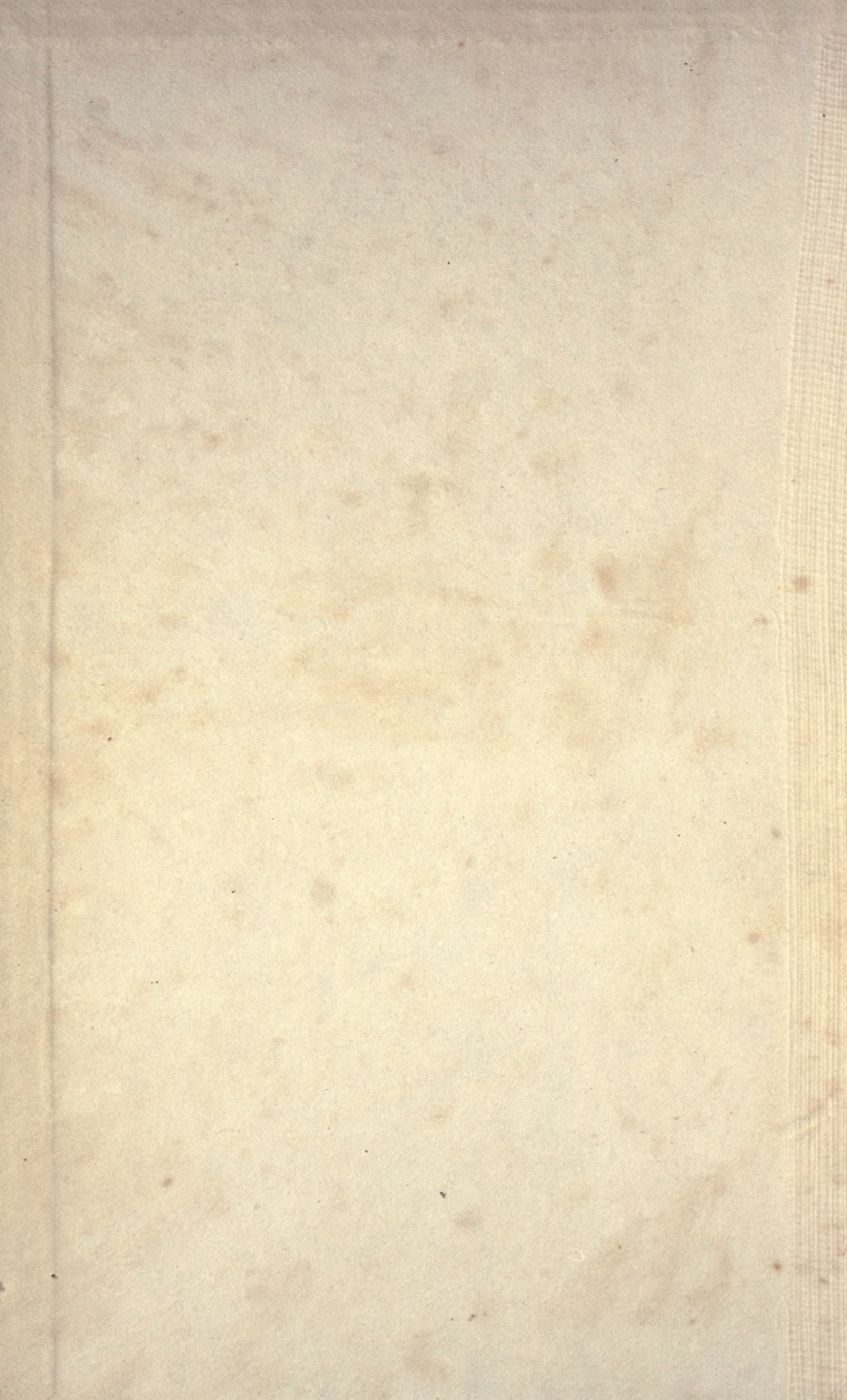


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THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

HERBERT THORNDIKE.



THE  
THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

HERBERT THORNDIKE,

SOMETIME PREBENDARY OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF ST. PETER,  
WESTMINSTER.

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HERBERT THOMAS

THEOLOGICAL WORKS

1872

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TITLE OF THE WORK, THE FIRST BOOK OF WHICH  
IS CONTAINED IN THIS VOLUME.

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An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England, being a necessary Consideration and brief Resolution of the chief Controversies in Religion that divide the Western Church: occasioned by the present calamity of the Church of England; in three books: viz. of

- I. THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN TRUTH;
- II. THE COVENANT OF GRACE;
- III. THE LAWS OF THE CHURCH;

BY HERBERT THORNDIKE.

London; Printed by J. M. and T. R. for J. Martin, J. Allestry, and T. Dicas, and are to be sold at the sign of the Bell in St. Paul's Church-yard. 1659.



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Now because the doctor of Oxford<sup>a</sup> might think himself neglected or disparaged, if, having considered the first book C H A P.  
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*152 de Synedrüs*—which in the point of excommunication he hath made his own—and the Leviathan, I should take no notice of that which he hath added; I will not turn my reader to him till I have noted the particulars in which he seems to go alone: putting him first in mind to advise how to make his choice whom of the three he will follow against all Christendom, who, upon several grounds, have set upon the Church, and the article of our Creed that professes the same, to destroy it.

The rest of the Oxford doctor's pretence.

§ 2. He seems most to ground himself upon a supposition<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> See chap. xi. sect. 25. note n.

<sup>b</sup> Velim astruere, pastores, seu singulos, seu in cœtum coactos, functionem et munus sustinere concionandi et administrandi Sacramenta, at nullam habere potestatem, qua legislationis, qua jurisdictionis, præter internam per quam, comitante vi et efficacia verbi Divini, per prædicationem Evangelii, agente in corda hominum, peccator e nolente fit volens, convertitur ad Deum, et a regno Satanæ ad regnum Dei transfertur.—Molinæi Parænes., cap. i. p. 1. Londini, 1656.

Paulo infra dicit, potestatem illam in cœlo et terra eandem esse cum potestate ligandi et solvendi, imo reputandum, eandem esse potestatem et sententiam in terris cum potestate et sen-

tentia in cœlis, et utrasque perinde divinas et sanctas esse, ejusque actus et effectus ex æquo ratos et probatos esse Deo; quod de judiciis, actibus et decretis synodalibus et consistorialibus nemo dixerit. Hisce locis Scripturæ et sexcentis aliis, aut nominatur, aut describitur potestas Dei seu clavium, per quam Dominus Christus regnat in cordibus fidelium per legem fidei et legem Spiritus; illæ sunt claves quibus regnum Dei recluditur, et peccator solvitur vinculis et compedibus peccati: illa jurisdictione, illud imperium tantum a natura humanorum imperiorum abscedens quantum obsequium fidei ab obsequio hominibus præstito; quorum hoc propter iram illud propter conscientiam exhibetur; hæc potestate, illo

BOOK that the power of the keys extends no further than the con-  
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imperio, hisce clavibus, intellectus, voluntas et affectus subiunguntur dominio crucis seu regno Christi, Deus in Christo cognoscitur, mox amatur; nam hisce duobus, cognitione et amore Dei inchoatur vita æterna; tum intellectus illustratur, voluntas flectitur, non tantum ut velit, sed et ut libenter velit, totus denique homo sceptro Christi regitur, instruitur et corrigitur. Porro cum regnum hoc Dei, in quo Dominus noster est rex, sacerdos, et propheta, sit internum et invisibile, nec Christus innotescat subditis nisi per fidem; nec fides creetur nisi per auctiorem verbi; nec audiatur verbum nisi per ministerium Evangelicum, cuius vox necesse est prius advolet ad aures quam cor penetret et afficiat, Deus externum ministerium instituit in Ecclesia nomine etiam clavium insignitum in Scriptura, quarum usus est, tum ille maximus ut sint canalis per quem potestas illa verba aperiens regnum cœlorum et solvens vinculis peccati ad filios regni perveniat; tum etiam contranitentibus atque incredulis et impenitentibus regnum cœlorum claudat, eosque jam peccati compedibus detentos arctius liget: etenim quanquam suo modo Deus pastores, ministerium, verbum, aperiendo et solvendo, recipiant in consortium regni cœlorum, claudendo vero et ligando regni ingressu prohibeant; attamen eadem potestas interna flexanima per quam sumus filii Dei, intimos recessus cordis penetrans, alienigenas ligare, nisi quatenus ejus vis influxus his denegatur, in illos vero dimanat. . . . .

Intellectus vocibus ipsis, res ipsa obvia est vulgari intellectui, quid velit Dominus cum dicit, id quod in terris ligatum est et clausum, id quoque in cœlis ligatum et clausum esse, hoc est quicumque fructus et eventus ministerii fuerit in Ecclesia militante in terris, seu regno cœlorum, ut quibusdam sit odor mortis, aliis odor vitæ; his in gratiam receptis per remissionem peccatorum, illis in infidelitate relictis, tam ratum haberi, quam si res apud Deum, et ubi Christus sedet ad dextram Patris transacta esset, ut iudicium pastoris seu convertentis, seu ex accidente obdurantis, sit iudicium Dei, potestas verbi sit potestas Dei, fides quam facit pastor veritatis divinæ et promissorum gratiæ, sit donum Dei.

Hanc esse mentem Spiritus Dei, cum Dominus noster promittit claves regni cœlorum, et de potestate ligandi, solvendi verba facit; minime vero intellexisse potestatem pastorum in foro externo et usu disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ, excommunicationis et exauctorationis, docet locorum contextus, arguit ratio et testantur auctores iudicii subactoris, seu patres seu recentiores, quorum nonnulli, utut admittant potestatem illam pastoralem et ecclesiasticam circa excommunicationem, exauctorationem, in usu disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ, verba tamen Christi de clavibus, et potestate ligandi, solvendi, intelligunt de potestate interna verbi, cuius qualis est fructus in terris, talis sit voluntas Dei dantis aut approbantis in cœlis, non vero de potestate externa pastorum, quæ quandoque versatur circa actus, qui nec probantur, nec rati habentur in cœlis: nos rationum momentis rejectis in caput de excommunicatione, testimoniis nostram quam putamus esse mentem Christi hic firmabimus.—Parænesis, cap. xi. pp. 200—202, 204, 205.

Nemo melius Bellarmino, lib. i. de Romano Pontifice, cap. xiii. potestatem clavium et ligandi solvendique descripsit; 'Quid sit solvere et ligare Dominus exposuit Johan. xx. cum dedit auctoritatem Apostolis remittendi et retinendi peccata, solvere enim est remittere peccata, ligare est retinere: quomodo autem remittantur et retineantur peccata Scriptura passim docet, cum per Evangelii prædicationem testatur illuminari homines et liberari de pravitare vitiorum 2 Cor. v. posuit in nobis verbum reconciliationis, pro Christo ergo legatione fungimur, tanquam Deo exhortante per nos obsecramus pro Christo reconciliamini Deo.' Qua pericope, quam perperam supposuit pro fundamento papalis hierarchiæ, si avellatur a consequentis quas inde deduct, nihil sanius, nihil quod potentius diruat ædificium ædificatorum imperii in imperio; hic enim docetur, pastores eatenus solvere peccatores, quatenus per eorum ministerium illis annunciat Deus remissionem peccatorum, eosque peccati compedibus excussis sibi reconciliat et asserit in libertatem filiorum Dei, mente eorum illustrata et aperta per clavem cognitionis, et voluntate per vim flexanimam inclinata atque affectibus retinaculis

the Gospel, or rather the convicting of him that he ought so to be: resting therefore in the inward court of the conscience, and not reaching to any visible effect in the Church, because nothing can be wanting to the salvation of such a one. For him that is loose from sin by this means the Church cannot bind, him that is bound by sin it cannot loose. They that are by this means loosed from sin, have in themselves every one the sovereign power of judging between true and false in Christianity, as to the inward court<sup>c</sup>; as to the outward, their sovereign<sup>d</sup>. They are therefore at their freedom to join in ecclesiastical communion with whom they like best, and, being so joined, do constitute a Church<sup>e</sup>. And Churches so

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vitorum solutis: hisce totam formalem rationem clavium et potestates ligandi et solvendi includit Bellarminus, et eatenus vult pastores claves tractare cum annunciant Evangelium, solvere vero et ligare cum annunciant remissionem peccatorum, et omnes Evangelicas exhortationes in compendium mittunt duobus hisce verbis 'respicite et credite:' quæ verba Bellarmini sunt exegesis sententiæ Paulinæ 2 Corinth. v. 19, 20. edocentis, ministerium verbi clavem esse quæ januam aperit ad Christum quo paratio reconciliamur Deo, et peccati vinculis ne in nobis regnet solvimur: de potestate ecclesiastica excommunicandi, exauctorandi, ne per somnium quicquam exsculpi potest, neque ex Bellarmini, neque ex S. Pauli verbis.—Parænesis, cap. xi. pp. 247, 248. Londini, 1656.

<sup>c</sup> Sed nec pastores aut synodi suis canonibus et definitionibus in foro externo latis, quicquam obligationis imponunt cuicumque in foro interno, ut eas debeat suo assensu comprobare, eisque se morigerum præstare, cum, ut fusius capite de iudice controversiarum demonstratur, ultima determinatio credendorum et agendorum, sit in uniuscujuscunque conscientiæ dictamine et iudicio discretionis, quo iudicio a synodis et pastoribus proposita examinare debet, et de eorum veritate et falsitate secum constituere. Non obligat pastor, nisi quem prius a Deo obligatum persuaserit; at summa potestas etiam quem in foro interno non persuaserit, obligat in foro externo: si non persuaserit, pastor recte accipiet ejus imperia pro humanis consiliis animo revolvendis, et quæ in deliberationem cadere debent, non vero pro mandatis, quæ satius sit exequi quam interpre-

tari.—Molin. Paræn., cap. vii. p. 112. Londini, 1656.

<sup>d</sup> Hisce eadem astruit quæ nos;—  
1. Canones synodorum et iudicia pastorum irrita esse nisi confirmantur a magistratu civili; 2. magistratum non debere recipere cæco iudicio canones synodorum et iudicia pastorum; 3. magistratum tum demum imperare debere quæ iudicio discretivo ipse probaverit et cognoverit conspirare cum verbo Dei; 4. ac proinde ultimum iudicium imperativum de canonibus et constitutionibus ecclesiasticis obligans vel ad obsequium vel ad penam in foro externo pertinere ad magistratum civilem.—Molin. Par., cap. ix. p. 160. Londini, 1656.

Magnæ quidem sunt authoritatis canones apud internum hominem, si conformes sunt verbo Dei et tales a fidelibus apprehenduntur, nec eis authoritas accrescit in foro interno quod probati et confirmati fuerunt a summa potestate; at in foro externo canones et definitiones synodorum nullam obligationem parendi imprimunt, nisi vim legum recipiant a summa potestate, aut vicaria et synodis delegata.—*Ib.*, cap. xxiv. pp. 637, 638.

<sup>e</sup> Subsistendum ergo tandem nobis in certa et propria descriptione Ecclesiæ, quæ sit privatus cœtus, seu societas Christianorum, qui seu sub diversis Dominis, seu sub uno, et in una viciniã degant, non tantum in unum confluunt locum ad cultum Deo exhibendum, sed et uno disciplinæ et externi ordinis vinculo colligantur. Ejusmodi societas si constat capitibus liberis, saltem quoad peragendos eos actus qui pertinent ad cultum divinum, est independentis, sui juris; estque tum jure naturali tum divino pri-

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joined may, as they shall find their proficiency in Christianity require, combine themselves with other Churches<sup>f</sup>, and assemble themselves in synods, to take order in matters of common concernment; provided they be tied no further by the resolutions of them than every man stands convict by the light which his loosing hath given him, that they are either just or requisite. By the same right they create themselves pastors, not with any power to censure either people or pastors, further than proving<sup>g</sup>.

mun et adæquatum subjectum omnis disciplinæ ecclesiasticæ; tum sibi non aliis probat et retinet dogmata fidei, quæ proprio judicio et lumine fidei visa fuerunt cum veritate divina in verbo Dei conspirare, non quia probata fuerunt vicinis Ecclesiis, classibus aut synodis, quorum judicia sic reveretur ut consilia et monita fraterna, ut non reformidet tanquam imperia et excommunicationum anteludia, et quibus jure naturæ et divino obtemperare teneatur.—Paræn., cap. xvi. pp. 456, 457. Londini, 1656.

<sup>f</sup> Legi naturæ sacra Scriptura astipulatur, quæ requirit ad constitutionem Ecclesiæ ut coeat in unum locum I Cor. xiv. 23. et cap. xi. 18. ad vacandum prædicationi et auditioni verbi Act. xiii. 42 et 44. I Cor. cap. xi. At Dominus nullum instituit cultum qui non observari debeat in Ecclesia particulari; nec instituit ministrum ordinarium nisi qui affixus est particulari Ecclesiæ, saltem qui eo munere pastoralis defungitur, cujus præcipuæ partes in Ecclesia particulari sustinentur: atque ut Dominus non instituit unam Catholicam, in qua omnes Christiani toto orbe, sub eodem visibili pastore aut cœtu ac eodem disciplinæ vinculo in unam Ecclesiam coalescere debeant, sic nec instituit Ecclesiam quæ certo numero Ecclesiarum particularium consociatarum constaret; nam si vel tres, vel quatuor, vel viginti sunt idoneus numerus ad constitutionem veræ Ecclesiæ, cur non æque numerus infra ternum aut supra vicesimum? imo si totus orbis esset Christianus cur omnes Ecclesiæ particulares non possunt uno fidei et disciplinæ vinculo sub uno Papa, pastore aut cœtu pastorum perinde confluere in Ecclesiam, secundum, ut volunt, institutionem Domini, ac si duæ tantum aut tres Ecclesiæ particulares in unam combinatam Ecclesiam coalescerent? Ut enim Dominus diserte non jussit ne minus quam

tres Ecclesiæ sociarentur per unum vinculum disciplinæ, ita nec prohibuit ut omnes toto orbe Ecclesiæ unam combinatam Ecclesiam constituerent. Tandem Dominus non instituit ut minores Ecclesiæ aut cœtus penderent a majoribus; sed eum omnes Ecclesiæ sint unius plane ac ejusdem juris, et una non magis pendeat ab altera quam altera ab illa, habent quoque—si vis major a summa potestate non obstat—eam liberam optionem, vel seorsim res suas ordinandi, vel se cum aliis Ecclesiis conjungendi, earumque consilium expiscandi in rebus maximi momenti, reservato sibi pleno jure in iis quæ sua non aliena attinent.—Paræn., cap. xvi. pp. 455, 456. Londini, 1656.

<sup>g</sup> Nolim autem abrogare usum synodorum et classium; nedum detrudere venerationem et auctoritatem quæ debetur viris sanctis in synodum congregatis: quin agnosimus et pertendimus, ubi magistratus civilis non est orthodoxæ fidei cultor, aut non suscipit procuracionem rerum Ecclesiæ . . . plane expedire, immo necesse esse, Ecclesias particulares per synodorum coitiones, et confederatam disciplinam in unum colligari, ut harmonia custodiatur in corpore visibili, seu Christi seu Ecclesiæ, . . . . quisque conscius suæ tenuitatis et ignorantia, eo facile delabatur, ut suum consilium, suamque sententiam alienæ postponat: pareat canonibus, et decretis synodorum, non quia nuperatis, sed quia justis, et cum veritate divina, aut cum eutaxia conformibus: nam in ea colligatione, et unione animorum et corporum inter pares, fidelis de plebe, potestatem verbi non pastoris timet; nec ejus potestatem, sed personam reveretur: nulli cœtus, sive sint synodorum, sive Ecclesiarum, jus sibi assumunt, aut potestatem in comparem judiciali auctoritate; ut Ecclesia privata, aut singuli de plebe Christiana, necesse habeant iudicium aut voluntatem suam mancipare ejus

§ 3. And such Churches as these he imagines<sup>h</sup> the first synagogues of the Israelites under the prophets to have been, especially in the ten tribes after Jeroboam; seeing they could not resort to Jerusalem, and yet resorted to such meetings, for that service of God which was not confined to the temple. But the judgment of matters concerning religion in the outward court, that is, as to the world, belonging only to the sovereign and the powers derived from him, he vesteth even in the heathen emperors<sup>l</sup>, to the same effect as in Christian,

CHAP.  
XX.

[His  
theory of  
the syna-  
gogues in  
Israel.]

definitionibus, nec aliter sentire liceat, neque hiscere contra, metu subeundi minas et anathemata, quæ ab altero cœtu, eo quod numerosior aut superior est, jaculabuntur.—Molin. Paræn., cap. i. pp. 3, 4. Londini, 1656.

<sup>h</sup> Illos cœtus si qua certitudine constat extitisse passim in Juda et Israël, pari certitudine liquet independentes fuisse antequam regna divisa essent, præterquam a synedriis Hierosolymitanis: nam ne quidem vestigium extat in Scriptura, illas congregationes ulla consociatione combinatas fuisse, aut in certas jurisdictiones distinctas, quibus singulis suos archipropheta præficeretur.—Paræn., cap. xx. p. 515.

Sed sub Jeroboamo et successoribus ejus, vero propriis est congregationes illas fuisse independentes, neque enim pendebant a synedriis Hierosolymitanis: cum enim auctore Jeroboamo decem tribus a Deo et Davidis domo defecissent, capitale erat et crimen perduellionis ventitare Hierosolymam ad tria festa solemnia, quæ quotannis Hierosolymis celebrabantur.—Ibidem. p. 516.

Ex superioribus patet, inter tot cœtus qui florente republica Judæorum habebantur, in synagogis illis seu sacris conventibus per singula sabbata celebratis, magis conspicuam fuisse naturam Ecclesiæ quam in synedriis Hierosolymitanis: quia tamen istæ synagogæ erant pars reipublicæ, nec legibus suis viventes, et obnoxia legibus synedriorum qui conventus magis erant politici quam cœtus hominum Deum laudantium aut colentium; non plane, neque singulæ, neque in universitate sua naturam Ecclesiæ exhibere possunt. Cadente republica Judæorum dicerem synagogas plenius naturam Ecclesiarum independentium exhibere, eo quod a synedrio Hierosolymitano sæpius avulsæ et a se invicem sic separatae essent, ut unaquæque synagoga

pene independens esset, nec ulterius quam vellet obstringeretur observationi legum extra suum cœtum latarum, nisi quod, cum alieno imperio regerentur, eorum synagogæ minus sinceri essent cœtus, sed vel per delegationem synedrii Hierosolymitani, vel concessione dominorum, partim conventus colentium Deum, partim civium quibus potestas esset in minoribus causis nec capitalibus, inconsultis principum tribunalibus jus dicendi suis contribulibus, eos coercendi et in carcerem conjiciendi: nam cum singulæ synagogæ sub iudicibus et regibus suis, abstinerent forensibus causis, quarum cognitio ad synedria tum Hierosolymitana, tum particularia ex viginti tribus iudicibus constantia, quæque in singulis civitatibus constituta erant, pertinebat; postmodum sub aliis dominis synedriorum jura quantum temporis et loci ratio, ac dominorum arbitrium permiserunt, in se transtulerunt; ut quæ synagoga domus erat orationis, in qua etiam lex Mosis legebatur et exponebatur, eadem esset forensis curia, eosdem iudices, seu principes plebis, seu sacerdotes aut Levitas in forensibus causis et sacris habens.—Ibidem, pp. 519, 520. Londini, 1656.

<sup>l</sup> At dicunt imperatorum ethnicorum potestatem civilem divisam fuisse a potestate ecclesiarum, cum quibus nullum ipsis erat commercium: in qua quidem objectione ædificatores imperii in imperio præcipuum ponunt præsidium; cum enim viderent per 300 annos invita et reluctantè summa potestate a Christianis suos cœtus habitos, suamque disciplinam ac judicariam potestatem; inde ansam arripuerunt affingendi pastoribus, Ecclesiis et synodis potestatem ecclesiasticam jure divino positivo a potestate civili toto cœlo dissitam, et negare potestatem ecclesiasticam civili potestati subordinatam. Sed si qua mihi mica sensus,

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I.

allowing a reason why they do well or ill in the exercise of it, as they do that which the Scriptures allow or not, but maintaining that they do not exceed their power, whatsoever they do. So that excommunications, decrees of councils, ordinations, and whatsoever else may be done in behalf of the Church, being done by virtue of this power, whether just or not, are valid to tie the outward man either to stand to them or to undergo the penalty assigned to the transgressing of them<sup>k</sup>; which being done in the name and the title of the Church, are mere usurpations and nullities.

§ 4. The ground then of this deceit—which Aristotle<sup>1</sup> calls

*infirum mihi videtur hoc præsidium: nam si regnantibus Judæorum regibus idololatræ; nec propterea divisum fuit imperium ab Ecclesia, neque potestas civilis ab Ecclesiastica; cur non par ratio erit imperii et potestatis, per 300 illos annos ab Apostolis ad Constantinum Magnum? fuit sub regibus Judæ idololatræ imperium corruptum, et in malum usum adhibitum, at non divisum ab Ecclesia: namque tum reges illi idololatræ, tum ethnici imperatores, utut impium et perversum imperarunt cultum divinum, attemen cultum; non errarunt quod existimaverint se jurisdictionem habere circa sacra, sed quod profana pro sacris imperaverint: sed etsi nullum cultum imperassent, non ideo fuerunt divisæ potestates.—Paræn., cap. xxi. pp. 527, 528. Londini, 1656.*

<sup>k</sup> . . . . denique cum potestas civilis, imo omnis potestas in foro externo, non alia sit, quam quæ imperet, coget, et obliget in foro itidem externo, vel ad obsequium vel ad pœnam, nemini indulgens suas leges interpretari, sed exequi, plane ecclesiastica potestas, aut nulla est in foro externo, aut subordinata est potestati civili.—Paræn., cap. ii. p. 13.

Hæc tamen non obstant, quominus in utroque foro interno et externo reperiat summa potestas, summum et iudicium, summaque parendi obligatio imposita; nam in foro externo humana potestas habet summum imperium, quia a nemine imperatur; habet et summum iudicium tametsi errori obnoxium, quia ab eo non fit provocatio: imponit quoque summo iudicio obligationem obsequendi; vel agendo vel patiendi.—Paræn., cap. vii. p. 113.

Sed naturam duplicis fori, nemo melius nobis exhibuit, quam S. Paulus

Rom. xiii. 1—3. . . . . Primo ergo demonstrat, eam esse naturam et vim fori externi, ut obliget vel ad obsequium vel ad pœnam; at interni, ut quod conscientia ejusque dictaverit concordare cum Deo loquente in Scriptura, id imprimis vel credat vel faciat. 2. Leges fori externi seu humani, non obligare in foro interno, nisi quatenus concordant cum dictamine conscientiæ; nam si non concordant, tum hominem liberum esse ab obligatione parendi interna, satius ducentem obedire Deo et conscientiæ dictamini, quam hominibus: non tamen liberum esse ab obligatione parendi externo foro, ut qui non possit effugere iram ejus qui obligat in foro externo. 3. Sed nec leges divinas obligare in foro externo nisi humanis annumerentur, et a summa potestate obligatio imposita sit vel parendi, vel iram ejus, id est, punitionem subeundi. 4. Inde etiam planum facit, ut legibus divinis robur et vis accedit ab humanis legibus in foro externo, sic humanis legibus nomen vim et robur dare leges divinas in foro interno. 5. Etenim eam obedientiam debitam summis potestatibus quam S. Paulus vocat divinam constitutionem S. Petrus vocabulo humanæ indigitat; nempe quia divinæ constitutioni secundum Paulum, cui homo parere tenetur, pro conscientiæ dictamine, vis et robur accrescit in foro externo, a punitione, et ira summæ potestatis in detractantes ejus imperia.—Paræn., cap. vii. pp. 115, 116. Londini 1656.

<sup>1</sup> Ὁ δὲ ψευδὴς λόγος γίνεται παρὰ τὸ πρῶτον ψεῦδος. ἢ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν δύο προτάσεων ἢ ἐκ πλείονων πᾶς ἐστὶ συλλογισμὸς. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν δύο, τούτων ἀνάγκη τὴν ἑτέραν ἢ καὶ ἀμφοτέρας εἶναι ψευδεῖς· ἐξ ἄλλῶν γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι ψευδὴς συλλογισμὸς.—Anal. Prior., lib.

πρώτου ψεύδους, or “the first mistake”—lies in this; that a man is loosed from his sin merely by the act of the inward man, acknowledging himself convicted of the truth of Christianity, or producing besides what inward act of faith this opinion can require. Contrary to that which is settled by the premises<sup>m</sup>, that the outward act of professing Christianity is absolutely requisite to obtain forgiveness of sins, and other promises which the Gospel tendereth by the Holy Ghost, the gift whereof the Sacrament inferreth. For baptism, presupposing the profession of the true faith consigned into the hands of the Church—requiring it as the condition upon which it tendereth remission of sins, and the promise of the Holy Ghost—inferreth also the communion of the Church, unto which it admitteth. Therefore is nobody a Christian by believing the Scriptures, nor hath, by consequence, any title to the kingdom of God, but by being baptized. Nor is it worth the while among reasonable people to except those who may be prevented by unavoidable necessity of mortality of recovering that baptism which they had utterly resolved to submit themselves to any condition to obtain: the rule of the law being a production of common reason, that an exception confirms a rule in cases not excepted<sup>n</sup>.

§ 5. Now if it appear by the same consent of Christians that evidenceth our common Christianity, that he who obtains baptism by making that profession which the Church requireth, owneth the person of the Church—for corporations are persons in law—for the evidence which he trusteth in the matter of his salvation; I shall not need to have recourse to the article of our Creed to prove that he owneth the unity of it, and obligeth himself upon his salvation to abide in the same.

§ 6. Nor indeed have I any need here to repeat the process by which I have demonstrated<sup>o</sup> the corporation of the Church. Here I infer, as clearly gained by it, that the effect of binding or loosing men from sin is limited by God to a condition of acknowledging or not acknowledging the Church, for two reasons, and in two cases. For he that is admitted to

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The power of binding and loosing supposeth not only the preaching of the Gospel but the outward act of faith.

[The corporation of the Church evidenced from the profession made at baptism.]

ii. cap. xviii. tom. i. p. 66. ed. Bekker. Berolini, 1831.

<sup>m</sup> See chap. vii. sect. 24.

<sup>n</sup> See chap. iii. sect. 8.

<sup>o</sup> Chap. vi. sect. 4—17. See below, sect. 16.

baptism upon professing the faith of the Church, and undertaking to live as a Christian, if he transgress this profession, forfeits the communion of the Church which he attained by making it. And he that acknowledgeth the unity of the Church—which all that are baptized must needs acknowledge—forfeits his share in it by doing that which dissolveth it, though he transgress not the profession of his Christianity, doing it.

§ 7. Now it appeareth<sup>p</sup> by St. Paul and our Lord that Christians under infidels are forbidden to carry any of their suits out of the Church, and commanded to end them among themselves. And shall he not forfeit the benefit of his Christianity, and become bound by the sin he committeth in so doing, that doeth this? I may therefore grant Erastus<sup>q</sup> and this doctor<sup>r</sup>, that “Let him be to thee as a heathen or publican” signifies, Be it lawful for thee to implead him before unbelievers; but it must be, as I said afore<sup>s</sup>, upon supposition that he is first excommunicate and become no Christian “to thee,” and therefore to be used as a heathen or a publican. As also I grant him<sup>t</sup> that, “to be delivered to Satan,” signifies not to be excommunicate, but supposes it. For if St. Paul, calling the miraculous graces of the Apostles’ time “the manifestation of the Spirit,” do teach us that the world was thereby convicted “that God of a truth was in His Church,” as he saith again, 1 Cor. xiv. 24, 25, then was it to the same purpose and effect, that those who were shut out of

<sup>p</sup> Right of the Church, chap. i. sectt. 38—42.

<sup>q</sup> Ergo genuinus hujus loci et capitis sensus talis est; cum frater, hoc est, Judæus, injuriam tibi facit, solus eum tibi reconciliare studeto. Si solus nihil profeceris, duobus aut tribus aliis assumptis idem tentato. Si ne sic quidem te liberare ab injuria poteris, synedrui id est, tui populi, aut tuæ religionis magistratui indicato. Quod si hunc etiam audire nolit, sic adversus eum citra cujusquam offensionem agere poteris, quomodo adversus publicanum aut gentilem injuriam tibi inferentem—qui ad aliud quam Romanorum tribunal se pertrahi non patiuntur—ageres.—Thes. xli. p. 26. Pesclavii 1589. See chap. xviii. sect. 26.

<sup>r</sup> Quis sensus verborum *sit tibi Ethnicus &c.*, probatur, nullam sententiam excommunicationis latam in partem

lædentem, nec ethnicum et publicanum intelligendum de excommunicatis, hisce verbis, *sit tibi ethnicus &c.* Dominus remittit partem læsam ad judices sæculares.—P. 348. Argument to chap. xiv.

<sup>s</sup> Chap. xviii. sect. 31.

<sup>t</sup> Eversis præsidiiis pro excommunicatione in historia Evangelica, nam nihil reperitur in Actibus Apostolorum quod militet pro excommunicatione, primum quod occurrit in Epistolis diruendum, habetur 1 Corinth. v. ubi Paulus decernit ut incestus Satanæ tradatur, et sic tollatur e medio Corinthiorum. Hujus capitis explanatio pendet ex intellectione traditionis Satanæ, quæ, si probetur, non intelligi de excommunicatione, facile concidet quicquid eodem capite pro excommunicatione affertur.—Molin. Paræn., cap. xii. p. 294. Londini, 1656.



the Church should become liable to the incursions of evil spirits; to wit, to make the difference between the land of Goshen and the rest of Egypt visible. CHAP.  
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§ 8. It was therefore necessary that the power of binding or loosing in the Apostles and disciples of our Lord should be accompanied with the gift of the Holy Ghost, which our Lord breathed upon them. For by them the world was to be assured upon what terms they might be loosed from sin, and continue in the unity of the Church, which if they forsook they became bound again. But there is not the same reason why the same should be thought requisite to the same power in their successors. For those terms being once declared and settled, he that professeth and teacheth them as the Apostles have taught, is a competent minister<sup>u</sup> to loose or

<sup>u</sup> Wicliff maintained the contrary opinion, for which he was condemned by the Church;—Waldensis argued against him as follows:—

Cæcilius arguit, quod hæreticus non confert Sacramentum, quia mendax est, quia cancer, quia sceleratus, maledicus, blasphemus, sacrilegus prophanus, antistes diaboli, Antichristus, ergo non potest baptizare. Augustinus respondet, avarum, invidum et sceleratum, intra Ecclesiam existentem, secundum Cyprianum et Paulum, si non sit hæreticus posse conferre verum baptismum: et tamen omnis talis est scelestus, prophanus, sine fide, sine spe, blasphemus, Antichristus, sacrilegus, antistes diaboli, et si quid pejus dicitur, ut ibi probat; ergo propter ista mala non negatur hæreticis, quin vera conferant Sacramenta. Falsum ergo assumpsisti principium, mi Wicleff, quod omnis vir præscitus, aut irretitus mortali peccato sacerdos, est eo ipso a Deo suspensus, nec potest vera Sacramenta conferre: et ideo hæretice conclusisti, quod Deus non totaliter coassistit cum falso Satrapa in confectione, secundum ritum Ecclesiæ, venerabilis Sacramenti. Jam non ultra parcas blasphemis appellationibus: voca prælatos 'Cæsareos, falsos Satrapas, Antichristos, pseudo-Apostolos, sacrilegos, impacatos, dæmoniacos, aut Diabolos:' quid Ecclesiæ et Sacramentis? In his omnibus prævenit te a Bilitate Cæcilius. Sit sacerdos Apostolicam benedictionem habens; et autoritate Scripturæ, et universalis concilii tibi dicit Augustinus, nihilominus vera Sacramenta

esse, quæ confert ad salutem valitura, quando charitas aderit suscepturis. Cujus ratio est, quia Christus est, qui baptizat, aut consecrat intus, etiamsi sit malus, et dæmoniacus sacerdos, qui conficit foris. Non deserit Christus Sacramentum, quamvis malum habuerit instrumentum.—Waldensis, *Doctrinale Fidei*, cap. v. § 3. tom. ii. col. 63. Venet. 1758. The reason of it is thus given by S. Antoninus in his *Summa Theologica*; Ratio hujus est, quia quod consistit in opere operato, non vitiatur ex demerito operantis, si tamen concurrunt, quæ sunt de necessitate operis: sed omne Sacramentum consistit in opere operato; ergo non vitiatur ex malitia vel demerito ministri operantis.—Pars iii. Tit. xiv. cap. xiii. *de Baptismo*. col. 712. Veronæ 1740.

The council of Trent has decreed as follows:—Si quis dixerit, ministrum in peccato mortali existentem, modo omnia essentialia, quæ ad Sacramentum conficiendum aut conferendum pertinent, servaverit, non conficere, aut conferre Sacramentum, anathema sit.—Sess. xii. can. xii. Labbei, tom. xx. col. 53. ed. Venet.

The ecclesiastical law further admits that this power of absolution remains in priests degraded and excommunicated, but that its use is suspended through defect of jurisdiction: In degradato manet potestas absolvendi *non reducibilis ad actum*: et hujus ratio supradieta est, quia scilicet non reducitur ad actum, nisi per jurisdictionem, et jurisdictione ab illo aufertur, qui degradatur.

BOOK I. to bind another; not only though he have not that gift of the Holy Ghost, that may make him appear to be appointed by God to that purpose, but also though he be bound himself, because he<sup>x</sup> undergoes not that which he professeth.

§ 9. Now if the premises be true, it is a mistake<sup>y</sup> as gross

. . . . non potest ab eo auferri potestas, quæ est ex caractere ordinis, sed administrationis, secundum quod pendet ex jurisdictione, quæ amissa est per degradationem.—Albert. Mag. iv. Sent. dist. xix. art. 3. In cases of necessity the ministration of these is allowed, though not without considerable reasons to the contrary, Quid tenendum in re hac admodum difficili? Ego profecto—sub aliorum rectius sententium censura—existimo distinguendum inter excommunicatum denuntiatum, vel omnino notorium clerici percussorem . . . . et hæreticum, schismaticum, et alios omnino præcisos, in priori enim specie, nempe in excommunicato denuntiato, vel notorio omnino clerici percussore, veriorem et certissimam atque tenendam existimo priorem sententiam, ut is in articulo mortis, alio legitimo deficiente ministro possit audire pœnitentem, jam moriturum, ipsumque absolvere, atque proinde tam confessio quam absolutio valida sit et non iteranda, per omnia supra adducta pro hac parte, quod in hoc casu bene concludunt, præcipue præfatum decretum concilii Tridentini, sess. xiv. c. 7. dum universaliter loquitur, nullum excipiendo: quilibet enim sacerdos habet auctoritatem jure divino absolvendi in mortis articulo constitutum, secundum probabiliorem sententiam, nec enim est dare causam, quare fidelis in articulo mortis, præsentè sacerdote Catholico, quamvis excommunicato et denuntiato, privetur Sacramento necessario ad salutem jure divino: nec esset minus intolerabile prohibere absolutiorem in articulo mortis hoc casu, quam reservare casus hoc autem est contra determinationem Ecclesiæ: ergo et illud non est tolerandum præsertim cum communiter homines illo tempore habeant attritionem. Præterea sicut Sacramentum baptismi est necessarium ad salutem, ita et pœnitentiæ Sacramentum est necessarium, non solum necessitate præcepti, sed etiam necessitate mediæ: Ergo, sicut illud potest ab excommunicato recipi, ut est prædictum, ita et hoc, et ita ultra supra allegatos hanc sententiam probavit Navarrus, in Manual. Latin. xxvii. num.

271. ex supradicto decreto concilii Tridentini, et quia probabiliter credi potest, piam matrem Ecclesiam non auferre excommunicato hujusmodi, nec suspendere jurisdictionem quoad mortis articuli tempus, quamvis ante prædictum concilium communis contra tenuerit . . . . In secunda specie, nempe in hæretico, schismatico, et similibus omnino ab Ecclesia præcisus et declaratis, existimo veriorem esse et tenendam communem sententiam negativam supra positam, ut eisdem minime licitum sit confiteri, nec ab eis absolutio præstita valida existat, sed potius nulla.—Gutierrez, Canon. Quæst., lib. i. numm. l. 63—68. tom. iv. p. 16. Lugduni, 1720.

<sup>x</sup> “Undertakes, but does not undergo, if he perform not that which he professeth.”—MSS.

<sup>y</sup> Cum ergo nullus extet<sup>f</sup> visibilis iudex de controversiis fidei cui tuto ac certe acquiescere debeat iudicium cujusque internum, putamus solum et unicum iudicem esse Deum loquentem in unoquoque fideli per lumen fidei acensum lectione sacræ Scripturæ, nam proprie lumen non est in Scriptura sed in fideli. . . .—Paræn., cap. ix. p. 147.

Hiscæ probari dilucide putamus, 1. Scripturam proprie non esse iudicem sed regulam et normam secundum quam quivis fidelis accedente luce intellectus dirigitur a spiritu Dei, ipse vero verum a falso, bonum a malo dijudicat. 2. Non alium esse summum iudicem controversiarum, præter eam lucem seu iudicium discretionis, adeoque omnes canones, decreta, constitutiones, ad examen istius iudicii in unoquoque fideli revocandas. 3. Fideli imbibenti divinam veritatem, per illam lucem robur accedere posse, ex canonibus et explicationibus a viris gravibus et reverendis in synodum congregatis; at ultimam determinationem assensus circa credenda et facienda in religionis negotio proficisci et perfici ab illa luce, ut quanquam prima cognitio veritatis incepta et instillata sit a pastoribus, aucta sit per lectionem canonum et decretorum synodaliū, longius tamen provectora sit, immo ultimam iudicii limum et iudicandi ac probandi stateram

as pernicious to imagine that particular Christians, by the light common to all Christians, are judges in all things concerning Christianity or the Scriptures. For if the attaining of Christianity, and salvation by it, require no more but to know the rule of faith, and the common precepts of Christian conversation, together with the offices wherewith God is to be served by His Church; if the gift of the Holy Ghost be promised to those that are baptized, upon undertaking this; then is the understanding of the rest of the Scriptures no further required at their hands, neither have they any warrant for that which they shall do, upon any such presumption as this. The Church that hath received of God the trust of maintaining unity in this service of God, so as may best stand with the maintenance of that profession which it presupposeth, hath by consequence an obligation upon them to stand to the resolution thereof, saving that common Christianity which the constitution thereof presupposeth.

§ 10. It is therefore utterly a most poisonous doctrine<sup>a</sup> to be infused into the ears of Christian people, that they are, by their Christianity, free to cast themselves into Churches, as they may meet with those whom they best like to communicate with. It is therefore a thing to stand astonished at, that they who have hitherto declaimed against any thing in Christianity, the reason whereof is not to be derived from the Scripture<sup>a</sup>, not seeing in the Scripture any such thing as a Church that was not founded by the Apostles, or by commission from the Apostles; not in all Christianity any thing ever counted a Church that was not planted by mean authority derived thence to some Church, should now think themselves at liberty to build Churches upon no other foundation than an arbitrary agreement of seven persons<sup>b</sup>.

recepit in cujusque fidelis mente, quæ sedens in clavo tanquam ἡγεμονικόν, non alium extra se et forum suum summum judicem controversiarum recipit.—Molin. Parænes., cap. ix. pp. 156, 157. Londini, 1656.

<sup>z</sup> "They that desire to be added and joined to such a body, they first make known their desires to the elders of the Church, who take trial of their knowledge in the principles of religion, and of their experience in the ways of grace, and of their godly conversation amongst men, that if any of them be

found ignorant, and graceless, or scandalous, he may not be presently presented to the Church, till these evils were removed."—Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. iii. sect. 2. p. 54. London, 1645.

<sup>a</sup> See chap. v. sect. 29, 36.

<sup>b</sup> "When the hive is too full, bees swarm into a new hive; so should such excessive numbers of Christians issue forth into more Churches. Whence it appeareth to be an error, to say there is no limitation or distinction of parishes, meaning of Churches, *jure di-*

CHAP.  
XX.

Christians are not at liberty to cast themselves into what forms of Churches the law of nature alloweth.

BOOK  
I.

[The unity of the Church requires the submission of its several parts,]

§ 11. Suppose I say nothing as yet in what right and interest several members, or rather several ranks and qualities concur to the resolution of the Church; suppose I grant the power may be so abused, that several parts of the Church may stand obliged to provide for themselves without the whole, which is all that the common profession of reformation importeth; shall we not be thoroughly reformed till we renounce one Catholic Church, as visibly a corporation as the baptism which we received upon acknowledging of it is visible? If every Church be planted by the authority of the Apostles to that effect, extant and alive in some Church, then is not the communion thereof with all other Churches—by the means of that which planted it communicating with all—arbitrary, but a necessary consequence of that obligation to the unity of the whole, which it begets by being a Church.

[much more of its individual members.]

§ 12. Nor is there any reason why the acts of the whole—whether done by representatives in synods, or resolved at distance of time and place by intelligence and correspondence of the absent—should any way depend upon the satisfaction of particular Christians, how just or how requisite. For neither doth their conformity to them in any reasonable construction import any engagement of their conscience to the justice or necessity of them; unless it could be said that a man could not live in society without binding himself to answer for the acts of that society wherein he liveth. Which he that saith, will not find an independent congregation to continue in for four and twenty hours, or to enter into only for one. For what obligation can all Christians have to answer for that which our Christianity, upon profession whereof we are become Christians, containeth not? Indeed, when the abuse is so visible that the unity of the Church, provided for the service of God upon supposition of this common Christianity, evidently destroyeth what it pretendeth to maintain; I leave the case at present for their plea, who cannot obtain the consent of the whole if they reform themselves.

*vino*, for though a precise quotient, a number of hundreds and thousands be not limited to every Church, yet such a number is limited as falleth not below seven, nor riseth above the bulk of our congregation, and such a congregation

wherein all may meet, and all may hear, and all may partake, and all may be edified together."—Cotton's Way of the Churches, chap. iii. sect. i. p. 54. London, 1645.

§ 13. But you see what reason I have to deny that this reformation consisteth in voiding the obligation of the acts and decrees of the Church. For the same reason, the authority of pastors is as visibly derived from the act of the Apostles in primitive Churches, as their own authority is visible in the Scriptures. And unless all Christendom could be cozened or forced at once to admit such an imposture, they can be no Churches further than the name, in which it is derived from the law of nature and reason, and the liberty left private Christians to dispose of themselves in ecclesiastical communion where they please. For, of that liberty, neither the Scriptures, nor all Christianity since the time of them, will yield one example.

CHAP.  
XX.  
[Reformation does not consist in setting aside the decrees of the Church.]

§ 14. I marvel therefore that St. Paul's commission to Timothy, 1 Tim. v. 19, should seem<sup>e</sup> to import no more than a reproof, and that at the discretion of him that is reprov'd, whether he will admit it or return him as good as he brings. For if St. Paul's commission to Timothy extend no further, what could he have done more himself, had he been present? And the Apostle, enjoining obedience to those who first brought the Gospel, and to those who presently ruled those Churches, in the same terms, Heb. xiii. 7. 17, must needs be thought to give the successors their predecessors' authority, saving the difference observed afore<sup>d</sup>. So certain is it which I have advanced in another place<sup>e</sup>, that this opinion is not tenable, without denying the authority of the Apostles in the quality of governors of the Church. For as to the exception

<sup>e</sup> Quis enim negat pastorum esse reprehendere et corripere peccantes et protervos, nec tamen temere credere rumoribus et delationibus de-pastoribus quorum probata et doctrina et fides est, nisi rei veritate comperta duorum saltem testimonio, qua tandem explorata, jubet Paulus peccantes plurium offendiculo, vel si pastores sint, palam argui, ut habet versus vigesimus qui est præcedentis exegesis, quo S. Apostolus non vult Timotheum officium judicis assumere ferendo sententiam in peccantem, unde capite aut libertate diminuatur in foro externo, ut integrum ei non sit vel audire vel participare sacra, sed implere partes fidi ministri, legati et dispensatoris præceptorum divinum, propositis et denunciatis judiciis Dei,

improbos severe castigando, palam etiam figendo quo pudefacti redeant ad bonam mentem, magis tamen insectando vitia quam homines, ejusmodi correptione castigari presbyterum vers. 19. docet versus qui sequitur: namque Beza eo versu dicit per τοὺς ἀμαρτανότας intelligi presbyteros, in quos delationes exerceri contingere potuit versu præcedenti. Nullum ibi vestigium jurisdictionis presbyteri in presbyterum, cum tamen alius alium corripere possit, nulla interim invicem et in comparem habita jurisdictione:—Molin. Parænes., cap. x. p. 181. Londini, 1656.

<sup>d</sup> Chap. iv. sectt. 15, 16.

<sup>e</sup> Chap. viii. sectt. 1—3. Right of the Church, chap. ii. sectt. 26—36.

BOOK I. that may be made concerning the use of this power, I have already<sup>f</sup> demurred to the doubt that may rest in difference between the succession of faith and the succession of persons.

§ 15. In fine, not to insist here what the respective interests of public and private persons in the Church are and ought to be, because it is a point that cannot here be voided; it shall be enough to say, that of necessity the authority of public persons in and for the whole must be such as may make and maintain the Church a society of reasonable people, not a commonwealth of the Cyclops, in which, ἀκούει οὐδὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδενός, “nobody is ruled by any body in any thing,” according to Euripides<sup>g</sup>.

[Du Moulin's argument from the history of the ten tribes answered.]

§ 16. As for the synagogues, that may be presumed, rather than evidenced, to have subsisted in the ten tribes during the schism, let him make appear what he can, he shall never have joy of it towards his intent, so long as the difference between the law and the Gospel stands, which I have settled<sup>h</sup>, that the Church and the state were both one and the same body under the law, as standing both by the same title of it, but several under the Gospel, the one standing upon the common ground of all civil government, the other upon the common faith of Christianity, which ought to make all Christian states one and the same whole Church. For in the two tribes who were at their freedom to resort to the temple for that service of God which was confined to the temple—which all could neither always do, nor were bound to do—there is no record of any settled order for assembling themselves to serve God, either in the law, obliging of right, or actually practised according to historical truth. How much less in the ten tribes, being fallen from the law by the schism? And if there wanted not those who had not bowed the knee to Baal, nor prophets and schools of prophets, under whom they might assemble themselves, yet was this far from a society formed by a certain rule and order for communicating in God's service, as I have shewed<sup>i</sup> the Church is. And therefore he who, upon that account, thinks himself free from the rule of God's service under which we now are in the Church of England, must first either nullify the Gospel,

<sup>f</sup> Chap. viii. sect. 26.

<sup>g</sup> Eurip. Cyclop. 120.

<sup>h</sup> See chap. xvii. sect. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Chap. vi. sect. 4, 5.

as owning no such thing as one visible Church<sup>k</sup>, or prove the Church in which he received his Christianity to be apostate<sup>l</sup>. CHAP.  
XX.

§ 17. Now I confess our doctor<sup>m</sup> here makes use of an They are  
judges in

<sup>k</sup> "The universal Church we are speaking of is not a thing that hath, as such, a specificative form, from which it should be called an universal Church, as a particular hath for its ground of being so called. It is but a collection of all that are duly called Christians in respect of their profession; nor are the several particular Churches of Christ in the world so parts and members of any Catholic Church, as that it should be constituted or made up by them and of them, for the order and purpose of an instituted Church, that is, the celebration of the worship of God, and institutions of Jesus Christ according to the Gospel, which to assert were to overthrow a remarkable difference between the economy of the Old Testament and the New."—Dr. Owen, of Schism, chap. v. § 2. p. 113.

"In her [the Church of England] design to reduce religion to its primitive purity, she always professed that she did not take her direction from the Scripture only, but also from the councils and examples of the four or five first centuries, to which she laboured to conform her reformation. Let the question now be whether there be not corruptions in this Church of England, supposing such a national state to be instituted. What, I beseech you, shall bind my conscience to acquiesce in what is pleaded from the four or five first centuries consisting of men that could and did err, more than that did hers, which was pleaded from the nine or ten centuries following? Have I not liberty to call reformation according to the Scripture only? or at least, to profess that my conscience cannot be bound to any other? The sum is, the business of schism from the Church of England is a thing built purely and simply on political considerations so interwoven with them, so influenced from them, as not to be separated."—Dr. Owen, of Schism, chap. viii. § 26. p. 244. Oxford, 1657.

<sup>l</sup> "Who now—if not such to whom the Scriptures are hidden, and this book sealed—could in this general falling away from the Gospel, this general departure of the true Established Churches out of the inhabited, this universal corruption and confusion of

all estates, degrees, persons, callings, actions, both in the Church and commonwealth, in this estate, in this defection, seek for, or plead for, a true visible established Church, the true ministry of the Gospel, true worship, ministrations, sacraments, government, order? Or who—that were not drunk and had all their senses bound and intoxicate with the whore's cup—could affirm this confused Babel, these cages of unclean birds, these prisons of foul and hateful spirits, to be the spouse of Christ, the congregations of the Saints, the true established and rightly ordered Churches of Christ? . . . .

"The four principal transgressions, wherewith we charge, and for which we forsake these parish assemblies; namely, the profaneness, wickedness, confusion of the people which are here received, retained and nourished as members. The unlawfulness of their whole ministry which is imposed upon them, retained and maintained by them; the superstition and idolatry of their public worship in that devised liturgy, which is imposed upon them; and the forgery of their antichristian ecclesiastical government, to which all their churches stand subject, are such, and so apparent, as not only prove these parish churches to be no true established Churches of Christ, but if it were admitted—which can never be proved—that they sometimes had been true established Churches, yet these transgressions obstinately stood in, and defended, are sufficient causes of our separation from them in this degenerate estate. . . . .

"These reasons all men may see prove directly these parish assemblies not to be the true established Churches of Christ, to which any faithful Christian may join himself in this estate, especially when all reformation unto the rules of Christ's Testament, is not only denied, but resisted, blasphemed, persecuted."—Barrow and Greenwood, Preface to the Plain Refutation, 1606.

<sup>m</sup> Denique summum judicium cadit tantum in privatum judicium quo unusquisque judicat, discernit et probat, quod sibi verum utile et rationibus propriis accommodatum in veritatis via insistenda et regula morum amplec-

BOOK  
I.

chief for themselves in matter of religion, supposing the Catholic Church, not otherwise.

assumption which I intend not to deny, being an evident truth; that every man hath the sovereign power of judging in matter of religion what himself is to believe or to do. For how should any man be accountable to God for his choice, upon other terms? But he will entangle himself most pitifully if he imagine that God hath turned all men loose to the Bible, to make what they can of it, and profess the religion that they may fancy to themselves out of it. Even those who make men believe the infallibility of the Church, must, in despite of themselves, appeal to the judgment of whomsoever they persuade, to pronounce that it is so. And, for the rest, how much soever he refer himself to him that hath entangled him in that snare, it proceeds wholly upon this supposition, to which he hath once made his understanding a slave.

[The Church alone teaches the faith.]

§ 18. But if all the world should do as men do now in England, make every fancy taken up out of the Bible a law to their faith—not questioning whether ever professed, owned, or enjoined by the Church, or not—it would soon become questionable whether there be indeed any such thing as Christianity or not, those that profess it agreeing in nothing<sup>n</sup> wherein they would have it consist. And, for my part, the matter is past question, supposing what hath been said<sup>o</sup>; that God provided from the beginning of Christianity, that all Churches should be linked together by a law of visible communion in the service of God, and so to make one Church. For, by this means, to become a member of any Church was to become a member of the whole Church, by the right of visible communion with all Churches, into which all members of any Church were baptized. And this it is which made the Church visible.

[The Church a visible body.]

§ 19. For when a man had no further to inquire<sup>p</sup>, but what

tenda, non autem judiciaria potestas et autoritas definiendi, quid in fide aut moribus alius, sive cœtus, sive homo privatus debeat amplecti si salvus esse velit; qualem judicem in terris neminem agnoscimus, nec dum a nobis impetramus, ut sacra Scriptura statuatur ejusmodi judex, qui sit summus interpres et enodator in synodis aut Ecclesia visibili, sed regula summa et norma fidei, secundum quam judicium cujusque illuminatum de re quamquam controversa judicare debet.—Molin. Pa-

rænes., cap. ix. p. 162. Londini, 1656.

<sup>n</sup> "If they do agree, it is not by virtue of any obligation which their profession lays upon them, but by chance; and till some congregations—that is four of seven—disclaim it, which may be the next moment."—MSS.

<sup>o</sup> Chap. vi. sect. 7.

<sup>p</sup> Sed sub Apostolis, inquires, nemo Catholicus vocabatur: esto, sic fuerit, vel illud indulge. Cum post Apostolos hæreses extitissent; diversisque nomi-



Christians they were who in every city communicated with all Christians beside, the choice was ready made without further trial, avoiding the rest for heretics or schismatics. And this choice being made, there was no fear of offence by reading the Scriptures, the sense whereof this choice confined to the faith and rules received through the whole Church. So that, speaking of God's institution, every man is sovereign to judge for himself in matter of religion, supposing the communion of the Church and the sense of the Scripture to be confined within that which it alloweth. But he who, thereupon, takes upon him to judge of religion out of the Scripture, not knowing what bounds the communion of the Church hath given the sense of it, shall never impute it to God's ordinance if he perish by choosing amiss.

§ 20. Now if it be objected that we are at a distance from the Church of Rome, and all who communicate with it, upon a just cause of refusing the reformation—as all that profess the reformation suppose—and therefore that there remains no visible presumption what is true, the ground of visibility being destroyed by the division of the Church; I shall be far enough from extenuating the force of this objection, or the effect of this division, acknowledging that, according to my opinion, holding both the reformation and the Catholic Church, the Church should be visible, but is indeed invisible. Not absolutely, but as that which is hardly visible may truly be called invisible, because every one whom it concerns cannot attain to discern it upon clear grounds. For my intent is to aggravate the mischiefs of division to the highest, which they who believe not the Catholic Church do not take for any inconvenience.

[Objection to the rule of the Church's teaching from divisions.]

nibus columbam Dei atque reginam lacerare per partes et scindere niterentur, nonne cognomen suum plebs Apostolica postulabat, quo incorrupti populi distingueret unitatem, ne intemeratam Dei virginem error aliquorum per membra laceraret? Nonne appellatione propria decuit caput principale signari? Ego forte ingressus populosam urbem hodie cum Marcionitas, cum Apollinariacos, Cataphrygas, Novatianos et cæteros ejusmodi comperissem qui se Christianos vocarent; quo cognomine congregationem meæ plebis agnoscerem, nisi Catholica diceretur? Age quid cæteris

plebibus nomina tanta largitus est? Cur tot urbibus, tot nationibus sua quæque descriptio est? Ipse ille qui Catholicum nomen interrogat, causam sui nominis nesciet, si requiram unde mihi traditum est.

Certe non est ab homine mutuatum quod per sæcula tanta non cecidit, Catholicum istud nec Marcionem, nec Appellem, nec Montanum sonat, nec hæreticos sumit authores.—Pacian. ad Sympron., ep. i.; Bibl. Maxim. Patrum, tom. iv. p. 306. Lugdun. 1677. See chap. iii. sect. 29; chap. viii. sect. 6, 24.

BOOK  
I.

[Divisions  
destroy  
the evi-  
dence of  
Chris-  
tianity.]

§ 21. And therefore I grant all, and do acknowledge that division in the Church necessarily destroyeth that provision which God hath made for the unlearned as well as the learned—equally concerned in the common salvation of Christians—to discern by their common sense where to resort for that which is necessary to the salvation of all; and how to improve and husband the same, as their proficiency in Christianity calls for more at their hands than the salvation of all requires. Whereby it comes to pass, that they are put to make their choice in matters whereof it is not possible for ordinary capacities to comprehend the grounds; and so must choose out of fancy, education, prejudice, faction, or, which is the vilest of all, interest of this world, which is, in one word, profit.

[Ancient  
canons  
have not  
now the  
force of  
law.]

§ 22. But this being a choice that must be made, and, though difficult, yet possible to be well made, he that, without supposing infallibility on the one side, or reformation on the other side, would discern between true and false, supposing the original unity of the Catholic Church, must be a madman if he advise not with the records of the Catholic Church, though out of date, as to force of law, on both sides, to tell him wherein reformation infallibly consisteth. For by that means, though he shall not be able to restore that unity which is once violated—the duty of all but obliging to an effect that cannot take place without the consent of parties—yet he shall be able so to behave himself; and that Church which goes by this rule, be it greater or be it less, shall be so constituted as not to make, but to suffer, the division which it is charged with. But he who preaches<sup>a</sup> original liberty to all Christians to cast themselves into presbyteries or into congregations at their choice, bids them sail the main sea without ballast; and beside departing from the unity of the Church by becoming members of arbitrary societies, not parts of the whole by the visible act of visible power in it, expose themselves to the shelves and quicksands of positions destructive to the faith of the Church.

[Independ-  
ency of  
Churches  
a new doc-  
trine.]

§ 23. And I am to demand of this doctor, if the presbyteries be Churches by association of congregations, and the congregations Churches without it, and those which are neither presbyteries nor congregations—that is, in effect, all the parish

<sup>a</sup> See sect. 2. note f. above.

churches of the land—be Churches no less than either of both —because they have one whom the triers<sup>r</sup> call a godly man, sent them to preach whatsoever he can make of the Bible—I say I must demand of him what it is that qualifies a man a member of a Church, or a Church a Church, and how a man, by being such a one, becomes a member of the whole Church, which hitherto hath been thought necessary to the salvation of every Christian. For who knoweth not the dispute that remains between the reformation and the Church of Rome, which shall be the true Church? Which if every man be at liberty to become a member of a congregation, with any six more that he likes—who by that means shall be a Church—is plainly about nothing. And therefore we are plainly invited to a new Christianity, part whereof hath hitherto been  
 157 to think ourselves members of the Catholic Church, by being members of some particular Church, part of the Catholic. So certain it is, that had not the Creed been first banished out of men's hearts, it had not been banished out of the Church.

§ 24. But when this doctor maintaineth further<sup>s</sup>, that all men having power in chief to choose for themselves in matter of religion, the sovereign hath power not only to choose for itself, but to impose penalties upon those which owe no man any account of their choice, if they choose not that which the sovereign chooseth; I confess I find this toucheth me, and the remnant of the Church of England, to the quick; edifying the sovereign to deny protection in the exercise of religion to them who find themselves bound never to communicate in the change that is made, and is making, in religion amongst us. But I find withal so much inconsequence and contradiction to his own sense, and the sense of all Christians, in it, that I hope no secular power will be so prodigal of a good conscience as to make itself the executioner of a doctrine tending to so unchristian injustice.

§ 25. For if, as he saith<sup>t</sup>, no man is answerable for the religion he chooseth to any but God, how shall he be liable

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XX.

Secular power cannot punish for religion, but supposing the act of the Church, nor do any act to enforce religion unless the Church determine the matter of it.

[Wherein consists persecution.]

<sup>r</sup> Dein accedere debet examen accuratum quod peragant deputati a synodis vel Ecclesiis, qui indagine exacta rimentur vitam anteaquam, mores, eruditionem, peritiam linguarum, elocutionem et per omnia idoneum et dignum compertum qui fiat pastor evan-

gelicus, testimonio suo approbent, et commendent Ecclesiis particularibus.—Molin. Parænes., cap. x. p. 185. Londini, 1656. See Review of Rel. Assembl., chap. viii. sect. 16. note f.

<sup>s</sup> See notes c and d, sect. 2. above.

<sup>t</sup> See note m, sect. 17. above.

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I.

to be punished by man for that wherein he offendeth him not? Or how can any man offend him to whom he is not accountable? Nor will it serve the turn to say<sup>u</sup>, that by denying protection in the exercise of religion, the secular power punisheth no man for the judgment of his conscience. For all Christians, of what profession soever, do generally believe that they are bound to exercise the religion which they are bound to profess; that baptism, wherein—by the positive will of God under the Gospel—the profession of Christianity consisteth, truly obliging true Christians to assemble themselves for the service of God with His Church, according to the rules of it.

[What is  
persecution.]

§ 26. It cannot therefore be said that it is no penalty, no persecution for religion, to deny protection in the exercise of religion to them who are not punished for the judgment of their conscience. For whosoever can be supposed to be a good Christian, not only had rather, but surely had better lose his life—much more any comfort of it—than lose the exercise of his Christianity in the service of God, whereupon his salvation so nearly dependeth. Nor will it serve the turn to say, as this doctor saith<sup>x</sup>, that in persecuting the Christian faith—much more in denying protection to the exercise of any profession which it enforceth—the heathen emperors exceeded not their power, but only abused it; having granted afore, that a man is free to choose for himself, that is, not accountable for his religion to his sovereign. For if it once

<sup>u</sup> King James I. argued in this way in his *Præfatio Monitoria*:—Ac primum ut de suppliciorum causis dicam, id constanter assevero, quod et in Apologia mea posui, hic neminem, sive meis, sive defunctæ reginæ, temporibus, conscientiæ ac religionis causa ultimo supplicio affectum. Nam quantumvis religioni suæ deditus sit, quantumvis eam aperte et constanter profiteatur, nullum ei a legibus impendet capitis periculum; nisi comperto contra leges externo aliquo actu deliquisse: aut conjunctionem consiliumve summæ rei perniciosum iniisse: exceptis tantummodo sacrificulis cæterisque Pontificiarum partium, qui in transmarinis regionibus sacris ordinibus initiantur:—Pp. 134, 135. Londini, 1609. To this the Cardinal Bellarmine replies:—Ad hæc facilis est responsio, nam tametsi verum

esset, neminem in Anglia religionis causa extremo supplicio affici nisi contra leges externo aliquo actu deliquerit: tamen quia leges prohibent recipere sacerdotes Catholicos in domum, prohibent reconciliari cum Ecclesia Catholica, prohibent interesse Sacrificio Missæ, jubent præstari juramentum de primatu regis in spiritualibus, vel certe jubent suscipi juramentum de non curanda excommunicatione Summi Pontificis, et alia id genus multa, quæ ad religionem pertinent: ideoque qui ultimo supplicio afficiuntur propter transgressionem ejusmodi legum, merito dici possunt ultimo supplicio affici propter religionem.—Apologia pro Responsione, cap. xiii. pp. 187, 188. Col. 1610.

<sup>x</sup> See note i, sect. 3. above.

be said that God granteth all men all freedom in the choice of their religion, it cannot be said that God granteth the secular power any right to punish him for that choice, for which He maketh him unaccountable. CHAP.  
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§ 27. The ground of my reason lies in that which hath been said<sup>y</sup> against the infallibility of the Church. For if the sentence of the Church be not of force to oblige any man to believe the truth of it, much less can the sentence of any Christian, though never so sovereign, oblige the meanest of his subjects to believe that religion to be true which he commandeth, because he commandeth it. And whatsoever penalty he inflicteth upon those that concur not to the exercise of that religion which he holdeth forth—as when he denieth them protection in the exercise of their own, which, as I have shewed, is no mean one—implieth a command of exercising his, and is inflicted in consideration of obeying God's command, which the subject is enabled by God to judge that he hath, against all the world to the contrary. [The secular power cannot make men believe its sentence true in matters of faith.]

§ 28. So that upon these terms the secular power, which is enabled to judge for itself upon the same account with the meanest subject thereof, cannot have power to punish any subject for exercising any religion which it alloweth not. For all power, as I said afore<sup>z</sup>, is a moral quality, consisting in a right of obliging another man's will by the act of his will that hath it. Therefore if a subject cannot be obliged by the will of his sovereign to profess and to exercise that religion which his sovereign prescribeth, then cannot the sovereign have power to impose any penalty upon his subject, for professing, or exercising, that Christianity which he believeth; all Christianity obliging a man, to the utmost of his ability, to profess and to exercise that religion which he believeth to be true. [nor rightly punish them for disobedience.]

§ 29. And the reason is manifest. For Christianity is from God, and the secular power is from God, though by several means. Christianity by the coming of Christ, and the preaching of His Apostles. Secular power by what means I will not here dispute, nor yet suppose any thing that is questionable. That which serves my turn is evident to the common reason of all men; that, by another act of God than that upon [All power from God.]

<sup>y</sup> Chap. iv. sect. 8.

<sup>z</sup> Chap. xi. sect. 31.

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which Christianity standeth; that Christianity dependeth not upon it; that<sup>a</sup>, as I argued<sup>b</sup> against the Leviathan, by a law which no secular power can abate. If therefore God oblige a Christian by his Christianity to serve God otherwise than his sovereign commandeth, he is bound by the same bond to disobey his sovereign to obey God; which obliged the primitive Christians to suffer death rather than renounce the faith. But I intend not to say that absolutely which I say upon supposition of this doctor's sense. Nor do I intend here to dispute that which I have resolved in another place<sup>c</sup>, what kind of penalties secular power is able to enact that Christianity with, which itself professeth.

§ 30. The question is now, how the secular power is able, or becomes able to impose penalties in matters of religion<sup>d</sup>—which as a Christian it is not able to oblige the subject to acknowledge—not how far these penalties may extend. A question which cannot be answered, not supposing the Church. A question which is no question supposing it. For supposing that God, sending Christianity, founds for part of it the visible society and corporation of a Church, assuring the common sense of all people thereby, what is the condition upon which salvation is to be had by communicating with it; what will remain but to conform to the communion of this Church, labouring to work out every man his own salvation, by the means which the communion thereof furnisheth? Which whoso doth not, but pretends to disturb it, will remain punishable by the secular power—for I have said already<sup>e</sup>, that the Church is not enabled to inflict temporal penalties—not absolutely, because it is Christian, but upon supposition that it maintaineth the true Church; the acts whereof, as excommunication, by the original constitution thereof enforceth; so, did not the secular power enforce that excommunication, it must of necessity become ineffectual when the world is come into the Church, and Christianity professed by the state.

<sup>a</sup> "That Christianity, and the corporation of the Church, stands by an act."—MSS.

<sup>b</sup> Chap. xix. sect. 21.

<sup>c</sup> Right of the Church, chap. v. sect. 6.

<sup>d</sup> "Seeing the act of the secular power is not able to oblige a subject as a Christian to acknowledge it by conforming to the religion it enjoineeth."—MSS.

<sup>e</sup> Chap. xi. sect. 22—25.

§ 31. And this is the resolution that I have given in another place<sup>f</sup>, that the acts of the Church, for the matter of them, are limited by the Church—that is to say, by persons qualified by the Church, and in behalf of it—but the force that executes them must come from the state. For supposing the Church to be founded by God, and the power of it resolved into that act wherein this foundation consisteth; whatsoever the Church is by this power enabled to do, will belong to the Church by God's law to do, though the matter of that which it doth be not limited by God's law, but by the act of men enabled by God's law to do it. St. Cyprian<sup>g</sup> and others of the fathers, have reason when they argue that the acts of the Church are the acts of God. For no man capable of common reason can doubt that what is done by commission from superior power is the act of that power which granted the commission, so far as it owns the execution of it.

§ 32. And I have sufficiently limited the power granted the Church heretofore<sup>h</sup>, by the matter of that communion for which it subsisteth, and the supposition of the Christianity upon which it subsisteth. What is therefore done by virtue of this commission, though perhaps ill done, for the inward intent with which men do it, yet being within the bounds of the power established by God, is to be accepted as His own act, without contesting whose act of founding the Church, it cannot be infringed. Which if it be true, so far is the secular power from being able to create or constitute a Church<sup>i</sup>—by

<sup>f</sup> Right of the Church, chap. iv. sectt. 62, 63.

<sup>g</sup> Statueramus quidem jam pridem, frater carissime, participato invicem nobiscum consilio ut qui . . . .

Ne igitur ore nostro, quo pacem negamus, quo duritiam magis humanæ crudelitatis quam divinæ et paternæ pietatis opponimus, oves nobis commissæ a Domino repositantur, placuit nobis, Sancto Spiritu suggerente, et Domino per visiones multas et manifestas admonente, quia hostis imminere prænuntiatur et ostenditur, colligere intra castra militis Christi, examinatis singulorum causis, pacem lapsis dare, imo pugnaturus arma suggerere.—Ep. liv. pp. 77, 79. ed. Ben.

Sic omnes Apostolicæ sedis sanctiones accipiendæ sunt, tanquam ipsius divini Petri voce fumatæ sunt.—

19. dist.

Unde statuta Papæ et ejus sanctiones debent reputari ac si ab ore Dei vel beati Petri essent prolata: ut in capitulo, *Sic omnes*.—Jacob. de Concil. lib. x. p. 524. ad Calc. Labbei, Coll. Conc. ed. Venet.

So also Theodorus patriarch of Jerusalem, in his synodal letter to the second council of Nicea: Non autem refutamus, sed oppido confirmamus et admittimus etiam locales sanctas synodos, et correctiones canonicas quæ divina sunt ab eis inspiratione de promptæ atque legislationes earum animas illustrantes.—Labbei, tom. viii. col. 831. ed. Venet.

<sup>h</sup> Chap. xi. sectt. 11—13.

<sup>i</sup> Hobbes held that the civil power could do this:—"And first, we are to remember that the right of judging

creating that difference of qualities, in which the difference between several members thereof consisteth—that it is not able of itself to do any of those acts, which the Church, that is, those who are qualified by and for the Church, are thereby qualified to do, without committing the sin of sacrilege—in seizing the powers which by God's act are constituted, and <sup>159</sup>

what doctrines are fit for peace, and to be taught the subjects, is in all commonwealths inseparably annexed—as hath been already proved chap. xviii.—to the sovereign power civil, whether it be in one man or in one assembly of men. . . . And therefore in all commonwealths of the heathen, the sovereigns have had the names of pastors of the people, because there was no subject that could lawfully teach the people, but by their permission and authority.

“This right of the heathen kings cannot be thought taken from them by their conversion to the faith of Christ, who never ordained that kings for their believing in Him should be deposed, that is, subjected to any but Himself, or—which is all one—be deprived of the power necessary for the conservation of peace amongst their subjects, and for their defence against foreign enemies. And therefore Christian kings are still the supreme pastors of their people, and have power to ordain what pastors they please to teach the Church, that is, to teach the people committed to their charge. . . .

“Seeing then in every Christian commonwealth the civil sovereign is the supreme pastor, to whose charge the whole flock of his subjects is committed, and consequently that it is by his authority that all other pastors are made, and have power to teach, and perform all other pastoral offices, it followeth also that it is from the civil sovereign that all other pastors derive their right of teaching, preaching, and other functions pertaining to that office, and that they are but his ministers.”—*Leviathan*, part iii. chap. 42. pp. 295, 296. London, 1651.

Protestantes, quibus solenne est, religionem convenientiæ status subordinare, hac in re diversissimas abeunt sententias. Hi nullo facto discrimine palam asseverant, jus circa sacra et religionem pertinere ad regalia superiora, unde frequens illud et decantatum permanavit: *cujus est regio, illius est religio*: Isti sua a sententia non

dimoventur asserentes, potestatem circa sacra et regimen ecclesiasticum esse penes principem politicum Christianum, utpote membrum principale ecclesiæ, tanquam custodem utriusque tabulæ, quam sententiam et in verbo Dei, et in cana antiquitate, et in prisca Christianorum Imperatorum consuetudine maxime fundatam defendunt: discernunt alii jura inter majestatica et collegialia. . . . Quantumcunque vero inter se discrepant Protestantes, in hoc tamen conveniunt plerique, quod principiis juris naturæ nimium innixi pleraque sacerdotii et sacrorum jura libero potestatis sæcularis arbitrio subesse, eique propria, insita ac congenita esse, concordari fere sententia diverso tamen modo tueantur.—Georgii de Eckart, de jure Princ. Cath. § viii. apud Schmidt Thes. Jur. Canon., tom. iv. pp. 46, 47. Heidelberg, 1774.

“One of the very first things that was done in young King Edward the Sixth's reign, in relation to the Church, was that the Bishops who had the care of Ecclesiastical matters and the souls of men, should be made to depend entirely upon the king and his council, and to be subject to suspension from their office, and to have their whole episcopal power taken from them at his pleasure, which might serve as a bridle in case they should oppose the proceedings of a reformation. In this I suppose the Archbishop had his hand: for it was his judgment that the exercise of all episcopal jurisdiction depended upon the prince, and that as he gave it, so he might restrain it at his pleasure. And therefore he began this matter with himself petitioning ‘that as he had exercised the authority of an Archbishop during the reign of the former king: so that authority ending with his life, it would please the present King Edward to commit unto him that power again.’ For it seemed that he would not act as Archbishop till he had a new commission from the new king for so doing.”—*Strype's Mem. of Cranmer*, bk. ii. chap. i. p. 141. London, 1694.



therefore consecrated and dedicated to His own service, into its own hands—not supposing the free act of the Church, without fraud and violence, to the doing of it.

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## CHAPTER XXI.

HOW THE TRADITION OF THE CHURCH LIMITS THE INTERPRETATION OF SCRIPTURES. HOW THE DECLARATION OF THE CHURCH BECOMES A REASONABLE MARK OF HERESY. THAT WHICH IS NOT FOUND IN THE SCRIPTURES MAY HAVE BEEN DELIVERED BY THE APOSTLES. SOME THINGS DELIVERED BY THE APOSTLES, AND RECORDED IN THE SCRIPTURES, MAY NOT OBLIGE. ST. AUGUSTINE'S RULE OF APOSTOLICAL TRADITIONS.

AND by this means I make account I have gained another principle towards the interpretation of Scripture, and resolution of things questioned in Christianity, either concerning the rule of faith, or such laws and customs determining the circumstances of ecclesiastical communion, as I shewed afore<sup>k</sup>, are understood by the name of Apostolical traditions. Which principle, that no man mistake me, pretends not any general rule for the interpretation of Scripture, even in those things which concern the rule of faith; but infers a prescription against any thing that can be alleged out of Scripture, that if it may appear to be contrary to that which the whole Church hath received and held from the beginning, it cannot be the true meaning of that Scripture which is alleged to prove it. For the meaning, even of those Scriptures which concern the rule of faith, must be had by the same means by which I shall come by and by<sup>l</sup> to shew that the meaning of all Scriptures, whatsoever they concern, is to be had and established. But the being and constitution of the society of the Catholic Church from the beginning is of force to prescribe this limitation to the fancies of all men that take upon them to interpret the Scriptures; that they neither admit nor impose upon any man any thing for the true sense of Scripture, whereby the substance of Christianity, which the rule of faith importeth, may become questionable. So that an evidence of such opposition ought to outshine and suppress any appearance or supposed evidence of truth, in any such sense.

How the tradition of the Church limits the interpretation of Scripture.

<sup>k</sup> Chap. vii. sect. 7.

<sup>l</sup> Chap. xxiv.

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§ 2. The rule of faith—not to go about to determine in this place what it contains, because it is the master-piece of all the divines of Christendom, to say what is fundamental in Christianity and what is not, but to give a gross description of what men mean when they enquire for it—consists partly in things to be believed, partly in things to be done: he that holds so much of Christian truth as may reasonably certify him of all that is requisite to qualify a Christian man for remission of sins and life everlasting, which are the promises of the Gospel, may well be said to hold the whole rule of faith in things to be believed. He that holds so much of Christian truth as may reasonably certify him of all that is requisite to preserve all Christians with consciences void of sin, may be said to hold it in things to be done.

§ 3. For the common rule of faith importeth not what is necessary for any Christian, but for all Christians. And that any thing contrary to the salvation of all Christians should be held and professed by all Christians, is a gross contradiction to common sense. Whereupon it is no less evidently true that the Catholic Church of all ages and places is utterly infallible; inasmuch as it is a gross contradiction to suppose a number of men to attain salvation who all do hold something destructive to the salvation of any one. So much difference there is between the whole Church, which is the Catholic Church of all times and places, and the present Catholic Church, respectively to those ages in which the communion of the whole was not interrupted by any breach, but effectuated by actual correspondence. For the act of the Catholic Church, in this sense, which I call the present Church, if it be lawful, obligeth all that are of it; but itself stands obliged to the faith of the whole Church, as that which the being and privilege of a Church presupposeth to be professed by it.

§ 4. And of this I cannot conceive how any question should remain. The difficulty that remains is, how it may appear that all this is not a fine nothing, how it may reasonably seem to signify something towards the limitation which I prescribe, to the interpretation of those Scriptures which may be alleged, in matter concerning the rule of faith. And the answer is, that seeing it hath appeared<sup>m</sup> that the

<sup>m</sup> Chap. vi. sect. 10.

Apostles of our Lord Christ established from the beginning one Catholic Church consisting of all Churches, by the will of God and His appointment—and that in consideration of that which was made to appear afore<sup>n</sup>, that all things necessary to the salvation of all Christians, though evidently extant and discernible in the Scriptures, are not nevertheless evidently discernible by all them whose salvation they concern—that therefore the unity and communion of the Catholic Church was provided by God, as the depository of His truth, the acknowledgment whereof should be necessary to obtain life everlasting.

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§ 5. So that, the effect of this trust, deposited by God in the Church, to be at least thus much; that whatsoever was advanced in any part thereof, as belonging to the rule of faith, being condemned where first it was advanced, and, in consequence of that condemnation, by all other parts of the Church, to that effect, as to render those that held it incapable of the communion of all the whole Church; that this, I say, might be accounted a reasonable mark to discern such doctrine to be destructive to the rule of faith. And thus were all heresies marked for such by the Church, and upon this ground those marks were receivable, not only before Constantine, but so long as it may be visible that nothing hindered this correspondence, wherein the actual unity of the Church consisted, to operate and have effect.

How the declaration of the Church becomes a reasonable mark of heresy.

§ 6. For if this be the reason and ground which made these marks reasonable, as grounded upon it, then he that supposes this reason either actually interrupted or impeached, cannot presume upon the like effect. And therefore the justifying of these marks requires the evidencing of this correspondence of the Church, and no more. And truly I could not but admire, to find it alleged by Crellius<sup>o</sup> the Socinian—in his answer to Grotius concerning the satisfaction of Christ,

<sup>n</sup> Chap. v. sect. 1.

<sup>o</sup> Sed de perpetua illa Christianorum sententia, eorum nempe qui post Apostolorum tempora extiterunt—nam de ipsis Apostolis et iis qui veritatem hac in parte, ab iis acceptam retinuerunt, id prorsus negamus—dubitandi eausam ipse nobis præbet Grotius, dum Pelagium et Cœlestium, quorum sententiæ non pauci alii sunt adstipulati, contra-

rium sensisse scribit. Quod si eos Grotius Christianorum nomine non dignatur, necesse est ut ostendat, eos fidem in Christum vivam ejusque fundamentum suis sententiis evertisse, et ejusmodi dogma propugnasse, quod cum ea nullo modo posset consistere, quæ de re nobis nondum constat.—Respons. ad cap. i. Crell. Opp. tom. iii. p. 39. Irenopol. 1656.

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where he argues<sup>p</sup> that no ecclesiastical writer ever professed that opinion—I say I admired to find him answer that Pelagius the heretic maintained the same. For sure it is not much more pertinent than if he should allege that the Jews profess our Lord Jesus not to be the Messiah, or that the Gentiles do not worship one true God; inasmuch as, though they be further from the faith of true Christians than Pelagius, yet an heretic is no less excluded from the communion of the Church, than a Jew or a Gentile: and the whole reason, for which the testimony of ecclesiastical writers is receivable, to evidence matters concerning the rule of faith—to which they can give no credit, but are, by acknowledging the same, receivable for Christians—is the communion of the Church, which makes it evident that what such men profess in the Church is not against the faith of the Church.

[How the consent of fathers becomes a test of the true doctrine.]

§ 7. And this, in the second place, may be a reasonable presumption or evidence of that which belongeth to the rule of faith, when a thing is so ordinarily and vulgarly taught by Church writers, that there can be no reasonable presumption made, by the doctrine of any of them, that the contrary was ever allowed by the Church. So then, I do not tie myself to this, that if any thing be found in the writings of any of those whom we call commonly fathers, it is therefore not contrary to Christianity, or to the rule of faith, that is, either expressly or by consequence; for who will or can think it reasonable that the Church should be thought to avow all that hath been written by any of the Church, and is come to the hands of posterity by whatsoever means? Or who will think it strange that a Christian should not understand the rule of his Christianity, though the right understanding thereof should have been the condition requisite to the making of him a Christian? If the profession made by the writing from which posterity hath it, were evidently so notorious to the Church, and the maintenance thereof so obstinate, that the Church could not avoid taking notice of it and contradicting

<sup>p</sup> Facillimum esset demonstratu, si id ageretur, et Judæorum veterum et Christianorum perpetuam hanc fuisse sententiam, mortem qualemcunque hominis, peccati esse pœnam: ut non immerito Christiani imperatores hoc in

Pelagio et Cœlestio dogma præter cætera improbaverint, quod dicerent, mortem non ex insidiis fluxisse peccati, sed exegisse eam penitus legem immutabilis constituti.—Grotii, de Satisf. Christi, cap. i. p. 303. Londini, 1679.

it, without quitting the trust of the rule of faith deposited with it [and the Church did not contradict it<sup>a</sup> ;] then, and not otherwise, I do admit that the contrary of that which is regularly and ordinarily taught by Church writers is inconsistent with the rule of faith. [If notice were taken and proceeding had upon it, there is evidence that the Church judgeth it inconsistent with the faith, not that it judgeth that consistent with the same which it chargeth not to be such, and proceeds not against.]

