisme raised in* Rome *by* Novatianus; *with the proceedings of the Church therein.*

IV. *Considerable observations on the former storie.*

V. Parishes *set forth in* Countrie Villages, *by Pope* Dionysius.

VI. *What the words* Παροικία *and* Διοίκησις *doe signifie most properly in Ancient Writers.*

VII. *The great authoritie which did accrue unto the* Presbyters, *by the setting forth of Parishes.*

VIII. *The rite of* Confirmation, *reserved by* Bishops *to themselves, as their owne* Prerogative.

IX. *Touching the ancient* Chorepiſcopi, *and the authoritie to them entruſted.*

X. *The riſing of the* Manichean *Hereſie, with the great care taken by the Biſhops, for the cruſhing of it.*

XI. *The* lapſe *of* Marcellinus *Pope of* Rome; *with the proceedings of the Church in his Condemnation.*

XII. *The* Councell *of* Eliberis *in* Spaine, *what it decreed in honour of* Epiſcopacie.

XIII. Conſtantine *comes unto the* Empire; *with a briefe proſpect of the great honours done to* Biſhops *in the following* Age.

XIIII. *A briefe* Chronologie *of the eſtate of* holy Church, *in theſe two laſt* Centuries.

I. BEing thus returned at laſt to the *Weſterne* Churches, the firſt we meete withall, is *Victor* Biſhop of the Church of *Rome*, who lived in the Concluſion of the ſecond *Centurie*, and the beginning of the third: to whom ſucceeded *Zepherinus*, (q) who by *Optatus* is entituled *Vrbicus*, or the *Citie-Biſhop*; the ſtile of *Oecumenicall* or *Vniverſall*, being then unknowne. Of him it is affirmed by *Platina*, (r) *Mandaſſe ne Epiſcopus vel a Patriarcha, vel Primate, vel a Metropolitano ſuo in judicium vocatus, ſine authoritate Apoſtolica damnaretur*; how he decreed that no Bi-

(q) Optat. de Schiſm. Donat. l. 2.

(r) Platina in vita Zepherini.

Bishop, being called in question, either by *Patriarch, Primate* or *Metropolitan*, should be condemned without the leave and liking of the *See Apostolike*; that is to say, the Bishop of *Rome*, as the Author means it. A matter fit enough indeed for an *Oecumenicall*, but of too high a nature for a *Citie-Bishop*, to attempt or thinke of. And therefore I desire to be excused of *Platina*, if I beleeve neither his report; nor the Epistles (*s*) Decretall ascribed unto *Zepherinus*, on which the said report was founded. Sure I am *Damasus*, (*t*) in the *Pontifical* tells us no such matter. And no lesse sure I am, that the practice of the *Church* was contrarie, for a long time after: Saint *Chrysostome* being then Patriarke of *Constantinople*, deposing Thirteene Bishops (*u*) in one *visitation*, whom he had found unworthy of so high a calling, without consulting with the Church of *Rome*, or fearing that his acts might have been repealed by the Popes thereof. Nor can that strange report of *Platina* consist, if looked on with indifferent eyes; either with the condition of the times of which hee writeth, in which the Popes had hardly meditated on their future greatnesse; or with the *Constitutions* of the Church, by which the *Primate* in each Diocesse had the *dermer resort*, as the *Lawyers* phrase it, there being regularly no *Appeale* from him, but onely to a generall *Councell*. Which *Constitution* of the Church, as it was afterwards confirmed by the great *Councell* of (*x*) *Chalcedon*; so was it finally established by

(s) *Concil. Tom. 1. a Binio edit.*

(t) *Apud Binii in Concil. Tom. 1.*

(u) *Sozom. Eccl. hist. l. 8. c. 6.*

(x) *Con. Calcedon. Can. 9.*

by the *Lawes imperiall*, whereof consult *Novel. Constitut.* 123. *c.* 22. More likely is that other Ordinance or Decree ascribed to *Zepherinus* by this Author, (y) *ut astantibus Clericis & Laicis fidelibus, & levita & sacerdos ordinaretur*, that *Priests* and *Deacons* should be ordained in the presence of the *Clergie*, and other of Gods faithfull people: in which, as hee is backed by *Damasus*, who affirmes the same: so is the truth or probabilitie thereof, at least confirmed by the following practice. Where note, that in the *Ordination* of these *Priests* and *Deacons*, there is not any thing required, but the peoples presence, *adstantibus Laicis*, as that Author hath it: the Church being never so obliged unto the votes and suffrage of the *people*; but that the *Bishop* might ordaine fit *Ministers*, without requiring their *consent*; though on the reasons formerly delivered, it was thought fit that *ordinations* should be made in *publike*, as well the *people* as the *Clergie* being present at them.

(y) *Platina in Zepherino.*

II. The seventh from *Zepherinus* was *Cornelius*, by birth a *Romane*, elected to that place and ministerie, (a) *Coepiscoporum testimonio*, by the consent and suffrage of his *Com-Provincials*; as also by the *voices* of the *Clergie*, & *Plebis quæ tunc adfuit suffragio*, and with the liking of the *people*, or as many of them as did attend at the *election*: the number of the *Bishops* there assembled, being (b) sixteene in all, as by S. *Cyprian* is recorded. Which as it was the manner of ele-

(a) *Cypr. Epist.* 52.

(b) *Id. ibid.*

electing, not onely of the *Bishops* of *Rome*, but of most Bishops else, in the times wee speak of: so it continued long in use: the voices of the *Clergie* in the point and substance, the (*c*) presence and approbation of the people, for the forme and ceremonie, *electio Clericorum*, and *testimonia populorum*, being joyned together by Pope *Leo*. Now the condition of the Church of *Rome* under this *Cornelius*, besides the schisme raised in it by *Novatianus*, of which more anon, is to be seene most fully in a letter of his, to *Fabius* (*d*) Patriarch of *Antiochia*: in which hee certifieth him that besides the *Bishop*, ὅν ἕνα δεῖν εἶναι ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, who was but one in every Church, and could not be more, there were Fourty six *Presbyters*, seven *Deacons*, and *Sub-Deacons* seven; Fourty two *Acolythites*, *Exorcists*, *Readers*, *Sextens*; (*Ostiarij*) Fifty two in all; widowes, and other poore people, pressed with want and sicknesse, Fifteene hundred. οὓς πάντας ἡ δεσπότου χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφει: All which, saith hee, are maintained at the publike charge, by the grace and bountie of the Lord. Out of which place and passage of my Author, there are these severall points to be considered, in reference to our present businesse. First; the exceeding large revenue of the Church of *Rome*, in these early daies; so great as to maintaine the numbers before specified, according to the ranke and qualitie of each particular; the distribution of the which did ordinarily, and of

(c) *Leo. Epist.* 89.

(d) *Extat. ap. Euseb. hist. l. 6. c. 35. μγ*

common course belong unto the *Bishop* onely, or such to whom he pleased to entrust the same. And secondly we may observe the singularitie of succession, wherein the *Bishop* differed from the other *Clergie*: he being but one, they many in their rancks and stations, sometimes more, sometimes fewer, according to the greatnesse of the Church, in which they served, and the emergent necessities and occasions of it. Here in the Church of *Rome* to one onely *Bishop*, we finde a *Clergie* of inferior *Ministers* consisting of 154. Persons: which doubtlesse was exceedingly increased in the following times (*e*) *Herome* complaining in his time, *Presbyteros turbam contemptibiles facere*, that the great number of them made them be the lesse regarded. And last of all, wee may observe, that though *Cornelius* mentioneth *Acolythites*, *Readers*, *Sub-Deacons*, *Exorcists* and *Sextens*; these are not to be reckoned as distinct *orders* in the Church, although now so accounted in the Church of *Rome*; but onely several services and imployments, which were required in the same. Concerning which, take here the learned resolution of judicious *Hooker*. (*f*) "There is an errour, saith hee, "which beguileth many, who much intangle "both themselves, and others, by not distin-"guishing, *Services*, *Offices*, and *Orders* Eccle-"siasticall; the first of which three, and in "part the second, may be executed by the *Lai-"tie*, whereas none have or can have the third, "but

(e) *Hierom in epist. ad Evagr.*

(f) *Hooker Eccl. Politie. l. 5. n. 78.*

"but the *Clergie*. Catechists, Exorcists, "Readers, Singers, and the rest of like sort, "if the nature onely of their labour and "paines be considered, may in that respect "seem *Clergie-men*, even as the Fathers for "that cause terme them usually *Clerks*; as al-"so in regard of the end whereunto they were "trained up, which was to be *ordered* or *ordai-"ned*, when yeers and experience should make "them able. Notwithstanding, in as much, as "they no way differed from others of the *Lai-"tie*, longer than during that worke of *Service*, "which at any time they might give over, be-"ing thereunto but admitted, not tied by *irre-"vocable Ordination*; wee find them alwayes "exactly severed from that body, whereof "those three before rehearsed *Orders* of *Bi-"shops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* onely, are the "naturall parts." So the Judicious Divine indeed (*g*) as one truely calls him. I add this further of *Cornelius*, having thus fallen upon the *Orders* in the state *Ecclesiastick*, that he had passed through all inferior Offices, *per omnia Ecclesiastica officia promotus*, (*h*) as Saint *Cyprian* hath it, and exercised each severall ministerie in the Church of God, before he mounted to this height, *ad Sacerdotij sublime fastigium*, are the Fathers words: which sheweth that the estate of *Bishops* was as a different office, so an higher dignitie, than any other in the Church.

(g) Holy Table.

(h) Cypr. Ep. 52.