161 § 8. Beside this, another presumption or prescription, limiting the interpretation of Scriptures in such things as concern the traditions of the Apostles, we may be confident to have gained from the society of the Church, demonstrated by the premises ; to wit, that if any thing be questionable whether it come by tradition from the Apostles or not, there can no conclusion be made in the negative, because it is not expressed in the Scriptures. Here I desire all them that will not mistake me to take notice that I intend not here to conclude or infer what force those traditions, which I pretend may come from the Apostles, though it be not certified by the Scriptures, may have to oblige the Church, which question I found it requisite to set aside once afore<sup>r</sup>. But that which here I affirm<sup>s</sup> only concerns the question of fact, that it is not impossible to make evidence that some orders, or rites and customs of the Church had their beginning of being brought in for laws to the Church by the Apostles, though not written in the Scriptures.

§ 9. Confessing nevertheless, that the proving hereof—which no reason can hinder me to proceed with here—will be a step to the resolving of that force which the traditions of

<sup>a</sup> The passage in brackets is from MSS., so also the last sentence of this section.

<sup>r</sup> Chap. vii. sect. 40.

<sup>s</sup> Nam omnia retro tempora comprehendunt etiam Apostolos. Sed asserimus nihil esse hujusmodi præter ea quæ sunt a traditione scripta : quorum etiam ipsorum probatio non ducitur ex facto sed ex jure : hoc est non dicuntur ea instituta ab Apostolis, quia sint ab omnibus semper Ecclesiis observata : sed quia ex tabulis certis ita constet. Quod si ex facto, et ut disertius loquar, ex

verborum hujus regulæ præscripto volumus aliquid probari, asserimus esse ἀδύνατον. Nam, quum aliquid dicimus omnibus retro temporibus observatum esse ab universa ecclesia, tum necesse est intelligi singulis ætatibus universalem : hoc est, reipsa demonstrari non succedentibus temporibus repetita serie ab ipso initio esse apud quosdam aliquid observatum, sed apud omnes Catholicos. Atque hoc est quod in rebus non scripta asserimus fieri non posse.—Chamier. Panstrat. Catholic., lib. viii. cap. xiv. § 13. tom. i. p. 264. Genève, 1626.

BOOK I. the Apostles—whether written or not written in the Scriptures—have and ought to have, in obliging the Church at present, when it shall appear to be common to written and unwritten traditions, to have their authority from the Apostles. And the evidence of this prescription depends upon a more general one, limiting the interpretation of Scripture, in matter of this nature—that is, concerning the laws of the Church, how far they were intended by the Apostles to tie the Church—not to exceed the practice of the Church succeeding the times of the Apostles. The demonstration whereof consists in certain instances, of things recorded by the Scriptures of the New Testament, either evidencing only matter of fact, that is, what was then done—and therefore importing no precept what was to be done for the future—or importing such precepts as no man will contend to be now in force.

§ 10. It is manifest that the Scriptures report how the disciples, under the Apostles, were wont to assemble themselves to serve God by the offices of Christianity upon the first day of the week called vulgarly Sunday, after the resurrection of Christ, John xx. 19, 26; Acts xx. 7; 1 Cor. xvi. 2; Apoc. i. 10; speaking of the banishment of St. John, conforming himself to the times of the Church for the service of God, and thereupon ravished in spirit: which no man questions. It is said indeed in this case<sup>t</sup>, as it is said by others in the question of tithes, that the first day of the week is commanded to be kept holy of Christians by the fourth commandment. But I demand of any man that can tell seven whether the first day of the week and the seventh day of the week be the same day of the week or not; and if this be unquestionable, I demand further, whether the Jews were tied by the fourth commandment to keep the last day of the week or not: assuring myself, that whosoever believes the Scriptures,

<sup>t</sup> “And that this sabbath day, which hath that commendation of antiquity, and consent which we have heard, ought to stand still in his proper force; and that it appertaineth to us Christians now, most evidently appeareth by that authority and credit, which it receiveth from the Gospel, and New Testament also; in which it is so highly commended unto us—that I might not in this place speak of the manifold other

testimonies that it hath in the Old—and by name we may see, how our Saviour Christ and all His Apostles established it by their practice; for they upon the sabbath ordinarily enter into the synagogues of the Jews, and preach unto the people, doing such things upon those days as appertain to the sanctifying of them, according to the commandment.”—Dr. Bound's *Sabbathum Vet. et Nov. Test.*, p. 23. London, 1606.

and reads the commandment, that obliges them to rest all that day, in which God rested from making heaven and earth, can no more doubt that they were bound to rest on Saturday, than that God rested from making heaven and earth upon that day.

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§ 11. I demand then, whether the same precept that obliged them to keep Saturday, can oblige Christians to keep Sunday? And do conclude that it can no more be said, than that the same word signifies both the seventh and the first day. So wide an error so small a mistake can cause, when faction hath once swallowed it. A man would think it a very easy mistake to understand the seventh day of the week, which God commands to be hallowed, as if it signified one of the seven and no more. Which if it were true, then were the Jews never tied to rest on the Saturday by God's law, but might have chosen which day of seven they would have rested on, notwithstanding that God rested on the Saturday, which is to make the reason of the precept impertinent to the matter of it.

§ 12. I intend not to deny<sup>u</sup> that the reason and ground upon which the Christian Church came to be enjoined to keep the first day of the week, is drawn, and to be drawn from the fourth commandment. But I say further<sup>x</sup>, that the reason and

<sup>u</sup> Ad tertium dicendum, quod observatio Dominicæ non obligat ex præcepto decalogi, nisi quantum ad hoc, quod est de dictamine legis naturæ: taxatio enim illius diei est ex institutione Ecclesiæ volentis resurrectionem Christi cui nostram vitam conformare debemus in jugi memoria esse. Quamvis autem resurrectio Christi ei secundum humanitatem conveniat, tamen opus divinitatis est, quæ eum a mortuis suscitavit: unde non in minori reverentia est habenda, quam requies artificis, et consummatio conditoris factæ in die Sabbati, imo amplius secundum quod opus conditoris reparationis perficitur.

Ad quartum dicendum, quod in die Dominico tenemur vacare ex constitutione Ecclesiæ ab operibus, quæ nos impedire possent a cultu divino qui indicitur in tali die exercendus, nisi ex causa per eum qui habet auctoritatem, in aliquo dispensetur. Neque oportet quod ab omnibus in die Dominica cessemus, a quibus in die sabbati cessabant: quia antiquorum cessatio ad omnibus operi-

bus servilibus in significationem erat, non autem nostra cessatio.—S. Thom. in iii. Sent. d. xxxvii. q. i. art. 5. tom. vii. fol. 145. Romæ, 1570.

<sup>x</sup> Additur deinde in definitione legis per me data, quod lex sit voce aut scripto promulgata. Quæ promulgatio ad hoc necessaria est in lege, ut per illam legislatoris voluntas innotescere possit his, quibus lex datur. Non est enim æquum, aut rationi consentaneum ut quis possit obligari ad faciendum id, quod nullo modo implere potest. Constat autem neminem posse velle, id quod prorsus ignorat. At necesse est legislatoris voluntatem, quæ nec voce nec scripto manifesta est, esse prorsus ignotam. Et inde apertissime sequitur, ut legislatoris ignotæ voluntati, nemo possit obedire. Ex quo ulterius deducitur, ut legislator neminem sua voluntate obligare possit ad aliquid faciendum, nisi prius suam voluntatem illi notam fecerit. Hæc autem nisi voce aut scripto manifestetur vix poterit alicui—ut oportet—esse nota. Tanta est in statuenda

ground of a positive law makes it not a law, but the act of him that hath power to give law, signifying that he intends to enact it for a law, whether he express the reason or not.

§ 13. And thus I say, as I have hitherto said<sup>v</sup>, concerning other ordinances which have the force of law to oblige the Church; that they can no more stand by virtue of such ordinances<sup>z</sup>, as I acknowledge to have been correspondent to them under the law of Moses, than Christianity by the virtue of Judaism, or the Gospel by virtue of the law; which though it bear witness to the Gospel, yet he were a madman that should say, that he who was bound to be circumcised, by virtue of that circumcision should be bound to be baptized, supposing him of the number of Christians who agree that baptism coming in force circumcision could no more continue in force. And surely those simple people<sup>a</sup> who of late times have taken upon them to keep the Saturday, though it were, in truth and effect, no less than the renouncing of their Christianity, yet, in reason, did no more than pursue the grounds which their predecessors had laid, and drawn the conclusion which necessarily follows upon their premises; that if the fourth commandment be in force, then either the Saturday is to be kept, or the Jews were never tied to keep it.

§ 14. Beside this particular, it is manifest that the Apostles observed the third and sixth, and ninth hours of the day

lege publicationis necessitas, ut Deus ipse, cui rerum est summa potestas, non possit lege positiva ab eo data, citra ejusdem legis publicationem aliquem ad illius observationem obligare.—Alfons. a Castro. de potest. Leg. Pæn. cap. i. p. 244. Matrili, 1773. vide Suarez. de Legibus, lib. i. capp. iv. v.

<sup>v</sup> Chap. xvi. sectt. 17—21.

<sup>z</sup> Ex hoc vero jurisperiti merito colligunt, a præceptis veteris legis sive cæremonialibus sive judicialibus argumentum non recte peti, ut doceatur, juris esse divini, si quid in Ecclesia Christiana similiter servetur, ac olim servabatur inter Judæos. Nam etsi id forte imitatione reipublicæ Judaicæ Ecclesia instituisset, hoc ipsa fecisset sua voluntate, non vi præcepti divini, quod a Deo ut Judæorum moderatore peculiari, Judæis solis impositum, ad Ecclesiam Christianam minime transisset. Sic ut decimas Christiani

pastoribus pendant, immerito jure divino præscriptum diceretur, quia sacerdotibus ac Levitis veteris legis eo jure deberentur. Aliunde enim hoc jus pastorum Ecclesiæ Christianæ derivatur, quam a jure divino: ubi qui docti nunc sunt omnes, sententiam sequuntur Sancti Thomæ in secunda secundæ partis q. 87. a. i. Idem esto judicium de asylo templorum, de immunitate clericorum in civilibus et sæcularibus, et de aliis generis ejusdem, quæ in hominum disputatione versantur.—Liruti, Jurisprud. Eccles. lib. i. diss. ii. § 6. tom. i. pp. 10, 11. Patav. 1793.

<sup>a</sup> Alicubi Judaicum Sabbatum in usum revocarant, fenestris clausis, Colcestriæ ipsum Judaismum propagant, et proselytos faciunt.—Honor. Reggii [George Horne] de Statu Eccles. Britannic. Hodierno, p. 102. Dantisc, 1647.



for the service of God, Acts ii. 15 ; iii. 1 ; x. 3, 9, 30. And this, according to an order then in force among God's people, according to the Scriptures, Psalm lv. 17 ; Dan. vi. 10. As the very words of these texts, and common reason, with the testimonies of Tertullian, *de Jejuniis*, cap. x.<sup>b</sup>, Epiphanius<sup>c</sup> *adv. Hæres.*, St. Hierome, upon the text of Daniel<sup>d</sup>, St. Cyprian, *de Oratione Dominica*<sup>e</sup>, and divers others import<sup>f</sup>. And again, Acts xiii. 2, we see that the Christians at Antiochia assembled themselves in fasting, for celebrating the service of God, when they were to send away those that by God's appointment were to carry the Gospel to further parts. As the Church, according to this example<sup>g</sup>, hath of ancient ages had a custom

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Some things delivered by the Apostles, and recorded in the Scriptures, may not oblige.

<sup>b</sup> Cited before in Rel. Assembl., chap. viii. sect. 12.

<sup>c</sup> Ἐωθινοὶ τε ὕμνοι ἐν ἀδοτῇ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ διηγουεῖς γίνονται, καὶ προσευχαὶ ἐωθιναὶ, λυχνικοί τε ἕμα ψαλμοὶ καὶ προσευχαί.—Expos. Fid. Cathol. num. 23. p. 1106. Colon. 1682.

<sup>d</sup> Tria autem sunt tempora quibus Deo flectenda sunt genera: tertiam horam, sextam et nonam, Ecclesiastica traditio intelligit. Denique tertia hora descendit Spiritus Sanctus super Apostolos. Sexta volens Petrus comedere, ad orationem ascendit in cœnaculum. Nona Petrus et Johannes pergebant ad templum.—Comm. in cap. vi. 10. Opp. tom. iii. col. 1096. ed. Ben.

<sup>e</sup> In orationibus vero celebrandis invenimus observasse cum Daniele tres pueros in fide fortes et in captivitate victores horam tertiam, sextam, nonam, Sacramento scilicet Trinitatis, quæ in novissimis temporibus manifestari habebat. . . . . Sed nobis fratres dilectissimi præter horas antiquitus observatas orandi nunc et spatia et Sacramenta creverunt. Nam et mane orandum est, ut resurrectio Domini matutina oratione celebretur. . . . . Recedente item sole ac die cessante necessario rursus orandum est.—Pp. 214, 215. ed. Ben.

<sup>f</sup> Hanc institutionem ab Apostolis acceptam continua ad nos usque traditio pervenisse nemo plane ibit inficias; qui vel levi oculo scripturas perlustraverit. Nam primo *media nocte Paulus et Silas orantes* Deum laudasse memorentur, Act. xvi. Deinde Apostolos ipsos *orantes* hora tertia accepisse Spiritum Sanctum testatur idem Actuum liber, ii. Præterea *ascendit Petrus in superiora ut oraret circa horam*

*diei sextam*, cum ad ipsum Cæsareæ missi a Cornelio centurione Joppe appropinquaverunt, Act. x. Denique etiam Petrus et Joannes ascendebant in templum ad horam orationis nonam Act. iii. Neque vero mihi dubium esse potest, Apostolos quoque præscriptum ex lege matutinum vespertinumque laudum sacrificium Deo obtulisse: et sic sex saltem numero distinctas divinis celebrandis laudibus horas canonicas instituisse.—Martene, de Antiq. Eccles. Rit., lib. iv. cap. i. § 2. tom. ii. p. 1. Venet. 1783.

The canonical hours and their significancies are described in these verses:—*Hæc sunt septenis propter quæ psallimus horis, Matutina ligat Christum; qui crimina purgat: Prima replet sputis, dat causam Tertiae mortis: Sexta cruci nectit, latus ejus Nona bipertit: Vespera deponit, tumulto Completa reponit.*

<sup>g</sup> Institutionis autem quatuor temporum cum plures a Leone I. et aliis rationes assignentur, tum eæ præcipuæ, ut singulis anni tempestatibus animus jejuni purgetur, et juniorum diebus ordinatio convenientius peragatur. Ex Apostolica enim traditione, quam ex Actibus Apostolorum colligimus, descendit, ut, nonnisi a jejuniis ordinatio peragatur, jejuniaque ordinationis præmittantur, qua de re infra: unde quatuor tempora instituta, vel ordinationibus celebrandis assignata sunt, ut plebs Christiana jejuni purgata bonorum sacerdotum et utilium Ecclesiæ in quolibet gradu clericorum ordinationem facilius a Deo precibus obtineret. Ex Augustino autem tam Alcuinus quam Amalarius

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of fasting before ordinations. But whether or no those things are to be observed by the Church, as laws introduced and begun by these practices; this, whether true or false, whether questionable or unquestionable, is not to be concluded by the words of those Scriptures which barely relate what was done.

§ 15. Again: at the institution of the Passover it is expressly commanded that it be eaten "with their loins girt, shoes on their feet, and staves in their hands," Exod. xii. 11; which notwithstanding, it is manifest to all that believe that our Lord did eat the Passover, that He did eat it sitting at the table or leaning on His side, as then they did eat at table, Matt. xxvi. 20, Mark xiv. 18, Luke xxii. 14, in which posture neither were their loins girt, nor their shoes on their feet, nor had they staves in their hands. And yet, so sure as our Lord knew what the law required, so sure it is that His intent was to observe the same. And therefore, knowing this to be Scripture, He knew nevertheless that it obliged not, and every one that practised it knew the same, and by the Scriptures could not know it.

§ 16. See the like at the last supper of our Lord. Our Saviour, instituting the Sacrament of the Eucharist at His last supper, commanded His disciples "to do that which He had done." And the disciples of our Lord, in pursuance of this commandment, are reported by the Scriptures to have celebrated the Eucharist at supper as our Lord had instituted it, and held those assemblies at which they served God with the offices of Christianity for that purpose, the rich bearing out the poor in the charge of it. This I have shewed afore<sup>h</sup>, more at large, to be the meaning of those Scriptures wherein mention is made of these their assemblies, Acts ii. 42—46; vi. xx. 7; 1 Cor. xi. 20, 21, 22, 33, 34; Jude 12; 2 Peter ii. 13.

§ 17. By all this we find not that the Eucharist was instituted by our Lord to be celebrated at the public service of God, where this supper of our Lord is not celebrated, as Tertullian acknowledgeth, where nevertheless he affirmeth that it was delivered to the Church by the Apostles so to ob-

referunt, quamvis memoratis temporibus non celebretur ordinatio, ea tamen annuatim jejuniis esse consecranda.—

Hallier, de Sacr. Ordin., par. iii. sect. vii. cap. i. Art. ii. § 2. p. 247. Rom. 1740.  
<sup>h</sup> Chap. xvi. sect. 33.

serve it. *De Corona*, iii.<sup>1</sup>: *Eucharisticæ Sacramentum, et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis*  
 163 *cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsentium sumimus.*

“ We receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist which our Lord instituted at the time of meat, and for all, at our assemblies afore day also, but only at the hands of our presidents.” Though I have endeavoured in another place<sup>k</sup> to shew that this is to be gathered from some circumstances of the Apostles’ writings—to wit, that in point of fact it was so practised under them—yet it is manifest that the bare words of the Scripture, “ do this in remembrance of Me,” and the Scriptures that relate only what the Apostles did, do not determine whether it ought to be celebrated otherwise than at supper, as our Lord instituted it.

§ 18. Further. The Apostles, Acts xv. 29, decree that those who were then converted to Christianity of Gentiles, should abstain from things offered in sacrifice to idols. Which, being done to comply with the Jews, manifestly signifies that they were to abstain from those meats, as meats of God’s making, notwithstanding that the eating of them implied no communion with the sacrificing to idols. For it is a thing certain, by the examples of Daniel and his fellows, Dan. i. 9, of Tobit, i. 11, 12, and Judith, xii. 2, 3, 4, 19, that the Jews, from the time of their captivity, when they could not avoid conversing with the Gentiles, had taken upon them to abstain not only from things really sacrificed to idols, but from most things that came out of Gentile hands, because there was some presumption that a part of most kinds for first-fruits, had been consecrated to idols, the rest being by those first-fruits polluted, as dedicated to idols. Therefore, in those places alleged, it appears that they forbore all meats and drinks that came from the Gentiles.

§ 19. Neither can there be reason to think it a folly which the Jews tell us, that Nehemiah, being cup-bearer to the king, was dispensed with for drinking the wine of the Gentiles. For why should we think him less scrupulous of the law than those afore named? About this wine of the Gentiles, and consequently other kinds, there are many nice and

Cited before in Rel. Assembl., .<sup>k</sup> Rel. Assembl., chap. viii. sectt. chap. viii. sect. 41.

41, 42.

BOOK I. scrupulous decisions in the Jews' constitutions, the ground whereof, you may see by the premises, is more ancient than the beginning of Christianity. And this is that wherein the Apostles order the Gentile Christians to comply with the Jewish, to satisfy them that there was no intent of falling from that God who gave their law, in those that turned Christians.

§ 20. And this decree St. Paul delivers to the Churches of his foundation to be observed, Acts xvi. 4. Which notwithstanding, writing to the Corinthians, he manifestly distinguishes between the eating of things sacrificed to idols materially, as God's creatures, without enquiring whether so sacrificed or not, and formally, when notice must needs be taken that they are such, 1 Cor. viii. 7, instancing in two cases; first, when this is done, not only in the company of idolaters, but in a house of idols, 1 Cor. viii. 10; secondly, when a man being invited by idolaters, knows that they entertain him with the remains of things sacrificed to idols, part of which, as the first-fruits whereby the rest was consecrated, were first consumed upon the Altar, whereby they that made the feasts professed to communicate with their altars, that is, with their idols, which were devils, 1 Cor. x. 19—30.

§ 21. In these two cases then the Apostle, forbidding them to eat things sacrificed to idols—lest they might give occasion to those that understood not what they did to communicate in idolatries—manifestly allows them, when that consideration takes no place, to eat that which the Apostles had forbidden to eat, intending to forbid the meats of the Gentiles, for compliance with the Jews, in the distance they kept from idolaters. And truly the same is manifestly to be gathered from that which he orders among the Romans, xiv. 2, 3, 20, 21, neither to condemn one another for not observing that difference of meats, which, by the law, then obliged; nor yet to use such meats, in case it might scandalize those that were of the law, to think that Christianity stands not with it. Whereby it is evident that he allows them that which the Apostles had forbidden, because it is evident that this is one of those differences which Jews, by the law, were bound to make. If, therefore, there be this difference in the Scriptures, it is manifest that the letter of them doth not determine what obliges.

§ 22. So again, the same Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 1—16, dis-  
 164 puteth at large, that men ought not, but women ought, to  
 cover their heads at praying or prophesying in the Church.  
 For the intent whereof, though it hath been the subject of  
 whole books<sup>1</sup> in this age, I conceive I need go no further than  
 Tertullian's book *De Virginibus Velandis*<sup>m</sup>, who, living so  
 much nearer the Apostles, knew better the customs of their  
 Churches than all the critics of this time. He disputes the  
 case in question then, whether virgins had a privilege not to  
 veil their faces at divine service, by arguing that they cannot  
 be excepted from St. Paul's words, and alleging the example  
 of the Church of Corinth, where, at that very time, the  
 virgins veiled their faces at divine service as other women  
 did. Which whether it tie the Church or not at this time, it  
 will scarce be granted by those who now practise it not.

§ 23. And in another place, 1 Tim. v. 3—6, he sheweth  
 there was then an order of widows, whose maintenance he  
 ordereth to come from the stock of the Church, as likewise  
 how they are to be qualified and how employed; of which  
 order there is no where any step remaining in the Church at  
 present, though nothing be more imperative than the order  
 concerning it. So the precept of the Apostle serves not to  
 oblige the Church at present, though by Scripture. And if I  
 may use the argument *ad hominem*, upon the supposition of  
 those that I dispute with, who intend not to take any thing  
 for true which I prove not, as debating the principles of  
 Christian truth; it is manifest that the Apostle, James v. 14,  
 appointeth that the sick be anointed with oil, together with  
 prayers, as well for the recovery of their health as for the for-  
 giveness of their sins. Which, it is manifest that it cannot  
 appear not to oblige the Church at this time by virtue of  
 that Scripture which enjoineth it. And therefore, to say  
 nothing at present, whether it do indeed oblige the now

<sup>1</sup> As for instance Cl. Salmasii Ep. ad Andream Colvium de Cæsarie Viro-  
 rum et Mulierum Coma. Lugd. Bat. 1644.

<sup>m</sup> 'Si quis,' inquit, 'contentiosus est, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus, neque Ecclesia Dei.' Ostendit contentionem aliquam de ista specie fuisse ad quam extinguendam toto compendio

usus est: neque virginem nominans, ut ostenderet dubitandum de velanda non esse, et omnem nominans mulierem, cum nominasset virginem. Sic et ipsi Corinthii intellexerunt. Hodie denique virgines suas Corinthii velant. Quid docuerint Apostoli qui didicerunt, approbant.—Cap. viii. p. 312. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

BOOK Church or not, those that believe it doth not oblige, cannot  
 I. be able to give a reason why it obligeth not, by the Scripture alone.

§ 24. And this is the argument whereby I prove that the interpretation of Scripture, as concerning matter of law to the Church—or the means to be used in determining what obligeth, what not—cannot transgress the tradition and practice of the Church. Because, that which is propounded in the Scriptures as mere matter of fact may oblige, and that which is propounded as matter of precept creating right, may not oblige, the Scripture not determining whether it intend that obligation to be universal or not. For having shewed afore<sup>n</sup>, that the Church is a society instituted by God, to which these rules are given, as laws, to govern it, in the exercise of those offices wherein the communion thereof consisteth; all reasonable men must grant, that as the intent and meaning of all laws is to be gathered from the primitive and original practice of that society for which they were made, so is the reason of all orders delivered to the Church by the Apostles, and by consequence their intent, how far they were to oblige, to be measured by the first and most ancient practice of the Church which first had them to use.

§ 25. Whereunto let us add these considerations; that the orders delivered the Church by the Apostles were of necessity in force before mention can be made of them in their writings; that the writing of them is neither the reason why they oblige, nor a thing thereunto requisite, but merely supervenient to the force of them; and that there is sufficient evidence that those motives<sup>o</sup> to believe which the Scripture recordeth but cannot evidence, are nevertheless true; and, that the truth of those motives cannot be evident, but by the society of the Church which the said laws do maintain. For upon these considerations, it will appear necessarily consequent, that as there be Apostolical traditions which the Scripture evidently witnesseth, so evidence may be made of them without Scripture.

§ 26. The rule of St. Augustine<sup>p</sup> how to discern what tra-

<sup>n</sup> Chap. vi. sect. 4, 5.

<sup>o</sup> "Reasons of credibility."—MSS.

<sup>p</sup> Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec

conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.—De

ditions do indeed come from the Apostles, is well enough known to be this, to wit, that which is observed over all the Church, though it cannot be discerned when, where, or by whom it came first in force—that is, in his times, by the authority of what synod it was settled—that must be deemed and taken to come from the authority of the Apostles themselves. I will not use the terms of synod or synods, because I conceive the Church was from the beginning<sup>a</sup>, by virtue of  
 165 the perpetual intelligence and correspondence settled and used between the parts of it, a standing synod, even when there was no assembly of persons authorized to consent in behalf of their respective Churches; such things as became requisite to be determined in any Church being thereby so communicated to the rest, as the order taken in one, either to be accepted by them or redressed.

§ 27. Neither will I say that the rule is so effectual as it is true. For I cannot warrant how general the practice of every thing that may come in question can appear to have been over the whole Church, nor whether it may appear to have begun from some act of the Church, to be designed by some place or persons, or not; which in St. Augustine's time, I doubt not, might be made to appear, and being made to appear, would maintain the rule to be true. Nor have I need of any such rule as may serve to discern whatsoever may become questionable, whether it come from the Apostles themselves or not: it shall suffice me here to presume thus much, that no man can prescribe against any rule of the Church, that it comes not from the Apostles, because it is not recorded in the Holy Scriptures.

§ 28. And therefore, that nothing hindereth competent

Bapt. contra Donat., lib. iv. cap. xxiv. tom. ix. col. 140. ed. Ben.

Illam autem quæ non scripta sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe servantur, datur intelligi vel ab ipsis Apostolis, vel plenariis conciliis, quorum est in Ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas, commendata atque statuta retineri, sicuti quod Domini passio et resurrectio et ascensio in cælum, et adventus de cælo Spiritus Sancti, anniversaria solemnitate celebrantur, et si quid aliud tale occurrit quod servatur ab universa, quacumque

se diffundit Ecclesia.—Ep. liv. ad Inquis. Januar., cap. i. tom. ii. col. 124. ed. Ben.

<sup>a</sup> Cum vero par sit ratio, sive Episcopi in unum convenient locum ad determinanda varia, sive dispersi in idem consentiant, totius Ecclesiæ per orbem dispersæ consensus eandem cum conciliorum generalium decretis vim habet, atque adeo non minus quam concilia inter demonstrandi principia referri debet.—Gmeiner Xav. Instit. Juris Ecclesiastici, § 16. tom. i. p. 7. Græcii, 1792.

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St. Augustine's rule  
of Apostolical  
traditions.

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evidence to be made of the authority of the Apostles, in some orders of the Church, of which there is no mention in the Scriptures. Correspondently to that which was settled afore<sup>r</sup> concerning the rule of faith, that no man can prescribe against any thing questionable, that it is no part of it, because it is not evident in Scripture; or because such arguments may be made against it out of the Scriptures, which every one, whose salvation it concerns, is not able evidently to assail. And all this being determined, I intend nevertheless that it still shall remain questionable how far these orders of the Apostles oblige the Church: because I intend not to prescribe from all this, that those orders which shall appear to have been brought in by the Apostles may not become useless to the Church.

## CHAPTER XXII.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE FATHERS IS NOT GROUNDED UPON ANY PRESUMPTION OF THEIR LEARNING OR HOLINESS. HOW FAR THEY CHALLENGE THE CREDIT OF HISTORICAL TRUTH. THE PRE-EMINENCE OF THE PRIMITIVE. THE PRESUMPTION THAT IS GROUNDED UPON THEIR RANKS AND QUALITIES IN THE CHURCH. OF ARNOBIUS, LACTANTIUS, TERTULIAN, ORIGEN, CLEMENS, AND THE APPROBATION OF POSTERITY.

The authority of the fathers is not grounded upon any presumption of their learning or holiness.

THESE things being said, we have got ground for a resolution in the dispute concerning the authority of the fathers in matters questionable concerning Christianity, and the interpretation of the Scriptures. For truly, did the credit of those things which they affirm consist in the reputation of their holiness or learning, whether or no the premises be true, the consequence would be lame. He that could make a question of the godliness and of the Christianity of those persons to whom we owe the maintenance and propagation of Christianity under God—by preserving Christ's flock from the contagion of heresies, by entertaining the unity of the Church, and by laying down their lives for the truth—must, by consequence, question, though not that Christianity which he hath fancied, yet that which was delivered by the Apostles. Which notwithstanding, if the Holy Ghost that was in them to save them, by saving the common Christianity, hath not given the Church evidence that He was given them to pre-

<sup>r</sup> Sect. 1, 2, above, and chap. v. sect. 1.



serve them from error in understanding the Scriptures, we wrong them, and the Holy Ghost in them, if we take the truth of their doctrine upon their credit. CHAP.  
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§ 2. For though the having of the Holy Ghost presupposeth the profession of Christianity, as I have shewed<sup>a</sup>, yet that importeth no evidence to warrant the truth of all that they might say in defence or interpretation of it. And though their learning, in that which is proper to Christians, that is, their skill in the Scriptures, be such as these ages, that boast so much of learning, can never equal, because they made it in a manner their whole business of study; and though some of them, as Clemens, Tertullian, Origen, and St. Hierome, that looked about them for further helps to the defence and inter-  
166 pretation of Christianity, may well challenge the curiosity of these times for great knowledge; yet because man's wit is always fruitful in that which it is employed about, and may still be well employed in clearing the true intent of Christianity and the Scriptures, so long as there are contrary opinions and sects which cannot all be true, I will not create any prejudice to the learning of this time<sup>t</sup> upon that score, which, it is evident, may and doth employ more helps of learning, than they ever did employ, towards the understanding of the Scriptures.

§ 3. Two privileges there are belonging to the fathers of the Church which no man that writes in these days can pretend to, how godly, how learned soever he may be. The first is that of their age and time, creating an infallible trust, in point of historical truth, concerning the state of Christianity during those ages in which they lived, or which they

How far they challenge the credit of historical truth.

<sup>a</sup> Chap. iii. sect. 3.

<sup>t</sup> "Two words only I add. One is, that notwithstanding all that is pretended from antiquity, a Bishop having sole power of ordination and jurisdiction will never be found in prime antiquity. The other is, that many of the fathers did unwittingly bring forth that Antichrist which was conceived in the times of the Apostles, and therefore are incompetent judges in the question of hierarchy. And upon the other part, the lights of the Christian Church at and since the beginning of the reformation have discovered many secrets concerning the Antichrist and his hierarchy

which were not known to former ages: and divers of the learned in the Roman Church have not feared to pronounce, that whosoever denies the true and literal sense of many texts of Scripture to have been found out in this last age, is unthankful to God, who hath so plentifully poured forth His Spirit upon the children of this generation; and ungrateful towards those men who with so great pains, so happy success, and so much benefit to God's Church, have travailed therein."—Henderson's Second Paper. King Charles's Works, vol. i. pp. 171, 172. London, 1662.

BOOK I. might know. This is that which neither Pagans, nor Jews, nor Mahometans can refuse them any more than Christians can refuse to believe them in matters of fact, which they relate, not as things done in private—which themselves with a few more may pretend to have had means to know—but which were visible to the world at such time as they wrote, and wherein, had they been otherwise, they might have been reprov'd, as imposing upon the world not the belief of that which doth not appear to be true, but of that which doth appear to be untrue.

§ 4. Neither do I demand that upon this score their credit be admitted any further than that which I have promised will enforce. For if I have well concluded<sup>u</sup> that the Church is a society instituted by our Lord Christ and His Apostles, in trust for the maintenance and propagation of Christianity, contained in the Holy Scriptures which He deposited with it; then is the sense of that time which is nearest the age of the Apostles a legal presumption of the truth of that which it was trusted with. And as all writers that relate things subject to the sense of all men as well as their own, have the credit of historical truth, and Church writers in matters of fact concerning the Church of their respective ages—the state thereof being always visible—so those that write under the first ages of the Church, though competent authors for the truth of nothing in Christianity—for then why should not Christianity be believed upon their credit?—yet must be admitted as unquestionable witnesses of that Christianity which came hot and tender from the forge of our Lord and His Apostles.

§ 5. Nor do I complain that any man refuses them upon this score<sup>v</sup>. But when I see how many, pretending to search the Scriptures, and the truth of things questioned in Christianity, never make use of any information they might have from them, to argue thereupon the true sense of the Scriptures—who, if they were to expound any author of human learning, would count him a madman that should neglect the records of those authors that lived nearest the same time, and perhaps do themselves employ the writings of Jews and Pagans in expounding the very Scriptures—I cannot choose

<sup>u</sup> Chap. viii. sect. 9.

<sup>v</sup> "As those which by reason of

their age must be presumed to witness."—MSS.

but take it as a mark of prejudice against some truth, that men care not to be informed of the primitive Christianity, lest consequences might be framed against some prejudices of their own, which, supposing only the credit of historical truth, might prove undeniable. CHAP.  
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§ 6. And here I must needs marvel at the Cardinal du Perron's<sup>x</sup> demand, that the trial of what is to be thought Catholic—or universally received in the whole Church of God—should proceed chiefly, or at least necessarily, upon the testimonies of those writers which lived about the fourth century of years from Christ, as that which flourished most for number and learning of writers. For seeing the authority of Church writers is not grounded upon presumption of their learning, and that the credit of historical truth cannot be denied even the single witness of those that wrote when they were more scarce, and less knowing, at least in secular studies. The pre-  
eminence  
of the  
primitive.

§ 7. But what is primitive, what accessory, is not to be discovered but by the state of those times which were before additions could be made; he that demands to be tried by the times of three hundred years' distance from the original—wherein what change may have fallen out, not presumption but historical truth must determine—I say, he that demands this trial, demands not to be tried. Not that I would deny 167 the writers of that age, and such as follow, the credit which their time, in the consideration now on foot, allows; but that the resolution of what is original and primitive must not come from the testimony thereof, but from the comparison of it with the testimony of those ages that went afore.

§ 8. The second consideration, in which the writings of the fathers are valuable, cometh from that which is now proved, that is, from the society of the Church, and the unity thereof; from whence it follows, that what is found to be taught in the Church by men authorized by the communion thereof, and The pre-  
sumption  
that is  
grounded  
upon their  
rank and  
qualities  
in the  
Church.

<sup>x</sup> Et partant ayant a choisir un temps auquel il nous soit besoin non seulement d'estre d'accord, que l'Eglise qui subsistoit lors, estoit encore la vraye Eglise; mais auquel la face entiere de la doctrine nous soit entiere-ment, parfaitement et distinctement representee; il n'y a nul doute que pour ce second article, que l'estat de l'Eglise subsistente au temps des quatre pre-

miers conciles, ne nous fournisse une instruction, et un information beaucoup plus universelle, expresse et distincte, que celle des siecles precedents; et principalement la prenant comme nous faisons, non separèment, et avec exclusion des autres, mais conjointement et avec inclusion.—Replique a la Response du Roy de la Grand Bretagne, p. 634. Paris, 1633.

qualified to teach, and that without contradiction, is not contrary to the rule of faith, but, if it be taught with one consent, it is part of it.

§ 9. Without contradiction, I mean here, when a man is not charged to transgress the faith of the Church in that which he teacheth, much less disowned by the Church for teaching it. Not when no man is found to hold a contrary opinion, which always falls out in things disputable. For the communion of the Church necessarily importeth that a man qualified with authority in it profess nothing contrary to that faith, the profession whereof qualifies all to be of the Church: though other things there be many wherein a man may be allowed, not only to believe, but to profess contrary to that which another professes, and yet qualified, not only to be of the Church, but to bear that authority which the society thereof constituteth.

§ 10. The name therefore of fathers importeth at least some part of that superiority which the Church giveth, and therefore belongeth not properly to those that are not so qualified, though they that are not so qualified may be the authors of such writings as have the lot to remain to posterity. But the authority of fathers, which is grounded upon this presumption, that persons qualified in the Church teach nothing contrary to the faith of it, because their quality in the Church would become questionable if they should teach that which agrees not with the faith of the Church; this authority, I say, cannot appear in the writings of private Christians, because the Church is no further chargeable by allowing him the communion of the Church, who declareth to believe only that which indeed contradicts the rule of faith, than of taking no notice what a private man professes to think, out of that ignorance which may beseem a capacity of being better informed.

Of Arnobius, Lactantius.

§ 11. Hereupon it is that I think it no exception to the due authority of the fathers, that Arnobius or Lactantius should be utterly disclaimed<sup>y</sup> in some particulars. The one, known to have been a novice in Christianity when he wrote, and writing, as St. Hierome<sup>z</sup> testifies, to declare himself a Chris-

<sup>y</sup> "Disclaimed."—MSS.

<sup>z</sup> Arnobius sub Diocletiano principe,

Siccæ apud Africam, florentissime Rhetoricam docuit; scripsitque adver-

tian by trying his style—as being master of a school of eloquence—in defence thereof against the Gentiles, had, it seems, the ill chance to light upon some writings of the Gnostics, according to Saturninus or Basilides; and, taking them for Christians, because they affected to go under that name, translated their monstrous opinions into his work, as points of Christianity. The other, whether a novice or no I cannot say, marked nevertheless by St. Hierome<sup>a</sup>, as one more able to refute Gentilism than to give an account of Christianity—and therefore to have been converted to Christianity, but not to have learned it—what presumption a discreet man can make of Christianity by his book let every discreet man judge.

CHAP.  
XXII.

§ 12. I will not say the like of Justin the martyr, a man who hath deserved far more of Christianity, by renouncing the world, and taking upon him the profession and habit of a philosopher among the Gentiles, thereby to gain opportunity of maintaining Christianity on all occasions which the heathen philosophers took to maintain the positions of their several sects. A resolution truly generous and Christian. In the mean time, having in him more of a philosopher than of a scholar, and gathering his knowledge rather from travel and conversation than from reading, it is no marvel if he hath suffered many impostures, at least in matters of historical truth, which, he that should demand that the Church should answer, as allowing his books to be read, would be very unreasonable; when, as bearing no rank in the Church above that of all Christians, for any thing that I can perceive, if he should have mistaken himself in any thing nearly concerning the substance of Christianity, his eminent merits towards the Church might have been of force to have drowned all consideration of them, and given his writings passport to posterity notwithstanding.

[Character  
of Justin  
Martyr.]

168 § 13. I will not extend this consideration to the writings of Clemens Alexandrinus, of Origen, and of Tertullian; the last whereof, that is Tertullian, belongs not to this rank, having put himself out of the communion of the Church, by

Tertullian,  
Origen,  
Clemens.

sum gentes, quæ vulgo extant volumina.—Cat. Script. Eccles. 79. tom. iv. col. 121. ed. Ben.

eloquentiæ Tullianæ, utinam tam nostra affirmare potuisset, quam facile aliena destruxit.—Ep. i. ad Paulin., tom. iv. col. 567. ed. Ben.

<sup>a</sup> Lactantius quasi quidam fluvius

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making a party against the Church of Carthage, upon the pretences of the Montanists. The second, that is Origen, whatsoever opinions he had, cannot be said either to have held them so resolutely or to have professed them so publicly, that those that were nearest him could be thought accessories to them<sup>b</sup>. And therefore, as his very great merits of the Church otherwise held him in his rank in the Church during his time, so his extravagancies cannot impeach that authority which others, and he also in such things as he agrees with them in, do truly purchase by the allowance of the Church. The same is to be said of his master, Clemens, whose writings, as they are not so many, so neither his extravagancies so great and considerable.

§ 14. But even these eccentric writers, by being marked for positions particular to them, besides the credit of historical truth—which, in times nearest the Apostles, is of great consequence to inform us of the primitive state of Christianity, and therefore of incomparable value towards the settling of a right judgment in all things now questionable—I say, beside that which is common to them with all writers, they get, by the exceptions which are made against them, the advantage of a rule of law in the rest; that is to say, that setting aside those points in which they are excepted against, they are according to the rule of faith in things not excepted against.

And the  
approba-  
tion of  
posterity.

§ 15. In fine, the authority of the whole Church is found to be expressly engaged in all things that have passed into effect, either from the determination of synods—which, having been assembled by the free consent thereof, have been received by the like free consent, whether all or part were present at the synod—or from the act of any particular Church, the proceeding and grounds whereof hath been approved of, and received into effect by the whole. Which, in some measure, may be said of the writings of particular doctors: inasmuch as it is manifest that extravagant doctrines may have been published in several parts of the Church, which particular doctors may have employed their pens to contradict, before any Church had employed any censure to condemn. As by Epiphanius<sup>c</sup> in the heresy of the Origenists,

<sup>b</sup> “ Approvers of them.”—MSS.

<sup>c</sup> Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔστιν ἀπὸ υἱοῦ

καθ' εἰρμὸν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ μακαρίτου Μεθοδίου, τοῦ καὶ Εὐβουλίου περὶ τοῦ

it appeareth that Origen was contradicted by Methodius. If therefore such extravagances so contradicted be extinguished, such writings have continued cherished by the Church, it is evidence enough that the Church itself is engaged in the condemnation of those extravagances which have been suppressed by the means of such writings.

§ 16. And all this serves to maintain and evidence the society of the Church and the influence of it in those acts whereby Christianity hath been maintained and propagated from our Lord and His Apostles. But, for the present, the question concerning only the rule of faith, that which hath been said shall suffice to ground this prescription, that whatsoever the Church may appear unanimously to have agreed in, and to have allowed no contradiction to it, that may and doth as evidently appear to belong to the rule of faith, as evidently it may and doth appear that the society of the Church, freely acted by itself, hath given such consent. And therefore this prescription will infer nothing when it may by any means appear that the consent of the Church, and the freedom which is requisite to the validity thereof, hath been anticipated or overruled by any means intercepting that intercourse and correspondence by the which it appeareth. In the mean time, the interpretation of the Scriptures is to be confined within the bounds of that which the whole Church from the beginning hath taught, when as, by the means hitherto demonstrated, it may be evidenced in things that become questionable.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

TWO INSTANCES AGAINST THE PREMISES, BESIDE THE OBJECTION CONCERNING THE BEGINNING OF ANTICHRIST UNDER THE APOSTLES. THE GENERAL ANSWER TO IT. THE SEVEN TRUMPETS IN THE APOCALYPSE FORETELL THE DESTRUCTION OF THE JEWS. THE SEVEN VIALS, THE PLAGUES INFLICTED UPON THE EMPIRE FOR THE TEN PERSECUTIONS. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF DANIEL'S PROPHECY INFERRETH THE SAME. NEITHER ST. PAUL'S PROPHECY NOR ST. JOHN'S CONCERNETH ANY CHRISTIAN. NEITHER THE OPINION OF THE CHILIAST'S, NOR THE GIVING OF THE EUCHARIST TO INFANTS NEW BAPTIZED, CATHOLIC.

BEFORE I leave this point I must here take notice of two instances against that which I have said. The first is the

προειρημένου Ὀριγένους καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ τῶ ἀπὸ περι δανυστάσεως λόγῳ.—Hæres. lxxiv. num. 63. p. 590. Colon. 1682.

Two instances against the

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premises  
beside the  
objection  
concern-  
ing the  
beginning  
of Anti-  
christ  
under the  
Apostles.

opinion of the Millenaries, which is said to be the general opinion of the primitive fathers<sup>d</sup>, Justin the martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Irenæus, Tertullian, Victorinus the martyr, Lactantius, and I know not how many more. So that universal antiquity will prescribe nothing in matter of faith, when we see so general an error of the most ancient corrected by their successors. The other<sup>e</sup>, in the custom of giving the Eucharist to infants, as soon as they were baptized, pretended to be so general, that no practice of the Church can conclude any thing to come from the Apostles, to him that avoweth this to have been well and duly changed by the Church that is.

§ 2. There is besides these a more general objection<sup>f</sup>

<sup>d</sup> "First then, that the Chiliasts are heretics or your Church not infallible, which counts them so, is most certain and most plain; and if you be in the right, and that she teacheth nothing but what she hath received uninterruptedly down from the Apostles, then they must always have been esteemed so by Christians; whereas their doctrine is so far from having any tradition against it, that if any opinion, whether controverted or uncontroverted—except that Scripture which never was doubted—may without blushing pretend to have that for it, it must be this of theirs. My reasons are these:—The fathers of the purest ages—who were the Apostles' disciples, but once removed—did teach this as received from them, who professed to have received it from the Apostles, and who seemed to them witnesses beyond exception, that they had done so, they being better judges what credit they deserved, than after comers could possibly be."—Lord Faulkland's Reply, pp. 71, 72. London, 1651.

Chillingworth repeats the same argument thus:—"For both the most eminent fathers of that time, and even all whose monuments are extant, or mention made of them, viz. Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Melito Sardensis agree in the affirmation of this point, and none of their contemporary writers oppose or condemn it. And besides they speak not as doctors, but as witnesses, not as of their own private opinion, but as Apostolic tradition and the doctrine of the Church."—Answer to some passages in Rushworth's Dialogues, p. 113. London, 1687.

<sup>e</sup> "That infants are not to receive

the Eucharist, is now both the doctrine and practice of the Roman Church, but six hundred years the Church used it; St. Austin accounted it necessary at least in some sense of the word, if not absolutely—which last is most likely, because from the necessity of that, which could not be received but by them who had received baptism, he and Innocentius, a pope, prove the necessity of baptism—an Apostolical tradition."—Lord Faulkland's Reply, p. 82. London, 1651.

Chillingworth, in the place above-mentioned, puts this argument forward thus; "This custom in short time grew universal, and in St. Austin's time passed currently for an Apostolic tradition, and the Eucharist was thought as necessary for them as baptism. This custom the Church of Rome hath again cast out, and in so doing professed either her no regard to the traditions of the Apostles, or that this was none of that number. But yet she cannot possibly avoid but that this example is a proof sufficient that many things may get in by error into the Church, and by degrees obtain the esteem and place of Apostolic traditions which yet are not so."—P. 110. London, 1687.

<sup>f</sup> "Secondly, I do humbly desire your Majesty to take notice of the fallacy of that argument, from the practice of the primitive Church, and the universal consent of the fathers. It is the argument of the Papists for such traditions as no orthodox divine will admit. The law and testimony must be the rule. We can have no certain knowledge of the practice universal of the Church for many years; Eusebius



against the testimony of the Church in any matter of Christianity, rising from St. Paul's prophecy, 2 Thess. ii. 2, 7, 14, that the mystery of iniquity was then in work, till he that hindered were out of the way, not to be revealed. Which is pretended to be the corruption of Christianity by such as professed to be of the Church, then begun, not to be declared till the rise of the papacy, by the fall of the empire: or, as the Socinians<sup>s</sup> will have it, till after the death of the Apostles,

the prime historian confesseth so much; the learned Josephus Scaliger testifieth that from the end of the Acts of the Apostles until a good time after, no certainty can be had from ecclesiastical authors about Church matters. It is true Diotrephes sought the pre-eminence in the Apostles' times, and the mystery of iniquity did then begin to work; and no doubt in after times some puffed up with ambition, and others overtaken with weakness, endeavoured alteration of Church government: but that all the learned and godly of those times consented to such a change as is talked of afterwards, will never be proved."—Henderson's First Paper, King Charles's Works, vol. i. pp. 160, 161. London, 1662.

§ Rem ergo illam dilatam iri Apostolus significat, donec is, qui Antichristo jam nascituro, atque in apertum prodituro impedimentum objiciat, e medio tollatur. Quinam vero is fuerit, jure quæritur. Plerique imperatorem Romanum fuisse volunt. Hunc enim impediisse, quominus tyrannidem invadere Antichristus posset. Eum autem tunc e medio sublatum seu amotum non pauci censent, cum Roma cessit, et imperii sui sedem alio transtulit. Eo enim ipse locum imperio Antichristi fecisse, qui eo præsentem rerum plane potiri, et solum tam sublime invadere non potuerit. Sed cum Antichristi ortus altius repetendus esse videatur, possis per eum qui tunc retinuerit, Apostolos eorumque socios intelligere, quos Antichristianæ impietatis sese jam exerenti obstitisse quis dubitet? Unde iis viventibus, munerisque sui officium administrantibus, non ita ausi fuere ii, qui Antichristi spiritu atque afflatu ducébantur, caput attollere; iis vero morte deletis, statim, ut vidimus, sese erigere cœperunt, quotidieque plus roboris assecuti sunt, donec tandem unus aliquis emersit, qui cæterorum caput esset cui sententiæ illud magis, quam priori, favere videtur, primum, quod

Apostoli eorumque socii consilio, studio, ac conatu, nascenti Antichristianæ impietati obstiterint: imperator Romanus non nisi ex eventu, nec tam Antichristi ortui quam incrementis: deinde quod cum aliquem e medio tolli dicimus, mortem ejus atque interitum significare soleamus. At cum imperatores sedem alio transtulerunt, non interiere. Apostoli autem per mortem extincti sunt, et post eorum obitum, ut ipsimet prædixerunt, defectio a sincera Christi doctrina cœpit, et latius subinde serpsit. Neque vero huic sententiæ id videtur obstare, quod Apostolus, eum qui retineat, commemoret, veluti de uno, non de pluribus loquens. Quorum enim idem munus est, idem sensus ac consilium, idem actionum scopus, instar unius considerari possunt. Neque vero qui imperatorem Romanum intelligunt, unum aliquem nominatim designari putant, sed plures quorum alii aliis in eodem munere successerint. Quicquid sit, illud ex dictis satis constat, Antichristum jamdudum in lucem prodixisse. Quo magis repudianda illorum est opinio, qui Antichristum venisse negant, venturum autem sub mundi finem asserunt. Si enim ipsorum jam Apostolorum tempore Antichristiana iniquitas fuit in opere, et nihil aliud restitit, quam ut is, qui ejus incrementis tunc obstabat, e medio tolleretur; quis non videt, necesse esse, ut per tot sæcula tandem aliquando emergerit? præsertim cum Pauli verba satis indicent, eum, qui tunc detinuerit, non adeo diu duraturum. Particula enim *nunc* de eo bis usurpata, et secuturo tempori opposita, illa, quæ tunc fluebant, ac vicina illis tempora denotat, non vero tam longe ab iis remota sæcula. Ut taceamus satis conspicuum esse eum, in quo ea extant quæ Antichristi propria esse, supra docuimus.—Volkel. de Vera Religione, lib. iii. cap. xl. col. 160.

**BOOK** at what time, as Hegesippus<sup>h</sup> in Eusebius witnesseth, the  
**I.** Church, that till then had continued a virgin, was deflowered and defiled by mixing with adulterate doctrine. This objection I have produced elsewhere<sup>1</sup>, and repeat it here, in the first place, to be considered, as pretending here to make fuller answer.

[Early cor-  
 ruptions  
 were not of  
 doctrine.] § 3. I excepted heretofore thus: that, unless they that make this objection tie themselves to demonstrate wherein that corruption consists, which the Apostle says was then in working under-hand; it will be as free for Socinians to pretend that he means this corruption to consist in the faith of the Trinity, and the satisfaction of Christ, and original sin, as in any thing peculiar to the papacy. And that with so much the more reason, because, if we make the Pope antichrist by virtue of this Scripture, we must make him so for that which is peculiar to the papacy, whereas the corruption here spoken of concerns the whole Church, as well as that of Rome.

§ 4. Now I except more strongly, that, supposing the purpose of St. Paul to concern the corruption of the Church, that corruption cannot consist in any thing, which, by sufficient testimony, may appear to have been received in the Church from the beginning. That is to say, to this bare surmise of St. Paul's meaning, I have opposed all the reason that hath been alleged to prove that, whatsoever hath been received in the Church from the beginning, is either of the rule of faith, or some custom introduced by the Apostles. But because still, this is but an exception in bar to the objection, not in resolution of the difficulty which groundeth it, I will proceed further, to shew, that neither this prophecy, nor the Revelation of St. John is meant of those that professed Christianity, either in corrupting it, or in persecuting Christians, but of the professed enemies thereof, who persecuted the profession of it, to wit the princes of the Roman empire.

The gene-  
 ral answer  
 to it. § 5. To which purpose, having observed<sup>k</sup> that the whole prophecy of the Revelation, from chap. v. to xx. consisting in the vision of a book sealed with seven seals; at opening the seventh whereof, seven Angels are seen to blow seven trum-

<sup>h</sup> Cited below in sect. 28.

<sup>1</sup> Right of the Church, chap. v. sect. 54.

<sup>k</sup> Right of the Church, Review, chap. v. sect. 30—53.

pets; at blowing the seventh whereof, seven Angels come forth, and pour forth seven vials of God's judgments upon the earth; I now say further that the seven trumpets signify the judgments of God poured forth upon the Jews in Jewry, for refusing and persecuting the Gospel. The evidence hereof is first, in that of Apoc. vii. 4—8, where there are sealed an hundred and forty-four thousand, of every tribe twelve thousand, to be preserved from the plagues of the seven seals, to wit, the Christians of whom our Lord had said, Matt. xxiv. 31, Mark xiii. 20, that for the elect's sake, those days should be shortened.

§ 6. For it is evident that this vision is presented St. John upon occasion of the like, which he had read in Ezekiel ix. 4, 5, 6, in the like case, where the Angel is first commanded to mark those that should be saved from the destruction which he prophesieth. And therefore, where, in the beginning of the chapter, he seeth four Angels standing at the four corners of the earth, who are forbidden to hurt it, "till the servants of God be marked;" it is manifest that this earth is not the world, but the land of Jewry. Again, when it is said, xi. 1, 8, 13, that the Gentiles shall trample the outer court of the temple, and that therefore St. John should not measure it, as he is tied to measure the inner court and temple; that the carcasses of the two witnesses should lie in the streets of the great city where our Lord was crucified, spiritually called Sodom and Egypt; that there was a great earthquake, which cast down the tenth part of that city and killed seven thousand; he that would see men pitifully crucify themselves by racking the Scriptures, let him look upon them<sup>1</sup> that engage them-

<sup>1</sup> "By the inmost and measured court of the temple, I understand the church in her primitive purity, when, as yet, the Christian worship was unprophaned, and answerable to the divine rule revealed from above . . . . By the second, or outward, court trampled by the Gentiles, and not to be measured, I understand the apostasy under the man of sin, when the visible Church, being possessed by idolaters and idolatry like that of the Gentiles, became so inconformable and inapt for divine measure, that it was to be cast out and accounted as prophane and polluted. For the apostasy of the

Church is Ethnicismus Christianus. By the witnesses in sackcloth I understand the mournful prophecy of God's true ministers during all that time, who, when towards the end of their days of mourning they should be about to put off their sackcloth, and leave their lamentation—seeing the truth they witnessed beginning to take place by public reformation—the beast which ascends out of the abyss shall slay them, and rejoice over them as dead three days and an half, that is, so many years."—Mede's Summary View of the Apocalypse, pp. 1126, 1127. London, 1664.

BOOK I. selves not to understand by all this, the city of Jerusalem and the temple there.

§ 7. Further, what is the meaning that the hundred and forty-four thousand are seen standing with the Lamb upon mount Sion, xiv. 1, if they belong not to that people? What is the meaning that afterwards, xiv. 19, 20, when the Angel with the sickle had made the vintage, and cast it into the wine-press of God's wrath, this wine-press is trod without the city, the blood overflows to the space of a thousand and six hundred furlongs; but that the city of Jerusalem is meant, and the judgment executed in the destruction thereof expressed by the wine-press of God's wrath, which overflowed all that compass without the city?

§ 8. If these things cannot be, unless the sounding of the seven trumpets, chap. viii. and ix, be understood to proclaim the same vengeance; let me ask what is the reason, that having related what the sounding of them produced, he addeth, ix. 20, 21, "The rest of men, that were not slain with these plagues, neither repented of the works of their hands, so as not to worship devils, and idols of gold, silver, brass, stone, and wood, which can neither see, nor hear, nor go: nor of their murders, and witcheries, and whoredoms, and thefts." For the Jews not being chargeable with idolatry at that time, nor the consequences thereof, how should the rest be chargeable for not repenting of the same? For to say that covetousness of silver, gold, and goods of brass, stone, or wood, is the idolatry, and these the idols here meant, is to strain the Scripture to an improper sense, whereof there is no argument in the words. But if we say that the rest of men, that were not slain with the Jews, are the Gentiles, to whom God by destroying Jerusalem, sent a warning to turn them from their idols to Christianity, for persecuting whereof they saw the Jews destroyed; we say that the main scope of the whole prophecy is couched in these words.

§ 9. And from hence we shall be able to give a reason, why, having propounded—in the twelfth and thirteenth chapters—the subject of that vengeance which he seeth God to take, by the vision of the seven vials, in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, he returneth to the remembrance of those hundred and forty-four thousand that were marked to be saved,

and of the destruction of the rest of the Jews, xiv. 1—5, 14—20, of which I shall not easily believe that a reasonable account can be given otherwise. For having foretold the persecution of Christians in those two chapters, the twelfth and thirteenth, what could be more pertinent, than that he should return to the remembrance of the saving of those that were marked, and the destruction of Jerusalem, as a pattern of comfort to Christians, to encourage them to endure, and of terror to the Gentiles to refrain that fury? And therefore, as before, ix. 20, this intent had been signified, so it is most expressly repeated by the proclamation of three Angels one after another, xiv. 6, 8, 9—11, warning all to worship God alone, 171 not the beast of chapter xiii., and forewarning of the fall of Babylon for her idolatries.

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XXIII.

§ 10. Now I am to remember you, that after the sealing of the hundred and forty-four thousand Jewish Christians, there appears before the throne of God so great a multitude as no man could number, of all nations, tribes, people, and languages, clothed in white robes, and singing praises to God. Which, afterwards, are expounded by the Angel to be “those that came out of the great tribulation, and had washed their robes white in the blood of the Lamb,” vii. 9, 14; that is to say, martyrs. And further, that these are they who are seen at opening the fifth seal, standing beneath the Altar, and calling for vengeance upon their blood, vi. 9, 10. Which vengeance begins to be executed by the seven trumpets. And the Angel that throws down those coals of vengeance upon the earth, from the Altar above, is said to put incense to the prayers of the saints, viii. 3, 4, 5. So that the same censer sends up perfume, that is those prayers, to the throne, and vengeance down upon earth.

The seven trumpets in the Apocalypse foretell the destruction of the Jews.

§ 11. Seeing then, that it is manifest to all, that at opening the first seal our Lord goes forth upon a white horse to make war, vi. 2, who, after victory and revenge upon His enemies, appears in the same likeness again, as triumphing over His enemies, xix. 11—16, it will be requisite to understand the vision of opening the six seals to be a general proposition of the whole prophecy, signifying the publishing of the Gospel, and the prevailing thereof, through the vengeance which God would execute upon the persecutors of it, Jews

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first, and afterwards Gentiles of the Roman empire, who would not take warning by the destruction of Jerusalem, to turn from persecuting the Gospel, to embrace Christianity. And therefore the signification of the rest of the seals is common to both.

§ 12. For when he seeth a red horse to signify war, a black horse to signify famine, and a pale horse to signify pestilence, vi. 3—8, it is manifest that all this agrees wonderfully with that which our Lord had foretold should come to pass in Jewry, as a preface to the destruction of Jerusalem, of wars, famines, earthquakes, and pestilences, so as, notwithstanding, the end not to be yet, Matt. xxiv. 6—15; Mark xiii. 5—10; Luke xxi. 8—20. And yet it expresseth as punctually those calamities of the world, which those of the empire did impute to the sufferance of Christianity, when God indeed intended thereby to punish them that embraced it not. Antiquity is copious in this subject, that when these calamities fell out, the Romans cried out upon the Christians as the only cause of them. The beginning of Arnobius's<sup>m</sup> dispute against the Gentiles will satisfy you of it.

<sup>m</sup> Quoniam comperi nonnullos, qui se plurimum sapere suis persuasionibus credunt, insanire, bacchari et velut quiddam promptum ex oraculo dicere: postquam esse in mundo Christiana gens coepit, terrarum orbem periisse, multiformibus malis affectum esse genus humanum: ipsos etiam coelites derelictis curis solennibus, quibus quondam solebant invisere res nostras, terrarum ab regionibus exterminatos.—P. 1. Lugd. Bat. 1651.

Hæc coitio Christianorum merito sane illicita, si illicitis par; merito damnanda, si non dissimilis damnandis, si quis de ea quaeritur eo titulo, quo de factionibus querela est. In cujus perniciem aliquando convenimus? hoc sumus congregati quod et dispersi: hoc universi quod et singuli: neminem lædentes, neminem contristantes. Cum probi, cum boni coeunt, cum pii, cum casti congregantur, non est factio dicenda, sed curia. At e contrario illis nomen factionis accommodandum est, qui in odium bonorum et proborum conspirant, qui adversum sanguinem innocentium conclamant, prætexentes sane ad odii defensionem illam quoque vanitatem, quod existimant omnis publicæ cladis, omnis popularis incommodi Christianos esse

causam. Si Tiberis ascendit ad mœnia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si cœlum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim *Christianos ad leonem*.—Tertulian. Apologet., capp. xxxix., xl., p. 70. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

Sed enim cum dicas plurimos conqueri quod bella crebrius surgant, quod lues, quod fames sæviant, quodque imbres et pluvias serena longa suspendant nobis imputari, tacere ultra non oportet; . . . . Dixisti per nos fieri, et quod nobis debeant imputari omnia ista, quibus nunc mundus quatitur et urgetur, quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur. . . . . Quod autem crebrius bella continentur, quod sterilitas et fames solitudinem cumulant, quod sævientibus morbis valetudo frangitur, quod humanum genus luis populatione vastatur, et hoc scias esse prædictum, in novissimis temporibus multiplicari mala et adversa variari, et appropinquante jam judicii die magis ac magis in plagas generis humani censuram Dei indignantis accendi. Non enim, sicut tua falsa querimonia, et imperitia veritatis ignara jactat et clamitat, ista accidunt, quod dii vestri a nobis non colantur, sed quod a vobis non colatur Deus.—S. Cyprian. Lib. ad Demetrian., pp. 216, 217, ed. Ben.

§ 13. When, therefore, the persecution of Christianity was both begun in Jewry—as the Acts of the Apostles inform us—and prosecuted in the empire, it will be against the truth of the case, to restrain the cry of the souls under the Altar, upon the opening of the fifth seal, either to those that suffered by the Jews or by the empire. Now he that peruseth that which is said to have come to pass upon the opening of the sixth seal, Apoc. vi. 12—17, might have cause to think that he reads the destruction of the world, but that it is evident both that the destruction of Jerusalem is prophesied by our Lord by the like expressions—which the prophets also of the Old Testament do use in describing the vengeance which God taketh upon the nations—and also, that this prophecy expresses a large time for Christianity to continue in the world, after this vengeance taken by God upon the enemies of it. And therefore we must believe that those have reason, who refer the effect of it no less to the great change that fell out in the world upon the ceasing of the persecution of Diocletian, and the coming of the empire into the hands of the Christians, than to the destruction of Jerusalem.

§ 14. For when could it be said more justly that the world was in an earthquake, “that the sun became like hair cloth, and the moon like blood, that the stars fell to the earth, as a fig-tree shaken with a great wind casts her figs, that the heavens passed away as a book folded up, and the mountains and islands were removed out of their places”—if ever such things could justly be said by the prophets to express great alterations to fall out in the world—than when those tyrants, and by consequence all their ministers, for shame that they were not able to root up Christianity, gave up the design with  
172 their power, and left the empire to strangers, which, in a few years, fell into the hands of Constantine, and the Christians his ministers? When could it be more justly said that “the kings and great ones of the earth, the rich, the captains, and the nobles, the bond and the free, hid themselves in caves and rocks of the mountains, saying to them, Fall on us and hide us from the face of Him that sits on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb, for the great day of His wrath is come, and who can stand?” than when the persecutors, some gave up the design, others proclaimed the hand of God

BOOK  
I.

upon them, and all their ministers saw Christianity, which they had persecuted, to flourish, and their powers possessed by Christians? Which how strongly it inferreth—especially if you take the premises along—that, the trumpets sounding the vengeance taken upon the Jews, the vials must signify the like upon the empire for the ten persecutions raised upon the same pretence of rooting out Christianity—not by those that profess Christianity, though indeed they corrupt it—I leave to all the world to judge.

§ 15. Especially if we consider that which is often repeated from the beginning of the prophecy, that the matter of it must come to pass shortly, that they are happy that shall read and observe it, and that to that purpose it is sent to the seven Churches of Asia, as concerning them deeply; which, if it concern vengeance to be taken of the blood of those that suffered by the papacy, by consequence of the premises is yet to come, at least the vengeance prophesied, and ten thousand chances to one if ever it do come, while those that rack the prophecy to signify it, are forced to prophesy themselves, without evidencing any commission for it; and the seven Churches in a manner suppressed by infidels, far enough from seeing any thing of the effect of it, or any of those to whom St. John can be supposed to speak when he sends it.

§ 16. And truly, supposing that the sound of the trumpets concerns the Jews, which no reason refuses, no modesty denies; and supposing again, that St. John was not banished into Patmos till Domitian's days, which is the original and more probable report of Irenæus<sup>n</sup>—though some suppose he was sent thither afore<sup>o</sup>, when Claudius's edict commanded all

<sup>n</sup> Εἰ γὰρ ἔδει ἀναφανδὸν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ κηρύττεσθαι τοῦνομα αὐτοῦ, δι' ἐκεῖνον ἂν ἐρρήθη τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν ἑωρακότος. οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὸ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη, ἀλλὰ σχέδον ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετερᾶς γενεᾶς, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τῆς Δομετιανοῦ ἀρχῆς.—Lib. v. cap. xxx. p. 330. ed. Ben. Vid. Euseb. Hist. Eccles., lib. v. cap. viii. p. 173. ed. Vales.

<sup>o</sup> Fuisse autem Johannem in Patmo Claudii jussu, et ibi visis illustratum, tradidit Epiphanius in Alogis, non dubium quin veteres secutus, et id verum puto. Nam et alii ante excisa Hierosolyma scribi hunc librum cœpisse argumentis non malis colligunt. Proconsul

Asiæ cum intelligeret Ephesi novam existere sectam Judæorum, cujus princeps esset Johannes, atque inde turbas oriri, quales illæ quæ describuntur Act. xix. scripsit de eo, ut credibile est, ad Claudium peregrinis religionibus inimicum: cujus jussu Johannes, quasi seditiosus, deportatus est in insulam, quæ frequens pœna eo tempore. . . .

Firmat hanc de deportatione Johannis per Claudium facta sententiam, quod Johannes infra imperatores Romanos a Claudio numerare incipit, sicut tempora Ezechiel a sua deportatione numerat. Non obstat his, quæ diximus, id quod ab aliis traditum est, a Domitiano Jo-



Jews to depart from Rome, because Epiphanius<sup>p</sup> says that he prophesied under Claudius, and the pro-consul of Asia might, as it was ordinary, command the same for that province which the prince had at Rome; for what probability can there be that St. John should be forbidden Asia, when St. Paul was permitted Achaia, as we find by the Acts?—I say supposing this, a very good reason is to be given why the calamities of the Jews, then past, are represented to St. John by the vision of the trumpets; to wit, for the assurance and encouragement of the Christians, for the terror and conversion of their persecutors, who, knowing that which was come upon the Jews, prophetically described by the sounding of the seven trumpets, might both the better understand that part of it, and better infer the meaning of the seven vials; together with that which goes afore, to prepare the way for the pouring of them forth, and follows, to shew the consequence of it.

§ 17. And I must add further, that though I say that the destruction of Jerusalem was past when St. John was banished into Patmos, yet this prophecy of it, and of the seven trumpets, might be revealed to him before, according to Epiphanius, affirming that he prophesied in Claudius's days. For what hindereth that which concerned the Jews only to be revealed while Jerusalem stood, the visions of the seven seals and seven vials—concerning the Gentiles either in part or only—being reserved to the persecution under Domitian, in which St. John is commanded to write that letter to the seven Churches, which he is commanded to send the whole prophecy with?

§ 18. Let me now desire the reader to look upon that interpretation which I have given in the Review of my book of the Right of the Church in a Christian State<sup>q</sup>, to that which is prophesied of the reign of the saints, that is, the Christians, with their Lord Christ, for a thousand years, Apoc. xx., which they that refer the seventh trumpet, and the seven vials, in which it is accomplished, to the judgments to come upon the

The seven vials, the plagues inflicted upon the empire for the ten persecutions.

hanni irrogatum Patmi exilium. Nam vetera contra Christianos edicta sustulit Vespasianus, ut ex Tertulliano discimus, restituit Domitianus.—Grotii Annot. in Apocalyps., cap. i. vers. 9. p. 1162. Londini, 1679.

<sup>p</sup> Ἀλλὰ προθέσπισε προφητικῶς ἐν τῷ

στόματι τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου. . . μετὰ τὴν . . . κοίμησιν. Αὐτοῦ δὲ προφητεύσαντος ἐν χρόνοις Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος ἀνωτάτω, ὅτε εἰς τὴν Πάτμον νῆσον ὑπήρξεν.—Hæres. li. contr. Alogos, num. 33. p. 456. Coloniae, 1682.

<sup>q</sup> Chap. v. sectt. 30—53.

BOOK I. papacy, cannot avoid to infer the opinion of the Millenaries, condemned long since, and suppressed in the Church, inso-  
 much that the most learned<sup>r</sup> of them hath professedly set up  
 the standard to revive it. I will not here suppose any thing,<sup>173</sup>  
 how prejudicial this opinion either is, or, as it is held, may be  
 to Christianity.

§ 19. This I will say, that those which read the history of  
 the successors of Alexander, kings of Syria and Egypt, so ex-  
 pressly prophesied, Dan. xi., that many particulars of it might  
 have been buried in oblivion, had not the exposition of it  
 enforced St. Hierome and his predecessors to have recourse  
 to those histories which now are lost, and out of them to  
 relate such passages as the prophet points at; I say, I shall  
 count them strange men, if, seeing the rest agree with the  
 story, when they come to Antiochus Epiphanes, and those  
 things which the prophet foretells of his acts in a continued  
 narrative, they can persuade themselves that they were not  
 fulfilled under him, but must belong to the coming of Anti-  
 christ. I know St. Hierome<sup>s</sup> is chargeable with it: but it is  
 one thing for him to follow some predecessors<sup>t</sup> in expounding

<sup>r</sup> Joseph Mede, B.D. of Christ's Col-  
 lege, Cambridge. See his *Apostasy of the  
 Latter Times*, especially chapp.  
 xiii. and xvi.

<sup>s</sup> *Hucusque ordo historię sequitur; et inter Porphyrium ac nostros, nulla contentio est. Cætera, quę sequuntur usque ad finem voluminis, ille interpretatur super persona Antiochi, qui cognominatus est Epiphanes, . . . . Nostri autem hæc omnia de Antichristo prophetari arbitrantur, qui ultimo tempore futurus est. Quumque eis videatur illud opponi: quare tantos in medio dereliquerit sermo propheticus, a Seleuco usque ad consummationem mundi; respondent quod et in priori historia, ubi de regibus Persicis dicebatur, quattuor tantum reges post Cyrum Persarum posuerit; et multis in medio transilitis, repente venerit ad Alexandrum regem Macedonum: et hanc esse Scripturę Sacrę consuetudinem, non univēsa narrare; sed ea quę majora videantur exponere.—Comment. in Daniel. xi. tom. iii. col. 1127. ed. Ben.*

<sup>t</sup> This is in reply to Mede, who makes this use of St. Hierome: "Nay, St. Jerome in his comment upon this seventh chapter of Daniel, will give us

to understand that all the ecclesiastical writers delivered this to be the true exposition, for having there confuted Porphyry, who, to derogate from the divinity of this prophecy, would have it meant of Antiochus Epiphanes, and therefore written when the event was past, he concludeth thus: Ergo dicamus, quod omnes Scriptores Ecclesiastici tradiderunt; in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanum inter se dividant, et undecimum surrecturum esse regem parvulum, qui tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit, id est, Ægyptiorum regem, et Africę et Æthiopię, sicut in consequentibus manifestius dicemus." [Tom. iii. col. 1101. ed. Ben.]

Who these three kings were which this horn displaced to make himself elbow room, you shall hear more anon. But I will not conceal that I have heard of another exposition, which fits our turn for the beginning of the apostasy no less than that of the fathers; namely, that by ten kingdoms may be meant the full plurality of the Roman provinces, so much whereof as three is of ten, should have the imperial power rooted out of

that which he knew not how to expound otherwise, another thing to impose such a doctrine upon the Church, upon no ground but such an interpretation as that.

§ 20. I must say farther, that the visions of the seventh and eighth chapters of Daniel of the four beasts, and the ten horns of the fourth, and the little horn that blasphemed God and made war against the saints, vii. 8, 21; of the ram and the goat, and the little horn thereof which made war against God and His people, Dan. viii. 9—14, must of necessity be understood of Antiochus Epiphanes, because of the taking away of the daily sacrifice so expressly foretold; that Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the statue, which represents four kingdoms, the last whereof is evidently that of Syria and Egypt, whereof both in their turns had the command of the Jews, Dan. ii., seemeth to have no other aim but to introduce the prophecy of their sufferings under Epiphanes. The purpose of these visions toward the Jews being the same with that of the Apocalypse toward the Christians, to comfort them with resolution to adhere to the law, under so great trials, the good success whereof the same prophecy which foretold the persecutions assureth.

§ 21. It is not my business here to enter into any further exposition of the particulars, presuming that the reasons which confine the interpretation being so concluding, those that will look into the writings of those that walk within the bounds of Epiphanes's time, especially Grotius, the latest and ablest, will find a more proper sense within those times than any can be imagined otherwise. If therefore the persecutions then related be fulfilled in the sufferings of the Jews under Epiphanes, then the kingdom which there is foretold to be given the saints and people of God, after vengeance executed upon him, Dan. vii. 18, 22, 27, xii. 2, 3, must also of necessity be understood of that dominion which that nation attained by freeing themselves from the dominion of the Macedonians under the Maccabees.

them, and fall under the dominion of the antichristian horn, who should act the sovereignty of the latter times, or the last sovereignty of that kingdom. Now it is most true that the Pope's patriarchdom in the west holds just that scantling of the ancient territory of the

Roman empire, which a man may judge by his eyes or compasses in a map: and yet I prefer the other exposition before it."—Apostasy of the Latter Times, part i. chap. xiii. p. 811. London, 1663.

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I.

The correspond-  
ence of  
Daniel's  
prophecy  
inferreth  
the same.

§ 22. Now there being such correspondence, not only between the main intent of both prophecies, but also between the particulars of them, in very many things, which no man can read both with diligence but must observe—though it is true that many figures are used in St. John's Revelations which are found to correspondent purposes in the visions of others of the prophets concerning God's ancient people—I conceive no man will be able to reprove the consequence, that both the persecutions which pretended to make the Christians renounce Christ, as Antiochus pretended to make the Jews renounce the law, are intended by the fifth seal, and also the coming of Constantine to the empire, whereby the government of the world came into the hands of Christians by the sixth seal; as well as the dominion of the Maccabees succeeding the persecution of Epiphanes, by the reign of the saints foretold by Daniel.

§ 23. From whence I argue, that St. Paul's prophecy cannot intend any that should profess Christianity with an intent to corrupt it<sup>u</sup>, because of the terms which he useth; "He that exalteth himself against all that is called God, or to be worshipped, so as to seat himself in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God;" being the same in which Epiphanes is described, Dan. xi. 36, 37: "And the king shall do what him list; he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself against all that is God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the wrath be accomplished: for the determination is made. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desires of women, nor care for any god: for he shall magnify himself above all."

<sup>u</sup> "When that appointed time for the date of his prosperity comes to its period, and the time of the ruin and change of his dominion draws near, then this Roman state shall cashier and forsake the idols and false gods whom their fathers worshipped, and shall acknowledge Christ, a God whom their fathers knew not. At that time the desire of women and married life shall be discountenanced, and shall not be of that account and regard it had been, but contrary to the long-continued custom of the Romans, single life shall be honoured and privileged above it. Yea, and soon after the Roman shall bear himself so as if he

regarded not any god, and with anti-christian pride shall magnify himself over all."—Mede's Paraphrase of Daniel xi. 37. vol. ii. p. 827. Again he writes: "Thus we see how, ῥητῶς, how expressly the Spirit foretold that the Roman empire, having rejected the multitude of gods and demons worshipped by their ancestors, and betaken themselves to that one and only God which their fathers knew not, should nevertheless depart from this their faith and revive again the old theology of demons by a new superinduction of Mahuzzims!"—Apostasy of the Latter Times, Appendix, chap. xvii. p. 827. London, 1663.

For who is it that magnifies himself above all that is called or accounted God, and worshipped for God, though by his own predecessors, but he that appoints the Jews whom they shall worship for their own, the true God, in the temple; but he that appoints the Christians to whom they shall sacrifice? Which, as of all other princes that had the Jews in their power, none did but Epiphanes, so all the emperors that raised persecution against the Christians did necessarily do.

§ 24. For as it is manifest that both the Macedonian kings and Roman emperors were themselves worshipped for gods by their Gentile subjects; so can none be said to advance himself above all that is called or worshipped for God, but those that first forbid the worship of the true God, then of false gods, allow or disallow the worship of whomsoever their own fancy directs, which is a thing common to Antiochus Epiphanes with the Roman emperors. For the saying of Tertullian is well enough known; *Apolog.* cap. v.<sup>x</sup>, *Nisi homini deus placuerit, deus non erit*; spoken in regard of the power that state used, to allow or disallow the religions and the gods which they pleased; whereupon he rests and says, that “such gods, if they have not man to friend, must be no gods.” And besides, the emperors by assuming the legal power of *Pontifex maximus*<sup>y</sup>, were invested with a civil right

<sup>x</sup> P. 30. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

<sup>y</sup> Fuit etiam Pontificum cura præcipua, ut circa religiones cæremoniasque versarentur. Atque ipsa cognitio in jus religionis et in jus reipublicæ distributa est: ut de republica cognoscerent, cum cæremoniarum jus, aut civitatis cogeret salus. Idem de sacris, de votis, de feriis decernebant, de ludis maximis, de deorum penatium Vestæque Matris cæremoniis, de sacro illo ipso, quod fiebat pro salute populi Romani, ea tenere quæ soli scire debeant. Quæ voluntas esset Deorum immortalium, interpretabantur, et hoc unum maxime ut de diis immortalibus non errans aut vaga, sed stabilis certaque scientia teneretur. Tantum itaque illorum authoritati, fidei, prudentiæ veteres tribuerunt, ut ab illis dissentire, nefas semper judicarent.—Guther. de Vet. Jur. Pont., lib. i. cap. xviii. ap. Grævii Thesaur. Antiquitatum Romanarum, tom. v. col. 39. Lugd. Batav. 1696.

Augustus Romanorum primus imperator primus pontificatum maximum suscepit, quem vivo Lepido non ambivit. Errat enim Florus cum scribit Augustum in confusione rerum ac tumultu, Lepidum pontificem maximum interemisse, qui suo fato ereptus est. Augustus autem illius pontificatum adeptus, quicquid fatidicorum librorum Græci Latineque generis, nullis vel parum idoneis authoribus vulgo ferebatur, supra duo millia contracta undique cremavit et solos retinuit Sibyllinos. Quod pontificum demonstrat potestatem, quorum fuit, sacrorum libros probare vel improbare. Imperatores cæteri Augusti exemplum secuti, omnes ad pontificatum maximum irrepserunt. Horum tamen nullus ante Hadrianum, Pontificis maximi officium peregit.—Guther. ut supr. cap. xv. coll. 32, 33.—Gutherius, however, is in error when he says that the emperors before Hadrian abstained from the exercise of the functions of the chief pontiff.

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I.

of allowing or disallowing whomsoever should pretend to be worshipped for God, within the bounds of the empire.

Neither  
St. Paul  
nor St.  
John's  
concern-  
eth any  
Christian.

§ 25. Whether then that we suppose that the prophecy of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, and the Revelations made to St. John, do concern Antichrist or not; seeing the Scripture no where saith that either the one or the other intendeth to speak of Antichrist; and for the present omitting the dispute whether that Antichrist whom St. John in his first Epistle, ii. 18, 19, iv. 1—3, admitteth to be appointed to come, though other Antichrists were come afore; whether I say that Antichrist be such a one as by persecution should seek to constrain Christians to renounce Christ, or such a one as by professing Christianity should induce Christians to admit the corruption of Christianity, and thereby to forfeit the benefit of it; I say, omitting to dispute this for the present, out of the premises I shall easily infer that there is neither in St. Paul's prophecy, nor in St. John's Revelations, any thing to signify that they are intended of any that should bring in the corruption of Christianity, by making profession of it.

§ 26. Whereupon it followeth, that though we suppose the mystery of iniquity which St. Paul foretellet to be the same that St. John saw—as truly I do suppose—and both to begin with the preaching of Christianity, yet from thence no exception can be made to the interpretation of the Scriptures, and the determination of things questioned in Christianity, from that which may appear to have been received by the whole Church from the beginning. Only I will add, that it is a very barbarous wrong that is done the Church, whether by the Socinians<sup>z</sup>, or by whosoever they are<sup>a</sup>, that allegeth the

<sup>z</sup> Quod autem inventi sint ejusmodi, qui Apostolico sæculo impure prædicare Evangelium ausi sunt, de quibus tot sanctorum virorum querimonias legimus; inde patet primum, antiquitatem alicujus opinionis non esse sufficiens veritatis indicium. Secundum Ecclesiæ auctoritati non facile esse confidendum, cum et apostasia in ea prædicta sit, 2 Thessal. et quidem mox post obitum Pauli, Act. xx. 29. imo ipsorum Apostolorum, præsertim Johannis, tempore multi essent Antichristi 1 John ii. 19. et videamus in ipsis initis Ecclesiæ multos errorum patronos extitisse inter eos, qui justo Dei judicio puniti sunt ejusmodi cæci-

tate, ut ipsis Deus miserit efficaciam erroris eo quod veritatis amore non tenerentur. Non potest igitur esse nisi suspecta Ecclesiæ auctoritas.—Præcipuè Cogitat. in Philippens. i. 15. p. 156. Eleutheropoli, 1692.

<sup>a</sup> Mais peu apres la mort des Apostres, l'ambition ne tarda gueres à reprendre ses erres. Et se verifie en ce point comme eu plusieurs autres, ce que nous dit Hegesippe au recit d'Eusebe, que jusque au temps de Trajan, ou environ, "l'eglise estoit demeurée en son integrite, et comme vierge. Mais que depuis que la sacrée compagnie des Apostres, par divers genres de mort fust retirée de ce monde, la

testimony of Hegesippus in Eusebius—acknowledging, that the Church, which during the time of the Apostles was a pure virgin, after their departure began to be adulterate with the contagion of pestilent doctrines—to argue, that this being the mystery of iniquity which St. Paul prophesieth, is also the corruption of the papacy, which beginning so early, leaves nothing unsuspected that can be presumed upon the consent of the Church.

CHAP.  
XXIII.

§ 27. For it is manifest that Hegesippus speaks of the abominable doctrines of the Gnostics, which, as it is manifest by the writings of the Apostles, that they were on foot during their time, so may we well believe Hegesippus, that upon their death they spread so far, that in comparison of what succeeded, the Church of the Apostles may well be counted a pure virgin. It is also manifest, from the premises, that the Gnostics could find in their hearts to counterfeit themselves as well Christians as Jews or Gentiles, to secure themselves from punishment, and win followers: but it is also manifest, that as they were discovered by the Church, so they were put out of the Church, and forced to range themselves among their own respective sectaries. So that to impute the corruption of their damnable inventions to the Church, because they  
175 mixed themselves with the Church till they were discovered, is the same justice that the Gentiles did the Christians, in charging them with those horrible incests and villanies, which the Gnostics only were guilty of, because they, so far as it was for their turn, affected to shelter themselves under the profession of Christians.

[Meaning of the passage from Hegesippus.]

§ 28. I shall have occasion in another place<sup>b</sup> to enquire further concerning the rising of the Gnostics during the time of the Apostles. In the mean time, because I see those who know not how to yield to the truth when it is shewed them, stand in the justification of the wrong that is done the Church, by expounding of the corruptions of the papacy that which Hegesippus saith of the Gnostics, it shall be enough to give you his own words in Eusebius, *Eccles.*

*Hist.* iii. 32,<sup>c</sup> ὡς ἄρα μέχρι τῶν τότε χρόνων παρθένος

conspiration de l'erreur commença à operer à teste decouverte." Cela vient environ jusques en l'an 100.—Du Plessis, *Le Mystere d'Iniquite*, c'esta dire,

L'Histoire de la Papauté, p. 7. Saumur, 1611.

<sup>b</sup> In book ii. chap. xii.

<sup>c</sup> Pp. 104, 105. ed. Vales.

BOOK  
I.

καθαρά καὶ ἀδιάφθορος ἔμεινεν ἡ ἐκκλησία· ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει φωλευόντων εἰσέτι τότε, τῶν, εἰ καὶ τινες ὑπῆρχον, παραφθείρειν ἐπιχειρούντων τὸν ὑγιή κανόνα τοῦ σωτηρίου κηρύγματος. ὡς δ' ὁ ἱερός τῶν Ἀποστόλων χορὸς διάφορον εἰλήφει τοῦ βίου τέλος, παρεληλύθει τε ἡ γενεὰ ἐκείνη, τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι κατηξιωμένων, τημικαῦτα τῆς ἀθέου πλάνης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανεν ἡ σύστασις, διὰ τῆς τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων ἀπάτης, οἱ καὶ ἄ τε μηδεὸς ἔτι τῶν Ἀποστόλων λειπομένου, γυμνῆ λοιπὸν ἤδη τῇ κεφαλῇ, τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι τὴν ψευδόνυμον γυνῶσιν ἀντικηρύττειν ἐπεχειροῦν.

§ 29. Hegesippus saith, “that till that time the Church remained a pure virgin and undeflowered; those that endeavoured to adulterate the true rule of that preaching which saveth,” the rule of faith, which I said so much of afore<sup>d</sup>, “lurking in obscure holes of darkness till then, if any such there were. But the sacred choir of the Apostles having found the several ends of their lives, and that generation of men being past, that were vouchsafed to hear the wisdom of God with their own ears, then did the confirmation of atheistical error receive beginning, through the deceit of false teachers; who now, none of the Apostles remaining, undertook, bareheaded for the future, to preach that knowledge which is falsely so called in opposition to the preaching of the truth.” For here you have, in express terms, that “knowledge falsely so called,” from whence the Church, after St. Paul, calls all those heretics Gnostics, as pretending to have got it by such means as our Lord had not discovered to His Apostles. You have also the difference between their lurking under the Apostles, and their open preaching after their death, in terms so express, that he must have a good will to it, whoever oversees. I shall be obliged to refer myself to these same words in another place<sup>e</sup>.

Neither  
the opi-  
nion of the  
Chiliasts.

§ 30. Now to that which is objected concerning the opinion of the Millenaries, I answer first, that it cannot be thought ever to have been Catholic. For Justin the Martyr<sup>f</sup>,

<sup>d</sup> Chap. vii.

<sup>e</sup> In book ii. chap. xii.

<sup>f</sup> Ὁμολόγησα ὄν σοι καὶ πρότερον, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ ταῦτα φρονοῦμεν ὡς καὶ πάντως ἐπίστασθε

τοῦτο γενησόμενον· πολλοὺς δ' αὖ καὶ τῶν τῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ὄντων Χριστιανῶν γνώμης, τοῦτο μὴ γνωρίζειν ἐσήμανά σοι. . . . . ἐγὼ δὲ, καὶ οἱ τινές εἰσιν



who first mentions it in his dispute with Trypho the Jew, not many years after the Apostles, expressly testifies that it was the opinion of the most orthodox Christians—to wit, in his judgment—but withal, that it was contradicted by others, who were nevertheless Christians, even in his account, that is, of the communion of the Church. Which, as it is a peremptory exception against the universality, so is it a reasonable presumption against the originality of it; seeing that, in so few years between him and the Apostles, those that believed not all which they had delivered for the common Christianity, can in no probability be thought to have enjoyed the communion of the Church.

§ 31. And truly, had it not been contradicted elsewhere, that excellent prelate, Dionysius of Alexandria, that suppressed it in Egypt about one hundred and thirty years after, as you may see in Eusebius, *Eccles. Hist.* vii. 23—25, would have found a hard task of it. For the intelligence and correspondence then in use between all parts of the Church, would easily have confirmed those of his charge even against him<sup>s</sup>. The reason of achieving the work was, because the rest of Christendom insisted not on it. Neither is the number or repute of writers extant, the reason to conclude any thing Catholic, if the premises be true; but the evidence which may be made—sometimes from the disputes of able writers, but

CHAP.  
XXIII.

[The opinion of the Millennium suppressed.]

ὀρθογνώμονες κατὰ πάντα Χριστιανοί, καὶ σαρκίως ἀνάστασιν γενήσεσθαι, ἐπιστάμεθα: καὶ χίλια ἔτη ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ οἰκοδομηθεῖσθαι καὶ κοσμηθεῖσθαι καὶ πλατυνθεῖσθαι, οἱ προφήται Ἰεζεκιήλ καὶ Ἰσαΐας, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὁμολογοῦσιν.—*Dial. cum Tryph.*, cap. 80. pp. 177, 178. ed. Ben.

From which Jeremy Taylor argued thus: “In the first age after the Apostles, Papias pretended he received a tradition from the Apostles, that Christ before the day of judgment should reign a thousand years upon earth, and His saints with Him in temporal felicities; and this thing proceeding from so great an authority as the testimony of Papias, drew after it all or most of the Christians in the first three hundred years. For besides that the millenary opinion is expressly taught by Papias, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, Lactantius, Severus, Victorinus, Apollinaris, Nepos, and divers others, famous in their time,

Justin Martyr in his dialogue against Trypho says, it was the belief of all Christians exactly orthodox, καὶ εἰ τίνες εἰσὶ κατὰ πάντα ὀρθογνώμονες χριστιανοί, and yet there was no such tradition, but a mistake in Papias, but I find it nowhere spoken against, till Dionysius of Alexandria confuted Nepos’s book, and converted Coracion the Egyptian from the opinion. Now if a tradition whose beginning of being called so began with a scholar of the Apostles—for so was Papias—and then continued for some ages upon the mere authority of so famous a man, did yet deceive the Church; much more fallible is the pretence, when two or three hundred years after it but commences, and then by some learned man is first called a tradition Apostolical.”—*Liberty of Prophesying*, § 5. pp. 84, 85. London, 1647.

<sup>s</sup> “Confirmed the Christians that resorted to Alexandria even against him.”—MS.

BOOK I. much more from the acts which passed in the Church, according to, or against, that which they dispute—that their doctrine was received or not received by the Church, in whole or in part, as necessary or not. And therefore, secondly, I say, that the matter of this position concerneth not the rule of faith commonly obliging all Christians, but the interpretation of a true prophecy indeed; but the true understanding 176 whereof, whoso would make necessary to the salvation of all Christians, should tie all Christians upon their salvation to understand the Apocalypse, which who does?

[The Jewish opinion of the Millennium.]

§ 32. To justify this opinion, it hath been shewed<sup>h</sup> that the Jews have this opinion, that their Christ shall reign one thousand years when he comes, which seeing they cannot be supposed to have received from the Christians, it makes a just presumption that they had it even in St. John's time. The Jews have a tradition which they attribute to the school of one R. Elias, mentioned in many of their writings, by name in Baal haturim upon Gen. ii., and which is also the conceit not only of Lactantius vii. 14<sup>1</sup>, Tychonius the Donatist in his

<sup>h</sup> "Nevertheless it is true that the primitive fathers—especially those who believe the Chiliad—conceived the world should last, and the Church therein labour, six thousand years, and that the seventh thousand should be the day of judgment, and Sabbath, in which the saints should reign with Christ their Lord." . . . .

"The ancient Jews also had a tradition to the same purpose, as appears by these testimonies recorded in the Gemara, or gloss of their Talmud, cod. Sanhedrim. cap. Kol. Israel. For there, concerning that of Essay, chap. ii., Exaltabitur Dominus solus die illo, thus speaks the Talmudical gloss: Dixit Rabbi Ketina, sex annorum millibus stat mundus, et uno millenario vastabitur; de quo dicitur, 'atque exaltabitur Dominus solus die illo.' Note, by vastabitur they mean the vastation of the world by fire in the day of judgment, whereby it shall become new, or a new heaven and new earth. Sequitur, traditio adstipulatur R. Ketinæ, nempe ista, Sicut ex septenis annis septimus quisque annus remissionis est, ita septem millibus annorum mundi septimus millenarius remissionis erit, ut Dominus solus exaltetur in die illo. Dicitur enim, Ps. xcii. psalmus et canticum de die Sabbati, id est, de eo die, qui totus

quies est. Note, they understand this psalm of the great day of judgment, and the sabbath mentioned in the title of the great sabbath of a thousand years. Dicitur item, Ps. xc. nam mille anni in oculis tuis velut dies hesternus. Traditio domus Eliæ, sex mille annos durat mundus; bis mille annis inantitas, bis mille annis lex, denique bis mille annis dies Christi. At vero propter peccata nostra et plurima et enormia, abierunt ex his qui abierunt. These last words Petrus Galatinus proves to be added to this tradition by the later Jews. And surely this Elias lived under the second temple, and before the birth of Christ. And though there be no mention here of the seventh thousand years; yet that this R. Elias acknowledged it as well as the rest, appears by a former place of the same Gemara Talmudica, which is this, Traditio domus Eliæ, 'quos resuscitabit Deus,' &c.—Mede's Works, bk. v. pp. 1092, 1093. London, 1665.

<sup>i</sup> Ergo quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt; per secula sex, id est annorum sex millia manere hoc statu mundum necesse est. Dies enim magnus Dei mille annorum circulo terminatur, sicut indicat propheta, qui dicit; 'Ante oculos tuos, Domine, mille anni, tanquam dies unus.' Et

fifth rule<sup>k</sup> for expounding the Scripture, and the Epistle CHAP.  
XXIII. anciently entitled to St. Barnabas<sup>l</sup> and lately published, but also—as you may see in the late lord primate's Latin Discourse of Cainan<sup>m</sup>—of divers fathers<sup>n</sup>, that as there passed two thousand years before the law, under the law, counting from Abraham two thousand years, so the days of Christ should be two thousand years, and after that the everlasting Sabbath.

§ 33. But whether or no the Jews of St. John's time could expect this thousand years for the complement of the Sabbath or work of seven thousand years, which this tradition promised; whether or no Christians may expect the end of the world at the end of seven thousand years, the Sabbath that shall succeed being eternity—according to that of St. Peter, and of the Psalm [xc. 4.] that a thousand years are as a day in God's sight—let them that have nothing else to do enquire; certainly it will not concern the meaning of the Apocalypse, unless it could be said that the thousand years there foretold are to begin after two thousand years of our Lord are finished.

§ 34. Indeed, this we see, that the Jews whom King Alphonsus<sup>o</sup> employed to make the accounts of the celestial

ut Deus sex illos dies in tantis rebus fabricandis laboravit; ita et religio ejus et veritas in his sex millibus annorum laboret necesse est, malitia prævalente ac dominante. Et rursus quoniam perfectis operibus requievit die septimo, eumque benedixit; necesse est, ut in fine sexti millesimi anni malitia omnis aboleatur e terra, et regnet per annos mille justitia; sitque tranquillitas et requies a laboribus, quos mundus jamdiu perpressus est.—Pp. 643, 644. Oxon. 1684. Mede has produced this passage in the place just mentioned.

<sup>k</sup> Sicut autem in prima parte temporis cujusque tempus est: ita in novissima hora totus dies sit, reliquiae mille annorum, mille anni sunt. Sex dies sunt mundi ætas, id est 6000 annorum. In reliquiis sexti diei, id est mille annorum natus est Dominus, passus et resurrexit. Item reliquiae mille annorum dictæ sunt mille anni primæ resurrectionis. Sicut enim reliquiae sextæ feriæ, id est, tres horæ, totus dies est unus ex tribus sepulturæ Domini, ita reliquiae sexti diei majoris quo surrexit Ecclesia, totus dies est mille anni.—Bibliothec. Patr. Maxim.,

tom. vi. p. 60. Lugdun. 1677.

<sup>l</sup> Πρόσεχετε, τέκνα, τί λέγει τὸ συνετέλεσεν ἐν ἐξ ἡμέραις· τοῦτο λέγει, ὅτι συντελεῖ ὁ Θεὸς Κύριος ἐν ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τὰ πάντα· ἢ γὰρ ἡμέρα παρ' αὐτῷ χίλια ἔτη. . . Οὐκοῦν, τέκνα, ἐν ἐξ ἡμέραις, ἐν τοῖς ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι, συντελεσθήσεται τὰ πάντα.—Cap. xv. pp. 44, 46. ed. Coteler.

<sup>m</sup> Ejusmodi enim divisionem Hebraico nomine Phaleg significatam putabant. . . . et 6000 annis integrum præsentis sæculi spatium definiabant: quæ recepta fuerat apud Hebræos, Græcos et Latinos opinio; ut in Barnabæ tributa epistola, dicto illo domus Eliæ apud Talmudicos celebri, Cabalístico autore עוריים in primum Geneseos versiculum, Lactantio, lib. vii. cap. 14, Tychonio in regula, et aliis videre licet.—Usserii dissert. ap. Critic. Sacr., tom. ix. col. 4010. Londin. 1660.

<sup>n</sup> The words "of divers fathers" are inserted from MS.

<sup>o</sup> Alphonsus x. Hispaniæ rex, . . . hic in tabulas astronomicas convocatis undique Mathematicis insignibus, 40, ut alii, 200 coronatorum millia impendit.—Hoffman's Lexic. in voce.

motions, in appointing the motion of the fixed stars from west to east to come round in forty-nine thousand years, the irregularity of that motion to come round in seven thousand years—and that, not being obliged to it by any observations—made the like account of sabbaths of thousands of years, and seven thousands, as the law doth of days, or years, or sabbaths of years. But if these Jews<sup>p</sup> be pitifully put to it, when to excuse

Nam convocatis Mauris et Judæis astronomice peritis Toletum ab Alphonso, præcipuus inter eos fuit Isahac Hazan, id est, Cantor, fuit enim Synagogæ Toletanæ Cantor, quem Hispanenses Hebræi dicunt auctorem tabularum Alphonsinarum; is ergo cabalisticis mysteriis assuetus, dixit per annum sabbaticum significatum esse a Deo motum fixarum, qui dicitur accessus et recessus, ideoque illius revolutionem compleri annis septem millibus, quia Deus, Exod. xxi. Deuteron. xv. et Jerem. xxiv. præcipit Judæis ut septimo quoque anno quiescant ab agricultura et exactione mutui, servosque dimittant, qui proinde annus, *Scemita*, id est, remissionis, et sabbaticus a requie terræ appellabatur, Quoniam vero idem Dominus, ibidem jusserat exactis 7 hebdomadibus annorum sabbaticorum, hoc est, completis quibusque 49 annis celebrari Jubilæum annum, ita dictum a *Jobel*, id est, a clangore tubæ, quo anno redibant omnia vendita ad pristinos dominos; idcirco finxit Isahac significari per hos annos 49 apocatastasium motus absoluti fixarum, et augium omnium planetarum—siquidem Ptolemæus quoque lib. ix. 5. putavit pari motu moveri fixas et planetarum quinque minorum apogea—ideoque hanc revolutionem compleri annis 49,000, et tunc quasi Jubilæo universali reverti omnia in pristinum tanquam magno anno peracto.—Ricciol. *Almagest*. Nov. lib. vi. cap. xvi. p. 444. Bononiæ, 1651.

Augustinus Riccius says that Christians were also employed: Is itaque ex regis mandato cæteris Hebræorum Christianorumque adjuvantibus; which Riccioli omits, though indebted for his information to Riccius. Bailly too, *Hist. de l'Astronomie Moderne*, speaks of Chrétiens, Juifs, Maures, tom. i. p. 299. Paris, 1785.

<sup>p</sup> Filo nostræ disputationis tantisper omisso, digreditur doctissimus vir ad aliud quæsitum, quod omnes Christiani, qui Judæum convertere intendunt, maxime extollunt. Quærunt a

nobis propter quod peccatum adeo longam et miseram captivitatem sustinemus, quantumvis Mosis legem exacte observare eamque contra totum genus humanum retinere cupiamus, idololatria, quæ erat pessimum Israelis peccatum, penitus relicta, et toto corde abominata; cum antea tempore iudicum idem crimen brevissimis captivitatibus, vel vicinis populis subjectione, puniretur, Deo statim ac respisceret, sui populi miserente. Postea in Babylonica 70 annis Dominus contentus fuit pro Israelis expiatione, cui pepercit, et miseris in patriam reduxit: cum tamen ea captivitas propter horrenda crimina fuisset, præsertim pro universali populi idololatria, quam reges, principes et sacerdotes, per aliquot sæcula, commiserant; tamen 70 captivitatis annis fuit expurgata. Quare igitur, in hac, in qua nec idololatria, neque sacrilegia, nec majora peccata, quam cæteræ gentes, Judæi patrant, adeo durat ut plusquam per 16 secula vagabundi sint, extorres a patria, sine rege, sine Domino potius abjecti, et omnibus populis in opprobrium et perpetuam despectionem? Quod ergo est hoc peccatum quod nec veniam, nec consolationem aliquam pro spe nostra firmanda, ita Dei misericordiam impedit nobis largiri, præter modum, quo Deus propter majora crimina cum dilecto suo populo usus fuerat? Quod enim aliud nisi obstinata in Messiam jam adventum infidelitas? . . . . .

Ad duo capita hoc quæsitum reducit: primum, ob quæ peccata Dominus per omnes populos Israellem in captivitate dispersit? Secundum, quare adeo diuturna sit hæc captivitas; cum antea propter majus scelus, nempe idololatriam, 70 anni Babylonica captivitatis suffecerint ad peccati expiationem, ut populus pristinum libertatem consequeretur? Ad primum Deus ipse aperte respondet, qui in tota lege, et prophetis Israeli de hac per totum universum dispersione, et summa abjectione, comminatione, non nisi propter illius legis, quam per Mosem promul-

their not believing in Christ who came when the world was about four thousand years old, according to their own tradition, they are fain to say that it hath failed a small matter, of almost seventeen hundred years, for their sins; among the Christians what can be said more, but that it pleased God to promise them a thousand years of prosperity and reign, which the Jews, forsaking Christ, promised themselves to no purpose? seeing the beginning of them cannot be tied to the end of six thousand years from the beginning of the world.

§ 35. And truly no more than this can be thought requisite to the purpose of the whole prophecy, of encouraging them to continue constant in the profession of Christianity, notwithstanding all persecutions, as foreknowing the issue. Now he that continues constant in Christianity, and never knew this prophecy, shall want nothing necessary to his salvation, though he want something very effectual to the having of that which is necessary; to wit, of perseverance in Christianity; the intent of this prophecy being to persuade them to it. Which is enough to shew any man a difference between the right understanding of this prophecy, and any part of the rule of faith.

§ 36. As for the custom of giving the Eucharist<sup>a</sup> to infants so soon as they were baptized, I answer, that the evidence which I will give you, that it was never used out of an

Nor the giving of the Eucharist to infants new baptized, Catholic.

gavit, transgressionem; nulla alia addita causa, neque de Messia abnegatione verbum locutus. Quare igitur alia nostrae captivitatis causae assignandae? Sufficit clarum verbum Dei, ut certissime sciamus divinae legis Mosis praevagationem, haec omnia nobis adduxisse mala; nec nobis aliam causam quaerere, aut exspeculari licet, cum conscii nobis simus hos et majores labores propter legis transgressionem, adhuc hodie mereri. Aliam nostrae captivitatis causam disquirant ad quos maxime oportet invenire, ut sua dogmata possint stabilire.—Tert. Script. Judaei, apud Limborch, Amic. Collat. pp. 98, 99. Goudæ, 1687.

<sup>a</sup> "There are some opinions which when they began to be publicly received, began to be accounted prime traditions, and so became such not by a native title, but by adoption, and nothing is more usual than for the fathers to colour their popular opinion

with so great an appellative. St. Austin called the communicating of infants an Apostolical tradition, and yet we do not practise it, because we disbelieve the allegation."—Jeremy Taylor's Liberty of Prophesying, § 5. p. 88. London, 1647.

"I find that the fathers were infinitely deceived in their account and enumeration of traditions, sometimes they did call some traditions such, not which they knew to be so, but by arguments and presumptions they concluded them so. Such as was that of S. Austin *ea quae universalis tenet ecclesia nec a conciliis instituta reperiuntur, credibile est ab Apostolorum traditione descendisse*. Now suppose this rule probable, that is the most, yet it is not certain: it might come by custom, whose original was not known, but yet could not derive from an Apostolical principle."—Jeremy Taylor, Liberty of Prophesying, p. 84.

BOOK I opinion of necessity to salvation, as the baptism of infants was, seemeth to be an exception sufficient against the universal use of it, as supposed to come from the Apostles. He that will shew me any writer of the Church, by whose testimony it may be presumed that the Church did not baptize infants, out of an opinion that they could not be saved without it—I speak<sup>r</sup> not now of the truth of this opinion, but only of the point of fact, whatsoever may be argued from thence by virtue of the premises—I will yield him, that the same writer did believe that the giving of the Eucharist to infants upon their baptism was commanded by the Apostles.

§ 37. I acknowledge it is the opinion of Tertullian<sup>s</sup>—for which there is no mark upon him as ever a whit the less catholic—that it was not expedient to baptize infants, because of the danger of years under discretion to seduce them from the fulfilling of their profession, before they could throughly<sup>177</sup> understand what it imported. But I deny that this was because he, or any body, then believed that they could go out of the world unbaptized and yet be saved. For when the vigilance of parents, and the diligence of all, might assure them not to fail of baptism in case of necessity, it is no marvel if the reason alleged might move men to defer it to the years of manhood<sup>t</sup>, believing no less the necessity of it.

<sup>r</sup> “I argue not here that infants are to be baptized, whatsoever in due time may be argued from the point of fact, by virtue of the principle premised, *omnis, semper, ubique.*”—MS.

<sup>a</sup> Itaque pro personæ ejusque conditione ac dispositione, etiam ætate cunctatio baptismi utilior est: præcipue tamen circa parvulos.—De Baptismo, cap. xviii. p. 392. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

<sup>t</sup> Nonnulli baptismum ex ethnico quodam principio, in ipsis adhuc residuo, differebant, quia mundi amore et illecebris tenebantur irretiti, a quibus abnegandis Christique jugo in se attollendo, animum gerebant alieniorem, quod hoc ipso ad severiorem vivendi rationem se obligatum iri existimarent. In præsentî hujus vitæ suavitatibus frui, atque ita demum baptizari, et nihilominus eandem gratiam quam qui longe ante baptizati essent, consequi se posse credebant. ‘Neque enim qui priores in vinea laborassent, meliori idcirco conditione fuisse, æqua nempe

mercede postremis quæque persoluta.’ Ita Nazianzenus—Orat. 40 de Baptismo.—eos introducit, baptismi sui dilationem excusantes. Hæc ratio adeo absurda erat, ut multos, qui ea agebantur, eam profiteri puderet.

Alii baptismum ad vitæ usque suæ exitum procrastinabant, ex principio quodam Novatiano, eo quod se metuere dicerent, ne post baptismum rursus peccarent; neque vero secundum quandam baptismum dari, quo homines ad regnum cæleste denuo regenerentur, quum contra futurum sit, ut, si sub mortis horam baptismum receperint, cælum sibi protinus apertum mundi et immaculati ingrediantur. Quod si usu veniat ut ante baptismum diem suum obeant, sperare se, Deum baptismi cupiditatem pro ipso baptismum accepturum. Jam vero uti ista opinatio multis erroribus fundata erat, ita Veteres in ea confutanda copiosi sunt.—Paleotim. Origin. Eccles., lib. xi. cap. vi. *de tempore et loco baptismi*, p. 253. Venet. 1766.

§ 38. Now in the writings of Fulgentius<sup>u</sup>, a worthy African prelate, there is extant a little piece, in answer to a letter of Ferrandus, a deacon of his, it seems, about a certain Moor, who being converted, and having divers times made profession of Christianity, as the custom of the Church then required; after that, being taken sick, was baptized, without being able, by speaking, to make the like profession as the rule required all at their baptism to make. Upon other considerations, the letter desires resolution of the salvation of this Moor; but upon this also, because he survived not to receive the Eucharist, which is clearly answered in the affirmative, upon as good reasons of Scripture as a good Christian can desire. Which is without exception, to shew that they had not that opinion of the necessity of the Eucharist, as of baptism, sufficient to argue a several beginning of observing them both.

§ 39. And truly, seeing it is granted on all hands, that it is no inconvenience in Christianity, that the Church, or any part of it, mistake the true meaning of some Scriptures, the alleging of our Lord's words, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, ye have not life in you," John vi. 53, seems to argue that this came to be an order from some new act of the Church, or part of it; rather than that it was practised as coming from the Apostles. Whereunto if we add that which here follows, though it appear—chiefly by St. Cyprian<sup>x</sup>, *de Lapsis*—to have been frequented in Africa, though it were practised in the Western and Eastern Church, yet perhaps it will appear to come short of St. Augustine's rule<sup>y</sup>, of discerning what comes from the Apostles, as affording appear-

<sup>u</sup> Profer, obsecro, de thesauro tuo . . . dubitanti quid sequatur ostendas. Religiosi cujusdam viri famulus, ætate adolescens, colore Æthiops. . . fit ex more catechumenus . . . inter competentes offertur, scribitur, eruditur . . . in extremo halitu constitutus, sine voce, sine motu, sine sensu, nihil valens sacerdoti interroganti respondere, deferentium manibus apportatur, et pro eo nobis, quasi pro infante, respondentibus, mente absentissimus accepit baptismum, quem se accepisse, post paululum mortuus, in hac præsentia, arbitrator, vita nescivit. Quæso nunc, utrum nihil ad æternam beatitudinem consequendam vox ablata nocu-

erit.—Ep. Ferrandi, apud Fulgentium.

Nullus autem debet moveri fidelium in illis, qui etsi legitime sana mente baptizantur præveniente velocius morte, carnem Domini manducare, et sanguinem bibere non sinuntur: propter illam videlicet sententiam Salvatoris, qui dixit, "nisi manducaveritis carnem filii," &c. Quod quisquis non solum secundum veritatis mysteria, sed secundum mysterii veritatem considerare poterit, in ipso lavacro sanctæ regenerationis hoc fieri providebit.—S. Fulgent. opp. Ep. xii. § 24. p. 103. Venet. 1742.

<sup>x</sup> See the last note to this chapter, sect. 44.

<sup>y</sup> Chap. xxi. § 24.

BOOK I. — ance that it was neither original nor catholic; as for how prejudicial, this is not the place to determine it.

§ 40. The words of Innocent I., Pope, out of which it is commonly taken for granted that this custom was in use at Rome, are these, Epist. xciii., *apud Augustinum*<sup>z</sup>: *Illud vero quod eos vestra fraternitas asserit prædicare, parvulos æternæ vitæ præmiis absque baptismatis gratia posse donari, perfectum est. Nisi enim manducaverint carnem Filii hominis, et biberint sanguinem ejus, non habebunt vitam in semetipsis.* “But that which your brotherhood affirms that they publish, that infants may have the reward of eternal life given them even without the grace of baptism, is very foolish: for unless they eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood, they have not life in themselves.” Where it is plain, that eating the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ, which he makes necessary to salvation, is that which consists in being baptized<sup>a</sup>; but of giving them the Eucharist, not a word more than this.

§ 41. The same sense—concerning the eating of the flesh, and drinking the blood of Christ in and by baptism, and that only necessary to salvation—St. Augustine also most manifestly delivers in a passage alleged by Gratian, *de Consecrat.*, dist. 2. cap. 36. *Quia passus est Dominus, out of a certain homily, de Infantibus, which Bede also hath, in 1 ad Cor. x. Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis et sanguinis Dominici fieri participem, quando in baptisate membrum efficitur Christi, nec alienari ab illius panis calicisque consortio, etiamsi antequam panem illum comedat et calicem bibat, de hoc seculo in unitate Corporis Christi constitutus abscedat.* “No man is any way to doubt that every

<sup>z</sup> Ep. clxxxii. tom. ii. col. 640. ed. Ben. Innoc. Ep. xxv. Labbei, tom. iii. col. 48. ed. Venet.

<sup>a</sup> Per hæc verba, viri quidam non vulgariter docti existimarunt Innocentium hunc locum S. Joannis Evangelistæ, non de Eucharistiæ, sed de baptismi sumptione interpretari. Decepti sunt, quod vim argumenti, quo Pontifex utitur, non fuerunt assecuti. Ille enim ut Pelagium—qui docebat baptismum infantulis patre fideli prognatis, ideoque originale peccatum non contrahentibus, necessarium non esse—convinceret, hac rationacinatione hic uti-

tur. Quibus necessaria est Eucharistiæ sumptio, iisdem baptismi sumptio magis est necessaria: siquidem ad sanctissimam Eucharistiam reverenter sumendam, nemo, nisi ante rite et legitime baptizatus admittatur; at infantulis omnibus est necessaria Eucharistiæ sumptio; ergo infantulis omnibus etiam est necessaria susceptio baptismi. Minorem quam ille tunc temporis sustinebat, probabat per prædicta verba S. Joannis, juxta eam expositionem accepta, quæ praxi Ecclesiæ non repugnat.—Nota Severini Binii in loc. Labbei, tom. iii. col. 49. ed. Venet.



believer then becomes partaker of the body and blood of Christ, when he is made a member of Christ by baptism: nor does he become a stranger to the communion of that bread and cup, though before he eat that bread, and drink that cup, he goes out of the world, estated in the unity of Christ's body."

§ 42. And thus he expounds also the eating of Christ's flesh, and drinking His blood, *de Peccatorum Meritis et Remissionibus*, iii. 4.<sup>b</sup> And so he is likewise there to be understood, lib. i. cap. xx.<sup>c</sup> And to this purpose all those passages of his are in force, whereby he requireth nothing but baptism to the salvation of infants. And in this sense *Hypognost. ad art. V.*<sup>d</sup> *Quomodo igitur vitam regni cœlorum promittitis parvulis non renatis ex aqua et spiritu, non cibatis carne, neque potatis sanguine Christi, Qui fusus est in remissionem peccatorum? Ecce non baptizatus, vitali etiam cibo poculoque privatus, dividitur a regno cœlorum, ubi fons viventium permanet Christus.* "How do ye, Pelagians, promise little ones, not born again of water and the spirit, not fed with the flesh, nor drenched with the blood of Christ shed for remission of sins, the life of the kingdom of heaven? See, the unbaptized, deprived also of the bread and cup of life, is divided from the kingdom of heaven, where Christ the well of life remains."

§ 43. So it appears that the African Church had this custom, but held it not necessary to salvation as baptism; but by Gennadius, *de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis*, cap. lii.<sup>e</sup>, it appears to have been a custom of the Church, when heretics were reconciled to the Church by confirmation, to give their little ones the Eucharist presently upon it. And *Ordo Romanus*<sup>f</sup> *de Baptismo* prescribes it after the solemn baptism before Easter,

<sup>b</sup> Unde fit consequens, ut quoniam nihil agitur aliud, cum parvuli baptizantur, nisi ut incorporentur Ecclesiæ, id est, Christi corpori membrisque socientur; manifestum sit eos ad damnationem, nisi hoc eis collatum fuerit, pertinere.—Tom. x. col. 74. ed. Ben.

<sup>c</sup> Dominum audiamus, inquam, non quidem hoc de sacramento lavaeri dicentem, sed de sacramento sanctæ mensæ suæ, quo nemo rite nisi baptizatus accedit; Nisi manducaveritis &c.

An vero quenquam etiam hoc dicere audebit quod ad parvulos hæc sententia non pertineat, possuntque sine participatione corporis hujus et sanguinis in se habere vitam.—Ib. col. 15. ed. Ben.

<sup>d</sup> Hypognest., lib. iv. tom. x. Append. col. 40. ed. Ben.

<sup>e</sup> Si vero parvuli sunt, vel hebetes, qui doctrinam non capiant, respondeant pro illis, qui eos offerunt, juxta morem baptizandi; et sic manus impositione et chrismate communiti Eucharistiæ mysteriis admittantur.—P. 30. Hamburg. 1614.

<sup>f</sup> Illud autem parvulis, providendum est, ne postquam baptizati fuerint, ullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur sine summa necessitate, antequam communent Sacramento Corporis Christi.—*Ordo Romanus*, Bibl. Patr. Maxim., tom. xiii. p. 697. Lugdun. 1677.

BOOK I. which the French Capitulary, i. 161,<sup>g</sup> and Alcuinus also, *de Divinis Officiis*<sup>h</sup>, provideth for. And in the Eastern Church, Dionysius in the end of the book *de Ecclesiastica Hierarchia*<sup>l</sup>.

§ 44. In the mean time it is to be considered, that there being no order that all should be baptized infants, nor at what age—whereupon St. Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. xl. in Sanctum Baptisma*<sup>k</sup>, advises at three or four years of age—it cannot be said to have been a general custom of the Church; nor that it could be original from the Apostles<sup>l</sup>, because the solemn times of baptism, at Easter and Whitsuntide, cannot be thought to have been settled till Christianity was grown very vulgar. For as for those that were baptized upon particular occasions, or in danger of death, it cannot be thought that the Eucharist was celebrated for their purpose; nor doth any example appear that it was ever brought them from the Church. On the contrary, when the times of baptism came to be disused, because it was found to be for the best that all should be baptized infants, upon this occasion the receiving of the Eucharist came to be deferred as much longer than was fitting, in my

<sup>g</sup> Ut presbyter semper Eucharistiam habeat paratam; ut quando quis infirmaverit, aut parvulus infirmus fuerit, statim eum communicet, ne sine communione moriatur.—Cap. Reg. Franc., tom. i. col. 731. Paris. 1677.

<sup>h</sup> Sed et hoc prævidendum est, ut nullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur antequam communicent. Omni autem die, usque in Octavas ad missam veniant, et communicent, parentes vero oblationes pro ipsis faciant.—Cap. xix. Alcuin. tom. ii. pars ii. p. 484. Monast. S. Emmeram. 1777.

<sup>l</sup> Μεταδίδοσι δὲ τῷ παιδί τῶν ἱερῶν συμβόλων ὁ Ἱεράρχης, ὅπως ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀνατραφείη.—Cap. vii. p. 419. Antwerp. 1633.

<sup>k</sup> Τί δ' ἐν ἑπτασ περί τῶν ἔτι νηπίων καὶ μήτε τῆς ζήμιας ἐπαισθανομένων, μήτε τῆς χαρίτος; ἢ καὶ ταῦτα βαπτίσομεν; πάνυ γε, εἰπέρτις ἐπέλοι κίνδυνος . . . περί δὲ τῶν ἄλλων δίδωμι γνώμην, τὴν τριετιαν ἀναμείναντας, ἢ μικρὸν ἐν τὸς τοῦτου, ἢ ὑπὲρ τοῦτο.—P. 713, 714. ed. Ben.

<sup>l</sup> Equidem in prima Evangelii per orbem terrarum annuntiatione nusquam homines ad observandum stata baptismi tempora fuerunt obligati, quia Apostoli nullam hac de re legem præscripserunt. Ipsimet quovis tempore, ut res et occasio se dabat, indiscriminim

baptizabant, hanc circumstantiam iudicio et prudentiæ successorum suorum in Ecclesia in totum relinquentes. Hoc ipsum ex Actis Apostolorum et subsecutæ Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ monumentis, sibi invicem comparatis, sat luculenter patet. Veruntamen quando statim temporis regulæ strictissime observabantur, erant nihilosecui diversi casus, in quibus eas migrari consultum esse videbatur. Infirmas et extrema quædam necessitas justam dabat exceptionem, uti jam ante vidimus. Quorundam etiam catechumenorum docilitas, et proficiendi studium, quo alios sui ordinis antecellebant, maturius baptismi privilegium illis conciliabat, siquidem ejus desiderium testarentur, præsertim in Ecclesiis orientalibus, quemadmodum ex Chrysostomi—Hom. i. in Act.—et Basilii—Exhortat. ad Bapt. Hom. xiii.—adhortationibus colligi potest, quibus eos, quos ad baptismum digne præparatos, norant, ad illum prima quaque opportunitate, sine ulla majoris cujusdam solemnitatis expectatione, suscipiendum invitabant. Ut adeo ista solemnia tempora ex scitis rationibus ab Ecclesia fuerint præstituta, et ex æque idoneis rationibus negligi potuerint.—Paleotim. Origin. Eccles., lib. xi. cap. vi. p. 255. Venet. 1766.

opinion, as it was given too soon in St. Cyprian's time, according to the example related by him in his book *de Lapsis*<sup>m</sup>; CHAP.  
XXIII. where the child, whom the Pagans had given bread dipped in the wine that had been consecrated to their idols—because too young to eat of the flesh of their sacrifices—receives the Eucharist in the Church.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

TWO SORTS OF MEANS TO RESOLVE WHATSOEVER IS RESOLVABLE CONCERNING THE SCRIPTURE. UPON WHAT TERMS THE CHURCH MAY OR IS TO DETERMINE CONTROVERSIES OF FAITH. AND WHAT OBLIGATION THAT DETERMINATION PRODUCETH. TRADITIONS OF THE APOSTLES OBLIGE THE PRESENT CHURCH, AS THE REASONS OF THEM CONTINUE OR NOT. INSTANCES IN OUR LORD'S PASSOVER AND EUCHARIST. PENANCE UNDER THE APOSTLES, AND AFTERWARDS. ST. PAUL'S VEIL, EATING BLOOD, AND THINGS OFFERED TO IDOLS. THE POWER OF THE CHURCH IN LIMITING THESE TRADITIONS.

I MAY now proceed, I conceive, to resolve generally upon what principles any thing questionable in Christianity is determinable; and as frankly as briefly do affirm, that there are but two sorts of means to resolve us in any thing of that nature: tradition and argument, authority and reason, history and logic. For whatsoever any artist or divine hath said of the great use of the languages in discovering the true meaning of the original Scriptures, by the ancient translations as well as the originals—which I allow as much as they demand—they must give me leave to observe, that seeing all languages are certain laws of speaking, which have the force of signifying by being delivered to posterity upon agreement of their predecessors, all that help is duly ascribed to tradition, which we have from the languages. Indeed this is no tradition of the Church, no more than all history and historical truth, concerning the times, the places, the persons mentioned

Two sorts of means to resolve whatsoever is resolvable concerning the Scriptures.

<sup>m</sup> Ubi vero solennibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre presentibus cepit, et accipientibus caeteris, locus ejus advenit, faciem suam parvula instinctu divinæ majestatis avertere, os labii obturantibus premere, calicem recusare. Perstitit tamen diaconus, et

reluctanti licet de Sacramento calicis infudit. Tunc sequitur singultus et vomitus. In corpore atque ore violato Eucharistia permanere non potuit. . . . Hoc circa infantem quæ ad eloquendum alienum circa se crimen necdum habuit ætatem.—P. 189. ed. Ben.

BOOK I. in the Scripture, concerning the laws, the customs, the fashions, and orders practised by persons mentioned in the Scriptures, in all particulars whereof the Scripture speaks; which, whether it be delivered by Christians or not Christians, 179 as far as the common reason of men alloweth or warranteth it for historical truth, is to be admitted into consequence in enquiring the meaning of the Scriptures; and without it, all pretence of languages is pedantic and contemptible, as that which gives the true reason to the language of the Scripture, whatsoever it import in vulgar use.

§ 2. This help being applied to the text of the Scripture, it will be of consequence to consider the process of the discourse, pursuing that which may appear to be intended not by any man's fancy, but by those marks which, cleared by the helps premised, may appear to signify it; which is the work of reason, supposing the truth of the Scriptures. And whereas other passages of Scripture either are clearer of themselves, or being made clearer by using the same helps, may seem to argue the meaning of that which is questioned; whereas other parts of Christianity resolved afore may serve as principles to infer, by consequence of reason, the truth of that which remains in doubt—not to be imputed therefore to reason, but to the truth from which reason argues, as believed and not seen—this also is no less the work of reason, supposing the truth of the Scriptures.

§ 3. But whereas there be two sorts of things questionable in Christianity; and all that is questionable merely in point of truth hath relation to, and dependance upon, the rule of faith, as consequent to it, or consistent with it, if we will have it true; or otherwise if false: I acknowledge in the first place, that nothing of this nature can be questionable, further than as some Scripture, the meaning whereof is not evident, createth the doubt: and therefore, that the determination of the meaning of that Scripture, is the determination of the truth questionable. For seeing the truth of God's nature and counsels, which Christianity revealeth, are things which no Christian can pretend to have known, otherwise than by revelation from God; and that we have evidence that whatsoever we have by Scripture is revealed, but by the tradition of the Church, no further than all the Church agreeth in it—

all that wherein it agreeth being supposed to be in the Scripture, and much more than that—it followeth, that nothing can be affirmed as consequent to, or consistent with, that which the tradition of the Church containeth, but by the Scripture, and from the Scripture.

§ 4. So that I willingly admit, whatsoever is alleged from divers sayings of the fathers, that whatsoever is not proved out of the Scriptures, is as easily rejected as it is affirmed, limiting the meaning of it as I have said. But whatsoever there is Scripture produced to prove, seeing we have prescribed that nothing can be admitted for the true meaning of any Scripture that is against the Catholic tradition of the Church; it behoveth that evidence be made, that what is pretended to be true, hath been taught in the Church so expressly, as may infer the allowance of it, and therefore is not against the rule of faith. But this being cleared, so manifest as it is that the Church hath not the privilege of infallibility, in any express act, which is not justifiable from the universal original practice of the Church, whether in prescribing what is to be believed, what is to be professed, or what is to be done; so manifest must it remain, that nothing can be resolved by plurality of votes of ecclesiastical writers as to the point of truth. For then were the privilege of infallibility in the votes of those writers, which themselves disclaim, from the substance of what they write. And it is to say, that what had no such privilege when it was written, if it have more authors survive that hold it, shall be and must be held infallible.

§ 5. Which consequences being ridiculous, it followeth, that for the trial of truth within the bounds aforesaid, recourse must be had to the means premised. And the effect of those means every day's experience witnesseth. For the obligation which all men think they have, firmly to hold that which by these means they have all concluded from the Scriptures, is the consequence of these principles in expounding the same. Which obligation, though sometimes imaginary, in regard that between contradictory reasons the consequence may be equally firm on both sides; yet that it cannot be otherwise, he that believes the truth of Christianity must needs imagine. For true principles truly used necessarily produce nothing but true consequences.

BOOK  
I.

Upon what terms the Church may or is to determine controversies of faith.

§ 6. Which if it be so, why should any question be made, 180 that the Church may and sometimes ought to proceed in determining the truth of things questionable upon occasion of the Scriptures, concerning the rule of Christian faith? or which is all one, that the exercise of this power by the Church, produceth in those that are of the Church, an obligation of submitting to the same? Indeed here be two obligations, which sometimes may contradict one another, and therefore whatsoever the matter of them be, the effects of them cannot be contraries. The use of the means to determine the meaning of the Scriptures, produceth an obligation of holding that which followeth from it; which obligation no man can have, or ought to imagine he hath, before the due use of such means, whether his estate in the Church oblige him to use them or not.

And what obligation that determination produceth.

§ 7. But the visible determination of the Church obliges all that are of the Church not to scandalize the unity thereof by professing contrary to the same. And to both these obligations the same man may be subject, as the matter may be, to wit, as one that hath resolved the question upon true principles not to believe the contrary; and as one of the Church that believes the Church, faileth in that for which he is bound not to break the unity thereof, not to profess against what the Church determineth. For I am bold to say again, that there is no society, no communion in the world, whether civil, ecclesiastical, military, or whatsoever it be, that can subsist, unless we grant that the act of superior power obligeth sometimes, when it is ill used. In the mean time, I say not that this holds always, and in matters of whatsoever concernment; nor do take upon me generally to resolve this, no more than what is the matter of the rule of faith, which he that believes may be saved, he that positively believes it not all cannot. It shall be enough for me, if I may give an opinion whether that which we complain of be of value to disoblige us to our superiors or not: as concerning what is questioned among us, whether it be of the rule of faith or not.

§ 8. But this I shall say, that to justify the use of this power towards God, requireth not only a persuasion of the truth competent to the weight of the point in question, in those that determine for the Church; but also a probable

judgment that the determination which they shall make will be the means to reduce contrary opinions to that sense which they see so great authority profess and enjoin. For without doubt there can be no such means to dissolve the unity of the Church, as a precipitate and immature determination of something that is become questionable. For effectually to proceed to exercise ecclesiastical communion, upon terms contrary to that which hath been received afore, is actually to dissolve the unity of the Church. The engagement to make good that which men shall have once done, being the most powerful witchcraft and ligature in the world, to blind them from seeing that which all men see besides themselves; or at least, from confessing to see that which they cannot but see.

CHAP.  
XXIV.

§ 9. But if we speak of things which concern the communion of the Church, in those offices which God is to be served with by Christians, or that tend to maintain the same; beside the meaning and truth of the Scriptures, there remains a further question, what is, or ought to be, law to the Church, and oblige them that are of the Church—seeing that whatsoever is in the Scripture obligeth not the Church for law, though obliged to believe it for truth—the resolution whereof will require evidence of the reason, for which every thing was done by the Apostles; for as it holds or not, so the constitution grounded upon it is to hold, either always, or only as it holds. And this reason must be evidenced by the authority of the Church admitting that reason into force, whether by express act or by silent practice.

Traditions of the Apostles oblige the present Church, as the reasons of them continue or not.

§ 10. When the Israelites are commanded to eat the Passover in haste, with their loins girt, and their staves in their hands, there is appearance enough that the intent of it was only concerning that Passover which first they celebrated in Egypt, not for an order always to continue, because then the case required haste; and because then the angel passed over their houses, upon the door-posts whereof the blood was commanded to be sprinkled, that by that mark he might pass over them to smite the Egyptians. For though Philo<sup>n</sup> would have

Instances in our Lord's Passover and the Eucharist.

<sup>n</sup> Τῷ δὴ μηνὶ τούτῳ, περὶ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην ἡμέραν μέλλοντος τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ κύκλου γίνεσθαι πλησιφαοῦς, ἄγεται τὰ διαβατήρια δημοφανῆς ἑορτῆ, τὸ Χαλδαῖσιν λεγόμενον πάσκα, ἐν οὐχ οἱ μὲν ἰδιώται προσάγουσι τῷ βωμῷ

τὰ ἱερεῖα, θύουσι δ' οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἀλλὰ νόμου προστάξει σύμπαν τὸ ἔθνος ἱεράται τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐκάστου τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θυσίας ἀνάγοντος τότε καὶ χειρουργούντος.—De Vita Mosis, lib. iii. p. 686. Paris. 1640.

BOOK  
I.

the Passover to be celebrated at home, and not at Jerusalem—though perhaps only by those of the dispersions, those that dwelt in the land of promise being all tied to resort to Jerusalem—yet all that acknowledge the Talmud think it not lawful to celebrate it but at Jerusalem<sup>o</sup>; contenting themselves with the supper, and abating the lamb, as one of those sacrifices which the law forbiddeth every where but before the ark. But had not the practice of the nation, and the authority of the elders, trusted by the law to determine such matters, appeared in the business, our Lord, who, according to His own doctrine, was subject to their constitutions, had not had a rule for His proceeding.

§ 11. So, in the infancy of Christianity, it is no marvel if the Christians at Jerusalem entertained daily communion<sup>p</sup>, even at board also, among themselves; and that they gave their estates to the maintenance of it, not by any law of communion of goods, but as the common necessity required; for what could make more towards the advancement of Christianity? And when, at Corinth, and in other Churches, the communion was in use, though not so frequent, nor giving up their estates, but offering the first fruits of them to the maintenance of it; yet still was the Eucharist frequented at these occasions as it was first instituted by our Lord, as by the express words of Tertullian<sup>q</sup> we understand that it was even in his time. But when the number of Christians so increased, that the use of the like communion could not stand with the maintenance of the world, which Christianity supposeth, when the same discipline could not prevail in so vast a body, which had ruled at the beginning; is it then any marvel to see those feasts of love laid aside—whether with the Eucharist or without it—and the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord become so unfrequented

<sup>o</sup> Armum deinde et ovum iterum mensæ apponunt, et singulis secundum scyphum plenum infundunt, atque scutellam cum placentis e mensa tollunt, ut filii eorum, sicut priscis temporibus, habeant quod de agno paschali quærant, quemadmodum scribitur; 'Et quum dixerint vobis filii vestri, quæ est ista religio?' Sic etiam nunc quærare debeant: 'Cur secundum poculum infundatur, antequam comederint.' Respondent singuli pueri quod norunt, citoque iterum ad mensam referuntur. . . . Armus hebraice dicitur. . . . Seroah,

quæ vox et brachium significat: et ovum, quod una cum armo apponunt, Chaldaice dicitur. . . . Beah, quæ vox et velle significat. Itaque hic volunt significari. . . . quod Deus ipsos liberaverit brachio excelso. Non tamen audent dicere de hoc armo, quod sit. . . . loco Paschatis, ne videantur, ac si sancta comedant extra terram sanctam: quia id prohibitum.—Buxtorf. Synagog. Jud., cap. xviii. pp. 411, 412. Basil. 1661.

<sup>p</sup> See chap. xvi. sect. 33.

<sup>q</sup> See chap. xxi. sect. 17.



at supper, that it is strange to the rest of Christendom to see it so used in Egypt<sup>r</sup>, on Maundy Thursday, in remembrance merely of the primitive custom? CHAP.  
XXIV.

§ 12. What shall we say of the order of widows, whereof St. Paul writeth? Is it not manifest that there was then a necessity of such persons as might give attendance upon the sick, and poor, and impotent of every Church? that might minister hospitality to those strangers that should travel by every Church, and were to receive entertainment according to the custom? And is it not manifest, that when, Christianity increasing, daily oblations could not serve for this purpose, but standing endowments were to be provided, this course could not serve the turn, nor the office continue necessary, when the work ceased?

§ 13. There is nothing more evident than that which I have said in another place<sup>s</sup>, concerning the rigour of penance under the Apostles: nothing to intimate that they forbade any sin, how grievous soever, to be admitted to reconciliation with God by the Church: many evident arguments that they left it in the power of the Church to grant it or not. But the increase of Christianity, abating the sincerity and zeal of Christians, made it so necessary to abate that rigour, and to declare free access even for adulterers, murderers, and apostates to the worship of idols; that Montanus first, and afterwards the Novatians, are justly counted schismatics for departing from the Church, upon that which the change of

Penance  
under the  
Apostles  
and after-  
wards.

<sup>r</sup> "I have but little to say of the Greeks in this place, having spoken of them elsewhere. There are many of them in Egypt, and have a patriarch there, who—as well as the primate of the Coptites—carries the title of Patriarch of Alexandria, but he resides commonly at Cairo. I saw him celebrate Mass at Cairo on Holy Thursday. . . .

"Mass being over, the patriarch went in the body of the church to a place railed in, raised about three feet from the ground, at the end whereof there was a chair for him, and on each side six chairs, for twelve priests that followed him, and there being all in copes, they sat down. These twelve priests represented the twelve Apostles; then a priest went to the chancel door, and turning his back to the Altar read the Gospel for Holy Thursday in Greek: in

the mean time the patriarch put off his patriarchal ornaments, without the assistance of any, and putting on again his tiara, he tied one napkin about him, and put another by his side, then setting a great bason and ewer on the ground, he poured a little water into the bason, making the sign of the cross, giving the ewer to a clerk, who poured water on the foot of the first of the twelve Apostles, whilst the patriarch washed and rubbed it well with his hands, then wiped it with his napkin, and offered to kiss it, which the priest would not suffer. He did so to the rest, pouring always out water for every one of them, with the sign of the cross."—De Thevenot's Travels into the Levant, pt. i. chap. 77. pp. 256, 257. London, 1687.

<sup>s</sup> Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 21.

BOOK I. times made necessary for the preservation of unity in it: which the Donatists remain much more liable to, breaking out afterwards upon a branch of the same cause.

§ 14. Yet is nothing more evident to them that use not the unction of the sick, than that instance. For what is, or what can be alleged, why an express precept of the Apostles, backed with the uninterrupted practice of the Church, should not take place, but the appearance that the reason for which it was commanded ceaseth; the miraculous curing of bodily sickness no more remaining in the Church, and so drawing after it the ceremony which signified and procured it?

St. Paul's  
veil.

§ 15. But in St. Paul's dispute of women covering their heads in the Church, the case is not so clear, unless we admit two suppositions, both evident upon the credit of historical truth<sup>t</sup>. The first, that neither Jews, Greeks, or Romans, ever used, or knew what it meant, to uncover the head in sign of reverence. What use soever they made of hats or caps, as they had use of them—though not so continual as we have—seeing you never find that they put them off in sign of reverence, it is impossible that keeping them on should be understood among them for a sign of irreverence. And therefore that the whole dispute nothing concerns the question of preaching with a hat or a cap on in the Church. 182

§ 16. The second is, that which we learn by Tertullian's book, *de Virginibus Velandis*: the subject whereof being, that virgins are not exempted, by any privilege, from veiling their faces in the Church, is argued by consequences drawn from this dispute of St. Paul; and namely, it is alleged<sup>u</sup>, that in the Church of Corinth at that time, according to St. Paul's order, they veiled their faces. Whereby it appears that St. Paul was understood to speak of a veil, which covering

<sup>t</sup> Discooperto enim capite in publicum prodire, symbolum est libertatis, dignitatis et dominii. Cæterum tecto aut discooperto capite sacra facere et orare non uniformis fuit apud gentes usus. Judæi tecto orant capite in templo, metuentes ne ipsi minus digni majestatem Dei conspicerent. Apud Græcos mos fuit sacra facere, capite discooperto. Romani tecto capite sacris operabantur, et intererant. S. Paulus Græcis Corinthiis scribens Græcum præfert morem, et rationes addit quales pro negotii natura suggestit Spiritus

Sanctus. Ex Apostoli præscripto hunc morem Christiani veteres perpetuo tenuerunt. Unde Tertullianus ait "Illuc" scilicet in cælum, "suspicientes Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis; capite nudo quia non erubescimus, denique sine monitore, quia de pectore, oramus."—Natalis Alexandr. Comm. in Ep. i. ad Corinth. xi. 4. p. 414. Paris. 1746.

<sup>u</sup> Sic et ipsi Corinthii intellexerunt. Hodie denique virgines suas Corinthii velant.--Tertull. de Virgin. Velandis, cap. viii. p. 312. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

the head, came down before the face, which St. Paul therefore one while calls, ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν, another while κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχειν, signifying that which is so upon the head, as it comes down before the face\*; in English, a veil. And so Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>y</sup> and others understand it.

§ 17. This being the case, what is the reason, which ceasing, the precept thereupon may be thought to cease? Surely nothing else but because those Christians which overcame the Roman empire did not think that civility and the modesty of women required them to keep their faces veiled; as the opinion and custom of Jews, Greeks, and Romans, to whom St. Paul preached, did require. And though he argueth that nature, which teacheth women every where to let their hair grow at length, teaches them to veil their faces, because even unclothed, they are provided of a veil; yet when he addeth, “If any man be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God,” it is manifest he intends no law of nature, but an inference, which civility making from nature, was fit to be maintained by the custom of the Church, as that custom, for the unity of the Church. But when those nations whose civility had not made the same inference, received Christianity, is it marvel that Christianity should not impose that upon them, which being no part of Christianity, had no ground, unless they would be bound to receive the civility of other nations upon the account of the common Christianity?

§ 18. In the decree of the Apostles at Jerusalem, prohibiting the Gentile Christians things sacrificed to idols, strangled, and blood, it appeareth by the disputes of sundry learned men<sup>z</sup>

Eating  
blood,

\* See Right of the Church, Review, chap. v. sect. 24.

<sup>y</sup> . . . ἐγκεκαλύφθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν, καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐπεσκιάσθαι προστακταί· οὐ γὰρ ὄσιον εἶναι θήρατρον ἀνθρώπων τὸ κάλλος τοῦ σώματος.—Pædag., lib. ii. cap. x. p. 238. Venet. 1757.

<sup>z</sup> Secundum genus juris divini voluntarii, quod Grotius non ex jure naturali oriri, sed Noacho, ejusque posteris verbis declaratum esse, fingit, est jus Noachicum, quod doctores potissimum ex sex præceptis Adamo jam præscriptis constare dicunt, quibus septimum demum, de non esu sanguinis viventis, nova hac lege accessisse, putabant. Atque hæc præcepta ab omnibus

Noachi posteris observanda esse, contendunt; idque Rabbinum per cabalam ex Genes. xi. 16. evincere conantur. Unde et Seldenus juxta hæc septem præcepta totum jus naturale in opere incomparabili de Jure Naturali ex Doctrina Hebræorum pertractavit.

Grotius ad jus divinum voluntarium, refert hanc legem Noacho publicatam, de non esu sanguinis viventis. At in genere notandum est, præter legem de non esu sanguinis nullam aliam Noæ a Deo publicatam fuisse, quia altum de aliis in sacra pagina est silentium. Neque opus fuisset tali publicatione, tum quia præcepta reliqua ex hypothesi Rabbiorum jam Adamo erant publicata; tum quia omnia illa præcepta se-

admitting the Jews' tradition, that all the sons of Noah received seven precepts from God, which, when other nations fell away to idols, remained visible only in the practice of such, as not being Jews nor circumcised, are nevertheless, in sundry places of the law, allowed to live among them in the land of promise, under the name of "the stranger within the gates:" for this allowance was upon condition of undertaking these seven precepts.

§ 19. When therefore Gentiles were admitted to Christianity with Jews, and the question resolved, that they were free of the law of Moses, and yet an expedient was requisite, not to scandalize the Jews by the use of that freedom, that Jews and Gentiles might the more kindly join in one Church, it appears that the precept of blessing the name of God, that is, worshipping God, was sufficiently provided for by the Christian faith; the precepts of maintaining courts of judicatures, and of forbearing rapine, were sufficiently provided for by the government of the empire; and the precept of the Sabbath out of date under the Gospel. It remaineth therefore<sup>a</sup>, that by prohibiting things sacrificed to idols, and fornica-

quuntur, ex ratione naturali, adeoque pertinent ad ipsum jus naturæ.—Samuel Cocceii *Introduct. in Grot. de Jure Belli ac Pacis*, tom. v. Dissert. Procem. ii. sect. ii. § 24—27. pp. 63, 64. Lausannæ 1759.

<sup>a</sup> In novo demum Fœdere insitam Hebræis de Noachidarum seu gentium jure nemini non observando sententiam spectasse volunt aliqui sacrosanctam synodum illam Iherosolymitanam sub Christianæ Ecclesiæ initiis habitam; ubi agitata quæstione, utrum etiam gentes quæ Christianismo nomen dederant, servare deberent leges Mosaicæ adeoque circumcisci, an ex libertate Christiana eis forent soluti, responsum miserunt Apostoli et Seniores fratres in epistola synodica ad eos qui fuere tunc in Antiochia, Syria, et Cilicia fratres ex gentibus ea de re dubitantes. . . .

Sed vero ut res penitus dispiciatur, paulo altius est repetenda. Ex iis quæ libro secundo supra ostensa sunt, liquet Judæos sine baptismo, circumcissione atque oblatione neminem admisisse, ut proselyti justitiæ nomine, in eorum Ecclesiam cooptaretur. Nec cooptatum quempiam qui futuram legis Mosaicæ observationem in se non reciperet, modo itidem ibi indicato, Quin nec in fœdus

seu amicitiam, id est, in societatem humanam, quempiam nomine proselyti domicilii apud eos, dum plane sui juris fuere, acceptum, nisi is modo etiam ibi indicato, juris Noachidarum seu naturali, quod præ manibus est, capitum observationi nomen daret. Quod itidem ferme cernitur in eis quos proselytorum domicilii instar diximus. Cum igitur sub initiis Christianismi, Judæi aliquot ex Pharisæorum secta, rituum suorum ac Mosaicæ legis tenaciores, Christo nomina dederant, atque interea animadverterant gentes non sine baptismo quidem, ac sine circumcissione atque oblatione, in Christianismi secum societatem seu Ecclesiam sibi communem adscisci, adeoque veluti proselytos justitiæ qua Judæis conjungerentur, aut in religionis unionem ab illis admitterentur—ex regeneratione haberi; ne patrii atque vetustioris in proselytorum ejusmodi justitiæ admissione ritus, nunquam antea sibi majoribus suis non diligentissime observati, negligentiores in gentium societatem hanc convenirent, etiam eas circumcisci atque leges, quæ fuere cæteræ, Mosaicæ observare volebant. Unde illud, *Et quidam descendentes*. . . . Et certe ex eis quæ in eodem capite sequuntur satis constat, tam Pharisæos

tion, with that which was strangled, and blood, the Apostles establish such compliance between Jewish and Gentilish Christians, as was in use between Jews and strangers, proselytes, in the land of promise. CHAP. XXIV.

§ 20. Not as if Christians had not sufficiently renounced idolatry in receiving the faith; or, as if it were not free for them, being Christians, to use God's creatures, which perhaps might have been sacrificed to idols; but because, as I said afore<sup>b</sup>, the Jews had a custom not to eat any thing till they had enquired whether sacrificed to idols, or consecrated by offering the first fruits thereof; which scrupulosity those who did not observe, they counted not so much enemies to idols as they ought to be; which opinion of their fellow Christians was not so consistent with that opinion of Christianity which was requisite. Not as if fornication were not sufficiently prohibited by Christianity, but because simple fornication being accounted no sin, but merely indifferent among the Gentiles; all the professions, and all the decrees that could be made,

fuisse qui tunc pacem Ecclesiæ hac doctrina turbarent, quam non solum circumcisionem sed etiam cæteras, quæ fuere, leges Mosaicas observari a gentibus baptismo susceptis, eos voluisse. Hac de re autem Antiochiæ disputatione habita, Paulus est Barnabas—qui argumentis plurimis in Pharisaicam illam sententiam usi, controversiam tamen finire nequibant—cum aliis aliquot Hierosolymam ablegantur, ut ibi ab Apostolis et presbyteris res definiretur. In synodo ea agitantur. Apostolis et presbyteris in ea definitum est, lege quidem Mosaica seu Hebræorum, qua Mosaica atque Ecclesiæ seu reipublicæ Judaicæ præscripta, gentes quæ Christo nomina dederant neutiquam teneri, sed Christiana frui debere libertate. Unde nec ritus, quibus proselyti justitiæ fieri solerent, jam aut vin aut locum habere. Nam proselyti justitiæ ad morem majorum sic dicti, ad ecclesiam Judaicam, qua Judaica esset, qua singularis, et a cæteris hominum quibuscunque cœtibus discreparet, tantum attinebant. At vero advertendum est, minime quæstionem agitari de juris quo simpliciter gentiles tenerentur capitibus, qualia sunt illa Noachidarum septem quæ tractavimus, sed de jure Mosaico, seu eo quod in fœdere veteri Judæis præscriptum est, equo desumuntur illa de idolothytis, sanguine, suffocato, fornicatione; ut quæ

necessario observanda, ex autoritate synodi, ab eis qui Christianismo nomina dantes cum Judæis sua pariter Christianismo dantibus nomina viverent, adeoque societatem religionis cum eis inirent. Nec quidem de proselytorum domicilii jure—quorum nec admissionis formula tunc temporis, nec diu ante, in usu—sed plane de eo quod proselytorum justitiæ admissionem haud parum imitaretur, actum est, Scilicet de gentilibus in Societatem Judæorum Christianismo, ex disciplina in Judæa orta, imbutorum cooptatione. Neque enim de homicidii, furti, aut blasphemix interdictis, aut de judiciis civilibus—quæ ex septem Noachidarum juris capitibus sunt quatuor—omnino in synodo monetur. Nec in canone vocabulum occurrit quod ad horum aliquod spectare videatur, nisi sanguinem de homicidio, seu ejusdem effusione ibi dictum cum veterum nonnullis, manifesto hallucinatis admiseris. Nec sane opus erat ut ubi de eis ibi moneretur, uti nec de ipsa idololatria, quatenus simpliciter actus est idola colendi; utpote quæ universa, ex Evangelica disciplina, quam amplecterentur tam gentiles quam Judæi sic in societatem Christianismi simul ac vitæ cooptati, satis cognita.—Selden. de Jure Naturali et Gentium, lib. vii. cap. xii. pp. 882—887. Argentorati 1665.

<sup>b</sup> Chap. xxi. sect. 18.

BOOK I. were little enough to persuade the Jews that their fellow Christians of the Gentiles held it in the like detestation as themselves.

The power of the Church in limiting these traditions.

§ 21. Now though we find that the Christians did sometimes, and in most places<sup>c</sup>, forbear blood, and things strangled, and offered to idols, even where this reason ceased; and that perhaps out of an opinion that the decree of the Apostles took hold of them—in doing which they did but abridge themselves of the common freedom of Christians—yet seeing the Apostles give no such sign of any intent of reviving that which was once a law to all that came from Noah, but forgotten and never published again; it followeth, that the Church is no more led by the reason of their decree, than those Churches of Rome and Corinth were, whom St. Paul licenses to eat all meats in general, as the Romans, or things sacrificed to idols expressly, as the Corinthians, excepting the case of scandal—which our common Christianity excepteth—setting aside the decree of Jerusalem, which St. Paul allegeth not, and naming two cases, wherein that scandal might fall out, as excepting no other case.

§ 22. But in all these instances—and others that might be brought—as it was visible to the Church whether the reasons for which such alterations were brought into the Church continued in force or not; so was it both necessary and sufficient for them that might question whether they were tied to them or not, to see the express act, or the custom of the Church for their assurance. For what other ground had they to assure their consciences, even against the Scripture, in all ages of the Church? For if these reasons be not obvious, if every one admit them not, much less will every one find a

<sup>c</sup> Usu abolita fuit hæc lex cessante dissidio Judæorum et gentium, cum utriusque plane in unam Ecclesiam coalescerunt. Unde S. Augustinus loco jam citato, [lib. xxii. *contra Faustum*, cap. 13.] scribit eam suo tempore non amplius fuisse in usu, apud suos Hippo-nenses, aliosque vicinos Africanos: nam nonnulli post ætatem S. Augustini ad reverentiam Apostolorum, qui eam tulerant, illam observarunt, præsertim Græci—qui etiamnum eam observant—ut patet ex Concil. Gangrens. cap. ii. et Leone Imp. in Novell. Constit. 58. ubi hanc Apostolorum legem renovat:

quin et Latini aliqui, ut Aurelianenses, quibus hoc edicitur in Concil. Aurelian. ii. can. 20, ac Wormatienses, Moguntini, alique Germani, ut patet ex concil. Wormatiensi, can. 65. et ex Zacharia Papa in epistola ad Bonifacium. Verum nunc a multis centenis annis lex ista ubique gentium—exceptis Græcis—usu contrario abolita est. Unde nunc sanguinem in farciminibus, quæ fiunt ex intestinis porcorum et boum sanguine infartis, comedimus.—Cornel. à Lapide, Comm. in Act. Apost. xv. 20. p. 248. Antwerp. 1684.

resolution wherein all may agree, and all scandal and dissension may be suppressed.

## CHAPTER XXV.

THE POWER OF THE CHURCH IN LIMITING EVEN THE TRADITIONS OF THE APOSTLES. NOT EVERY ABUSE OF THIS POWER, A SUFFICIENT WARRANT FOR PARTICULAR CHURCHES TO REFORM THEMSELVES. HERESY CONSISTS IN DENYING SOMETHING, NECESSARY TO SALVATION TO BE BELIEVED. SCHISM, IN DEPARTING FROM THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH, WHETHER UPON THAT, OR ANY OTHER CAUSE. IMPLICIT FAITH NO VIRTUE; BUT THE EFFECT OF IT MAY BE THE WORK OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

SUPPOSING now the Church a society, and the same from the first to the second coming of Christ by God's appointment; let it be considered, what is the difference between the state thereof under the Apostles, and under Constantine, or now under so many sovereignties as have shared these parts of the empire; and let any understanding, that can apprehend what laws or what customs are requisite to the preservation of unity in the communion of the Church, in the one and in the other estate; I say, let any such understanding pronounce, whether the same laws can serve the Church as we see it now, or as we read of it under Constantine, and as it was under the Apostles.

The power of the Church in limiting even the traditions of the Apostles.

§ 2. He that says yea, will make any man that understands, say that he understands not what he speaks of; he that says nay, must yield, that even the laws given the Church by the Apostles, oblige not the Church, so far as they become useless to the purpose for which they are intended, seeing it is manifest that all laws of all societies whatsoever, so far as they become unserviceable, so far must needs cease to oblige. And the Apostles, though they might know by the Spirit the state of the Church that should come after; yet, had they intended to give laws to that state, they had not given laws to the state which was, when they lived and gave laws. The authority therefore of the Apostles remaining unquestionable, and the ordinances also by them brought into the Church, for the maintenance of God's service according to Christianity, the

[Grounds of that power.]

BOOK I. Church must needs have power<sup>d</sup>, not only to limit and determine such things as were never limited nor determined by

<sup>d</sup> Ad quartum vero argumentum sunt qui respondeant, Ecclesiæ auctoritatem tantam esse, ut quædam etiam de Scripturis Sacris immutaret. Hujus generis exempla ponunt, Sabbatum, esum suffocati, et sanguinis; baptisma in nomine Jesu, et quod Christus cœnatis dedit Eucharistiam, Ecclesia jejuniis; Christus sub ambabus speciebus, Ecclesia laicis sub una: quod Paulus denique permisit dispares in fide conjuges, Ecclesia improbavit. Ita quamvis lex Scripturæ sit, ut is non ordinetur Episcopus, qui duas habuerit uxores; Ecclesia tamen eam legem poterit vel ex parte solvere, vel etiam omnino abrogare. Hoc autem responsum hanc quidem habet viam, quæ deducit ad convenientiam, conservationemque Ecclesiasticæ auctoritatis, quam si sequemur, nunquam aberrabimus, sequemurque, et id quod certum et tutum est, et id quod ad fidelium consociationem accommodatum, et id quod vehemens atque forte. Sed cavendum sane est, ne si in argumentorum confutatione ad Ecclesiam tanquam in aram confugimus, rustici potius quam Theologi esse videamur. Mihi itaque aliud responsum multo et doctius videtur et verius, quod duplici partitione subnixum est. Una est hujusmodi. Scripturæ præcepta quædam temporaria erant, id est, ad tempus ex loci, temporis, personarum, aliarumve rerum et causarum ratione servanda. Atque hujusmodi ipsa ex se in præfinito tempore antiquabantur, nulla etiam Ecclesiæ interveniente auctoritate. Quod enim pro necessitate temporis statutum est, cessante necessitate, debet cessare pariter quod urgebat. I. q. 1. *Quod pro necessitate.* Ejus generis fuit Sabbatismus, et reliqua omnia quæ proprie ad legem veterem pertinebant. Talis etiam lex illa fuit, de immolatis, sanguine et suffocato. Talis quoque usus Apostolicus de baptismo in nomine Jesu. Alia vero præcepta æterna sunt, quorum servandorum ratio non brevis et temporalis, sed perpetua et sempiterna est. Sempiternum autem Scripturæ more voco, quod semper erit, non quod semper fuit. In hoc genere sunt omnia naturæ præcepta, quæ tam in Veteri, quam in Novo Testamento continentur. In hoc etiam lex illa, *Nisi quis renatus fuerit*, et similia. Et altera similis de penitentia Sacramento. Præcepta rursum Apostolorum,

quæ in sacris litteris scripta sunt, quædam a Christo ipsi acceperunt gentibus evulganda, juxta illud, *Baptizate omnes gentes, docentes eos servare omnia quæcunque mandavi vobis.* Altera vero non fuerunt quidem a Christo Apostolis injuncta; sed ipsi post Christum in cœlos assumptum ea populis tradiderunt. Quæ tamen Christi Deique præcepta dicuntur, non ob eam modo causam, quod per acceptam a Domino potestatem lata sunt; veruntamen quia Dei Spiritu peculiariter suggerente edita fuere. *Visum est, inquit, Spiritui Sancto et nobis nihil ultra imponere.* Quæ verba Basilii, lib. v. *contra Eunomium*, referens, ' Spiritui, ait, visum est quidem a quo ut Domino Ecclesiæ leges datæ sunt, Apostolis vero tanquam ministris, per quos decreta sunt edita.' Quod autem præcepta hæc Christi quoque dici possint, Christus ipse docet, inquit, *Qui vos audit me audit, qui vos spernit me spernit.* Inter hæc autem Scripturæ mandata, non leve discrimen est, quod priora illa a Domino Apostolis tradita, ut propria sunt legis novæ præcepta, ita Ecclesia nec solvere, nec remittere ulli potest, sicut nec legem naturæ quidem. Cujus rei causam nos, in Relectione de Pœnitentia, dedimus, quod legis auctor Evangelicæ Christus Dominus non alia præcepta, per se ipse edidit, quam quæ essent summopere ad salutem necessaria. At posteriora mandata proprie quidem humana et ecclesiastica fuere; quæ videlicet ab Apostolis Ecclesiam gubernantibus edita sunt, non aliter atque alia fuere postea a præfectis Ecclesiæ subsequentibus; dispari tamen auctoritate. Nam Apostolorum nemo in præceptis suis errare poterat, sed a spiritu Sancto peculiarissime eorum quisque dirigebatur, in ferendis Ecclesiæ legibus. Postiores vero antistites hanc peculiarem Spiritus Sancti præsentiam non habent, nisi cum in nomine Christi et Ecclesiæ congregantur. Quod utique fit in conciliis generalibus. Qua de re libro postea quinto fusius disseremus. His autem præceptis, licet Apostolica fuerint, et in sacris etiam litteris scripta, summus Pontifex subditos suos liberare, vel ex parte, vel omnino potest. Quæ etiam ratione, ut alia non esset, lex illa Apostolica de abstinendo a sanguine et suffocato, per Ecclesiæ potestatem abrogari potuit. Quanquam, ut diximus, ea lege, admonita sunt gentes, ne sua



the Apostles, but even those things also, the determination whereof made by the Apostles, by the change of time, and the  
 184 state of the Church therewith, are become evidently useless and unserviceable to the intent for which it standeth.

CHAP.  
XXV.

§ 3. And if it be true that I said afore<sup>e</sup>, that all power produceth an obligation of obeying it in some things—I say not in all, as afore—even when it is abused, in respect of God and of a good conscience; then is the act of the Church so far a warrant, to all those that shall follow it so far, even in things which a man not only suspects, but sees to be ill ordered by those that act in behalf of it. This is that which all the variety and multitude of canons, rites, and ordinances, which hath been introduced into the Church, before there was cause of making any change without consent of the whole, evidenceth; being nothing else but new limitations of those ordinances which the Apostles either supposed or introduced for the maintenance of God's service, determining the circumstances according to the which they were to be exercised.

§ 4. For if there were always cause, since the beginning, for particular Churches—that is, parts of the whole—to make such changes, without consent of the whole, as might justly cause a breach between that part and the whole; then was there never any such thing as a Catholic Church, which all Christians profess to believe. And truly, the Jews' law may be an argument, as it is a pattern, of the same right; which, notwithstanding an express precept, of “neither adding to it, nor taking from it,” unless we admit a power of determining circumstances not limited by the letter of it, becomes unserviceable, and not to be put in practice: as may easily

libertate in fratrum offensionem abuterentur. Præscribunt autem Apostoli, quatenus pro tempore expediebat, quibus illæ rebus in fratrum offensionem possint incurrere. Quia igitur lex a fine suo æstimanda est, tunc hæc intelligitur abrogata, cum ab illis offensionibus, ac dissidiis, quibus occurrere voluerunt Apostoli, nihil amplius periculi fuit. Quibus positis, facile, ut opinor, quartum illud argumentum refelletur. Nam Pauli præceptum de non ordinando Episcopo qui bigamus fuerit, secundi generis est, id est, humanum et Ecclesiasticum; cujus proinde vinculum solvere Ecclesia jure

suo potest. Sed id tamen nisi semel aut iterum, et gravi etiam urgente causa non fecit. Nec id nisi summo Pontifici permissum in Ecclesia est, nam Episcopis contra Apostolum dispensare cum bigamis non licet, ut Lucius et Innocentius tradunt; *De bigam, non ordinand. cap. Super. et cap. A nobis.* Divus vero Augustinus de legibus primi generis loquebatur, quas si Christus ipse tulerit, ut quæ vere et proprie, divinæ et Evangelicæ sunt, nemo aut possit, aut ausit immutare. — Melchior Cani, *Loc. Theol. lib. ii. cap. xviii. pp. 166—169. Matrini, 1791.*

• Chap. xi. sectt. 31—34.

BOOK  
I.

appear to any man that shall peruse the cases that are put, upon supposition of those precepts which determine not the same. [Cases, which indeed are the whole subject, as it were, of the Talmud<sup>f</sup>.] Whereupon a power is provided by the same law, of inflicting capital punishment upon any, that not resting upon the determination established by those that have authority in behalf of the whole, shall tend to divide the synagogue.

Not every abuse of this power a sufficient warrant for particular Churches to reform themselves.

§ 5. I intend not hereby to say, that the power of giving law to the Church, cannot be so much abused, that it may at length enable, or oblige parts of the Church, to provide for themselves such an order in the communion of Christianity, as may stand with the Scriptures and the unity of the Church, though without consent of the whole Church of the present time. For it is evident that this disorder may be so great in the laws of the Church as to make them useless and un-serviceable, not only to the profession of the true faith, or to the service of God, for which the communion of the Church standeth, but even to the unity of the Church itself, which is the prime precept, that all which the Church does, ought to aim at. It is evident also that this is the true cause which the reformation hath to dispute against the Church of Rome.

§ 6. But this I say, that though particular Churches must necessarily have their particular laws—which are the differences which several Churches observe in the exercise of the same ordinances—yet may not any particular Church<sup>g</sup> make

<sup>f</sup> The words in brackets are from MSS.

<sup>g</sup> “It hath been declared in the former book that there are some rites and customs of the Catholic Church, which have obtained every where, and always, and among all, or, which is tantamount, among most Christians, and may be called upon that account its common law; it hath been shewn also in the foregoing chapter, that every particular Church may have some laws proper and peculiar to itself, provided they be only about things indifferent, that is, such things as are neither commanded nor forbidden by God’s word, nor determined *ad unum*, either by the usage and custom, or the definitive sentence of the Church universal in some general council; so that though a particular Church may be singular as to

some of its laws, yet as to none of them may it be repugnant to those of the Church Catholic. . . . .

“To conclude this chapter, as it is plain on the one hand, that every particular Church may have some laws about things indifferent—and cannot well subsist without them—which may be proper and peculiar to itself, and in which it may differ from other Churches; so on the other hand it is as clear, that no particular Church ought to reject such rites as are received, or to observe such rites as are rejected, by the Church universal, or to determine of any thing this way or that, which hath been determined *ad unum* already, either by the ancient custom and common usage, or the definitive sentence of the same, in any free and general council; or which

itself any law which may tend to separation, by disclaiming the unity of the whole Church; or, either expressly, or by due construction denying the same. This is done by abrogating Apostolical traditions as inconsistent with Christianity for the matter of them; not because the reason and ground of them is ceased. For they who disclaim the authority of the Apostles, cannot acknowledge the unity of the Church: and they who make Apostolical ordinances inconsistent with Christianity, do necessarily disclaim the authority of the Apostles.

§ 7. The same is done by abrogating the constitution of the Church, done by virtue of the authority left it by the Apostles. For to disclaim the Church in this authority, is to disclaim the Apostles that left it. And though this authority may be so abused that particular Churches—that is to say, parts of the whole Church—may thereby be authorized, yea obliged to provide for themselves without the consent of the whole, yet not against the authority of the whole, that is to say, of the Apostles from whence it proceedeth. Nor is every abuse thereof a cause sufficient to warrant the scandals that such proceedings necessarily produce. And this shall be enough for me to have said in this place; having, I suppose, established those principles, by the right application whereof, he that can make it may judge what is the true plea whereby that separation, which the reformation hath occasioned, must either be justified or be thought unjustifiable.

§ 8. From that which hath been said, the difference<sup>h</sup> between

is the same, no particular Church whatsoever ought to have any rites, laws, or customs, repugnant to the rites, laws, and customs of the Church Catholic, as in the title of this chapter.—Dawson's *Origo Legum*, book vi. chap. ii. pp. 86, 89. London, 1694.

<sup>h</sup> Quomodo differant inter se hæc tria, apostasia hæresis et schisma? Hæc enim separant apostatam hæreticum et schismaticum ab Ecclesia et ejus capite, idcirco utile erit assignare illorum differentias.

Differunt, nam apostasia et hæresis sunt recessus vitiosus a fide in baptisate recepta, illa quidem ex toto, hæc vero ex parte; per illam recedens fit Judæus, vel paganus, per hanc hæreticus se fingit verum Christi discipulum. Utrumque vitium opponitur vir-

tuti fidei, apostasia ex toto, hæresis ex parte. Schisma nullum est ex prædictis, sed formaliter est recessus ab obedientia Ecclesiæ et Papæ, licet fere semper involvat hæresim, per quam, tanquam per motivum coloratum et apparens, qui recedit, conatur suam separationem reddere licitam et honestam, licet ex natura rei sit nulla et vitiosa. Non opponitur schisma fidei, sicut duo prædicta, sed charitati, quæ unionem Ecclesiæ inter membra cum capite commendat, quam unionem scindit et dispergit schisma. Apostasia autem et hæresis sunt duo vitia majora schismate, illa enim duo principaliter sunt contra Deum, hoc vero contra Ecclesiam et summum Pontificem.—Bordoni, *Sacr. Tribunal.*, cap. ix. tom. i. p. 281. Ludguni, 1665.

BOOK I. heresy and schism, and the true nature of both crimes in opposition to Christianity, may and ought to be inferred in this place, because it ought not to be forgotten—which ought daily to be lamented—that at the beginning of the troubles it was questioned in the Lords' House<sup>i</sup> whether there were any such crimes or not, or whether they were only bugbears to scare children with: and that hereupon every man sees England overrun with both<sup>k</sup>.

Heresy consists in denying something necessary to salvation to be believed.

<sup>i</sup> “My lords, let me presume upon your patience so far further as to give me leave to speak to the other imputation laid upon me that I am a separatist, and the greatest in England; and first I shall say of this word ‘separatist,’ as that learned man Mr. Hales of Eton saith in a little MSS. of his which I have seen,

“That where it may be rightly fixed and deservedly charged, it is certainly a great offence; but in common use now amongst us it is no other than a theological scarecrow, wherewith the potent and prevalent party useth to fright and enforce those who are not of their opinions, to subscribe without daring to question them, or bring them to any rule or examination either of Scripture or reason.’ And he observeth that this was too usual, even in ancient times as well as now.”—Two Speeches of Lord Say and Sele in Parliament, pp. 12, 13. London, 1641.

<sup>k</sup> “Hence then from all these errors, *hérésies*, blasphemies, practices, &c. laid down both in the first and second part of *Gangræna*, we may see how far the sectaries of our times have proceeded, and how high they have risen: in a word, to sum up in one page what more at large is expressed in many sheets, the sectaries are gone very far, both in damnable doctrines and wicked practices, in holding principles and positions destructive to Church and State, against all government, both civil as well as ecclesiastical, and that not only for the matter, but in the manner and way of propagation of them. They have questioned and denied all the articles of faith, and have justified and pleaded for all kind of errors and abominations. They have denied the Scriptures, Trinity, the Godhead of the Son, and Holy Ghost, justification by Christ, the Gospel, law, holy duties, Church, ministry, Sacraments, and all ordinances. They hold there are no devils, no sin, no hell, no heaven, no

resurrection, no immortality of the soul. And together with these they are against all kingly government, the king, lords, the house of commons, as to have any thing to do in matters of religion, or in civil matters, any longer than the people who choose them think fit, and to be chosen yearly or oftener, according as they carry themselves; yea against all kind of civil government, and magistratical power whatsoever, as appears by denying the power of imposition of taxes, and assessments, in denying the power of magistrates over Church members in cases of murder, treason, &c. And as they have denied all these, so on the contrary they have maintained, and pleaded for, all kind of blasphemous and heretical opinions, and loose ungodly practices, yea they have publicly in print justified there should be an open toleration for all these, and if any man should so far degenerate, as to believe there is no God, may come to blaspheme God and the Scriptures, yet he should not be troubled or molested, but enjoy the liberty of his conscience. And they have not only pleaded thus, but some of them have actually blasphemed God, Christ, the Spirit, the Scriptures, ministers, Sacraments, and all holy ordinances, beside committing of horrible uncleanness, forsaking of husbands and wives as antichristian, being guilty of thefts, defraudings, being partakers also of the horrible rebellion of Ireland, in justifying the rebels, that they did no more than what we would have done ourselves. All these, with many others, as the pleading for stage plays to be set up again, some or other of the sectaries have been guilty of, and unto all these have added this moreover, to canonize and cry up for saints, faithful servants of God, antiscrypturists, antitrinitarians, Arians, perfectists, yea blasphemers and atheists, so they be but for independency against presbytery: and particularly how is Paul Best that fearful

§ 9. The word heresy signifies nothing but choice, and therefore the signification of it is sometimes indifferent, importing no more than a way of professing and living which a man voluntarily chooseth, as St. Paul useth it, when he saith that he “lived according to the most exact heresy of the Jews’ religion, a Pharisee;” Acts xxvi. 5. For it is known, that besides the necessary profession of the Jews’ law, there were three sects, which no man by being a Jew was obliged to, but by his own free choice, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes; which being all maintained by the law, as it was then used, the common name of them cannot signify any crime among them to whom St. Paul then spoke, whatsoever we believe of the Sadducees.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
[Heresy,  
what it is.]