III. Now as the speech of heaven doth many times

times put us in minde of hell : so this relation of *Cornelius*, an holy Bishop and a Martyr, occasioneth me to speak of *Novatianus*, in whom it is not easie to determine, whether the *Heretick* or the *Schismatick* had the most predominancie. Certaine it is, he proved in both respects one of the cunningest instruments of *Satan*, for the disturbance of the Church, who suffered most extreemly by him, both in peace and truth: the schisme or heresie by him raised at this very time, being both more suddaine in the growth, and permanent in the duration of it, than ever had been set on foot before in the Church of *Christ*. Now this *Novatianus* was a *Presbyter* of the Church of *Rome*; and being much offended, as well at the election of *Cornelius*, as that himselfe was pretermitted in the choice, associates himselfe with one *Novatus*, an *African* Bishop, as neere unto him in conditions, as he was in name, whom *Cyprian*, (*i*) *omnium sacerdotum voce*, by the consent and suffrages of all his *Comprovinciall* Bishops had before condemned. By them it was agreed that *Novatianus* should take upon himself the name and title of the Bishop of *Rome*. And being there could be no shew nor colour for it, did hee not first receive *Episcopall Consecration* from some hands or other, they sent unto the obscurest parts of *Italy* (*k*) εἰς βραχυτιμίας καὶ ἐλάχιστον τῆς Ἰταλίας, as my Author hath it, to find out three poore Countrey *Bishops*, that had not been acquainted with the like affaires. Who

(*i*) *Cypr. Epist.* 49.

(*k*) *Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib.*6 *c.*35. *mg*

Who being come to *Rome*, and circumvented by the Acts of these wicked men, and partly also forced by their threates and menaces, εἰκονικῇ τίνι καὶ ματαίᾳ χειροθεσίᾳ, they *ordained* him *Bishop*; if at the least an Act so voide, and *null* from the beginning, may be called an *Ordination*. And this being done, because they found that people naturally are inclined to imbrace new fancies, especially where pretence of pietie seemes to beare a stroke; they tooke upon them to be very *strict* in their *conversation*, *precise* in their *opinions*, and wonderously *devout* in all their *carriage*: raising withall this doctrine suitable thereto, That such as fell in time of persecution, though they repented never so truely, and did what ever was thought necessarie to testifie their griefe and sorrow for their great offence, (*l*) yet μηκέτ' εἶναι αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδα, there was no hope of their salvation, no mercie to be looked for at the hands of God. By meanes whereof they drew unto their side some *Confessors*, as they called them then, who being well perswaded of their owne safe-standing; and perhaps having suffered much in testimonie of their perseverance, became the worse-opinionated of those, who had not beene endued with an equall constancie. So that upon a suddaine, unawares, the Church of *Rome* was in a very great distemper; the neighbouring Churches also suffering with it, either in regard of their owne peace, which presently be-

(*l*) *Id. ibid.*

gan to be endangered by this plausible and popular *faction*; or out of commiseration unto the distresses of so great a number in the body mysticall. Nor was *Cornelius* wanting to the Church, or the Church to him. For presently upon the breaking out of the flame, hee gives notice of it to his deare Brother and Colleague, (*m*) S. *Cyprian*, the *Metropolitan* of *Carthage*; to *Fabius*, (*n*) Patriarch of the Church of *Antioch*, acquainting them with the whole storie of the businesse: assembling also σύνοδον μεγίστην, a great and famous *Synod* in the Citie of *Rome*, consisting of Sixtie *Bishops*, and as many *Presbyters* or more, besides *Deacons*. For being a *Provinciall* Councell, and not *Generall*, the *Presbyters*, and others of the inferiour *Clergie* had their votes therein, according as they still enjoy on the like occasions. And on the other side, the *Orthodox* and *Catholike* Bishops made the cause their owne: neither repelling of his Agents, who came to justifie his *ordination*, (*o*) as S. *Cyprian* did; or writing in behalfe of the Church against him, (*p*) as did *Dionysius*, the learned and renowned Bishop of *Alexandria*. The like no doubt did other Bishops. And more than so, they caused severall *Councells* be called about it, κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας (*q*) in their severall *Provinces* and charges, as well in *Italie*, as *Africk*: in each of which, the faction was condemned, and the *Arch-Schismatick*, with all his Fautors, deprived of the communion of the Church. I

(*m*) Inter. Epistolas Cypr. Ep. 46.48.

(*n*) Euseb. hist. Eccl. l.6.c.35. n. μγ.

(*o*) Cypr. Epist. 41.

(*p*) Euseb. hist. Eccl. lib.6 c.36. μδ

(*q*) Id.c.35.μγ.

I have the rather been more copious in the description of this *Schisme*, and the Authors of it, than otherwise I would have been, not onely because of that great power and influence which it had after in the Church, which wee shall finde hereafter in the prosecution of this present storie, if it please God to give me meanes and opportunitie, to goe thorow with it: but also for those many observations which any one that would be curious in collecting them, might raise or gather from the same. For first of all it must be noted, that though *Novatianus* had a great desire to be made a *Bishop*, and that he could not get it by a faire orderly *election*, as he should have done: yet he could find no other entrance thereunto, than by the doore of *Ordination*; and therein he would be *Canonicall*, though in nothing else. For being a *Presbyter* before, as *Cornelius* tells us in his Epistle unto *Fabius* (r) κατηζιώθη τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου saith that holy *Prelate*:) he thought that did not qualifie him enough for the place and office of a *Bishop*, unlesse he might receive *Episcopall Ordination* also. And when he was resolved on that, he would not be *ordained* but by *three Bishops*, at the least, according to the Ancient *Canon*, and the present practice of the Church, and therefore ἐπισκόπους τρεῖς, hee procures *three Bishops* to be drawne together for the purpose. And being thus *ordained*, hee sends abroad his *Agents* into forreigne Churches, as *viz.* (s) *Maximus* a *Presbyter*, and

(r) Id. Ibid.

(s) Cypr. Ep. 41.

Augendus a *Deacon*, *Macheus* and *Longinus*, and perhaps some others to the See of *Carthage*; to have his *ordination* ratified, and himselfe acknowledged for a *Bishop*, according to the commendable usage of those watchfull times. In which, who would not but observe, that *Bishops* had a different *Ordination* from the *Presbyters*, and therefore doe not differ from them only in *degree*, or *potestate Iurisdictionis*, but in the power of *Order* also: and that this *power* of *Order* cannot be conferred, regularly I meane, and when there is no urgent & unavoydable necessitie unto the contrary, but by the joynt assistance of *three Bishops*. For how can any give that power of *Order* unto others, with which they never were endued themselves? Secondly, it might be observed (not to take notice of his seeking for the approbation of his neighbouring *Prelates*) that the first *Schisme*, which did disturbe the peace of these *Westerne* Churches, was made by those, who by the rigidnesse of their *Profession*, were in that very instant termed *Catharists*, (t) καθαρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπωνόμαζον, as that Author hath it; and that not to be Englished in a fuller Word, than that of *Puritans*. And thirdly, that however in these later times, the *Scene* be changed, and that the greatest stirres that have been raised in the *Church*, have been for pulling downe of *Bishops*; yet in the former times, the course was otherwise: most of their troubles and commotions, being for setting up of

(t) Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 35. μγ.

of *Bishops*, when certaine factious and unquiet spirits, not willing to submit to the *Churches* government, would have a Bishop of their owne. Certaine I am, that thus it was with the *Novatians*; who though they stood divided from the *Catholike* Church a long time together, yet they desired to be accounted for a *Church*: and that they might be so accounted, maintained an *Episcopall Succession* from the first *Apostle* of their sect; the names of many of their Bishops, (*u*) *Agellius*, *Sisinnius*, *Marcianus*, others being to bee found upon good record.

(u) Socrat. hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 21.

V.

But from these *counterfeit* and *schismaticall* Bishops, proceed wee forwards unto those, who were acknowledged by the Church for *true* and *reall*: and amongst those, keeping my selfe to the succession of the Church of *Rome*, the fourth in order from *Cornelius*, was *Dionysius*, who entred on that weightie charge, (*x*) *An.* 261. Of him we find in the (*y*) *Pontificall*, *Presbyteris ecclesias divisisse, & cœmeteria, Parochiasq; & diœceses constituisse*; that he divided to the *Presbyters* their severall Churches, and Church-yards, and that he first did set out *Parishes*, and apportioned *Diocesses*. Which as they were two severall Actions, so *Platina* (*z*) assignes each action to its proper place: making the first, which was the distributing of the *Presbyters* into their severall *Churches*, and *Churchyards*, then common places of Assembly, to relate only to the Citie of *Rome*. *In urbe*

(x) Baron. Annal. Eccl. An. 261.

(y) Ap. Binium, Concil. Tom. 1.

(z) Platina in vita Dionys.

Roma statim divisit, as his words there are. Which being it had been done before by Pope *Euaristus*, as hath been formerly observed, we must resolve it with *Baronius*, (*a*) that this was a reviver only of the former Act: and that the *Presbyters*, being ravished from their Churches, and the Church-yardes taken from the *Presbyters*, during the *persecution* of *Valerian*; were afterwards restored againe to their former state by the Authoritie of *Dionysius*. In other places, and perhaps here also, this was not done by their *Authoritie*, but in the time of *Dionysius*; the *Order*, or *authoritie* proceeding from an higher hand, even from the Emperor *Gallienus*: who did not onely prohibite the persecution raised by his Father *Valerianus*, but also (*b*) did permit by his publike Edict, *ut Christiani loca cœmeteriorum suorum reciperent*, as by *Nicephorus* it is related. And for the other part of the relation, *viz.* the setting out of *Parishes*, and the apportioning of Diocesses, that *Platina* referres unto the Countrey, unto the parts and Provinces abroad, (*c*) *Parochias & Diœceses foris distribuit*; so hee tells us there: adding withall, *quo quisque finibus suis, limitibusque contentus esset*, that this was done, that every *Bishop* might conteine himselfe within the limits of his *Diocesse*, and every Presbyter be confined to his proper *Parish*. And this as *Dionysius* did within the limits and precincts of his *jurisdiction*, *viz.* that is to say, the *Patriarchat* of *Rome*;

(a) *Baron. in Annal. Eccl. An. 270. n. ult.*

(b) *Nicephorus Callist. Eccl. hist. l. 6. c. 12.*

(c) *Platina in vita Dionys.*

Rome; (for it were vaine to thinke that he could doe the like over all the world, being beyond the sphere of his activitie:) so other *Primates*, seeing the conveniencie and ease which redounded by it to the Church, might and did also doe the like within their commands. Concerning which, it is to be remembred, that as the *Romanes* in each Citie had a *Civill Magistrate*, called a *Defensor Civitatis*, who was to doe justice for, and in the name of the *Commonwealth*, not onely in the Citie it selfe, but also unto all the Townes and Villages within the Territorie of the same: so in each *Citie*, there had been placed a *Bishop* in the former times, who was not onely to take care of the *Church* of God, within the walles and circuit of that *Citie*, but also of the parts adjoyning, accordingly, as they were gained to the faith of Christ. And then the substance of the *Institution*, will be briefly this, that when the faith had spread it selfe in the *Countrey Villages*, and that it was too combersome a worke for the *Citie Presbyters*, to repaire thither upon all occasions: it was thought fit by *Dionysius*, and afterwards by other *Primates* following the Example, that every Countrey Towne and Village which had received the faith of *Christ*, should be furnished with its proper *Presbyter*; and that the *Presbyters* so setled and dispersed in the *Countrey Villages*, should be responsall to the *Bishop* of that *Citie*, within the *Territory* of the which, the said *Village* stood. Which *distribution*

tion of the Church into those smaller portions, and particular congregations, as wee now call *Parishes*; so the *Collection* of these *Parishes* into one united body, under one *Pastor* or chiefe Governour, which was the *Bishop* of the *citie*, wee doe call a Diocesse: borrowing the names of both from the Ancient Writers, in whom the same are very frequent; and frequent also in the sense, in which now wee use them, specially in those *Authors*, and *Synodicall Acts*, which did succeed the times we speak of.

VI. Tis true, the words being used otherwise in the Ancient Writers, such of them chiefly, as relate unto us the occurrences of the former times, have given some men occasion to conceive, that there was never any *Bishop* in the Primitive Church, but a *parish Bishop, viz.* the *Rector* of each several Congregation, to whom the cure of soules is trusted; because they finde that in *Eusebius*, the Churches of *Ierusalem*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, are called *Paræciæ*: and that there were no *Diocesses*, nor *Diocesan Bishops* in the purest times, because they finde them not so called in those Ancient Writers. For satisfying of which doubt, it is first confessed, that by *Eusebius*, the Churches of *Ierusalem*, *Antioch* & *Alexandria*, as also of (*d*) *Corinth*, *Ephesus*, *Lyons*, *Carthage*, and many other famous Cities, are called Παροικίαι, or *Paræciæ*: There is no doubt at all of that. But then it is to be confessed, that Παροικία, in that Authour, is

(*d*) *Vide Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 2. l. 4. c. 1. 4. 5. 11. 15. 19. 23. 31. & l. 5. c. 5, 22. 23. 27, &c.*

is never used to signifie a *Countrie Parish*, or a sole Congregation onely, which wee call a *Parish*: but for the whole Citie, with the Suburbs and adjoyning Villages, within the *circuit* of the which, were many Congregations, and materiall Churches. The very composition of the word doth import no lesse, the Παροικία, of a Citie, containing not alone the *Citizens*, but all such Borderers and Strangers as dwelt neere, or repaired to any chief Church or Citie, for Gods publike Worship; as our learned *Bilson* (e) doth observe; comprising not the Citie onely, *but the Townes and Villages neere the Citie*, as Master *Brerewood* (f) also noteth. And this may be made good even from *Eusebius* himself, so often cited to the contrary, (g) who having said that *Lætus* was *President* of *Alexandria*, and the rest of *Egypt*, addes next, τῆς δὲ αὐτόθι παροικιῶν τῶν ἐπισκοπῶν, but the inspection, or superintendencie of the *Paræcia*, or Churches there, *Demetrius*, had of late received: So that *Demetrius*, being Bishop of the Church of *Alexandria*, τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας Ἐπίσκοπος, as he after (h) calls him, was not the *Bishop* of a *Parish* onely, or of the *congregations* in the *Citie* onely; but τῆς παροικίας, of all the Churches throughout *Alexandria*, and those parts of *Egypt*, which were under the command of *Lætus*, for their *Civill* government.

And lest it may be thought, that the word being Παροικίαι, in the *plurall* number, may

(e) *Perpet. Govern. of Ch. Ch. cap.* 11.

(f) *M. S. Discourse of the Ancient Gover.*

(g) *Euseb. hist. Eccl. l.6. c. 2. a.*

(h) *Id. l.6. c.20. n.6.*

beare a different construction, from what it doth, being used in the *singular*: the same *Eusebius* (*i*) tells us of the same *Demetrius*, that he was τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας Προεστώς, the *Bishop* of the *Paræcia*, or Church of *Alexandria*, whereas at that time there were many *Parish Churches*, as we now call *Parishes*, within the circuit of that Citie; as doth appeare by *Epiphanius*, (*k*) who doth not onely shew the names of many of them, but tells us also who officiated in the same, as *Presbyters*. So that the word *Paræcia*, in its first and primitive acception, signifyed not a *Parish*, but a *Diocesse*; nor onely the *Cathedrall*, but all other *Churches*, how neere or farre soever situated, within the rule and government of a *Bishop*. But for the sense in which we use it in our Age, it gained it not but by degrees, after this division made by *Dionysius*, & that the *Countrey Churches* grew to be considerable for their meanes and numbers. And in this sense, we finde it used in the Fourth *Councell* (*l*) of *Carthage*, where we finde mention of these *Presbyters* which did *Paræcijs præesse*, and were the *Rectors*, as we call them, of particular Churches, and in the fourth Councell of *Toledo*, (*m*) where we reade of *Presbyters* ordained *in paræcijs & per paræcias*, for the use and service of particular *parishes*. And in this sense, but specially indeed for a *Countrey parish*, the word is taken in an Epistle of Pope (*n*) *Innocentius*, in which, *Ecclesiæ intra Civitatem constitutæ*, the Churches situated in the *Citie*,

(*i*) *Id. l. 6. c. 7. 11.*

(*k*) *Epiphan. adverf. hæres. 69.*

(*l*) *Concil. Carthag. IV. can. 102.*

(*m*) *Concil. Tolecan. IV. can. 25. 26.*

(*n*) *Innocent. I. ad Decentium. c. 5.*

tie, are distinguished plainely from *Paræcias*, the Churches scattered in the Countrey, Other examples of this nature, in the later Ages, being almost infinite, and obvious to the eye of every Reader; I forbeare to adde. So for the word διοίκησις, which wee English *Diocesse*, it signified at first, that part or portion of the *Roman Empire* (there being thirteene of them in all, besides the *Prefecture* of the Citie of *Rome*, as before was noted) which was immediately under the command of the *Vicarius* or *Lieutenant Generall* of those parts. And was so called of διοικεῖν, which signifieth to govern or administer, as (o) κακῶς διοικῶσι τὴν πόλιν, in *Isocrates*, τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν διοικεῖν, in *Demosthenes*: a *Diocesse*, being that part or portion of the Empire, which was committed to the government and Administration of some principall Officer. In which regard, the word διοίκησις, or *diocæsis*, when it was first borrowed by the *Church* from the *civill* State, was used to signifie that part or portion of the Church, which was within the *Iurisdiction* of a *Primate*, containing all the circuit of the *civill Diocesse*, as was shewed before: the *Primate* being stiled ordinarily Ἔξαρχον τῆς διοικήσεως (p) as in the Councell of *Chalcedon*; the *Patriarch* of the *Diocesse*, (q) in the *lawes Imperiall*. But after, as the former Παροικία, began to lose its former latitude, in which it signified the whole command or Iurisdiction of a *Bishop*, which we call a *Diocesse*, & grew to be restrained to so nar-

(o) Isocrat. ad Nicoclen.

(p) concil. chalcedon. can. 9. 17.

(q) Novel. const. 123. c. 22.

row a compasse, as the poore limits of a *Parish*: so did Διοικήσις, grow lesse also, than at first it was, and from a *Patriarchall Diocesse*, fell by degrees, custom and use prevailing in it (*quem* (r) *penes arbitrium est, & vis & norma loquendi*, as the Poet hath it) to signifie no more then what *Paræcia* had done formerly, a *Diocesse*, as now wee call it: Whereof see *Concil. Antioch, cap. 9. Con. Sardicens. cap.* 18. *Costantinop. Ca.* 2. *Chalcedon. ca.* 17. *Carthag.* III. *can.* 20. & IV. *can.* 36. So then the just result of all is this, that the Bishops of the Primitive times were *Diocesan Bishops*, though they are called Ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Παροικίας, by some ancient Writers: and that in the succeeding Ages, as the Church increased, and the *Gospel* of our Saviour did inlarge its borders, so did the Countrey Villages obtaine the name of *Parishes*, or Παροικίαι, having to each of them a *Presbyter*, for the administration of the Sacraments, for their instruction both in Faith and Pietie, whom at this day we call the *Rector* of the Church or Parish.