§ 10. And thus it sounds among them who use it to signify

blasphemer,—now he is in question by the House of Commons—pleaded for by many sectaries of our times, and bitter speeches spoken against the House of Commons for meddling with him? Yea, and in print too he is pleaded for, and compared in a sort with Paul the Apostle. Certainly neither we nor our fathers before us ever heard or saw such evils of blasphemy, heresy, in this kingdom, as we have done within these two or three last years. The worst of the Bishops and their chaplains, when they were at worst, were saints in comparison of many of the sectaries of our times, and would have abhorred—as bad as they were—such opinions and practices which some of the sectaries magnify, cry up, and pretend to do by virtue of new light, the spirit, and as a matter of great perfection, as for instance, a man’s or woman’s forsaking their own husbands and wives, and taking others at their pleasure, out of pretence of casting off antichristian yokes, the pleading for a general toleration of all religions, yea blasphemies and denying a Deity out of pretence of liberty of conscience. But what speak I of Bishops and their chaplains? I am persuaded all the stories and relations of the Anabaptists and Schwenkenfeldians in Luther’s time, of the Pope’s and Papists’ blasphemies, of many heathens and scoffers of the Scriptures and Christian religion, as Galen, Porphyrius, Lucian, Julian the apostate, do fall short of the blasphemies and ways of some of our sectaries.”—Edwards’s

Gangræna, second part, pp. 177—179. London, 1646. In the epistle dedicatory to the Parliament, the same presbyterian writer says, “You have, most noble senators, done worthily against papists, prelates and scandalous ministers, in casting down images, altars, crucifixes, throwing out ceremonies, but what have you done against other kinds of growing evils, heresy, schism, disorder, against seekers, anabaptists, antinomians, Brownists, libertines, and other sects? You have destroyed Baal and his priests, but have you been zealous against the golden calves and the priests of the lowest of the people? Are not these grown up and daily increase under you? . . . . You have put down the book of Common Prayer, and there are many among us have put down the Scriptures, slighting, yea blaspheming them. You have broken down images of the Trinity, Christ, Virgin Mary, Apostles, and we have those who overthrow the doctrine of the Trinity, oppose the divinity of Christ, speak evil of the Virgin Mary, slight the Apostles. You have cast out the Bishops and their officers, and we have many that cast down to the ground all ministers in all the reformed Churches. You have cast out ceremonies in the Sacraments, as the cross, kneeling at the Lord’s Supper, and we have many cast out the Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord’s Supper. You have put down saints’ days, and we have many make nothing of Lord’s days and fast days.”

BOOK  
I.

the sects of the Grecian philosophers, allowed by those who embraced them not: as in the title of Lucian's discourse<sup>1</sup>, *περὶ Αἰρέσεων*. But because it is too ordinary for men, of their own choice, to depart from the rule to which they are or ought to stand obliged; thereupon the word is most part used to signify the free choice of a rule of living, contrary to that rule which they stood obliged to before: in which sense Adam is called by Tertullian<sup>m</sup> the first heretic, as he that first departed from the will of God, to live according to his own.

§ 11. Supposing now that Christianity obliges both to the rule of faith and to the society of the Church, by virtue of that rule—because the belief of the Catholic Church is part of it, as hath been declared afore<sup>n</sup>, it is manifest that whosoever disbelieves any part of that rule—the belief whereof is the condition upon which a man becomes a Christian—and thereby forfeits his interest in those promises which God hath made to Christians, doth or may either lead others or follow, in living according to that belief which he chooseth, whether, professing it, as a Christian ought to profess his Christianity, or not. And in this sense it seems to be used by St. Paul, when he says, Titus iii. 10, 11, “A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition, avoid. Knowing that such a one is turned aside, and sinneth, being condemned by himself.”

§ 12. For when he speaks of admonishing them, he signifies that he speaks not of such as had actually departed from the communion of the Church, but sheltered themselves under the common profession of Christians, doing every thing as they did, that by such means they might inveigle such as suspected nothing, to admit their infusions, which I shewed before<sup>o</sup> to have been the fashion of the Gnostics, whose doctrines the Apostle, 2 Pet. ii. 1, calls, *αἰρέσεις ἀπωλείας*, “pestilent heresies;” and whom St. Paul must needs speak of in this place, because there were no other on foot, so as to be mentioned by their writings.

<sup>1</sup> Hermotimus, Lucian. Opp. p. 274. Paris. 1615.

<sup>m</sup> Aut quis dubitabit, ipsum illud Adæ delictum, hæresin pronuntiare, quod per electionem suæ potius quam divinæ sententiæ admisit, nisi quod Adam nunquam figulo suo dixit, non

prudenter definxisti me; confessus est seductionem, non occultavit seductionem: rudis admodum hæreticus fuit. —Advers. Marcion., lib. ii. cap. ii. p. 644. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

<sup>n</sup> Chap. xx. sect. 23.

<sup>o</sup> Chap. xxiii. sect. 27.

§ 13. Such a one, then, the Apostle saith is condemned by himself, in the same sense as the councils and Church writers say of one in the same case, *in seipsum sententiam dixit*<sup>p</sup>, “he hath given sentence against himself;” because, by refusing the second admonition, he hath declared himself obstinate in that which the common Christianity maketh inconsistent with the communion of the Church. And this more proper to the circumstance of this text than St. Hierome’s<sup>a</sup> interpretation of those that condemn themselves to be put out of the Church by voluntarily leaving the communion of it, though that also is not far from truth concerning them who are properly signified by the general name of heretics.

§ 14. For it is very evident that when St. Paul saith, 1 Cor. xi. 19, “there must be heresies among you,” his meaning is only of such factions as tended to schism, whereof he admonisheth them, 1 Cor. i. 10, “that there be schisms among them.” Now it is manifest how much difference there is between him who holdeth something contrary to the faith, and yet departeth not from the communion of the Church, and him that departeth from the communion of the Church, though holding nothing contrary to the substance of the Christian faith. The one forfeiteth his interest in heaven by the inward act of his soul, refusing the common faith which saveth all Christians, though outwardly holding communion with the Church; the other, by the inward act of the soul, proceeding to the outward act of dissolving the communion of the Church, which the common charity of Christians in the first place is to maintain.

§ 15. If both these crimes may come under the common

<sup>p</sup> Dixisti enim inter cætera, schismaticos a vite, velut sarmenta, esse concisos: destinatos pœnis, tanquam ligna arida, gehennæ ignibus reservari. Sed video te adhuc ignorare schisma, apud Carthaginem a vestris principibus factum. Quære harum originem rerum, et invenies te hanc in vos dixisse sententiam, cum schismaticis hæreticos sociasti.—S. Optat. de Schism. Donat., lib. i. cap. x. p. 10. Antwerp. 1702.

Item placuit universo concilio, ut qui excommunicatus fuerit pro suo neglectu, sive episcopus, sive quilibet clericus, et tempore excommunicationis suæ

ante audientiam communionem præsumserit, ipse in se damnationis iudicetur protulisse sententiam.—Concil. Aquisgran., A.D. 816. can. 54. Labbei, tom. ix. col. 448. ed. Venet. It occurs also in the letter of Pope Vigilius to Rusticus and Sebastianus, where it is thus introduced; Definiunt enim canones: Si quis excommunicatus ante audientiam communicare præsumserit, ipse in se damnationem protulit.—Apud Concil. Constantinopol. ii. A.D. 553. Collat. vii. Labbei, tom. vi. col. 187. ed. Venet.

<sup>a</sup> Right of the Church, chap. i. sect. 34.

BOOK I. name of heresy—because inward misbelief<sup>r</sup> naturally tendeth to make a sect of such as shall profess to live according to it—no marvel if all divisions of the Church be commonly called both heresies and schisms, whatsoever be the cause upon which they divide; if mere schisms—that is, where the cause is not any thing necessary to the salvation of all to be believed—be also heresy in the language of the Apostles. Nevertheless, there being so much difference between the two crimes and the grounds of them, it is necessary to understand, setting aside all equivocation of terms, that there is a crime consisting in misbelieving some article of the faith, which, if you please, may properly be called heresy; and another consisting in dissolving the unity of the Church, which is properly called schism, when there is no further pretence for it than some law, which, the Church being able to make, the other part will rather depart than admit.

§ 16. There may be divisions in the Church upon pretence of such doctrines as are not necessary to the salvation of all—and so no part of the rule of faith—but so evidently to be deduced from it, and from the rest of the Scriptures, that the Church may have cause to determine the same, and yet others may choose rather to depart from the Church than suffer the determination thereof to take place. Which divisions that memorable observation of St. Hierome<sup>s</sup> seems to call heresies,

<sup>r</sup> Dividitur schisma in purum, et conjunctum cum hæresi. Schisma autem purum non opponitur fidei, sed charitati, et paci, quando scilicet aliqui ex sola malitia voluntatis nolunt summo Pontifici qua tali obedire, vel reliquis Ecclesiæ membris uniti esse, v. g. si certum aliquod regnum constituat sibi episcopum, vel patriarcham, cui in spiritualibus obediatur, aut alios speciales religionis cultus adhibeat, et non obtemperet mandatis summi Pontificis, quamvis de cætero non neget Pontificatum Romanum, vel alios fidei articulos.

Schisma conjunctum cum hæresi est, quod præter separationem ab Ecclesia insuper in fide dissentit, ut quia negat Romanum pontificem esse Christi Vicarium, et Ecclesiæ caput, vel Eucharistiam legitime sub una tantum specie distribui.

Verum quamvis hæc distinctio speculative tantum procedat, practice tamen vix unquam dari purum schisma,

testis est Hieronymus, *in cap.* Inter hæresim, 26. Caus. 24. q. 3. 'nullum enim schisma,' inquit, non aliquam sibi configit hæresim, ut recte ab Ecclesia recessisse videantur.—Engel, Coll. Jur. Univ., lib. v. tit. viii. p. 408. Mantuæ Carpetanorum, 1777.

<sup>s</sup> Inter hæresim et schisma hoc esse arbitrantur, quod hæresis perversum dogma habeat. Schisma propter episcopalem dissensionem ab Ecclesia separetur: quod quidem in principio aliqua ex parte intelligi potest. Cæterum nullum schisma non sibi aliquam hæresim ut recte ab Ecclesia recessisse videatur.—Comm. in Tit. iii. 11. tom. iv. col. 439, ed. Ben.

This observation of St. Jerome brings to mind the following passage in Peter de Marca;—Lugendum illud schisma et omnibus sæculis deplorandum, quod florentissimas Orientis Ecclesias a capite suo avulsit, non aliam causam conjiendum est, quam in contentionem, quæ ob dioceses malo more usurpata



which said that all schisms naturally devise to themselves some heresy—that is, some doctrine extravagant from the doctrine of the Church—that they may seem not to have departed from the Church for nothing; which is very well exemplified by St. Augustine<sup>t</sup> in the Donatists. But whether such divisions are to be counted heresies or schisms, both names properly signifying all divisions of the Church—and only that crime which consisteth in misbelieving some articles of faith, appropriating the name of heresy, because common use hath given it no peculiar name of its own—I leave to him that shall please to determine it.

§ 17. Supposing these things, it will not be requisite for me to say much to that which hath been published concerning the nature of schism, of late<sup>u</sup>. That being to be had only out of the Scripture<sup>x</sup>, it is no where there to be had but in St. Paul to the Corinthians: that there was at Corinth, when St. Paul wrote, only one congregation of Christians, which he calleth the Church of Corinth; that therefore there is no crime of schism, but in breaking one congregation into more. As for any visible society of the Catholic Church acknowledging the materials, men that profess Christianity—which he that sees cannot believe—to the form—which is that unity which is visible—he is as great a stranger<sup>y</sup> as if he

[Dr. Owen's  
notion of  
schism.]

exarsit. Non enim in eam hæresim, quæ de processione Sancti Spiritus dimicantes Ecclesias postea collisit, referenda est hujus dissidii causa, sed in eam de qua dixi, dioceseon usurpationem; unde nata est Græculis occasio de summis Christianæ religionis capitibus et certis quibusdam disciplinæ articulis litis movendæ adversus Romanam Ecclesiam, ut secessionem suam necessariam in omnibus comprobarent.—De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp., lib. i. cap. i. § 4. p. 2. Venet. 1770.

<sup>t</sup> Fit ut secundum istam ipsam definitionem tuam qua dixisti 'Hæresis est autem diversa sequentium secta,' et hæretici sitis, et victi appareatis; hæretici quidem, quod non tantum divisi, verum et in rebaptizando diversum sequimini; victi autem, quia datum per nos baptismum tanquam non ipsum, vel tanquam nullum sit iteratis, quod unum atque idem, nec diversum esse fatemini. Tua quippe verba sunt, quod nobis vobisque sit una religio, eadem Sacramenta, nihil in Christiana

observatione diversum.—Contra Crescon. Donat., lib. ii. cap. vii. tom. ix. col. 413. ed. Ben.

<sup>u</sup> "Dr. Owen will have the Church of Corinth to be but one congregation."—MSS. See chap. ii. sect. 8. note i.

<sup>x</sup> "Of schism in any other place, or in reference to any other persons, but only to this Church of Corinth, we hear nothing."—Dr. Owen, of Schism, chap. ii. sect. 6, 7. Oxford, 1657.

"I supposed, I had proved that it was only one congregation, that used to assemble in one place, that the Apostle charged this crime upon."—Dr. Owen's Review of Schism, chap. iv. p. 61. Oxford, 1657.

<sup>y</sup> "I shall only add, that if there be not an institution for the joining in the same numerical ordinances, the union of this Church is not really a Church-union; I mean of an instituted Church, which consists therein, but something of another nature. Neither can that have the formal reason of an instituted Church as such, which as such can

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had never heard of the Creed; acknowledging<sup>z</sup> notwithstanding, an invisible unity in the common faith and love of Christians, upon persuasion whereof he challenges as great freedom from schism as ever any member of the Catholic Church could claim.

§ 18. For having shewed<sup>a</sup> how a thing which God made visible for many ages, may reasonably be expected to be found in the Scriptures, I am not to yield to try it by any part of them, knowing that, whosoever evidenceth a society of the Church by God's law, evidenceth the crime that consists in the dissolving of it. And it were fit we were told, how all the Christians, in a city where "God had much people," should sit at one table—or, at least, sup in one

join in no one act of the worship of God, instituted to be performed in such societies: so that he that shall take into his thoughts the conditions of all the Christians in the world; their present state, what it hath been for 1500 years, and what it is like to be, *ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος*, will easily understand, what church state they stand in, and relate unto.

"It cannot possibly have its union by a relation to any one officer given to the whole, such an one as the Papists pretend the Pope to be. For though it be possible that one officer may have relation to all the Churches in the world, as the Apostles severally had—when Paul said the care of all the Churches lay on him—who by virtue of their Apostolical commission were to be received and submitted to in all the Churches in the world, being antecedent in office to them, yet this neither did, nor could make all the Churches one Church; no more than if one man were an officer or magistrate in every corporation in England, this would make all those corporations to be one corporation. I do not suppose the Pope to be an officer to the whole Church visible as such, which I deny to have an union or order capable of any such thing; but suppose him an officer to every particular Church, no union of the whole would thence ensue. That which is one Church must join at least in some one Church act, numerically one. So that though it should be granted, that the Pope were a general officer unto all and every Church in the world, yet this would not prove that they all

made one Church, and had their Church union in subjection to him, who was so an officer unto them all; because to the constitution of such an union, as hath been shewed, there is that required, which in reference to the universal society of Christians is utterly and absolutely impossible."—Dr. Owen, *Of Schism*, chap. v. §§ 7, 8. pp. 117—119. Oxford, 1657.

<sup>z</sup> "Our communion with the visible Catholic Church is in the unity of the faith only. The breach of this union, and therein a relinquishment of the communion of the Church, lies in a relinquishment of, or some opposition to, some or all of the saving necessary truths of the Gospel. Now this is not schism, but heresy or apostasy."—Schism, chap. iii. sect. 12. p. 161.

"I began with the consideration of the Catholic invisible Church of Christ, and the union thereof; . . . I affirm and evince it to be all and only elect believers; the union of this Church consists in the habitation of the same Spirit in all the members of it, uniting them to the head Christ Jesus, and therein to one another. The breach of this union, I manifested to consist in the loss of that Spirit, with all the peculiar consequences and effects of Him in the hearts of them in whom He dwells. This I manifest according to our principles to be impossible, and upon a supposition of it, how remote it would be from schism, under any notion or acceptance of the word."—*Review of Schism*, chap. vi. pp. 96, 97. Oxford, 1657.

<sup>a</sup> Chap. vi. sect. 4—10.

room—before we believe that there was then no more Christians at Corinth than could assemble at once<sup>b</sup>. Which if I did believe, I would notwithstanding allege Justin the Martyr's words, Apol. i.<sup>c</sup> *καὶ τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἄγρους μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται*, “on the day called Sunday, all that dwelt in cities, or in 187 countries, assemble themselves in one.” And supposing that then there were more Christians in Rome, and the territory thereof, for example—for he writes to the emperor Antoninus—than could meet together in one place; as Justin means not, when he says that all in cities or countries meet in one, that all made one assembly, but met all in common assemblies; I would thereupon argue, that no more does St. Paul say—when he gives these rules to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. xi. 14, which serve any assembly—that there was then but one congregation at Corinth.

§ 19. If in Justin's time, if afore, if after, he can shew me any Church of Rome, or any city beside Rome, that contained not all the Christians of that city, and the territory thereof; I will believe, that when Clemens wrote the letter lately published<sup>d</sup>, from the Church of Rome to the Church of Corinth, there were no more Christians at Rome, or at Corinth, than could meet all at once. But if in all the Scripture, as well as in all the records of the Church, a Church signify the university of Christians, which one city, and the territory thereof, containeth; it is an affront to common sense, for him to deny<sup>e</sup> that *Ἐκκλησία παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην, or Κόρινθον*,

<sup>b</sup> “I suppose that in this description of a particular Church I have not only the consent of them of all sorts, with whom I have now to do, as to what remains of this discourse, but also their acknowledgment that these were the only kinds of Churches of the first institution. The reverend authors of the *Jus Divinum Ministerii Anglicani*, part 2. chap. 6. [p. 82. London, 1654.] tell us that ‘In the beginning of Christianity the number of believers, even in the greatest cities, were so few, as that they might well meet, *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ*, in one and the same place.’”—Dr. Owen, *Of Schism*, chap. vii. § 2. pp. 202, 203. Oxford, 1657.

<sup>c</sup> Cap. 67. p. 83. ed. Ben.

<sup>d</sup> See *Prim. Govern.*, chap. iii. sect. 3.

<sup>e</sup> “It is alleged, indeed, that it is not the single Church of Corinth that is here intended, but all the Churches of Achaia, whereof that was the metropolis: which, though as to the nature of schism it be not at all prejudicial to what hath been asserted, supposing such a Church to be, yet because it sets up in opposition to some principles of truth, that must afterwards be improved, I shall briefly review the arguments whereby it is attempted to be made good.

“The title of the epistle in the first place is pretended to this purpose: it is *Ἡ Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ παροικοῦσῃ Κόρινθον*, wherein, as it is said, on each part the *παροικία* or whole province, as

BOOK I. is the Church that is contained in the city and territory of Rome, or Corinth.

§ 20. Let the learned publisher<sup>f</sup> of that epistle take *πάροικος* there for *inquilinus* or *peregrinus*, an inmate or pilgrim—because his Greek gave him leave—he that hath been shewed so plentiful mention of *παροικία*<sup>g</sup>, in the subject in question, for that which we now call a diocese, can have no reason to see with his eyes, but because he is resolved not to use his own. For in the very address of Polycarpus' epistle, *Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ τῆ παροικούση Φιλίπποις*, “To the

of Rome, so of Corinth, the region and territory, the region that belonged to those metropolises is intended. But as I have formerly elsewhere said, we are beholding to the frame and fabric of Church affairs in after ages for such interpretations as these: the simplicity of the first knew them not; they who talked of the Church of God that did *παροικεῖν* at Rome, little then thought of province or region. *Ἐκκλησία παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην* is as much as *Ἐκκλησία ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις*, Acts viii. 1. *Πάροικος* is a man that dwells at such a place, properly one that dwells in another's house, or soil, or that hath removed from one place, and settled in another; whence it is often used in the same sense with *μέτοικος*, he is such an inhabitant as hath yet some such consideration attending him, as makes him a kind of a foreigner to the place where he is; so Ephes. ii. 19, *πάροικοι* and *συμπολιταί* are opposed. Hence is *παροικία*, which, as Budæus says, differs from *κατοικία*, in that it denotes a temporary habitation, this a stable and abiding. *Παροικέω* is so to inhabit, to dwell in a place, where yet something makes a man a kind of a stranger. So it is said of Abraham, *πίστει παράκησεν εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ὡς ἄλλοτριαν*, Heb. xi. 9; 1 Pet. ii. 11, joined with *παρεπίδημος*—hence this word by the learned publisher of this epistle is rendered ‘peregrinatur’ ‘diversatur’—and more clearly, Luke xxiv. 18, *σύ μόνος παροικεῖς ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, which we have rendered, ‘are you only a stranger in Jerusalem?’ whether *παροικία* and *parœcia* is from hence or no, by some is doubted, *πάροχος* and *παροχή* præbitio, Gloss. Vet. So that *parochia* may be called so from them, who met together to break bread, and to eat; allow *parochia* to be barbarous,

and our only word to be *parœcia* from *παροικία*, then it is as much as the ‘Voisinage,’ men living near together for any end whatever. So says Budæus, *πάροικοι* are *πρόσοικοι*, thence Churches were called *παροικίας*, consisting of a number of them, who were *πάροικοι* or *πρόσοικοι*. The saints of God expressing the place which they inhabited, and the manner as strangers, said of the Churches whereof they were, *Ἐκκλησία παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην*, and *Ἐκκλησία παροικοῦσα Κόρινθον*: this is now made to denote a region, a territory, the adjacent region to a metropolis: and such like things as the poor primitive pilgrims little thought of. This will scarcely, as I suppose, evince the assertion we are dealing about; there may be a Church of God dwelling at Rome or Corinth, without any adjacent region annexed to it, I think. Besides, those who first used the word in the sense now supposed, did not understand a province by *παροικία*, which was with them—as originally—the charge of him that was a Bishop, and no more. *Ἐπαρχία* was with them a province that belonged to a metropolitan; such as the Bishop of Corinth is supposed to be. I do not remember where a metropolitan province is called his *παροικία*, there being many of these in every one of them.”—Dr. Owen, Of Schism, chap. ii. §§ 13, 14. pp. 33—36. Oxford, 1657.

<sup>f</sup> Hence this word by the learned publisher of this Epistle is rendered ‘peregrinatur,’ ‘diversatur.’—Dr. Owen, Schism, chap. ii. sect. 14. p. 35. See Junius's note on *παροικούση Κόρινθον*. Coteler., tom. i. p. 144. Antwerp. 1698.

<sup>g</sup> See Right of the Church, chap. ii. sect. 16, 17. See Hammond, Dissertations V., cap. ii. pp. 261, 262. Londini, 1651.

Church of God dwelling beside Philippi;" the dative case quite spoils the construction of the words to his sense. If the Church of the Philippians dwelt near Philippi, then the Christians of the territory belonged to the Church of the city.

CHAP.  
XXV.

§ 21. As for the visible unity of the Catholic Church, it was not so easy for me to evidence that, which could not be questionable till the difference between Catholic Church and true Church came to be questionable; as it is not hard for any Christian to question whether the Church, which was Catholic for so many ages, ought now to be Catholic, or not. For till he have destroyed the evidence which this abridgment hath been able to advance—and, when that is done, new evidence will not be wanting, so long as the records of the Church are historically true, and men continue possessed of common sense—it is in vain to allege the dictate of his own spirit, to shew that he is no schismatic, not acknowledging, much less holding, the unity of the Church, out of which no man can be accounted otherwise.

§ 22. But I marvel most wherein he would have the crime of schism, acknowledged by St. Paul, in that one text which he would be tried by, to consist. It is the law of nature that enables Christians to join in an independent congregation, as our other doctor of Oxford hath told us<sup>h</sup>. If a covenant or league pass between so many sovereigns in this point, consider how difficult it is to charge a sovereign with breach of league, such contracts consisting of many articles, one whereof violated voids the contract; at least to the contrary there is no rule. Now the covenant of a congregation must suppose all Christianity, the violation whereof in any point, by any member, supported by the rest, frees a man of his contract. How then shall St. Paul's words take place, 1 Cor. xi. 19, "There must be heresies, that the approved may become manifest among you:" for if one leave six—the congregation consisting of seven—how shall it appear that the six are in the right?

§ 23. But, in my supposition, these petty animosities at Corinth may have been fomented by secret heretics, as in time I shall shew that they were. And their endeavour

[Causes of  
the divisions in  
Corinth.]

<sup>h</sup> See chap. xx. sect. 2, 3.

BOOK I. might be, to make a party for their heresy out of other Churches as well as out of that of Corinth; and, being formed, to unite them by the like bond as they saw the Church tied with by the Apostles. In this case division is ruinous to Christianity, not when the question is, whether seven shall meet together, or three and four. For by this means it may become difficult for particular Christians, upon true principles, to give sentence for themselves in the matter of differences, but easy to miss the truth, and to join with the enemies of it—thinking they serve God in communicating with them—by charging themselves with judging of the sense 188 of the Scriptures, either in those laws of the Church which concern not the salvation of particular Christians, or in the common faith, without those bounds which God hath provided by the Church. And, upon these terms, “those that are approved may and do become manifest,” by the rising of heresies in the Church.

Implicit faith no virtue, but the effect of it may be the work of Christian charity.

§ 24. That which I shall infer is this; that though there be no such virtue as implicit faith, because it is no part of faith<sup>i</sup>, no office of that virtue to believe that any thing is true—because the Church believes it with that firm adherence to it, as we are resolved to stand to that, by believing which we hope to be saved—yet it is part of the virtue, and part of the office of a faithful man, that is, a Christian, to conform himself to the belief of all that which the Church lawfully determineth to be believed; that is to say, not to profess the contrary of it—and upon that profession, to do any thing towards dissolving the unity of the Church—so long as the determination thereof causeth not that corruption of those things which the society of the Church presupposeth, as may seem to make the unity thereof useless; whereof this is not the place to debate when it comes to pass.

§ 25. It is sufficient for the present, that whatsoever the

<sup>i</sup> Son Fè, Esperanza, y Caridad, y se llaman virtudes teologales, que quiere decir divinas, porque se ocupan y miran en Dios.

La Fè es un don de Dios, por el qual es alumbrado nuestro entendimiento, y tiene por cierto, y sin duda alguna todo lo que Dios ha revelado, y propuesto por medio de su Iglesia

Catolica. La qual Fè a todos los Christianos nos obliga a creer en general, y sin excepcion, lo que enseña la Iglesia Catolica, y en particular, y distintamente el symbolo de la Fè, y Apostoles, y los catorze articulos de la Fè, como los enseña la Iglesia Catolica.—Constit. Synod. del Obisp. de Canaria, fol. 51. Madrid, 1631.

Church hath power to determine according to the premises, that the Church—that is, all particular Christians—are obliged not to believe—by the office of faith, which is only exercised in them who can make deductions of conclusions from the principles of faith, who necessarily holding the conclusions in consideration merely of the premises, do necessarily believe the conclusions, by that virtue of faith which holds the principles—but to hold, and to conform to, and not to scandalize, by the office of that charity which is most eminently exercised about that which concerns the common good of all Christians in general, which nothing in the world can so much concern, next the common faith, as the unity and communion of the Church.

CHAP.  
XXV.  
[Force of  
ecclesiastical  
sentences.]

§ 26. Thus have I bounded the power of the Church, and so shewed the reason upon which the right use of it is to proceed. I shewed afore<sup>k</sup> the ground of that exception which the interest of secular power in Church matters createth to the due use of it. When I shall have shewed, in the third book<sup>l</sup>, what the law of God hath determined in matters concerning the communion of the Church—and, by consequence, what it leaveth to the Church to determine—it will be time to take in hand the same consideration again. For the ground of this exception will shew how far it extendeth, whereby it will appear that Christian powers do acknowledge the Church and the power of it to stand by God's law, even when they limit the exercise of it, by virtue of that interest which the law of God alloweth them in Church matters.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

WHAT IT IS TO ADD TO GOD'S LAW; WHAT TO ADD TO THE APOCALYPSE. ST. PAUL'S ANATHEMA. THE BERÆANS. ST. JOHN'S GOSPEL SUFFICIENT TO MAKE ONE BELIEVE; AND THE SCRIPTURES; THE MAN OF GOD PERFECT. HOW THE LAW GIVETH LIGHT, AND CHRISTIANS ARE TAUGHT BY GOD. HOW IDOLATRY IS SAID NOT TO BE COMMANDED BY GOD.

IN the beginning of this book I proposed the chief texts of Scripture, which are usually drawn into consequence, to prove either the infallibility of the Church<sup>m</sup>, or the sufficiency

What it is  
to add to  
God's law;

<sup>k</sup> Chap. xix. sect. 24.

<sup>l</sup> Chap. xxxii.

<sup>m</sup> Chap. iv. sectt. 11—13.

BOOK I. and clearness of the Scriptures<sup>n</sup>. Of which I may truly say that they are, and have been, for these hundred and forty years, the theme of a dispute between the Scriptures and the Church, for the right of giving law to the consciences of Christians, what communion to choose, that of the reformation, or that of the Church of Rome; but with so little success, that a discreet man may truly say that the parties do now stand at a bay, as it is visible that they do, merely because they are not able to force one another by the arms which they are furnished with; the arguments of either side serving to maintain them against the adversary, merely because the arguments of the other side are insufficient, not because either hath either the whole truth, or nothing of the truth for it. I shewed you there that they come short of making good that which they are employed to prove, on this side as well as on that. 189

[The prohibition to add to the law,]

§ 2. As for my present business—which is here to shew how the sense of them concurs to the truth which I have established—I shall but desire any man of common sense to make an argument from the text of Moses alleged in the first place, and say<sup>o</sup>; the people of Israel are forbidden by the law of Moses, “to add any thing to the said law, and to take any thing from it;” therefore the Scriptures contain—clearly set down to all understandings concerned—all things necessary to the salvation of all Christians; then to tell me whether he will undertake to make good this consequence or not. For if the law of Moses cannot pretend to contain clearly all things necessary to the salvation of all Christians, it will not hurt my opinion to infer, that because it is unlawful to add any thing to Moses’s law—by saying that it is and ought to be part of it, when it is not, nor ought to be—therefore it is unlawful to add any thing to the Bible, by saying that it is necessary to the salvation of all Christians, though not written there; for this, my opinion says not.

§ 3. And truly, I must here allege<sup>p</sup>, that God’s law, Deut.

<sup>n</sup> Chap. v. sectt. 26—29.

<sup>o</sup> See the passage from Whitaker cited in chap. v. sect. 30. note x.

<sup>p</sup> Objiciunt primo, Non minus prospectum fuit Christianis sub Testamento novo ac fuit Judæis sub veteri. At ibi

in difficilibus et ambiguis mittuntur hæsitantes ad judicem sacerdotem pro tempore, sub pœna capitali, si non obtemperent. Deut. xvii. 8. et seq. qualis constitutus fuit Amarias, 2 Chron. xix. 11. Secundo, quia pastor est ille unus,



xvii. 8—12, provideth a power in that people to resolve and determine all things which the peace and unity of that people requireth to be determined; and that, for the effect of this power, we have to shew all the constitutions and determinations—whereby the precepts of Moses's law are limited, how they are to be observed—which we find recorded in the Jews' Talmud, and all the disputes and debates that have ended in those determinations. Inasmuch as we have to allege that our Lord in the Gospel hath commanded to hear the Scribes and Pharisees, as those that sit in Moses's chair. For those constitutions derive their pedigree from those that were in force in our Lord's time, by the authority of the Scribes and Pharisees, as it appears to all that compare them with the particulars mentioned in the Scriptures, in Philo, and Josephus<sup>q</sup>. For though the particulars be not always the same, because time produces continual change in particular customs; yet there is agreement enough to shew that it was successively the same authority that made such orderly and moderate changes—as the state of the time might require, or men's fancies imagine—in the practice of their law. Whereby it is evident that the power of so interpreting the law, being established by the law, cannot be against the law, as forbidden by it. And this abundantly enough for the justifying of that which I have said.

§ 4. For the interpretation and limitation of the precepts of the law, by the tradition left with Moses, and by the authority settled in the synagogue, being established by the law, cannot be accounted an addition to the law<sup>r</sup>. Therefore

*p*reses magistrorum, ultra cujus determinationem nil amplius requirendum Eccles. xii. 11. Quia tertio labia ejus præcipue custodient sapientiam ut lex requiratur sicut ab angelo Domini ex ore ejus. Mal. ii. 7. Ergo multo magis sub Evangelio judex talis est admitendus.

*Solutio.* Ad primum, non agitur ibidem de controversiis fidei, sed ritualibus, ut inter sanguinem et sanguinem: lepram et lepram—experiments textu—quo nomine ablegat Salvator decem mandatas ad sacerdotem, Luc. xvii. 14, qui tenebatur sententiam ferre juxta legem, Deut. xvii. 11. Nec amplior delegata fuit a Josophato autoritas Amariæ. Ad secundum, Pastor iste

unus non summum designat Judæorum sacerdotem, sed Deum Scripturæ authorem, vel Christum ex Romanensium glossis. Ad tertium. Nec indicat locus Malachiæ sacerdotum infallibilitatem sed officium, sequitur enim in textu vos autem recessistis de via et plurimos scandalizastis in lege.—Prideaux, Fasc. Controv. Theol. de Scriptura, pp. 40, 41. Oxon. 1649.

<sup>q</sup> See Rel. Assembl., chap. vii. sect. 23; Review, chap. iii. sect. 3; and Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 18.

<sup>r</sup> Primum igitur argumentum ex tribus locis constat, Deuteron. iv. 'Non addetis ad verbum quod ego præcipio vobis nec auferetis ex eo' &c. . . . .

Ad primum respondeo, primo ibi nou

CHAP.  
XXVI.

[consistent  
with the  
power of,  
and obe-  
dience to,  
the Sanhe-  
drin.]

BOOK I. the interpretation of the Scriptures, by tradition, left the Church by the Apostles, and the limitation of the circumstances which the service of God is to be regulated with, by the authority settled in the Church, cannot be counted an addition to God's new law, or to the Scriptures of the New Testament. But because the satisfaction of the reader, in the true intent of these precepts of the law, requires more, I shall say further, that I conceive that God, providing a power requisite to determine all circumstances, which the practice of the law should require, repeats nevertheless a caution of adding to, or taking from the law, that it might not be thought that this power extended to alter any thing in the worship of the one true God, which all the precepts of the law tended to limit.

§ 5. Surely, in the text of Deut. xii. 32, this caution follows immediately upon warning given not to worship God by any of those ceremonies with which the Gentiles honoured their false gods; the reason whereof is plain, lest, by using the like ceremonies, the honour of those false gods, to whom they were tendered by those that believed in them, might be admitted. Whereupon, when it is inferred that nothing be added to or taken from those precepts by which the law commandeth to serve the true God, it is manifest

agi de verbo scripto, sed tradito viva voce; nam non ait 'ad verbum quod scripsi,' sed 'quod ego præcipio.' Secundo, dico veram expositionem ejus loci esse, quod Deus velit integre et perfecte servari mandata ut ipse præcepit et nullo modo ea depravari falsa interpretatione. Itaque non vult dicere, non servabitis aliud, quam id quod nunc præcipio, sed in hoc quod præcipio nihil mutabitis addendo vel minuendo, sed integre facietis ut jubeo et non aliter. Quod idem solet Scriptura significare illis verbis: 'non declinabis ad dextram, neque ad sinistram.' Et quod hoc sit verum patet, quia alioqui peccassent prophetæ et Apostoli, qui tam multa postea addiderunt.

Respondent Brentius Kemnitius, Calvinus prophetas non addidisse quicquam ad legem, quantum ad doctrinam attinet, sed tantum vaticinia quædam de futuris scripsisse, et legis doctrinam explicavisse. Testamentum quoque novum non esse additionem ad

vetus, sed explicationem, cum Apostolus ad Rom. dicat 'Evangelium promissum a Deo per prophetas in Scripturis sanctis.' Et Act. xv. non sint ausi Apostoli in concilio aliquid decernere sine testimonio Scripturæ.

At contra, nam hoc modo etiam traditiones non sunt additiones, sed explicationes. Nam in lege Mosis non continentur prophetarum scripta, neque in lege et prophetis continetur Testamentum novum, nisi in universali, et quodammodo in virtute, sicut tota arbor continetur in semine. Habemus enim in lege Deut. xviii. Prophetam suscitabit tibi Deus, et illum audies, Ibi autem continetur in genere quicquid Christus fecit et dixit: at in particulari tamen quod Christus deberet prædicare Trinitatem personarum in Deo, instituere Sacramenta, facere talia miracula &c., ibi non habetur.—Card. Bellarm. de Verbo Dei non Scripto, lib. iv. cap. x. coll. 195, 196. Colon. 1620.

how well the limitation of circumstances, questionable in the practice of the law, stands with this caution, so soon as it appears that the precepts thereof cannot be practised till so limited.

§ 6. And upon the same caution, Deut. iv. 2, he infers immediately; “Thine eyes have seen what the Lord did to those that served Baal-peor; now they are dead, and thou alive this day.” As supposing this consequence; that if they stuck close to their own, the true God, nothing should seduce them from His laws: not this; that if they stuck close to their own, the true God, nothing should persuade them to practice the precepts of His worship, in that form which the power appointed by Him should determine. So that both texts press upon them the precepts of the law, as those whereby the worship of the true God is distinguished; not as if, of themselves, they contained matter to oblige that people, or to procure them happiness.

§ 7. And surely, the determinations of their elders, as they concur to the same ends, so are they enforced by the same obligation which the precepts themselves produce. And therefore it will not be amiss to take notice how far the Jews, who acknowledge all that I say of limiting the law, are from thinking it to be contradicted by these Scriptures. Solomon Jarchi upon Deut. iv. 2<sup>s</sup>: “Thou shalt not add; as for example, to the five sections in the phylacteries; to the five kinds in the bouquet, which we carry at the feast of tabernacles; to the five thrums in the fringes: and so when he says, ‘Thou shalt not take away.’”

§ 8. They are commanded by the law to wear frontlets upon them, to put them in remembrance of the precepts thereof, Exod. xiii. 9, Deut. vi. 8, xi. 18; to carry in their hands, and to walk with a bush, made up of the branches of several trees, at the feast of tabernacles, Levit. xxiii. 40; to put a fringe to the corners of their garments, made of a thread of hyacinth among others, Numb. xv. 38, 39. But that those frontlets should contain five sections of the law, and no more; that those fringes should consist of four kinds beside the hya-

\* Videlicet, exempli gratia: quinque sectiones in Tephillin et quinque species frondium in Lulaf, ac quinque penicula sic quoque non detrahatis. —E Vers. Joh. Frid. Breithaupt, p. 1328. Gothæ, 1713.

cinth—which are the determinations of their elders—these, according to his opinion, they are as much forbidden to add to, as to take from that which is determined by the letter of the law.

§ 9. Abenezra seems to be more sober upon the same place; “Thou shalt not add,” saith he, “of your own conceit, as thinking the worship of God to consist in it.” For believing that they vow to worship one God alone, and that no positive acts, which the light of nature enjoineeth not, can be esteemed the worship of God, of themselves; but in the doing of them is the keeping of that law which appoints them: it is one thing to worship God, as the precepts of the law, determined by that power which it appoints, do enjoin; another thing to introduce rules of worshipping God, not by virtue of His law, but upon a man’s own conceit. And therefore it is forbidden them to inquire after the fashions by which the Gentiles worshipped their gods, Deut. xii. 30, as a presumption that he which should say that he would worship God as they did their idols, had a mind to worship their idols instead of God, otherwise he would rest content with that way of worshipping God which the law had prescribed.

§ 10. Whereupon the Jews determine that there are four ceremonies, which whoso does to any thing but to God alone, must be understood to worship it for God; which are, sacrificing, burning incense, pouring out drink-offerings, and adoration: but others there are, by doing which a man cannot be concluded to worship any thing but God, till he do it in that way and fashion as is done by those that profess to worship it for God.

§ 11. If it be said that these are Jews which allow traditions; but that there is another sort of Jews called Scripturaries, ספראים<sup>t</sup>, which admit nothing but the letter of the Scriptures: I answer, that those also who admit only the text of Scripture, and pretend to determine all controversies about the law, by consequences to be drawn from it, could never come to agreement among themselves what consequence should take place, and what not, did they not acknowledge some public persons, whose determinations the whole body of them submit to; the consequences which they derive

<sup>t</sup> See Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 18.

their observations by, from the letter of the law, being so ridiculously insufficient, that they could not satisfy the meanest understandings otherwise, as may appear by those which the Talmudists allege for their constitutions. Which being no less ridiculous, than the traditions which they allege incredible, would be both to no effect, did not the public power of the nation—which, while the law stood, was of force 191 by it; but, now it is void, ought to cease—put all pretences beyond dispute.

§ 12. And for that which is alleged out of the Apocalypse<sup>u</sup> —which in sound of words seems to import some such thing concerning the whole book of the Scriptures, as these texts of Moses import concerning the law—I shall desire the understanding reader but to consider that protestation whereby Irenæus conjures all that should copy his book to collate it well with the original, that they might be sure neither to add to it, nor take from it; as Eusebius relateth out of his book *De Ogdoadæ* against the Valentinians, Eccl. Hist., v. 20. Ὁρκίζω σε τὸν μεταγραφόμενον τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο, κατὰ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἐνδόξου παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, ἧς ἔρχεται κρίναι ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς, ἵνα ἀντιβάλης ὁ μετεγράψω, καὶ κατορθώσης αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τοῦτο, ὅθεν μετεγράψω ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ τὸν ὄρκον τοῦτον ὁμοίως μεταγράψης, καὶ θήσεις ἐν τῷ ἀντιγράφῳ. “I adjure thee, that shalt copy out this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by His glorious presence, when He comes to judge the quick and dead, to collate what thou hast transcribed, and correct it by this copy whence thou hast transcribed it, with care; and likewise to transcribe this adjuration, and put it in the copy.”

§ 13. Setting aside this adjuration, what is the difference between St. John's charge, and the matter of it? And finding

<sup>u</sup> Secundus noster Scripturæ locus sumitur ex Apocalyps. xxii. 18. et est priori similis, . . . . . Non prohibetur hoc loco quævis librorum additio, modo illi prophetici aut Apostolici sint. Poterant prophetæ, poterant Apostoli alios libros addere . . . . . fateor hæc verba proprie pertinere ad confirmandam auctoritatem illius propheticae Scripturæ, sed possunt tamen valere ad confirmandam totius canonis ὁλοκληρίαν. Sic enim possumus ab argumento parium disputare; Par est

authoritas et ratio aliorum librorum: Ergo si non licet ad hunc librum addere, ex pari non licebit ad alium aliquem librum addere quicquam aut detrahere. Atque hinc sequetur hos libros plenam perfectamque doctrinam in se continere, nec ullum dogma extra illos quæri oportere. Qui vero ullum præterea dogma necessarium esse putant, illi ad hos libros addunt.—Whitaker, de Sac. Script. Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. xiv. pp. 397, 398. Geneva, 1610.

BOOK  
I.

the words of St. John to import neither more nor less, to tell me what he thinks of this argument; St. John protesteth in the conclusion of his revelation, that whoso shall add any thing to the true and authentic copy of these prophecies, to him shall be added the plagues written in it; whoso taketh from it, from him shall be taken his share in the book of life, and the holy city, and the good things written in that book: therefore all things necessary to the salvation of all Christians are contained in the Scriptures clearly to all understandings.

§ 14. But strain the consequence of this text beyond the words of it—which concern only “the words of the prophecy of this book,” that is, the Apocalypse—if you please, and take it for a seal to the whole Bible, forbidding to take any thing from, or to add any thing to it—for some of the ancients<sup>x</sup> have so argued from it—shall he that addeth the true sense to, or taketh false glosses from, the Bible by force of that evidence which the tradition of the Church createth, be thought therefore to add to the word of God, or to take from it? Then did God provide that His own law should be violated by His own law; when, having forbidden to add to, or to take from, Moses’s law, He provided a power to limit or to extend both the sense and practice of it, and that under pain of death to all that refractorily should resist it.

St. Paul’s  
anathema.

§ 15. Now I demand of them that shall allege<sup>y</sup> St. Paul’s anathema against him that should preach any other Gospel than what he had preached to the Galatians, against the position that I maintain, whether they do believe that the Galatians had then the New Testament, consisting of the four Gospels, and other Apostolical Scriptures, or whether they can maintain that they had any part of it. For if this cannot—as is evident that it cannot—be affirmed, then, of necessity, St. Paul speaks of the Gospel, not as we have it

<sup>x</sup> Docet igitur nos presentis series lectionis neque detrahere aliquid debere mandatis neque addere. Nam si Johannes hoc judicavit de suis scriptis ‘Si quis apposuerit &c.—quanto nihil divinis mandatis est detrahendum?’—S. Ambros. de Paradiso, cap. xii. tom. i. col. 171. ed. Ben. Whitaker, de Sac. Scrip. Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. xiv. p. 398, cites this passage of St. Ambrose and also St. Augustine on the place, and

St. Thomas Aquinas, on 1 Tim. vi.

<sup>y</sup> Duo Scripturæ testimonia tractata jam sunt, quibus addi aut detrahi aliquid Scripturæ prohibetur: sequitur jam tertium. Illud vero habetur, in 1 cap. ad Galat. vers. 8. his verbis. Etiam si nos et. . . . fateor Apostolum anathema denunciare illis, qui aliquid addunt ad verbum Dei, quod ipse annuntiavit: at affirmo illud omne verbum in Scripturis haberi.—Whitaker, ib. p. 398.

written in the books of the New Testament, but as they had received it from the preaching of St. Paul by word of mouth; which being common to all Christians—unless we question whether all the Apostles preached the same Gospel—cannot be thought to destroy either the being of the Catholic Church, or the faith which it supposeth, or the power wherein it consisteth, and the authority of those acts which have voluntarily proceeded from it.

CHAP.  
XXVI.

§ 16. As for the Beræans<sup>z</sup>, that examined even the doctrine of St. Paul by the Scriptures, is it a wonder that they should not take St. Paul for an Apostle of Jesus Christ, upon his own word, but should demand of him to shew by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ, that so they might be induced to believe him sent to preach the Gospel of Christ? Therefore, when they were become Christians, we must believe that they understood themselves, and St. Paul better, than to call his doctrine under examination, or to dispute with him about the meaning of the Scriptures which he should allege, which our *illuminati*, which take this for an argument, must consequently do, because they value not, in St. Paul, the commission of an Apostle, but the presumption they have, that the Holy Ghost moved him to write the Scriptures<sup>a</sup> which he hath left us, though they have nothing to allege for it, but the general commission of an Apostle.

The Beræans.

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<sup>z</sup> Nam unde—quæso—confirmavit suum evangelium Apostolus? Certe ex Scripturis Veteris Testamenti. Quomodo hoc constabit? Ex Act. xvii. 10. ubi legimus Beræenses evangelium et doctrinam Pauli ex Scripturis examinasse quod non fecissent nisi omnia a Paulo tradita fuissent in Scripturis.—Whitaker, *ib.*

..... Utrum Beræenses, Paulum Apostolum esse, cognoverint necne, non multum refert. De personis enim non quæritur, sed de genere doctrinæ. Laudantur Beroenses, quod non temere ac subito susceperint quicquid Paulus docuit, sed ejus doctrinam diligenter ad Scripturas examinârunt. Ex quo duo colligimus, primum omnem doctrinam ex Scripturis dijudicandam esse. .... Secundum Apostolos nihil prædicasse, quod non ex Scripturis prophetis confirmari posset, et cum eis usquequaque consentiret.—*Ib.*, *Contrôv. i. Quæst. v. cap. viii. p. 359.*

Genevæ, 1610.

<sup>a</sup> Multifariam autem et multis vicibus revelatio hæc facta fuit: extraordinarie per oracula tum per ipsum Deum ac Filium Ejus Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, tum per Angelos Dei jussu pronuntiata, per visiones, per somnia et per Urim et Thummim. Ordinarie in principio ad tempora usque Mosis per vivam doctrinæ a majoribus acceptæ traditionem: deinceps cum decrescente hominum ætate, oblivio, socordia, atque etiam malitia hominum accrescerent, ne per Satanam ejusque instrumenta doctrina divinitus revelata corrumpeteretur, voluit ac jussit Deus eandem ad Ecclesiæ ἀσφάλειαν scripto quo verba exprimi solent, comprehendendi ac quasi publicis tabulis consignari. Scriptum hoc sacram Scripturam, sacras litteras et verbum Dei Scriptum appellamus.—Hommi, *Disp. Theol., Disp. i. § 2. p. 2. Lugdun. Batav. 1614.*

BOOK  
I.

[It cannot be inferred either from St. John's Gospel,]

§ 17. To the words of the Evangelist, John xx. 30, 31<sup>b</sup>, I answer, that he speaks only of his own Gospel. And that the things written in that Gospel are sufficient to induce a man to believe, that believing he may have life; but that is not sufficient to infer that therefore all things necessary to the salvation of all Christians are clearly expressed, either in St. John's Gospel, or in the whole Scripture; because he that is induced by the things there written to believe the truth of Christianity, may seek further instruction in the substance thereof, that he may attain unto life by embracing the same. So St. John saith not that a man hath life by believing what is there, but that by knowing it he cometh to believe.

[or from the Epistle to Timothy, that all things necessary are clearly expressed in Scripture.]

§ 18. As for those words of St. Paul, 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17<sup>c</sup>, I confidently believe that St. Paul speaketh only of the books of the Old Testament, then—before the writings of the Apostles were gathered into that body which now is the New Testament—known by the name of the Scriptures: being well assured that no evidence can be made to the contrary, because of those alone it could be demanded that they should bear witness to that which the Apostles preached and taught: there being no question that the sayings and doings of our Lord and His Apostles—the matter of the Gospels and Acts—and the writings of the Apostles, contain the same which the man of God, that is Timothy, is to preach and teach. Nevertheless, waiving so evident a presumption, I am ready to stand

<sup>b</sup> Quartus vero Scripturæ locus, quem nos contra traditiones citamus habetur Joan. xx. ultimo versu, his verbis, 'Hæc scripta sunt ut credatis,' &c. Ex his verbis manifestum est in illis quæ scripta sunt, omnia necessaria posse inveniri quia ex his fides plena ac perfecta nascitur utpote quam salus æterna consequatur. . . . Scriptura non est tantum unum ex illis mediis quæ referuntur ad salutem, sed est totum et solum medium, est perfectum et integrum medium, quia fidem perfectam generat. Ea enim fides quæ affert salutem est perfecta. Perfectum igitur est illud medium, quo hæc fides generatur. Argumentum hujusmodi institui potest. Quæcunque sunt ad salutem necessaria, ea posita sunt in hoc, ut Jesum esse Christum Dei Filium credamus: Sed quæcunque necessaria sunt ut Jesum esse Christum credamus, ea scripta sunt: ergo quæcun-

que sunt ad salutem necessaria in Scripturis habentur.—Whitaker., *Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. xiv. pp. 399, 400. Geneva, 1610.*

<sup>c</sup> Venio nunc ad celebrem illum Apostoli locum qui habetur 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17. 'Tota Scriptura divinitus est inspirata, et utilis ad doctrinam' &c: See note p, chap. v. sect. 26. Whitaker sums up his argument thus: Cum igitur Scriptura ad hæc quatuor utilis sit, cum hominem Dei perfectum reddat cum sapientiam perfectam ad salutem doceat, perfectam eam esse ac sufficientem necesse est: and before he had said, Ergo sunt sufficientes. Nam si minister omnia quæ sunt ad suum munus necessaria, ex Scripturis habere potest, tum et populus etiam omnia ad salutem necessaria in Scripturis invenire potest.—*Ib.*, pp. 400, 401. Geneva, 1610.



to all, that the words, understood of the whole Bible, will argue.

CHAP.  
XXVI.

§ 19. For granting that all Scripture was inspired by God to this purpose, that the man of God might be perfectly furnished to every good work, of edifying believers or convincing gainsayers; of instructing the sons of the Church, or correcting the rebellious; it would be nevertheless in vain to infer<sup>d</sup>, that therefore all things necessary to the salvation of all Christians are clearly expressed to all understandings in the Scriptures; because it is evident that the man of God, by being first made a Christian, or else a man of God, might be instructed in all things necessary to the salvation of all Christians, or to the discharge of his particular trust, which by learning the Scriptures he might afterwards be more plentifully enabled to know.

St. John's  
Gospel  
sufficient  
to make  
one be-  
lieve;

§ 20. For granting that the Scripture is able abundantly to furnish him that hath learned all that is necessary for a Christian, or for a man of God to know, with all parts<sup>e</sup> belonging to a man of God, it followeth not<sup>f</sup> that the Scripture clearly

and the  
Script-  
ures, the  
man of  
God per-  
fect.

<sup>d</sup> "Again, when you say that unlearned and ignorant men cannot understand the Scripture, I would desire you to come out of the clouds, and tell us what you mean: whether that they cannot understand all Scripture, or that they cannot understand any Scripture, or that they cannot understand so much as is sufficient for their direction to heaven. If the first, I believe the learned men are in the same case. If the second, every man's experience will confute you: for who is there that is not capable of a sufficient understanding of the story, the precepts, the promises, and the threats of the Gospel? If the third, that they may understand something, but not enough for their salvations; I ask you first, why then doth St. Paul say to Timothy, the Scriptures are able to make him wise unto salvation? Why does St. Austin say, *Ea quæ manifeste posita sunt in Sacris Scripturis, omnia continent quæ pertinent ad fidem moresque vivendi?* Why does every one of the four Evangelists entitle their book the Gospel, if any necessary and essential part of the Gospel were left out of it? Can we imagine that they omitted something necessary, out of ignorance, not knowing it to be necessary? or knowing it

to be so, maliciously concealed it? or out of negligence, did the work they had undertaken by halves? If none of these things can without blasphemy be imputed to them, considering they were assisted by the Holy Ghost in this work, then certainly it most evidently follows, that every one of them wrote the whole Gospel of Christ: I mean all the essential and necessary parts of it. So that if we had no other book of Scripture, but one of them alone, we should not want any thing necessary to salvation. And what one of them has more than another, it is only profitable, and not necessary. Necessary indeed to be believed, because revealed; but not therefore revealed, because necessary to be believed."—Chillingworth, *Relig. of Protestants*, chap. ii. pp. 123, 124. London, 1687.

<sup>e</sup> Parts, "qualities." MSS.

<sup>f</sup> *Ex hoc loco sic concludimus: Tota Scriptura utilis est ad hoc, ut homo Dei sit perfectus ad omne opus bonum; ergo ad omnia, quæ nobis necessaria sunt, Scripturæ sufficient.* Adversarius dupliciter respondet; primo, admittendo quandam sufficientiam: secundo, negando istam sufficientiam quam nos statuimus. Nos istas responsiones examinemus. Primo ait, re-

BOOK  
I.

teacheth him that hath not learned the same, all that is necessary to the salvation of all Christians; because he that transgresseth not the substance of Christianity, may find in the Scriptures sufficient furniture both for the maintaining and for the advancing of that Christianity which he acknowledgeth; and yet he that trusteth his own sense to find out what is the substance of Christianity, by the letter of the Scriptures, may well miss of that which God never bade him trust his own sense to find by the Scripture.

§ 21. Now if it be demanded<sup>s</sup> how the law can be said to

sponderi posse, Scripturas instruere hominem sufficienter, et perficere hominem Dei quodam modo, quod multa expresse in Scriptura continentur, et docet eadem Scriptura, unde reliqua sunt petenda. Respondeo, Nos huic responsioni prius respondimus, non posse scilicet Scripturam eo tantum nomine sufficientem dici, quod quædam necessaria in universali sufficienter tradat, et ostendat unde reliqua sumi possint; quia tum non opus esset, ut Spiritus Sanctus tam multos Scripturæ libros ederet. Sufficerent enim decalogus, symbolum, et oratio Dominica, nec opus esset tot libris. Sed voluit Spiritus Sanctus nos plenissime erudiri, ideoque tot libros edidit et nos remisit ad Scripturas, in quibus luculenta et sufficiens explicatio omnium partium fidei nostræ reperitur.—Whitaker., de Sac. Script., Controv. i. cap. xiv. p. 400. Genevæ, 1610.

<sup>s</sup> Nulla lucerna est obscura. At Scriptura Sacra est lucerna; ergo non est obscura. Major per se patet, nec eget aut explicatione aut confirmatione. Sciunt enim omnes eam esse lucernæ naturam, eum usum, ut tenebris opponatur easque discutiatur, quod non posset, si ipsa esset obscura. Minor autem probatur ex disertis Scripturæ locis, Psal. 119, Lucerna pedibus meis, &c. . . . et rursus 119, Declaratio sermonum tuorum illuminat et intellectum dat parvulis?—Chamier. Panstrat. Catholic., lib. xv. cap. v. § 1. tom. i. p. 545. Genevæ, 1626.

Jam secundo in loco ea testimonia producemus quæ verbum scriptum perfectum agnoscunt, idque in ordine ad sapientiam cœlestem et salutiferam procreandam. Sic Psalmista, Ps. xix. 8, Lex Domini perfecta convertens animam, testimonium Domini fidele, sapientiam dans parvulis. Sic Paulus ad Tim., ep. 2. cap. iii. vers. 15—17, A

puero sacras literas nosti, &c. Quod parvulos, hoc est, rudes et imperitos, sapientes reddit, idque ad salutem; imo quod hominem Dei, hoc est, verbi interpretem et ministrum, perfectum facere potest, et ad omne bonum opus perfecte instructum, id continet necesse est perfectam doctrinam fidei et cultus divini: at hoc sacræ Scripturæ facere possunt, teste Davide et Paulo, Jam si fingamus cum Pontificiis plurima et altissima Christianæ fidei et pietatis mysteria, non in verbo scripto haberi, sed propter reverentiam illis debitam apud paucos sapientiores recondita conservari, tum ex studio Scripturarum neque docti neque indocti possent sapientiam salutiferam adipisci, quod testimonium allatis aperte contradicit.

Quid ad hæc Papistæ? Jesuitæ in colloquio Ratisbonensi perfectionem Scripturarum non audent negare; dicunt igitur nullam debitam iis perfectionem deesse, sed hanc quam nos supponimus, ut omnia dogmata fidei et cultus expresse contineant, non esse illis debitam. Quemadmodum igitur hominem perfectum vocamus, licet alas non habeat, quia hæc homini non debent adesse; ita Scripturas perfectas dicamus licet omnia fidei dogmata non contineant, quia non debent continere. Sed quæ tandem est hæc debita perfectio? Id explicant hisce verbis: Scripturæ dicuntur perfectæ quoad perfectionem credibilitatis et exactissimæ veritatis. Sed hæc facillime refelluntur, nam hanc credibilitatem habet omnis propositio vera, quæ velut principium nobis per se innotescit, vel ex principio evidenti consequentia deducitur. Debita autem perfectio Scripturarum consideranda est in ordine ad finem suum; finis autem est, hominem Dei instruere sufficienter ad salutem. Jam vero perfectio credibilitatis aut exactis-

give light or wisdom to the simple, being of itself not to be understood, I will answer from the peculiar consequence of my position concerning the double sense of the law: for it becometh a Christian to believe that the law is thus highly extolled by the prophets—whom he is obliged to take for the forerunners of Christ—not for the outward and carnal sense of it, as it was the condition of holding the land of promise, and the happiness thereof; but for the inward and spiritual sense, as the means whereby the Spirit of God then enlightened them to discern the true inward and spiritual righteousness of Christians, as I said afore<sup>h</sup>.

CHAP  
XXVI.  
How the  
law giveth  
light,

§ 22. And what is the reason that the Psalmist saith, **xxv.** 13, 14, “What man is he that feareth the Lord? him shall He teach in the way that He shall choose. The secret of the Lord is among them that fear Him, and He will shew them His covenant:” the covenant of the Lord being clearly expressed to all Israelites, whose ancestors contracting it with God had undertaken to teach it their children? But that there was something more in it than all that were of it understood, which God teacheth by the Psalmist all that were of it that He was ready to teach them that should come with His fear in their hearts to learn it. The same which our Lord tells the Jews of His time, **John vii.** 17, “If any man will do the will of My Father, he shall know, concerning My doctrine, whether it be of God, or I speak from Myself.” For that which our Lord Christ shews, shall be expressly received and acknowledged by those who by the law had been conducted to be willing to do what God should command in point of inward and spiritual obedience; to them that stand so affected, nothing remaining to be done but to shew them that Christ

and Chris-  
tians are  
taught by  
God.

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*sima* veritatis non sufficit ad hunc finem, sed requiritur insuper perfecta comprehensio doctrinae salutiferæ. Hæc perspicua sunt, itaque tandem extorserrunt adversariis hanc confessionem notatu dignissimam; Nos minime Scripturarum imperfectionis accusamus, imo fatemur palam eam esse perfectam, et sufficienter tradere omnia quæ ad religionem spectant: non solum quia ea quæ omnibus simpliciter scitu necessaria sunt aperte tradit, sed etiam quia ex illa ea quoque omnia mediante auctoritate infallibili Ecclesiæ deducuntur. Si omnia quæ spectant ad

religionem ex Scripturis deducuntur mediante infallibili auctoritate Ecclesiæ, tum certum est omnia in Scripturis contineri quæ ad religionem nostram pertinent. Nam Ecclesia quæ ex Scripturis deducit quod in illis non continetur, non tam deduxisse, quam seduxisse dicatur: nec infallibili auctoritate munitur, sed manifesto errore deluditur. Propria itaque confessione distinctionem suam funditus everterunt Jesuitæ. Sed hos mittamus.—Davenant, Prælect. de Judice Controv., cap. x. pp. 42, 43. Cantabrigiæ, 1634.

<sup>h</sup> Chap. xii. sect. 37, 38.

BOOK I. — was come from God with instructions what He would henceforth have them to do that would be saved.

§ 23. Now if the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah<sup>i</sup> promise that under the Gospel all Christians shall be taught of God: if our Lord<sup>k</sup> praiseth the Father for revealing to babes the secret thereof, which He had concealed from the great and learned of the world; if, upon the same account, it was not flesh and blood<sup>l</sup>, but the Father that had revealed to St. Peter the Christ the Son of God: I demand whether we shall imagine their meaning to be that God taught them these things without shewing them reason sufficient to believe them to be true; or having shewed them such, that He taught them, by inclining them to follow that which He had shewed them sufficient arguments to believe.

§ 24. If we say that He taught them immediately, without shewing them any sufficient reason for the truth of that which He taught them to follow, we expose our common Christianity to the scorn of all unbelievers, whom by consequence we can shew no reason why they should become Christians, unless God make them so before they know why. Nay, we can shew them no reason why we deal with them to become Christians; why the Gospel should be preached at all, or any man suffer for preaching or professing it, in order to reduce the world to it, unless we suppose that we can shew them reason so sufficient why they should be Christians, that it may by God's grace become effectual to make them no less.

§ 25. But this is the reason why our Lord Christ protesteth concerning the testimony of John the Baptist—which every man sees how available it was to make Him receivable of those who before had admitted John to be sent by God, professing himself sent expressly to bear witness to our Lord Christ—I say, this is reason enough why He professeth nevertheless not

<sup>i</sup> Isa. liv. 12; Jer. xxxi. 33, 34. Quicumque promissiones a Deo habent de intelligentia Scripturæ, iisdem Scripturam interpretari possunt. At quilibet fideles id genus promissiones habent: ergo quilibet interpretari possunt. Major in confesso est, etiam apud adversarios, qui hanc ob causam Ecclesiæ vindicant hoc jus omne, quod ei promissum dicunt Spiritum Sanctum. Probat autem minor Scripturæ locis, Esaie quinquagesimo quarto,

'Et omnes filii tui edocti erunt a Jehova.' Hieremiæ trigesimo primo, 'Dabo legem meam in cordibus eorum: et in corde eorum scribam eam, et non docebit ultra vir proximum suum, dicens, cognosce Dominum. Omnes enim scient me a minimo eorum usque ad maximum eorum.'—Chamier. Panstrat. Catholic., lib. xvi. cap. ii. § 2. tom. i. p. 582. Genevæ, 1626.

<sup>k</sup> St. Matt. xi. 25.

<sup>l</sup> St. Matt. xvi. 17.

to receive any witness from man. For had not God provided aforehand, that the witness of John should be accepted for the word of God; that being so accepted it might leave no doubt in them that had accepted it—so considerable a party, that those who refused our Lord Christ durst not provoke it, as we see by the Gospels—that our Lord was come from God; in vain had it been for our Lord to allege his witness. Wherefore when He alleged him, alleging not him but the Father, Who had procured him to be accepted; well and truly, though alleging [the] witness of John Baptist, He renounced the witness of man, but professeth to speak those things whereby they might be saved, only under the witness of God.

§ 26. Neither is it strange that the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, and the Apostle St. John<sup>m</sup>, should say that those who had been thus taught of God, should need no instruction from one another, because they knew all things already, or because they had that within them that should teach them all things. I confess if we look impertinently upon that infinity of disputes that remains in the world, either about action or about knowledge; if we look upon the multiplying of controversies in religion, the least of which dispute of reason decides not, and therefore faction determines; it may appear a very large word to make good: but if we look upon the intent of those that spake it, and the matter which they had in hand, it will appear very unreasonable to extend it to any thing else.

§ 27. Now I suppose upon the premises, that the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, in the first and literal and obvious sense, intend to foretel the return of the people of Israel from captivity, and the great change that should be seen in their faithfulness to God; though figuring thereby that knowledge of God, and that fidelity of Christians, which the preaching of the Gospel should produce. And truly I do challenge all them that are best acquainted with the state of that people from the beginning, to shew me any greater change in it than <sup>194</sup> that which we see came to pass upon their return from the captivity. To wit, that they who formerly, before the captivity, had been every day falling away from their own, the true God, to the worship of imaginary deities, should from thenceforth continue constant to Him, when tempted with

<sup>m</sup> 1 St. John i. 20, 12. See sect. 23.

the greatest torments in the world, to renounce Him for the worship of idols, as we see by the relations of the Maccabees.

§ 28. And is it strange then that I should say that this is the change which these prophecies intend to declare? Especially when I say not that this is all they intend, because I know that the Apostles have declared them to be intended of the times of the Gospel; but that this is that which they intend in the first instance, which by the premises must be a figure and step to that which the Gospel intends to declare. And yet in regard of the manifold idolatries which prevailed before the captivity, it shall be most truly and significantly understood, that the people of God, who after the captivity never departed from the true God<sup>n</sup>, shall not then teach one another to know the true God; because that law, the sum of the old law, should be written in their hearts and entrails, so that they should have no need to teach one another to know the true God.

§ 29. If this be true, referring this prophecy to the Gospel, of which the Apostle expounds it in the mystical sense, Heb. viii. 8—12, it will be much more evident how those that are baptized upon the profession of the Christian faith—who are the new Israel according to the Spirit—shall have no need to teach one another to know the true God, who both know God, and the way to God, which is the law of God which they bear in their hearts, if their Christianity be not counterfeit. So that when God promiseth to establish this new covenant, He promiseth neither more nor less than the conversion of the world to the Christian faith.

<sup>n</sup> Verum est, quod a communi idololatria populus in captivitate Babylonica, et postea, abstinuit; tamen per totum id tempus horrenda commisit peccata, quibus ad extremum exterminium Dei iram provocavit, sacrilegia in sancto templo, homicidia, incestus, latrocinia, constantissima odia, et alia, quæ referre pudet, et Josephus atque nostri antiqui nobis scripsere. Verum a communi, et publica idololatria, quoquomodo abstinere, quæ quamvis sit deterioris naturæ, quam præfata peccata, non semper est æqualis malitiæ, nisi in iis, qui idololatriam committunt, scientes se contra Deum peccare, ut Jeroboam, et similes, qui propter fines humanos Deo scienter spreto, idola colunt.—Lim-

borch. Amic. Collat. Tert. Script. Judæi, Num. iii. pp. 100, 101. Goudæ, 1687.

Quia quando Judæos ab idololatriæ crimine immunes pronuntio, ego totum populum seu Judæorum universitatem respicio; prout olim ante captivitatem Babylonicam totus populus, rex et primores se criminis illius reos fecerunt, paucis tantum piis, qui in computum venire nequeunt, exceptis. Quam autem nunc committunt idololatriam Judæi quamvis excusari minime queat, alterius aliquomodo generis est, et non proprie illa quam lex directe et in terminis vetat quando idola gentium condemnat.—Id. Respons. ad Tert. Script. Judæi, p. 278.

§ 30. Accordingly St. John truly tells the Christians to whom he writes, that they knew all things, and had no need that any man should teach them, because the unction that was in them taught them the truth; because he doth not mean that they knew the secrets of geometry, or the mysteries of nature, or whatsoever is or is done in the utmost parts of the world, or any thing else impertinent to his present discourse; but because they had in them a principle sufficient to condemn those errors which he writes against there; to wit, those that deny both the Father and the Son, by denying Jesus to be the Christ, which, saith the Apostle, is the spirit of Antichrist.

C H A P.  
XXVI.

§ 31. For surely he that hath unfeignedly professed the Christian faith upon being catechized in it, hath in him a principle sufficient to preserve him from such gross infections; which the Holy Ghost, wherewith he is anointed upon being baptized into this profession out of a good conscience, sealeth up in his heart, so that such corruptions can have no access to infect it. And therefore the Apostle might well call upon them to try such spirits, whether of God or not; seeing that the comparing of their pretences with that which they had once received must needs be sufficient to condemn that which is opposite to it, by the judgment of any man that unfeignedly adhereth to it. So that St. Paul, when he bids the Thessalonians “try all things, but hold that which is good,” demands no unreasonable thing at their hands, if we understand those things which he would have tried, to be such as are triable by the rule of faith common to all Christians.

§ 32. Indeed the same Apostle, when he writeth to the Corinthians that “the spiritual man is judged by no man, but himself judgeth all things,” seems to speak more generally, not only of the rule of faith, but of the secret counsel and good pleasure of God, in dispensing the revelation thereof, one way to the ancient prophets, another way to the Apostles, both by the Spirit of God and Christ: which secret counsel those spiritual men that he speaketh of were able to interpret, in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, by comparing spiritual things with spiritual things; that is, the revelations granted under the law, with those which the Gospel had brought forth. Which though the Apostles could do, yet the grace of

understanding the Scriptures of the Old Testament, by the Holy Ghost, was no more common to all Christians at that time, than now that the understanding of the Scriptures is to be purchased by human endeavours, it can be common to all Christians to be divines.

§ 33. By all which it appeareth, not that the Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, clearly to all that want it, but that Christianity affordeth sufficient means of instruction in all things necessary to the salvation of all that learn it. And those who°, to find this instruction, turn simple plain-meaning Christians to that translation of the Bible which they like, to find resolution in the pretences of the sects which can arise, cannot be said either to teach them Christianity or sufficient means to learn it. For he who hath not only acknowledged the substance of Christianity, but grounded the hope of his salvation upon it, will rather deny his own senses than admit any thing contrary to it to be the true meaning of the Scripture, whatsoever be the sound of the words of it.

§ 34. But he that only knoweth the Scriptures to be God's truth, and believeth he hath the Spirit of God to conduct him in seeking the sense of it, not supposing the belief of Christianity to be a condition requisite to the having of God's Spirit, may easily be seduced by his inbred pride to devise and set up new positions, sounding like the Scriptures, which the Church acknowledgeth no more than that meaning of the Old Testament which our Lord and His Apostles first declared was acknowledged by the Scribes and Pharisees. And

° Omnia scripta eum in finem conscribuntur ut legantur. Sic etiam Deus Sacram Scripturam conscribi voluit, ut diligenter a nobis legatur, quod ipse per prophetas et Apostolos sæpius et expresse omnibus sine discrimine mandavit. Cæterum cum omnes nec Hebraice, nec Græce, neque etiam Latine intelligant, et tamen Scriptura quæ ad omnes est scripta, et salutis æternæ, cujus cura omnibus et singulis incumbit, rationem manifestat, ab omnibus propterea diligenter in timore Dei est legenda. Ac non tantum licet cuilibet Christiano, etiam laico, sed etiam utile ac quodammodo necessarium est, S. Scripturam in linguam vernaculam translata si aliam linguam non intelligat, etiam sine Episcopi aut

ullius hominis speciali indulto, legere. Nec metuendum est ut ea ratione per se ullum homines percipiant detrimentum, aut in errores atque hæreses inducantur, quin potius multiplex inde utilitas ad eos redundet. Quare impium et tyrannicum est Pontificiorum, quo plebem seu laicos, ut vocant, a Sacræ Scripturæ arcant, quo eos facilius in crassa illa inscitia detineant eorumque fidei et conscientii dominari queant: atque ea ratione armis spiritualibus et consolatione Scripturarum miseris animas spoliant, et non sine sacrilegio prohibent, quod Deus non tantum promiscue omnibus concessit, sed etiam expresse mandavit.—Homii Disp. Theol., disp. v. § 6. pp. 19, 20. Lugd. Bat. 1614.



thinking he doth it by the same right as they had, must needs take himself and his followers for our Lord and His Apostles, but the Church for the Scribes and Pharisees. CHAP. XXXVI.

§ 35. As for that extravagant conceit of Cartwright<sup>p</sup>, I will once more stand amazed at it. A man of so much knowledge as to think himself fit to recall the laws of his country, and give new laws to the Church of God in it<sup>q</sup>, is not ashamed to admit that the reason why the idolatries of Israelites were so odious to God was, because He had not commanded them by the Scriptures; as if God had never forbade them to worship idols by the Scriptures. For otherwise he could not have inferred by the words of the prophet that a Christian ought

How idolatry is said not to be commanded by God.

<sup>p</sup> See chap. v. sect. 29.

<sup>q</sup> "And this is that order of ecclesiastical discipline which all [the] godly wish to be restored, to the end that every one by the same may be kept within the limits of his vocation, and a great number be brought to live in godly conversation. Not that we mean to take the authority of the civil magistrate and chief governor, to whom we wish all blessedness, and for the increase of whose godliness we daily pray; but that Christ being restored into His kingdom, to rule in the same by the sceptre of His word, and severe discipline: the prince may be better obeyed, the realm more flourish in godliness, and the Lord Himself more sincerely and purely, according to His revealed will, served than heretofore He hath been, or yet at this present is."—Admonition to the Parliament of 1570, 1571. p. 7. A.D. 1617.

"I have thus briefly as I could, and handling matters as I ought, passed through many abuses in the ministry and government of the Church of Christ in England, and I have, according to my poor talent, declared what should be the state of a well-ordered and reformed Church. How many sorts of ministers, how they should be called to the function, what their office is, what order should be amongst them, what meetings and conferences there should be for the continuing of true religion, and for them to increase in knowledge by. And in like sort, I have wasted in declaring what officers there should be in the government, what stroke they may bear, so it be by the congregation; what a consistory is, what excommunication is, what provision there should be made for the

poor, what the deacon's office, and of all other orders of the consistory, which it pleased God that I had in mind and thought most profitable to alter. It remaineth for me now to return again to the state, to the queen's most excellent majesty, the honourable counsellors, all the nobility, and all the worshipful commons of this realm. And I humbly beseech her majesty in principal, to vouchsafe the hearing of us, and like as we make our appeal for the Lords Bishops to be uprightly heard, what may be said of our parts further and more thoroughly in this matter of God's, by divers of no small learning and judgment, and integrity of life, so it will please her majesty and you all, herein to accept our appeal that not only we may not thus be oppressed and wrung as we are, against all equity and conscience, but also that God's cause should not be so trodden under foot, the benefit of His Church so little regarded, such daily contentions raised up, and not pacified, such grieving of godly men's consciences, and they not relieved. In so quiet a reign of our sovereign, that papists for pity are not much disquieted, and yet there should be a persecution of poor Christians, and the professors of the Gospel not suffered, not far unlike to the six articles, which crafty heads devised, and brought the king her noble father unto, as they would do her majesty now. That we should have God's cause by us truly and faithfully propounded, and by others wickedly oppugned and withstood, and yet it may not by us again be maintained without great peril."—A Second Admonition, p. 55. A.D. 1617.

BOOK I. to do nothing without a text of Scripture to warrant it; much less to admit any law of the Church without such evidence. Which had it been granted him, with power to give the Church such laws, he could not have proceeded without demanding this exception, that those which Cartwright should make without any such warrant might be counted godly and religious; but these which the Church, superstitious.

## CHAPTER XXVII.

WHY IT WAS DEATH TO TRANSGRESS THE DETERMINATIONS OF THE JEWS' CONSISTORY, AND WHAT POWER THIS ARGUETH IN THE CHURCH. A DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE AUTHORITY OF THE APOSTLES AND THAT OF THE CHURCH. THE BEING OF THE CHURCH TO THE WORLD'S END, WITH POWER OF THE KEYS, MAKES IT NOT INFALLIBLE. OBEDIENCE TO SUPERIORS AND THE PILLAR OF TRUTH INFER IT NOT.

Why it was death to transgress the determinations of the Jews' consistory,

It will not be more difficult to shew how the true sense of all those Scriptures which are alleged towards the infallibility of the Church, concurs to make good the terms upon which I have resolved the dispute in hand. For having shewed<sup>r</sup> that the law of Moses was given the Jews for the condition of holding the land of promise, they ruling as well their civil communion as the service they tendered to God, according to it; I will demand but one thing more from the general experience of all civil people: which is this; that no form of laws can be propounded to any community of men whatsoever, so as to serve it, without further determining and limiting of such things as time, and the occurrences of time, shall discover to be undetermined by that law, and therefore questionable. So that Moses's law, though given by God, Who foresaw whatsoever could become questionable concerning the matter of His law; yet because given for the civil law of that people, must needs be given liable to want such limitations as the occurrences of time should make requisite. Neither can the truth hereof be better evidenced than by shewing the course which God, by the law, hath taken for the ending of all such disputes arising upon the law.

§ 2. I do therefore not only grant, but insist upon this<sup>s</sup>, that the power established by the law of Deut. xvii. 8—12, extendeth to all manner of debates, arising upon occasion of any precept of Moses's law, and to the determining of them, by limiting those things which the letter of the law had not expressed. I do likewise grant that death is allotted for a penalty to whomsoever should not conform to any such determination, and the practice of the law according to it. And I do find so much reason for it, that I do not understand how possibly that people should subsist—and, by consequence, the law which made them that people—in [the] practice of it, without such a provision as this; an opinion of the intent and meaning of God, in the practice of any precept, being sufficient to divide that people into parties, not to be reconciled but by the voice of God, either upon the occasion or by the law, warranting the sentence of those whom He authorizeth to declare what He requireth of His people.

§ 3. Setting aside for the present to dispute<sup>t</sup>, whether it be

<sup>s</sup> Non agitur ibidem de controversiis fidei, sed ritualibus, ut inter sanguinem et sanguinem, lepram et lepram—exprimente textu—quo nomine ablegat Salvator decem mundatos ad sacerdotem, Luc. xvii. 14, qui tenebatur sententiam ferre juxta legem Dei, Deut. xvii. 11.—Prideaux, Fascicul. Controv. Theol., p. 40. Oxon. 1649.

Respondeo, verba ista non intelligenda esse de perpetuo jure interpretandi Scripturas, sed de authoritate tantum definiendi difficiles lites ac controversias, sive ecclesiasticas illas quidem, per ministrum; sive politicas et forenses, per magistratum; ut esset semper in utrisque aliquis, a quo provocare non liceat; alioqui enim nullus esset litigandi finis. Jam vero hoc argumentum non sequitur; lites de cæde et plaga, de sanguine, de lepra, et hujusmodi, finiendæ semper sunt ab aliquo judice, et debet esse aliquod forensium controversiarum certum judicium: ergo oportet esse aliquem summum judicem, penes quem sit authoritas interpretandi omnes Scripturas, et a quo provocare non liceat. Non enim hac lege constitutum est ullum de religione judicium, quod sibi Deus uni reservavit: nulli homini permisit, cum sciret quam facile homines religionem inficiant pravis opinionibus: sed lex lata est de judiciis externis

forensium controversiarum, quas aut magistratus politici, aut sacerdotes judicabant. Nulla autem respublica stare potest, nisi summum aliquod tribunal, a quo nulli fas sit provocare; sed tamen in iis causis, in quibus injustæ etiam sententiæ parere pium sit, non impium. Sed Bellarminus ait, legem esse generalem de omnibus dubiis, quæ ex lege oriebantur: et occasio hujus legis fuit propter eos, qui serviunt diis alienis. Respondeo, primo, de dubiis ex lege ortis nulla mentio habetur in lege, in qua non nisi forenses externæque lites commemorantur. Secundo, quod de occasione legis falsum etiam est, textit, nec valerit aliquid si verum esset.—Whitaker., Controv. i. Quæst. v. cap. iv. p. 350. Genevæ, 1610.

<sup>t</sup> Et quisquis rite perpenderit quæ habentur in Exod. xviii. et Deuteron. i. ubi de præfecturarum illarum institutione agitur, ei haud credibile, puto, videbitur, eos apud quos ex institutione illa Deus, seu sententia Dei quærenda erat, quorum item judicium, Dei judicium signantius dicitur, atque in quos sic distributum est Mosis in judicando onus, non tam sacras quam profanas causas, easque omnimodas pariter et e re nata tractasse ac definiisse. Atque æquum sane est ut de patriarchis etiam anterioribus Ada, Setho, Noacho, Melchizedeco, Abraha, aliis hujus inter-

BOOK  
I.  
and what  
power this  
argueth  
in the  
Church.

the priests alone, or the priests with the chief of the people, in whom this power is vested by the law—as for the present I dispute not who the persons are in whom the power of Church matters rests, in behalf of the Church—it is plainly, by this law, a capital crime to teach and do contrary to what the public power of that people should determine, concerning the intent and practice of any precept of that law. And therefore accordingly I grant, and insist, that in the new Israel of God according to the Spirit, which is the Church of Christ, there is and ought to be a power of putting out of the fellow-

valli principibus summis eorumque, quæ fuere, præfecturis minoribus tantumdem admittamus. Huc maxime autem spectat, etiam quod supra de modo et ratione agendi et judicandi adduximus, in actionibus omnimodis. Certe quatenus tam præcepto divino aut immediate aut mediate, quam jure humano nitebatur quælibet actio, sive publica, sive privata, sive sacra, sive profana, eatenus de ea ita judicandum erat ut manifestam sacrorum atque religionis, in forensi tunc negotio quolibet, rationem habitam esse non agnoscere nequeamus; id est, imperium circa sacra, qua sacra, plane sic exercitum esse. Atque ita Theologia et Jurisprudentia in eadem præfectura necessario conjunctæ; seu potius qua forum spectarunt in unam eandemque reciderunt. Ac sacræ itidem ac profanæ causæ in eisdem præfecturis ideo dirimebantur, quia nulla tam simpliciter profana esse potuit, ut dum præceptorum divinorum vim ibi semper et in qualibet causa perpendendam considerabant judices, nihil sacri in se commistum haberet. Sed vero non admittunt viri aliquot doctissimi imperium seu jurisdictionem circa sacra præfecturis illis minoribus, aut earum alibi a Mose tributam, sed illi integre reservatam, juxta quod superius memoratur ubi ea de re plura. Cæterum concedatur—quod tamen haud ullibi constat; et contrarium ex verbis toties de judiciis sine discrimine in sacro hac de re sermone prolatis eliciendum plane videtur—cognitionem rerum et causarum sacrarum, scilicet earum quæ maxime ad cultum et religionem spectarent, Mosem sibi soli reservasse. Quæritur tunc, sub cujusnam principatus aut præfecturæ generis notione de eis cognosceret ille. Duplicem scilicet in eo aiunt fuisse principatum :

alterum sacerdotalem, quasi nunc diceret, ad vulgi sensum, ecclesiasticum, alterum regium, seu in regimine publico, ut distinguunt, summum. Adeoque sub notione principatus sacerdotalis, seu qui ad eum ex sacerdotii munere pertinebat, causarum de sacris cognitionem eum volunt habuisse, non omnino sub notione principatus politici, seu nomine regio, quale itidem asserunt de sacerdotiis patriarcharum, qui eis primogenituræ nomine fruebantur. Et nemo non videt facile quidem concipi posse ut compluria in eadem persona esse possint jurisdictionis ac imperii genera, adeo ab invicem distincta, ut licet eorum omnia ex unica auctoritate constituentis—ut hic Mosis præfecturæ qualiscunque ex auctoritate Numinis—simul pendeant, alteri tamen cum altero ex constituti natura nihil habeatur commune. Id palam cernitur in eadem persona prætura urbana et peregrina, verbi gratia, donata, in plurium provinciarum ut invicem distinctarum, præside, id genus aliis satis obviis. Etiam agnoscitur quidem tum Mosem fuisse tam sacerdotem quam regem, tum in primogeniti apud anteriores prærogativis sacerdotium fuisse cum dignitate sacerdotali conjunctum. De Mosis regno, seu principatu summo satis testatur ipse in gestis suis passim, et expressius ubi in sacro sermone sic appellatur. Sacerdotem autem eo fuisse diserte ait David, Moses et Aaron in sacerdotibus Ejus. Et de functione quadam ejusdem sacerdotali publica manifesto liquet ex ejus consecratione Aharonis et filiorum, aliisque circa institutionem sacerdotii Aharonici et tabernaculi præstitis.—Selden. de Synedr. Hebr., lib. i. cap. xvi. pp. 352, 353. Amstel. 1679. See Right of the Church, Review, chap. i. sect. 13. note n.

ship of the same any man that shall not stand to the resolution which legally is able to conclude it. For without such a power it cannot be imagined how the unity thereof should subsist, seeing that there can be no community in which debates shall not arise, about those things wherein they communicate.

§ 4. I grant further and insist, that he who is justly put out of the Church, though merely for violating the unity thereof, by disobeying that just order which unites it, is thereby condemned to the death of the world to come; as he that teaches and does contrary to the sentence of that power that concludes the synagogue, is put out of this. Notwithstanding, as many other crimes beside this are capital by the law of Moses, so there be many other causes, both of faith and of life, by which a man forfeits his interest, both in the world to come and in the communion of the Church.

§ 5. But if any man argue<sup>u</sup> that because a man forfeits the communion of the Church, by disobeying the determination thereof, therefore all the determinations thereof are infallibly true and obliging, by virtue of God's law: I shall deny the consequence by virtue of that very law of Deut. xvii. 8—12, upon which this argument is grounded; for whereas it makes disobedience a capital crime, there are other laws that suppose a breach of the law, even in following the determinations of that power which it establisheth. At least if we admit the practice of those Jews that followed the Talmud in those precepts of Levit. v. 15—21, Numb. xv. 22—26, which indeed cannot reasonably be otherwise understood: how should the congregation offer sacrifices to expiate that ignorance wherein

<sup>u</sup> Quod vero in primo illo fundamento sectariorum ex Deuteronomio addebatur, credendum esse sacerdoti judicanti secundum legem, et non aliter, libenter id sane damus sectariis. Sed duo tamen hic eos meminisse oportet. Alterum, quod, ut paulo ante dicebamus, lex sive Dei verbum latius multo quam lex sive Dei verbum scriptum patet. Alterum quod nemini subditorum tamen fas erat judicium sibi de iudiciis sui sacerdotisque definitione arrogare—cum res aliter manifeste præjudicata non erat—num divinæ legi esset consentanea, quin simpliciter omnes jubebantur sacerdoti de rebus controversis aliquid statuenti

acquiescere. 'Qui enim,' inquit, 'superbierit, nolens obedire sacerdotis imperio, morietur homo ille.' Itaque cum sine contradictione ulla obedire homines jussi sunt sacerdoti judicanti secundum divinam legem; persuadere sibi etiam divinitus jussi sunt illum, cum de rebus controversis judicabat, omnino judicare secundum divinam legem: Quod ipsum multo etiam maxime persuadere nobis de summo Ecclesiæ pastore, cum ex traditione Ecclesiastica, controversias religionis definit, nunc jubemur.—Gregorii de Valentia, *Analysis Fidei Catholicæ*, lib. viii. cap. vi. *de Traditionibus Apostolicis*, p. 107. Paris. 1610.

BOOK I. all were involved, but as those that had power to make wrong determinations should expiate that ignorance which the congregation by following had incurred.

§ 6. Neither saith our Lord any less in the Gospel, though in a matter of greater consequence, when having condemned them that transgressed God's commandment for the tradition of their predecessors, Matt. xv. 5—10, Mark vii. 8—12, nevertheless He commands them to observe and do all such things as the Scribes and Pharisees, sitting in Moses's chair, should command, Matt. xxiii. 2, to wit, because the authority of Moses's chair presupposed the law of God, but extended not to nullify any part of it. In like manner the authority of the Church presupposing the truth of Christianity—the profession whereof makes Christians, the body whereof is the Church—it is not possible that it should teach so far as to warrant any man to believe that, which those grounds upon which the truth of Christianity stands, cannot evidence to be true.

§ 7. I say not that the Church cannot determine what shall be taught and received in such disputes as will divide the Church, unless an end be put: but I say that the authority of the Church<sup>x</sup> can be no reason obliging or warranting to believe

<sup>x</sup> Hæc de difficultatibus occurrentibus. Nunc ad rem principalem redeamus, et formalem credendi rationem, non esse Ecclesiæ vocem adhuc paucis ostendamus: ut nimirum propositis initio argumentis plenius satisfiat, resque ipsa magis elucescat. Quemadmodum ergo in intelligendo principia scientiarum—hujusmodi enim quedam sunt ea quæ creduntur, quatenus non probantur argumentis, sed ex autoritate revelantis et attestantis innotescunt—sola formalis ratio illis assentiendi, est lumen naturale intellectus agentis, quem propterea splendori et luci comparat Aristoteles; tamen multa præambula, quasiq; inducentia quedam media præcedunt, ut illa principia cognoscantur—qualia sunt institutio, disciplina, explicatio per exempla, per effecta, terminorum quoque expositio et similia—sic in assensu fidei, formalis ratio assentiendi alicui articulo fidei, est lumen supernaturale a Deo revelante infusum: quod quidem tum proponit intellectui, id quod credi debet, tum inclinât intellectum per voluntatem nova gratia motam et excitatam, ad credendum

ipsi Deo revelanti. Credere enim aliquem articulum fidei, est credere Deo revelanti hunc articulum fidei. E converso, credere Deo revelanti hoc aut illud, est credere hoc aut illud: non autem credere Deo revelanti simpliciter. Hoc enim facit infidelis—ut postea suo loco clarius docebimus—sed solus fidelis credit Deo revelanti hos vel illos articulos fidei. In hoc ergo consistit tota formalis ratio credendi, et in hoc stat ultima resolutio credendorum. Verbi gratia, Credo Christum esse Deum et hominem, non simpliciter et absolute, quia Evangelistæ sic scripserunt, vel Apostoli docuerunt, vel Ecclesia tradidit: Sed quia Deo ipsis Evangelistis et Apostolis et Ecclesiæ hoc revelante, illud scripserunt, docuerunt, et traderunt. Accedit tamen Evangelistarum, Apostolorum et reliquæ Ecclesiæ testimonium, tanquam conditio quedam Dei sic revelantis; per quam conditionem partim adjuvatur intellectus, ut ad fidei assensum determinetur, propter innatam infirmitatem et rerum divinarum ignorantiam: partim medio quodam ordinario divinitus instituto

that for truth which cannot be reasonably deduced from the motives of our common faith; only it shall be a reason obliging and warranting to keep the peace of the Church by not scandalizing such determinations thereof as are not destructive to the common faith. Much more where the faith is not concerned—only the question is, of determining the circumstances of those actions wherein the communion of the Church is exercised, which neither our Lord nor His Apostles have determined—shall the disobeying of such determinations be the violating of that unity which all Christians profess that God hath ordained in His Church.

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§ 8. And now we have an easy account<sup>y</sup> to give how the prophets Haggai [ii. 11.] and Malachi [ii. 7.] send the Israelites to the priest for resolution in those things which the practice of that people determined to belong to their office to resolve; because it cannot be doubted that their resolutions depended upon the acts of that authority which concluded that people by the law aforesaid of Deut. xvii. 8—12. Which if not infallible, and yet authorized by God to warrant the proceedings of His people, it will be no marvel if those that act in dependance on them, be authorized to warrant the people, though further from being infallible.

§ 9. To come now to those things that are alleged to be said of the Apostles and of the Church—having already limited the power of the Church not to extend to the faith of Christianity which it presupposeth—it will be easy to distinguish it from the power of the Apostles. Which though it presuppose the truth of Christianity preached by our Lord, as that which

A difference between the authority of the Apostles and that of the Church.

inducitur ad assentiendum, propter innatam mortalibus superbiam, et propter unitatem servandam: ordine pulcherrimo hac ratione instituto, ut homines ab hominibus discamus.—Stapleton., Princip. Fidei, Controv. iv. lib. viii. cap. xxii. pp. 317, 318. Paris. 1582.

<sup>y</sup> Ex quibus omnibus conficitur, Ecclesiam Christi non aliam ob causam proprie et proxime stabilem in fide, perpetuam in duratione, regnum Christi in potestate esse, quam quia de pastoribus et magistris, Ecclesiæ prospectum est: a quorum ore veritas non recedet, et ex quorum ore legem, et ex labiis scientiam exquiras: quia etiam horum pastorum successio, certa atque

perpetua futura est: quia denique in hujusmodi pastoribus, excellentiori quodam modo regnat Christus; eamque potestatem usque ad finem mundi per illos exercet, quam a Patre accepit; pascendi, docendi, in veritatem inducendi. Deum hominibus manifestandi, mundum reconciliandi, peccata solvendi, cæteraque omnia ad salutem necessaria dispensandi. Hos enim pastores et doctores constituit. In his verbum reconciliationis posuit. Hos dispensatores mysteriorum Dei, qui vice et loco suo pro illo legatione fungerentur, fecit.—Stapleton., Princip. Fidei, Controv. ii. lib. iv. cap. vii. p. 169. Paris. 1582.

they are employed to introduce and establish, yet in order of nature and reason is before the very being of the Church, as serving to evidence any truth of the Gospel to them that believe, being convicted that they came from God to move them to believe.

§ 10. For how can they stand obliged to believe the truth of our common Christianity to be that which God sent our Lord Christ to preach; but by standing convict that the Apostles were sent by Him, to move them to accept of it, and thereupon enabled with means to evidence this commission and trust; whereupon the world may safely repose themselves upon the credit of them, whose act God owns, by the witness He yields them for His own? The true reason and ground upon which no act of theirs, whether by word or writing, is refusable by the Church: upon which the truth of things determined by their writings is no more determinable by the Church, because the meaning of their words, which is the truth sought for, is in the words from the time they are said.

§ 11. And is it then an unreasonable demand that their charter<sup>z</sup>, [St. Luke x. 16,] “He that heareth you heareth Me,” extending to all that falls under their office, should not be thought to descend upon the Church indefinitely, but according to such limitations as the constitution thereof determineth;

<sup>z</sup> Quod quidem hactenus rationibus Theologicis investigatum, vel explicatum potius, nunc Scripturarum auctoritate breviter demonstratur. Nam magna ex parte hoc jam antea factum est, quum de supposita necessitate vocis Ecclesiæ ex Dei ordinatione, supra, cap. viii. et de obedientia fidei, cap. x. disputavimus. Christus cum Apostolis diceret, Qui vos audit me audit, apertissime docuit vocem Ecclesiæ magistrorum esse vocem Dei. Sed invertit hæc Christi verba, nosque propter sensum jam dictum asinos et stolidos, vocat Melancthon in repetit. Confessionis Augustanæ. Ait enim, Qui vos audit, me audit, id est, verbum meum non vestrum loquimini. Intellegit autem verbum scriptum sed hoc commentum verba ipsa evertunt. . . .

Agens enim [Johannes] de falsis spiritibus et pseudoprophetis cavendis; ipsi, inquit, de mundo sunt, ideo de mundo loquuntur, et mundus eos audit. Nos ex Deo sumus, id est, docendi, qua fungimur potestatem divi-

nitus accepimus, non ex mundo aut ab hominibus, ut pseudoprophetæ. Qui novit Deum, audit nos. Qui non est ex Deo non audit nos. In hoc cognoscimus Spiritum veritatis, et spiritum erroris. Plane sua verba pro Dei verbis venditat, non secus quam supra Christus. Hoc autem ideo facit quia Apostolus, quia pastor Ecclesiæ Dei fuerat legitime missus, et testis veritatis constitutus: ut de illo verum sit, quod Christus de se ipso dixit. Quem enim misit Deus, verba Dei loquitur. Jam vero, ne hæc illis tanquam Apostolis tantummodo, non etiam tanquam pastoribus Ecclesiæ et veritatis testibus constitutis dicta fuisse: proindeque eorum in hac parte successoribus minime convenire, videantur; Apostolus Paulus de universa fidei et doctrinæ ratione disserens, idem quoque quibuscunque fidei magistris tribuit.—Stapleton., Princip. Fidei, Controv. iv. lib. viii. cap. xviii. pp. 306, 307. Paris. 1582.



that is to say, not to the effect of creating faith, but of preserving peace and unity in the communion of the Church? Not prejudicing, nevertheless, that force of evidencing the truth of Christianity, and the meaning of the Apostles' writings, which I have shewed<sup>a</sup> to be in the testimony of the Church, not by any authority it hath from God, but from that conviction which the testimony of such a body of men inferreth.

§ 12. I shall not therefore deny that he who heareth or refuseth their successors heareth and refuseth God; if that which they would be heard in be within the bounds of that power which God hath assigned them, but is not the same that He assigned the Apostles. But I shall utterly deny that it is by virtue of these words, which were spoken by our Lord at such time as He had not declared whether they should have successors or not. For there is very great appearance that they themselves, after this, expected to see the world's end, and the coming of Christ. When the Apostles, Matt. xxiv. 3, enquire of our Lord, "When shall these things come to pass? And what shall be the sign of Thy coming, and of the world's end?" though our Lord by His answer distinguisheth the time of the destruction of Jerusalem from the end of the world, yet by the question there is no appearance that the Apostles did so distinguish before His answer. And when His answer contains that this generation shall not be over till all these things come to pass, and that not only after He had declared the destruction of Jerusalem, but His coming, and the end of the world, Matt. xxiv. 14—22, 29—34, it appeareth that those things which He declares shall forerun the world's end, were to begin before that generation were out, when to end being not thought fit then to be said.

§ 13. If this interpretation of Grotius<sup>b</sup>, which makes good

<sup>a</sup> Chap. iii. sectt. 19—25.

<sup>b</sup> Occasione ejus quod Christus de excidio templi dixerat, discipuli de ejus excidii tempore Christum interrogantes, duo præterea quærun, quæ ab aliis non ibidem expressa Matthæus distincte posuit; nempe, quæ futuræ essent *ἐποχα* tum adventus Christi, tum finis sæculorum: non quod has tres quæstiones in unum idemque recidere

existimarent, sed quod rerum imminentium præcipuas una opera sibi prædici cuperent; ac præterea existimarent inter hæc omnia non multum temporis intercessurum: Dogmata Christi jam satis imbibisse se putabant; nunc vaticinia ab Ipso audire desiderant, freti ea pollicitatione qua Christus dixerat multa se arcana seorsim a plebe cætera revelaturum, *πα-*

BOOK I. the letter best, suffer contradiction, yet is it evident by St. Paul's Epistles<sup>c</sup>, 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52, 2 Cor. v. 1—3, 1 Thess. iv. 15, 17, that he was not certified but that the coming of Christ to judgment should be during his time. In which St. John, by the Apocalypse, was more fully informed. If these things be true, the obedience due to the Apostles' successors cannot stand by virtue of this command, given when it was not declared whether they were to have successors or not: but by those Scriptures, whereby it may appear so far in due place<sup>d</sup>, it shall appear, whether or no, and upon what terms the Apostles left their authority with successors: which when it appears, then by consequence of reason it will be inferred from these words that who hears or refuses them hears or refuses God, by whom the Apostles were enabled to leave such part of their power with successors.

§ 14. Neither will it be strange that I allow not any council<sup>e</sup> in which never so much of the authority of the present

*πουσίαν* Christi a consummatione sæculorum multi non distinguunt, vocis, ni fallor, ambiguo decepti, nam multiplici significato usurpari *παρουσίαν* certissimum est. At Matthæus distinguit hanc quæstionem non minus a tertia quam hanc et tertiam a prima; et Christus, si quid video, distinctis questionibus distincte respondet, primæ ad comma usque 23, secundæ inde ad comma 30, postremæ in sequentibus. Quare *παρουσίαν* hic interpretor, non iudicium sed regnum Messix, quod illustre fore splendore externo discipuli putabant. Argumentum sententiæ meæ est, quod verba illa 'Si dixerint, hic aut illic est; ne exite,' quæ hic Christus usurpat ad solvendam quæstionem *περὶ τῆς παρουσίας*, ut videre est infra 23, 26, 27. Apud Lucam quoque inveniuntur xvii. 22, 23, ubi itidem fulminis apparet comparatio. Eodem autem loco clarissime ostendit Christus agere Se de regno suo, quod regnum Dei, loquendi more Judæis usitato, appellat; id ipsum regnum venturum significans *ὄν μετὰ παρατηρήσεως*. Conferat diligens lector loca; videbit ita se rem habere ut dico. Fateor quidem *παρουσίας* voce sæpe illum iudicii adventum significari; sed ad perpetuum non est. Nam Petrus *παρουσίας* voce efficaciam Christi designans conjungit *δύναμιν καὶ παρουσίαν* 2 Ep. i. 16. Et alia quoque sunt in

Apostolicis scriptis loca quæ eam recipiunt interpretationem.—Grotii, Comment. in S. Matth. xxiv. 3. tom. ii. p. 221. Londini, 1679.

<sup>c</sup> Incipiam ergo a prædictione Pauli ad Thessalonicenses, Paulus idem duobus in locis, 1 Thess. iv. 15, 17. 1 Corinth. xv. 6, 22, de resurrectione agens, resurrecturos in duo dividit genera, in eos qui præmortui erunt, et in eos qui vivent eo tempore; his autem se accenset, utens pronomine *ἡμεῖς*, et in illa ad Thessalonicenses bis, *ἡμεῖς οἱ ζῶντες*: nimirum quod existimaret ad id usque tempus—est autem illa ad Corinthios haud dubie posterior illa ad Thessalonicenses, de qua nos agimus—fieri posse ut resurrectio accideret intra illud spatium quo ipse erat victurus, loquens hac in re non *δογματικῶς* sed *στοχαστικῶς*. . . . Cum igitur ita existimaverit Paulus, fieri posse, ut se adhuc vivente mundi ruina contingeret, inde collegi, quæcunque prædixit Paulus ante scriptam priorem ad Corinthios, ea omnia talia esse ut intra hominis unius vitam exitum suum habere possent.—Grotii, Append. ad Comm. de Antichristo, tom. iii. pp. 475, 476. Londini, 1679.

<sup>d</sup> Bk. iii. chapp. xvi. xvii.

<sup>e</sup> Tertius locus est Act. xv. ubi primum concilium confiderat ait: 'Visum est Spiritui Sancto, et nobis.' Si autem illud concilium, ex quo formam

Church is united, to say in the same sense, and to the same effect as the synod of the Apostles at Jerusalem [Acts xv. 28], "It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us:" though I allow the overt act of their assembling to be a legal presumption, that their acts are the acts of the Holy Ghost, so far as they appear not to transgress those bounds upon which the assistance of the Holy Ghost is promised the Church. For as for the Apostles, I have shewed before<sup>f</sup> that they had the Holy Ghost given them, not only to preserve them in the truth of the common profession of Christians, but to reveal unto them the true sense of the old Scriptures, according to the Gospel which they preached—though that grace was common to many more besides the Apostles, not to all Christians—upon which depended the resolution of the point then in debate.

§ 15. Besides, I do not intend to depart from that observation which I have made in another place<sup>g</sup>, that we find by the Scriptures, and by the primitive records of the Church, many revelations made to God's people at their public assemblies, by the means of such as had the grace [of immediate revelations, which may be generally comprised under the name of prophecy<sup>h</sup>.] And thereupon do infer that such a revelation was made to that assembly upon the place, directing the decree which there follows, and is signified—according to that brevity which the Scriptures use, in alleging that whereof no mention is premised in the relation that went afore—by these words, "it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us."

§ 16. Now the words of our Lord<sup>i</sup>, Matt. xxviii. 20, "Be-

acceperunt omnia alia concilia, asserit decreta sua, esse decreta Spiritus Sancti, certe idem asserere possunt cætera legitima concilia, quæ universæ Ecclesiæ regulas credendi et operandi præscribunt. Illi enim concilio adfuit Spiritus Sanctus, quia id necesse erat pro Ecclesiæ conservatione: at non minus aliis temporibus novis hæresibus exorientibus, id necessarium fuit, atque etiam erit.—Bellarm. de Concil., lib. ii. cap. ii. col. 55. Colon. 1619. See Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 13. note o.

<sup>f</sup> Chap. xxvi. sect. 31.

<sup>g</sup> Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 22, 23.

<sup>h</sup> The passage in brackets is from MSS.

<sup>i</sup> Cæterum istam potestatem Apostolis datam, perpetuo in futuris Ecclesiæ pastoribus mansuram, et non nisi certa successione ad pastores deventuram, illæ Scripturæ luculenter demonstrant, quæ ipsius Ecclesiæ stabilitatem perpetuam in evangelio promittunt. Etenim—quod diligenter animadverti debet—ubicunque Christus Dominus Ecclesiæ suæ vel potestatem vel stabilitatem perpetuam in Evangelio promittit, non nisi Apostolis suis loquitur. Unde hæc duo colligere licet, et potestatem ipsam Apostolicam sive Episcopalem perpetuam esse ac stabilem, et hanc perpetuam stabilitatem, non toti corpori immediate, sed proprie ipsis pastoribus Ecclesiæ, in

BOOK  
I.  
The being  
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Church to  
the world's  
end;

hold I am with you to the world's end," are manifestly said to the body of the Church, and therefore do not promise it any privilege of the Apostles. And truly seeing it is a promise immediately ensuing upon a precept, "Go preach and make disciples all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things I have commanded you;" I find it a matter of no ill consequence, but very reasonable, to say, that the precept is the condition of the promise, seeing no act so expressed can reasonably be understood otherwise.

§ 17. But in regard it is otherwise manifest that the con-

Evangelio tributam esse. Ut propterea etsi tota Ecclesia sit stabilis et æterna, et Spiritu veritatis donata, hoc tamen ideo verum sit, quia pastores stabiles sunt, et a veritate non excidunt; id est, Ecclesia non errat in fide, Ecclesia recte judicat de fide, quia pastores Ecclesiæ non errant, et recte judicant; pastores autem, non hic aut ille, seorsim singuli, sed simul omnes unitatem retinentes, ut jam antea diximus. Toti enim, non partibus, uni Ecclesiæ universali, sive Catholicæ, non certis parœciis, locis aut gentibus prospexit Deus; cum Ecclesiam in sanguine filii sui consecraret, et Apostolis ac eorum successoribus posendam relinqueret. Sed nunc illas Scripturas, quas dixi, videamus. Dicit Christus in Evangelio, 'Qui Ecclesiam audierit' &c. Sed de qua Ecclesia, aut de quibus hæc dixit? Prefecto de præpositis Ecclesiæ, ut Chrysostomus, Theophylactus, et alii patres exponunt, et præterea loci circumstantia manifeste demonstrat. Sequitur enim immediate, Amen dico vobis quæcunque alligaveritis super terram, &c. Hoc autem quis negabit ad solos præpositos pertinere? 'At non fit hic doctrinæ mentio,' inquit Calvinus, 'sed tantum censuris asseritur sua autoritas, ut corrigantur vitia.' Quasi vero qui corripientem Ecclesiæ præpositum non audit, habebitur sicut ethnicus, et qui docentem contemnit absque culpa erit, aut quasi non eadem, imo major sanæ doctrinæ, quam vitæ ac morum habenda esset ratio—ut in superiori controversia obiter ostendimus—quasi denique qui potestatem habent ab Ecclesia per censuras ejiciendi, potestate carerent in Ecclesiam per doctrinam fidei colligendi. Maxime cum potestas omnis

Ecclesiæ data sit ad ædificationem, et manifestatu Spiritus ad utilitatem. Rursum asserit Christus, quod contra Ecclesiam suam, portæ inferi non prævalebunt, Sed quam Ecclesiam ibi dicit, nisi Petri principis pastorum cujus personæ illa verba loquitur, ut in sequentibus evidenter ostendemus; tam illum ut supremum Ecclesiæ caput et pastorem, quam etiam in ejus persona omnia Ecclesiæ capita et pastores, stabilitate perpetua, etsi non pari gradu, firmans? Dicit iterum Christus; Alium paraclitum dabit vobis Pater et sed quibus hoc dixit? Certe nec turbis credentium, nec omnibus discipulis, sed solis Apostolis in horto post cœnam; qui soli cum Eo cœnati sunt, et quibus solis postea dixit, 'posui vos ut eatis et fructum afferatis,' &c., et rursum 'Sicut Me Tu misisti in mundum et Ego eos misi in mundum. Addit tamen 'in æternum' ne illis solis personaliter locutus videatur, et non etiam aliis in eorum postea locum successoris. Postremo dixerat 'Et Ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus,' &c. Sed illis hoc dixit, quibus paulo ante dixerat 'Euntes docete omnes gentes' &c. Ut præsentiam suam Christus et Spiritum Sanctum toti quidem Ecclesiæ suæ promiserit, sed immediate et proxime Apostolis, futurisque eorum successoribus, mediate vero et per Apostolorum atque successorum ministerium, toti corpori Ecclesiæ. Hæc sunt loca, quæ maxime Ecclesiæ stabilitatem probant: et hæc eadem sunt loca, quæ maxime potestatem pastorum confirmant: ut intelligatur Ecclesia ideo esse stabilis, ideo potestatem in causa fidei habere, quia ejus pastores utroque donantur.—Stapleton., Princip. Fidei, Controv. ii. lib. v. cap. vii. p. 167. Paris, 1582.

tinuance of the Church is absolutely promised and foretold till the world's end, by name, in those other words of our Lord, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it," Matt. xvi. 18: I shall easily admit that God absolutely promises to be with His [Church] to the world's end, so as to preserve Himself a people in the manifold distractions and confusions that fall out, by the fault of those that profess themselves Christians, as well as by the malice of infidels: but I shall deny that this infers the gift of infallibility in any person or quality, in behalf of the body of Christians<sup>k</sup>. For supposing the visible profession of Christianity to continue till the world's end, so that under this visible profession there is sufficient means to conduct a true Christian in the way to salvation; and that by this means a number of men invisibly united to our Lord  
 199 Christ by His Spirit, do attain unto salvation indeed: these promises of our Lord will be evidently true, though we neither acknowledge on one side any gift of infallibility in the Church, nor deny on the other side the visible unity of the Church instituted by God's law.

§ 18. It will be evidently true that our Lord Christ "is with His disciples," that is, Christians, "till the world's end," who could not continue invisibly united to Him without the invisible presence of His Spirit. It will be evidently true that "the gates of hell prevail not against His Church," in the visible society whereof a number of invisible Christians prevail over the powers of darkness. For though, granting the Church to be subject to error, salvation is not to be attained without much difficulty: and though division in the Church may create more difficulty in attaining salvation than error might have done, yet so long as salvation may be, and is, attained by visible communion with the Church, so long "is

<sup>k</sup> Nam ex primo loco Matthæi xvi. 18. Tu es Petrus, &c. hoc argumentum deducitur. Potestas illa et auctoritas, quæ per modum petræ et fundamenti, juxta Christi promissionem, Ecclesiam perpetuo sustinere, et adversus inferorum portas, ac quosvis adversariorum impetus immotam tueri debet, necessario est, et esse debet potestas seu auctoritas infallibilis: potestas et auctoritas Petri ac successorum ipsius Romanorum Pontificum juxta Christi promissionem, universam Christianam

Ecclesiam velut petra ac fundamentum perpetuo sustinere, et adversus inferorum portas ac quosvis adversariorum impetus immotam tueri debet: Ergo potestas et auctoritas Petri, ac successorum ipsius Romanorum Pontificum necessario est, ac esse debet infallibilis, saltem in dubiis fidei quæstionibus, a quarum sincera definitione puritas et integritas fidei totius Ecclesiæ dependet.—Tanner. Theol. Scholast., tom. iii. *de Fide*, Disp. i. Quæst. iv. dub. vi. § 5. col. 268.

BOOK I. Christ with His," nor do "the gates of hell prevail against His, Church," though error, which excludeth infallibility, though division, which destroyeth unity, hinder many, and many of attaining it.

with  
power of  
the keys,  
makes it  
infallible.

§ 19. But if the consequence that is made from those words of our Lord be lame, that which may be pretended from the power of the keys, or of remitting and retaining sins—both one by the premises—granted St. Peter, the Apostles, or the Church, will easily appear to be none at all. For no man can maintain the power of remitting and retaining sins to be granted to the Church, but he must yield it to be communicated to more than those in whom the gift of infallibility can be pretended to reside. Neither can the greatest of the Apostles remit or retain any man's sin without inducing him to embrace the profession of Christianity, or—if, having embraced it, he fall from it in deed and in effect—without reducing him to the course and study of performing the same, and upon due profession thereof, re-admitting him into the Church; on the other side, excluding those that cannot be reduced to this estate. Nor can the least of all that are able to bring any man into the Church, fail of doing the same upon the same terms.

[*Clave non errante.*]

§ 20. And did ever any man<sup>1</sup> ascribe the gift of infallibility

<sup>1</sup> Hæc sane de causa recte judicarunt scholastici, ad clavium potestatem, Ecclesiæ in persona Petri datam, pertinere etiam et istud, exponere scripturas, tum his scripturis edocti, tum etiam ex sensu probatissimorum patrum. Nam de vi clavium Petro data, dixit Epiphanius, 'Juxta omnem modum, in Petro firmata est fides, qui accepit clavem cælorum, In hoc enim omnes de fide subtilitates inquisitæ reperiuntur: sive omnium difficultatum solutiones inveniuntur.' Hæc ille in Anchoratu juxta Græcam veritatem. De hoc officio clavium dixit Hieronymus 'Apostolos solvere homines sermone Dei et testimoniis scripturarum, et exhortatione doctrinæ.' In Comm. in Esai. cap. xiv. Denique hanc potestatem clavem scientiæ vocat Ambrosius, et eam accepisse Paulum scribit, sicuti Petrus accepit clavem potentiæ. Non quod uterque utramque clavem non habuerit; sed quod in hac Petrus, in illa Paulus excelluerint. Est ergo pars

potestatis clavium aperire scripturas: ut sane cum privatus doctor id facit ex privata scientia, auctoritatem illa interpretatio infallibilem, irrefragabilem, et authenticam non habeat, Quum autem Ecclesia id facit, vel per Episcopos suos seorsim ex cathedra loquentes: vel per concilia Episcoporum; virtute clavium aperire censenda sit; ideoque auctoritatem habeat plane irrefragabilem.

Et quamvis gratia Sacramenti Ordinis annexa characteri, videatur quibusdam scholasticis ad ea tantum officia exercenda conferri, quæ ad potestatem ordinis attinent, et non ad ea quæ ad jurisdictionem spectant, exponere autem Scripturas ad potestatem jurisdictionis, non solius ordinis referatur,—tamen vel illa sententia de jurisdictione exteriori tantum intelligenda est, vel certe vera non est. Nam ad remissionem peccatorum in foro conscientiæ, quæ est pars jurisdictionis interioris, extra controversiam est, cou-

to all them that should have power and right from the Church, and in the Church, to do this? What meaneth then the exception of *clave non errante*<sup>m</sup>, which is every where, and by every body cautioned for, that with any reason challenges the power of the keys for the Church? To me it seems rather an argument to the contrary, that seeing this power is challenged for the Church, under this general exception, without limiting the exception to any sort of matters or subjects; and that the act of it is the effect of the decrees of the greatest authority visible in the Church—as, whether Arius should communicate with the Church or not, was the issue of as great a debate as the authority of the Church can determine—that therefore the sentence of his excommunication proceeded not from the gift of infallibility, in any authority concurring to the decree of Nicæa, whence it proceeded, granting generally the power of excommunication to be liable to the exception of *clave non errante*.

§ 21. Indeed it cannot be denied that something requisite to the exercise of this power was in the Apostles infallible, or unquestionable, as presupposed to the being of the Church. For what satisfaction could men have of their Christianity, if any doubt could remain whether the faith which they preached were sent from God or not? whether the laws of ecclesiastical

ferri gratiam sacramentalem dicente Christo, 'Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remisistis' &c. Rursus sicut alia quædam, ut Sacramentum ordinis et confirmationis administrare, non solum sunt jurisdictionis sed etiam ordinis—nemo enim nisi ordinatus ea exequi potest—sic et exponere Scripturas, virtute clavium utriusque erit; et propterea sine gratia non erit. Deinde ut sacerdoti in Sacramento susceptione confertur gratia remittendi peccata, licet eam exercere sine jurisdictione nequeat; sic et gratia exponendi Scripturas virtute clavium, in eodem Sacramento confertur, licet eam ut sic exercere non valeat, nisi accepta jurisdictione et cura animarum. Postremo, absurdum non est in Archiepiscopo et metropolitano, quorum amplior est jurisdictio, amplio remitti gratiam—ut absurdum esse adversæ fautores sententiæ putant—quia quemadmodum in Episcopo est extensior et amplior character Sacerdotalis, et per consequens, gratia, sic et in istis; non tamen

multiplicato caractere vel gratia Sacramentali ipsius ordinis, quæ una est, sicut unum est Sacramentum. His ergo et argumentis et Scripturarum testimoniis evidentissimis, firmiter colligitur habere Ecclesiam in suis præpositis, certam illam et irrefragabilem Scripturarum interpretationem, cui omnis fidelis acquiescere debet; quicquid adversarii hodie contra hanc potestatem, quam prætoriam et tyrannicam vocant, in vanum blaterant.—Stapleton., Princip. Fidei, Controv. vi. lib. x. cap. xiii. p. 383. Paris. 1582.

<sup>m</sup> Dico ergo sine præjudicio, quod qui semel vere penitet, et recipit satisfactionem, vel penitentiam condignam sibi impositam ab Ecclesia, clave non errante, quantumcumque postea recidivet, nunquam tenebitur, nisi ad illam unicam satisfactionem adimplendam: et si eam impleat in charitate melius est, quia non tantum solvit pœnam, sed meretur.—Duns Scoti, in 4. Sent. dist. xv. Qu. i. tom. ix. p. 134. Lugdun. 1639.

BOOK  
I.

communion, which they advanced, were according to their commission or not? But the causes upon which the Church is obliged to proceed to employ this power, being such as depend many times upon the rule of faith, and the laws given the Church by the Apostles, by very many links between both; the dependence whereof it is hard for all those that are sometimes to concur to these sentences to discern; I conceive it now madness to maintain the gift of infallibility from the power of the keys, in the exercise whereof so many occasions of failing may come to pass.

Obed-  
ience to  
superiors,

§ 22. As for the exhortations of the Apostles<sup>n</sup>, whereby they oblige the Churches of the Thessalonians and Hebrews diligently to obey and follow their governors, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13, Heb. xiii. 7. 17, these I acknowledge to be pertinent to the question in debate, as concerning such governors as had<sup>200</sup> in their hands the ordinary power of the Church; saving that when he saith, "Remember your rulers, which have spoken to you the word of God; and considering the issue of their conversation, imitate their faith;" it is possible he may speak of those that first brought them the Gospel, and those were the Apostles and disciples of Christ, either the first rank of the twelve, or the second of the seventy, whose privileges

<sup>n</sup> Episcopi atque presbyteri in Ecclesia Catholica legitime ordinati, et ejusdem unitatem retinentes, potestatem habent de rebus fidei judicandi, verumque a falso discernendi.—Stapleton., Controv. ii. lib. v. cap. v. p. 164.

Jam vero ne hæc omnia solis Apostolis dicta esse videantur, aut hæc potestas in ipsis Apostolis interiisse, nec ad ipsorum successores pervenisse putetur; diligenter expendendum et memoria retinendum est, quod Apostolus de perpetuo Ecclesiæ regimine scribit, Ipse dedit quosdam quidem Apostolos, quosdam autem prophetas &c. Vel hic enim unus locus evidentissime quod diximus demonstrat. Consummare enim seu confirmare Sanctos, id est, fideles; habere ministerium verbi atque doctrinæ; ædificare, et propagare corpus Christi, quod est populus fidelis, videre atque prospicere, ut servetur unitas fidei, id est sana doctrina, ne tanquam parvuli circumferamur omni vento doctrinæ, id est, ne cuilibet hæretico, et mendaci

magistro, quasi prædæ simus; hoc sane totum est habere potestatem, auctoritatem et judicium in rebus fidei maxime controversis, verumque a falso discernere posse. Rursum ne solis Apostolis hoc judicium et potestatem a Christo dari quisquam suspicetur, ipsimet Apostoli suis successoribus tantundem tribuunt. Paulus Epheso discessurus, ubi pastores constituerat, sic eos alloquitur: 'Attendite vobis et universo gregi, in quo posuit vos Spiritus Sanctus Episcopus, regere Ecclesiam Dei,' usus sane eodem verbo quo Christus ad Apostolos, 'posui vos ut eatis' &c. Sic etiam ad Hebræos scribit; a quibus Apostoli jam discesserant, toto orbe Evangelium prædicaturi, solusque Jacobus, si tamen ille, superfuera, 'Obedite præpositis vestris, et subjacet illis. Ipsi enim pervigilant, quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri.' Non ergo soli Apostoli tales vigiles aut speculatores constituti sunt, quibus obedire oves debent.—*Ib.*, cap. vii. p. 166. Paris. 1582.



are not to be communicated to any authority, to be preserved in the Church afterwards. CHAP. XXVII.

§ 23. But the importance of these exhortations is not such as can infer any imagination of infallibility in those whom they are exhorted to follow. For they that know the bounds of that power which the Apostles had trusted with the governors of particular Churches, presupposing the Christianity and laws of ecclesiastical communion which themselves had delivered, may safely be exhorted “to acknowledge them, to esteem them above measure in love, to obey them, and to give way to them, remembering those from whom they had first received Christianity”—from whom they had received these instructions as well as their then rulers—because they had long before received, and yielded obedience to those things which we except from the obedience of present rulers, as presupposed to any power they can challenge.

§ 24. As for the words of St. Paul<sup>o</sup>, 1 Tim. iii. 15, I confess they contain a very just and full attribute of the Church, and a title serving to justify all the right I challenge for it. For if the Church be “the house of the living God,” then is it, by God’s founding and appointment, a body consisting of all members of the true Church wherein God dwells, as of old in the temple at Jerusalem; as He dwells in every Christian, and the pillar of truth, infer it not.

° Nostra igitur sententia est, Ecclesiam absolute non posse errare, nec in rebus absolute necessariis, nec in aliis, quæ credenda, vel facienda nobis proponit, sive habeantur expresse in Scripturis, sive non, et cum dicimus, Ecclesiam non posse errare, id intelligimus, tam de universitate fidelium, quam de universitate Episcoporum, ita ut sensus sit ejus propositionis, Ecclesia non potest errare, id est, id quod tenent omnes fideles tanquam de fide, necessario est verum et de fide, et similiter id quod docent omnes Episcopi, tanquam ad fidem pertinens, necessario est verum et de fide.

His explicatis probatur hæc veritas. Primo de Ecclesia universa, ut continet omnes fideles, ac primum ex illo 1 Tim. iii. Ecclesia Dei est columna et firmamentum veritatis. Respondet Calvinus, Ecclesiam dici columnam et firmamentum veritatis, quia conservat, tanquam fidissima custos, prædicationem verbi Dei scripti, non quod in nulla re errare possit.

At contra: Nam in primis hoc modo officinæ librorum essent columnæ veritatis, quæ diligentissime custodiunt omnes Scripturas; deinde Apostolus non meminit hic Scripturarum, sed simpliciter dicit, Ecclesiam esse columnam, et firmamentum veritatis. Præterea multo amplius est, esse columnam quam simplicem custodem: nam columnæ innitur domus, et ea remota cadit. Sic igitur Apostolus vocans Ecclesiam columnam veritatis, vult significare veritatem fidei, quoad nos, niti Ecclesiæ auctoritate, et verum esse quicquid Ecclesia probat, falsum quicquid illa improbat. Adde quod etiam Ecclesia fuit columna quando non erant Scripturæ, ex quo sequitur non dici columnam propter custodiam Scripturarum. Denique si de custodia ageretur, melius arcæ quam columnæ Paulus comparasset Ecclesiam: nec enim columnæ sed arcæ libros custodiunt.—Card. Bellarmin. de Eccles. Milit., cap. xiv. coll. 148, 149. Colon. 1619.

BOOK I. as He dwelt in the tabernacle and camp of the Israelites. And if it be the pillar that sustains the truth, then must it have wherewith to maintain it, beside the truth itself, which is the Scriptures. And what can that be but the testimony of itself, as a body and fellowship of men only, which, securing itself, that is, succession, by the evidence made to the predecessors of the same body, maintains the truth once committed to the trust of it, not only by writing, but also by practice.

§ 25. But what is this to the gift of infallibility? for suppose the Church, by the foundation of it, enabled to maintain both the truth and the sufficiency of the motives of faith against infidels, and also the rule of faith against heretics, by the evidence which it maketh that they are received; what is this to the creating of faith, by decreeing that, which, before it was decreed, was not the object of faith; but upon such decree obligeth all the faithful to believe? Surely the Church cannot be the pillar that sustains any faith, but that which is laid upon it, as received from the beginning, not that which it layeth upon the foundation of faith.

§ 26. Here I will desire the reader to peruse these words of St. Basil, *Epist.* lxii.<sup>p</sup>, speaking of the Bishop of Neocæsarea deceased, *Οἴχεται ἀνὴρ, διαφανέστατα δὴ, τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν, πᾶσιν ὁμοῦ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑπερενεγκὸν ἀγαθοῖς ἔρεισμα πατρίδος, Ἐκκλησίας κόσμος, στύλος καὶ ἐδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας*, “There is a man gone, that of all men of his time most evidently excelled in all and every of those good things that belong to men: the stay of his country, the ornament of the Church, the pillar that sustaineth the truth.” For if a particular prelate may duly be qualified, as well “the pillar that supporteth the truth,” as “the prop of his country;” well may the Church be thought capable of the same style, though it create no matter of faith by decreeing, but only preserve that which it hath received by defending and maintaining it.

<sup>p</sup> St. Basil, *Opp.* tom. iii. *Ep.* xxviii. col. 106. ed. Ben.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE FATHERS ACKNOWLEDGE THE SUFFICIENCY AND CLEARNESS OF THE SCRIPTURES, AS, THE TRADITIONS OF THE CHURCH. THEY ARE TO BE RECONCILED, BY LIMITING THE TERMS WHICH THEY USE. THE LIMITATION OF THOSE SAYINGS WHICH MAKE ALL CHRISTIAN TRUTH TO BE CONTAINED IN THE SCRIPTURES. OF THOSE WHICH MAKE THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH THE GROUND OF FAITH.

IT is now time, having shewed the meaning of those Scriptures which are alleged for both extremes which I avoid, to do the like for some of those sayings of the fathers which are pleaded to the same purpose. This abridgment cannot consider all; therefore I will not multiply those which speak to one and the same purpose, nor marshal them according to the matter which they speak to; finding them speak to any branch of those extremes which I decline, I will put them down as they come.

§ 2. St. Augustine again, *De Doctrina Christianâ*, ii. 6<sup>a</sup>, for one place you had afore<sup>r</sup>; *Magnifice igitur et salubriter Spiritus Sanctus ita Scripturas sanctas modificavit, ut locis apertioribus fami occurreret, obscurioribus autem fastidia detergeret. Nihil enim fere de illis obscuritatibus eruitur, quod non planissime dictum alibi reperiatur.* “Gallantly as well as wholesomely hath the Holy Ghost so tempered the Scriptures, as to satisfy hunger by those places that are plain, by those that are obscure to wipe off queasiness. For there is scarce any thing digged out of those dark places, that is not found most manifestly said elsewhere.” *Epist. iii.*<sup>s</sup> *Tanta est enim Christianarum profunditas literarum, ut in eis quotidie proficerem, si eas solas, ab ineunte pueritiâ usque ad decrepitam senectutem, maximo otio, summo studio, meliore ingenio conarer addiscere. Non quod ad ea quæ necessaria sunt saluti, tantâ in eis perveniatur difficultate; sed cum quisque ibi fidem tenuerit, sine*

The fathers acknowledge the sufficiency and clearness of the Scriptures.

<sup>q</sup> Tom. iii. col. 22. ed. Ben. These and the following passages are cited by Chamier throughout his work, *Panstratiæ Catholicæ Corpus*, tom. i. lib. xv. cap. ix. § 3. p. 555. Genevæ, 1626: and by Chemnitius, in his *Examen*,

*Concilii Tridentini*, Genev. 1634.

<sup>r</sup> Chap. v. sect. 38.

<sup>s</sup> Tom. ii. Ep. 137. § 3. col. 402. ed. Ben.—Chamier., *Panstrat. Catholicæ*, lib. xv. cap. xviii. § 20. tom. i. p. 580; and before in cap. ix. § 3.

BOOK  
I.

*quâ pie recteque non vivitur, tam multa, tamque multiplicibus  
mysteriorum umbraculis opacata intelligenda proficientibus restant:*

“So great is the depth of the writings of Christianity, that I should profit in them continually if I should endeavour to learn them only at very great leisure, with most earnest study, having a better wit, from the beginning of my nonage till decrepit old age. Not as if it were so hard to attain to that which is necessary in them; but when a man hath attained the faith, without which there is no good and godly living, there remain so many things to be understood, and so darkly shadowed with manifold mysteries.”

§ 3. Clemens in *Protreptico*†; Ἀκούσατε οὖν οἱ μακρὰν, ἀκούσατε οἱ ἐγγύς· οὐκ ἀπεκρύβη τινὰς ὁ Λόγος· φῶς ἐστι κοινόν· ἐπιλάμπει πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις· οὐδεὶς Κιμμέριος ἐν Λόγῳ. “Hear ye then that are far off, hear ye that are near hand. The Word is not hid from any. It is a common light, it shineth upon all men. There are no Cimmerians in the Word.” As some said<sup>u</sup> then, that there were in the world that had no sun. Irenæus, ii. 46<sup>x</sup>. *Universæ Scripturæ et propheticæ et Evangelia in aperto et sine ambiguitate, et similiter ab omnibus audiri possint.* “All the Scriptures both of the prophets and Apostles are open, and without ambiguity, and may be heard” or understood “alike of all.” III. 15<sup>y</sup>. *Doctrina Apostolorum manifesta et firma, et nihil subtrahens: neque alia quidem in abscondito, alia vero in manifesto docentium.* “The doctrine of the Apostles is clear and firm, and conceals nothing; as not teaching one thing in secret and another openly.”

§ 4. Origen, *contra Celsum*, vii.<sup>z</sup> Τὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλῆθος δυνάμενον ἐξ εὐχερούς, μετὰ τὴν ἅπαξ γενομένην εἰσαγωγὴν,

† Cohortat. ad Gentes, cap. ix. p. 72. Venet. 1757. cited by Whitaker, *Controv.* i. Quæst. iv. cap. iv. p. 344. Genèv. 1610: and by Chamier, *Panstrat. Catholic.*, lib. xv. cap. xii. § 1. tom. i. p. 559. Genevæ, 1626.

<sup>u</sup> Ἡ δ' ἐς πείραθ' ἴκανε βαθυρόου  
Ἠκεανοῖο·

Ἐνθα δὲ Κιμμερίων ἀνδρῶν δῆμός  
τε, πόλις τε,

Ἡέρι καὶ νεφέλη κεκαλυμμένοι·  
οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοὺς

Ἡέλιος φαέθων ἐπιδέρκεται ἀκτί-  
νισσιν,

Οὐδ' ὅπότε ἂν στείχησι πρὸς οὐ-

ρανν ἄστερόεντα,

Οὐθ' ὅταν ἂψ' ἐπὶ γαίαν ἀπ' οὐ-  
ρανόθεν προτράπηται·

Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ νύξ ὅλοη τέταται δειλοῖσι  
βροτοῖσι.—

Homer. *Odyss.* xi. 13—19.

<sup>x</sup> Cap. xxvii. p. 155. ed. Ben. Chamier., *Panstrat. Catholic.*, lib. xv. cap. xii. § 2. p. 559.

<sup>y</sup> Pag. 203. ed. Ben. Chamier., *Panstrat. Catholic.*, lib. xv. cap. xii. § 3. p. 559.

<sup>z</sup> Tom. i. lib. vii. § 60. p. 737. ed. Ben. Chamier., ut *supr.*

φιλοτιμήσασθαι πρὸς τὸ καὶ βαθύτερα τῶν κεκρυμμένων νοημάτων ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς καταλαβεῖν. καὶ τῷ τυχόντι γὰρ δῆλον ταύτας ἀναγινώσκοντι, ὅτι πολλὰ βαθύτερον τοῦ αὐτόθεν ἐμφαινομένου ἔχει δύναται νοῦν τοῖς ἀνατιθεῖσιν αὐτοὺς τῇ ἐξετάσει τοῦ λόγου, φανερούμενον κατὰ τὴν ἀνάλογον τῆς εἰς τὸν λόγον σχολῆς, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄσκησιν αὐτοῦ προθυμίας. “The vulgar, after their entrance made, may easily study to apprehend even the deeper notions that are hid in the Scriptures. For it is manifest to any man that reads them, that they may have much deeper sense than that which straight appears in them; which becomes manifest to those that dedicate themselves to the examining of the word, according to the rate of that leisure and forwardness which they bestow upon their exercise in it.”

§ 5. Athanasius, *Disp. cum Ario in Conc. Nic.*<sup>a</sup>, if it be his, speaking of the Godhead of the Holy Ghost; *Αἱ ἁγίαί γραφαὶ πάντα σαφῆ διαλέγονται.* “The Holy Scriptures clearly declare all things,” and not only that which was in debate. St. Chrysostom *in Lazarum*, Hom. iii.<sup>b</sup>, encourages to read the Scripture, because it is not obscure; the Gentiles that sought vain-glory by writing books, affecting obscurity as the way to be admired, but the Holy Ghost, seeking the good of all, contrariwise. *In Joan.*, Hom. ii.<sup>c</sup>, he compares St. John’s

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<sup>a</sup> St. Athanas. Opp., tom. ii. p. 228. § 43. ed. Ben. The work is not that of St. Athanasius. The passage is cited by Chamier, Panstrat. Catholic., lib. xv. cap. xii. § 4.

<sup>b</sup> Διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἡ τοῦ Πνεύματος ὀκνομήση χάρις τελῶνας καὶ ἀλιέας, καὶ σκηνοποιοῦς καὶ ποιμένας, καὶ αἰπόλους καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ ἀγραμμάτους ταῦτα συνθεῖναι τὰ βιβλία, ἵνα μηδεὶς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν εἰς ταύτην ἔχη καταφεύγειν τὴν πρόφασιν, ἵνα πᾶσιν εὐνόηοντα ἢ τὰ λεγόμενα· ἵνα καὶ ὁ χειροτέχνης καὶ οἰκέτης, καὶ ἡ χήρα γυνὴ, καὶ ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθέστατος κερδάνῃ τὲ καὶ ὠφελῆθῃ, παρὰ τῆς ἀκροάσεως. οὐ γὰρ πρὸς κενοδοξίαν, καθάπερ οἱ ἔξωθεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτήριαν τῶν ἀκούοντων ταῦτα πάντα συνέθηκαν οἱ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταξιοθέντες τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος χάριτος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔξωθεν φιλόσοφοι, καὶ ῥήτορες, καὶ συγγραφεῖς οὐ τὸ κοινῇ σύμφερον ζητοῦντες, ἀλλ’ ὅπως αὐτοὶ θαυμασθεῖεν μόνον σκοποῦντες, εἴ τι καὶ ἀρήσιμον εἶπον, καὶ τοῦτο καθάπερ ἐν ζόφῳ τιλὴ τῇ τῆς συνθήκης ἀσαφεῖα,

κατέκρυψαν. οἱ δὲ Ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ προφῆται τοῦνάντιον ἔπαν ἐποίησαν. σαφῆ γὰρ καὶ δῆλα τὰ παρ’ ἐαυτῶν κατέστησαν ἅπασιν, ἅτε κοινοὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὄντες διδάσκαλοι, ἵνα ἕκαστος καὶ δι’ ἐαυτοῦ μαθάνειν δύνηται ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως μόνης τὰ λεγόμενα.—Tom. v. p. 244. ed. Savil. See Chamier, lib. xv. cap. xii. § 12. p. 560. Whitaker, Controv. i. Quæst. iv. cap. iv. pp. 343, 344.

<sup>c</sup> Διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ζόφῳ τιλὴ καὶ σκότῳ ἔκρυψεν ἑαυτοῦ τὴν διδασκαλίαν καθάπερ ἐποιοῦν ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ἔνδον ἐναποκειμένων κακῶν τὴν ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἀσάφειαν, καθάπερ τι παραπέτασμα, προβαλλόμενοι· ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦτο δόγματα τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἀκτῖνων ἐστὶ φανερότερα. διὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀνθρώποις ἀνῆπλῳται. . . . . τοσαύτην τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν εὐκολίαν, ὥς μὴ μόνον ἀνδρασι καὶ συνετοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναιξίν καὶ νέοις, ἅπαντα εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα δῆλα.—Tom. ii. p. 561. ed. Savil. See Chamier., Panstrat. Cath., lib. xv. cap. xii. § 10. p. 560.

BOOK I. doctrine to the sun, as shining to all, not only men of understanding, but women and youths. *In Matth.*, Hom. i.<sup>d</sup>, to the same purpose.

§ 6. Epiphanius, Hær. lxxvi.<sup>e</sup> Πάντα γὰρ σαφῆ ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, τοῖς βουλομένοις εὐσεβεῖ λογισμῶ προσέρχεσθαι τῷ θείῳ λόγῳ, καὶ μὴ διαβολικὴν ἐνέργειαν ἐγκισσῆσαντας, ἑαυτοὺς καταστρέφειν εἰς βάραθρα τοῦ θανάτου. “For all is clear in God’s Scriptures to those that will come to the Word of God with godly reason, and turn not themselves down the precipices of death, through lust wrought in them by the devil.” To the same purpose, Hær. lxxix.<sup>f</sup> Gregory Nyssene *in Psalm.*<sup>g</sup>, commendeth the Psalms for rendering deep mysteries easy and pleasant to men and women, young and old.

§ 7. Cyril *in Julianum*, vii.<sup>h</sup> answering his scorn of the Scriptures for their vulgar language, saith it was so provided, that they might not exceed any man’s capacity. Fulgentius, according to St. Augustine, *Serm. de Dispensatoribus*<sup>i</sup>: *Moderationis suæ tenens ubique temperiem, ut nec ovibus desint pabula, nec pastoribus alimenta.* The Scripture “holds this moderation in the temper of it everywhere, that neither the sheep want food nor the shepherd nourishment” in it. St. Chry-

<sup>d</sup> Ἄλλα τὸ δίκαιον καὶ τὸ πρόπον καὶ τὸ σύμφερον καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐν βράχεος καὶ σαφέος συλλαβῶν ῥήμασιν ἐδίδαξεν ἡμᾶς ὁ Χριστός. . . . ἄπερ καὶ γηρόνῳ καὶ οἰκέτῃ καὶ γυναικὶ χήρᾳ, καὶ παιδὶ αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ σφόδρα ἀνοήτῳ δοκοῦντι εἶναι πάντα εὐσύνοπτα καὶ ῥάδια καταμαθεῖν.—Tom. ii. p. 5. ed. Savil. See Chamier., Panstrat. Cath., lib. xv. cap. xii. § 19. p. 560.

<sup>e</sup> Num. vii. p. 920. Colon. 1682. Chamier, Panstrat. Catholic., lib. xv. cap. xii. § 11. p. 560.

<sup>f</sup> Καὶ οὕτω πάντα ἐστὶ σαφῆ καὶ διαυγῆ, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐναντίον, οὐδὲ θανάτου παραπλοκῆς ἔχον, ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ, ὡς οὗτοι προφασίζονται, πονηρὰ ἑαυτοῖς ἐπινοοῦντες.—Num. lv. p. 778. Colon. 1682. Chamier, *ut supra*.

<sup>g</sup> Πρῶτον τοίνυν—ἐκ γὰρ τῶν τελευταίων ἀρχώμεθα—τῆς ἐξετάσεως σκοπήσωμεν τὴν ἐπινοίαν, δι’ ἧς οὕτως σκληρὰν τε καὶ σύντονον οὖσαν τὴν κατ’ ἀρετὴν πολιτείαν, τὴν τε τῶν μυστηρίων αἰνιγματώδη διδασκαλίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀπόρρητόν τε καὶ κεκριμένην δυσσεφικτοῖς θεωρημασι θεολογίαν, οὕτως ἐλλήττόν τε καὶ γλυ-

κείαν ἐποίησεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον τελείους ἀνδρασι τοῖς ἤδη κεκαθαμένοις τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς αἰσθητήρια τὴν διδασκαλίαν ταύτην σπουδάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἴδιον γενέσθαι κτήμα, καὶ νηπίοις ὡς τι τῶν ἀθυρμάτων ἡδονὴν φέρειν.—Cap. iii. tom. i. p. 261. Paris. 1631. Cited by Chamier, Panstrat., Catholic., lib. xv. cap. xii. § 13.

<sup>h</sup> Ἄλλ’ ἴσως ἐρεῖ τις, ἡ μὲν Θεία γραφὴ, κοινὴν τε καὶ ἀγελαίαν, καὶ ἅπασιν καταμαξευμένην ἔχει τὴν λέξιν. εὐστομεῖ δὲ τὰ Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταπλουτεῖ τὸ ἐπίχαρι, καὶ πρὸς γε τοῦτο τὸ εὐπέες’ φάμεν οὖν, ὅτι γλώττῃ μὲν Ἑβραίων ἐλαλήθη τὰ Προφητῶν, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ Μωσέως, ἵνα καὶ ὑπάρχη γνώριμα μικροῖς καὶ μεγάλοις, μετεποιήθη χρησίμως, εἰς τὸ τῆς γλώττης εὐτριβὲς καὶ δυσσεφικτον ἐχούσης παντελῶς οὐδέν.—Tom. vi. p. 232. Paris, 1638. This passage is cited by Whitaker, *Controv. i. Quæst. iv. cap. iv. p. 344.* Genev. 1610: and by Chamier, *ut supra*, § 15.

<sup>i</sup> Serm. i. p. 248. Venet. 1742. See Chamier, Panstrat. Catholic., lib. xv. cap. xii. § 16. p. 561.

sostom<sup>k</sup> observes, that when St. Paul says, 2 Cor. iii. 14, CHAP.  
XXVIII. “their senses are blinded in reading the Scriptures;” he makes the cause to be in the Jews’ blindness when they understand not in the Scriptures.

§ 8. Again, Origen in *Matth.* Tract. xxv.<sup>1</sup>, in *Rom.* iii.<sup>m</sup>, St. Basil, *Moral.* xxvi.<sup>n</sup>, St. Chrysostom in *Psal.* xcvi.<sup>o</sup>, St. Cyril, *Catech.* iv.<sup>p</sup>, Rufinus in *Symb.*<sup>q</sup>, agree in affirming that whatsoever is taught in Christianity is to be proved by the Scriptures. St. Hierome, in *Mich.* i.<sup>r</sup> *Ecclesia autem Christi quæ habitat bene, et in toto orbe Ecclesias possidet, Spiritus unitate conjuncta est, et habet urbes legis, prophetarum, Evangelii, et Apostolorum; non est egressa de finibus suis, id est, de Scripturis sanctis.* “The Church of Christ being well seated, and having Churches all over the world, is joined in the unity of the Spirit; and having the cities of the Law, the Prophets, the Gospel, and the Apostles, goes not out of her bounds, which are the Holy Scriptures.” Optatus, v.<sup>s</sup>, putting the

<sup>k</sup> Οὐκ ἄρα τοῦ νόμου διαβολή, τὸ εἰρημένον ὡσπερ οὐδὲ Μωϋσέως τότε καλυπτομένου, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀγνωμόνων Ἰουδαίων. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ ἔχει τὴν οἰκείαν δόξαν, οὗτοι δὲ αὐτὴν ἰδεῖν οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν.—Hom. vii. in 2 Corinth., tom. iii. p. 586. ed. Savil.

<sup>1</sup> Debuemus ergo ad testimonium omnium verborum quæ proferimus in doctrina, proferre sensum Scripturæ, quasi confirmantem quem exponimus sensum.—Tom. iii. p. 842. § 18. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. viii. § i. p. 232.

<sup>m</sup> Post hæc vero, ut ei moris est, de Scripturis sanctis vult affirmare quod dixerat: simul et doctoribus Ecclesiæ præbet exemplum, ut ea quæ loquuntur ad populum, non propriis præsumpta sententiis sed divinis munita sententiis proferant. Si enim ipse tantus ac talis Apostolus auctoritatem dicatorum suorum sufficere posse non credit, nisi doceat in lege et prophetis scripta esse quæ dicit: quanto magis nos minimi hoc observare debemus, ut non nostras cum docemus, sed Sancti Spiritus sententias proferamus.—Tom. iv. p. 504. ed. Ben. Chamier., ut *supr.*

<sup>n</sup> Ὅτι δεῖ πᾶν ῥῆμα, ἢ πρᾶγμα πιστοῦσθαι τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς εἰς πληροφориαν μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, εὐτροπήν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν.—Tom. ii. p. 256. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. viii. § 8. p. 234.

<sup>o</sup> Οὐδὲν γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν ἀμάρτυρον,

οὐδὲ ἀπὸ λογισμῶν μόνον· ἐάν τι γὰρ ἄγραφον λέγηται, ἢ διάνοια τῶν ἀκροατῶν σκάξει. . . . ὅταν δὲ ἔγγραφον ἢ μαρτυρία τῇ θείᾳ φωνῆς προέλθῃ, καὶ τοῦ λέγοντος τὸν λόγον, καὶ τοῦ ἀκούοντος τὴν διάνοιαν ἐβεβαίωσε.—Tom. i. p. 924. ed. Savil. Chamier., tom. i. § 11. ut *supr.* The Homily is spurious.

<sup>p</sup> Μηδὲ ἐμοὶ τῷ ταῦτά σοι λέγοντι ἀπλῶς πιστεύσης, ἐάν τὴν ἀπόδειξιν τῶν καταγγελλομένων ἀπὸ τῶν θείων μὴ λάβῃς γραφῶν. ἡ σωτηρία γὰρ αὕτη τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἐξ εὐρεσιλογίας ἀλλ’ ἐξ ἀποδείξεως τῶν θείων ἐστὶ γραφῶν.—P. 30. Paris. 1640. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. viii. § 25.

<sup>q</sup> Sed quoniam erga Scripturas tibi divinas amor et studium subjacet sine dubio dicis mihi oportere hæc magis evidentibus Scripturæ divinæ testimoniis approbari. Quanto enim magna sint, quæ credenda sunt, tanto idoneis et indubitatis testibus indigent.—In *Sepultus est.* Oxoniæ, 1468.

<sup>r</sup> Tom. iii. col. 1503. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. vii. § 33.

<sup>s</sup> Si fuerit inter fratres nota contentio, non itur ad tumulum, sed quæritur Testamentum: et qui in tumulo quiescit, tacitus de tabulis loquitur. Vivus, cujus est testamentum, in cælo est: ergo voluntas ejus, velut in testamento, sic in Evangelio requiratur.—Cap. iii. p. 82. Antwerp. 1702. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. x. § 65. p. 251.

BOOK I. case of the Church with the Donatists to be the case of children about their father's inheritance, sends them to his will as the judge of their pretences. And so St. Augustine also, in *Psalmum xxi.*<sup>t</sup>

§ 9. The Constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 19<sup>u</sup>, Leo, *Epist.* xxiii.<sup>x</sup>, St. Cypr. *Epist.* lxxviii.<sup>y</sup>, and many more, agree that the people are to answer for themselves if they follow bad pastors. St. Augustine, *adversus Maxim.*, iii. 14.<sup>z</sup> *Nec ego Nicenum, nec tu debes Ariminense, tanquam præjudicaturus, proferre concilium. . . . . Scripturarum autoritatibus, non quorumque propriis, sed utrisque communibus testibus, res cum re, causa cum causâ, ratio cum ratione concertet.* “Neither am I to produce the council of Nicæa, nor you that of Ariminum, for a prejudice. . . . . With authorities of the Scriptures, as witnesses common to both, not proper to either, let matter contend with matter, reason with reason, cause with cause.” *De Utilitate Credendi*, vi.<sup>a</sup>, he saith, the Scripture of the Old Testament, *ita modificata, ut nemo inde haurire non possit quod sibi satis est, si modo ad hauriendum devote ac pie, ut vera religio poscit, accedat*—“is so tempered, that any man may draw out of it that which is enough for him, if he come devoutly and piously, as true religion requires, to draw.”

§ 10. Vincentius, *Commonit.* i.<sup>b</sup>, confesseth that inveterate

<sup>t</sup> Si est adhuc quod dicant nescio; litigem cum Scripturis, non nobiscum. Ecce codex ipse, contra illum certent. . . . . Qui fecit Testamentum vivit in æternum: audit voces nostras, agnoscit suam. Legamus quid litigamus? Ubi inventa fuerit ipsa hæreditas, ipsam teneamus. Aperi Testamentum. Lege in primo capite ipsius Psalterii; Postula a me.—Tom. iv. coll. 101, 102. ed. Ben. Chamier., *ut supra.*

<sup>u</sup> *ἢνα μήποτε εἴπη ὁ λαΐκος, ὅτι ἐγὼ πρόβατον εἶμι καὶ οὐ ποιμὴν· καὶ οὐδένα λόγον ἐμᾶντοῦ πεποίημαι· ἀλλ' ὁ ποιμὴν ὕψεται, καὶ αὐτὸς μόνος εἰσπραχθήσεται τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ δίκην· ὡσπὲρ γὰρ τῷ καλῷ ποιμένι τὸ μὴ ἀκολουθοῦν πρόβατον λύκοις ἔγκειται εἰς διαφθορὰν οὕτω τῷ πονηρῷ ποιμένι τὸ ἀκολουθοῦν πρόδηλον ἔχει τὸν θάνατον, ὅτι κατατρώσεται αὐτὸ· διδ φευκτέον ἀπὸ τῶν φθορέων ποιμένων.*—Labbei, tom. i. coll. 246, 247. ed. Venet. Chamier., tom. i. lib. i. cap. xiii. § 11. pp. 13, 14.

<sup>x</sup> Nec quisquam sibi audeat de sacer-

dotali honore blandiri, qui potuerit in execrandi sensus impietate convinci.—Ep. lix. tom. i. col. 976. Venet. 1753. Chamier., *ut sup.*

<sup>y</sup> Nec sibi plebs blandiatur quasi immunis esse a contagio delicti esse possit, cum sacerdote peccatore communicans, et ad injustum atque illicitum præpositi sui episcopatum consensum suum commodans, quando per Osee prophetam comminetur et dicat censura divina, ‘Sacrificia eorum tanquam panis luctus omnes qui manducant ea contaminabuntur,’ docens scilicet et ostendens omnes omnino ad peccatum constringi qui fuerint prophani et injusti Sacerdotis sacrificio contaminati.—P. 118. ed. Ben.—Chamier cites a part of this Epistle, but not that cited here.

<sup>z</sup> Lib. ii. cap. xiv. § 3. tom. viii. 703. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. viii. § 21.

<sup>a</sup> Tom. viii. col. 54. ed. Ben. Chamier, tom. i. lib. xv. cap. xii. §. 12.

<sup>b</sup> Cæterum dilatatae et inveteratae



heresies, and *Opus imperfectum in Matth.*, Hom. xlix.<sup>c</sup>, that the corruptions of Antichrist, are not to be convinced but by Scripture. The same Vincentius, *Commonit.* i.<sup>d</sup>, and Sulpitius Severus, Hist. ii.<sup>e</sup>, acknowledge the Arians to have overspread the greatest part of the Church; therefore Nazianzen, *Orat. adversus Arianos*<sup>f</sup>, scorns them that measure the Church by number. And Liberius in Theodoret, *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 16<sup>g</sup>, answers Constantius, Οὐ, διὰ τὸ εἶναι με μόνον, ὃ τῆς πίστεως ἐλαττοῦται λόγος. “The cause of the faith hath never a whit the worse, because I am alone.”

§ 11. But truly I know nothing in all antiquity more peremptory against the infallibility of the Church than that of Vincentius, *Commonit.* i.<sup>h</sup>, denying that the rule of faith  
203 can ever increase, or councils do any more in it than determine that expressly and distinctly which was simply held from the beginning. And St. Augustine, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*,

hæreses nequaquam hac via adgrediendæ sunt, eo quod prolixo temporum tractu longa iis fruendæ veritatis patuerit occasio. Atque ideo quascunque illas antiquiores vel schismatum vel hæreseon prophanitates nullo modo nos oportet nisi aut sola, si opus est, Scripturarum auctoritate convincere, aut certe, jam antiquitus universalibus Sacerdotum Catholicorum conciliis convictas damnatasque vitare.—Cap. xxviii. p. 344. Pedeponti, 1742.

<sup>e</sup> Et quare jubet in hoc tempore Christianos omnes conferre se ad Scripturas? Quia in tempore hoc ex quo obtinuit hæresis illas Ecclesias nulla probatio potest esse veræ Christianitatis neque refugium potest Christianorum aliud, volentium cognoscere fidei veritatem, nisi Scripturæ divinæ. St. Chrysostom. *Opp. Om.*, tom. vi. p. cciv. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. ix. § 11. The work has been ascribed to St. Chrysostom, but is not his.

<sup>d</sup> Namque cum prophana ipsa Arianorum novitas, velut quædam Bellona aut furia, capto primo omnium Imperatore, cuncta deinde palatii culmina legibus novis subjugasset, nequaquam deinceps destitit universa miscere, atque vexare, privata ac publica, sacra prophanaque omnia, nullum boni gerere discrimen, sed quoscunque conlibuisset, tanquam de loco superiore percutere.—Cap. v. pp. 303, 304. Pe-

deponti, 1742.

<sup>c</sup> Verum ubi permensus est orbem pene terrarum, malo perfidiæ infectum.—Cap. lx. p. 413. Amstelodami, 1665.

<sup>f</sup> Ποῦ ποτε εἶσιν, οἱ τὴν πενίαν ἡμῶν ὀνειδίζοντες, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον κομπάζοντες; οἱ πλήθει τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν ὀρίζοντες, καὶ τὸ βράχην διαπτύοντες ποίμνιον; οἱ καὶ θέσθητα μετροῦντες, καὶ λαὸν σταθμίζοντες.—*Orat.* xxxiii. tom. i. p. 603. ed. Ben.

<sup>g</sup> P. 94. Moguntia, 1679.

<sup>h</sup> Christi vero Ecclesia, sedula et cauta depositorum apud se dogmatum custos, nihil in his unquam permutat, nihil minuit, nihil addit, non amputat necessaria, non apponit superflua, non amittit sua, non usurpat aliena. . . . Denique quid unquam aliud conciliorum decretis enisa est nisi ut quod antea simpliciter credebatur, hoc idem postea diligentius crederetur, quod antea lenitius prædicabatur, . . . Hoc inquam semper, neque quicquam præterea, hæreticorum novitatibus excitata, conciliorum suorum decretis Catholica perfecit ecclesia, nisi ut quod prius a majoribus sola traditione susceperat, hoc deinde posteris etiam per scripturæ chirographum consignaret, magnam rerum summam paucis litteris comprehendendo, et plerumque propter intelligentiæ lucem, non novum fidei sensum novæ appellationis proprietate signando.—Cap. xxiii. p. 336. Pedeponti, 1742.

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I.

cap. xviii.<sup>l</sup>, challenges the Donatists to demonstrate their Church out of the Scriptures. St. Ambrose, *De Incarnatione*, cap. v.<sup>k</sup>, St. Hilary, *De Trinitate*, vi.<sup>l</sup>, Victor, in *Marcum*, cap. iii.<sup>m</sup>, agree that the faith is the foundation of the Church, by virtue whereof the gates of hell prevail not against it. Therefore St. Augustine, *De Baptismo contra Donatistas*, ii. 3<sup>n</sup>, acknowledges that not only particular councils are corrected by general, but that of general councils, the latter may and do correct them that went afore.

§ 12. Again, Irenæus, iii. 1<sup>o</sup>, affirms that the Apostles wrote what they preached, by the will of God, for the foundation and pillar of our faith. Tertullian, *de Præscript.*, cap. viii.<sup>p</sup> *Cum credimus, nihil desideramus ultra credere. Hoc enim prius credimus, non esse quod ultra credere debeamus.* “When we believe, we desire to believe nothing else. For first we believe

<sup>l</sup> Remotis ergo omnibus talibus Ecclesiam suam demonstrent, si possunt, non in sermonibus et rumoribus Afrorum, non in conciliis Episcoporum suorum. . . . sed in præscripto legis, in prophetarum prædictis, in Psalmorum cantibus, in ipsius unius pastoris vocibus, in Evangelistarum prædicationibus et laboribus, hoc est, in omnibus canonicis sanctorum librorum auctoritatibus.—Tom. ix. col. 371. ed. Ben.

<sup>k</sup> Fides ergo est Ecclesiæ fundamentum: non enim de carne Petri, sed de fide dictum est, quia portæ mortis ei non prævalebunt: sed confessio vicit infernum.—Tom. ii. col. 711. ed. Ben.

<sup>l</sup> Hæc fides Ecclesiæ fundamentum est; per hanc fidem infirmæ adversus eam sunt portæ inferorum. Hæc fides regni cœlestis habet claves. Hæc fides quæ in terris solverit aut ligaverit, et ligata in cœlis sunt, et soluta. Hæc fides paternæ revelationis est munus, Christum non creaturam ex nihilo mentiri, sed secundum proprietatis naturam Dei filium confiteri.—§ 37. col. 904. ed. Ben.

<sup>m</sup> Quia enim Christus Dominus supra Petram, hoc est, supra infractam, sanamque Petri doctrinam inconcusamque ejusdem fidem, Ecclesiam suam ædificaturus erat, ob id, prophætico spiritu Petrum illum appellat.—Biblioth. Maxim. Petrum, tom. iv. p. 377. Lugdun. 1677.

<sup>n</sup> Quis autem nesciat sanctam Scripturam canonicam, tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus Episcoporum litteris ita præponi, ut de illa omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit, quidquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit: Episcoporum autem litteras quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapienterem, . . . . et per concilia licere reprehendi, si quid in eis forte a veritate deviatum est: et ipsa concilia quæ per singulas regiones vel provincias fiunt, plenariorum conciliorum auctoritati quæ fiunt ex universo orbe Christiano, sine ullis ambagibus cedere: ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora posterioribus emendari: eum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, et cognoscitur quod latebat.—Tom. ix. col. 98. ed. Ben.

<sup>o</sup> Non enim per alios dispositionem salutis nostræ cognovimus, quam per eos, per quos Evangelium pervenit ad nos: quod quidem tunc præconaverunt, postea vero per Dei voluntatem in Scripturis nobis tradiderunt, fundamentum et columnam fidei nostræ futurum.—P. 173. ed. Ben. Chamier, tom. i. lib. ix. cap. vii. § 19. p. 298.

<sup>p</sup> Pp. 331, 332. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

that there is nothing further which we ought to believe." So cap. xiv.<sup>q</sup> xxix.<sup>r</sup>, *contra Hermog.* cap. xxii.<sup>s</sup> *An autem de aliqua subjacenti materia facta sint omnia nusquam adhuc legi, scriptum esse doceat Hermogenis officina. Si non est scriptum, timeat væ illud adjicientibus aut detrahentibus destinatum.* "That the world was made of matter pre-existent, let the shop of Hermogenes shew it written. If it be not written, let it fear the woe decreed for them that add or take away."

§ 13. Apollinaris, in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 16<sup>t</sup>, is afraid to write lest he should seem to write or enjoin more than the Gospel, to which nothing is to be added, or taken from it. St. Basil, *de Fide*<sup>u</sup>, says it is plain apostasy to bring in any thing that is not written. And in *Asceticis, Reg.* lxxx.<sup>x</sup>, proves it, because faith is by God's word, and that which is not of faith is sin. So likewise St. Ambrose, *de Paradiso*, cap. xii.<sup>y</sup>, alleging Apoc. xxii. 19. St. Augustine, *de Bono Viduitatis*, i.<sup>z</sup> *Sancta enim Scriptura doctrinæ nostræ regulam figit.* "The Holy Scripture prescribes a rule to our doctrine." To the same purpose *de Peccatorum Meritis et Remiss.* ii. 36<sup>a</sup>. St. Cyril, *de Trinitate et Persona Christi*<sup>b</sup>, whose words Damascene

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<sup>q</sup> Fides in regula posita est; habes legem, et salutem ex observatione legis; . . . . Nihil ultra scire, omnia est.—P. 333. ed. Pam.

<sup>r</sup> Ad ejus doctrinæ Ecclesiam scriptum est, immo ipsa doctrina ad Ecclesiam suam scribit.—P. 336. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

<sup>s</sup> P. 417. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

<sup>t</sup> Οὐκ ἀπορία τοῦ δύνασθαι ἐλέγχειν μὲν τὸ ψεῦδος, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ· δεδιῶς δὲ καὶ ἐξουλαβούμενος, μὴ πη δόξω τισὶν ἐπισυγγράφειν ἢ ἐπιδιατάσσεισθαι τῷ τῆς τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καινῆς διαθήκης λόγῳ, ᾧ μῆτε προσθεῖναι μῆτ' ἀφελεῖν δυνατὸν, τῷ κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον αὐτὸ πολιτενεῖσθαι προρημένῳ.—P. 179. ed. Vales. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. vii. § 8.

<sup>u</sup> Φανερά ἐκπτώσις πίστεως καὶ ὑπερφανίας κατηγορία, ἢ ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων.—Tom. ii. p. 224. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. vii. § 13.

<sup>x</sup> Εἰ γὰρ πᾶν ὃ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, ἁμαρτία ἐστίν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Ἀπόστολος, ἢ δὲ πίστις ἐξ ἀκοῆς, ἢ δὲ ἀκοὴ διὰ ῥήματος Θεοῦ, πᾶν τὸ ἐκτὸς τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως ἐστίν, ἁμαρτία

ἐστίν.—Moral. Reg. lxxx. cap. xxii. tom. ii. p. 317. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. vii. § 26. p. 229.

<sup>y</sup> Cited before in chap. xxvi. sect. 14. note x.

<sup>z</sup> Tom. vi. col. 369. ed. Ben.

<sup>a</sup> Ubi enim de re obscurissima disputatur, non adjuvantibus divinarum Scripturarum certis clarisque documentis, cohibere se debet humana præsumptio nihil faciens in partem alteram declinando.—Tom. x. col. 70. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. vii. § 41. p. 231.

<sup>b</sup> Πάντα τοίνυν τὰ παραδεδομένα ἡμῖν διὰ τε νόμου καὶ προφητῶν καὶ Ἀποστόλων δέχομεθα, καὶ γινώσκουμεν, καὶ ὁμολογοῦμεν, οὐδὲν περαιτέρω τούτων ἐπιζητοῦντες. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ παρὰ θειῶδως ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν λογίαν τῆς τε παλαιᾶς καὶ καινῆς διαθήκης ἡμῖν εἰρημένα εἰπεῖν τι περὶ Θεοῦ, ἢ ὅλως ἐννοῆσαι. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἐστὶ Θεὸς, τοῖς μὲν τὰς ἁγίας δεχομένοις γραφὰς τὴν τε παλαιὰν καὶ καινὴν διαθήκην φημι, οὐκ ἀμφιβάλλεται, οὐδὲ τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλείστοις.—Cap. i. p. 3. Augustæ Vindellicorum, 1604. Chamier., ut supra, § 42.

BOOK uses *de Orthodoxa Fide*, i. 1.<sup>c</sup> Theodoret in *Leviticum*, *Quæst.*  
 I. ix.<sup>d</sup>, Theophilus, II. *Paschali*<sup>e</sup>.

§ 14. St. Hierome in *Psal.* xcviij.<sup>f</sup> *Omne quod loquimur debemus affirmare de Scripturis Sanctis.* “Whatsoever we say we are to prove out of the Holy Scriptures.” To the same purpose in *Matth.* xxiii.<sup>g</sup>, in *Haggai.* i.<sup>h</sup> Origen in *Matth.* Tract. xxiii.<sup>i</sup> That we are to silence gainsayers by the Scriptures, as our Lord did the Sadducees. *Adoro Scripturæ plenitudinem, quæ mihi et factorem manifestat et facta.* “I adore the fulness of the Scripture, which shews me both the Maker and what He made,” saith Tertullian, *contra Hermog.* cap. xxii.<sup>k</sup> St. Augustine, *de Peccatorum Meritis et Remiss.* ii. 36.<sup>l</sup> *Illud tamen credo quod etiam hinc divinorum eloquiorum clarissima autoritas esset, si homo id sine dispendio promissæ salutis ignorare non posset.* “I believe there would be found some clear authority of the Word of God for this,” the original of man’s soul, “if a man could not be ignorant of it without loss of the salvation that is promised.”

§ 15. In fine, seeing it is acknowledged that the Scripture is a rule to our faith, on all hands, the saying of St. Chrysostom in *Phil.* iii. Hom. xii.<sup>m</sup> is not refusable, ὁ κανὼν οὔτε πρόσθεσις, οὔτε ἀφαίρεσις δέχεται, ἐπεὶ τὸ κανὼν εἶναι ἀπόλλυσι. “A rule is not capable of adding to or taking from it: for so it looseth being a rule.” For the same reason St. Basil in *Isai.* ii.<sup>n</sup> and *Asceticis*, *Reg.* i.<sup>o</sup>, condemns all that is done without Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> S. Joan. Dam. *Opp.*, tom. i. pp. 123, 124. Paris, 1712.

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλότριον ἐπεισάγειν τῇ θεῖα γραφῇ, ἀλλ’ ἀρκείσθαι τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τοῦ Πνεύματος.—Tom. i. p. 122. Paris, 1642. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. vii. § 43.

<sup>e</sup> Ignorans quod dæmoniaci Spiritus esset instinctus, sophismata humanarum mentium sequi et aliquid extra Scripturarum auctoritatem putaret divinum.—S. Hieron. *Opp.*, tom. iv. col. 708. Vallarsius says the Benedictine editor is not correct in calling this the second paschal letter, it should have been the first.—Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. vii. § 44. p. 232.

<sup>f</sup> Tom. ii. col. 384. ed. Ben.

<sup>g</sup> Hoc quia de Scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur.—Tom. iv. col. 112. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii.

cap. viii. § 15. p. 235.

<sup>h</sup> Sed et aliaque absque auctoritate et testimoniis Scripturarum quasi traditione Apostolica sponte reperiunt atque confingunt, percutet gladius Dei.—Tom. iii. col. 1690. ed. Ben. Chamier., ib. § 18.

<sup>i</sup> Sicut ergo Salvator verbo doctrinæ suæ silentium imposuit Sadducæis, et falsum dogma quod apud illos veritas putabatur convicit fiducialiter. Sic facient et Christi imitatores, exemptis Scripturarum, quibus oportet secundum sanam doctrinam omnem vocem obmutescere Pharaonis, &c.—Tom. iii. p. 830. ed. Ben. Chamier., tom. i. lib. viii. cap. ix. § 9. p. 239.

<sup>k</sup> P. 417. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

<sup>l</sup> Tom. x. col. 71. ed. Ben.

<sup>m</sup> Tom. iv. p. 70. ed. Savil.

<sup>n</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ καρποὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τέκνα πολλάκις λέγονται, εἰποι ἂν τις

§ 16. On the other side, in the next place, a greater thing cannot be said for the Church than that which Tertullian, *contra Marcionem*, iv. 2<sup>p</sup>, St. Hierome, *Epist.* lxxxix. <sup>q</sup>, St. Augustine, *contra Faustum*, xxviii. 4<sup>r</sup>, have said, that St. Paul's authority depended upon the allowance of the Apostles at Jerusalem. Tertullian, *Denique, ut cum autoribus contulit, et convenit de regula fidei, dextras miscuere*. "In a word, as soon as he had conferred with men in authority, and agreed about the rule of faith, they shook hands." St. Hierome, *Ostendens, se non habuisse securitatem prædicandi Evangelii, nisi Petri, et cæterorum Apostolorum qui cum eo erant, fuisset sententia roboratus*. "Shewing that he had not assurance to preach the Gospel, had it not been confirmed by the sentence of Peter, and the rest of the Apostles that were with him." St. Augustine, That the Church would not have believed at all, had not this been done.

§ 17. Among the sentences of the fathers which make St. Peter the rock on which the Church is built, the words of St. Augustine, in *Psalmo contra partem Donati*<sup>s</sup>, are of most appearance; *Ipsa est petra quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ*. "This—Church of Rome—is the rock which the proud gates of hell overcome not." St. Hierome is alleged hereupon consulting Damasus, then Pope, in matters of faith, as tied to stand to his sentence, *Epist.* lvii. <sup>t</sup>, and *Apolog. contra*

τὸν παρὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς θείας γραφῆς συλλεξάμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξωθεν τῆς θεοσεβείας λόγους οὐχ ὀηίεις, καὶ παραδεξάμενον αὐτοὺς τὰ τέκνα ἀλλόφυλα ποιέισθαι.—Tom. i. p. 435. vers. 6. ed. Ben. The passage cited by Chamier, tom. i. lib. viii. cap. xii. § 19. is πάντα μὲν οὖν πράξις ἢ παρὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον ἐνεργουμένη, βδέλυγμά ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ.—Ib. p. 436.