(r) *Horat. de Arte.*

VII. And with this *Presbyter* or *Rector*, call him as you will, must we now proceed, who by this *institution*, I meane the setting out of *Parishes*, in the *Countrey Villages*, did grow exceedingly both in authoritie and reputation. For whereas upon the setting out of *Parishes*, the *Presbyters* became divided into (s) Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς πόλεως, and Πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιχώριοι, the *Citie* and the *Countrey Presbyters*: each of them had their seve-

(s) *Concil. Neocæsar. ca.* 13.

severall priviledges: the *Citie Presbyters* continuing, as before, the great *Councell of Estate* unto the *Bishop*, and doing many things, which were not suffered (*t*) to be done by the *Countrey Presbyters*; and on the other side, the ἐπιχώριοι, or *Countrey Presbyters*, being more remote, did many *Ministeriall Acts* of their owne authoritie, which in the presence of their *Bishop*, it was not lawfull for them to have done. And therefore I conceive the resolution of Bishop *Downham* (*u*) in this case, to bee sound and good, who telleth us, "that since the first distinguishing of *Parishes*, "and allotting of severall *Presbyters* to them, "there hath been ever granted to them both "*potestas Ordinis*, the Power of *Orders*, as they "are Ministers, *Et potestas jurisdictionis spiri-* "*tualis seu interna*, a power of spirituall and in-"ward jurisdiction, to rule their flock after a "private manner, as it were *in foro Conscientiæ*, "in the Court of Conscience, as they are Pastors of that flock." But because this allowance of a Jurisdiction *in foro Conscientiæ*, in the Court of Conscience, seems not sufficient unto some; (*x*) who reckon the distinction of a jurisdiction *in foro externo*, *& in foro interno*, to be like that of *Reflexius* and *Archipodialiter*: they doe in this not onely put the *Schoole-men* unto schoole againe, in whom the like *distinctions* frequently occurre; but crosse the best *Divines* in the Church of *England*, who doe adhere unto, and approve the said *distinctions*. And

(t) Concil. Neo. ca. 13.

(u) Defence of the Sermon. l. 1. cap. 2.

(x) Vindication of the Answ. §. 9.

And becauſe many of both ſorts may be found in one, and that one publicks declared to be *both Orthodox in doctrine, and conſonant in diſcipline to the Church of England*, by great Authoritie; I will uſe his words (y). "A ſingle "Prieſt, *qua talis*, in that formalitie and capa- "citie onely as he is a *Prieſt*, hath no *key* given "him by God or man, to open the doores of "any externall *juriſdiction*. Hee hath a *Conſi-* "*ſtorie* within *in foro pœnitentiæ*, in the *Conſci-* "*ence* of his Pariſhioners, and a *key* given him "upon his *Inſtitutiõ*, to enter into it. But he hath "no *Conſiſtorie* without, *in foro cauſæ*, in medling "with *Eccleſiaſticall cauſes*, unleſſe he borrow "a *key* from his *Ordinary*. For although they "be the ſame *keyes*, yet one of them will not "open all theſe wards: the Conſiſtorie of *out-* "*ward juriſdiction*, not being to be opened by "a *key* alone, but as you may obſerve in ſome "great mens gates, by a *key* and a *ſtaffe*, which "they uſually call a *Croſier*. This (ſaith hee) I "have ever conceivd to be the ancient doctrine "in this kinde, oppoſed by none but profeſſed "*Puritans*; affirming further, that all learned "men in the Church of *England*, doe adhere "unto it: allowing the *Schoole-mens* double po- "wer, that of *Order*, and that of *Iuriſdiction*; and "the ſubdiviſion of this *juriſdiction*, into the "*internall* and *externall*, appropriating this laſt "to the *Biſhop* onely". So he, judiciouſly indeed; and for the Authors by him cited, both *Proteſtant* and *Schoole-Divines*, I referre you to him.

(y) *Holy Table. Ch.* 3.

him. So then upon this setting out of *Parishes*, the *Presbyters*, which attended in the same, had *potestatem jurisdictionis*, a power of jurisdiction granted to them, in the Court of *Conscience*: which needed not to have been granted before this time, when as Gods people, which were scattered up and downe the *Countrie*, did either come unto the *Cities*, there to be made partakers of the Word and Sacraments, in which the *Bishop* was at hand to attend all businesses; or that the *Presbyters* were by the *Bishop* sent into the *Countrie*, with more or lesse authoritie intrusted to them, as the businesse was. And for the other power, the power of *Order*, although it was no other than before it was, as to the *power* and facultie conferred upon the *Presbyters* in their *Ordination*: yet did they find a great enlargement and extension of it, in the free execution of the same. For whereas formerly, as was observed both from (z) *Ignatius*, and *Tertullian*, and some other Ancients, the *Presbyter* neither could *baptize*, nor celebrate the blessed *Eucharist*, *sine Episcopi authoritate*, without the leave and liking of the *Bishop*; who then was neere at hand to be asked the question: after this time, the *Presbyters* became more absolute in their ministration, *baptizing*, *celebrating*, *preaching*, and indeed what not, which *potestate ordinis*, did belong unto him onely by vertue of that generall facultie, which had been granted by the *Bishop*, at his *Institution*, I meane his speciall desig-

(z) *Vide Chap. i. & Chap. 3. of this 2. part.*

signation to that place or *Cure*.

IIV. And yet the Bishops did not so absolutely invest the *Presbyters*, with a power of *Order*, in the *administration* of the *Sacraments*, as not to keep unto themselves a superiour *power*, whereby the *execution* of that *power* of *Order*, together with a *confirmation* of such acts as had beene done by vertue of the same, might generally be observed to proceed from them. And of this kind especially was that rite or ceremonie, which now we call by the particular name of *Confirmation*; being called anciently, *impositio manuum*, the laying on of hands. For howsoever the originall institution of it, be farre more ancient, and *Apostolicall*, as most think: yet I conceive it neither was so frequent, nor so necessary in the former times, as in those that followed. For when the *Sacrament* of *Baptisme*, either was administred to men growne in yeeres, or by the *Bishop* himselfe in person, or in his presence at the least; hee giving his *Fatherly* and *Episcopall* blessing to the worke in hand: the subsequent laying on of hands, which we call *Confirmation*, might not seem so necessary. Or if it did, yet commonly, it was administred with *Baptisme*, as a *Concomitant* thereof, to (*a*) *confirme* and perfect that which the Grace of the Spirit had already began in *Baptisme*. And so we are to understand (*b*) *Tertullian*, where having spake before of *Baptisme*, hee addeth next, *Dehinc manus imponitur, per benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum sanctum*,

(*a*) Hooker Eccl. Pol. l. 5. n. 66.

(*b*) Tertul de Baptismo c. 7.

ctum, &c. "Then, saith he, followeth imposi-
"tion of hands, with invocation, and in-
"vitation of the holy Ghost, which willingly
"commeth downe from the Father, to rest up-
"on the purified and blessed bodies, acknow-
"ledging, as it were, the Waters of *Baptisme*
"for a fit seate." And so long as they went together, and were both commonly performed by the same *Minister*, that is, the *Bishop*, there was the lesse notice taken of it, and possiblie the lesse *efficacie* ascribed unto it. But when they came once to be severed, as in the necessarie absence of the *Bishop* they had been before, and on this setting out of *Parishes*, were likely for the most part to be after: the *Bishops*, out of their abundant care of the Churches welfare, permitted that which was most necessary to the common *Presbyter*; reserving that which was more honourarie to themselves alone. Thus was it, in the first case, in Saint *Cyprians* time, who lived, as was before (*c*) observed, in a kind of voluntarie exile, as did also divers other *Bishops* in the heate and violence of persecutions: during whose absence from their *Cities*, and their much distance from the *Countrey*, there is no question to be made, but that the *Presbyters* performed their office in administration of that *Sacrament*, and after which there is little question, but that the Children so *baptized*, were at some time or other brought for *Confirmation*. Certaine I am, that to him

(c) V. Cap. 4. of this 2. part.

they were brought to be *Confirmed*, and that he grounds the *institution* of that rite on the example of *Peter* and *Iohn*, in the Eight Chap. (*d*) of the *Acts*. *Illi qui in Samaria crediderant*, &c. "The faithfull in *Samaria*, saith he, had already received Baptisme. Onely that which was "wanting, *Peter* and *Iohn* supplied, by Prayer, "and *imposition of hands*, to the end the *holy* "*Ghost* might be powred on them. Then "addes, *Quod nunc quoque apud nos geritur*, "which also is done amongst our selves, when "they which be already *baptized*, are brought "unto the *Prelates* of the Church (*Præpositis* "*Ecclesiæ offeruntur*,) that by our Prayer and "Imposition of our hands, they may receive "the *holy Ghost*, and be strengthened by the "seale of the Lord." And in the second case, it is whereof *Hierome* speaketh, (*e*) where he observeth it to be the custom of the Church, *ut ad eos, qui longè in minoribus urbibus per Presbyt. & Diaconos baptizati sunt, Episcopus ad invocationē Spiritus Sancti manum impositurus excurrat*; that the *Bishop* should goe abroad, as in Visitation, and imposing hands, pray for the gift of the *holy Ghost*, on them, who farre off in the lesser Cities (as also *in Viculis & Castellis*, in small Townes and Villages) had by the *Presbyters* and *Deacons* been *baptized*. But note withal that *Hierome* tells us, that this imposition of hands was reserved only to the Bishop, *ad honorem potius sacerdotij quam ad legis necessitatem*; not that the

(d) Cypr. Epist. 73.