<sup>o</sup> Εἰ ἔξεστιν ἢ συμφέρει τινὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐπιτρέπειν, καὶ ποιεῖν ἢ λέγειν ἃ νομίζει καλὰ ἀνεὶ τῆς μαρτυρίας τῶν θεοπνεύστων γραφῶν.

..... περὶ μὲν τῶν γεγραμμένων οὐδεμία ἐξουσία δέδοται καθόλου οὐδενί, οὐτὲ ποιῆσαι τι τῶν κεκωλυμένων, οὐτὲ παραλείψαι τι τῶν προστεταγμένων.—Reg. Brev. Tr., i. tom. ii. p. 414. ed. Ben.

<sup>p</sup> P. 698. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

<sup>q</sup> Tom. iv. col. 621. ed. Ben.

<sup>r</sup> Cum ipse Apostolus Paulus post ascensionem Domini de cælo vocatus, si non inveniret in carne Apostolos, quibus communicando et cum quibus

conferendo Evangelium, ejusdem societatis esse appareret, Ecclesia illi omnino non crederet.—Tom. viii. coll. 441, 442. ed. Ben. This and the foregoing passages are referred to by Cardinal Bellarmine, De Verbo Dei, lib. iii. cap. v.

<sup>s</sup> Tom. ix. col. 7. ed. Ben.

<sup>t</sup> Ideo mihi cathedram Petri et fidem Apostolico ere laudatam censui consulendam, . . . . Quamobrem obtestor Beatitudinem tuam per Crucifixum, mundi salutem per homousiam Trinitatem; ut mihi epistolis tuis, sive taceendarum sive dicendarum hypostasewm detur auctoritas. Et ne forte obscuritas loci, in quo dego, fallat bajulos litterarum, ad Evagrium presbyterium, quem optime nosti dignare scripta transmittere; simul etiam cui apud Antiochiam debeam communicare significes.—Tom. iv. coll. 19, 21. ed. Ben. Upon this Cardinal Bellarmine observes as follows: Nota, Hieronymum fuisse longe doctiorem Damaso, ut patet ex

*Rufinum*<sup>u</sup>; *Scito Romanam fidem, Apostolica voce laudatam, istiusmodi præstigijs non recipere; etiamsi angelus aliter annunciet quam semel prædicatum est, Petri autoritate munitam, non posse mutari.* “Know that the faith of Rome, commended by the voice of the Apostle, is not liable to such tricks; though an angel preach otherwise than once was preached, that being fortified by the authority of St. Peter, it cannot be changed.”

§ 18. The saying of St. Cyprian<sup>x</sup> is notorious: *Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde, quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus iudex Christi vice cogitatur; cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret, . . . nemo discidio unitatis Christi Ecclesiam scinderet.* “Heresies spring, and schisms arise from no cause but this; that the priest of God is not obeyed, that men think not that there is one priest in the Church, one judge in Christ’s stead, for the time; whom if the whole brotherhood did obey as God teacheth, no man would move anything against the college of priests, or tear the Church with a rent in the unity of it.”

§ 19. The authority which the Church giveth to the Scripture is again testified by St. Augustine, *contra Epistolam Fundamenti*, cap. v.<sup>y</sup> *Cui libro necesse est me credere, si credo Evangelio; quoniam utramque Scripturam similiter mihi Catholica commendat autoritas.* “Which book of the Acts I must needs believe, if I believe the Gospel; Catholic authority alike commending to me both Scriptures.” To the same purpose *contra Faustum*, xi. 2<sup>z</sup>, xiii. 5<sup>a</sup>, xxii. 19<sup>b</sup>, xviii. 7<sup>c</sup>, xxviii. 2<sup>d</sup>, xxxiii. ult.<sup>e</sup> Therefore he warns him that reads

tot quæstionibus Scripturarum, quas Hieronymus Damaso explicavit: et tamen cum agitur de iudicio fidei, ut aliquid definiatur, Hieronymus totum iudicium tribuit Damaso Pontifici.—De verbo Dei, lib. iii. cap. viii. col. 154. Col. on. 1620.

<sup>u</sup> Lib. iii. tom. iv. col. 449. ed. Ben.

<sup>x</sup> Ep. lv. p. 82. ed. Ben.

<sup>y</sup> Tom. viii. col. 154. ed. Ben.

<sup>z</sup> Quam libri a te prolati originem, quam vetustatem, quam seriem successionis testem citabis? Nam se hoc facere conaberis, et nihil valebis: et vides in hac re quid Ecclesiæ Catholicæ valeat auctoritas, . . .—Tom. viii. col. 219. ed. Ben.

<sup>a</sup> Nostrorum porro librorum auctoritas, tot gentium consensione, per successiones Apostolorum, Episcoporum, conciliorumque roborata, vobis adversa est.—*Ib.*, col. 254.

<sup>b</sup> Cur non potius Evangelicæ auctoritati, tam fundatæ, tam stabilitæ, tanta gloria diffamatæ, atque ab Apostolorum temporibus usque ad nostra tempora per successiones certissimas commendatæ, non te subdis.—*Ib.*, col. 461.

<sup>c</sup> Non aliam legem, nec alios prophetas, quam eos quos Catholica tenet auctoritas.—*Ib.*, col. 312.

<sup>d</sup> Continuo dices illam narrationem non esse Matthæi, quam Matthæi esse dicit universa Ecclesia, ab Apostolicis

the Scriptures to prefer those books which all Churches receive, before those which only some. And of them those which more and greater Churches receive, before those which fewer and less. So that if more receive some, and greater others—though the case he thinks doth not fall out—the authority of them must be the same. And *contra Cresconium*, ii. 31<sup>f</sup>. *Neque enim sine causa tam salubri vigilantia Canon Ecclesiasticus constitutus est, ad quem certi prophetarum et Apostolorum libri pertineant, quos omnino judicare non audeamus.* “For neither was the rule of the Church settled with such wholesome vigilance without cause, to which certain books of the Prophets and Apostles might belong, which we should not dare on any terms to censure.” Where manifestly he ascribeth the difference between canonical Scripture and that which is not, to an act of the Church settling the same.

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§ 20. Of the power of the Church to decide controversies of faith, all the records of the Church, if that will serve the turn, do bear plentiful witness. But the evidence for the gift of infallibility from them seems to consist in this consequence; that otherwise there would be no end of controversies, neither should God have provided sufficiently for His Church. St. Augustine, *contra Cresconium*, i. 33<sup>g</sup>. *Quisquis falli metuit hujus obscuritate questionis, eandem Ecclesiam de illa consulat, quam sine ulla ambiguitate Scriptura sacra demonstrat.* “Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question,” concerning rebaptizing, “let him consult the Church about it, which the Holy Scripture demonstrateth without any ambiguity.” St. Bernard, *Epist. cxc. ad Innoc. II. Papam in Præfat.*<sup>h</sup> *Oportet ad vestrum referri Apostolatium pericula quæque, et scandala emergentia in regno Dei, ea præsertim, quæ de fide contingunt. Dignum namque arbitror, ibi potissimum resarciri damna fidei, ubi non possit fides sentire defectum.* “All dangers and scandals that appear in the kingdom of God are to be referred to your Apostleship. For I conceive

sedibus usque ad præsentés Episcopos certa successione perducta.—*Ib.*, col. 440.

<sup>e</sup> Breviter vos admoneo . . . . ut si auctoritatem Scripturarum omnibus præferendam sequi vultis, eam sequamini quæ ab ipsius præsentis Christi temporibus, per dispensationes Apostolorum et certas ab eorum sedibus suc-

cessionibus Episcoporum, usque ad hæc tempora toto orbe terrarum custodita, commendata, clarificata pervenit.—*Ib.*, coll. 469, 470. ed. Ben.

<sup>f</sup> Tom. ix. col. 430. ed. Ben.

<sup>g</sup> Tom. ix. col. 407. ed. Ben.

<sup>h</sup> St. Bernard. *Opp.*, tom. ii. col. 643. ed. Ben.

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it fitting that the decays of the faith should there especially be repaired where the faith is not subject to fail."

As the traditions of the Church.

§ 21. As concerning the matter of traditions<sup>1</sup> we are not to forget Irenæus, iii. 2—4<sup>k</sup>, where he shews that the Gnostics, scorning both Scripture and tradition, as coming from those that knew not God's mind as they pretended to do—thence calling themselves Gnostics—may be convinced by that evidence which the consent of all Churches in the same faith tenders common sense, for the tradition of the Apostles; which, saith he, we must have stuck to, had they left us nought in writing, as those Christians then did, which had not the use of letters.

§ 22. Eriphanus, *Hær.* lxi.<sup>1</sup> ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ θεία ῥήματα οὐκ ἀλληγορίας δεῖται, ἀλλὰ ὡς ἔχει θεωρίας δὲ δεῖται, εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ἐκάστης ὑποθέσεως τὴν δύναμιν. δεῖ δὲ καὶ παραδόσει κεχρηῆσθαι. οὐ γὰρ πάντα ἀπὸ τῆς θείας γραφῆς δύναται λαμβάνεσθαι· διὸ τὰ μὲν, ἐν γραφαῖς, τὰ δὲ, ἐν παραδόσει παρέδωκαν οἱ ἅγιοι Ἀπόστολοι. "All God's words do not need allegory, but are to be understood as they are. But they need consideration, to know the force of each matter. Tradition also is to be used: for all is not to be had from God's Scriptures. For the holy Apostles delivered some things in writing, others by tradition, as the Apostle saith." So *Hær.* lv.<sup>m</sup>, lxxv.<sup>n</sup> St. Hierome, *adversus Luciferianos*<sup>o</sup>, *Multa alia quæ per traditionem in Ecclesiis observantur, auctoritatem sibi scriptæ legis usurparunt. Orthod. Non quidem abnuo hanc esse Ecclesiarum consuetudinem, . . . . Sed quale est, ut leges Ecclesiæ ad hæresim transferas?* "Many things that are observed in the Churches by

<sup>1</sup> See Card. Bellarmine, *De Verbo Dei*, lib. iv. cap. vii. for the following passages from the fathers.

<sup>k</sup> Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quæ est ab Apostolis, quæ per successiones presbyterorum in Ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos; adversantur traditioni, dicentes se non solum presbyteris, sed etiam Apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veritatem. . . .—Cap. ii. p. 175. ed. Ben.

Quid autem si neque Apostoli quidem Scripturas reliquissent nobis, nonne oportebat ordinem sequi traditionis, quam tradiderunt iis quibus committebant Ecclesias?—Cap. iv. p. 178. ed. Ben.

<sup>1</sup> *Advers. Apostolicos*, num. v. p. 510. Colon. 1682.

<sup>m</sup> Καὶ ὄροι γὰρ ἐτέθησαν ἡμῖν, καὶ θεμέλιοι, καὶ οἰκοδομὴ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ Ἀποστόλων παραδόσεις, καὶ γραφαὶ ἅγιοι, καὶ διαδοχαὶ διδασκαλίας, καὶ ἐκ πανταχόθεν ἡ ἀλήθεια τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡσφάλισται καὶ μηδεὶς ἀπατάσθω καινοῖς μύθοις.—*Advers. Melchisedec.*, Num. iii. p. 471. Colon. 1682.

<sup>n</sup> Δείξας ὅτι ἐγγράφως τε καὶ ἀγράφως ἐδίδασκειν, ὁ πατήρ, τουτέστιν ὁ Θεὸς ὁ μονογενὴς, καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἡ δὲ μητὴρ ἡμῶν ἡ Ἐκκλησία εἶχε θεσμοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κειμένους, ἀλύτους, μὴ δυναμένους καταλυθῆναι.—*Advers. Ærium*, num. viii. p. 912. Colon. 1682.

<sup>o</sup> Tom. iv. coll. 294, 295. ed. Ben.



tradition have usurped to themselves the authority of written law." The orthodox party answers, "I deny not the custom of the Church to be such; . . . . but what a business is it that you transform the laws of the Church into heresy?"

§ 23. St. Augustine, *Epist. cxviii.*<sup>p</sup> *Illa autem quæ non scripta sed tradita custodimus, quæ quidem toto terrarum orbe servantur, datur intelligi, vel ab ipsis Apostolis, vel plenariis conciliis, quorum est in Ecclesia saluberrima auctoritas, commendata atque statuta retineri.* "But those things which we observe, though not written but delivered, being observed all over the world, we are given to understand that they are held as recommended and settled either by the Apostles themselves or by general councils, the authority whereof is very wholesome in the Church." To the same purpose, *de Baptismo contra Donatistas*, ii. 7<sup>a</sup>, iv. 6, 24<sup>r</sup>, v. 23<sup>s</sup>, *de Unitate Ecclesiæ*, xxii.<sup>t</sup> *contra Cresconium*, i. 31—33<sup>u</sup>.

§ 24. The supposed Dionysius the Areopagite, *Ecclesiasticæ Hierarchiæ*, cap. i.<sup>x</sup> mentioneth that instruction which the

<sup>p</sup> Tom. ii. Ep. 54. § 1. col. 124. ed. Ben.

<sup>q</sup> Quam consuetudinem credo ex Apostolica traditione venientem—sicut multa quæ non inveniuntur in litteris eorum, neque in conciliis posteriorum, et tamen quia per universam custodiuntur Ecclesiam non nisi ab ipsis tradita et commendata creduntur.—Tom. ix. col. 102. ed. Ben.

<sup>r</sup> Sed illa consuetudo, quam etiam tunc homines sursum versus respicientes non videbant a posterioribus institutam, recte ab Apostolis tradita creditur. Et talia multa sunt, quæ longum est repetere.—*Ib.*, col. 126.

Quod universa tenet Ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate Apostolica traditum rectissime creditur.—*Ib.*, col. 140.

<sup>s</sup> Sed consuetudo illa quæ opponebatur Cypriano, ab eorum traditione exordium sumpsisse credenda est, sicut sunt multa quæ universa tenet Ecclesia, et ob hoc ab Apostolis præcepta bene creduntur, quamquam scripta non reperiantur.—*Ib.*, col. 156.

<sup>t</sup> Dicat mihi nunc hæreticus, Quomodo me suscipis? Cito respondes. Sicut suscipit Ecclesia, cui Christus perhibet testimonium. Numquid tu melius potes esse quomodo suscipiendus

sis, quam Salvator noster medicus vulneris tui? Hic forte dicis, Lege mihi ergo quemadmodum Christus suscipi jusserit eos, qui ab hæreticis transire ad Ecclesiam volunt. Hoc aperte atque evidenter, nec ego lego, nec tu.—Tom. ix. col. 380. ed. Ben.

<sup>u</sup> Proinde quamvis hujus rei certe de Scripturis canonicis non proferatur exemplum: earumdem tamen Scripturarum etiam in hac re a nobis tenetur veritas cum hoc facimus quod universæ jam placuit Ecclesiæ, quam ipsarum Scripturarum commendat auctoritas, ut quoniam Sancta Scriptura fallere non potest, quisquis falli metuit, hujus obscuritate quæstionis eandem Ecclesiam de illa consulat, quam sine ulla ambiguitate sancta Scriptura demonstrat.—Tom. ix. coll. 407, 408. ed. Ben.

<sup>x</sup> Ἀναγκαίως οὖν οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱεραρχίας καθηγμένοις, ἐκ τῆς ὑπερουσίου θεαρχίας, αὐτοὶ τε ἀναπλησθέντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ δώρου, . . . αἰσθηταῖς εἰκόσι τὰ ὑπερουράνια, καὶ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ πλήθει τὸ συνεπτυγμένον καὶ ἐν ἀνθρωπίνους τε τὰ θεῖα καὶ ἐνύλοις τὰ ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς τὰ ὑπερούσια, ταῖς ἐγγράφοις τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀγράφοις μῆσσει, κατὰ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἡμῖν ἔδωσαν θεσμούς.—§ 5. p. 235. Antwerp. 1634.

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Apostles delivered without writing, as a witness of the Church, though not as a scholar of the Apostles. And Eusebius, *de Demonstratione Evangelica*, i. 8<sup>y</sup>, acknowledgeth unwritten laws of the Apostles. *Concilium Gangrense, in fine*, Can. xxi.<sup>z</sup>; καὶ πάντα συνελόντας εἰπεῖν τὰ παραδοθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν καὶ τῶν Ἀποστολικῶν παραδόσεων, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεσθαι εὐχόμεθα. “And we desire in sum, that all things delivered by the Scriptures of God, and the traditions of the Apostles, be observed in the Church.” And Gregory Nazianzen, *Orat. i. adversus Julianum*<sup>a</sup>, refers those ordinances which I quoted out of him afore, to the Apostles as authors of them.

§ 25. Some sayings of the fathers are also alleged to shew that they held the Scriptures obscure. Origen, *in Levit. Hom. v.*<sup>b</sup> allegorizeth the law of burning some part of the peace-offerings, to signify that some things in the Scriptures are reserved to God’s knowledge, lest we understand them otherwise than truth requires. The same saith Irenæus, ii. 47<sup>c</sup>, even in the world to come, that man may always learn, but God always teach the matters of God. St. Chrysostom, *in Johannem*, Hom. xli.<sup>d</sup>, observes that our Lord bids, Search the Scriptures; by digging as for mines, or treasure; so if they may be understood with searching, yet it followeth not that every one is able to take that course in searching them that is requisite. And *Opus imperfectum in Matth.*, Hom. xlv.<sup>e</sup> *Ergo non sunt Scripturæ clausæ: sed obscuræ quidem, ut cum labore inveniantur, non autem clausæ, ut nullo modo inveniantur.* “Therefore the Scriptures are not shut: dark indeed they

<sup>y</sup> Ταῦτα συγκατόντες τῇ τῶν πλειόνων ἀσθενείᾳ τὰ μὲν διὰ γραμμάτων, τὰ δὲ διὰ ἀγραφῶν θεσμῶν φυλάττειν παρεδίδουσαν.—P. 29. Paris, 1628.

<sup>z</sup> A.D. 324. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 432. ed. Venet.

<sup>a</sup> See chap. xvi. sectt. 50, 51.

<sup>b</sup> Verumtamen sciendum est, quod ex hostiis quæ offeruntur, licet concedantur sacerdotibus ad edendum, non tamen omnia conceduntur: sed pars ex ipsis aliqua Deo offertur, et altaris ignibus traditur: ut sciamus etiam nos quod et si conceditur nobis aliqua ex divinis Scripturis apprehendere et agnoscere, sunt tamen aliqua quæ Deo reservanda sunt: quæ cum intelligentiam nostram superent, sensusque eorum supra nos sit, ne forte aliter a

nobis quam se habet veritas, proferrantur, melius igni ista servamus.—Tom. ii. p. 208. ed. Ben.

<sup>c</sup> Εἰ δὲ τῶν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς ζητουμένων, ὅλων τῶν γραφῶν πνευματικῶν οὐσῶν, ἕνια μὲν ἐπιλύομεν κατὰ χάριν Θεοῦ, ἕνια δὲ ἀνακίσεται τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ οὐ μόνον αἰῶνι ἐν τῷ νυνί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι; ἵνα αἰεὶ μὲν ὁ Θεὸς διδάσκη, ἄνθρωπος δὲ διὰ παντὸς μανθάνη παρὰ Θεοῦ.—Cap. xxviii. p. 156. ed. Ben.

<sup>d</sup> Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, ἀναγινώσκετε τὰς γραφὰς, ἀλλ’ ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφὰς . . . διὰ τοῦτο καὶ διασκόπτει αὐτοὺς μετὰ ἀκριβείας κελεύει νῦν, ἵνα τὰ ἐν τῷ βᾶθει κείμενα δυνηθῶσιν εὑρεῖν.—Tom. ii. p. 725. ed. Savil.

<sup>e</sup> St. Chrysost. Opp., tom. vi. p. clxxxvi. ed. Ben.

are, so that they are found with pains: but not shut, so as by no means to be found." Adding, that as it is for the praise of them that find them, that they sought, so for the condemnation of them that seek not, that they understand them not.

§ 26. St. Hierome, *ad Algasiam*, *Quæst. viii.*<sup>f</sup> *Omnis Epistola ejus ad Romanos nimis obscuritatibus involuta est.* "The whole epistle to the Romans is involved with marvellous darkness." *Epist. xlix. ad Paulinum*<sup>g</sup>. *Hoc autem velamen non solum in facie Moysi, sed et in evangelistis et in Apostolis positum est.* "This veil is not only in Moses's face, but upon the evangelists and Apostles." And, *Nisi aperta fuerint universa quæ scripta sunt, ab eo, qui habet clavem David, qui aperit, et nemo claudit: claudit, et nemo aperit, nullo alio referente pandentur.* "Unless all things that are written be opened, by him who hath the key of David, who opens and no man shuts, who shuts and no man opens, no man else will unlock and lay them forth." Before him, Origen, *in Exodum*, Hom. xii.<sup>h</sup>, is afraid that the evangelists and Apostles, as well as the prophets, will prove not only veiled, but sealed to us, as the prophet saith, unless we both study and pray that the Lamb of the tribe of Judah may open us the seals of it.

§ 27. Here I will advise the parties to consider how they can advantage themselves by those sayings of the fathers which contain not the terms of that position which they do nothing unless they enforce. Allege they what they can allege out of the fathers, to shew that they acknowledge the Scriptures both sufficient and perspicuous; I shall not be troubled at it, but shall willingly concur to acknowledge the same. I acknowledge the Scriptures to be an instrument of God, though a moral instrument. And I shall have a care not to acknowledge that God ever provided or used an instrument that would not serve His turn.

They are to be reconciled by limiting the terms which they use.

§ 28. *Instrumentum Vetus et Novum*, is a term in every man's

<sup>f</sup> Tom. iv. col. 202. ed. Ben.

<sup>g</sup> Tom. iv. col. 567. ed. Ben.

<sup>h</sup> Videamus ergo ne non solum cum Moyses legitur, sed et cum Paulus legitur, velamen sit positum super cor nostrum . . . . Ego autem vereor, ne per nimiam negligentiam et stoliditatem cordis, non solum velata sint nobis divina volumina, sed et signata:—

Unde ostenditur non solum studium nobis adhibendum esse ad discendas litteras sacras, verum et supplicandum Domino, et diebus ac noctibus obsecrandum, ut veniat agnus ex tribu Juda, et ipse accipiens librum signatum dignetur aperire.—Tom. ii. p. 174. ed. Ben.

mouth, to signify the Old and New Testament. But there are natural instruments, and there are moral instruments. I say not that there is no third kind of instruments, for it may be there are artificial instruments, of a several nature from both, but my present purpose obliges me not to consider that difference.

§ 29. When the substance or frame of the instrument enables it to serve him that employs it, well may it be called a natural instrument, as the parts of man's body, or other creatures, which execute the operations of the soul. When neither the substance, nor frame of the thing which that substance produces, concurs to the work to the which it is instrumental, but it is done merely by the consent of man's will—the reason is the same of God's will, if it be an instrument between man and God—then is it great reason why it should be called a moral instrument; because the force of it lies in the manners of those who use it to testify those acts which they do not mean to transgress: such as all civil records are, in regard of the effect of those contracts or deeds which they come to witness.

§ 30. The Old and New Testament are the records of two several treaties, or contracts if you please, that have passed between God and man. And therefore authentic, because the writings of those who contracted those treaties. But does every instrument of a contract contain every thing that is in force by the said contract? Surely it is a thing so difficult to contain in writing every thing that a contract intends, that many times, if witnesses were not alive, other whiles, if general laws did not determine the intent of words, in fine, if there were nothing to help the tenor of such instruments, things contracted would hardly sort to effect<sup>1</sup>.

§ 31. Consider now what is alleged on the other side, how resolutely, how generally, the tradition both of the rule of faith, and of laws to the Church, is acknowledged even by those witnesses whose sayings are alleged to argue the sufficiency, perfection, and evidence of the Scriptures. Is it civil, is it reasonable, to say that the writers of the Christian Church make it their business to contradict themselves; which no scholar will admit either infidels, pagans, Jews,

<sup>1</sup> Sortiri effectum.

Mahometans, or heretics to do? Is it not easy to save them from contradicting themselves, by saying that tradition of faith containeth nothing that is not in the Scriptures, but limits the meaning of that which they contain; tradition of laws may contain that which is not in the Scriptures, for the species of fact, but is derived from the Scripture for the authority from whence it proceeds? Or is it possible by any other means reasonably to save them from contradicting themselves?

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§ 32. These generals premised, freely may we make our approaches to the particulars, and by considering the circumstance of the places where they lie, make ourselves confident to find some limitation, restraining the generality of their words to make them agree, as well with my position, as with themselves. For example; Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxxvi., Irenæus, ii. 46, iii. 15, Athanasius, *Disp. cum Ario*<sup>k</sup>, say, all is clear in the Scriptures; meaning that the sense of the Church is clearly the sense of the Scriptures in the points questioned; but not to them who exclude that tradition which themselves include and presuppose. Observe again that the perspicuity of the Scriptures is not limited to things necessary to salvation in all that hath been alleged, but once in St. Augustine, 207 Epist. iii.; and observe withal that the knowledge of things necessary proceeds upon supposition of the rule of faith, acknowledged and received from the Church in the catechizing of those that were baptized; not determined by every one's sense of the Scriptures.

The limitation of those sayings which make all Christian truth to be contained in the Scripture.

§ 33. It is therefore easily granted that the Scriptures were made for all sorts of people, that they might profit by them; always provided that they bring with them the faith of the Catholic Church, for the rule within the bounds whereof they may profit by reading them, otherwise they may and they may not. And therefore those sayings which were alleged to prove them obscure, convincing that they are not clear to all understandings, because they require study, and search, and digging, do necessarily leave him that comes without his rule not only in doubt of finding the truth, but in danger of taking error for it.

§ 34. Upon the like supposition St. Augustine affirms, *de*

<sup>k</sup> These passages are cited before in sectt. 3—5.

*Utilitate credendi* vi.<sup>l</sup>, that any man may find enough in the Old Testament, that seeks as he ought: for to seek humbly and devoutly is the same thing for him that is no Christian—for the Manichees, to whom St. Augustine recommends the Old Testament, in this place, were Christians no further than the name—as it is for him that is a Christian, to seek like a Christian, that is, having before his eyes the faith of the Church. And this is that which St. Augustine means, that he who is no Christian, so seeking, may find enough to make him a Christian; that is, as much as he is to expect from the Old Testament. And this supposition is expressed by Origen, *contra Celsum* vii.<sup>m</sup>, when he says that the unlearned may study the Scriptures with profit, after their entrance made: for this entrance is the rule of faith, which they were taught when they were baptized. And the catechism of that time, containing as well the motives as the matter of faith, appears to the unlearned the way into the deep, that is, the mystical sense of the Scripture.

§ 35. Upon the same terms may we proceed to grant all that is alleged to shew that which is not contained in the Scriptures not to be receivable in point of Christian truth. For having shewed<sup>n</sup> that the rule of faith is wholly contained in the Scriptures; and nothing contained in the records of Church writers to be unquestionable but the rule and tradition of faith; whatsoever further intelligence and information can be pretended, either tending to establish the same, or by consequence of reason to flow from it, if it cannot be pretended to come from tradition—because there is no tradition of the Church concerning that wherein the Church agrees not—either it must come from the Scripture, or by the like revelation as the Scriptures, which no Church writer pretends to have. For as for that which by consequence of reason is derived from those things which the Scripture expresseth; seeing the words of the Scripture is not the word of God, but the sense and meaning of them, it were a thing very impertinent to question whether or no that be contained in the Scripture which the true sense of the Scripture by due consequence of argument imports.

<sup>l</sup> Sect. 9.<sup>m</sup> Sect. 4.<sup>n</sup> Chap. xxi. sect. 4.

§ 36. But if the question be of laws delivered the Church by the Apostles, having shewed<sup>o</sup> that there may sufficient evidence be made of such, though not recorded in the Scriptures, there can no presumption be made, being not found in the Scriptures, that therefore a law was not first brought into the Church by the Apostles. And yet it remains grounded upon the Scriptures, in point of right, because the authority by which it was brought into the Church is either established or attested by the Scriptures; matter of fact being competently evidenced by other historical truth besides. And upon these terms we may proceed to acknowledge the goodness of an argument drawn negatively from the Scriptures; that is to say, inferring this is not in the Scriptures, therefore not true.

§ 37. Doth my position then oblige me to deny Irenæus, iii. 1, affirming that the Apostles wrote the same that they preached? Or St. Augustine, in *Psalmum xxi.*, de *Unitate Ecclesiæ*, cap. xvi., and Optatus v. tying the Donatists to be tried by the Scriptures? Both parties pretending to be children of God, are to be tried by their Father's will, that is, by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. But if there shall fall out any difference about the intent of their father's will, the meaning of the Old and New Testament, shall I think that is said in vain which is alleged on the other side  
208 out of the same St. Augustine, *Contra Cresconium*, i. 33, that if a man would not err in that point, he is to advise with the Church, which the Scripture evidenceth? For the question being about the re-baptizing of heretics—that is, about a law of the Church—if you will have St. Augustine agree with St. Augustine, it must be upon the terms of my position, the practice of the Church giving bounds to the sense of the Scripture.

§ 38. I can therefore safely agree with the constitutions of the Apostles<sup>p</sup>, with St. Cyprian and Leo, and whosoever else teaches that it is not safe for the people to assure their consciences upon the credit of their pastors; but it is because I suppose the unity of the Church provided by God for a ground upon which the people may reasonably presume when they are to adhere to their pastors, when not; to wit, when they

<sup>o</sup> Chap. xxi. sectt. 8, 9.

P Sect. 9.

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I.

are owned, not when they are disowned, by the unity of the Church. For though this provision becomes ineffectual, when this unity is dissolved, yet ought not that to be an argument that the goodness of God never made that provision which the malice of man may defeat; but that whosoever concurs to maintain the division, concurs to defeat that provision which God hath made.

§ 39. As safely do I agree with all them who agree that whatsoever is taught in Christianity is to be proved by the Scriptures. For if it belong to the rule of faith, it is intended by the Scriptures, though that intent is evidenced by the tradition of the Church. If to the laws of the Church, the authority of it comes from the Scriptures, though the evidence of it may depend upon common sense, which the practice of the Church may convince. If over and above both, it is not receivable, if not contained in the Scriptures. And in this regard whosoever maintains the whole Scripture to be the rule of faith, is thoroughly justified by all those testimonies that have been alleged to that purpose. For though it be not necessary to the salvation of all Christians to understand the meaning of all the Scriptures, yet what Scripture soever a man attains to understand, is as much a rule to his faith as that which a man cannot be saved if he understand not the sense of it, whether in and by the Scripture or without it.

§ 40. And though a man may be obliged to believe that which is not in the Scripture to have been instituted by the Apostles, yet is he not obliged to observe it but upon that reason which the Scripture delivereth. And upon these terms is the whole Scripture a rule of faith, from which, as nothing is to be taken away, so is nothing to be added to it, as the saying of St. Chrysostom, in *Phil.* iii. Hom. xii.<sup>a</sup> requireth. And the saying of St. Basil, in *Isai.* ii. and *Ascet. Reg.* i.<sup>r</sup>, condemning all that is done without Scripture, takes place upon no other terms than these.

§ 41. Not as Cartwright<sup>s</sup> and our puritans after him imagine, that a man is to have a text of Scripture specifying every thing which he doth, for his warrant; for as it is in itself ridiculous to imagine that all cases which fall out can be

<sup>a</sup> Sect. 15.

<sup>r</sup> Sect. 15.

<sup>s</sup> See chap. v. sect. 29; chap. xx. sect. 10.



ruled by express text of Scripture, our Christianity being concerned infinite ways, of which it is evident that the Scripture had no occasion to speak; so if the words of the Scripture be lodged in a heart where the work of them dwelleth not—a thing which we see too possible to come to pass—it is the ready way to make the Word of God a colour for all unrighteousness, not only to others, but to the very heart of him who hath that cloak for it. It is therefore enough that the reason of every thing which a Christian doth is to be derived from that doctrine which the Scripture declareth. And where a man proceedeth to do that for which he hath not such a reason so grounded, as reasonable men use to go by, then cometh that to pass which St. Basil chargeth, *Ascet. Reg.* lxxx.<sup>t</sup>, that “what is not of faith is sin.”

§ 42. It is true, according to that sense which hitherto I have used, after many Church writers, the rule of faith extendeth not to all the Scriptures, but only to that which it is necessary to salvation to believe and to know; which every man knows that all the Scripture is not. For though it be necessary to salvation to believe that all the Scripture is true, yet is it not necessary to salvation to know all that the Scripture containeth. And the reason why I use it in this sense is, to distinguish those things contained in the Scriptures, which tradition extendeth to, from those to which it extendeth not; for upon these terms is the sense of them limitable to the common faith. But I quarrel not therefore [with] the opinion of them<sup>u</sup> that maintain the whole Scriptures to be the rule of faith, acknowledging that whatsoever it containeth is necessarily to be believed by all that come to understand it: and

[the rule of faith extendeth not to the whole of Scripture.]

<sup>t</sup> Sect. 13.

<sup>u</sup> Sed ais eam quoque externa media habere quæ tamen a te pauca admodum, eaque imbecilla afferuntur. In his primum est regula fidei. Sed nisi obliquam aliquam et commentitiam regulam intelligas, idem omnino mecum stauis. Nam verbum aio esse medium sui cognoscendi. Tu non ex verbo cognosci verbum, sed ex regula fidei contendis. Potesne autem meliorem perfectioremque regulam fidei quam verbum Dei assignare? Certe verbum Dei tam late patet quam regula fidei, atque ut vobis visum est, etiam traditiones complectitur non scriptas, de quo non pugnabo nunc. Quæcun-

que ergo fidei regula sit, eam necesse est Dei verbo contineri. Unde efficitur Dei verbum non nisi ex Dei verbo cognosci, si ex regula fidei cognoscatur. Jam vero si verbum Dei scriptum ex non scripto iudicari cognoscique possit, quid ni obsecro ex scripto scriptum dijudicari posse existimemus? At Scriptura etiam, ut verbum non scriptum hoc loco mittamus, fidei regula est, ideoque Scripturæ canonicæ nomen in Ecclesia semper obtinuit. Canon enim regulam significat, et fidei canon est fidei ipsa regula.—Whitaker. de Author. Sacr. Scriptur., lib. i. cap. xiii. p. 151. Genève, 1610.

BOOK I. whatsoever it containeth not, though the Scripture alone obligeth not to believe the truth of it, is not necessarily to be observed for any other reason but that which the Scripture declareth.

§ 43. As for St. Basil<sup>v</sup> making it apostasy to bring that which is not written into the faith, it is a thing well known, that the Arians were charged by the Church<sup>x</sup> for bringing in words that were not in the Scriptures, saying, *ἦν ὅταν οὐκ ἦν*; “there was a time when Christ was not;” and, *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*; that He was “made of nothing;” on the other side, after the council of Nicæa, the Arians charged the Church for bringing in the word *ὁμοούσιος*<sup>y</sup>, “of the same substance.” Where then lay the difference between the infidelity of the Arians and the faith of the Church? Theodoret shews it, *Hist. Eccles. i. 8<sup>z</sup>*, out of Athanasius, *Ep. ad Afros Episcopos*: *ἐξ ἀγράφων μετ’ εὐσεβείας νοουμένων λέξων κατεκρίθησαν*, saith he; “they were condemned by unwritten words piously understood.” But how appears this piety? For I suppose the Arians would not have granted it. He addeth<sup>a</sup>, that the word *ὁμοούσιος* had been used by the fathers—which, had it been inconsistent with the sense of the Church, could not have been endured in a matter concerning the rule of faith—

<sup>v</sup> Sect. 13.

<sup>x</sup> Ποία δὲ παρὰ τὰς γραφὰς ἐφευρόντες λαλοῦσιν, ἐστὶ ταῦτα.

Οὐκ αἶε ὁ Θεὸς πατὴρ ἦν, ἀλλ’ ἦν ὅτε ὁ Θεὸς πατὴρ οὐκ ἦν. οὐκ αἶε ἦν ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγος, ἀλλ’ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γέγονεν· ὁ γὰρ ὢν Θεὸς τὸν μὴ ὄντα ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος πεποίηκε, διὸ καὶ ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.—Alexandri Epist. Encyclic. ad Episcopos, ap. S. Athanas., Opp. tom. i. p. 388. ed. Ben.

<sup>y</sup> Ἄλλ’ οὐ γέγραπται ταῦτα, φασιν, καὶ ὡς ἀγράφους τὰς φωνὰς ἐκβάλλομεν. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πάλιν πρόφασίς ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἀναίσχυτος. εἰ γὰρ ἐκβλητέα νομίζουσι τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα, διὰ τι τῶν περὶ Ἄρειον ἐξ ἀγράφων ἐπινοησάντων τοσοῦτον ῥηματιῶν συρφετὸν, τὸ ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, καὶ τὸ οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱὸς πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, καὶ ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν.—St. Athanas., tom. i. de Synodis, pp. 751, 752. ed. Ben. Καὶ λευκότερον λοιπὸν καὶ συντόμως ἔγραψαν, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱόν· τὰ γὰρ προειρημένα πάντα ταύτην ἔχει τὴν σημασίαν· καὶ ὁ γογγυσμὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἀγαφοὶ εἰσὶν αἱ λέξεις, ἐλέγχεται παρ’ αὐ-

τῶν, μάταιος, ἐξ ἀγράφων ἀσεβήσαντες· ἄγραφα δὲ τὸ, ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων, καὶ τὸ ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν· αἰτιῶνται, ὅτι ἐξ ἀγράφων μετ’ εὐσεβείας νοουμένων λέξων κατεκρίθησαν.—Ib., ad Afros Episcopos, p. 896.

<sup>z</sup> Pp. 28, 29. Mogunt. 1679.

<sup>a</sup> Οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς ἐδρόντες τὰς λέξεις, ἀλλ’ ἐκ πατέρων ἔχοντες τὴν μαρτυρίαν· οὕτως ἔγραψαν. ἐπίσκοποι γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι πρὸ ἐτῶν ἐγγύς του ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης, καὶ τῆς ἡμετερᾶς πόλεως γράφοντες ἠτιάσαντο τοὺς ποιήμα λέγοντας τὸν υἱὸν καὶ μὴ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ. καὶ τοῦτο ἐγένωσκεν Εὐσέβιος ὁ γενομένος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Καισαρείας, πρότερον μὲν συντρέχων τῇ Ἀρειανῇ αἰρέσει· ὕστερον δὲ ὑπογράψας ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνόδῳ, ἔγραψε τοῖς ἰδίοις διαβεβαιούμενος, ὅτι καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν τινος λογίους καὶ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ συγγραφέας, ἔγνωμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ θεότητος τῷ τοῦ ὁμοοουσίου χρησαμένους ὀνόματι.—S. Athanas., ad Afros Episc., § 6. tom. i. p. 896. ed. Ben.

whereas their terms were contrary to that which is found in the Scriptures. CHAP. XXVIII.

§ 44. Now St. Basil<sup>b</sup> acknowledgeth that he had elsewhere—dealing with heretics—used terms not found in the Scriptures, to exclude their sense contrary to the Scriptures—as you shall find by the authors alleged, that the council of Nicæa had done—but to those who desired information with a single heart, he resolves to rest content with the Scriptures; the terms whereof, his meaning is, that the heretics did not rest content with, because they had a mind to depart from the faith. Upon the same terms Tertullian<sup>c</sup> pronounces the woe that belongs to them which add to God's word, upon Hermogenes, because his error concerned the article of our Creed, that God made heaven and earth. And St. Augustine<sup>d</sup> presumes the reason why there is no clear Scripture for the original of the soul to be because he presumes that it concerns not the substance of faith.

§ 45. Besides these observations, some of those passages which are alleged may concern Christianity rather than the Scriptures. The word shines upon all, and is hid to none, saith Clemens<sup>e</sup> to the Gentiles. But it is enough for his purpose that they may be convinced of Christianity, whether the Scriptures contain it clearly to all understandings or not. Tertullian<sup>f</sup> prescribeth, that, when once we believe, we are to believe that we have nothing else to believe; because the Gnostics pretended secrets, which our common Christianity, they confessed, contained not.

<sup>b</sup> "Εως μὲν οὖν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἐπανισταμένας κατὰ καιρὸν αἱρέσεις ἐχρήην, ἐπόμενος τοῖς προσειληφόσιν, ἀκόλουθον ἡγουόμενον τῇ διαφορᾷ τῆς ἀποπειρομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἀσεβείας, ταῖς ἀντιθέτοις φωναῖς κωλύειν, ἢ καὶ ἀνατρέπειν τὰς ἐπαγομένας βλασφημίας, καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις, ὡς ἂν ἡ χρεια τῶν νοσοῦντων κατηνάγκασε, καὶ ταῦταις πολλάκις ἀγράφοις μὲν, ὕμῳ δ' οὖν οὐκ ἀπεξενωμέναις τῆς κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν εὐσεβοῦς διανοίας· τοῦ Ἀποστόλου πολλάκις καὶ ἑλληνικοῖς ῥήμασι χρῆσασθαι μὴ παραιτησαμένου πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον σκοπὸν. νῦν δὲ πρὸς τὸν κοινὸν ἡμῶν τε καὶ ὑμῶν σκοπὸν ἔρμολον ἐλογισάμην, ἐν ἀπλότῃ τῆς ὑγιαινούσης πίστεως τὸ ἐπίταγμα τῆς ὑμετέρᾳς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγάπης πληρῶσαι, εἰ-

πὼν ἂ ἐδιδάχθην παρὰ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς. φειδόμενος μὲν καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ ῥημάτων ἐκείνων, ἂ λέξει μὲν αὐταῖς οὐκ ἐμφέρεται τῇ θεῖα γραφῇ, διάνοιάν γε μὴν τὴν ἐκείνην ἐγκειμένην τῇ γραφῇ διασώζει. ὅσα δὲ πρὸς τῷ ξένῳ τῆς λέξεως, ἔτι καὶ τὸν νοῦν ξένον ἡμῶν ἐπεισάγει, καὶ ἂ οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων κηρυσσόμενα εἶρεῖν, ταῦτα ὡς ξένα καὶ ἀλλότρια τῆς εὐσεβοῦς πίστεως παντάπασιν παραιτούμενος.—De Fide, tom. ii. p. 224. ed. Ben.

<sup>c</sup> Sect. 12, above.

<sup>d</sup> Non quidem magnum doctrinæ Christianæ arbitror esse detrimentum ista nescire.—De Anim. et ejus Origin, tom. x. col. 361. ed. Ben.

<sup>e</sup> Sect. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Sect. 12.

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I.

§ 46. Claudius Apollinaris<sup>g</sup> is afraid that our common Christianity might be thought imperfect if he should write against Montanus. And do not Christians writing one against another cast a mark of imperfection upon it, in the opinion of unbelievers, though Christians ought to know that God is not tied to prevent offences? Assuredly, the Gospel of which he speaks is neither any one Gospel nor all four; nor can the word Gospel signify either the New Testament alone, or the Old and New both: nor could he be thought to add to them by expounding them, and thereby maintaining the Church. Therefore he infers a good consequence, that because it is forbidden to add to, or take from the law, therefore our common Christianity is not imperfect, nor ought we to do that whereby it may seem imperfect.

Of those which make the authority of the Church the ground of faith,

§ 47. Now as for the sayings alleged out of St. Augustine, that import as much as the words which we had afore<sup>h</sup>; *Ego Evangelio non crederem*: having shewed what is the effect and intent of them, I shall not be very solicitous to shew how all that is said to the same effect is answered. For as there is no head so hard that cannot distinguish between the authority of the Church, as it is a visible body of men, that could never have been cozened into the belief of Christianity upon pretended motives—whether sufficient or not—and as it is supposed by Christians to be a body founded by God; so is there no heart so hardened with prejudice, as to refuse this demand: that the authority of the Church, as the Church, presupposes the truth of Christianity, and therefore proves it not; and, by consequence, no truth that Christianity either 210 containeth or inferreth.

§ 48. Which being admitted, if any thing be ascribed to the Church which seems not to suppose any part of Christian truth, it must be referred to the authority and credit of the Church as a visible body of men, moving others to embrace the Christian faith. For though this credit contribute to the making of those men Christians, which are won to the Church already settled, and so the Church is the Church before they are Christians; yet is the ground and reason which makes the Church a body founded by God, to wit, the profession of Christianity, more ancient in order of reason and nature than

<sup>g</sup> Sect. 13.

<sup>h</sup> See chap. iii. sect. 28.

the being of the Church. And upon supposition of this ground—that is, that the Church hath true reasons, as well as sufficient, to believe—proceeds all that authority of the Church which St. Augustine allegeth to the Manichees, upon so high terms, that he would not believe were he not moved by it to believe.

§ 49. Neither was it the authority of the Church, vested in the rest of the Apostles, that gave St. Paul the authority of an Apostle over the Church—though I have said afore<sup>i</sup>, that all the authority which the Church can ever have, was in the Apostles and disciples of our Lord, for the time; and though it is manifest that St. Paul could not have had the authority of an Apostle over the Church, had he not been owned by the rest of the Apostles—but the authority of our Lord Christ in the Apostles, of the same effect, in obliging the Church to receive St. Paul for an Apostle, as to receive that which they preached for the faith.

§ 50. Nor is the matter much otherwise, in the receiving of any Scripture for canonical. For neither can any man's writing be owned for canonical Scripture, not supposing his person owned by the Apostles. And his authority, being so owned, is necessarily before any authority of the Church,<sup>l</sup> and the very being of it. That some Scriptures may be received in some Churches, and not in others, is not because any Church can have authority to reject that which another is bound to receive; but because some Church may not know that some Scripture comes from a man so owned by the Apostles—though another may know it—and yet be a Church, and salvation be had in the communion of it, such knowledge depending merely upon evidence in point of fact; and therefore the act of the Church in listing the Scripture hath no authority but that which the presumption of such evidence createth.

§ 51. As for the rest of that which is alleged for the authority of the Church, if St. Hierome<sup>k</sup> resolve to stand to the Church of Rome, it is not because he takes the sentence

[and of the canon of Scripture.]

[Of those places which make the Church infallible.]

<sup>i</sup> Chap. viii.

<sup>k</sup> Sect. 17.

Hieronymus in Epistola ad Damasum de nomine hypostasis, postquam dixerat; 'super istam petram ædificatam Ecclesiam scio.' Subjungit 'obsero ut mihi litteris tuis sive tacendarum, sive dicendarum trium hypo-

staseon detur auctoritas; non timebo tres hypostases dicere, si jubeatis.' Ubi asserit se tute secuturum sententiam Pontificis, quia novit super illum Ecclesiam esse fundatam, nec posse fieri, ut Ecclesiæ fundamentum cadat.—Card. Bellarm. de Rom. Pontif., lib. iv. cap. iii. col. 809. Colon. 1620.

thereof to be infallible, but because he had reason to presume that it were in vain for an angel in heaven to preach any other faith to it than that which once had been received. Nor doth St. Cyprian<sup>1</sup> make the not believing the Pope's infallibility the source of all heresy and schism, but the neglect of authority derived from the Apostles, upon the heads of particular Churches, in the consent of whom the visibility of the true faith and Church both consisteth. For it is mere sleight of hand to take "the rock which the gates of hell vanquish not," in St. Augustine<sup>m</sup>, for the Church of Rome, because he spoke of it in the words next afore; being meant of the vine which he had speech of a little afore that; to wit, the Christianity which our Lord Christ preacheth. For in St. Bernard's<sup>n</sup> time, I grant, the style was changed, and it might pass for good doctrine to say that the faith cannot suffer any failure in the Church of Rome.

§ 52. As for all those passages of the fathers which are alleged in recommendation, whether of tradition for the rule of faith, or of traditions which are the laws of the Church, they are all mine own; they cannot serve the turn of any opinion but that which I pretend; that the tradition of the Church—witnessed and evidenced by the continual exercise and practice of the Church, extant in the records of the Church, not constituted and created by any express act of those that have authority in behalf of the Church—as it giveth bounds to the interpretation of the Scripture, in such

<sup>1</sup> Sect. 18.

Quod autem hoc idem Romano Episcopo conveniat, declarat idem Cyprianus, lib. i. Ep. 3. *ad Cornelium*, ubi loquens de schismate Novatianorum, qui non agnoscebant Cornelium Pontificem; sic ait; 'Neque enim aliunde hæreses obortæ sunt, aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod Sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in Ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur. Cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversus sacerdotum collegium quicquam moveret,' &c.

Adversarii quidem respondent, hic loqui Cyprianum de singulis Episcopis, et particularibus Ecclesiis, et velle dicere, in qualibet Ecclesia unum debere esse ad tempus iudicem et sacer-

dotem. At si conferatur hic locus cum superiore, apparebit manifeste, loqui Cyprianum de Ecclesia universa. Nam sicut ibi dixerat, inde nasci hæreses, quod non quæritur caput; et explicuit caput totius Ecclesiæ esse Petrum; ita hic dicit, inde nasci hæreses, quod non cogitatur unus in Ecclesia iudex vice Christi, nimirum Cornelius: nam de eo loquitur. Quocirca paulo infra in eadem epistola vocat Romanam Ecclesiam, Petri sedem, et Ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.—Card. Bellarmin., de Rom. Pont., lib. ii. cap. xvi. col. 651. Colon. 1620.

<sup>m</sup> Cited by Cardinal Bellarmine for that purpose immediately after the passage from St. Hierome in note k above.

<sup>n</sup> Sect. 20.

things as concern the rule of faith; so it discovereth what laws the Church received from the Apostles, and, by consequence, what is agreeable and consequent to the intent of the same in future times, according to the difference between that and the present state of the Church.

§ 53. Let those things, therefore, which have been produced here, be added to that which I alleged in the beginning<sup>o</sup>, to make evidence for the corporation of the Church, from the laws given it by the Apostles. Irenæus<sup>p</sup> shall serve both for the authority of the Scripture antecedent to the authority of the Church, and for the tradition of the Church bounding the sense of it. For if the same faith which first was preached was afterwards committed to writing by the Apostles—and how should those Christians which had not the use of letters be saved otherwise?—then was it the authority of the Apostles, acknowledged by them that found themselves tied to be Christians, which made the faith to oblige, whether delivered by writing or without it; the consent of all Churches, in the same rule of faith, serving for evidence of the Apostles' act, in delivering the same to the Churches. Nor can any further reason be demanded why that knowledge which the Gnostics pretended to have received by secret ways, should be refused, but the want of this. And therefore it is in vain to allege<sup>q</sup>, that, as they scorned the Scripture, so they alleged tradition for this secret knowledge; the tradition which they alleged being secret, and such as could not be made to appear; but no less contradictory to the tradition of the Church than to the Scriptures, both infallibly witnessed by the consent of all Churches.

§ 54. And hereupon I leave the sayings of St. Augustine<sup>r</sup>, setting aside the authority of the council of Nicæa, and affirming that former general councils may be corrected by later, without answer; as also the sayings of them who affirm<sup>s</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Chap. vi. sect. 7.

<sup>p</sup> Sect. 21.

<sup>q</sup> Ratio vero cur a Scripturis ad traditiones Apostolicas provocaret, et hæreticos non esse ex Scripturis refellendos diceret, hæc fuit, quia contra illos hæreticos disputavit, qui Scripturas non esse perfectas contendebant, et calumniabantur: imo qui Scripturas lacerabant, contemnebant, corruppe-

bant, negabant, nec se earum auctoritate premi patiebantur, sed traditionibus adhærescebant, ut jam Papistæ. Contra tales non posse ex Scripturis disputari recte statuit.—Whitaker, *Controv. i. Quæst. vi. cap. xii. p. 388.* Genev. 1610.

<sup>r</sup> Sect. 11.

<sup>s</sup> Quarta restat sententia, quæ omnium fere Lutheranorum communis

BOOK I the faith which our Lord hath taught to be the rock upon which the Church is built. For if no building can lay that foundation upon which it standeth, then cannot the Church make matter of faith, being founded upon it. And that authority which may be set aside, or corrected, can be no infallible ground of faith.

§ 55. It is true it is pleaded, that though in the Church of Rome there be some that do believe that the Church is able to make new articles of faith—that is, to make such determinations in matters of faith as shall oblige all men to believe them, as much as they are obliged to believe all that which comes from our Lord by His Apostles—others, that do believe only that the Church is able to evidence what the Apostles delivered to the Church, and that this evidence is the ground whereon particular persons are to rest that whatsoever is so evidenced was indeed so delivered by the Apostles; yet both these agree in one and the same reason of believing, both of them alleging the tradition of the Apostles to the Church for the ground of their faith.

§ 56. But this is more than any man of reason can believe, unless we allow him that affirms contradictories to ground himself upon one part of the contradiction, which the other part of it destroys. For seeing that there must be but one reason, one ground upon which we believe all that we believe, and that it is manifest that those articles of faith which the determination of the Church creates—being not such by any thing which that determination supposes—are believed to be such merely in consideration of the authority of the Church that determines them; by consequence, the Scripture, and whatsoever is held to be of faith, upon any ground which the authority of the Church createth, is no matter of faith, but by the authority of the Church determining that it be held for such.

est, et veterum patrum testimoniis confirmari posse videtur. Siquidem Hilarius, lib. vi. *de Trinitate* 'Super hanc,' inquit, 'confessionis petram Ecclesiæ ædificatio est.' Item: 'Hæc fides Ecclesiæ est fundamentum, per hanc fidem infirmæ adversus eam sunt portæ inferorum: hæc fides regni cœlestis habet claves,' &c. Ambrosius, lib. vi. cap. 9. *in Lucam*: 'Fundamentum,' inquit, 'Ecclesiæ fides est.' Chryso-

tomus, Hom. 55. *in Matthæum*. Super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam, id est, fidem atque confessionem. Eodem modo exponit, Hom. 83. *in Matthæum*. Item Cyrillus, lib. iv. *de Trinitate*: 'Petram,' inquit, hunc locum exponens, 'opinor nihil aliud quam inconcussam et firmissimam discipuli fidem vocavit.'—Bellarm. de Rom. Pont., lib. i. cap. x. col. 547. Colon. 1620.



§ 57. On the other side, he that allows tradition to be the reason why he believes the Christian faith, necessarily allows all that he allows to be matter of faith, not only to be true, but to be matter of faith before ever the Church determine it. So that, allowing him to say that he holds his faith by tradition, he must allow me that he contradicts himself, whensoever he takes upon him to maintain that the Church creates new articles of faith, which were not so the instant before the determination of the Church.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

ANSWER TO AN OBJECTION, THAT CHOICE OF RELIGION BECOMES DIFFICULT UPON THESE TERMS. THIS RESOLUTION IS FOR THE INTEREST OF THE REFORMATION. THOSE THAT MAKE THE CHURCH INFALLIBLE CANNOT, THOSE THAT MAKE THE SCRIPTURE CLEAR AND SUFFICIENT MAY, OWN TRADITION FOR EVIDENCE TO DETERMINE THE MEANING OF THE SCRIPTURES, AND CONTROVERSIES OF FAITH. THE INTEREST OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. THE PRETENCE OF RICHWORTH'S DIALOGUES, THAT WE HAVE NO UNQUESTIONABLE SCRIPTURE, AND THAT THE TRADITION OF THE CHURCH NEVER CHANGES.

As little shall I need to be troubled at any reason that may be framed against this resolution, having answered the prejudice<sup>t</sup> that seems to sway most men to apprehend that God must have been wanting to His Church if all things necessary to salvation be not clearly laid down in the Scriptures. For it is very manifest that the very same presumption<sup>u</sup> pos-

Answer to an objection that the choice of religion becomes difficult upon these terms.

<sup>t</sup> Si Scriptura esset ita flexiloqua, ut nihil certi ex ea erui posset, Christus non bene consulisset iis quos ad Scripturas scrutandas hortabatur, Joh. v. 39, quia sic fine suo frustrarentur. Si enim ita in varios sensus Scriptura distrahi potest, ut in rebus ad salutem necessariis verus non sit manifestus, nihil tam proclive erit quam deviare, et a vero fine, qui est vita æterna, deflectere. Est autem absurdissimum, Christum tale proposuisse medium, quod non recta via duceret ad finem obtinendum.—Riveti, Isagog. ad Script. Sacr. cap. xix. § 31. p. 290. Lugdun. Batav. 1627.

<sup>u</sup> Necessarium in Ecclesia esse, adeoque etiam re ipsa extare communem quandam fidei magistrum, et ju-

dicem controversiarum religionis qui cum auctoritate possit et Scripturas interpretari, adeoque credenda proponere, et causas fidei saltem graviores, quas nimirum decisas esse interest Ecclesiæ, dirimere et partes contumaces ad parendum cogere: cum etiam in quavis politica republica recte ordinata, opus sit publico magistratu; qui possit cum auctoritate leges proponere ac interpretari et secundum leges jus dicere; neque ullo modo sit credibile communitatem Ecclesiasticam minus recte a Deo ordinatam ac dispositam esse, quam communitatem civilem: præsertim quando ipsa experientia constat, res fidei in Ecclesia non minus sæpe, tum ob humani ingenii imbecillitatem, tum ob ipsarum

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sesses the minds of the adverse party, that God must needs have provided a visible judge, infallible in deciding all controversies of faith; whether the Church, or any person, or persons, authorized in behalf of the Church, for the present all is one.

§ 2. I shall therefore only demand that it be considered, first, that God was no way tied either to send our Lord Christ, or to give His Gospel; which, because it comes of God's free grace, is therefore called the "word of His grace," and "the covenant of grace." Then, that He hath not found Himself obliged to provide effectual means to bring all mankind to the knowledge of it; resting content to have provided such as—if men be not wanting to their own salvation, and the salvation of the rest of mankind—may be sufficient to bring all men to the knowledge of it. And when it is come to knowledge, all discreet Christians, notwithstanding, must acknowledge that the motives thereof fully propounded, though abundantly sufficient to reasonable persons, yet do not constrain those that are convicted by them, to proceed according to them, as necessary reasons constrain all understandings that see them, to judge by them.

§ 3. For how should it be a trial of men's dispositions, if there were no way to avoid the necessity of those motives that enforce it? Now if any knowledge can be had of truth in matters of faith that become disputable, it must all, of necessity, depend upon the sufficiency of those motives which convict men to embrace the Christian faith. And if there be any such skill as that of a divine among Christians, of necessity all of it proceeds upon supposition of the said motives, which, not pretending to shew the reason of things which they convict men to believe, convict them, notwithstanding, to believe that they are revealed by God. For what conviction can

*rerum obscuritatem, dubias et controversas esse, quam res temporales in republica. Ut ergo controversiæ hujusmodi legitime decidentur, opus est iudice. — Tanner., Disp. de Fide, Qu. iii. Dub. i. § 4. coll. 118, 119.*

Dubitandum non est, quin aliqua extet auctoritas ad iudicandum de fidei controversiis omnibus, infallibilis, per quam in omni determinata quæstione cognoscere fideles omnes commode possint, quæ sit Christi verissima

*sententia et doctrina. . . . .*

Ergo prima ejus rei ratio hunc in modum a divina providentia ducitur; nisi talis aliqua extaret auctoritas, magistra doctrinæ fidei, non satis esset a Deo prospectum hominibus de necessariis rebus ad salutem æternam comparandam. At satis in eo genere illis prospectum est. Extat igitur talis aliqua auctoritas.—Greg. de Valentia, *Analysis Fid. Cath.*, lib. iii. cap. ii. p. 19. Paris. 1610.

there be that this or that is true, unless it may appear to fall under those motives, as the means which God hath employed so to recommend it.

§ 4. Therefore can it not be reasonable to require a greater evidence to the truth of things disputable among Christians, than God hath allowed Christianity itself; which being supposed on all hands, it remains questionable whether this or that be part of it. Therefore can it not be presumed that God hath made the Scriptures clear in all points necessary to salvation to all understandings concerned; or that He hath provided a visible judge, infallible in determining controversies of faith; either because originally His goodness requires it, or because we cannot suppose that men can be obliged to embrace the Gospel upon other terms. It is sufficient, that, having given the Scriptures, He hath over and above provided the communion of the Church, to preserve the rule of faith, and the laws of the Church in the sensible knowledge and common practice of all Christians; that the means of salvation might be sufficient, and yet men remain subject to trial whether they would render them ineffectual or not, to themselves and the rest of mankind.

[The solution of that difficulty of choice.]

§ 5. I confess indeed, it would be much for the ease of the parties, and would shorten their work very much, if it might be admitted for a presumption, that all things necessary are clear in the Scriptures, or that the Church is an infallible judge in controversies of faith. For then the superficial sound of the  
213 words of Scripture, repeated by rote, in the pulpit or out of the pulpit, would serve to knock the greatest question on the head, without any advice what difficulties remain behind, undecided, upon no less appearances in Scripture; on the other side, a decree of the council of Trent would serve to put the Scripture to silence, without any proffer to satisfy the conscience that is moved with the authority thereof, equally obliging with our common Christianity, with the sense of the Church on the same side to boot.

§ 6. Thus much is visible, that they whose business it is, in England, to reconcile souls to the Church of Rome, find their work ready done when they have gained this point; and men all their lives afore grounded upon contrary reasons, in the particulars which are the subject of the breach, change their

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§ 7. And if this be true, I remain secure of that which every man will object against the resolution which I advance, that whereas the meaning of the Scripture alone is a thing too difficult for the most part of men to compass, I require further that it be assured by the records of the Church, which are endless, and which no man's industry can attain to know; so that the mere despair of finding resolution by the means propounded, will justify to God him that follows probabilities<sup>x</sup>, as being all one in that case, whether there be no truth, or whether it cannot appear to those whom it concerns.

<sup>x</sup> Quandoquidem igitur S. Augustino, Hieronymo et aliis Sanctis, ac in Scriptura doctissimis patribus suffecerit ad securitatem fidei; quod essent in vera Christi Ecclesia et ab ea veritatem acciperent; imo ab Episcopo Romano, tanquam oves a pastore, in fidei dubiis determinationem postulaverint, hoc ipsum cuilibet Christiano sufficere deberet, ut secure in fide Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Romanæ Deo serviat: quam videt tot modis ex S. Scriptura et Sanctorum patrum testimoniis esse demonstratam, et veris notis ac signis a falsis Ecclesiis distinctam. Quicunque ergo in hac Ecclesia est de fide non sit sollicitus, sed questiones circa particulares fidei articulos a sancta matre Ecclesia doctos remittat ad doctores; sufficit ipsi quod in ea Ecclesia sit, quam esse invictam et ineffabilem nimis clare demonstratum est, qui vero in illa nondum est, ad illam ut matrem et unicam naviculam Petri, in qua salvari possit, humiliter se conferat.

Videat autem quicumque A catholicus, quomodo in sua fide securus esse possit; cum doceant, primo, quod Ecclesia universalis etiam vera possit errare in quibusdam articulis fidei, quos

quidam minus fundamentales vocant; sed nunquam perfecte a fundamentalibus distinguere possunt, adeoque semper conscientia inquieta relinquitur. Secund. Quia asserunt tam concilia generalia, quam nationalia, qualitercunque sacram Scripturam allegent, in fidei doctrina errare posse. Tert. Quod quilibet adhuc de talis concilii definitionibus ultimate judicare possit. Quart. Fateri debent, et verissimum est; quod pluris facienda sint decreta plurium doctorum et alicujus concilii quam alicujus privati judicium, eo quod alicujus privati judicium circa verba sacræ Scripturæ valde incertum sit, et inde sæpe provenit, quod tot sint sententiæ, quot capita; cum quilibet pro suo affectu, vel infirmo intellectu, et captu sibi persuadet se sacram Scripturam clare intelligere; et sic iniquitas hæresum mentitur sibi, et conscientias miserorum, quas serenare promittit, turpissime involvit, et perdit. Deus misereatur illorum; illuminet vultum suum super illos; et ad gremium Matris Ecclesiæ reducere dignetur Amen.—Vetweis, Speculum Veræ Ecclesiæ, lib. v. cap. iv. conclus. vi. p. 227. Colon. 1664.

§ 8. This objection, I say, I do not find so heavy upon me that I have any cause to mince, but rather to aggravate the difficulty of it, having shewed<sup>y</sup> that the means provided by God to make evidence of the faith to the consciences of particular Christians, is not any gift of infallibility vested in any person, or persons, on behalf of the whole Church, but the unity of the whole Church, grounded upon the profession of the same faith as the condition of it. For in all reason, what unity binds, that division destroys. And whatsoever unity contributes to the assurance of a Christian that he is in the way to salvation so long as he continues in the unity of the Church, that the division of the Church necessarily derogates from the same assurance in him that cannot continue in that unity which is once dissolved, and yet, believing the Scriptures and our common Christianity to be infallibly true, cannot believe the parties to be infallible, as they are. And what hath he that desireth the unity of the Church to do, but to aggravate that difficulty of attaining salvation which the division thereof produceth? I do therefore grant, and challenge as for mine own interest, that it is very difficult for unlearned Christians to discern the truth in those controversies about which a settled division is once formed, as now in the western Church; at least upon so true and so clear grounds as may assure them that they make their choice upon no other interest than that of God's truth.

§ 9. But I do not therefore yield to that which this difficulty, it seems, hath wrung from Vincentius Lirinensis—with whom agreeth the *Opus imperfectum in Matth.*, as you have them quoted afore<sup>z</sup>—that there is no means but Scripture to convince inveterate heresies: the reason whereof the latter of those authors renders<sup>a</sup>, because those heresies have their Churches, their pastors, and the succession of them, and their communion, as well as Catholic Christians: for he supposeth pastors lawfully constituted to have fallen away to those

<sup>y</sup> See chap. xx. sect. 20, 21.

<sup>z</sup> Chap. xxviii. sect. 10.

<sup>a</sup> Antea enim multis modis ostendebatur, quæ esset Ecclesia Christi, et quæ gentilitas: nunc autem nullo modo cognoscitur, volentibus cognoscere, quæ sit vera Ecclesia Christi, nisi tantummodo per Scripturas. Quare? quia omnia hæc quæ sunt proprie

Christi in veritate habent et hæreses illæ in schismate: similiter ecclesias, similiter et ipsas Scripturas divinas, similiter Episcopos, cæterosque ordines clericorum, similiter, baptismum, aliter Eucharistiam, et cætera omnia, denique ipsum Christum.—S. Chrysost. Opp., tom. vi. p. cciv. ed. Ben.

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§ 10. But if the same Nazianzen scorn them that value the Church by numbers, Liberius, in the place afore quoted out of Theodoret<sup>e</sup>, scorns it much more, in saying that the cause of the faith could not suffer, though he were alone. For 214 not only the Scriptures continue always the same, but though the present Church fail, it follows not that the tradition of the whole Church must fail with it. So long as the original sense of the whole Church may be evident, by the agreement thereof with the Scripture, we may discern what is Catholic without the sentence of the present Church<sup>f</sup>. And that

<sup>b</sup> "But if it be said that the greatest part must carry it, beside that it is impossible for us to know which way the greatest part goes in many questions, it is not always true that the greater part is the best, sometimes the contrary is most certain, and it is often very probable, but it is always possible. And when paucity of followers was objected to Liberius, he gave this in answer, there was a time when but three children of the captivity resisted the king's decree. And Athanasius wrote on purpose against those that did judge of truth by multitudes, and indeed it concerned him so to do, when he alone stood in the gap against the numerous armies of the Arians."—Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophecy*, § 9. p. 161. London, 1647.

<sup>c</sup> Chap. xxviii. sect. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Nihil autem mirum videri vobis debet, Fratres carissimi, quod tam frequenter exponi fides coeptæ sunt: necessitatem hanc furor hæreticus imponit. Nam tantum Ecclesiarum Orientalium periculum est, ut rarum sit hujus fidei—quæ qualis sit, vos judicate—aut sacerdotes aut populum inveniri. Male enim per quosdam impietati auctoritas data est: ex exiliis, quorum causam non ignoratis, vires auctæ sunt profanorum. Non peregrina loquor, neque ignorata scribo, audiavi ac vidi vitia præsentium; non laicorum sed Episcoporum. Nam absque Episcopo Eleusis et paucis cum eo, ex majori parte Asianæ decem provinciarum, intra quas consisto, vere Deum

nesciunt.—Cap. xxvii. col. 1186. ed. Ben.

<sup>e</sup> Chap. xxviii. sect. 10.

<sup>f</sup> Est igitur traditio in primis ad salutem Ecclesiæ necessaria, atque adeo magis, quam ipsa Scriptura. Primum, quia Ecclesia legis naturæ sine scriptis libris fuit, non tamen sine doctrina fidei, et traditione, quia in Abel, Noe, et Abraham legimus fidem fuisse, nihil autem libris consignatum fuisse invenimus. Deinde Ecclesia Moysis coaluit, et ex Ægypto egressa est, et usque ad Pentecosten, hoc est, post quinquagesimam diem, nihil scriptum receperat, eo vero die descendit montem Moses et accepit legem digito Dei scriptam. Tertio Novum Testamentum per plures annos ante scriptum fuit in corde, quam in charta, et nemo negabit tempore Apostolorum antiquam quicquam chartis consignarent veram Dei Ecclesiam fuisse. Quarto eo tempore, quo sacra Scriptura combusta a Chaldeis fuisse perhibetur, certe Ecclesia traditione regebatur: et quando liber Deuteronomii et longo post tempore a Josia inventus, certe erat Ecclesia Dei. Modo etiam si forte Scripturæ ullo casu occultarentur aut perirent—quod Deus omen avertat.—certe ad traditionem vivam esset recurrendum; . . . Porro existente Scriptura, illa non satis est ad Ecclesiam regendam, sed etiam traditione ad multa est opus, quam ipsa Scriptura magnopere commendat. Unde ad eam mittit filium Ecclesiæ, 'Interroga,' inquit, 'patrem tuum et annuntiabit tibi, majores

which is not so to be discerned for Catholic, we may presume that our salvation requires us not to believe it. C H A P.  
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§ 11. And therefore Vincentius and his fellow are so to be understood, that it is difficult indeed to make evidence to private Christians of tradition contrary to that which they see received by heresies; and therefore that for the convicting of them in the truth, recourse is to be had to the Scriptures: but Vincentius, who, as I shewed you<sup>g</sup>, acknowledges evidence for tradition, from written records of the Church, need not have said that there is no means to convince inveterate heresies but the Scriptures. Be this difficulty then the evidence how much it concerns the salvation of all Christians that the unity of the Church be restored; that the choice of private Christians, in matters concerning their salvation, be not put upon the sentencing of those disputes, the reasons whereof they are not able to manage. For being restored upon agreement in those things which it is sufficient for all Christians to believe, it will neither be easy for private Christians to frame to themselves opinions destructive<sup>e</sup> to their particular salvation within that compass, neither will their fall be imputable to the Church, but to themselves, if they do.

§ 12. But neither shall this difficulty be so great an inconvenience in our common Christianity, nor so insuperable as it seems to those that are loath to be too much troubled about the world to come. For I never found that God pretendeth to give, or that it is reason He should give those means for attaining that truth by which we must be saved, which it should not lie within the malice of man to render difficult for

tuos et dicent tibi, et David, 'Deus auribus nostris audivimus,' &c. . . . . Præterea in sacris literis præcipitur, ut inferiores audiant suos superiores, et obediant præpositis suis. Potius ergo Scriptura commendat traditionem, quam traditio Scripturam; et ob id magis est necessaria, quia ad illam commendandam est Scriptura. Qua posita adhuc opus est traditione, primo ad canonizandam Scripturam, id est, ut a posteriori credamus libros esse divinos, et a Spiritu Sancto conscriptos ad partem traditionis Apostolicæ communicandam. Nam a priori credimus, quia Deus revelat, ad quod credendum, unctio Dei et fides inclinat. Hoc au-

tem necessarium est, quia nos nescimus, quid illi autores sacri scripserint: et licet sciremus, quod tamen adfuerit semper eis Spiritus Sanctus, non constaret nobis: et licet constaret et haberemus autographa, qui scire possemus, non esse corrupta, et per hæreticos depravata ad nos non venisse? Nam etsi demus libro aliquo canonico catalogum librorum canonicorum consignari, adhuc opus esset traditione, quæ traderet nobis librum ejusmodi continentem catalogum, et daret etiam alios incorruptos, quos ille liber vocaret canonicos.—Salmeron. in Ep. Paul., Disp. viii. tom. xiii. p. 215. Colon. 1614.

<sup>g</sup> Chap. vii. sect. 20—23.

them to compass whom they concern. I find it abundantly enough for His unspeakable goodness, and exactly agreeable with those means whereby He convicteth the world of the truth of Christianity, that He give those whom it concerns such means to discern the truth of things in debate, as being duly applied, are of themselves sufficient to create a resolution as certain as the weight of the matter in debate shall require.

§ 13. And such I maintain the Scripture to be, containing the sense of it within those bounds which the rule of faith, and the laws given the Church by our Lord and His Apostles, do limit. For what is more obvious than to discern what the whole body of the Church hath agreed in, what not, what is manifestly consequent to the same, what not? what is agreeable to the ground and end of those laws which the Church first received from our Lord and His Apostles, what not? Let prejudice cast what mists of difficulties it can, before the light which God hath given His Church, to discover the truth, he that stands out of their way shall discern much more art used to obscure than to discern it. Neither is there any reason why it is so hard to make it discernible to all that are concerned, but the unreasonable prejudices either of the force of human authority in matter of faith, and the extent of tradition beyond the rule of faith, or that the consent of the whole Church may as well come from Antichrist as from the Apostles.

§ 14. If the records of the Church were handled without these prejudices, less learning than this age shews in other matters might serve to evidence the consent of the Church in more controversies than we have, to those that would be content to rest in the Scripture expounded according to the same. But if the Church<sup>h</sup>, that is, those that have right in

<sup>h</sup> Aliud Catholicæ sententiæ hæc in parte fundamentum esse potest, quod Ecclesia non est alligata ad Scripturam ipsam vel in docendo, vel in regimine externo; ut videlicet propterea nihil docere vel præscribere posset nisi quod scriptum sit. Alligata sane est ad verbum Dei, quod illi perpetuo dictat Spiritus Sanctus; sed sive id verbum in scripto porrigat, sive extra scriptum. Nam utrumque facere Spiritum Sanctum, ipsumque Dei verbum latius pa-

tere quam Scripturam, supra ostensum est; unde etiam hoc quod nunc statuius fundamentum satis confirmatum esse videri potest. Sed ne vel idem repetere, vel principium petere videamur, ex aliis mediis ostendemus non esse alligatam ad Scripturas Ecclesiam, quod pro re competissima sumunt Protestantes, indeque ostendere conantur esse totius fidei sufficientissimam regulam solam Scripturam. Et sane si alligata ad Scripturas esset Ecclesia,



behalf of the Church, being persuaded of a sacrilegious privilege of infallibility, shall take upon them to determine truths in debate, to limit laws to the Church, without respect to this rule—which if they respect, they manifestly renounce the privilege of their infallibility—I marvel not that God suffers His people to be tried with such difficulties, whose sins I doubt [not] deserve this trial; but then I say further, that it is not the providence of God—that is, the means which He hath pro-

consequeretur necessario quod inferunt. Nos ergo ex contrario medio contrarium recte inferimus; et pro altero fundamento hoc medium recte ponimus. Non esse igitur ad Scripturas alligatam Ecclesiam evidenti ratione ostenditur. Primum, quia Ecclesia sine prævia Scriptura tanquam demonstrationis medio, sed solo instinctu Spiritus Sancti edocta, ipsasmet Scripturas, modo has, modo illas taxavit, consignavit, suaque autoritate approbavit, ut est antea ostensum; atque ita rem ad fidem maxime necessariam, sine Scriptura concludit. Deinde sine alia Scriptura, ipsas Scripturas sæpenumero interpretatur; ipsumque sensum quem expressit, necessario credendum tradit, solo etiam Spiritu Dei ad illud infallibiliter concludendum instructa, quod et antea demonstratum est. Præterea plurima docuit Ecclesiam Spiritus Sanctus, etiam post datas Scripturas, absque Scriptura; id est, absque expresso in Scripturis mandato; plurima, inquam, tum ad cultum, et religionem, tum ad fidem ipsam pertinentia. Hujus rei exempla pauca de multis breviter perstringam. Docuit nempe Spiritus Sanctus Judæos, ex certa religione nervum non comedere. Docuit Moysen ex consilio Jethro cognati sui instituire seniores super populum, et confringere tabulas illi a Deo datas. Docuit Eliam facere Altare de duodecim lapidibus, et immolare ibidem. Docuit Rechabitas ex voto non bibere vinum. Docuit Ezechiam regem confringere et demoliri æneum serpentem, Dei tamen mandato in Scripturas relato erectum: docuit etiam Pascha celebrare tempore non suo. Hæc et alia permulta in veteri populo docuit fideles Spiritus Sanctus, absque ullo Dei mandato in Scripturis expresso, quibus et Deum rite colerent et religionis actu Deo placerent. Quin et Christo veniente docuit idem Spiritus Sanctus absque ullo in Scripturis mandato, tres Magos offerre dona Christo; Magdalenam nar-

do unguenti optimi Christi caput inungere; Nicodemum aromatibus condire corpus Christi, Judæos ferre ramos palmarum ante Christum; multaque similia privata pietatis opera, quæ in Evangelio narrantur. Idem quoque Spiritus Sanctus etiam in publica doctrina et regimine publico. Docuit Apostolos instituire diaconos, convocare concilium, et ibidem præcipere fidelibus abstinere a sanguine et suffocato. Docuit Paulum præscribere fœminis velamen capitis, facere collectas, ordinare viduas in ministerium Ecclesiæ, decernere de comendis immolatis, approbare dispar conjugium fidelis et infidelis, de virginibus consilium dare—de qua re diserte dicit, *dico ego non Dominus*—circumductionem sororum mulierum, pro re licita venditare, prophetandi in Ecclesia rationem præscribere, multaque similia aliis in locis. . . .

Quemadmodum ergo in istis omnibus, absque ullo verbo scripto multa docuit veteres justos atque Apostolos Spiritus Sanctus, multa docet docentem semper Ecclesiam, neque illi in his omnibus ad solam Scripturam alligari, sed ex Spiritus Sancti instinctu omnia se facere posse quæ Ille dictaret, non dubitabant; ad eundem plane modum, ut idem Spiritus Sanctus absque scripto verbo multa Ecclesiam olim docuerit, quæ hodie usque per traditionem Ecclesiasticam retinentur, inconveniens non est, nec cum ipsius Scripti verbi injuria aut nota conjunctum. Nec enim certe vel minor fuit, aut sufficientia aut majestas scripti verbi Veteris Instrumenti, respectu veteris populi, quam est Novi Instrumenti respectu nostro; vel minus efficax est Spiritus Sanctus in Ecclesia nunc quam olim fuit; quum sit in æternum datus: imo vero quum multo efficacior sit, magisque abunde diffusus in hoc statu Novi Testamenti quam antea fuerit.—Stapleton. Princip. Fidei, Controv. vii. lib. xii. cap. iv. pp. 439, 440. Paris. 1582.

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vided to resolve men in debates of Christianity—but it is the malice of man that makes that means ineffectual which God hath made sufficient.

This resolution is for the interest of the reformation.

§ 15. I must now answer an envious objection, that this resolution is not according to the positions of those that profess the reformation with us; to which I will speak as freely as to the rest, having professed myself utterly assoiled of all faction and respect of men's persons, to sway against the means of finding the truth, and for that reason divested even the fathers of the Church of all authority, which their merits from Christianity have purchased, to hear what their testimonies argue in point of historical truth. I say then, first, that my saying no way prejudices the intent and interest of the reformation, whatsoever insufficiency it may charge the expressions of the reformers with.

§ 16. I know the worst that can be alleged in this point is, that Luther<sup>i</sup>, in appealing, from the Pope and council called by him, to a council that should judge merely by the Scriptures, first framed this controversy between the Scriptures and the Church, which since hath been always in debate; so that he which will not be tried by the Scriptures alone, plainly seems to quit the party and give up the game. Who has this imagination, though never so apparent, let me desire him to go a little higher, to the first commencing of the plea about indulgences. For there can be nothing more manifest than this, that when those that undertook that cause against Luther, found that the present practice of the Church could not be derived from any thing recorded in the Scripture, they were forced to betake themselves to the authority of the Church, not that which consisteth in testifying the faith once delivered, but in creating that which never was of force until the exercise of it.

§ 17. Here let all the world judge—for I am confident the case is so plain that all the world may judge in it—whether Luther had any interest to demand that the Scripture alone should be heard, in opposition to the tradition received from the beginning by the Church, tending, as I have said<sup>k</sup>, to nothing but to limit the meaning of the Scripture; or that

<sup>i</sup> See chap. ii. sectt. 1, 2.

<sup>k</sup> Chap. xxviii. sectt. 27—30.

his interest required him to protest that the truth for which he stood was not to be liable to the sentence of the present Church. And therefore when, afterwards, he appealed to a council which should pronounce by the Scriptures alone, if this tend to exclude those means which are subordinate to the attaining of the meaning of the Scriptures, I do utterly deny that it can be understood so to be meant by any man that would not defeat his own enterprise. And therefore that it must be understood to exclude only the authority of the present Church, so far as it proceeds not upon supposition of those grounds whereupon the Church is to pronounce.

§ 18. For what hinders the sentence of the Church to be infallible, not of itself alone, but as it proceeds upon those means which, duly applied, produce a sentence that is infallible? and truly, were not his plea so to be understood, all his followers, Melancthon, Chemnitius, and others, who have written volumes to shew how their profession agrees with that of the Catholic Church, should have taken pains to commit a very great inconsequence. For, as I have argued<sup>1</sup>, that those who maintain the infallibility of the present Church do contradict themselves, whensoever they have recourse either to the Scripture or to any records of the Church to evidence the sense of the Scriptures in that which otherwise they profess the authority of the Church alone infallibly to determine; so those that will have the Scripture alone to determine all controversies of faith, and yet take the pains to bring evidence of the meaning thereof from that which hath been received in the Church, may very well be said to take pains to contradict themselves.

Those that make the Church infallible cannot, those that make the Scripture clear and sufficient may, own tradition for evidence to determine the meaning of the Scripture and controversies of faith.

§ 19. Some of our Scottish Presbyterians<sup>m</sup> have ob-

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxviii. sect. 49.

<sup>m</sup> "After that it pleased God, by the light of His glorious Gospel, to dispel the more than Cimmerian darkness of antichristianism, and by the antidote of reformation to avoid the poison of popery; for as much as in England and Ireland, every noisome weed which God's hand had never planted was not pulled up, therefore we now see the faces of those Churches overgrown with the repullulating twigs and sprigs of popish superstition. Mr. Sprint, *Repl. to the Answ.*, p. 269, acknowledgeth the

reformation of England to have been defective, and saith, 'It is easy to imagine of what difficulty it was to reform all things at the first, where the most part of the privy council, of the nobility, Bishops, judges, gentry, and people, were open or close papists, where few or none of any countenance stood for religion at the first, but the protector and Cranmer.' The Church of Scotland was blessed with a more glorious and perfect reformation than any of our neighbour Churches. The doctrine, discipline, regiment, and policy

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The interest of the  
Church of  
England.

served that the Church of England was reformed by those that had more esteem of Melancthon than of Calvin, and therefore affected a compliance with the ancient Church. And truly, it is fit it should be thought that they complied with him, because he complied with the Catholic Church, for by that reason they shall comply with the Church, if in any thing he comply not with it. But it is a great deal too little for him to say that will say the truth for the Church of England. For it hath an injunction<sup>n</sup> which ought still to have the force of a law, that no interpretation of the Scripture be alleged, contrary to the consent of the fathers; which, had it been observed, the innovations which I dispute against could have had no pretence.

§ 20. If this be not enough, he that shall take pains to peruse what Dr. Field hath written hereupon, in his work of the Church, shall find that which I say to be no novelty, either in the Church of England, or in the best learned doctors beyond the seas. And sure the reformation was not betrayed when the Bishop of Sarum<sup>o</sup> challenged all the Church of

established here by ecclesiastical and civil laws, and sworn and subscribed unto by the king's majesty, and several presbyteries, and parish churches of the land, as it had the applause of foreign divines, so was it in all points agreeable unto the word: neither could the most rigid Aristarchus of these times, challenge any irregularity in the same. But now, alas, even this Church, which was once so great a praise in the earth, is deeply corrupted, and hath turned aside quickly out of the way. So that this is the Lord's controversy against Scotland, 'I had planted thee a noble vine, wholly a right seed, how then art thou turned into the degenerate plant of a strange vine unto Me.'"

"It is not this day feared but felt, that the rotten dregs of popery, which were never purged away from England and Ireland, and having once been spued out with detestation, are licked up again in Scotland, prove to be the unhappy occasions of a woful recidivation."—A Dispute against the English Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland, pref., p. 3. A.D. 1637.

<sup>n</sup> Concionatores modeste et sobrie in omni vitæ parte sese gerent.