(e) Hier. adverſ. Luciferianos.

the Sacrament of *Baptisme* was not perfect and complete without it, but rather out of a certain congruitie and fitnesse to honour *Prelacie* with such preheminencies; the safetie of the Church depending upon the dignitie of the *chiefe Priest* or *Bishop*. By which, it doth appeare to be Saint *Hieromes* opinion, as *Hooker* excellently (*f*) collects, "That the *holy Ghost* "is received in *Baptisme*; that *Confirmation* is "onely a Sacramentall complement; that the "reason why *Bishops* alone did ordinarily *con-* "*firme*, was not because the benefit, grace, and "dignitie thereof was greater than of *Baptisme*, "but rather for that by the Sacrament of *Bap-* "*tisme*, men being admitted into Gods "Church, it was both reasonable and conve- "nient, that if he *baptize* them not, unto whom "the chiefest authoritie and charge of their "soules belongeth, yet for *honours* sake, and "in token of his spirituall superioritie over "them, because to blesse, is an act of authori- "tie, the performance of this annexed cere- "mony should be sought for at his hands". What other reasons there are for it, in reference to the parties that receive the same, I forbeare to specifie, as not conducing unto the *History of Episcopacie*, which I have in hand: to which estate the honour of giving *Confirmation*, hath alwayes been reserved to this very day.

(*f*) *Hooker. Eccl. Pol. l. 5. n. 66.*

IX. Another thing which followed upon this setting

ting forth of *Parishes* by *Dionysius*, was the institution of a new *Order* in the Church, betwixt the *Bishop* and the *Presbyter*, being neither of the two, but both. Those they called χωρεπίσκοποι, or *Rurall Bishops*; Of which, being that there were two sorts, according to the times and Ages, when they were imployed; we must distinguish them accordingly. Now of these *Chorepiscopi*, or *Countrey Bishops*, some in the point and power of *Order*, were no more than *Presbyters*, having received no higher *Ordination*, than to that function in the *Ministerie*: but were inabled by the *Bishop* under whom they served, to exercise some parts of *Ecclesiasticall jurisdiction*, as much as was thought fit to commit unto them, for the better reiglement of the Church. And these I take it, were more ancient than the present times, appointed as the *Bishops visitors*, to goe abroad into the *Countrey*, to parts more remote, to oversee such *Presbyters* as had been sent forth for the instruction of the people in small Townes and Villages; and to performe such further Offices, which the *Ordinary Presbyter*, for want of the like latitude of *jurisdiction* was defective in. These I conceive to bee of the same nature with our *Rurall Deanes* in some parts of *England*; And these are they which in the (g) *Councell* of *Neo-Cæsarea*, are said to bee *ordained* εἰς τύπον τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα, after the manner of the *seventie*: and if no more than so, then

(g) *Con. Neo-Cæsariens. Can.* 13.

then but simply *Presbyters* in the power of *Order*; though ranked above them in regard of their *jurisdiction*. To which Pope *Damasus* agreeth also, (*h*) affirming *quod ipsi ijdem sunt qui & Presbyteri*, that they are the very same with *Presbyters*, being first ordained, *ad exemplum Septuaginta*, after the example of the *Seventie*. Others there were, whom we finde furnished with a further power, (*i*) *qui verè Episcopalem consecrationem acceperant*, which really and truly had received *Episcopall Consecration*, and yet were called *Chorepiscopi*, because they had no Church nor *Diocesse* of their own, *sed in aliena Ecclesia ministrabant*, but executed their authoritie in anothers charge. And these, saith *Bellarmine*, are such as we now call *Titular* or *Suffragan Bishops*: such as those heretofore admitted in the Church of *England*: whereof consult the Act of Parliament. 26. *H.* 8. *cap.* 14. Now that they had *Episcopall consecration*, appeareth evidently by the Councell of *Antioch*, where it is said expresly of them, χειροθεσίαν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες, that they had received the *Ordination* of *Bishops*: and so by vertue of their *Ordination*, might execute all manner of *Episcopall* Acts, which the *Bishop* of the Citie might performe. And to this *power*, they were admitted on two speciall reasons: whereof the first was to supplie the absence of the *Bishop*, who being intent upon the businesse of the *Citie*, where his charge was greatest; could not so well attend the businesse of the *Countrie*,

(*h*) *Damas. Ep.* 5. *ap. Bin. Concil. T.* 1.

(*i*) *Bellarm. de Clericis. l.* 1. *c.* 17.

(*k*) *Conc. Anti. cap.* 10.

or see how well the *Presbyters* behaved themselves in their severall *Parishes*, to which, upon the late division, they were sent abroad. And this is called in the said Councell of (*k*) *Antioch*, τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας διοικεῖν, the looking to the Administration of the Churches under their authoritie. The other was to content such of the *Novatian Bishops*, who rather would continue in their *schisme* and faction, than returne unto the *Catholike Church*, with the losse of the honour and calling which they had before: whom they thought fit, if they were willing to returne to the *Church* againe, to suffer in the state of a *Chorepiscopus*. And this is that which was so prudently resolved on in the Councell of (*l*) *Nice* (in which fifteene of those which assembled there, were of this *Order* or *Estate*) *viz.* That if any of them did returne to the *Catholike Church*, either in *Citie* or Village, wherein there was a *Bishop*, or a *Presbyter* before provided, τὴν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τιμὴν ἔχει, hee should enjoy the place and honour of a *Presbyter*: but if that pleased him not, ἐπινοήσει τόπον τοῦ χωρεπισκόπου, he should be fitted with the Office of a *Chorepiscopus*. Which being the true condition of those *Chorepiscopi*, it seems to me a plaine and evident mistake, that the (*m*) *Chorepiscopus*, who was but a *Presbyter*, should be affirmed to *have power to impose hands, and to ordaine within his precincts, with the Bishops* licence. For certainly, it is apparant by the Councell of *Antioch*,

(*k*) *Id. ibid.*

(*l*) *Conc. Nicen. can. 8.*

(*m*) *Smectymn. pag. 36.*

och, that the *Chorepiscopi*, which had power of conferring *Orders*, had to that end received *Episcopall consecration*, and consequently, could not but be more than *Presbyters*: though at the first indeed they medled not therewith, without the leave and *licence* of the *Bishop*, whose *Suffragans* and *Substitutes* they were. But when they had forgot their ancient modestie, and did not keep themselves within the bounds and limits appointed to them; which was, to make two *Bishops* in one *Diocesse*, contrary to the ancient *Canons*; the Church thought fitting to reduce them to their first *condition*. And thereupon it was decreed in the Councell of *Ancyra*, (n) μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, that it should no more be lawfull for them to ordaine either *Presbyters* or *Deacons*: that is to say, as it was afterwards explained in the Councell of *Antioch* (o) δίχα τοῦ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, without the *liking* of the *Bishop* under whom hee served. Howsoever, that they might have somewhat of the *Bishop* in them, they were permitted by that *Canon*, to ordaine *Sub-Deacons*, *Exorcists*, and *Readers*; with which they were required to rest contented: as also εἰρηνικὰς διδόναι, (p) to send abroad their letters unto other *Bishops*, which they called *Literas Formatas*, & *Communicatorias* (as before was noted) as those that had the full authority and power of *Bishops*, did use of old to doe at their *Ordinations*. A point of honour, denied unto the ordinary *Presbyters*, in that very *Canon*. Now

(n) *Conc. Ancyran. Can.* 13.

(o) *Conc. Antio. Can.* 10.

(p) *Ibid. Can.* 8.

Now to proceed. (p) The next Successor unto *Dionysius*, in the See of *Rome*, is called *Felix*; but no more happy in some things, than his *Predecessour*: the heresie of *Paulus Samosatenus*, taking beginning in the time or government in the one; that of the *Manichees*, commencing almost with the other. *Huius tempore Manes quidam gente Persa, vita & moribus barbarus*, &c. (q) During his time, saith *Platina*, arose one *Manes*, by birth a *Persian*, in life and manners a *Barbarian*, who tooke upon him to bee *Christ*, gathering unto him Twelve *Disciples*, for the dispersing of his frenzies. In this hee differed amongst many things from *Samosatenus*: he making *Christ* to be no better than a *man*; and *Manes* making a vile sinfull *man* to be the *Christ*. I know *Baronius* doth place the rising of this *Manichean* heresie, (r) under *Eutychianus*, his next Successor; and let them reconcile the difference that list, for mee. Suffice it that the Heresie, being risen up, and being so directly contrary both to *Faith* and *Pietie*: the *Bishops* of the Church bestirred themselves both then and after, for the suppressing of the same, according to their wonted care of Her peace and safetie. Not as before, in the case of *Paulus Samosatenus*, by *Synodicall* meetings, which was the only way could be taken by them, for the deposing of him from his *Bishopricke*, which followed as a part of his condemnation: but by discourse and Argument in publike Writings,

(p) *Ibid. Sept.* 18.

(q) *Platina in vita Felicis.*

(r) *Baron. Ann. Eccl. in An.* 277.

tings, which might effectually suppresse the *heresie*, although the person of the Heretick was out of distance, and to say truth, beyond their reach. The (s) *Persian* King had eased them of that labour, who ceazing on that wretched miscreant, καὶ τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ κελεύσας ἐκδαρῆναι, commanded him to bee flead alive, and thereby put him to a death, as full of ignominie, as of paine. But for the confutation of the *heresie*, which survived the Author, that was the businesse of the *Bishops*; by whom, as *Epiphanius* noteth, (t) θαυμαστῶς κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀντιρρήσεις τοῦ ἐλέγχου πεποίηνται, many most admirable disputations had been made in confutation of his errors. Particularly, he instanceth in *Archelaus*, Bishop of the *Caschari*, a nation of *Mesopotamia*, *Titus* Bishop of *Bostra*; *Diodorus*, one of the Bishops of *Cilicia*; *Serapion*, Bishop of *Thmua*; *Eusebius* the Historian Bishop of *Cæsarea*, *Eusebius Emesenus*, *Georgius* and *Apollinaris*, Bishops successively of *Laodicea*, *Athanasius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, with many other Prelates of the *Easterne* Churches. Not that the *Bishops* of the *West* did nothing in it, though not here named by *Epiphanius*, who being of another language, could not so well take notice of their Works and Writings. For after this, Saint *Austin*, Bishop of *Hippo*, wrote so much against them; and did so fully satisfie and confute them both, that hee might justly say with the *Apostle*, that hee *laboured more abundantly than they all*. So carefull were the Bishops of the Churches safetie, that never

(s) *Epiph. adverſ. hæreſ.* 66. n. 12.

(t) *Id. Ibid.* n. 21.

any *heretick* did arise, but presently they set a watch upon him, and having found what *heresies* or dangerous doctrines hee dispersed abroad, endeavoured with all speed to prevent the mischiefe.

XI. This, as they did in other cases, so was their care the more remarkable, by how much greater was the person whom they were to censure. Which as we have before demonstrated, in the case of *Paulus*, Patriarch of the Church of *Antioch*; so we may see the like in their proceedings against *Marcellinus*, one of the Popes of *Rome*, the third from *Felix*, who though hee broached no *heresie*, as the other did; yet gave as great a scandall to the Church as hee, if not greater farre. The times were hot and fiery, in the which he sate: so fierce a persecution being raised against the Church by *Diocletian*, and his Associates in the Empire, as never had been before: A persecution which extended not onely to the demolishing of Churches, (*u*) the *Temples* of Almightie God; but to the extirpation of the Scriptures, (*x*) the *Books* and Oracles of the Almightie. And for the bodies of his servants, some of the which were *living Libraries*, and all *lively Temples*, even *Temples of the holy Ghost*; it raged so terribly amongst them, (*y*) that within Thirty dayes, Seventeen thousand Persons of both sexes, in the severall parts and Provinces of the *Romane* Empire, were crowned with *Martyrdome*. The Tyrants so extreamely raging, *Marcellinus* comes at last unto his triall: where being wrought

(*u*) *Theod. Eccl. hist. l. 5. c. 28.*

(*x*) *Arnob. cont. gent. l. 4. in fine.*

(*y*) *Damas. in vita Marcellini.*

wrought upon either by flatterie, or feare, or both, hee yeelded uuto flesh and blood, and to preserve his life, he betrayed his Master. (a) *Ad sacrificium ductus est ut thurificaret; quod & fecit*, saith *Damasus* in the *Pontificall*; Hee was conducted to the Temple, to offer incense to the *Romane* Idols, which hee did accordingly. And this I urge not to the scandall and reproach of the Church of *Rome*. Indeed 'tis no reproach unto her, that one amongst so many godly Bishops, most of them being *Martyrs* also, should waver in the constancie of his resolutions, and for a season, yeeld unto those perswasions, which flesh and blood, and the predominant love of life did suggest unto him. That which I urge it for is, for the declaration of the Course which was tooke against him, the manner how the Church proceeded in so great a cause, and in the which so great a person was concerned. For though the crime were great and scandalous, tending to the destruction of the flock of *Christ*, which being much guided by the example of so prime a *Pastor*, might possibly have been seduced to the like *idolatrie*; and that great numbers of them ran into the Temple, and were spectators of that horrid action: yet finde wee not that any of them did revile him in word or deed, or pronounced hastie judgement on him; but left the cognizance of the cause to them, to whom of right it did belong. Nor is it an hard matter to discerne who these *Iudges* were. *Lay-men* they could not be, that's sure. *Quando* (b) *audisti in causa fidei*

(a) Id. ibid.

(b) Amb. Epist. l. 5. ep. 32.

Laicos de Episcopis judicasse? When did you ever heare, saith *Ambrose*, speaking of the times before him, that *Lay-men* in a point of Faith, did judge of *Bishops*? And *Presbyters* they were not neither, they had no authoritie to judge the person of a *Bishop*. That *Bishops* had authoritie to censure and depose their *Presbyters*, wee have shewne already: that ever any *Presbyters* did take upon them to judge their *Bishop*, is no where to be found, I dare boldly say it, in all the practice of *Antiquitie*. For being neither (c) *munere pares*, nor *jure similes*, equall in function, nor alike in law, they were disabled now in point of reason, from such bold attempts, as afterwards disabled by *Imperiall Edict*. A *simple Bishop* might as little intermeddle in it as a *simple Presbyter*; for *Bishops* severally and apart, were not to judge their *Metropolitan*, no nor one another. Being of equall Order and authoritie; and seeing that *Par in parem non habet potestatem*, that men of equall ranck, *qua tales*, are of equall power, one of them cannot be the others judge, for want of some transcendent power to passe sentence on him. Which as it was of force in all other cases wherein a Bishop was concerned; so most especially in this, wherein the partie *Criminall* was a *Metropolitan*, and more than so, the *Primate* or *Patriarch* of the *Diocesse*. So that all circumstances laid together, there was no other way conceivable, in these ancient times, than to call a *Councell*, the greatest *Ecclesiasticall Tribunall* of *Christ* on earth; there

(c) *Id. ibid.*

to

to debate the businesse, and upon proofe of the offence, to proceed to judgement. This had been done before in the case of *Paulus*; and this is now resolved on in the present too. Accordingly the *Bishops* of those Churches, and as many other as could be drawne together in that dangerous time, (*d*) assembled at *Sinuessa* (now called *Suessa*) a Citie of *Campania*; 180. in the totall, as it is in *Platina*. Where though they had sufficient proofe of that fowl offence; yet because *Marcellinus* stood upon the Negative, (*e*) *negabat se thurificâsse*, as the *Acts* declare, they thought it fit not to proceed unto the sentence, till they had brought him to confession. *Ex ore tuo justificaberis, & ex ore tuo condemnaberis*, as *Petrus*, one of the Bishops then assembled, did presse it on him. Not that being met *Synodically*, they did want authoritie to proceed against him, (*f*) as the *Pontifician* Doctors vainely say; but that it was more consonant to the *Romane* lawes, that to the testimony of the witnesses, the confession of the partie should be added also. Which when they had procured from him, (*g*) *Subscripserunt in ejus damnationem, & damnaverunt eum extra Civitatem*, they all condemned him, say the *Acts*, and all subscribed unto the Condemnation: *Helchiades* one of the Bishops there assembled, being the first that led the way. And therefore that which followeth after, *Prima sedes non judicabitur a quoquam*, that the Bishop of the first See shall be judged of none, which (*h*) *Bellarmine* so much insists on;

(d) *Platina in vita Marcel.*

(e) *Acta Cons. Sinuessani ap. Bin. To. 1.*

(f) *Bellarm. de Pont. Rom. l. 2. c. 26.*

(g) *Act. Concil. Sinuessani.*

(h) *Bellar. ut supra.*

was either foysted in by some later hand, the better to advance the Popes Supremacie; or else must be interpreted, as it fairely may, *non judicabitur a quoquam*, that no particular person, of what ranke soever, had any power to judge his *Primate*.

XII. So great a person as *Marcellinus*, being fallen so fowlely (though after he recovered footing (*i*) and died a *Martyr* for the Gospel) it is the lesse to be admired, If many of inferiour qualitie did betray the cause, and fell into the like *Idolatries*. The persecution was both fierce and long, though never at the height till the last yeeres of *Diocleſian*, and more than ever were the *Lapsi*, who had for saving of their lives, denied their Saviour. Who when they came unto themselves, and having made their way unto it, by some appearance of contrition, desired to be admitted to the blessed Sacrament; the *Bishops* were much troubled with their importunitie: those godly *Prelates*, being as well carefull of the Churches *Discipline*, as the unfortunate estate of those wretched men. Besides the qualitie of their offence, appearing in some greater, in some lesse than others; it put them unto no small trouble, how to proportion the intended penance unto the nature of the crime. For remedy whereof, *Petrus* the godly Patriarch of *Alexandria*, *diversa adhibens pro conditione cujusque medicamenta vulneribus*, fitting each severall wound with a proper plaister, (*l*) as *Baronius* hath it, published cer-

(*i*) *Damas. Platina. Alij.*

(*l*) *Id. ibid. n.* 20.

certaine *Canons*, and instructions, for their direction in the same. A copie of the which wee have both in *Baronius*, and the *Bibliotheca*. This, as it gave great ease unto the Prelates, in the *Easterne* parts, where the authoritie of the man was great and prevalent: so in the *West*, the *Bishops* of particular Churches, spared no paines nor labour, for the upholding of that *Discipline* which they received from the hands of their Predecessors. In *Spaine* particularly, where both the number and condition of these *Lapsi*, seemed more considerable, (*m*) the Bishops of the Province of *Betica*, called a *Councell* at *Eliberis*, then a prime Citie of those parts (neere to the ruines of the which, the Citie of *Granada* standeth;) *Osius*, that famous *Confessor*, being there amongst them: where they established divers *Canons*, 81. in all, for confirmation of the publike *discipline*, and holding up of that severitie, by which the same had been maintained. Of all which number, those which concerne our businesse, are these five especially. (*n*) First, it is ordered, that neither *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, nor *Deacons* should leave the place in which they served, to follow *Merchandise*, *de locis suis negociandi causa non discedant*, nor wander up and downe the Countrey after gainfull Markets. In which it was provided notwithstanding, that *ad victum sibi conquirendum*, that for their necessary maintenance, they might send abroad on those employments, their sonnes, or freedmen, or servants, or any other: and for their owne

(m) Id. ibid. n. 39.