Imprimis vero videbunt, ne quid unquam doceant pro concione, quod a populo religiose teneri et credi velint, nisi quod consentaneum sit doctrinæ Veteris aut Novi Testamenti, quodque ex illa ipsa doctrina catholici patres et veteres Episcopi collegerint.—Lib. Can., edit. A.D. 1573. Wilkins, Concil. Magn. Britann., tom. iv. p. 267. Londin. 1737.

<sup>o</sup> "If any learned man of all our adversaries, or if all the learned men that be alive be able to bring any one sufficient sentence out of any old Catholic doctor or father, or out of any old general council, or out of the Holy Scriptures of God, or any one example of the primitive Church, whereby it may be clearly and plainly proved that there was any private mass for the space of 600 years after Christ, or that there was any, &c. . . . ."

"If any man alive were able to prove any of these articles by any one clear or plain clause or sentence, either of the Scriptures, or of the old doctors, or of any old general council, or by any example of the primitive Church, I promised them that I would give over and subscribe unto him."—Bishop Jewel's Sermon at Paul's Cross in 1560.

Rome, at St. Paul's cross, to make good the points in difference by the first six hundred years of the Church.

§ 21. Always it is easy for me to demonstrate that this resolution, that the Scripture, holding the meaning of it by the tradition of the Church, is the only means to decide controversies of faith, is nearer to the common terms, that the Scripture is the only rule of faith, than to that infallibility which is pretended for the Church of Rome; having demonstrated that to depend upon the infallibility of the present, and the tradition of the Catholic Church, are things inconsistent, whereas this cannot be inconsistent with that Scripture which is no less delivered from age to age than tradition is—though the one by writing, the other by word of mouth—and serving chiefly to determine the true meaning of it when it comes in debate.

§ 22. And if prejudice and passion carry not men headlong to the ruin of that Christianity which they profess, it cannot seem an envious thing to comply with the most learned of the Church of Rome, who acknowledge not yet any other infallibility in the Church than I claim <sup>p</sup>, rather than with the Socinians, the whole interest of whose heresy consists in being tried by Scripture alone, without bringing the consent of the Church into consequence, and that, supposing all matter of faith must be clear in the Scripture to all them that consult with nothing but Scripture.

§ 23. But I cannot leave this point till I have considered a singular conceit advanced in Richworth's Dialogues, for maintaining the infallibility of the Church upon a new account. The pretence of the book is <sup>q</sup> to establish a certain ground of the choice of religion, by the judgment of common

The pretence of Richworth's Dialogues that we have no unquestionable Scripture,

<sup>p</sup> See chap. iv. sect. 19.

One of them, however, the Archbishop of Florence, seems to have deserted the opinion of Panormitan, for in the 4th part of his Summa, Tit. viii. cap. iii. *de Fide quantum ad Actum*, we read:—Ratio, quare fides Ecclesie in generali deficere non potest, est quia a divina providentia Ecclesia regitur, scilicet a Spiritu Sancto eam dirigente, ut non erret. Et licet Papa in particulari errare possit, ut in judicialibus, in quibus proceditur per informationem; alias in his, quæ pertinent ad fidem, errare

non potest, scilicet ut Papa, in determinando, etiamsi ut particularis et privata persona possit. Unde magis standum est sententiæ Papæ de pertinentibus ad fidem, quam in judicio proferret, quam opinioni quorumcumque sapientum.—S. Antonin. Florent., Opp. tom. iv. col. 450. Veronæ, 1740.

<sup>q</sup> The title runs thus; The Dialogues of William Richworth, or the Judgment of Common Sense in the Choise of Religion. Printed at Paris by John Mestais, 1640.

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sense, to which purpose I pretend not to speak in this place, thinking it sufficient if this whole work may enable them who are moved with it, duly to make that choice for themselves, and to shew those that depend on them how to do the like.

[Rich-  
worth's  
argument  
for tradi-  
tion]

§ 24. But inasmuch as no man will deny the choice of religion to be the choice of truth before falsehood, in those particulars whereof the difference of religion consists; it is manifest that the means of discerning between true and false in matter of faith, which I pretend, cannot stand with that which he advanceth<sup>r</sup>. It consists in two points, that the Scripture is not, and that tradition is, the certain means of deciding this truth. Which, if no more were said, will not amount to a contradiction against that which I resolve. For he that says the Scripture is not the only means, excluding that tradition which determines the meaning of it, doth neither deny that tradition is, nor say that the Scripture is, the certain means of deciding this kind of truth: but the issue of his reasons will easily shew upon what terms the contradiction stands.

[from the  
mistakes  
of tran-  
scribers,]

§ 25. He citeth<sup>s</sup> then common sense to witness, that we cannot rest certain that we have those Scriptures which came, we agree, by inspiration of God, by reason of the manifold

<sup>r</sup> "And this we, and we only can do, for the Church's security riseth out of this, that she hath another more forcible ground of her faith, to wit, tradition, by which being assured what the truth is, she can confidently pronounce that in this book there is nothing contrary or prejudicial thereunto, which no profession that relieth only upon Scripture can do, because they must first be assured of the text before they can judge of the doctrine."—*Dialog.* 2. p. 249.

<sup>s</sup> "For let us take a book of 2,000 columns, and let us likewise suppose—which is very likely—that as many copies were made in some age of an hundred years, and let us then put 56 lines to a column, and 6 words to a line, and so there will be in one column 336 words. And further, may we not well suppose that there were as many faults escaped in every copy—one with another—as there be words in a column, which being supposed you will find that the number of all the errors escaped in all the copies, which have been made

since the Apostles' time, will amount to 15 or 16 times as many as there be words in the Bible. Wherefore by this account it would be 15 or 16 to 1 of any particular place that it were not the true text. Which me thinks cannot be true.

"Uncle. I do not think that you have taken your proportion too high. . . ."

"And to your calculation I will add another. Suppose there were as many written copies extant as the number of your columns, and as much variety in those which have not been examined, as in those which have been looked into; and further, that Sixtus V., for the setting out of his Bible, caused only an hundred to be examined, and that in his Bible the corrections amount—as it is known they do—to the number of 2,000, do you not see that the computation made of the various lections of all those copies would make it 20 for every volume."—*Dial.* 2. pp. 255—259.

changes which common sense makes appearance must come to pass in transcribing, upon such a supposition as this; that so many columns as one book contains, so many copies, at least, are made every hundred years, and in every copy so many faults, at least, as words in one column: upon which account fifteen or sixteen times as many faults having been made in all copies as there are words, it will be so much odds that we have no true Scripture in any place, abating only for those faults that may have fallen out to be the same in several copies. And if Sixtus V. pope, causing one hundred copies of the Vulgar Latin to be compared, found two thousand faults, supposing two thousand copies extant—which may be supposed a hundred thousand in any language—what will remain unquestionable?

§ 26. It is further alleged <sup>t</sup> that the Scripture is written in languages now ceased—which some call learned languages, because men learn them to know such books as are written in them—the meaning whereof, not being subject to sense, dependeth upon such a guessing kind of skill, as is subject to mistake, as experience shews in commenting of all authors; but especially the Hebrew, and that Greek in which we have  
217 the Scriptures; that having originally no vowels to determine the reading of it, wanting conjunctions and prepositions to determine the signification of him that speaks, all the language extant being contained in the Bible alone—the Jews' language

[from the fact of the Scriptures being written in the learned languages.]

<sup>t</sup> “That there ariseth an uncertainty out of this, that the Scripture was written in languages now ceased. For not only the languages in which the Holy Scripture was written, do of their own nature, as I told you, breed great ambiguity in the text, but also in this, that those languages are now extinct. And therefore we see that the knowledge of them is not common and universal, but only of some particular men, and amongst them in most things mainly controverted.”—Dial. 2. pp. 292, 293.

“What uncertainty followeth the two particular languages of Hebrew and Greek wherein the Scripture was written. First therefore the Hebrew hath two properties very considerable, the one that it is thought to be the shortest language in the world, the other that it is the most eloquent. . . . All the vowels are supposed, not ex-

pressed, in the original copies, and therefore only conserved by memory, and to memory we must trust for them. . . . This is likewise augmented by the want they have of conjunctions and prepositions, which not being of a sufficient number, make the construction very equivocal many times. For the scarcity of books you may well conceive it, if you do but know that the legitimate Hebrew is wholly contained in the Old Scripture. . . . For the property of the Hebrew's eloquence it consisteth chiefly in figures, translations, and number. . . . These, although the prophets use them more perfectly than ever any poet or orator did, yet do they not cause much obscurity, unless it be when they are used in dialogue form, which where it is used in Scripture, it is hard to discern.”—Dial. 2. pp. 296—301.

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differing so much as it does from it—the language of the prophets consisting of such dark tropes and figures, that no skill seems to determine what they mean: this<sup>u</sup> so copious, and by that means so various in the expressions of it—though wanting that variety of conjugations by which the Hebrew and other eastern languages vary the sense—that to determine the meaning of it is more than any ordinary skill can compass.

[from the difficulty of ascertaining the meaning of words.]

§ 27. Add hereunto the manifold equivocations<sup>x</sup> incident to whatsoever is expressed by writing, more incident to the Scripture, as pretending to give us the sense of our Lord's words—for example<sup>y</sup>—not the very syllables; add the uncertainties which the multiplicity of translations<sup>z</sup> must needs pro-

<sup>u</sup> “To the Greek text therefore—which I will tell you, that the ambiguity of it is nothing so great as of the Hebrew, yet hath it two defects. The one that it wanteth those sense-varying conjugations whereby the Oriental languages express themselves, the other that by abundance or rather redundancy of unprofitable varieties, it is both hard to learn and uncertain in sense, the same word signifying diversely, either because of divers dialects, or of diverse applications of authors . . . in so much that mere guess and conjecture must prevail.”—Dial. 2. pp. 304, 305.

<sup>x</sup> “And let us suppose the writer himself play the translator: as for example, that our Saviour Himself having spoken in Hebrew or Syriac, the holy writer is to express His words in Greek or Latin; and farther, that this which we have said of translations, be—as truly it is—grounded in the very nature of divers languages, and therefore unavoidable by any art or industry, will it not clearly follow, that even in the original copy written by the evangelist's own hand, there is not in rigour the true and self-significant words of our Saviour, but rather a comment or paraphrase explicating and delivering the sense thereof. Nay, let him have written in the same language, and let him have set down every word and syllable, yet men conversant in noting the changes of meanings in words, will tell you that divers accents in the pronunciation of them, the turning of the speaker's head or body this way or that way, the allusion to some person or to some precedent discourse, or the like, may so change the sense of the words, that they will seem quite different in writing from what they were in speak-

ing. So that you see how, like negligent men, we commonly use to press words, as the proper and identical words of our Saviour, finding them registered in the Holy Writ, which, in rigour and exactly speaking, are but in some sort an imperfect and equivocal paraphrase or expression of Christ's own true words, the weakness of men's speech and expression bearing no greater exactness.”—Dial. 2. § 7. pp. 275—277.

<sup>y</sup> “Because the Scriptures deliver other men's words beside our Lord's.”—MSS.

<sup>z</sup> “No doubt, cousin, but great uncertainty is sprung from the variety of translations, whereof we may first suppose, that there is no *constat* of any infallibility in the translators, no, not of the Septuaginta themselves, which the protestants will easily grant. . . . But we see that even in the Apostles' time some sought to mend their interpretation, as Theodotus and Aquila, whose translations were nevertheless accepted of by the Church, and conserved and esteemed . . . we may conclude that it is impossible for a translator to be so exact as that his words shall be taken for the words of the author. . . . And if any one of these translations be substantially different, all the rest cannot with certainty of evidence bear it down, sithence this might be out of a different copy with which perhaps agreed more than we have, so that we shall still return to our former *non liquet*. And hence followeth, that although a translation in the whole bulk be morally the same book with the original, yet metaphysically and rigorously there is great diversity, and at least such as in our case maketh all translations of the Scripture unfit to



duce, and all this must needs amount to this reckoning; that God never meant the Bible<sup>a</sup> for the means to decide controversies of faith, the meaning whereof requires many principles which God alone can procure, because so indefinite. Which the nature of the book argueth no less, as I observed<sup>b</sup>, being written in no method of a law, or a rule, nor having those decisions that are to oblige distinguished from matter of a far diverse, and almost impertinent, nature. Upon these premises it is inferred, as evident to common sense, that the Scripture produces no distinct resolution of controversies, though, as infinitely useful for instruction in virtue, so, tending to shew the truth in matters of faith in gross: and being read rather to know what is in it, than to judge by it, by the summary agreement of it with that which is held and practised, convincing where the truth is, and on which side, especially if we content ourselves with what is probable from it, expecting from tradition what is definite and certain.

§ 28. For supposing so great a congregation as the Church<sup>c</sup> and that to take this for the ground of their faith; that nothing is to be believed for revealed truth, but what they have received from hand to hand from the Apostles; it must be granted, the tradition of the Church never changes.

decide controversies by them."—Dial. 2. § 6. pp. 262—272.

<sup>a</sup> "Let us therefore see whether these conditions be observed in the Scripture or no, and if it be manifest that the Scripture hath them not, this controversy must needs be at an end, sithence it will evidently follow, that God never ordained the Scripture for any such purpose, but for something else, and consequently that it were as ridiculous to seek the decision of controversies out of Scripture, as to cut with beetle or knock with straw. . . . This, in my judgment, is so evident, that if any man of common sense would but reflect, and really consider what is requisite to determine a litigious controversy betwixt two men passionate of their own opinions, he would never say that Scripture is a book either intended by Almighty God, or any way fit for such a purpose."—Dial. 2. § 11. pp. 309—313.

<sup>b</sup> Chap v. sectt. 17—21.

<sup>c</sup> "Tell me, then, do you think that if any great congregation of men now living hold this maxim for their faith and religion, that nothing is to be held

for certain and as a revealed truth, but what they have received from their forefathers as a thing delivered by hand to hand from the Apostles: and that whatsoever is not so received is not immutable, but may be altered if reason command, do you think, I say, that this congregation could, in this our age, have begun to hold this maxim? or that as they received the rest of their doctrine from their forefathers, they must not also have received this tenet? . . .

... But can you now tell me, cousin, whether this congregation, as long as it adheres to this principle, can receive any thing of this nature and quality, contrary to what their forefathers delivered unto them upon this same principle: and note, I pray, I do not ask whether they can receive any thing but what they apprehend to be so; but I ask whether they can receive any thing as such but that which truly is so delivered, that is, whether they can be cosened in this question; whether their forefathers delivered it unto them so or not."—Dial. 3. § 8. pp. 489, 490, 496.

first, that they had the same persuasion from the beginning ; because, having never declared to their successors what are the particulars they are to receive, either they had from the beginning this principle, to distinguish matter of faith from that which is not, or could never introduce it without gross imposture : and besides, that holding this persuasion, they could never admit any thing as received from their forefathers, which was not so indeed ; because whole nations<sup>d</sup> can never agree so to deceive, in a matter subject to sense, as to say that they received this or that from their forefathers, when they did not, the reason being the same in all ages since Christ as in our own.

§ 29. For the Christian faith being so repeated, so inculcated by the preaching of the Apostles, how long soever we suppose the remembrance of their doctrine to have remained certain in the Church, so long we may infer that age which had this certain remembrance must convey it as certain, in a sensible distance of time, and, by the means of such distances, that it must needs come no less certain to us. Neither can any breach have been made upon the faith, without contesting the common principle of tradition in the first place ; and secondly, the consequence and correspondence which the articles of Christianity have one with another, by means whereof he that questioneth one, must needs by consequence prejudice others.

§ 30. And religion being a bond<sup>e</sup>, by observing which

<sup>d</sup> "First, it is as manifest an impossibility that a change of religion should be introduced insensibly into any one country, as that a burning fever should for as long a time consume the same whole country without being taken notice of, or sought to be prevented, sithence as we said nature permits us not generally to be sleepy in religion. Secondly, to say it shall pass imperceptibly from country to country, and so get possession of the whole Christian world, is far more impossible, men's natures and dispositions being so diverse that if they were put to wear caps or shoes alike it could not be effected but by some public force or command. Thirdly, that this should be for so long a term that the contrary practice should be quite forgotten to have been formerly in use and request, is yet beyond both.

So that whosoever is troubled with this doubt doth not rightly understand the nature of Christian religion, which is a truth of the quality of science hanging all together, whereunto a truth may be added and yet remain whole, but if any falsity or cross position be admitted, it will not only destroy the position immediately opposite, but also whatsoever dependeth of it, that is, all indeed but chiefly tradition."—Dial. 3. § 8. pp. 501—503.

<sup>e</sup> "Further you say that religion is a method of pleasing those governors, whereby to get goods, and eschew evils, so that the desire of goods and the fear of evils are the authors and causes of religion ; we have then hopes and fears for the will, ignorance and a conceit of another man's knowledge for the understanding, which be the parents of re-

people are persuaded they shall attain happiness; the same motives to enter into this bond in general, the same grounds of embracing Christianity in particular remaining, how should we imagine any part of it should be either lost or changed, which necessarily must concur to the effect of the whole? For being dispersed, as from the beginning it hath been, over so many nations, whose authority can be a sufficient reason to persuade them all, that which he says to have been received from the Apostles, not that which they were possessed of afore? who is able to move them with hopes and fears, answerable to those which wrought them to embrace it, either to silence or to change it?

§ 31. And yet so long as it can appear that the contrary was received, so long time must the change require to prevail, and so much more to leave the truth forgotten, and yet subject <sup>218</sup> to be evidenced by any records that may remain. So that there is no appearance that the principles, producing such a change, should so long time prevail as those motives that first evidenced the truth. And further, upon all this appearance in point of fact, it is argued *à priori*, and as it were in point of right<sup>f</sup>, that God having provided so many possibilities to make the preservation of Christianity so easy, the effect must needs have followed, lest the means should have been provided in vain if no effect should ensue: all possibility being to no purpose when no effect follows, and no effect but this answering the means that render it so possible.

ligion. Now think you, cousin, can these causes be defective and failing in any age?

“Neph. Surely they cannot.”—Dial. 3. § 7. p. 465.

<sup>f</sup> “And this follows most clearly in our case, for if Almighty God have set causes which may and can make His Church eternal, that is, if He have put a power or possibility of eternal duration in His Church, this effect, to wit,

everlasting continuance being of such a nature that it can be but one, it is evident that either this effect will follow, or else the possibility is frustrate and put to no end, which in a work of such a moment as that it is the very aim and end of all God's works, it were more than absurd in common sense to grant such a consequence.”—Dial. 3. § 6. pp. 451, 452.

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## CHAPTER XXX.

THAT THE SCRIPTURES WHICH WE HAVE ARE UNQUESTIONABLE. THAT MISTAKES IN COPYING ARE NOT CONSIDERABLE TO THE SENSE AND EFFECT OF THEM. THE MEANING OF THE HEBREW AND GREEK, EVEN OF THE PROPHETS, DETERMINABLE, TO THE DECIDING OF CONTROVERSIES. HOW RELIGION DELIVERED BY TRADITION BECOMES SUBJECT TO BE CORRUPTED.

That the Scriptures which we have are unquestionable.

THIS is the sum of this new account, which, to my understanding, maintains the infallibility of the present Church upon as high terms as those that resolve the reason of their faith into it; and yet, not upon any gift of infallibility, entailed upon any visible act of any persons, however qualified on behalf of the Church, but upon a pretence of evidence made to common sense, that those who acknowledge tradition cannot receive any thing—not only which they believe to be, but which is indeed—inconsistent with it.

§ 2. Wherein I shall protest, in the first place, that I have nothing to do with the terms of great error<sup>g</sup>, or Christianity, so as to say here, that either Christianity, which he calleth Christ's law<sup>h</sup>, or any part of it, either hath been, or may be, renounced by them that pretend to admit nothing as revealed truth, but what they believe was received from the Apostles, and that so great an error as this may have crept into the Church. For the present purpose being general—to try how any thing in debate may be tried, whether agreeable to the faith or not—I should count it a great impertinence, and the ruin of all that I design to infer, upon sufficient principles—which I pretend those which I reject not to be—to be engaged to shew how great any error may be, before I have a ground to infer whether it be an error or not. But if I may proceed to settle such a ground, I shall make no doubt to convince all, that remain convict of the truth thereof, how great the error is which it convicteth.

§ 3. It shall therefore suffice me for the present, to state the opposition which I make to this pretence upon these terms; that the common sense of all Christians determineth

<sup>g</sup> As in the seventh proposition of the third Dialogue, "That no great error could creep into the Church of God." p. 460.

<sup>h</sup> As in the fifth proposition, "That it is no hard matter that Christ's law should have descended entire unto us." p. 423.

that those who pretend to admit nothing as of faith but what they receive from our Lord and His Apostles, are subject nevertheless, under that pretence, to receive things really inconsistent with it, and, which may be discerned so to be, by the means which we have to decide such questions; the Scriptures interpreted by the original and Catholic tradition of the Church<sup>1</sup>. The evidence of this position necessarily consists in that which is to be said for Scripture and tradition jointly, as the only sufficient means to evidence Christian truths; that is to say, that having shewed the arguments made against Scripture alone, and for tradition alone, to be ineffectual and void; that which remains for the truth will be this, that the Scripture, with tradition to determine the meaning of it, do both together make a sufficient means to determine the truth of any thing questioned concerning Christianity.

§ 4. I say, then, in behalf of the Scripture, which this plea so undervalueth as not to acknowledge any such thing but in favour to them whom they dispute with, that it is a marvel to see how the greater difference with common enemies is forgotten upon less quarrels among ourselves. For if there be any such men as atheists, that deny the beginning of the world, and the marks of God's providence expressed in the

<sup>1</sup> "In the next place we must consider those extrinsecal means of interpreting Scripture, and determining questions, which they most of all confide in that restrain prophesying with the greatest tyranny. The first and principal is tradition, which is pretended not only to expound Scripture—*Necesse enim est propter tantos tam varii erroris anfractus, ut propheticae et Apostolicae interpretationis linea secundum Ecclesiastici et Catholici sensus normam dirigatur.*—Vincent. Lirrens. in *Commonit.*—but also to propound articles upon a distinct stock, such articles whereof there is no mention and proposition in Scripture. And in this topic, not only the distinct articles are clear and plain, like as the fundamentals of faith expressed in Scripture, but also it pretends to expound Scripture, and to determine questions with so much charity and certainty, as there shall neither be error nor doubt remaining, and therefore no disagreeing is here to be endured. And

indeed it is most true if tradition can perform these pretensions, and teach us plainly and assure us infallibly of all truths which they require us to believe, we can in this case have no reason to disbelieve, and therefore are certainly heretics if we do, because without a crime, without some human interest or collateral design, we cannot disbelieve traditive doctrine or traditive interpretation, if it be infallibly proved to us that tradition is an infallible guide.

"But here I first consider that tradition is no repository of articles of faith, and therefore the not following it is no argument of heresy, for beside that I have shewed Scripture in its plain expresses to be an abundant rule of faith and manners, tradition is a topic as fallible as any other; so fallible that it cannot be sufficient evidence to any man in a matter of faith or question of heresy."—Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying*, § 5. pp. 83, 84. London, 1647.

BOOK I. government of it—as I would there were none—I demand how they could be more gratified than by making it believed that we are no more tied to believe Moses's writings, that we have, to come from God, than we please? For if it be fifteen or sixteen to one<sup>k</sup> that the words which we have are not from God, what respect can oblige us to do more? And would pagans and idolaters think themselves less bound to us, if we could persuade them that whatsoever is pretended in Scripture of a covenant made by God with Abraham and his posterity, to acknowledge and worship Him alone for the true God, may be denied so far as by saying that no man can say we have any record of it.

§ 5. As for the Jews, what a favour were it to them, to quit them all that can be alleged against them out of Moses and the prophets, by saying that we cannot be assured that it is their writing<sup>l</sup>? For if it be said that whatsoever the

<sup>k</sup> See chap. xxix. sect. 25. note s.

<sup>l</sup> "Let us therefore see what ambiguity or question falleth upon the text itself, by the succession of so many ages, in which it must needs have been in some sort conserved to come to our hands. There be three ways chiefly whereby the text may have been corrupted. The first, on set purpose, as the fathers accuse the heretics of their times to have done, and the Jews also are suspected of the same. And this kind, though it extendeth itself but to few corruptions, yet they come to be inevitable, when amongst so many copies none can discern which have been so abused, which not; and as it is but in few points or places, so it is in such as be important and material ones. The second sort of corruptions may have come by the negligence of servants, which copied the Bible, some being mercenary people that made copies to sell, others witless people, who, greedy and desirous to have the Bible out of vanity, hypocrisy, or the like, cared not for more than to say they had it, and a great part of these copyists may have erred in writing the Bible by the very defect of nature, which permitteth not an absolute exactness in any thing, and causeth a man in his weariness, nay and in his too much wariness also, to make escapes unwittingly, which be the more dangerous, by how much the copies seem more exact, whereby they sometimes bear down true copies. The third way of corruption may have

been by half-witted men, who will now and then undertake to correct copies, by aim and understanding, who for having lighted right in some one place will venture confidently to spoil ten. And of these men it is like before printing began, and copies were not so frequent, and so a corruption went not far, it is like, I say, there hath been divers who when they met with a place they could not make sense of, and saw that a little change would make it sense, such rash men would easily venture to make such a small, as they thought, mutation, not knowing, peradventure, how to come to a better copy than their own. The Hebrew and Greek Testament have been very subject to the first sort of these corruptions, the former being delivered unto us by the professed enemies of Christ, who, as it is reported, in the greatest heat of their hatred to Christianity, sat at Tiberias to determine all the vowels of the old Scripture, the which every Hebrician knoweth, what power it gave them to change the whole text, and this to men publicly accused of forgery in that kind. The Greek, as long as the condemned heretics held so great power in those parts, as is publicly known they did for some ages, was in little less jeopardy, they being also taxed with the like impiety. But the other two ways and means of corruptions are common to all, and indeed unavoidable in so great a multitude of copies, as were in all the three languages, at

Church hath interest to use against atheists, pagans, and Jews, will be admitted upon tradition, having renounced Scripture; can it be imagined, that having granted that the whole narration, upon which Christianity steppeth in, may have been counterfeited in writing, any man can undertake to shew the truth of the same, unquestionable, by word of mouth?

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§ 6. Surely it may well astonish a man void of prejudice to see it so carefully alleged<sup>m</sup> how many ambiguities and equivocations necessarily fall out in expressing men's minds by writing; never considering that the same may fall out in whatsoever is delivered by word of mouth, so much more incurably, as a man writes upon more deliberation than he speaks: and posterity can affirm with more confidence, that which is delivered by writing to have been said, than that which is only so reported.

[Rich-  
worth's  
argument  
from the  
mistakes  
of trans-  
cribers  
answered.]

§ 7. For let common sense judge by what is usually done by men for the preserving of evidence concerning their estates, whether it be more effectual to have it in writing or only by word of mouth. For whatsoever can be pretended to come by tradition from the Apostles, must first have been delivered in the Hebrew language—at least that language which they spake, and was so near the Hebrew of the Old Testament that in the New Testament it is called by that name—thence being turned into Greek or Latin, it must have come afterwards into the now vulgar languages of Christendom.

§ 8. Neither can any man imagine how the profession of Christians should be conveyed by tradition, and not by word of mouth. Where though they that heard the Apostles certainly understood their meaning—which there can be no question of, when the intent is familiarly to teach it—yet the terms wherein it was delivered not remaining upon record, as much difference may creep in, as there may be difference in several men's apprehensions, saying that which the communion of the Church determineth. And will any common sense allow that the meaning thereof shall be more certain than the words are<sup>n</sup>? more certain than the meaning of written words,

least of Greek and Latin."—Rich-  
worth's Dialogues, 2nd Dialog. § 4, pp.  
250—254. Paris, 1640.

<sup>m</sup> See chap. xxix. sect. 27. note x.

<sup>n</sup> Hoc autem signum primo decla-  
randum est; deinde quomodo distin-  
guat a cæteris falsis et incertis, per-  
spiciendum, primum igitur sic proba-

which are certain, though obscure, and yet not without competent means to bring the intent of them to light? But I must not prefer any thing of this nature before any thing we have in the Scriptures, so long as both sides acknowledge it.

§ 9. I demand then whether the precept of the law, which enjoined the Israelites to teach it their children, concerned the written law or not. The prophet David, Psalm lxxviii. 1—8, shews the practice of it, and so do other passages of the Old Testament; and surely there can be no doubt made that Moses himself did deliver and inculcate the sense of the precepts to his hearers: but will any common sense allow that he forgot his text when he expounded the meaning of it?

tur. Constat Christum ore proprio Apostolos docuisse, atque illis præcepta prædicandi, docendi doctrinam suam per universum orbem tradidisse; nihil autem de conscribenda evangelica doctrina mandasse, quæ longe tempore posterior est, et ab Apostolis, Apostolicisque viris, eo quod cum traditione Apostolica, conveniret comprobata.

Est autem prædicatio, quæ viva voce fit, efficacius organum ad persuadendum quam Scriptura: multo etiam aptius ad docendum, quia humano cordi proprius est lingua, qua cor unum in aliud transfundit seipsum. At Scriptura non est primum cordis ipsius signum, vel manifestatio, quia in corde nullum est idioma, nulla vox: Scriptura ergo nobis vocis speciem refert. Ad hæc Apostoli dum prædicarent, hoc omnium linguis præstiterunt, et copiose et clare, idemque sæpe repetendo, obscura quæque declarando interrogantibus respondendo, et disputantibus faciendo, ut nullus scrupulus maneret in auditoribus. Qui verò scripserunt, una tantum lingua Græca, præter Matthæum, qui, Hebraicum protulit Evangelium; et illi qui scripserunt, ad tempus sane hoc fecerunt, verbo vero per totam vitam docuerunt. Nam Act. ii. ubi narratur tota Petri concio, subditur: 'aliis etiam verbis plurimis testificatus est.' Et Paulus, Act. xx. in mediam noctem sermonem protraxit, et Act. xix. cum esset Ephesi, per biennium et tres menses quotidie in schola Tyranni eusdam docuit, et similia multa dixerunt, ac prædicarunt, quæ Scripta non sunt. At Scriptura muta est, non re-

spondet interroganti, non se explicat; et quivis illam rapit in sensum quem vult: ut etiam de Aristotele constat, quem diversi interpretes in diversos sensus rapiunt: Hinc magno Dei consilio factum est, ut viva Evangelii prædicatio, et non aliqua Scriptura, esset principium et origo Ecclesiæ, ut prius viva voce constaret inter omnes gentes, et linguas fides Evangelica, et confessio ejus præter omnem obscuritatem, et absque omni sensus diversitate: et postea Ecclesia scriptum admitteret Evangelium, et probaret an vera essent, quæ tot scriptores Evangelii tractarunt. Prædicatio igitur Scriptura ipsa prior est, certior est, quia se declarat; et universalior, quia non omnia scripta.

Nec ideo hæc prædicatio Apostolorum periit: tum quia per Spiritum Sanctum facta, et per eum digito suo in cordibus fidelium scripta, atque servata: tum quia Ecclesia fidelissima est custos crediti sui depositi; alius enim portæ inferi in eam prævaluisset, nec esset columna et firmamentum veritatis. Hæc ergo Evangelicæ prædicationis vox præsens, et viva in ore, corde et auribus fidelium et consensus in illam, verum est Ecclesiæ Christi signum, non autem sincera Evangelii juxta Scripturas prædicatio, ut hæretici docent; quia sic sola Scriptura esset lumen, regula Ecclesiæ. Hac enim ratione hæretici multos Scripturæ locos proferebant, quos Catholici retorquebant; cum Scriptura tam aperta et perspicua non sit, et varie interpretari possit.—Salmeron., In Ep. Paul. Disp. vi. tom. xiii. p. 207. Colon. 1614.



Our Lord commands the Jews [St. John v. 39.] to search the Scriptures, He remits Dives in the parable [St. Luke xvi. 31.] to Moses and the prophets. St. Paul [Rom. xv. 4, 2 Tim. iii. 16.] presses that "all things that are written are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope;" that "all Scripture inspired from God is profitable;" and a great deal more to the same effect; and shall we open the mouth of atheism with an answer, that this concerns not us who no way stand convict, that we have the words of Moses and the prophets, of our Lord and His Apostles?

§ 10. Let this therefore pass for a desperate attempt of making a breach for atheism, heathenism, Judaism, to enter in, provided that the reformation should have nothing to say against the Church of Rome. But let it be demanded whether any of those that wrote for the Church against heresies were masters of the common sense of men or not? And let it be demanded, when they alleged the Scriptures against them, 220 whether they thought the meaning of them determinable or not?

§ 11. It is true<sup>o</sup> Tertullian prescribed against heretics that the Church was not tied to dispute with them out of the Scriptures, and certainly had just reason so to do; because though they admitted the Apostles to have God's Spirit, yet they admitted not that Spirit to have declared to them the bottom of the truth as to themselves, and therefore made use of the Scriptures as the Alcoran doth; so far only as they agreed with the traditions of their own masters, whom they supposed to have the fulness of the truth: whereas it is manifest that Christianity admits no dispute from the Scriptures, but from them that acknowledge no gifts of God's Spirit, that suppose not Christianity and the Scriptures. Therefore those that disputed against the heresies that grew up afterwards, and acknowledged no revelation but that which had brought on Christianity, what did they dispute upon? For evidently they neither had, nor used that prescription, which Tertullian insisted upon against his heretics.

[Use of the argument from tradition.]

§ 12. But as Tertullian might—though not bound to so much—use the Scriptures against such heretics as well as against Jews and infidels, did they who succeeded only use it

<sup>o</sup> See chap. vii. sect. 20, 21.

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against succeeding heresies that own no further revelation than that which Scripture came with, not as necessary, but to shew the advantage they had? for this they must do, if nothing but probability is to be had from the Scriptures, but the peremptory truth is, without Scripture, evident in the determination of the present Church, which was first visible in ejecting heretics? Certainly such a breach upon common sense cannot be admitted, as for them that have evidence for the truth to compromise it to a dispute of probabilities.

§ 13. Here therefore I do appeal to the common sense of all men that see how all the disputes that have been made from the beginning, for the faith against heresies, do consist of Scriptures drawn into consequence against them, though in behalf of that which they professed to hold from the Apostles; whether all this pains was taken to shew what was probable, or what was true upon the evidence of the true sense of Scripture, falling within the compass of that which they held from the Apostles.

That mistakes in copying are not considerable to the sense and effect of them.

§ 14. The ground then of that account which pretends that we have no Scripture is very frivolous. For if common sense be valued by the experience of those that handle written copies, not by the imagination of them that do not; the faults which it is probable all copies carry from their makers, cannot endanger the truth of the Scripture, but in that one case which he alloweth to abate his account, that is, when the same fault falls out in several copies; which is a rare chance. For where divers copies agree in the same fault, it behoveth that there should be some occasion of committing the mistake, capable to induce several men into the same, the consent of whose copies may in time create a doubt what is true.

§ 15. But to imagine that a fault committed at large by a copier<sup>p</sup>, which it is so great odds that none else shall fall into—the truth being one, errors infinite—should endanger the true reading of any writing, is not to appeal to common sense, but to renounce it. For neither in that one case, where it is confessed there may be danger, are we left without cure; the consequence of the sense, either alone, or with the help of some copy, always outweighing the credit of copies liable to so many mistakes.

<sup>p</sup> See chap. xxix. sect. 25.

§ 16. He that sees not what benefit all records of learning have received, even from negligent copies, industriously handled, to the preservation of all records, may pretend ignorance in this point. But for the Scriptures, as common sense bears that there is more occasion of making faults than in other writings, because more multiplying of copies; so common sense shewing that there is so much more means of correcting them, the danger of changing the text is vanished. Which if all this were not, common sense, that sees the present text of Scripture make a sense so reasonable, so agreeable, will as much scorn, as a reasonable man will scorn, to admit that this beautiful order of the world comes from the casual interfering of atoms: for is it not the same case, when it is said that so constant sense arises from the contingency of errors?

§ 17. And therefore I marvel that the varieties of readings recorded in Sixtus V.'s Bible should be alleged<sup>a</sup> to this purpose; which though they are the records of errors, yet they are  
221 the arguments of truth; the true reading, by the credit of them, overbalancing all mistakes. And truly, he that shall cast up a just account of the hindrance which the variety of reading in the Scripture gives the resolution of truth, shall find three or four texts questionable for their reading by the enemies of the Trinity. In other things, though diverse readings questionable, yet none of consequence to any point in debate: and those I speak of so questionable, that either they make no consequence, there being evidence sufficient without them, or there remains evidence enough to weigh the true reading down.

§ 18. Now the ceasing of the languages<sup>r</sup> in which the Scripture was written, is indeed a difficulty to the attaining of the sense of them, as it is a difficulty to the attaining of the language. But either we suppose the skill of the language attained when it is not, or being attained, we must suppose that which we have upon record in it as well understood—to wit, as to the language—as men understand one another in their mother tongue. And therefore the Hebrew and Greek have hard fortune to lie under contrary charges: as to say that the Hebrew is obscure because it is scarce, and the Greek is obscure because copious, and the Scripture being written in the one and in the other, is therefore obscure.

The meaning of the Hebrew and Greek, even of the prophets, determinable to the deciding of controversies.

<sup>a</sup> See chap. xxix. sect. 25. note s.

<sup>r</sup> See chap. xxix. sect. 26. note t.

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§ 19. Certainly those that spoke Hebrew and those that spoke Greek had means to understand one another's meaning, or else those languages were useless to the end of all language; and shall we imagine that they determine not the meaning of the speaker in writing, but when they are spoken, well and good<sup>s</sup>? No. To them that know not the language, there is no sufficient mark to determine the meaning of what is said in it. It is no marvel; in God's name let them learn a little further, and they may discern the marks whereby the force of signifying is stamped upon the languages. And truly, the scarceness of that language lies rather in the sloth of learners—who save a great deal of pains by persuading themselves that they know that language, when they have learned what is to be found in the Scriptures—than in want of words to express all conceits. It is an easy thing to imagine that the writings of later Jews are not good Hebrew, and indeed it may appear<sup>t</sup> that after the captivity the vulgar did not speak it.

§ 20. But by the traditions whereby they determine the exer-

\* "Yes they do."—MS.

<sup>t</sup> Quod illi fatentur de lingua Hebræa a popularibus suis ignorata, de lingua Chaldaica multo magis verum est; de Talmudica consimiliter ex utraque impure admodum permixta. Cum enim Talmudici composuerunt Talmud, sive Hierosolymitanum, sive Babylonicum, vernacula erat apud eos Babylone lingua Chaldaica, et Syriaca Hierosolymis, et in vicinis regionibus. Ideo legem Babylonii Chaldaice verterunt, hoc est, vernacula, in plebeium usum. Hierosolymitani Thargum Hierosolymitanum, seu Syriacum, sed impure admodum, eo quod tum Arabibus omnia possidentibus, linguæ Syriacæ elegantia in Syria et Palestina plurimum immineretur. Idem de Pentateucho in plebeium usum præstiterunt Samaritani, cujus versionis penes nos duo sunt exemplaria, quorum unum annis quadringentis vetustius est. Judæorum vero Talmudici doctores, quibus linguæ illæ vernaculæ erant, Hebræam cui legis studio assuescebant, istis dialecticis permiscentes tertiam quam Talmudicam vocare possumus composuerunt. Sed uno aut altero sæculo post confectum Talmud, hoc est, post exortam Mahometis impietatem in Syria, Assyria et Palestina, extinctæ fere sunt

linguæ illæ, in earumque vicem successit Arabum dominantium dialectus, simul cum impietate per orientem invalescens. Itaque contigit anno circiter post natum octingentesimo, ut linguæ Chaldaica et Talmudica Judæis omnibus desinerent esse vernaculæ, ipsisque multo magis barbaræ essent, quam ipsa Hebræa. Licet enim ab exitu captivitatis Babylonicæ Hebræa lingua fuit illis barbara; quia tamen in synagogicis precibus et lectionibus illi assuefiebant, longe familiarior illis fuit ab eo tempore quam Chaldaica aut Talmudica. Unde factum est ut Saadias, Babylonius doctor, et Babylonone degens et scribens annum Hegiræ paulo post trecentesimo, legem in linguam Arabicam transferret non Chaldaicam, quam popularium nemo amplius intelligebat. Idem Samaritani præstiterunt legem Arabicæ vertentes postquam Samaritana seu Syriaca dialectus illis desit esse vernacula, cujus Arabicæ versionis exemplar ante annos quadringentos scriptum nobis nutuo dedit vir amplissimus, et de litteris optime meritus D. Perescius in suprema provinciæ curia senator integerrimus.—Morini, Exercit. Biblic., lib. i. Exer. vi. cap. iv. § 10. pp. 118, 119. Paris. 1686.

cise of Moses's law—which the Jews of Palestine<sup>u</sup>, resident at Tiberias, agreed to put in writing about the emperor Antoninus's time—it appears plain enough that the language was preserved alive among the learned, and extends far further than that which is found only in the Scripture, though with some little difference, which that excellent master of human learning, Joseph d' Escale<sup>x</sup>, seems to me very properly to distinguish by the names of the Hebrew and Jewish languages; because this difference may well seem to have begun from the times of Edras, when the tribe of Judah—with the appurtenances of it—with the recovery of their ancient inheritance, took upon them the study of their law. And I appeal to the common sense of all that have found by reading, with what ease and property that language serves to express all the conceits of their philosophers and divines, how beggarly, how unable to determine the meaning of man's mind we are to account it.

§ 21. As for the Greek, be it never so defective in those expressions which the variety of conjugations in eastern languages do produce, he that knows both the one and the other, shall find the force of those expressions signified by other means in the Greek and other languages; be it never so copious otherwise, he that will husband his pains to the learning of the Scriptures, shall find means enough to attain the meaning of them, without undertaking to overcome all that is written in that language.

§ 22. As for the figurative speech<sup>y</sup> that is used, especially by the prophets, and other writings of a poetical style—as the Psalms, Job, the Canticle, and the like, if you reckon them not among the prophets—as it is not to be denied that the style of them is obscure by that means, so when we see the meaning of them determined by the writings of the Apostles,

<sup>u</sup> See Rel. Assembl. chap. vii. sect. 23. Review, chap. iii. sect. 3. Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 18.

<sup>x</sup> Ipsi Chananæi eos, qui ex transeuphratensibus partibus ad illos veniebant, Hebræos, hoc est, *πεπαττας* vocabant. Et ita primos Patriarchas, et deinceps eorum posteritatem vocatos, et adhuc vocari nemo nescit. Propterea, quia illi non ea lingua, quam ex transeuphratensi regione reportabant, utebantur, sed quam in Chananæorum

finibus didicerant, lingua illa non Chananæa, sed Hebræa dicta fuit; quemadmodum lingua Syriaca, qua Judæi tempore Christi utebantur, Hebraica dicitur, quum tamen non esset Chananæa, sed Assyria. Literæ, quæ in usu sunt hodie Judæis, Hebraicæ nobis dicuntur mendose, quum verius dicerentur Judaicæ.—Josep. Scaliger. Epistolæ, ep. 242. ad Rich. Thomson, p. 519. Lugd. Bat. 1627.

<sup>y</sup> See chap. xxix. sect. 28.

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we must either grant that means to be sufficient for that effect, or that the Apostles have alleged them upon no just ground, to no just purpose. Now that our Lord's and the Apostles' words are set down in such expressions as the Evangelists and 222 St. Luke thought meetest, I suppose he that hath a due respect for them, will not think to be any argument that he who hath the meaning of the penman hath not the meaning of him that spoke.

§ 23. And if all these be difficulties to the attaining of the true meaning of the Scriptures, sure the multiplicity of translations—those especially which are the most ancient—by those who understand them, is duly esteemed a help to that end<sup>z</sup>,

<sup>z</sup> “And now what help is there for us in the midst of these uncertainties? If we follow any one translation, or any one man's commentary, what rule shall we have to chuse the right by? or is there any one man that hath translated perfectly, or expounded infallibly? No translation challenges such a prerogative as to be authentic, but the vulgar Latin, and yet see with what good success: for when it was declared authentic by the council of Trent, Sixtus put forth a copy much mended of what it was, and tied all men to follow that; but that did not satisfy; for Pope Clement reviews and corrects it in many places, and still the decree remains in a changed subject. And, secondly, that translation will be very unapt to satisfy, in which one of their own men, Isidore Clarius, a monk of Brescia, found and mended eight thousand faults, besides innumerable others which he found and pretermitted. And then, thirdly, to shew how little themselves were satisfied with it, divers learned men amongst them did new translate the Bible, and thought they did God and the Church good service in it. So that if you take this for your precedent, you are sure to be mistaken infinitely. If you take any other, the authors themselves do not promise you any security. If you resolve to follow any one as far only as you can see cause, then you only do wrong or right by chance; for you have certainty just proportionable to your own skill, to your own infallibility. If you resolve to follow any one whithersoever he leads, we shall oftentimes come thither, where we shall see ourselves become ridiculous, . . .

“The sum is this; since holy Scripture is the repository of divine truths, and the great rule of faith, to which all sects of Christians do appeal for probation of their several opinions, and since all agree in the articles of the creed as things clearly and plainly set down, and as containing all that which is of simple and prime necessity; and since on the other side there are in Scripture many other mysteries and matters of question upon which there is a veil; since there are so many copies with infinite varieties of reading; since a various interpunction, a parenthesis, a letter, an accent may much alter the sense; since some places have divers literal senses, many have spiritual, mystical, and allegorical meanings; since there are so many tropes, metonymies, ironies, hyperboles, proprieties, and improprieties of language, whose understanding depends upon such circumstances that it is almost impossible to know its proper interpretation; now that the knowledge of such circumstances and particular stories is irrecoverably lost: since there are some mysteries which at the best advantage of expression, are not easy to be apprehended, and whose explication, by reason of our imperfections, must needs be dark, sometimes weak, sometimes unintelligible; and lastly, since those ordinary means of expounding Scripture, as searching the originals, conference of places, parity of reason, and analogy of faith, are all dubious and uncertain, and very fallible, he that is the wisest, and by consequence the likeliest to expound truest in all probability of reason, will be very far from confidence, because every one of these

and not a hindrance. For as the turning of them into so many languages prevents all errors of copiers, and assures the true reading, so the comparing of the translations with the original—shewing how it was understood anciently by those who were better and nearer acquainted with the matter of them than we are, who must have it from them—makes up a commentary of the meaning of the same, and how far it extends. I do, therefore, here appeal to the common sense of all them that have been at charge, or at pains, to procure and compass the edition of all translations of the Bible, especially the ancient, in particular the Spanish<sup>a</sup>, Antwerp<sup>b</sup>, and Paris<sup>c</sup>—which it is hoped is now improved to the same purpose here at London<sup>d</sup>—and do challenge all men to say, first,

and many more are like so many degrees of improbability and uncertainty, all depressing our certainty of finding out truth in such mysteries and amidst so many difficulties. And therefore a wise man that considers this, would not willingly be prescribed to by others, and therefore if he be also a just man, he will not impose upon others, for it is best every man should be left to that liberty from which no man can justly take him, unless he could secure him from error. So that here also there is a necessity to conserve the liberty of prophesying and interpreting Scripture; a necessity derived from the consideration of the difficulty of Scripture in questions controverted, and the uncertainty of any internal medium of interpretation.”—Jeremy Taylor’s *Liberty of Prophesying*, § iv. pp. 80—83. London, 1647.

<sup>a</sup> “The Complutense was set forth by the Complutense divines, at the charges of Cardinal Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, in six volumes, *anno* 1520, wherein is contained, 1. The Old Testament Hebrew. 2. The Vulgar Latin. 3. The Septuagint, Greek and Latin. 4. The Chaldee Paraphrase by Onkelos, upon the Pentateuch, with the Latin translation. 5. The New Testament, Greek and Latin. 6. An Apparatus, consisting of an Hebrew and Chaldean Lexicon, an Hebrew Grammar, an Index, &c.”—Walton’s *Prospectus* to his *Polyglott*, cited in *Todd’s Memoirs of Brian Walton*, vol. i. p. 35. London, 1821.

<sup>b</sup> “The Antwerp Bibles, in eight great volumes, set forth by Arias Montanus, and other learned men, at the

charges of the king of Spain, *anno* 1572; wherein is added to the Complutense, 1. The Chaldee Paraphrase, upon the rest of the Old Testament, by Jonathan and Joseph Cæcus, with the Latin. 2. The Interlineal translation of the Old and New Testament. 3. The Syriac New Testament, in Syriac and Hebrew characters, with the Latin. 4. An Apparatus, in two volumes, containing divers Lexicons and Grammars, Hebrew, Syriac, Chaldee, Greek, with some tracts for better understanding the text; some Idiotisms; few various readings, diverse Indices, &c.”—*Ibid.*

<sup>c</sup> “The Parisian Bibles, in ten large tomes, *anno* 1645, set forth by Michael le Jay, Morinus, Gabriel Sionita, and others, by authority of the Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarine, and the French Bishops, wherein is added the Antwerp Bible, which—except the Apparatus—is herewith reprinted; 1. The Old Testament, Syriac and Latin. 2. The Arabic Old Testament and New, with the Latin. 3. The Samaritan Pentateuch, with the Samaritan and Latin Versions. But here is no interlineal or other literal translation of the Hebrew into Latin; none of the Apparatus at all, as in the other editions; no various readings in any language; no index, no idiotisms—the edition being abruptly put forth by reason of some difference among the publishers—but only the text in the several languages, and those not according to the best copies.”—*Ibid.*

<sup>d</sup> *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Textus Originales, Hebraicum, cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chal-*

whether the design be commendable or not, then, whether it can be commendable, if it contribute not to preserve the true reading, to determine the true meaning of the Scriptures.

§ 24. As for that which I conceive I have sufficiently insisted upon<sup>e</sup>, in behalf of the truth, that the writings of the Apostles presuppose a rule of faith, received by those whom they address, together with certain rules limiting their communion in the service of God, upon supposition of that rule; I am here to claim the effect of it, that the sense of the Scripture is to be limited to that, which common sense may discover by the records of the Church, to have been the sense and intent of the same. But that this should argue an intent in God, not to have given the Scriptures to determine debates that might arise among Christians concerning the common faith; and that upon only the visible profession of the Church, all arguments to the contrary from the Scriptures, all clamours of conscience are to be silenced, without reconciling them to the primitive faith and practice of the Church—to which, it is evident, that if the Church be not wanting to their duty, they are reconcileable—this is that which I must and do proclaim to be utterly brutish and unreasonable.

§ 25. And therefore, to proceed to the next point, I grant and insist that nothing but that which is received from our Lord Christ and His Apostles can by any means seem receivable to any Christian; but whereas it may be received either by writing alone, or by word of mouth alone, or by both, I say that the receiving of Christianity by word of mouth

daicum, Græcum. Versionumque antiquarum, Samaritanæ, Græcæ Septuaginta Interpretum, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Æthiopicæ, Persicæ, Vulgatæ Latinæ, quicquid comparari poterat. Cum Textuum et Versionum Orientalium translationibus Latinis. Ex Vetustissimis MSS. undique conquisitis, optimisque exemplaribus impressis, summa fide collatis. Quæ in prioribus editionibus deerant suppleta. Multa antehac inedita, de novo adjecta. Omnia eo ordine disposita, ut Textus cum versionibus uno intuitu conferri possint. Cum Apparatu, Appendicibus, Tabulis, Variis Lectionibus, Annotationibus, Indicibus, &c. Opus totum in sex tomos tributum. Edidit Brianus Waltonus, S.T.D. Londini, imprimebat Thomas Roycroft, 1657.

“The assistance of Mr. Herbert Thorndike next solicits our attention. Dr. Twells, in his *Life of Pocock*, has described Mr. Thorndike and Dr. Walton maintaining frequent correspondence upon the subject of the Polyglott, with that great orientalist. And the thanks of Dr. Walton, in his preface, are bestowed upon Thorndike, with this distinction of him, *linguarum scientia celebris*. Beside his general attention to the undertaking, there are in the sixth volume of the Polyglott, particular proofs of his great diligence and learning in the collection of *Variantes in Syriaca Versione Veteris Testamenti Lectiones e Codicibus MSS.*”—*Todd's Memoirs of Brian Walton*, p. 209. London, 1821.

<sup>e</sup> Chap. vii.



alone cannot be pretended—the power of the Church to create articles of faith, which was never heard of till the quarrel with Luther was on foot, being excluded—but supposing it evident to common sense that the act of the present Church is the act of the Catholic Church from the Apostles<sup>f</sup>; which, so far as I know, was never heard of till Rushworth's Dialogues came forth.

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§ 26. The Christianity that was from the beginning received by word of mouth, consists in the profession of believ-

<sup>f</sup> Probatur nihilominus posita assertio, posteaque secus opinantium argumentis respondebitur. Primum, cum Ecclesia quæ nunc est, quæque Apostolos per singulas ætates subsecuta est, eundem habeat Dei Spiritum, ejusque assistentiam quam habuerunt Apostoli—ut supra ostensum est—dubitari non debet, quin æque certo et infallibiliter de sacris libris judicare possit, atque illa Apostolorum Ecclesia. Nam—quod bene observa—etsi successores Apostolorum in alio et diverso gradu Spiritum Dei habeant, neque in tanta plenitudine, quanta ipsi Apostoli—ut supra declaratum est—tamen hæc diversitas in illis rebus non consistit, quæ proxime et necessario ad fidem pertinet; sed in quadam non minus circa media quam circa conclusiones infallibilitate; ut ibidem ostensum est. Judicare autem de aliquo libro sacro, proxime et necessario ad fidem pertinet, ut per se patet. Debet ergo succedens et præsens Ecclesia judicandi potestate et infallibilitate hac in re non secus valere. Præterea, tam inter Catholicos aliquando dubitatur, quam ab hæreticis pertinaciter sæpe contradicitur, de libris canonicis. Debet autem in hac concertatione iudex et arbitra esse Ecclesia præsens, quæ viva voce rem definiat, non secus quam in aliis controversiis; ut supra dictum est. Habet ergo potestatem in tali casu definiendi. Deus enim Ecclesiam non deficit in necessariis. Tertio certissimum est Ecclesiam quæ Apostolos aliquot sæculis subsecuta est, de libris canonicis judicasse, quosdam taxasse et inter canonicos sua autoritate aliquas Scripturas retulisse, quæ ipsis Apostolorum temporibus pro hujusmodi non sunt habitæ, nec adhuc a fidelibus pleno consensu receptæ. Sic enim librum Judith antea apocryphum primi generis, concilium Nicenum sua autoritate, ut pro Scriptura canonica haberetur effecit, sicuti supra ex Hieronymo

ostendimus. . . . .

Quinto Ecclesia successorum et præsens, idonea testis est cujusunque articuli fidei, sive tradendi et sua autoritate definiendi—casu quo in controversiam vocetur—sive exponendi et declarandi; non secusquam ipsa Apostolorum Ecclesia: sicut frequentia ab eo tempore habita contra varias hæreses concilia, et quædam eadem autoritate communi symbolo adjecta, manifestissime nobis ostenderunt. Poterit ergo et illa idonea testis esse Scripturarum suæque autoritate eam approbare. Sexto rationes omnes quæ Ecclesiæ infallibilitatem circa ea quæ sunt fidei probant et confirmant, sive ex principio et fundamento cui nituntur in docendo; sive ex fine propter quem data est, illi hæc iudicii infallibilitas; illæ petantur; sive a promissionibus Christi Ecclesiæ factis sumantur; illæ, inquam, omnes rationes non minus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ pro quocunque tempore præsentis conveniunt, quam Apostolorum Ecclesiæ. . . . Habebit ergo præsens et cujusunque temporis Ecclesia, non minorem in hac re—cum fidei illa sit, maximeque ad fidem pertinens—potestatem quam habuit ipsa Apostolorum Ecclesia. Septimo et postremo fides fidelium, quæ ex auditu est, audit proprie præsentem Ecclesiam, et acquiescit testimonio atque iudicio pro tempore docentis et pascentis Ecclesiæ, ut in aliis fidei dogmatibus, ita in Scripturis canonicis recipiendis: sicuti proprie et immediate subjiciuntur fideles pastoribus pro tempore existentibus, non eorum antecessoribus: nisi per consequens et propter eandem fidei unitatem, quæ facit ut pro patribus quidem habeamus multis ante nos sæculis defunctos Ecclesiarum pastores et Episcopos, magis autem proprie Ecclesiæ seu Diocesis in qua vivimus.—Stapleton, Princip. Fidei, Controv. v. lib. ix. cap. xii. pp. 347, 348. Paris. 1582.

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ing a certain rule of faith, and undertaking a certain rule of life, as the law and condition whereby all Christians hope to attain everlasting life. Besides, all Christians being, upon this profession, admitted to communicate with the Church in the service of God, according to such rules as determine the circumstances thereof, first brought in by the Apostles: these rules may also be said to be received by word of mouth, because the practice of them holds by custom from age to age, though the express knowledge and profession of them is not the means to save particular Christians, further than it is the means to maintain the service of God in the unity of His Church, which is the means of it.

[To what extent tradition holds good.]

§ 27. Here are then two heads of things received by word of mouth, which he that will speak expressly in this point must distinguish. And according to this distinction, I say, that only the rule of faith, which is the law of attaining everlasting life, and the communion of the Church, is delivered by word of mouth; though when I say so, I understand that the true intent and meaning thereof, and what it importeth to common sense, cannot be excluded. Beside which there is of necessity infinite matter of discourse, concerning things consequent, <sup>223</sup> or impertinent, or repugnant to the same, some whereof, obtaining credit in some times, and some parts of Christendom, comes by tradition of word of mouth, nevertheless, to other ages and places, which therefore do truly bear the name of tradition; though not as delivered from the beginning by the Apostles, further than as by them the means is delivered, whereby it may appear which of them is consequent, which of them repugnant, which of them impertinent, to that which they have delivered indeed.

§ 28. As concerning the laws of the Church, so certain and so manifest as it is, that there were rules delivered by the Apostles, to have the force of law, in directing the communion of Christians in the public service of God, to the unity of the Church; so certain and manifest is it, first, that the same laws are not capable to regulate the communion of the Church in all estates of it, which the change of times should produce <sup>§</sup>; and yet secondly, that whatsoever should be

§ Atque hoc circa credenda quæ quæ quia varia sunt, non possunt semel semper perstant, minus circa agenda, pro omni tempore definiri, nec sub Apo-

changed, or taken away, or added to the same, ought to tend to the same intent, which, it is visible, those of the Apostles did purpose.

§ 29. Let any understanding, that is capable, but consider the difference that needs must arise, by the secular power undertaking the protection of Christianity, between the Church afore and the Church afterwards; if he say the same laws will serve to maintain the communion of the Church in both estates—supposing the society thereof to be the same upon the premises—I shall then confess that it is to no purpose to appeal to any discourse of reason in this whole dispute. I say further, that among those who profess that nothing ought to be received for revealed truth but that which was first delivered by our Lord and His Apostles, nothing ought to have the force of law but that which tendeth to the same purpose with that which they enacted; nothing hindereth things to be received into belief and practice that are really not only impertinent to, but inconsistent with, that which indeed they have delivered to us<sup>h</sup>. The appeal is to common sense, therefore let discourse and experience satisfy common sense.

stolis omnia occurrerunt, ut possent ab eis omnia decidi, et in alio statu erat Ecclesia sub Apostolis quam sit modo, vel fuerit post illa tempora. Deinde natura nostra non omnia simul doceri potest, sed progressu simul et successu temporis eruditur, nec est capax omnium simul veritatum. Deus etiam paulatim revelat, et ea quæ tempore necessitatis occurrunt, melius sapiunt, et melius retinet homo. Unde dixit ad filios Israël, cum Moyses conscenderet in montem. *Habetis Aaron et Hur vobiscum, si quid natum fuerit questionis referetis ad eos*: et Dominus ad Apostolos; *adhuc multa habeo vobis dicere, sed non potestis portare modo*. Hinc variis horis pater-familias mittit operarios in vineam suam. In injuriam igitur Spiritus Sancti, qui ungit unctione sua membra Christi, et qui usque modo operatur, rejicitur quicquid non est dictum ab Apostolis. Quæ ergo mala non sunt, sed utilia et expedientia, licet olim non essent usitata, non sunt tamen spernenda. Possunt ergo esse novæ traditiones ad fidem, et mores spectantes, licet ab Apostolis non sint conditæ et explicatæ.—Salmeron. Comm., tom. xiii. disp. viii. in Epp. Paul. p. 214. Colon. 1614.

<sup>h</sup> “I consider if the report of traditions in the primitive times so near the ages Apostolic was so uncertain, that they were fain to aim at them by conjectures, and grope as in the dark, the uncertainty is much increased since, because there are many famous writers whose works are lost, which yet if they had continued, they might have been good records to us, as Clemens Romanus, Hegesippus, Nepos, Coracion, Dionysius Areopagita, of Alexandria, of Corinth, Firmilian, and many more. And since we see pretences have been made without reason, in those ages where they might better have been confuted than now they can, it is greater prudence to suspect any later pretences, since so many sects have been, so many wars, so many corruptions in authors, so many authors lost, so much ignorance hath intervened, and so many interests have been served, that now the rule is to be altered; and whereas it was of old time credible, that that was Apostolical whose beginning they knew not, now, quite contrary, we cannot safely believe them to be Apostolical unless we do know their beginning to have been from the Apostles. For this consisting of

§ 30. Religion indeed is a bond, by the condition whereof we persuade ourselves of peace with God; of attaining the good and avoiding the ill, which belongs to those that are so or otherwise. And thus far it is certain, that religion is a thing bred in man's nature, which it is impossible for him to shake off or renounce. But is it impossible for him to become persuaded hereof upon undue terms? Whence, then, comes all false religion, whether of Jews or Pagans? For we shall not need here to consider Mahometans, whose religion supposeth Christianity, as the corruption of it.

§ 31. Surely he that considers not amiss will find that it was a great ease to them, that were convinced to acknowledge a God above them, to imagine the name and honour of this God to rest in something of their own choice or devising, which being set up by themselves, reason would, they should hope to please, and have propitious, by such obedience and service as they could allow. Correspondently, God, having given the Jews a law of such precepts as might be outwardly performed without inward obedience, whosoever believes the most difficult point of God's service to be the submission of the heart, will find it a gain, that he can persuade himself of God's peace without it, whatsoever trouble, whatsoever cost he be at, for that persuasion, otherwise.

§ 32. If, then, there be in man's nature a principle of Paganism and Judaism, notwithstanding that men cannot be at quiet till, by embracing a religion, they think they are at peace with God; is it a strange thing, that they who have attained the truth of Christianity should entertain a persuasion of peace with God upon terms really inconsequent to, or inconsistent with, the true intent of it? Surely, if we reflect upon the motives of it, and the nature of them, it cannot seem strange. I have said, and it is manifest, that the motives of Christianity, though sufficient, yet were purposely provided not to be constraining, that the effect of them might

probabilities and particulars, which put together make up a moral demonstration, the argument which I now urge hath been growing these fifteen hundred years; and if anciently there was so much as to evacuate the authority of tradition, much more is there now absolutely to destroy it, when all the particulars which time and infinite variety

of human accidents have been amassing together, are now concentered, and are united by way of constipation. Because every age and every great change, and every heresy, and every interest, hath increased the difficulty of finding out true tradition."—Jeremy Taylor, *Liberty of Propheying*, § 5. pp. 87, 88. London, 1647.

be the trial of those dispositions that should be moved therewith.

§ 33. And is it a marvel that means to persuade those that have received Christianity, that things inconsistent with that which was first delivered, are indeed consequent to the same, should be left among those that profess that they ought to receive nothing but what was first delivered by our Lord and His Apostles? I say nothing now of renouncing Christianity while men profess this, for I confess and insist, that while men do believe that there is a society of men, visible by the name of the Church, it will not be possible for them to forget their whole Christianity, or to embrace the contrary of it. But I say, that notwithstanding the profession of receiving Christianity from our Lord and His Apostles, the present Church may admit laws—whether of belief or of communion—inconsistent with that which they received at first.

§ 34. I allege further, that so long as all parts of the Church held free intercourse and correspondence with one another, it was a thing either difficult or altogether impossible, to bring such things either into the persuasion or practice of all parts of it, according to the difficulty of bringing so great a body to agree in any thing against which any part might protest with effect. And this held not only before the Church was engrafted into the state of the Roman empire, but also so long after as this accessory help of Christianity did not obscure, and in the end extinguish, the original intercourse and correspondence of the Church. For then it grew both possible and easy for them, who had the secular power on their side, to make that which the authority thereof was employed to maintain, to pass for tradition in the Church: seeing it is manifest, that in the ordinary language of Church writers, tradition signifies no less that which the Church delivers to succeeding ages, than that which it received from the Apostles.

§ 35. Add hereunto the opinion of the authority of the Church, truly pretended originally, within the true bounds, but by neglecting the due bounds of the truth of Christianity which it supposeth, infinitely extended to all states which power may have interest to introduce. For if it be not impossible to persuade those who know they have received

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their Christianity upon motives provided by God—to convince the judgments and consciences of all that see them, to embrace those things to which the witness of them may be applied—that they are to embrace whatsoever either the express act, or the silent practice, of the Church enforces, whether the motives of faith be applicable to them or not; then is it not impossible to persuade them any thing which this power shall think to be for their interest to persuade; for no man's interest it can be to go about to persuade the world that express contradictories are both true at once.

§ 36. And if it were not impossible that the imaginations of most of them, that dispute controversies for the Church of Rome, should be so embroiled with the equivocation of this word Church, as not to distinguish the infallible authority thereof, as a multitude of men not to be deceived in testifying the truth, from the authority of it, as a body constituted upon supposition of the same; shall it not be easy for those who can obtain a reputation of the world, that their act is to oblige the whole Church to obtain of the same, to make no difference between that which is presently decreed, and that which was originally delivered by the Apostles; the said difference remaining disputable, not only by any text of Scripture, but by any record of historical truth, testifying the contrary to have passed for truth in any other age or part of the Church.

How religion delivered by tradition

§ 37. Upon these premises I do appeal to the common sense of all men to judge, whether the Church, professing to hold nothing but by tradition from the Apostles<sup>i</sup>, may not

<sup>i</sup> In hac autem traditione prædicationis Apostolicæ, quam illi fingunt, se ignorare, duo sunt potissimum consideranda; alterum nunquam aliquid in Ecclesia, universali consensu, ut fidei dogma fuisse receptum, quod postea sit recantatum, aut mutatum, quia non est Deus quasi homo ut mentiatur, nec ut filius hominis, ut mutetur, Et ut Apostolus ait, *Si quæ destruxi, iterum hæc reedifico, prævaricatorem me constituo.* Et ut in alio loco testatur, *Sermo noster qui fuit apud vos, non est in illo est, et non, sed in illo, est.* Quod perinde est ac si dixisset, prædicationem Apostolicam in nullo sibi contradixisse, aut repugnasse, nec aliquem Apostolum aliquid ex his quæ dixit, recan-

tasse, nec sibi aut alteri reclamasse. Cum tamen hæretici et inter se, et quisque sibi ipsi mirum in modum contradixerint, et multa recantaverint; ut testantur antilogiæ Lutheri per Joannem Fabrum scriptæ, et triplex Staphyli Theologia. Imo ut Georgius Dux Saxonix, Catholicus dicere solitus erat, se quidem nosse quid eo anno sui crederent, quid autem sequenti anno credituri essent, ignorare. Alterum est; Ecclesia etsi contradictionem in doctrina fidei non admittat; admittit tamen additionem, seu explicationem in essentialibus fidei mysteriis; et in accidentariis et quæ ad substantiam non faciunt, etiam mutationem, sive abrogationem. Nec hæc unitati Ec-

be induced to admit that as received from the Apostles, which indeed never was delivered by the Apostles. For when the Socinians pretend<sup>k</sup> that the faith of the Trinity, of the incarnation and satisfaction of our Lord Christ, not being delivered by the Apostles in their writings, crept into the Church as soon as they were dead, they still maintain that nothing is to be admitted but what comes from our Lord and His Apostles; but upon their supposition that Antichrist came into the Church as soon as they were dead, are obliged to renounce all that can be pretended to come by tradition, and in that very next age.

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becomes  
subject to  
be cor-  
rupted.

§ 38. Which, I yield and insist, that whosoever shall consider the intercourse and correspondence visibly established by the Apostles, between all parts of the Church, shall easily perceive to be a contradiction to common sense. But when so much difference is visible between the state of the Church in several ages, and what change hath succeeded in things manifest, to infer what may have succeeded in things disputable, he must have his mind well and thoroughly possessed with prejudice, to the utter renouncing of common sense, that can endure a demand so contrary to all appearance, to be imposed upon his common sense.

§ 39. The same I say to the other demands, of certain and sensible distances of time, which they that see the end of may be certainly assured what was received at the beginning of them, and so, by mean distances, this age, what was held by the Apostles; of the like time, for blotting out the remembrance of the truth, as for introducing falsehood. For it is evidently true, that the motives of Christianity could never have prevailed to introduce it into the belief and profession of all Christendom, had they not been true; but it followeth not, therefore, that Christianity being settled, and a power to

clesiæ repugnant, imo eam plurimum illustrant et confirmant. Est enim ut Aurora consurgens, *pulchra ut luna, electa ut sol, terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata*. Est quidem ut Aurora, per omnes partes extensa, ut proficiens majoris augmenti luminis, de qua ait Solomon, *justorum semita, quasi lux splendens, procedit, et crescit usque ad perfectam diem*. Pulchra est ut luna, quæ a sole justitiæ illustrata noctem sæculi Evangelica luce illuminat.

Electa est ut sol, in futuræ et triumphantis gloriæ statu, ubi justii fulgebunt, sicut sol, in regno patris eorum. Denique terribilis est ut castrorum acies ordinata, non solum aëreis potestatibus, et tyrannis, et eorum organis hæreticis, quos semper in certamine vincit; sed etiam amabilis bonis ob virtutum et charismatum Ecclesiæ ordinem.—Salmeron. Comm., tom. xiii. Disputat. vi. pp. 207, 208. Colon. 1614.

<sup>k</sup> See chap. xxiii. sect. 3.

conclude the Church lawfully vested in some members of it, in behalf of the whole, within due bounds; the act of this power transgressing the due bounds, shall not be able to produce, in so great a body, an opinion of the like obligation upon the express act of this power, as upon tradition truly derived from the Apostles.

§ 40. For the truth of Christianity professed, called in question men's lives and fortunes, which they were not therefore so ready to engage upon an imposture. But, if when sovereigns own the act of that power which concludeth the Church, he that acknowledges it not, calls in question his estate and reputation, or whatsoever good of this world the protection of the Church engageth. Upon this account, then, it is possible that innovation should come into the Church without calling in question the common principle, that nothing is to be admitted which comes not from the Apostles. Nay, without calling in question other points of Christianity, so received; because nothing hinders things inconsistent with, or at least impertinent to, that which the Apostles have delivered, to be received, as consequent to that which indeed they have delivered, though not as expressly contained in the same.

§ 41. And because I would not speak without instance in a business so general, I demand of those that hold this opinion, whether they believe that the Greek and Latin Church, at such time as the schism fell out between them, did both believe tradition as well as Scripture: and when it appears that there was no visible difference between them in that regard, at that time, I shall desire them to tell me what they think of their demand, that all sectaries have always left tradition<sup>1</sup> to betake themselves to Scripture alone. For though I pretend not to suppose either the one party or the other guilty of schism or heresy in this place, yet I pretend it visible to common sense,

<sup>1</sup> Circa traditiones, hæretici non solum antiqui sed etiam moderni rejiciunt illas, asserentes ea omnia, quæ spectant ad fidem, et mores, exprimi in sacra Scriptura, nihil aliud volentes admittere, ut videre est apud D. Augustinum, lib. i. *contra Maximum* Episcopum Arianum rejicientem voces quæ extra Scripturam sunt; et contra

Macedonianos et Eunomianos negantes versiculum: *Gloria Patri*, quia non exprimitur in Scriptura. Ex modernis nonnulli concedunt tantum traditiones Ecclesiasticas, Apostolorum vero, seu Christi omnino negant.—Bordoni, Sac. Tribunal., cap. vii. § 19, 20. tom. i. p. 224. Lugduni, 1665.



that they who pretend to receive nothing but from the Apostles, may think that which is not, to be received from the Apostles, unless contradictories may be both true at once.

§ 42. Another instance I will give that learned gentleman, Thomas White<sup>m</sup>—who professeth to put Richworth's Dialogues into the world as his ward, and an orphan—out of the book which he hath published of the mean state of souls between death and the general judgment, to shew that there is a tradition of the Church, that the greatest part of the souls of Christians that are not damned, continue in a state of joy or grief proportionable to the affection they had to this world while they were of it, to be purged thereof at the general judgment, but are not translated, by any prayers of the

<sup>m</sup> Me opposita in plerisque detinet sententia. Mortalium a venialibus defectibus actionis humanæ dissidentiam agnosco; solvi quoque lethalem impunitatem imperfecte non inficior: sed non in eo consistere hanc imperfectionem quod culpa plene sit deleta, maneat pœnarum reliquiæ, sed quod affectus absolutus in conditionatum sit translatus. Quasi dicas pro *volo* substitutum sit, *Nolo, sed o' si liceret*. Existimat itaque talis homo præferendum esse æternum bonum, et hoc vita et actione perficit: sed ipsum vitandum adhuc amabile quasi retorto oculo in-tuetur, et ut vaccæ arcam reportantes ad vitulos domi clausos remugit. Compressus itaque est ad bonum temporarium affectus, non extinctus; factus est ex mortali venialis; mutatus non penitus ablatus.

Hic ergo cum mortis prælo in spiritum subsistentem fuerit expressus, secum fert unde torqueatur, sicut et qui aliis affectibus venialiter detortis obsessus egreditur corpore. Non itaque locum uspiam tartareis oppletum ferulis cogitamus, quibus animæ ab extrinseco torture lanienam patiantur, sed intimam et viscitum ingenitam affectuum contra rationem rabiem et furias horrescimus. Hanc peccatis propterea proportionatam esse, quia ab iis prognatam: Alioquin indelebilem, nisi anima iterum, mediante corporis conjunctione, patiens evadat. Hoc in resurrectione per duplicem ignis actionem in actum perduci; corporei, qui corporum materiam ad Angelica ministeria et adaptationem corporum ad unitatem cum spiritibus præparare sit idoneus; et spiritalis, qui est judi-

cium Christi seu visio corporea et mentalis Christi Domini, quæ transfert animarum dispositionem ab ea distortionem quæ ex corporeo complexu remanserat, in eam quæ sit ad visionem beatificam congrua præparatio. Et in hoc consistere pœnarum vel—ut Scripturæ loquuntur—peccatorum remissionem. Preces porro sanctorum sive jam Deo fruentium, sive in corpore aut extra corpus adhuc in ænigmatem peregrinantium, ad hunc effectum valere suo tempore præstandum. . . .

Et in fronte duo evidentissima sacræ Scripturæ testimonia colloco. Primum ex posteriori Macchabæorum libro cap. xii. ubi narratur Judas Macchabæus misisse Hierosolimam pecunias ad curanda sacrificia pro peccatis mortuorum. . . .

Affirmamus itaque nos, evidenter convinci ex hoc testimonio, non solvi pœnis purgatorii animas ante resurrectionem.—Thom. White, de Medio Animarum Statu, pp. 3—5. Paris. 1653.

Liberius a Jesu in his Controversies, speaks as follows of this position of White's, which also is held by the Greeks: Errorem hunc una cum pluribus aliis insolenti calamo tutatur quidam Thomas Anglicus, in libro de medio statu animarum Londini impresso, ubi distinguens morientes in peccato veniali—quod constituit in quodam conditionato affectu hactenus inaudito—a morientibus in mortali, primos asserit in eo statu medio, qui purgatorium dicitur, usque ad diem judicii detentum iri.—Tract. ii. de Purgatorio, par. ii. Disp. ii. Controv. iv. tom. i. col. 219. Mediolani, 1743.

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Church, to the kingdom of heaven from purgatory pains. For I demand of him that believes this, whether it be received now or not, how he will defend his ward, that maintains the present tradition to be always the same. For if it be said that it is not decreed by the Church<sup>n</sup>, though generally believed, and practised accordingly, I will say that my business is done when the most votes, by so many degrees, are consenting to that which he maintains is contrary to the tradition of the Apostles, his vote, and perhaps two or three more in the communion of the Church of Rome, not hindering that which is received in practice to be a more effectual law in force than abundance of things enacted in writing that will never come to effect.

§ 43. A third instance I will give, in the difference between the reformation and the Church of Rome, concerning the canon of Scripture; supposing that the late Scholastical History<sup>o</sup> thereof hath made evidence that those books belonging to the Old Testament, which the council of Trent<sup>226</sup> maketh canonical Scripture, were never received for such from the Apostles; inasmuch as it is evident that there were, in all ages of the Church, that did not take them for canonical Scripture. For, this being supposed, what question can re-

<sup>n</sup> *Sexta hæresis docet, nullam animam ante diem judicii esse beatam: quoniam, ut ait, nulla anima ante illum diem videt Deum. Hujus hæresis auctores sunt Armeni. Eandem etiam tuentur Græci. Verum hi—teste Guidone—multo magis delirant, quoniam sicut negant beatitudinem dari justis ante diem judicii, ita etiam negant pœnam dari peccatoribus ante illum diem. Post istos resurrexit Johannes XXII. hujus nominis Pontifex. Sed ne verbis meis aliquis in hac parte fidem derogat, verba Adriani Papæ referam, qui in suo quarto sententiarum in calce cujusdam quæstionis de Sacramento confirmationis ita ait: 'Novissime fertur de Johanne XXII. quod publice docuit, declaravit, et ab omnibus teneri mandavit, quod animæ purgatæ ante finale judicium non habent stolam, quæ est clara et facialis visio Dei.' . . . . Hæc Adrianus. Præter hos sunt adhuc alii hujus erroris patroni, viri quidem illustres, sanctitate perinde ac scientia clari: Irenæus videlicet beatissimus pro Christo martyr, Theophy-*

*lactus Bulgariae Episcopus, beatus Bernardus. Nec mirari quisquam debet, si tanti viri in tam pestiferum errorem sunt lapsi: quoniam—ut beatus Jacobus Apostolus cap. iii. ait—'Qui non offendit in verbo hic perfectus est vir. Admonere tamen hic oportet lectorem, ne putet hunc errorem aliquid tantorum virorum sanctitati, aut doctrinae detrahare; nam cum illo tempore nunquam Ecclesia de hac re quidquam definisset, nec res illa fuisset unquam in quæstionem vocata, nec tam expressa fuissent sacrae Scripturae pro illius definitione testimonia, ut non possent in alium sensum utumque detorqueri: potuerunt eo tempore alteram partem docere, præsertim cum non deessent aliqua Scripturae testimonia, quæ illis quodammodo favere viderentur.—Alfons. à Castro, advers. Hæres., lib. iii. Beatitudo, p. 109. Matriti, 1773.*

<sup>o</sup> *A Scholastical History of the Canon of the Holy Scripture. By Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham. London, 1672.*

main that this decree cannot be taken to proceed from tradition of the Apostles, but from a mistake in the power of the Church, as grounded upon a gift of infallibility, tied by God upon the visible act of persons enabled to decree in council? Otherwise, men of reason would not have taken upon them to make that canonical Scripture, which there is evidence that they never received for canonical Scripture.

§ 44. And indeed I, who have no more to demand here, but that something may be thought by the Church to come from the Apostles, which, in truth, it never received from the Apostles, do seek no more by the premises but this; that no general presumption from the present Church be receivable against evidence of historical truth in the records of by-past ages; that men will not take that for the tradition of the Catholic Church, which some part of the Church, they see, hath not owned for such; that they will abate of the generality of their position, as the particulars, out of which the induction must rise, may require.

§ 45. I take not upon me to say here, that any foundation of faith necessary to the salvation of all, hath been, or can have been, extinguished by tradition of the present Church. But I say here, that something may be taken by the present Church to come from the Apostles, which, in truth, comes not from the Apostles. And so long as that is true, I say that the choice of religion cannot be prejudged by common sense, without taking into consideration the weight of those truths which may appear to be held otherwise by the present Church than, originally, they have been received from the Apostles.

§ 46. Now to that which is said<sup>p</sup>, that unless Christianity continue as it was delivered, the possibilities provided by God to that end will be in vain; though it be a dispute as unseasonable here, as to little purpose, yet, because it requires no more than common sense to judge, I say that the ends of God's creatures and works are none of God's ends. My meaning is, that it is one thing to say God would have this to be the end of His creature—happiness, for example, to be the end of man—another thing to say that He made man to bring him to happiness; the difference being the same in the

<sup>p</sup> See chap. xxix. sect. 31.

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works of His providence, whether it be said that He provided such means as of their nature tended to propagate the truth of Christianity preached by the Apostles to all posterity, or that He intended thereby to propagate the same; in a word, whether it be said to be God's end, or the end of His works.

§ 47. And truly, he that says it was God's end, consequently says that God falls short of His end, if it come not to pass. But he that will speak of God with reverence, must not imagine that He hath any end but Himself, nor that He doth any thing to any other end than to exercise and declare His own perfections. If He do sundry things, which, of their nature, have necessarily such an end as they attain not, it is to be said that God's end never fails, insomuch as, by failing of the end to which they were made, they become the subject of some other part of that providence wherein His perfections are exercised and declared.

§ 48. Seeing, then, that all controversies concerning the faith have visibly their original from some passages of Scripture, which, being presupposed true before the foundation of the Church, ought to be acknowledged, but cannot be constituted by it; and seeing that no man, that out of the conscience of a Christian hath embraced all that is written, can deny that which he may have cause to believe to be the sense of the least part of the Scripture, without ground to take away that belief, it remains that the way to abate controversies is to rest content with the means that God hath left us to determine the sense of the Scripture, not undertaking to tie men further to it, than the applying of those means will infer.

§ 49. And truly, to imagine that the authority of the Church, or the dictate of God's Spirit, should satisfy doubts of that nature, without shewing the means by which other records of learning are understood, and so resolving those doubts which the Scriptures necessarily raise in all them that believe them to be true, and the word of God, is more than <sup>227</sup> huge cart-loads of commentaries upon the Scriptures have been able to do. Which being written upon supposition of certain determinations pretended by the Church, or certain positions, which, tending to reform abuses in the Church, were taken for testified by God's Spirit, have produced no

effect, but an utter despair of coming to resolution, or at least acknowledgment of resolution, in the sense of the Scriptures. CHAP.  
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§ 50. Whereas, let men capable of understanding, and managing the means heretofore mentioned, think themselves free, as indeed they ought to be, of all prejudices which the partialities on foot in the Church may have prepossessed them with, and come to determine the meaning thereof by the means so prescribed, and within those bounds which the consent of the Church acknowledges; they shall no sooner discern how the primitive Christianity, which we have from the Apostles, becomes propagated to us, but they shall no less clearly discern the same in their writings.

§ 51. And if God have so great a blessing for Christendom, as the grace to look upon what hath been written with this freedom, there hath been so much of the meaning of the Scripture already discovered by those that have laid aside such prejudices, and so much of it is in the way to be discovered every day, if the means be pursued, as, is well to be hoped, will and may make partizans think upon the reason they have to maintain partialities in the Church. If God have not this blessing in store for Christendom, it remains that without or against all satisfaction of conscience concerning the truth of contrary pretences, men give themselves up to follow and profess that which the protection of secular power shall shew them means to live and thrive by. In which condition, whether there be more of atheism or of Christianity, I leave to Him who alone sees all men's hearts, to judge. [Divisions  
lead to  
atheism.]

## CHAPTER XXXI.

THE DISPUTE CONCERNING THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE, AND THE TRANSLATIONS THEREOF, IN TWO QUESTIONS. THERE CAN BE NO TRADITION FOR THOSE BOOKS THAT WERE WRITTEN SINCE PROPHECY CEASED. WHEREIN THE EXCELLENCY OF THEM ABOVE OTHER BOOKS LIES. THE CHIEF OBJECTIONS AGAINST THEM ARE QUESTIONABLE. IN THOSE PARCELS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT THAT HAVE BEEN QUESTIONED THE CASE IS NOT THE SAME. THE SENSE OF THE CHURCH.

HAVING thus resolved the main point in doubt, it cannot be denied, notwithstanding, that there are some parts or ap- The dis-  
pute con-  
cerning

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purtenances of the question that remain as yet undecided. For as long as it is only said that the Scripture, interpreted by the consent of the Church, is a sufficient mean to determine any thing controverted in matter of Christian truth, there is nothing said, till it appear what these Scriptures are, and in what records they are contained. And truly it is plain that there remains a controversy<sup>a</sup> concerning the credit of some part of those writings, which have been indifferently copied and printed for the Old Testament, commonly marked in our English Bibles by the title of Apocrypha, and no less concerning the credit of the copies wherein they are recorded.

§ 2. For though it is certain and evident that the Old Testament hath been derived from the Hebrew, the New from the Greek, in which at first they were delivered to the Church; yet seeing it appeareth not of itself impossible—such changes may have succeeded in the copies—that the copies which the Jews now use of the Old Testament, are further from that which was first delivered than the vulgar Latin, as also the copies of the Greek Testament now extant; it is a very plain case, that, this doubt remaining, it is not yet resolved what are the principles, what the means to determine the truth in matters questionable concerning Christianity.