(n) Conc. Eliberit. Can. 19.

owne parts, if they would needs take that course, *intra Provinciam negotientur*, they were required to containe themselves within the compasse of the *Province*, in the which they ministred. It seems the Fathers of the Councell were not so severe, though otherwise tenacious enough of the Ancient Canons; as to conceive that *merchandizing*, a secular imployment doubtlesse, was utterly inconsistent with holy *Orders*: especially, if either it conduced unto the maintenance of their selves and Families, or that it did not take them off from the attendance on those places, in which their ministerie was required. This for the maintenance; the next was for the honor of Episcopacie. For in the 32. it is ordained, that those who on some grievous *Lapse*, be in danger of eternall death, (o) *apud Presbyterum pœnitentiam agere non debere, sed potius apud Episcopum*, ought not to make confession to, or be enjoyned penance by a *Presbyter*, but to or by the *Bishop* only: unlesse it be in urgent and extreame necessitie, in the which case, a *Presbyter* might admit him unto the *Communion*; as might a *Deacon* also by the appointment of the *Presbyter*. Of this sort also this that followeth, by which it is decreed, (p) *ut ab eo Episcopo quis accipiat Communionem*, that sinners be *admitted* to the Sacrament by that *Bishop* only, by whom for their offences they had been formerly *excommunicated*: and that if any other *Bishop* presumed to *admit* him thereto, the *Bishop* who had *excommunicated* him, neither being

(o) *Ibid. can.* 32.

(p) *Ibid. can.* 53.

ing made acquainted with it, nor consenting to it, hee was to render an Account of it unto his Colleagues, *Cum status sui periculo*, even with the danger of his place. Of the same temper is a fourth, (q) wherein it is enacted, That if any *Deacon*, having a cure or charge committed to him, shall *baptize* any of that cure, without a *Presbyter* or *Bishop*, *Episcopus eos per benedictionem perficere debebit*; the Bishop is required to *Confirme* the partie, by his *Episcopall* benediction. With this *Proviso* notwithstanding; that if the partie doe decease before Confirmation, *Sub fide qua quis credidit, poterit esse justus*, it is to be conceived, that by the Sacrament of *Baptisme*, hee had received all things necessary to salvation. Nor did the Fathers in in this *Councell*, take order only for the *Bishops* in point of *honour*; but they provided also for the whole *Clergy* in point of *safetie*: decreeing (r) by a full consent, that if any person whatsoever should accuse either *Bishop Presbyter* or *Deacon* falsly, and could not make just proof of the Accusation, *nec in fine dandam ei communionem*, that hee should not be admitted to the blessed Sacrament, no not upon his death-bed, in his last extreamitie. So tender were they in that Age, of the good name, and reputation of their Clergie.

(q) *Ibid. Can. 77.*

(r) *Ibid. 75.*

XIII. And now methinkes I see a blessed *Sunneshine*, a time of rest and quiet after all these troubles;

troubles; a gentle gale breathing upon the Church, after so many tedious stormes of persecution. For *Diocleſian*, and *Maximianus* his Colleague, either afflicted with the guilt of Conscience, or tyred with the effusion of so much innocent blood, as had by them beene shed in this *Persecution*; did of their owne accord resigne the Empire, *Anno* 304. as (*s*) *Baronius* calculates it: leaving the same unto *Constantius*, and *Galerius*, whom they had long before created *Cæsars*. Of these *Constantius*, taking to himselfe the *Westerne* parts, lived not full two yeeres; leaving his owne part of the Empire, and a faire ground for all the rest, to *Constantine* his Sonne: not onely borne of *Helena*, a *British* Woman; but borne at *Yorke*, the mother Citie, or *Metropolis* of the *British* nation. A Prince whom God raised up of purpose, not onely to give end to the persecutions, wherewith the Innocent *Spouse* of *Christ*, had been so tortured and tormented; but to become the greatest nursing Father thereunto, that ever was before him in the *Church* of *Israel*, or since him in the *Israel* of the *Church*. So that if heretofore you finde the *Clergie* reckoned as the filth of men, neglected, slighted, or disgraced; esteemed unworthy either of publike trust, or favour, in the employments of the State: it is to be imputed unto this, that they were held a dangerous and suspected partie to the Common-wealth; maintaining a Religi-

(*s*) *Baron. Annal. Eccl. An.* 304. *n.* 1.

ligion contrary unto that which was allowed in the *Empire*. Hereafter you shall find it otherwise. Hereafter you shall finde an Edict made by *Constantine*, (t) enabling such as would decline the sentence of the *Secular Iudges*, τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὴν κρίσιν, lawfully to appeale unto the judgement of their Bishops: whose judgement hee commanded to be put in execution by all his Officers, with as much punctualitie and effect, as if himselfe in person had pronounced the same. Hereafter wee shall finde Saint *Ambrose*, a right godly *Bishop*, so taken up (u) with hearing and determining mens *suites* and *causes*, that hee had very litle leisure either for corporall repast, or private studie: Saint *Austin*, who relates the former, saying also this; that hee had long waited an opportunitie to have conference with him, and had as long beene hindred from accesse unto him; *secludentibus me ab ejus aure atque ore catervis negotiosorum hominum, quorum infirmitatibus serviebat*, his accesse to him being barred by multitudes of *suiters*, whose businesses hee was pleased to undertake. Hereafter wee shall finde the same Saint *Austin*, no such lazie *Prelate*, but that he hath transmitted to us as many monuments both of his *Pietie* and *learning*, as any other whosoever; so busied on the like occasions, that hee could hardly save the mornings for his meditations: (x) *post meridiem occupationibus hominum teneri*,

(t) Sozom. hist. Eccl. l. 1. c. 9.

(u) Aug. Confes. l. 6. c. 3.

(x) Aug. Epist. 210.

the afternoones being wholly taken up in the dispatch or hearing of mens *private controversies*. Nay, when the Councells of *Carthage* and *Numidia* had imposed a certaine taske upon him, *propter curam Scripturarum*, in some things that concerned the holy *Scriptures*; and that he asked but Five dayes respite from the affaires and businesse of the people, for the performance of the same: the people would not have the patience to forbeare so long, *Sed violentur irruptum est*, but violently brake in upon him. And this, lest the Good Father may be thought to speake it, in commendation of his owne abilities, wee finde related also by *Possidonius*, (y) in the narration of his life: where weare tould, *aliquando usque ad horam refectionis*, *aliquando tota die jejunans*, that sometimes hee gave hearing to mens causes till the houre of repast, and somtimes fasted all the day for dispatch thereof, but alwayes bringing them unto some end or other; *pro arbitrata æquitate*, according to the rules of equitie, and a well grounded Conscience. Hereafter wee shall finde the Prelates honoured with the titles of Κύριοι τιμιότατοι, (z) most honourable Lords; and that not once or twice, but of common course. Hereafter (not to wander through more particulars) wee shall finde Saint *Ambrose*, employed in the most weightie matters of the Common-wealth, and sent (a) *Ambassadour* from the young Emperor *Valentini-*

(y) *Possidon in vita. Aug. c. 19.*

(z) *Athanas. in apol. 2. Nazianz. Epist. ad Nyssen. Theod. l. 1. c. 4. 5. & others passim.*

(a) *Ambros. Epist. 33. l. 5.*

tinian, to the Tyrant *Maximus*, who had usurped on his Dominions, and much endangered the whole *Empire*: which he performed to so good purpose, that hee preserved *Italy* from an imminent ruine: the Tyrant afterwards confessing, *se legationis ejus objectu ad Italiam non potuisse transire*, that hee was hindred by the same, from passing forwards into *Italie*, with his conquering Armie. So little was it either thought or found in those blessed times, that *holy Orders* did superinduce a disabilitie for *civill Prudence*.

XIV. But these things wee doe here behold but at a distance, as *Moses* from (*b*) Mount *Nebo*, saw the Land of *Canaan*. They appertaine of right to the following Age; and they which had the happinesse to live till then, could not but easilie discerne the great alteration, which was between a Church under *persecution*, & a Church in *peace*; betweene a Church oppressed by Tyrants, and a Church cherished and supported by a *Christian Prince*. And in this flourishing estate, I should gladly shew her, but that my wearied pen doth desire some rest; and that I would faine see with what acceptation my present paines will be received in the world, before I give the second onset. In the mean time, I will lay downe a briefe *Chronologie*, of such of the remarkable occurrences, which have been represented in these two last *Centuries*; it be-

(*b*) *Deuter. ult.*

being the office of an upright Judge, and onely such I doe desire should peruse these Papers, *ut res, ita tempora rerum noscere*, to know as well the times and circumstance of businesse, as the things themselves.

A briefe

CHRONOLOGY

Of the Estate of HOLY CHURCH, *In these* Two last CENTURIES.

An. Christ.

102 CLemens *Bishop of* Rome, *the true Authour of the Epistle to the Church of* Corinth, *and the supposed Author of the* Apostles Canons, *departeth this life.*

103 Evaristus *succedeth* Clemens *in the See of* Rome, *in the which Church hee afterwards ordained* Parishes.

109 Simeon *B. of* Jerusalem *martyred*; Justus *succeeded in his place.*

Ignatius *led a Prisoner towards* Rome, *writes his Epistles to the Churches.*

110 Ig-

An. Christ.

110 Ignatius *martyred*, *designing* Hero *his successor in the Church of* Antioch.

Onesimus *B. of* Ephesus, *mentioned in the former Centurie*, *is made a Martyr.*

118 Papias *B. of* Hierapolis, *in* Phrygia, *at this time flourisheth.*

128 Quadratus *B. of* Athens *publisheth an* Apologie *in behalfe of* Christians.

138 Marcus *made B. of* Hierusalem, *the first that ever had that place*, *of the* uncircumcision.

150 Justin Martyr *writeth his* Apologie.

160 Hegesippus *beginneth his travells towards* Rome, *conferring with the* Bishops, *as he past along.*

169 Polycarpus, *the famous B. of* Smyrna, *martyred.*

172 Melito *B. of* Sardis *publisheth an* Apologie.

175 Dionysius *B. of* Corinth *flourished*, *and writeth many of his Epistles.*

Theophilus *B. of* Antioch, *writes in defence of* Christianitie.

177 Eleutherius *succedeth* Soter *in the Church of* Rome.

Lucius, *a* British *King*, *sendeth an Ambassage unto* Eleutherius, *desiring to be made a* Christian.

178 *Seve-*

An. Christ.

178 *Severall* Episcopall Sees *erected in the Isle of* Britane.

180 *The holy Father* Irenæus *made B. of* Lyons.

190 Demetrius *succeedeth* Julianus *in the See of* Alexandria, *being the Twelfth Bishop of that Church.*

191 Serapion *succeedeth* Maximinus *in the Church of* Antioch, *the Ninth Bishop of that See.*

198 Victor *the Sucessor of* Eleutherius, *excommunicates the* Asian *Churches, about their observation of the Feast of* Easter.

Irenæus *B. of* Lyons, *and* Polycrates *Bishop of* Ephesus, *write against him for it.*

Severall Councells *called about it, by the* Metropolitans, *and other* Bishops *of this time.*

199 Theophilus *Bishop of* Cæsarea, *at this time flourished; as did* Narcissus *also, the Thirtieth Bishop of* Hierusalem.

200 Tertullian, *Who began to be in estimation,* Anno 196. *doth this yeere publish his* Apologie.

203 Zepherinus *succeedeth* Victor *in the Church of* Rome.

204 Clemens *of* Alexandria *flourisheth in*

An. Christ.

the publike Schooles *of that famous Citie.*

205 Origen, *one of his Disciples, beginneth at this time, to bee of Credit.* Irenæus *B. of* Lyons *crowned with Martyrdome.*

217 Agrippinus *Bishop of* Carthage *lived about this time.*

Origen *preacheth in* Cæsarea. Demetrius *Bishop of* Alexandria, *and* Theoctistus *of* Cæsarea *disagree about it.*

230 Origen *made a* Presbyter by Theoctistus, B. *of* Cæsarea, *and* Alexander, B. *of* Hierusalem.

232 Origen *Excommunicated by* Demetrius.

233 Heraclas, Origens *Successor in the* Schooles *of* Alexandria, *is made the Bishop of that Citie.*

240 Donatus *successor of* Agrippinus *in the See of* Carthage.

248 Dionysius, *who before succeeded* Heraclas *in the* Professorship *of* Alexandria, *doth now succeed him in his* See.

250 Cyprian *a right godly man, succeeds* Donatus *in the Church of* Carthage.

253 Cyprian, *by reason of the persecution, retires awhile.*

Fa-

An. Christ.

Fabius *succeedeth* Babilas *in the See of* Antioch.

254 *A faction raised against Saint* Cyprian *by* Felicissimus, *and his Associates.*

Cornelius *chosen Pope of* Rome, *in the place of* Fabian.

Novatianus *makes a* Schisme *in the Church of* Rome, *causing himself to bee* ordained *B. of the same.*

Cyprian *returnes againe to* Carthage.

255. *Severall* Councells *held against the* Schisme *and heresie of the* Novatians.

256 *The death of* Origen.

257 *The memorable case of* Geminius Faustinus, *one of the* Presbyters *of the Church of* Carthage.

261 Cyprian, *and divers other Bishops, Martyred* : Lucian *succeeding* Cyprian *in the See of* Carthage : Dionysius *chosen Pope of* Rome, *who caused Parishes to be set forth in* Countrey Villages.

266 *The first Councell of* Antioch *against* Samosatenus.

272 Paulus Samosatenus, *the Sixteenth Bishop of* Antioch, *deposed for his* Heresie *by the* Councell *there*; *and* Doninus

An. Christ.

chosen in his place.

Dionysius Bishop *of* Alexandria *dieth, and* Maximus *succeedeth in that See.*

The Bishops *of* Italie *and* Rome *made* Judges *in the case of* Paulus, *by the Emperor* Aurelianus.

277 *The* Manichean *heresie now first made knowne; and the impietie thereof confuted by severall Bishops.*

Felix *succeedeth* Dionysius *in the See of* Rome.

Doninus *Bishop of* Antioch *dieth, and* Timæus *succeedeth in that charge.*

283 Cyrillus *successor unto* Timæus.

285 Theonus *succeedeth* Maximus *in the Church of* Alexandria.

296 Zamdas *succeedeth* Hymenæus *in* Hierusalem.

Marcellinus, *the third from* Felix, *succeeds* Eutychianus *in the See of* Rome.

298 Tyrannus *succeedeth* Cyrill *in the Church of* Antioch; *being the Twentieth Bishop of this See; and the last of this* Age.

299 Hermon *succeedeth* Zamdas *in the Church of* Hierusalem, *the Thirty Ninth Bishop of the same, and the last of this* Centurie.

300 Pe-

An. Christ.

300 Petrus *succeeds* Theonus *in the See of* Alexandria; *the Seventeenth Bishop of that Church.*

302 *The persecution raised by* Diocleſian *growes unto the height.*

The grievous lapse of Marcellinus, *Pope of Rome.*

303 *The* Councell *held at* Sinueſſa *by the* Weſterne *Bishops, for the condemnation of* Marcellinus.

Menſurius *Bishop of* Carthage, *the Succeſſor of* Lucianus, *at this time flourisheth.*

304 Marcellinus *honoured with the crowne of Martyrdome, leaveth* Marcellus *his Succeſſor, who was the Twenty Ninth Bishop of this Church, reckoning from* S. Peter.

305 *The Councell of* Eliberis *assembled by the* Spaniſh *Prelates.*

306 Conſtantine, *most worthily ſurnamed* the Great, *attaineth the* Empire, *ſetleth the Church of* Chriſt *in* Peace, *ſafetie, and honour on the* Clergie.

The end of the ſecond Part.

FINIS.

Emendations and Corrections.

Reader, my absence from the Presse, hath caused many errours. Some of them on a cursory perusall, when the worke was finished, I have discovered to thy hand, which I desire thee to amend, as followeth.

Part I. p. 8. l. 15. for *renunciationem*, r. *renovationem*, p. 104. l. 16. for *Cononiensium* r. *Cenomanensium*, ibid. l. 24. for *before* r. *betweene*. p. 183 l. 30. for *from* r. *of*, p. 178. l. 5. for *protection* r. *perfection*, p. 183. l. 13. dele *Angel*. p. 160. l. 16. for *two* r. *two sorts*, l. 17. for *this office, it was*, r. *to performe many parts of the Pastorall office, this power of ordination was*, l. 20. for *Gangra* r. *Ancyra*. and in the margin of that p for *Gangrens* r. *Ancyran*. p. 198. l. 21. for *Asia minor* r. *Asia Propria*, p. 204. l. 17, 18. dele *the roote, &c. S. Austin to the same effect*, p. 129. for *first* r. *fift*. Part II. p. 3. l. 30. for *functions* r. *factions*. p. 43. l. 31. for *erected* r. *created*. p. 49. l. 27. for *returning* r. *concurring*, p. 106. l. 4. for *from* r. *of* p. 353. for *to* r. *tooke*, ib. l. 11. for *of* r. *to*. p. 364 l. 20. for *and* r. *So*, p. 365. l. 17 for *on* r. *one*. p. 370 l. 3. for *capable* r. *culpable*. ib. l. 5. for *there* r. *then*. l. 29. for *sure* r. *such*. p. 372. l. 21. for *howsoever it*, r. *howsoever the larger and more liberall allowances*, p. 374. l. 15. for *for* r. *from*. p. 380. l. 11. dele *the first which*. p. 378. l. 6. for *factious* r. *factions*, p, 393. for *sixt* r. *fift*. p. 395. for *griefes* r. *degrees*. p. 398. l. 29 for *Patriarchale* r. *Patriarchat*. p. 404. l. 10. for *frequent* r. *dernier* p 405. l. 16. for *in two* r. *two* l. 28. for *sending* r. *ending*, p 413. l. 3. for *to whom* r. *by whom*. p. 415. l. 28. for *in also* r. *multo*, p. 436. l. 2. for *Acts* r. *Arts* p. 449. l 26 for *reflexius* r. *reflexive*. p. 450. l 2. for *publickes* r. *publickly*. Others no doubt there are, here and there dispersed, which I beseech thee Reader to correct and pardon.

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