§ 3. I must further distinguish two questions that may be made in both these points before I go further; for it is evidently one thing to demand whether those writings which I said remain questionable, are to be counted part of the Old

<sup>a</sup> Seponuntur capita quædam canonica in Leiturgia Anglicana, substitutis quibusdam ex hisce Apocryphis, ut publice legantur in Ecclesia, ergo videntur æqualis saltem nobis, si non majoris, esse cum canonicis auctoritatis.

Solutio. In lectione publica non semper illud proponitur, quod in se est præstantius, sed quod auditorum ædificationi magis inserviat. I Corinth. xiv. 26. Non æquantur igitur Apocrypha canonicis, dum sic leguntur, sed ut instituta quædam facilia interponuntur, quæ ad canonica amplectenda—ut homiliæ et conciones—tardiores excitent. Sic Genesios quædam capita et Salomonis canticum Judæi non legunt in synagogis, ut capiti populari minus accommodata. Sic

etiam nec ex lectis Chronicorum genealogiis, Ezechielis templi architectonicis, aut Johannis Apocalypsi, rudiores multum proficerent.

Ob. 7. Compinguntur etiam cum Bibliis a nostris ut partes integrantes, ergo videntur esse ejusdem momenti.

Solutio. Non urgenda sunt hæc ab illis tam ferociter in Apocrypha, qui marginalia sua annotamenta textui tam libere adjiciunt. Ne conciones ipsorum nonnullæ, inveniantur esse non canonicæ. Sat fit cordatis, titulis ista distingui, quæ eodem cohærent volumine, ut non pro canonicis illi habeantur libri, qui leguntur sub titulo Apocryphorum.—Prideaux, Fasciculus Controv. Theolog. de Scriptura, p. 17. Oxon. 1649.

Testament or not; another, whether they are to be read by Christians, either for particular information, or for public edification at the assemblies of the Church. And likewise, as concerning the other point, it is one thing to demand what 228 copy is to be held for authentic, another thing to dispute how every copy is to be used and frequented in the Church; to wit, whether translations in mother languages are to be had, and into what credit they are to be received.

§ 4. For it is manifest that the one sense of both questions demands what the body of the Church either may do, or ought to do, in proposing or prohibiting the said writings or copies, to be used by the members thereof, for their edification in Christian piety; but the other, what credit they have in themselves upon such grounds as are, in nature and reason, more ancient than the authority of the Church, and which the being and constitution thereof presupposeth. And as manifest as it is that these are two questions, so manifest must it needs remain that the one of them, to wit, that which concerns the authority of the Church, and the effect of it, does not belong to this place, nor come to be decided, but upon supposition of all the means God hath given His Church to be resolved of any truth that becomes questionable.

§ 5. As for the other part of both questions, though it hath been, and may be, among them that will not understand the difference between principles and conclusions—because it is for their turn that differences in religion should be everlasting—the subject of great volumes written for and against; yea, to them that are content to set aside that which cannot here be decided, I am confident there remains so little to be said, that the resolution of them will appear to be mere consecratories and inferences from that truth which hitherto hath been premised. For supposing that which common sense is able to inform, that the writings which we call Apocrypha are more ancient than the Church of Christ; and that whether they were written by inspiration from God, as we believe the law and the prophets to have been, the Church never had any express revelation, beside the credit upon which it received them from the synagogue; it remains that whether they were received by the synagogue as inspired by God, is all that can remain questionable; seeing it is not

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within the compass of common sense to imagine, that being not inspired by God at the beginning when they were penned, they can become inspired by God by virtue of any act of the Church, inducing them to be received for such.

There can be no tradition for those books that were written since prophecy ceased.

§ 6. Here then is to be seen the use of that distinction which was made between the Church, as a society of men visible to common sense, and the same Church as a society of men founded by God, and visible only to the faith of Christians. For the belief of this latter presupposes the truth of Christianity, the motives whereof, without more ado, must evidence the truth of the 'Scriptures: and so this question must be decided by such means as are more evident than the being of the Church in this latter sense, to wit, by the being thereof in the former sense. And this is that which I said, that the testimony of the synagogue in matters of this nature, is every whit of as much force as the testimony of the Church; both of them proceeding upon the same evidence, which the visible consent of such a company of men advanceth to common sense.

§ 7. In fine, if it may appear that the writings in question were from the beginning admitted by the synagogue in the nature of writings inspired by God, there will remain no cause why they should not be received into the same credit with other writings, whereof the Old and New Testament consisteth; if it may appear to the contrary, it will be utterly in vain to allege any act of the Church to enforce that which is as evidently beyond the power of the Church, as it is evident that there is such a thing as the Church. Neither can there be any question whether these writings were ever received by the synagogue in this nature, seeing it is evident that they do not receive any prophets after Malachi. I will not undertake that they do not believe that any body after that time was inspired by God to foretell things to come, for that is not all that belongs to those whose writings are to be received as inspired by God.

§ 8. It must appear further that they are sent by God to His people with commission to declare His will to them; there must be evidence that they are moved to speak by the Holy Ghost, and, by consequence, the people of God, to whom they are moved to speak, obliged to receive them: how else should



the gifts of God's Spirit, and the commission upon which they  
 229 that have it are sent, challenge of duty the acknowledgment<sup>r</sup>  
 of God's people? I read in Josephus<sup>s</sup> of divers things foretold  
 with truth after this time<sup>t</sup>, nor do I find myself obliged to  
 maintain that the motions were not from God. But inasmuch  
 as they were not furnished with such means as God appoints,  
 to manifest unto His people, whom He sends on His message,  
 they are not to receive them as sent from God, whatsoever His  
 secret purpose may be in sending such motions; but shall  
 always remain obliged to govern themselves according to His  
 will otherwise declared.

§ 9. Now there is nothing more manifest than the declara-  
 tion of Josephus<sup>u</sup>, *contra Apion*. i., intending to acquaint the  
 Gentiles with the faith and laws of the Jews; that until the time  
 of Artaxerxes that succeeded Xerxes—being, in his opinion,  
 the time whereof I speak—the prophets had written the relation  
 of their own times: but after that time things were written in-  
 deed, but not with the like credit, because there was no suc-  
 cession of prophets. And what can be more agreeable to the  
 conclusion of the prophet Malachi, iv. 4—6, where, having  
 warned them to give heed to the law of Moses, the statutes  
 and ordinances which God by him had given Israel, “Be-  
 hold,” saith he, “I send you Elias the prophet, before the  
 great and terrible day of the Lord come, and he shall turn the  
 hearts of the fathers to the children, and of the children to the  
 fathers, lest I come and smite the land with a curse:” which  
 the Gospel tells us was fulfilled in sending John the Baptist  
 to make way for the Christ, the chief and end of all the pro-  
 phets, Luke i. 17, Matt. xi. 14, xvii. 11, 12, according to the  
 saying of the ancient Jews, that the Christ is to be anointed,  
 that is, solemnly invested in his office by Elias.

§ 10. And for this reason, when Judas Maccabeus purged  
 the temple, and the question was, what should be done with

<sup>r</sup> “To be acknowledged by God's  
 people.”—MS.

<sup>s</sup> See Right of the Church, Review,  
 chap. ii. sect. 10.

<sup>t</sup> “After the time of ceasing of pro-  
 phecy.”—MS.

<sup>u</sup> Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μωϋσεως τελευτῆς  
 μεχρὶ τῆς Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ μετὰ Ξέρξην  
 Περσῶν βασιλείας ἀρχῆς οἱ μετὰ Μωϋσῆν  
 προφήται τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς πρᾶξέντα συνέ-

γραψαν ἐν τρισὶ καὶ δέκα βιβλίοις· αἱ  
 δὲ λοιπαὶ τέσσαρες ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν  
 Θεὸν καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὑποθήκας τοῦ  
 βίου περιέχουσιν· ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου  
 μεχρὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται  
 μὲν ἕκαστα· πίστεως δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίας  
 ἤξίωται τοῖς πρὶ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ  
 γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ  
 διαδοχὴν.—P. 1333. ed. Hudson. Oxon.  
 1720.

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§ 11. If therefore there were no prophecy from those times to the coming of our Lord and John the Baptist, it followeth that there is no Scripture inspired by God left us by those times, according to the words of Eusebius in his Chronicle at the thirty-second<sup>x</sup> year of this Artaxerxes: *Hucusque Hebræorum divinæ Scripturæ, annales temporum continent*, "Hitherto the divine Scriptures of the Hebrews contain the annals of the times." And the synagogue in St. Hierome, *in Isaia. cap. xlix. lib. xiii. y, Post Aggæum, et Zachariam, et Malachiam, nullos alios prophetas usque ad Joannem Baptistam videram*. "From Haggai, Zachary, and Malachy to John the Baptist, I had seen no other prophets." And so St. Augustine *de Civ. Dei, xvii. 24 z, Toto autem illo tempore ex quo redierunt de Babylonia, post Malachiam, Aggæum, et Zachariam, qui tunc prophetaverunt, et Esdram, non habuerunt prophetas usque ad Salvatoris adventum*. "All that time from their return from Babylonia, after Haggai, Zachary, and Malachy, who then prophesied, and Esdras, they had no prophets till the Saviour's coming:" excepting those whom we find mentioned in the Gospels.

§ 12. And truly it is manifest by historical truth, that there

<sup>x</sup> Roncallius, in his edition of the Chronicles, places this at the twentieth year of Artaxerxes. — Vetust. Lat. Chron., p. 343. Patav. 1787.

<sup>y</sup> Tom. iii. col. 356. ed. Ben.

<sup>z</sup> Tom. vii. col. 487. ed. Ben. He goes on as follows:—

Nisi alium Zachariam patrem Joannis et Elisabet ejus uxorem, Christi nativitate jam proxima, et eo jam nato Simeonem senem, et Annam viduam jamque grandævam, et ipsum Johannem novissimum.

was a part of that nation that gave themselves to use the Greek language in their dispersions, whereas those that returned into the land of promise, as well as those that remained in Babylonia, had learned the language of that country, being very near their own, which was retained only amongst the book-learned. Seeing then that it is manifest that these books were committed to writing in the Greek, for the most part at least, it cannot in reason be imagined that the whole nation acknowledged them as Scriptures inspired by God must have been acknowledged; which no man can say that ever they came generally to be used by the whole nation, or could come to be used, being only in Greek.

§ 13. We shall not find much of them translated for the use of them that conversed in the Hebrew, unless it be Tobit. For Ecclesiasticus it is true was first written in Hebrew, and but translated into Greek; when the Old Testament was translated into Greek, then, and among them that used it, were they added to the writings of the prophets, and so received by the Church, that received those Scriptures from them in Greek, in the same nature, and upon the like credit, as it was visible they held them from the time that first they were received.

§ 14. It is now no marvel to see some men<sup>a</sup>, upon the truth of these reasons, quite renounce all the advantage which Christianity hath, by the witness which these writings, being impartial, as uttered before it came into the world, do render it; because they are unduly advanced by others to the rank of those that are inspired by God. For the spirit of contradiction naturally carries weak men to oversee, to destroy their own interest, so they may be far enough from those whom they desire to bear down. So we are content to yield the Socinians all the advantage which the consent of the Church gives us against them, upon condition that the differences we have with the Church of Rome may be decided by Scripture alone; and so are we content to betray the Church to fight

Wherein the excellency of them above other books lies.

<sup>a</sup> Ex his aliisque hujusmodi innumeris concludi potest, aut hanc Græcam versionem, quæ ad nostra tempora pervenit, non illam esse quam Septuaginta Judaici seniores ediderunt, aut esse tam infinite fædeque depravatam, ut authoritatis perexiguæ nunc sit. Nam ne ipse Hieronymus puram habuit

translationem Græcam Septuaginta interpretum. Illam enim quam habuit, corruptam vitiosamque esse sæpe in commentariis conqueritur.—Whitaker. Controv. i. Quæst. ii. cap. iii. p. 280. Genève, 1610. See also Dr. John Owen's Divine Original . . . . of the Scriptures, pp. 314—316. Oxford, 1659.

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I.

without the arms that are to be had out of these books, that we may be free of them when they seem to cross some prejudice wherein we have engaged ourselves.

[Of the  
books of  
Maccabees.]

§ 15. But if that which hath been said<sup>b</sup> of the fulfilling of the prophets in the literal sense, at this time, between the return from captivity and the coming of our Lord, be not premised amiss, without doubt all the world could not recompense the loss of the books of Maccabees, and the use of them to the understanding of the prophets, so inestimable is the benefit of them to that purpose. And truly I should not stick to the reasons which I have premised if I should not observe here, that when that people began to be persecuted for their religion by the Gentiles, it pleased God so to order the matter, that for their comfort and resolution in adhering to it, the truth of the resurrection and judgment, and the world to come, should be openly and clearly received and professed; which, though never questioned, yet had been sparingly and darkly preached by the prophets themselves.

§ 16. We see it in the exhortations of the mother of the Maccabees to her children, 2 Macc. vii. 27—29, and in their own protestations, according to the words of the Apostle, Heb. xi. 35, 36, that they suffered in consideration of the world to come. And it is as well to be seen in those visions whereby the resurrection is figured out to the prophets Daniel and Ezekiel, for in their time began the persecution of God's people. And as in their time those revelations were granted, so by their doctrine, and the doctrine of the prophets their successors, were the people of God fortified against apostasy by the assurance of the resurrection and the world to come.

[Of the  
books of  
Wisdom  
and Eccle-  
siasticus.]

§ 17. And by this means also, and upon this ground, that inward and spiritual obedience which the mystical intent of the law requireth in order to everlasting life, is so clearly and so plentifully expressed in those moral writings of the Wisdom of Solomon and Ecclesiasticus, that it is a great marvel to see those<sup>c</sup> who are so eager to persuade Christian people to be informed in the law of Moses and the prophets—though many times not knowing the reason upon which the obligation of the law ceaseth, they are not only scandalized thereby

<sup>b</sup> Chap. xiii.

was an offence to the Puritans. See

<sup>c</sup> Reading the Apocrypha in Church Rel. Assembl., chap. x. sect. 92.

with Jewish opinions, but lost, and seduced to be circumcised<sup>d</sup> —so violent to prohibit them the information which from hence they may have in their Christianity. C H A P.  
XXXI.

§ 18. For so sure as the Apostle, in the eleventh to the Hebrews, shews that all the fathers were saved upon the same terms as Christians are; so sure as the fathers of the Church, as I have elsewhere alleged<sup>e</sup>, convince the Jews that the fathers before the law were saved as Christians and not as Jews, so sure an advantage hath Christianity from all that is written before it came in force. Whether because it could not have been received by the synagogue, had it contained things contrary to that rule of piety and means of salvation, which in the synagogue—within which it is acknowledged on all sides that means of salvation was found—was in force; or  
231 whether because being written by the immediate successors of the prophets, they had, as it were, the sound of that doctrine still in their ears which they had received from them by word of mouth. For he that would make a question that the doctrine of the world to come is more plentifully and clearly delivered in these writings than in the Scriptures of the Old Testament inspired by God, and, by consequence, that inward and spiritual obedience, which becomes due in order to the same, more plentifully here described; hath no more to do but to turn over the books and compare them, which will not fail to justify what I affirm.

§ 19. As for the book of Judith—though perhaps ignorant people may scandalize themselves at it—yet I shall profess to think it no disparagement to the credit, or to the right and due use thereof, if the conceit which Grotius<sup>f</sup> hath published [Of the  
book of  
Judith.]

<sup>d</sup> See chap. xxi. sect. 13. note a.

<sup>e</sup> Chap. xii. sect. 10—15.

<sup>f</sup> Multi viri sudant ut quæ hoc libro continentur, quæ ipsi revera ita gesta putant, concilient cum historiis non dubitatis, quæ sunt aut in sacris aut in Græcorum literis. Puto diu sudaturos priusquam aut alii aut sibi satisfaciant; veriusque esse, ea quæ sunt in hoc libro esse *αἰνυματώδη*. Scriptum librum cum primum Antiochus Illustris in Judæam venisset, Templo nondum per idolum polluto, in hoc ut Judæi spe Divinæ liberationis confirmarentur. Nam Jehudith esse Ju-

dæam gentem nemo negaverit. Bethulia est templum. Gladius inde egrediens est preces Sanctorum. Nabuchodonosor Hebræis sæpe diabolum significat, et Assyria fastum, ut notatum et Hieronymo. Diaboli instrumentum Antiochus qui hic tecto nomine Holophernes—id est, Lector Serpentis, Chaldaice, id est, ut jam diximus minister diaboli—Judæam formosam quidem—nam propterea apud Danielem decus dicitur—sed viduam, id est ab omni auxilio desertam, subigere volebat. — Grot. Comm. ad Judith, tom. i. p. 578. Londini, 1679.

BOOK I. and confirmed by several circumstances observed in the tenor of the book, should hold, both in it and in the book of Tobit; to wit, that it was not written for a history, nor requireth historical faith that such a thing was ever done, but as an allegory, or figure, described by way of romance, to express the malice of Satan under the shadow of Nebuchadnezzar against Jewry, signified by Judith, a widow and fair, exercised by his deputy Holofernes, in the person of Antiochus Epiphanes, but trusting in God for deliverance; the rest serving to fill up the relation.

[Of the book of Tobit.]

§ 20. I will not say so much of the book of Tobit, because it is so far from creating any difficulty in point of time, that it helps very much to dissolve those difficulties which are made otherwise. But this I will confidently say, that supposing it to be a mere parable, relating what happened to a true Israelite, in whom was no guile, continuing faithful to God and to His people in a difficult time of persecution, it will be of no less consequence to the animating of Christians in the like course, than supposing the thing related to have come to pass. As for the history of Susanna, what pains Origen hath taken to persuade the learned Julius Africanus—for to him, as we learn by St. Hierome in *Catalogo*<sup>g</sup>, his letter of this subject is directed—that it is a true story, every man that will take the pains to peruse that letter may see.

[Of the history of Susanna.]

§ 21. Some say that the Jews have the same story<sup>h</sup>, differing in the relation of it, in that they make the two elders to be punished by Nebuchadnezzar, not by their own people. And though Origen<sup>i</sup> is witness that the Jews had the power of

<sup>g</sup> Hujus est Epistola ad Origenem super quæstione Susannæ, eo quod dicat in Hebræo hanc fabulam non haberi, nec convenire cum Hebraica etymologia, ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίνου σχίσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίνου πρίσαι: contra quem doctam Epistolam scribit Origenes.—Tom. iv. col. 118. ed. Ben.

<sup>h</sup> Aiunt Hebræi hos esse presbyteros, qui fecerint stultitiam in Israel, et mœchati sunt uxores civium suorum; quorum uni loquitur Daniel, ‘Inveterate dierum malorum:’ et alteri ‘Semen Chanaan,’ &c. . . . Sed illud quod in præsentiarum dicitur: ‘quos frixit rex Babylonis in igne,’ videtur Danielis historiæ contraire. Ille enim asserit eos ad sententiam Danielis a populo

esse lapidatos: hic vero scriptum est, quod frixerit eos rex Babylonis in igne. Unde et a plerisque ac pene omnibus Hebræis, ipsa quasi fabula non recipitur, nec legitur in synagogis eorum. Quî enim, inquit, fieri poterat, ut captivi lapidandi principes et prophetas suos haberent potestatem? Et magis hoc esse verum affirmant, quod scribit Jeremias, convictos quidem esse presbyteros a Daniele: sed latam in eos sententiam a rege Babylonis, qui in captivos ut victor et dominus habebat imperium.—St. Hieron. Comm. in Jerem., lib. v. cap. xxix. tom. iii. col. 668. ed. Ben.

<sup>i</sup> Λεκτέον δ' ὅτι οὐδὲν παράδοξον, μεγάλων ἐθνῶν ὑποχειρίων γενομέ-

the sword sometimes in their dispersions; yet under the Chaldeans, when they were lately transplanted, it is like enough they had it not. For these two elders the Jews will have to be Ahab and Zedekiah, of whom you read, Jer. xxix. 21. And truly there is appearance that this relation, being delivered from hand to hand among the Jews, was at length penned by some of them that used the Greek, and so added to the Greek Bible; for you have in the Great Bible two several editions of it in the Syriac, much differing one from the other in little circumstances, though one of them gives the two elders other names than the Jews do. Which, as it will not allow the writing to be inspired by God, so will it enforce as much edification from it, not detracting from the truth of it.

§ 22. For what doth it detract, that he that wrote it useth an allusion from the names of trees under which they accuse her to have committed uncleanness, which the Greek only bears? Daniel answering to him that saw her under a holm tree, in Greek, *πρίνος, πρίσει σε ὁ Θεός*; to him that said, under a mastic tree, *σχίνος, σχίσει σε ὁ Θεός*; this is indeed an argument, that he who penned it in Greek, was willing to bring in a figure to set forth a conceit which the Hebrew would not bear—for Origen<sup>k</sup> cannot persuade me that there can have been those names for these trees in the Hebrew, though now unknown to us, which hold the same allusion; a chance of ten thousand to one—but is the writing of ever the less effect and consequence to the encouraging and warning of God's people to walk in His law?

§ 23. I will here add the consideration of that which I observe to be common to many of them, and, in my opinion, serves to shew how much there is in them of the sense of the

νων, πρὸς βασιλέως συγκεχωρησθαι τοῖς οἰκείοις νόμοις χρῆσθαι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, καὶ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις· καὶ νῦν γούν Ρωμαίων βασιλευόντων, καὶ Ἰουδαίων τὸ δίδραχμον αὐτοῖς τελούτων, ὅσα συγχωροῦντος Καίσαρος ὁ Ἐθνάρχης παρ' αὐτοῖς δύναται, ὡς μηδὲν διαφέρειν βασιλευόντος τοῦ ἔθνους· ἴσμεν οἱ πεπειραμένοι. γίνεται δὲ καὶ κριτήρια λεληθότως κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ καταδικάζονται τινες τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ. οὔτε μετὰ τῆς πάντη εἰς τοῦτο παρῆσias, οὔτε μετὰ τοῦ λανθάνειν τὸν βασιλεύ-

οντα· καὶ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ ἔθνους πολλὴν διατρίψαντες χρόνον μεμαθήκαμεν καὶ πεπληροφορήμεθα.—Ep. ad African., § 14. tom. i. pp. 27, 28. ed. Ben.

<sup>k</sup> Καὶ τοῦτο δὲ μικροῦ δεῖν ἐλαθέ με ἀναγκαῖον παρατεθῆναι περὶ τοῦ πρίνου πρίσει καὶ σχίνου σχίσειν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις γραφαῖς κείνται τινες οἰονεῖ ἐτυμολογίαι αἰτινες παρὰ μὲν Ἑβραίοις οἰκείως ἔχουσι, παρὰ δὲ ἡμῖν οὐχ ὁμοίως.—Epist. ad African., § 12. tom. i. p. 25. ed. Ben.

BOOK I. New Testament, and of the doctrine of our Lord and His Apostles. This consideration rises thus. St. Hierome<sup>1</sup>, in his preface to the books of Solomon, saith that some ancient Church writers ascribe the book of Wisdom to Philo the Jew: not meaning—as he expressly addeth<sup>m</sup>—that Philo that lived under Caligula, whose works we have, but another, that lived 232 under Onias the high-priest. Therefore, whatsoever may have been said since St. Hierome of the author of this book, cannot make it to be of the age of Caligula<sup>n</sup>.

§ 24. St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xvii. 20<sup>o</sup>, saith that Ecclesiasticus and it both have been ascribed to Solomon—as St. Hierome also, *in Dan.* ix.<sup>p</sup>, saith that Ecclesiasticus was then called Solomon's Wisdom—*propter eloquii nonnullam similitudinem*; “because there is some resemblance between the frame of Solomon's style” and that which they use.

<sup>1</sup> Fertur et *πανάρετος* Jesu filii Sirach liber, et alius *ψευδεπιγραφος*, qui Sapientia Salomonis inscribitur. Quorum priorem, Hebraicum reperi: non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos, sed parabolas prænotatum, cui juncti erant Ecclesiastes et Canticum Canticorum, ut similitudinem Salomonis non solum librorum numero, sed etiam materiarum genere cœquaret. Secundus apud Hebræos nusquam est, quia et ipse stylus Græcam eloquentiam redolet: et nonnulli Scriptorum veterum hunc esse Judæi Philonis affirmant. Sicut ergo Judith et Tobi et Macchabæorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit: sic et hæc duo volumina legat ad ædificationem plebis non ad auctoritatem Ecclesiasticorum dogmatum confirmandam.—S. Hieron. *Opp.*, tom. i. coll. 938, 939. ed. Ben.

<sup>m</sup> See note p below.

<sup>n</sup> Veteres plerique librum a Philone quodam scriptum esse statuunt, qui certe nec Propheta fuit, nec librum canonicum Veteris Testamenti conscribere potuit. Vixit enim post Christum tempore Caligulæ, apud quem celebrem illam pro Judæis legationem obiit. Sed jam veteris testamenti transierat et Christus ait, Lex et prophetæ ad Johannem Baptistam. Nam quod alium quendam Philonem Judæum fuisse aliqui suspicantur, ut Bellarminus, id nullo antiquitatis testimonio nititur, et a Sixto Senensi rejicitur. Lib. 8. Hær. 9. et cum communi doc-

torum opinione pugnat. Sic enim Bonaventura scribit in *Comm.* in hunc librum ‘Prima causa efficiens per modum compilantis fuit Philo sapientissimus Judæorum.’ Ita a Philone non Salomone scriptum esse statuit. Sed a quo Philone? num alio quodam quam eo, qui post Christum floruit, et tam multa scripsit eloquentissime? de quo est illud ejusdam, *ἡ Πλάτων φιλονίζει, ἡ Φίλων πλατωνίζει*. Subjungit Bonaventura, Qui temporibus Apostolorum fuit. Quem ergo hi Philonem hujus libri authorem esse senserit, perspicuum est, nam alium Philonem non agnovit.—Whitaker, *Controv.* i. Quæst. i. cap. xii. p. 273. *Genev.* 1610.

<sup>o</sup> Tom. vii. col. 483. ed. Ben.

<sup>p</sup> Post Oniam præfuit Judæis Pontifex Eleazarus. Quo tempore Septuaginta Interpretes Scripturas Sanctas Alexandria dicuntur in Græcum vertisse sermonem: post quem alter Onias, cui successit Simon: quo regente populum, Jesus filius Sirach scripsit librum qui Græce *πανάρετος* appellatur: et a plerisque Salomonis falso dicitur. Cui successit in Pontificatum alius Onias quo tempore Antiochus Judæos diis gentium immolare cogebat.—Tom. iii. col. 1112. ed. Ben.

St. Hierome quotes it himself as Solomon's in his commentary on Ecclesiastes, cap. x. Siquidem et alibi ipse Solomon ait: ‘Qui statuet laqueum capietur in illo.’ *Eccles.* xxvii. 29.—Tom. ii. col. 772. ed. Ben.



Which as it is most true, so is it manifest that there is no manner of resemblance between the style of them and of our Philo. As for the matter of the work, the address which he maketh to the “kings and princes, and judges of the earth,” i. 1, vi. 1, 2—10, 22, manifesteth that it is intended for an exhortation to the Gentiles, under whose power God’s people was, not to persecute them for serving the only true God, but rather to learn the knowledge and worship of Him themselves.

§ 25. This is the occasion of setting forth the wisdom of God, from whence the law—in which the wisdom of the nation consisted according to Moses, Deut. iv. 6, 7—came, and which dwelt afterwards, as in Solomon, so in the rest of the prophets and patriarchs from Adam downwards, as you may see from that sixth chapter, in the process of the book. This is the intent of that which is said concerning the wisdom of that people coming from God, in the book of Baruch, iii. 12—37. For intending to exhort them to stick fast to God, and not to fall away to the idols of the nations, in the captivity, as the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah had done—which is the cause why it is ascribed to Baruch—he puts them in mind that it was none but God that could discover that way of wisdom which the law taught Israel; which wisdom, saith he, “afterwards was seen on earth, and conversed among men:” for so I construe the words, not to mean that God was seen on earth and conversed among men—not because it is not true, but because it is not so plainly said in the writings of the prophets—but the wisdom of God “was seen on earth, and conversed among men;” to wit, in the prophets, who spoke by the word and wisdom of God.

§ 26. In like manner, when the three esquires of the body to King Darius undertook to plead what is of most force; the third, having named women to be the strongest, addeth, that “truth prevaieth over all;” meaning that the truth which God, by His law, had declared to His people, should prevail over all that is strong in this world; and so encouraging the king to protect it by countenancing the building of the temple: as you may see in the third of Esdras, iv. 34—41, which I suppose here to be a piece that comes from the Egyptian Jews, being first read in the Greek Bible, and not in any record of the Jews otherwise.

[Of the  
book of  
Esdras.]

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[Of Eccle-  
siasticus.]

§ 27. Finally, Ecclesiasticus, commending the wisdom which he pretendeth to teach, and, for the matter of his commendation, having recourse to the original of it, descants indeed upon Solomon's plain song in the eighth and ninth of the Proverbs—and therefore delivers no new revelations, but the right intent of that prophet's doctrine—but recommends the wisdom of his nation far beyond all that can be said of any wisdom of the Gentiles, as coming from that wisdom by which God made the world, and governs it ever since, Ecclesiasticus i. xxiv., from which also the law and the prophets came. Now Ecclesiasticus, though first penned in Hebrew, yet was translated into Greek in Egypt, as the preface witnesses.

§ 28. Supposing, then, the interest of Christianity against Judaism to consist in that which the fathers of the Church do plead; that the same word and wisdom of God, which first dealt with the patriarchs, which gave the law to Moses, and afterwards spoke by the prophets, in after time dwelt in our Lord Christ Jesus and delivered the Gospel; I demand, what could have been said, more to the purpose of Christianity against Judaism, by those that lived under Moses's law?

[Of pas-  
sages cited  
from these  
books in  
the New  
Testa-  
ment.]

§ 29. There is a question, whether the Apostle<sup>a</sup> St. Paul, and whosoever it was that wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, do allege these books, and allow them for their authors, when they call our Lord Christ "the image of God," 2 Cor. iv. 4; "the image of the invisible God," Col. i. 15; "the resplendence of the glory of God, and the express image of His substance," Heb. i. 3; "the power of God, and the wisdom of God," 1 Cor. i. 24. When they say, that "all things in heaven and earth were created by Him, and to Him, and <sup>233</sup> subsist through Him, as the first-born of the whole creature," Col. i. 16, 17; "that the world was made by Him, and that He sustaineth and moveth all things by His powerful word," Heb. i. 2, 3. For how like are these things to those

<sup>a</sup> Quod autem sapientia Salomonis, et sapientia Jesu filii Sirach, quæ Ecclesiasticus dicitur, sint in canone sanctarum Scripturarum receptæ, demonstratur Novi Testamenti attestazione, Ecclesiæ auctoritate, conciliorum determinatione, et vetustissimorum Patrum testimonio. Paulus enim ad Ro-

manos ii. et ad Hebræos xi. ex capp. ix. vi. et iv. Sapientiæ, sententias allegat: et Petrus et Jacobus uterque i. cap. suarum Epistolarum ex xiv. Ecclesiastici testimonia proferunt.—Sixti Senensis, Bibliothec. Sanct., lib. viii. Hæres. 9. tom. ii. p. 1077. Neapol. 1742.

which we read in Ecclesiasticus, i. 1. 4; "All wisdom cometh from the Lord, and is with Him for everlasting. Wisdom was made before all things, and the understanding of prudence from everlasting." And xxiv. 9; *Πρὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἔκτισέ με, καὶ ἕως αἰῶνος οὐ μὴ ἐκλίπω.* "Before the world, from the beginning He made me, and for ever I fail not." Having said, in the beginning of the chapter, according to the Latin copy, *Ego ex ore Altissimi prodivi, primogenita ante omnem creaturam.* "I came forth of the mouth of the Most High, the first-born before every creature."

§ 30. And again, Ecclesiasticus i. 9, 10; "The Lord Himself made her, and saw, and numbered her, and poured her upon all His works. With all flesh she is, according to His gift, and He furnisheth her to them that love Him." And xxiv. 3—6; "I came out from the Most High, and covered the earth like a mist. I dwell in the Highest, and my throne is in the pillar of cloud. I alone compass the circumference of heaven, and walk in the bottom of the deep. In the waves of the sea, and in all the earth, in every people and nation is my inheritance;" adding, that seeking rest among men, she found it nowhere but in Israel.

§ 31. And in the book of Wisdom, vii. 22—27; for there is in wisdom "an understanding spirit, holy, only begotten, manifold, subtle, thin, nimble, perspicuous, undefiled, plain to be understood, inviolable, loving goodness, quick, not to be hindered, beneficent, loving to men, firm, sure, not solicitous, that can do any thing, that surveyeth all things, and passeth through the purest and finest understanding spirits. For wisdom is nimbler than all motions, and attaineth and passeth through all things because of her pureness: for it is a vapour of the power of God, and a sincere effluence of the glory of the Almighty, therefore no pollution can happen to it. For it is the resplendence of the everlasting light, the unspotted mirror of God's working, and the image of His goodness: which being one, can do all things, and remaining in herself, reneweth all things, and passing into pious souls in all ages, makes them friends of God, and prophets." And ix. 9—11; "And with Thee is wisdom that knoweth Thy works, and was present when Thou madest the world, and knoweth what is pleasing in Thine eyes, and right in Thy

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commands. Send her from Thy holy heavens, and from the throne of Thy glory, that she may assist and labour with me, and I may know what is pleasing before Thee. For she knoweth and understandeth all things, and will guide me wisely in my doings, and keep me in her glory.”

§ 32. Can any man read these things and not remember the beginning of St. John’s Gospel; “In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by it, and without it was nothing made that was made?” Can any man conceive that the Apostles should call our Lord Christ “the Word, the Power, and the Wisdom of God, that made all things in heaven and in earth, itself being brought forth before all creatures, supporting and moving all things, which was with God from everlasting; that He is the image of God, the shine of His glory, the character of His substance;” that the successors of the prophets should describe the wisdom of God to be the word of God that dwelt in the prophets, and the power of God that made all things, being itself brought forth before all things, that sustaineth and governeth all things; to dwell by the throne of God, as the shine of His light, the mirror of His works, the breath and vapour of His power and glory, and from thence to come and take possession of the souls of prophets; and not acknowledge all this to come from the same fountain? especially, being persuaded afore, as all that are not Jews must be persuaded, that the same Spirit and Word of God—qualified as Wisdom describeth it—which, possessing the souls of righteous men, in that measure whereof each of them was capable, made them God’s prophets; dwelt in Christ without measure, according to the fulness of the Godhead, as the Apostles have told and said, John i. 14, 16; iii. 34; Col. ii. 9, 10.

§ 33. Truly, if any man say, as I know it is said<sup>r</sup>, that the

<sup>r</sup> Adversarii præter argumenta communia, de quibus jam sæpe respondimus, unum hujus libri, qui Sapientia Salomonis dicitur proprium habent. Paulum enim Apostolum hujus libri testimonio usum esse, Rom. xi. 34. . . . . hæc verba sumpta esse ex cap. ix. hujus libri, in quo sic loquitur Salomon: Quis hominum poterit scire consilium Dei? . . . . similiter quod

scribitur Hebr. i. 3. . . . sumptum esse ex cap. vii. hujus libri. Respondeo, de primo loco, Apostolus non ait se testimonium aliquid citare, non enim sequitur, similia istis verba in hoc loco reperiuntur, ergo Apostolus hunc locum citavit: et si Apostolus Scripturæ prophetiæ verba recitavit, aut ad Scripturam aliquam allusit, non tamen id de hoc loco Sapientiæ necessario statu-

same sense may be derived by the Apostles from "the glory of God" in Ezek. i. 28; from the attributes of the Messias, Ps. ii. 7, 2 Sam. vii. 14, Isa. ix. 6; from the making of the world by God's wisdom, recorded Ps. xxxiii. 6, cxxxvi. 5, Jer. li. 15, x. 12; especially from that which Solomon hath written of wisdom being present with God from everlasting, and doing all His works, Prov. viii. 11—31: I will not contend with him about it; though in my own judgment, seeing it cannot reasonably be denied that these writings, being extant long afore, went then with the rest of the Greek Bible; and seeing the texts that are alleged do not direct us to understand how the Word, and Spirit, and Wisdom of God, by which the law and the prophets spoke, dwelleth for ever in our Lord Christ, as these passages of their successors do, I do firmly believe that they signify their allowance of them whose doctrine they use.

§ 34. But it is enough that it may hereby appear, as it must needs appear, that they give us good and sound commentaries upon so high a point of the prophets' doctrine, their predecessors, when the Apostles, that follow them, hold such correspondence with them in it. Only hereupon I will from hence draw the reason why the inward obedience to God in Spirit and truth, which the Gospel requireth, is so plentifully preached in all those writings which we call Apocry-

endum erit. Nam eadem sententia apud Isaiam invenitur, cap. xl. 13. his verbis, Quis erudit Spiritum Domini? &c.—Whitaker, *Controv. i. Quæst. i. cap. xii. p. 272.* *Genev. 1610.*

"In the first place, for the canonizing of the Book of Wisdom, they produce St. Paul, and say that Rom. xi. 34. . . . is taken out of Wisdom ix. 13. But Gretser is somewhat ashamed of this instance; and our answer to it is, that the sentence which St. Paul citeth is clearly taken out of Is. xl. 13, where both the sense and the words—in that translation which the Apostle followed—are altogether the same, as in the book they are not. Secondly, as much may we say to what they note upon Hebr. i. 3, where Christ is called the brightness of His Father's glory, alluding to Sap. vii. 26, where wisdom is called the brightness of the everlasting light; for as it is not certain whether St. Paul ever saw that Book of Wis-

dom, or no, which for aught we know was not extant before his time, nor compiled by any other author than Philo the Hellenist Jew of Alexandria, so there be several expressions in the undoubted Scriptures, concerning the representation, the splendour, the wisdom, and the glory of God, whereunto he might allude in this his epistle to the Hebrews, as he had done before in his epistle to the Colossians, and in his second epistle to the Corinthians, setting forth Christ there to be the image of the invisible God, and the first born of every creature, by whom all things were created, and do still consist; the substance and ground whereof may be found in Ezek. i. 28, Is. ix. 6, and lx. 1, Psalm ii. 7, cxxxvi. 5, 2 Sam. vii. 14, Jer. li. 15, x. 12, to some of which places the Apostle himself refers in this place to the Hebrews."—Cosin's *Schol. Hist. of the Canon, Num. xxxvi. pp. 23, 24.* London, 1672.

BOOK  
I.

pha; whereas, in our Saviour's and His Apostles' time, and much more afterwards, they promised themselves the kingdom of heaven, upon the righteousness of the scribes and pharisees; that is, upon the outward and carnal observation of Moses's law, and preciseness in all those little niceties which their masters had fenced it with.

§ 35. For it is no marvel that they who, under persecution, promised themselves a part in the resurrection of the righteous, cleaving to God and His law, should find themselves tied to that obedience, in spirit and truth, which God, who is a Spirit, sees and allows. But less marvel it is, that, having attained the carnal promises of the law in the possession of the land of promise, they should fall away from the like zeal, and yet promise themselves the world to come, upon that form of godliness which they observed, being destitute of the force and power of it.

[Catechumens taught out of these books.]

§ 36. As an argument that this consideration is well grounded and true, I will here add the authority and practice of the primitive Church, prescribing these books to be read by the *Catechumeni*, or those that professed to believe the truth of Christianity, and offered themselves to be instructed in the matter of it in order to baptism, and being made Christians. For seeing these might be as well Jews as Gentiles, this signifies that the doctrine of them was held by the Church a fit instruction towards Christianity, even for those that were already acquainted with the doctrine of the prophets. St. Athanasius then, in *Synopsi*s, testifieth that these books were read to the *Catechumeni*. To the same purpose it is read in the Constitutions of the Apostles<sup>t</sup>,

Ἐκτὸς δὲ τούτων εἰςὶ πάλιν ἕτερα βιβλία, τῆς αὐτῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, οὐ κανονιζόμενα μὲν, ἀναγιγνωσκόμενα δὲ μόνον τοῖς κατηχομένοις, ταῦτα: Σοφία Σαλομῶνος.—St. Athanas., *Opp.* tom. ii. p. 128. ed. Ben.

<sup>t</sup> The editor has not found direct mention of the Book of Wisdom in the Constitutions: it is possible that the following passage refers to Wisd. x.

Ὁ μέλλων τοίνυν κατηχεῖσθαι τὸν λόγον τῆς εὐσεβείας, παιδεύεσθω πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ἁγεννήτου γνῶσιν, τὴν περὶ Ἰοῦ μονογενοῦς ἐπίγνωσιν, τὴν περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος πληροφορίαν· μανθανέτω δημιουργίας

διαφόρου τάξιν· προνοίας εἰρμὴν, νομοθεσίας διαφόρου δικαιοτήρια· παιδεύεσθω διὰτὶ κόσμος γέγονε, καὶ δι' ὃ κοσμοπολίτης ὁ ἄνθρωπος κατέστη· ἐπίγνωσκέτω τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν οἷα τις ὑπάρχει· παιδεύεσθω ὅπως ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐκόλασεν ὕδατι καὶ πυρὶ, τοὺς δ' ἅγιους ἐδόξασε καθ' ἑκάστην γενεάν· λέγω δὴ τὸν Σὴθ, τὸν Ἐνῶς, τὸν Ἐνῶχ, τὸν Νῶε, τὸν Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τοὺς ἐκγονοὺς αὐτοῦ, τὸν Μελχισεδέκ, καὶ τὸν Ἰῶβ, καὶ τὸν Μωσῆα, Ἰησοῦν τε καὶ τὸν Χαλεβ καὶ Φινεὲς τὸν Ἱερέα, καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην γενεάν ὁσίους.—Const. Apost., lib. viii. cap. xl. Labbei, tom. i. col. 444, 445. ed. Venet.

though the place is not at hand at present. And that which the last canon of the Apostles<sup>u</sup> prescribes, that beside the canonical Scriptures, the book of Ecclesiasticus be read by the youth, seems to tend to the same purpose. To the same purpose Dionysius, *de Div. Nom.*, cap. iv.<sup>x</sup>, calls the book of Wisdom an introduction to the divine oracles.

§ 37. But let no man think to infer that the Apostles took these books for Scripture inspired by God, because I grant that they borrowed from them in their writings; Origen hath met with this objection, *Prolog. in Cantic.*<sup>y</sup>, where he observeth, that the Apostles have borrowed some things out of apocryphal Scriptures—as St. Jude out of the books of Enoch, and the departure of Moses—and yet adds that we are not to give way to the reading of them, because we must not transgress the bounds which our fathers have fixed. Where, you see, he distinguisheth those books which the Church did not allow to be read, under the name of Apocrypha, from those which it did allow to be read, and are therefore more properly called Ecclesiastical Scriptures—which name hath particularly stuck, by way of excellence, upon the Wisdom of the son of Sirach—though I contend not about names, when we call them Apocrypha, because I see that St. Hierome<sup>z</sup> hath sometimes done it. And if St. Paul have alleged<sup>a</sup> Aratus, Menander,

<sup>u</sup> Ἐξωθεν δὲ προιστορεῖσθω ὑμῖν, μανθάνειν ὑμῶν τοὺς νέους τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ πολυμαθοῦς Σιράχ.—Labbei, tom. i. col. 44. ed. Venet.

<sup>x</sup> Καὶ ἐν ταῖς προεισαγωγαῖς τῶν Λογίων, εὐρήσεις τιτὰ λέγοντα περὶ τῆς θείας σοφίας. Ἐραστῆς ἐγενόμεν ἡν καλλοῦς αὐτῆς.—[Sap. viii. 2.] p. 565. Antwerp, 1634.

<sup>y</sup> Illud tamen palam est multa vel ab Apostolis vel ab Evangelistis exempla esse prolata, et Novo Testamento inserta, quæ in his Scripturis quas canonicas habemus, nunquam legimus, in Apocryphis tamen inveniuntur, et evidenter ex ipsis ostenduntur assumpta. Sed ne sic quidem locus apocryphis dandus est: non enim transeundi sunt termini quos statuerunt patres nostri. Potuit enim fieri, ut Apostoli vel Evangelistæ Sancto Spiritu repleti sciverint quid assumendum ex illis esset Scripturis, quidve refutandum: nobis autem non est absque periculo alicuius tale præsumere, quibus non est

tanta Spiritus abundantia.—Origen. Opp., tom. iii. p. 36. ed. Ben.

<sup>z</sup> Tu vigilans dormis, et dormiens scribis: et proponis mihi librum apocryphum, qui sub nomine Esdræ a te et similibus tui legitur: ubi scriptum est, quod post mortem nullus pro aliis audeat deprecari: quem ego librum nunquam legi.—Adv. Vigilant., tom. iv. col. 283. ed. Ben.

<sup>a</sup> Licet ergo Apostolus Judas duo illa ex Apocryphis libris citaverit testimonia, non sequitur tamen quæ citata, esse apocrypha, vel falsa, quia multa in falsis historiis continentur, quæ sunt verissima, quæque sancti auctores quasi margaritas ex luto collegerunt, et auro inseruerunt. Esset igitur Jeremiæ prophetia apocrypha, quia in ea citatur liber constitutionum Jonadab filii Rechab. Epistola quoque ad Titum, in qua producitur apocryphus liber Epimenidis, in libro quoque Actorum citatur Aratus poeta, et ibidem ara illa Atheniensium Ignoti Dei memoratur.

BOOK  
I.

[Danger of arguing against these books from their matter.]

and Epimenides, heathen poets, he did not thereby<sup>b</sup> intend to allow the authors, but the matter which he allegeth.

§ 38. If these things be so, I shall not desire to abridge any man's liberty, from arguing against the matter of these books, to prove them not inspired by God, because not agreeing with<sup>235</sup> those which we know and agree to have been inspired by God: but I shall warn them that take upon them thus to argue, first to look about them, that they bring not the unquestionable parts of Scripture into an undue suspicion, for agreeing in something for which they have conceived a prejudice, that these books are not to be received. The design of Judith, and her proceeding in the execution of it, is charged not to agree with Christianity<sup>c</sup>, neither is it my purpose here to maintain that it doth. But I am more than afraid that those who object this, do not know how to distinguish it from the fact of Jael the wife of Heber the Kenite, in the book of Judges, which the Spirit of God in Deborah the prophetess so highly extollet.

[Of the books of Tobit and Maccabees.]

§ 39. The like is to be said of the like passages questioned in the book of Tobit<sup>d</sup> and the Maccabees<sup>e</sup>, and, namely, the fact of Razias killing himself lest he should fall into the hands of persecutors, which seemeth to be related with much approbation, 2 Macc. xiv. 41—46. For to distinguish this fact from

Item 1 Cor. xv. ex Menandro profertur illa sententia

Corrumpunt mores bonos colloquia mala.

—Salmeron. Disp. in Jud., tom. xvi. p. 337. Colon. 1615.

<sup>b</sup> Cæterum, ut Hieronymus in caput primum ad Titum, et Augustinus lib. xv. *de Civitate Dei*, cap. xxiii. et lib. xviii. cap. xxxviii. dicunt, etiam in Apocryphis esse aliquid veri, et hoc Judam protulisse, nec tamen propterea totum librum approbasse: sicut etiam Paulus, Act. xvii., 1 Corinth. xv., et ad Titum i. profert testimonia ex Ethnicis poetis, Arato, Menandro et Epimenide; nec tamen idcirco poetas illos consecravit.—Card. Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, lib. i. cap. xviii. col. 61. Colon. 1620.

<sup>c</sup> Judith inducitur non solum multa mentiens apud Holofernem: sed etiam, quod horrendum dictu est, in Græco contextu, Deum in hæc verba precans, *πάταρον δοῦλον ἐκ χείλεων ἀπάτης μου*: quibus verbis audet a Deo postulare

suorum mendaciorum prosperum exitum. Quinetiam iisdem precibus, sibi proponit tanquam opus eximium laudandum atque divinum, id quod tam aperte Scriptura canonica damnat tanquam impium et sceleratum: nempe cædem Sichemitarum a Simeone patratam Gen. xxxiv. quam crudelitatem cum perfidia junctam, et sacrilegio Jacob vehementer execeratur, Gen. xlix.—Chamier., Panst. Cath., lib. v. cap. iv. § 3. p. 111. Genev. 1626.

<sup>d</sup> See sect. 41. below.

<sup>e</sup> Gretserus: Mirum est Augustinum hoc perflugio nunquam usum, ut diceret Maccabæorum libros esse Apocryphos. . . . Deinde omnis garriendi facultas eriperetur, si quis diceret, Raziam id fecisse, ut olim Sampsonem, peculiari impulsu Spiritus Sancti. Atqui Augustinus hac ipsa exceptione usus est.

. . . Inspiratum autem a Deo Raziam sibi manus intulisse blasphemia est.—Chamier., Panst. Cath., lib. v. cap. iv. § 13, 15. p. 112. Genev. 1626.



Samson's, it will not serve the turn to say that Samson did it by inspiration of God's Spirit, supposing afore that it was contrary to God's declared law to do it; the difficulty being greater in saying that the declared law of God is violated by the motion of God's Spirit, when the Spirit of God is not granted to any man but upon supposition of acknowledging God's declared law. For howsoever Saul, or Caiaphas, or Balaam may be moved by the Spirit of God to speak such things, as by the Scriptures inspired by God we learn that they did speak; yet, that God should employ upon His own commission—as the judges, of whom it is said that “the Spirit of God came upon them,” were manifestly employed by God—whom He favoured not, is a thing which cannot agree with the presumption which all Christians have of the salvation of the fathers.

§ 40. As for the passage of Eccles., xlvi. 20,<sup>f</sup> which seems to say that it was the soul of Samuel the prophet, and not an evil spirit assuming his habit, that foretold the death of Saul; I do not understand why all this may not be said according to appearance, not according to truth: for it will still make for the honour of Samuel, that the king, whatsoever opinion he had of this means of foreknowledge, should desire to see Samuel, as him whom in his lifetime he found so unquestionable. But if it be said that this cannot satisfy the letter of the Scripture, yet can it not be said that as Saul, a wicked man, did believe that he might see Samuel, so a good man at that time might not have the same: being then no part of the truth which true piety obliged all men to acknowledge.

§ 41. In the book of Tobit there are several things besides questionable. But they that imagine<sup>g</sup> conjuring in the liver of a fish to drive away an unclean spirit, do not consider those exorcisms, whereby it is evident both by the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles, beside divers of the most ancient fathers of the Church, that the Jews, both in our Lord's times and after, did

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[The history of Samuel in Ecclesiasticus.]

<sup>f</sup> Hic liber continet falsa, ergo non est canonicus. Probatur antecedens cap. xlvi. 20. Samuel dicitur prophetasse post mortem. At ex Samuelis i. cap. xxviii. constat non fuisse illum verum Samuelem, qui resurgens prophetavit, sed diabolicum potius spectrum.—Scharpii *Cursus Theol.*, p. 23. *Genevæ*, 1620.

<sup>g</sup> Rursus idem Angelus cap. vi. remedium quoddam docet adversus vim dæmonum ex corde et hepate cujusdam piscis: quod quantum distat a magia? . . . quæ si non sint superstitione ficta, undenam esse possunt?—Chamier., *Panst. Cath.*, lib. v. cap. iv. § 2. p. 111. *Genevæ*. 1626.

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I.

cast out unclean spirits. For what force could they have but from the appointment of God, from whom at first they were delivered, for a testimony of His residence among His people? which makes me stick to condemn that relation of the Jews in the Talmud, extant also in Suidas<sup>h</sup>, that there were admirable remedies delivered by Solomon, which he caused to be written upon the walls of the temple: though they commend King Ezekias for causing them to be done out, when it appeared that the virtue of them was such that the people forgot their recourse to and dependence upon God, because they knew so ready help elsewhere.

[State  
of the  
Persian  
throne.]

§ 42. And truly it is nothing strange<sup>i</sup> to me that the Jews, living under the Persian empire, and seeing that there were seven chief princes which had the great credit in it next the king, the successors of the seven *μαγοφόνοι*—that is, those seven that killed him that usurped after the death of Cambyses, as sometimes I have conceived; who having the privilege of perpetual access to the king, as Herodotus<sup>k</sup> testifieth, are therefore said to “see the king’s face,” Esther i. 10—14; vii. 14. I say it seems not strange, that expressing and thinking of God as of a great prince—as doth the whole Scripture, speaking in those terms that men are most apt to conceive—they should attribute unto Him the like attendance of seven angels as His principal ministers, the book *de Mundo*<sup>l</sup> under

<sup>h</sup> Φέρεται δέ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον. ἦν Σολομῶνος βίβλος ἰαμάτων πάθους παντὸς ἐγκεκόλαμμένη τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ φλιῶ. ταύτην ἐξεκόλασεν Ἐζεκιᾶς, οὐ προσέχοντος τοῦ λαοῦ τῷ Θεῷ, διὰ τὸ τὰς θεραπέϊας τῶν παθῶν ἐνθύνει τοὺς πάσχοντας αὐτοὺς κομίζεσθαι περιορῶντας αἰτεῖν τὸν Θεόν.—Suidæ Lexic. in voce Ἐζεκιᾶς.

<sup>i</sup> Sic et apud reges et principes qui intimæ sunt admissionis dicuntur προσεσηκότες Deut. i. 16; 1 Sam. xxii. 6; xxv. 27. Denique discrimen hoc Angelorum celebre fuisse apud Judæos, multa ipsorum scripta evincunt. Inter hos primores Angelos septem eminere credebantur; quod ipsum quoque credo profectum ex aula Persica, quam imitatur aulæ minores. Vide Jerem. lii. 25. Est eorum septem mentio apud Chaldæum Paraphrasten Gen. xi. 7, apud Jachiaden ad Dan. x. 13, apud Tobiaë Scriptorem, cui Raphael dicitur unus τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀγγέ-

λων, &c. Hebræorum Rabbini hos oculos Dei vocant, ut videre est in libro cui titulus, Principium Sapientiaë breve. —Grot. Com. in S. Matth. xviii. 10. pp. 174, 175. Londini, 1679.

<sup>k</sup> The seven conspirators agreed among themselves, *παριέναι ἐς τὰ βασιλῆα πάντα τὸν βουλούμενον τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀνὲ ἐσαγγελέος*.—Lib. iii. cap. 84. p. 151. ed. Baehr. 1832.

<sup>l</sup> Κρεῖττον οὖν ὑπολαβεῖν, ὃ καὶ πρόπον ἐστὶ καὶ Θεῷ μάλιστα ἄρμοζον, ὡς ἡ ἐν οὐρανῷ δύναμις ἰδρυμένη καὶ τοῖς πλείστον ἀφεστηκόσιν, ὧν ἐνὶ γε εἰπεῖν, καὶ σύμπασιν αἰτία γίνεται σωτηρίας, . . . ἀλλ’ οἷον ἰστορεῖτο Καμβύσου Ξέρσου τε καὶ Δαρείου πρόσχημα, εἰς σεμνότητος καὶ ὑπεροχῆς ὕψος μεγαλοπρεπῶς διεκεκόσμητο. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ, ὡς λόγος, ἴδρυτο ἐν Σούσοις, ἡ Ἐκβατάνοις, παντὶ ἄορατος, θαυμαστὸν ἐπέχων βασιλεῖον οἶκον, καὶ περίβολον χρυσῶ. . . νομιστέον δὴ τὴν τοῦ μὲν μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπεροχὴν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐπέ-

Aristotle's name, comparing Him also with the king of Persia. C H A P.  
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 236 And yet I will not grant<sup>m</sup> that "the seven spirits" before the throne of God in the Revelation, i. 4, iv. 5, v. 6, are those seven angels, because there are seven virtues of God's Spirit recounted in Esay xi. 2, 3, which the seven spirits before God's throne may well serve to express; the seven angels that blow the seven trumpets, Revel. viii. 2, being only that number of angels—whether the principal of God's ministers or not—who appear seven, to represent the plagues of the trumpets and vials in seven, as the seals of the book afore.

§ 43. Neither is there any hope or fear that any matter of historical truth can be discovered in them, which may justly charge them with imposture; as if the authors of them could be thought ignorant of the state of God's people, living as they did so high in time. In vain it is to imagine<sup>n</sup> that when Judith, viii. 6, is said to have kept not only the Sabbaths, new moons, and festivals of the law, but also the days afore, which by the Talmud doctors we know were afterwards in use among the dispersions of the Jews, he who wrote this book forges when he says they were so anciently in use; for either he must prophesy, or they must have been in use when the book was written. And whether in use or not when the story is said to have come to pass, will be of no consequence to him that believes it to be of no consequence whether a parable or not.

§ 44. As for the pretence of superstition<sup>o</sup>, which the credit thereof may be said thereby to maintain, if it be no super-

χοντος Θεοῦ τοσοῦτον καταδεεστέραν ὄσον τῆς ἐκείνου τὴν τοῦ φαυλοτάτου τε καὶ ἀσθενοστάτου ζῴου, ὥστε εἰπὲρ ἄσημον ἦν αὐτῶ αὐτὸν δοκεῖν Ξέρξην αὐτουργεῖν ἅπαντα καὶ ἐπιτελεῖν ἃ βούλοιοτο καὶ ἐφιστάμενον διοικεῖν, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀπρεπὲς ἂν εἴη θεῷ.—Tom. i. p. 398. ed. Bekker. Berolin. 1831.

<sup>m</sup> Dico, hosce septem Spiritus esse septem primarios Angelos, qui assistunt Deo, quasi stipatores ac primores regni ipsius, parati ad omne imperium Dei, vel per se, vel per alios inferiores Angelos exequendum, præsertim in cura et administratione hominum. Hi enim vocantur et sunt Spiritus administratorii, Hebr. i.

Id ita esse patet; . . . quia Tobixæ, xii. 15. ait Raphael, 'ego sum unus ex septem, qui astamus ante Dominum,' scilicet proxime, quasi priimi a rege et

summo orbis gubernatore.—Cornel. à Lapide Comm. in Apoc. i. 4. p. 17. Antwerp, 1681.

<sup>n</sup> Hæc nos mendacia collegimus insigniora. Sunt enim et alia minutiora per singulas sententias, quæ poterunt alii considerare per otium. Unum addam ex capite viii. de Judith moribus, 'jejunabat omnibus diebus vite suæ præter Sabbata, et neomenias et festa domus Israel.' Capite xii. 'baptizabat se in fonte aquæ.' Quæ pleno ore superstitionem redolent Pharisæorum, et Hemerobaptistarum, traductam Matthæi ix. et Joannis ii. atque alibi: nec habent quicquam veteris illius pietatis, quæ in Judæis non corruptis exercebatur.—Chamier., Panstr. Cath., lib. v. cap. vii. § 76. tom. i. p. 127. Genev. 1626.

<sup>o</sup> See the foregoing note.

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I.

stitution for the people to whom our Lord preached to observe all that the Scribes and Pharisees enjoined them, because they sat in Moses's chair, much less shall it be superstition for Judith, or for those that lived when the book of Judith was penned, to have served God two days by the appointment of those that sat in Moses's chair, when God's law named but one. And so when the history of Susanna saith that the Jews were allowed in their dispersions to judge matters of life and death among themselves; though this perhaps was otherwise under the Chaldeans, and that he who penned it mistook in that circumstance; yet justly and certainly might it have been presumed—though Origen<sup>p</sup> had never interposed to justify a thing which upon better, because ancients credit of this author, had been justified before—that such a power had been exercised at some times by the Jews in their dispersions.

In those parcels of the New Testament that have been questioned, the case is not the same.

§ 45. Before I go further it will be requisite to answer an objection<sup>q</sup> which I must confess to be material, but withal apprehended for more dangerous than it need; to wit, that some part now received for Scripture of the New Testament—the Epistle to the Hebrews and that of St. James, by name the Revelation of St. John, and some other small pieces—have been sometimes questioned, and since are received in that nature. And what then should hinder those

<sup>p</sup> See sect. 21, above.

<sup>q</sup> Deinde dic obsecro, quia Apostolorum temporibus canonici Scripturarum libri confirmati sunt, qui fit ut libros Novi Testamenti quos recentiora illa—ut vocas concilia—in canonem receperunt, vos nihilominus pro canonicis recipiatis? Cur, inquam, Sapientiam, Ecclesiasticum, Tobiam, Judith et alios Veteris Testamenti libros Apostolorum temporibus non confirmatos, sed a posterioribus conciliis in canonem receptos, tu, eo nomine hoc loco rejiciendos affirmas: Epistolam vero Jacobi, Petri secundam, Johannis secundam et tertiam, Judæ, ad Hebræos, et Apocalypsin Apostolorum temporibus similiter non confirmatos, sed a posterioribus conciliis in canonem receptos, tu, eodem quoque nomine non rejicis, sed pro canonicis nobiscum agnoscis? An hos Novi Testamenti apocryphos Apostolorum temporibus confirmatos, esse dices? Atqui eadem antiquitatis testimonia, quæ illos Veteris Testamenti libros, inter apocryphos et diu dubios,

ideoque ab Apostolis non confirmatos, recensent, hos quoque Novi Testamenti libros recitatos, inter apocryphos et diu dubios ideoque ab Apostolis non confirmatos, similiter recensent, aut igitur utrisque fidem adhibe, aut utrisque deroga, aut tam Novi quam Veteris Testamenti apocryphos, ut ab Apostolis non confirmatos sed posterius in canonem receptos rejiciendos affirma: aut tam Veteris, quam Novi Testamenti apocryphos, utcumque Apostolorum temporibus, necdum confirmatos a posterioribus tamen conciliis receptos, pari fide et obedientia recipiendos agnosce. Tu vero, ut non Ecclesiæ autoritas, sed tuus tibi animus author sit quid credas, quid non credas, Veteris quidem Testamenti apocryphos pro tua libertate hæretica respuis et aspernaris, Novi vero Testamenti apocryphos pro tuo beneplacito admittis et probas.—Stapleton., *Authorit. Eccles. Defens.*, lib. ii. cap. iv. pp. 959, 960. Paris. 1620.

books that sometimes have been questioned, whether of the Old Testament or not, to be now received for such upon the decree of the council of Trent?

§ 46. I say then that it is manifest to him that will take the pains to consider it, that the writings of the Apostles were first deposited with those parts of the Church, upon occasion and for use whereof they were first penned; as for the purpose, their Epistles with those Churches to which they were sent—where Tertullian<sup>r</sup>, in his Prescription against Heretics, testifies that the authentics and originals of them were extant—and the Revelation of St. John with the seven Churches. Neither is it to be imagined that the collection which now we call the New Testament, was then anywhere extant. Nay, it is manifest by the beginning of St. Luke, there went about certain Gospels which Origen<sup>s</sup>, and St. Ambrose<sup>t</sup> upon that place, following him, says, were afterwards disallowed. Adding that the gift of discerning spirits, mentioned by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 10, was then extant in the Church—as in the synagogue, when it was to be discerned whether true prophets or not—that the Church might rest assured of the writings of those whose commission had been so verified.

§ 47. It is therefore reasonable to think that those writings that had been received by some Churches, upon the credit of their authors, known to have been inspired by the Holy Ghost, gave others an umbrage of something not agreeable with Christianity—as the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>u</sup>, of refusing

<sup>r</sup> Age jam qui voles curiositatem melius exercere in negotio salutis tuæ, percurrere Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc Cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsententur, apud quas ipsæ authenticæ litteræ eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et repræsentantes faciem uniuscujusque.—Cap. xxxvi. p. 338. ed. Pam. Rothomag. 1662.

<sup>s</sup> Sicut olim in populo Judæorum multi prophetiam pollicebantur, et quidam erant pseudoprophetæ, e quibus unus fuit Ananias filius Azor: alii vero prophetæ et erat gratia in populo discernendorum spirituum, per quem alii inter prophetas recipiebantur, nonnulli quasi ab exercitatissimis trapezitis reprobabantur: ita et nunc in novo Testamento multi conati sunt scribere evangelia, sed plurima esse conscripta, e quibus hæc quæ habemus electa sunt,

et tradita ecclesiis, ex ipso præmio quod ita contextitur, cognoscamus.—Tom. iii. pp. 932, 933. ed. Ben.

<sup>t</sup> Nam sicut multi in illo populo divino infusi Spiritu prophetarunt: alii autem prophetare se pollicebantur, et professionem destituebant mendacio—erant enim pseudoprophetæ potius quam prophetæ, sicut Ananias filius Azor—erat autem quasi bonus nummularius improbaret, in quibus materia magis corrupta sorderet, quam veri splendor luminis resultaret: sic et nunc in Novo Testamento multi Evangelia scribere conati sunt, quæ boni nummularii non probarunt.—S. Ambros. Opp., tom. i. col. 1265. ed. Ben.

<sup>u</sup> See chap. ix. sect. 14.

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when they came first to know them, which from the beginning they had not done, much less the doubt, whether inspired by God or not. Neither is the case otherwise, excepting terms of scorn which may have been used, either in Luther's<sup>x</sup> refusing St. James's Epistle, or when the Epistle to the Hebrews is questioned by Erasmus<sup>y</sup>, or cardinal Cajetan<sup>z</sup>; as that of St. Jude of late by Salmasius<sup>a</sup>. But there is always means to redress any part of the Church, or any doctor of it, in any such mistake, so long as there remain means to certify them from what hand they have been received, to wit, from persons in whom the Church was certified that the Holy Ghost spoke. Which being certified, reason would, that not only particular persons, but Churches, lay down their jealousies, by understanding such words as cause jealousies, so as they may best agree with the common Christianity.

§ 48. But what is all this to the writings of those who can by no means be supposed to have written by the Holy Ghost?

<sup>x</sup> Luther, in his Preface to the Epistle of St. James, says of it: *Acht ich für keines Apostel schrift*. The expression "epistle of straw" attributed to him is denied by Whitaker in his *Responsio ad decem Rationes Edmundi Campiani*, saying of it, *Falsissimum: Lutherus enim hanc epistolam valde probat, nec unquam vel contentiosam, vel tumidam, vel aridam, vel stramineam vocavit*. p. 5. *Genevæ*, 1610. Further on, p. 7, he says, *At ubi ista scripsit Lutherus, quæ tu nunc commemoras? profer nobis locum, ut tuam fidem exploremus. Præfationem scilicet quandam designas in epistolam Jacobi, quam ego non admodum multis notam esse existimo: nusquam enim inter ipsa Lutheri opera reperitur, in istam tamen præfationem incidi forte eamque integram perlegi, in qua prorsus nihil horum inest.* But Gretser, in his *Defensio Bellarmini*, cap. xvii. lib. i. cap. xviii., asserts it notwithstanding this denial;—*An non Lutherus nominavit Epistolam S. Jacobi ein rechte Ströerne Epistel, vere stramineam epistolam comparatione Evangelii S. Johannis et Epistolæ primæ ejusdem, ut Apostolico spiritu destitutam? An non hæc verba extant in antiquis Bibliorum Lutheranorum versionibus?*—*Opp.*, tom. viii. p. 167. *Ratisbonæ*, 1736.

<sup>y</sup> *Petrus epistolas scribit Judæis potissimum, ita, Lucam Evangelium potissimum scripsisse gentibus, nimirum discipulum Pauli, qui ut doctor erat gentium, ita ad gentes scripsit omnes epistolas præter unam ad Hebræos, de cujus autore semper est dubitatum.*—*Præfat. ad Henric. Angl. Reg. præfixo to the Paraphrase of St. Luke.* *Erasm. Opp.*, tom. vii. p. 274. *Basil.* 1541.

<sup>z</sup> *Quæ omnia ideo attulerim, ut ex his et aliis Hieronymi verbis alibi prudens lector advertat Hieronymum non fuisse omnino certum de autore hujus epistolæ. Et quoniam Hieronymum sortiti sumus regulam ne erremus in discretionem librorum canonicorum—nam quos ille canonicos tradidit, canonicos habemus: et quos ille a canonicis discrevit, extra canonem habemus—ideo dubio apud Hieronymum autore hujus epistolæ existente, dubia quæque redditur epistola: quoniam nisi sit Pauli, non perspicuum est canonicam esse. Quo fit ut ex sola hujus epistolæ autoritate non possit, si quod dubium in fine accideret, determinari. Ecce quantum parit malum liber sine authoris titulo.*—*Comm. in Ep. ad Hebr.*, tom. v. p. 329. *Lugdun.* 1639.

<sup>a</sup> The editor has not been able to meet with this elsewhere.

Shall any act, any decree of the Church, create them the credit of writings inspired by God's Spirit, which before that act they had not? And therefore the case is not the same with the writings which we know never could, nor can, be received, standing the evidence, that no evidence can ever be made that they were inspired by God's Spirit, or that the authors thereof ever spoke by the same. And with this resolution the testimonies of ecclesiastical writers will agree well enough, if we consider, that to prove them to have the testimony of the Church, to be inspired by God, it is not enough to allege<sup>b</sup> either the word or the deed, either of writers or councils, alleging the authority of them, or calling them holy, divine, or canonical Scriptures; nothing but universal consent making good this testimony, which the dissent of any part creates an exception against. For if those to whom any thing is said to be delivered, agree not in it, how can it be said to be delivered to them who protest not to have received it?

§ 49. Wherefore having settled this afore<sup>c</sup>, that no decree of the Church enforceth more than the reason of preserving unity in the Church can require; we must, by consequence, say, that if the credit of divine inspiration be denied them by such authors as the Church approveth, no decree of the Church can oblige to believe them for such; though how far it may oblige to use them I dispute not here. It shall therefore serve my turn to name St. Hierome in this cause. Not as if Athanasius in *Synopsi*<sup>d</sup>, Melito of Sardis in Eusebius<sup>e</sup>, St.

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Church.

<sup>b</sup> Jam hæc tria in his libris declarandis canonicis Ecclesia observavit. Primum enim habuit de singulis veterum testimonia. Etsi enim non habebantur testimonia a synagoga Judæorum, tamen habentur ab Ecclesia Apostolica, et hoc sufficit. Apostoli enim poterant sine aliis testimoniis declarare libros illos esse canonicos, quod et fecerunt; alioqui nunquam Cyprianus et Clemens et alii, quos citabimus, tam constanter dixissent illos esse divinos. Deinde viderunt esse conformes aliis. Denique observarunt istos libros paulatim ab omnibus Christianis pro canonicis receptos, quod argumentum habere non poterant, qui in prima Ecclesia fuerunt.—Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, lib. i. cap. x. col. 34. Colon. 1620.

<sup>c</sup> Chap. xxi. sect. 24.

<sup>d</sup> Πᾶσα γραφὴ ἡμῶν χριστιανῶν θεόπνευστός ἐστιν . . . καὶ ἐστὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, ταῦτα. He then gives their names as follows: Genesis, Exodus, &c., reckoning among them the first and second book of Esdras: among the books not of the canon, he names, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Esther, Judith, and Tobit. In this catalogue the first book of Esdras is that beginning, "And Josias held the feast of the passover." The second is the book of Ezra. The books of the New Testament are those commonly received.—St. Athanas., Opp. tom. ii. pp. 126—129. ed. Ben.

<sup>e</sup> He enumerates the books of the Old Testament only; the last being "Esdras." None of the other books, nor are those of the New Testament

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Gregory Nazianzen<sup>f</sup>, abundance of others, both of the most ancient writers of the Church, and of others more modern, who justly prefer St. Hierome in this cause, did not reject all those parts, or most of them, which the Church of England rejecteth: but because, were St. Hierome alone in it, there could be no tradition of the Church for that, which St. Hierome, not only a member, but so received a doctor of the Church, refuseth. For it will not serve the turn to say<sup>g</sup> that he wrote when the Church had decreed nothing in it; who, had he lived after the council of Trent, would have written otherwise: the reasons of his opinion standing, for which no council could decree otherwise. He would therefore have obeyed the Church in using those books which it should prescribe; but his belief, whether inspired by God or not, he would have built upon such grounds, the truth whereof the very being of the Church presupposeth.

§ 50. Nor will I stand to scan the sayings of ecclesiastical writers, or the acts of councils, concerning the authority of all and every one of these books, any further in this place. There is extant of late<sup>h</sup>, “A Scholastical History of the Canon of the Scripture,” in which this is exactly done; and upon that I will discharge myself in this point, referring my reader for the consent of the Church unto it. And what importeth it, I beseech you, that they are called sacred or canonical Scriptures? as if all such writings were not holy which serve to settle the holy faith of Christians. And though it is now received<sup>i</sup> that they are called canonical because they contain the rule of our faith and manners, and perhaps are so called

mentioned.—Hist. Eccles., lib. iv. cap. xxvi. p. 149. ed. Vales.

<sup>f</sup> St. Gregory enumerates those books only that are usually called canonical. Among the books of the New Testament, the Apocalypse is not mentioned.—S. Greg. Nazian., Opp. tom. ii. Carm. xii. p. 260. ed. Ben.

<sup>g</sup> Admitto igitur Hieronymum in ea fuisse opinionem, quia nondum generale concilium de his libris aliquid statuerat, excepto libro Judith, quem etiam Hieronymus postea recepit.—Bellarm. de Verb. Dei, lib. i. cap. x. col. 34. Colon. 1620.

<sup>h</sup> See chap. xxx. sect. 43.

<sup>i</sup> Dicitur etiam Scriptura canonica;

vel quod ipsa canon sit et norma seu regula fidei, cui benefaciamus attendentes, quasi lucernæ lucenti in caliginoso loco 2 Petr. i. 19, vel quod ejus libri canone ecclesiastico notati et descripti sint; ut præter Athanasium in Synopsi notavit Sanctus Augustinus pluribus locis, speciatim de sermone Domine in monte, lib. i. cap. 20. [tom. iii. col. 194. ed. Ben.] et lib. xv. de Civit. Dei, cap. 23. [tom. vii. col. 408.] et lib. xviii. cap. 38. [col. 520.] et contra Faustum, lib. xxii. cap. 79. [tom. viii. col. 410.] ubi ait, Scripturæ, quas canon Ecclesiasticus respuit.—Tanner, Disp. i. de Fide, Qu. v. Dub. i. § 5. col. 295. Ingolstadt. 1623.



in this notion by St. Augustine<sup>j</sup>, and other fathers of the Church; yet if we go to the most ancient use of this word canon, from which the attribute of canonical Scripture descendeth, it will easily appear that it signifieth no more than the list or catalogue of Scriptures received by the Church.

238 For who should make or settle the list of Scriptures receivable, but the Church that receiveth the same? it being manifest that they who wrote the particulars knew not what the whole should contain.

§ 51. And truly, as I said afore<sup>k</sup>, that the Church of Rome itself doth not, by any act of the force of law, challenge that the decrees of the Church are infallible; so is it to be acknowledged, that in this point, of all other, it doth most really use in effect that power, which formally and expressly it no where challengeth; proceeding to order<sup>l</sup> those books to be received “with the like affection of piety as those which are agreed to be inspired by God,” which it is evident, by express testimonies of Church writers, were not so received from the beginning by the Church<sup>m</sup>. So that they who made the decree,

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<sup>j</sup> See the foregoing note.

<sup>k</sup> Chap. iv. sect. 21.

<sup>l</sup> Sacrosancta œcumenica et generalis Tridentina synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, presidentibus in ea eisdem tribus Apostolicæ sedis legatis, hoc sibi perpetuo ante oculos proponens, ut sublatis erroribus, puritas ipsa evangelii in Ecclesia conservetur; . . . perspicuensque hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis, et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ex ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptæ, aut ab ipsis Apostolis Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ, ad nos usque pervenerunt: orthodoxorum patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes, tanquam vel ore tenus a Christo, vel a Spiritu Sancto, dictatas, et continua successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit ac veneratur. . . .

Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum omnibus suis partibus, prout in Ecclesia Catholica legi consueverunt, et in Veteri Vulgata Latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis non

susceperit, et traditiones prædictas sciens et prudens contempserit, anathema sit.—Concil. Trident. Sess. iv. A.D. 1546. Labbei, tom. xx. col. 22. ed. Venet.

<sup>m</sup> Fatendum est tamen extare decreta, quorum auctoritatem tota occidentis Ecclesia, secuta sit, quibus, pro canonicis haberi jubentur, quæ Tridentino decreto, pari pietatis affectu cum eis qui canonicis utrinque habentur, jubentur haberi. Nimirum Innocentii P. i. decreto 27. et canon codicis Africani 24. eosdem libros pro canonicis recensent, quos decretum Tridentinum. Constat autem utrumque decretum, in codicem canonum Ecclesiæ Romanæ receptum, per totum occidentem obtinuisse. Africanum etiam per orientem, in census canonicum, post synodum in Trullo receptum. Eosdem recensent et synodus Romana sub Gelasio I. Pontifice, et Toletana iv. Atqui quantumvis probatam, occidentalibus Ecclesiæ doctoribus, S. Hieronymi in censendis Scripturis auctoritatem contendendi possit, manifestum est, ab horum auctoritate decretorum, Hieronymi causa, nec potuisse eos desciscere, nec voluisse. Itaque rem sibi factam putant, qui Judæorum canonem ab Ecclesiæ canone distinguendum au-

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renouncing all pretence of revelation to themselves in common, or to every one in particular, can give no account how they came to know that which they decree to be true. So great inconveniences the not duly limiting the power of the Church contrives even them into, that think themselves, therefore, free from mistake in managing of it, not because they think they know what they do, but because they think they cannot do amiss.

§ 52. It remaineth, therefore, that standing to the proper sense of this decree, importing that we are to believe these books, as inspired by God, neither can they maintain nor we receive it<sup>n</sup>: but if it shall be condescended to abate the proper and native meaning of it, so as to signify only the same affection of piety moving to receive them, not the same object, obliging Christian piety to the esteem of them; it will remain then determinable, by that which shall be said, to prove how these books may or ought to be recommended or enjoined by the Church, or received of and from the Church.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

ONLY THE ORIGINAL COPY CAN BE AUTHENTIC. BUT THE TRUTH THEREOF MAY AS WELL BE FOUND IN THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AS IN THE JEWS' COPIES. THE JEWS HAVE NOT FALSIFIED THEM OF MALICE. THE POINTS COME NEITHER FROM MOSES NOR ESDRAS, BUT FROM THE TALMUD JEWS.

As to the other point, it is, by consequence, manifest that the Church hath nothing to do to enjoin any copy of the

tumant; et satis eis factum, qui Veteris Testamenti libros 22. pro numero litterarum Hebraicarum, recensent, si eos Judæorum recensere voluisse dicatur. Id autem non obstare, quo minus auctior habeatur canon Ecclesiæ; adjectis, ad eos, qui ab Esdra recensiti fuerant, eis quos Esdræ posthumeros appellant. Nam si canonici habendi sint, quos synagoga recepit, multo potiori jure habendos canonicos putant quas Ecclesia agnoscat, et pro canonicis legi jubeat. Et sane negari non potest, multis multorum vetustorumque utriusque Ecclesiæ patrum locis, divinas, sacras, sanctas, canonicas, denique Scripturas dici, quæ cum Scripturæ tantum dicuntur, non minus intelligendum esse, manifestum sit.—Thorn-

dic. de Ratione ac jure finiendi Controv., cap. xxviii. pp. 556, 557. Londini, 1670.

<sup>n</sup> "If the sense of the decree be abated, so that it be understood to require them to be received with an affection of the same piety—for truly I who esteem them not canonical esteem them for Christian piety's sake—though not esteeming them inspired by God, which is the reason of the esteem the canonical Scripture hath, and which is not the same in these; which I therefore hold not the same, obliging my Christian piety to esteem them in the words of the decree, *pari pietatis affectu*, though not so properly because rejected with *affectu*."—MSS.

Scripture to be received as authentic, but that which itself originally received, because it is what it is before the Church receive it. Therefore, seeing the Scripture of the Old Testament was penned first, and delivered in the Hebrew tongue—for I need not here except that little part of Esdras and Daniel, which is in the Chaldee, the same reason holding in both—that of the New in the Greek; there is no question to be made but those are the authentic copies. Neither can the decree of the council of Trent<sup>o</sup> bear any dispute, to them who have admitted the premises, if it be taken to import that the Church thereby settlETH the credit of Scripture, inspired by God, upon the copy which itself advanceth, taking the same away from the copy which the author penned; that credit depending merely upon the commission of God and His Spirit, upon the which the very being of the Church equally dependeth.

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original  
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be authen-  
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§ 2. But it is manifest that it cannot be said that the said decree necessarily importeth so much; because it is at this day free for every one to maintain that the original Hebrew and Greek are the authentic copies, the vulgar Latin only enjoined not to be refused in act of dispute or question; which hindereth no recourse to the originals for the determining of the meaning which it importeth. He that will see this tried need go no further than a little book of a Sorbonne doctor, called *Valerianus de Flavigny*<sup>p</sup>, professor of the Hebrew

[Meaning  
of the  
decree of  
Trent.]

<sup>o</sup> Insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus considerans, non parum utilitatis accedere posse, Ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus Latinis editionibus, quæ circumferuntur sacrorum librorum, quænam pro authentica habenda sit, innotescat; statuit et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et Vulgata editio, quæ longo toto sæculorum usu in ipsa Ecclesia probata est in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus, pro authentica habeatur, ut nemo illam rejicere quovis prætextu audeat vel præsumat.—Concil. Trident. Sess. iv. A. D. 1546. Labbei, tom. xx. coll. 22, 23. ed. Venet.

nibus esse necessariam, si modo Scripturas sacras feliciter evolere cupiant, et inoffenso pede decurrere.—Pro Sacrosancto Ed. Hebr. authentica Veritate, Oratio, pp. 21, 22. Paris, 1646.

And in his letter to Abraham Echelensis, he says;—Accipe igitur quod ego sentio, ut tu tandem calumniari desinas. Primariam autoritatem defero sacrosanctis voluminibus Hebraicis, sed non omnem, ita ut editio Vulgata nullam prorsus habeat. Imo hanc ubique consulendam admittimus ex omnibus Latinis editionibus, uti concilium Tridentinum declaravit; inde etiam fidei dogmata repetenda; etsi constantissime pernegemus, eam esse Hebræis fontibus aut aliis textibus primigeniis anteponeendam.—Ep. iv. p. 160. Paris, 1648. He then quotes, p. 164, in his favour, Julius Rugerius, Lamularum Abbas et Secretarius Apostolicus; p. 165, Alphonsus Salmeron,

<sup>p</sup> Sed quid opus pluribus? audient novi illi ac recentes theologo, quos pejor avis hæc ætas tulit, ut sacrosanctis voluminibus Hebraicis detraherent, atque etiam, si Deus dederit, exaudient, Linguam Hebraicam sacrorum voluminum clavem theologis om-

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in the University of Paris, written in opposition to an opinion vented in the preface<sup>9</sup> to the Great Bible lately published there, in disparagement of the Hebrew copy of the Old Testament. Where he shall see that opinion refuted with that eagerness, and the contrary attested by the opinions of so many divines, of so great note in the Church of Rome since that council, that no man that sees them can deny, that notwithstanding the decree, it is free for every man to maintain the original 239 copies to be authentic.

§ 3. And truly, he that should affirm the credit of the Scripture to stand upon the decree of the present Church, or upon the testimony of the Spirit, must, by consequence, have recourse to the same visible decree, or to the same invisible dictate, whensoever it shall be necessary to accept or refuse the reading of any text of Scripture, with that faith, which if it be false, the whole truth of Christianity will be forfeit. What Richworth and his possession would do, to evidence what reading of the Scripture is indeed authentic, when as it doth not appear what is the reading which the Church is truly in possession of, let him advise. For in that case he must expressly avow the consequence of his position, that the Scripture is not considerable in resolving controversies of faith: because the Church is not in possession of the certain reading of any Scripture.

§ 4. For if he say he hath made short work in that question, having discharged the Scripture of being necessary to the Church, and therefore acquitted himself of any necessity to shew how we may come by true Scripture; and instead thereof, and all other means of deciding controversies in the Church, established the tradition presently in possession.

unus e decem primis sodalibus societatis Nominis Jesu; p. 167, Philippus Gammachæus, doctor ac socius Sorbonicus, . . . vir, siquis unquam alius, vere Catholicus et integræ doctrinæ.

<sup>9</sup> Pro certo igitur atque indubitato apud nos esse debet, Vulgatam editionem, quæ communi Catholicæ Ecclesiæ lingua circumfertur, verum esse, ac genuinum sacræ Scripturæ fontem; hanc consulendam ubique; inde fidei dogmata repetenda. Quod vero Hebræo aliisque contextibus minus quam Vulgatæ versioni ducimus deferendum, nemo equidem nos erroris redarguat,

nisi evangelistas etiam ipsos, Apostolos, et priscos omnes nascentis Ecclesiæ patres, simul audeat reprehendere, qui propalaturi per orbem Evangelium, cœlestemque doctrinam sparsuri ex 70 potius interpretum versione, quos tum ecclesia sequebatur, quam ex Hebræo fonte, licet stante adhuc veteri synagoga, testimonia sua, et sacrarum autoritatum monumenta repetierunt. . . And a little before it is observed. . . Verum non ita valuit ejusdem non cautio, quin tandem sacri codices ex gentis illius ruina, aliquam in se mutationis labem sustinuerint.—Lutet. Paris. 1645.

First, it will be easier for me to verify the short rule of faith by the Scriptures interpreted according to that which, by records, may appear to have been, from the beginning, of force in the Church, than it will be for him to shew what is the tradition which the Church is in possession of at present: and that, this being shewed, I shall not need to fear any great danger that he may object, from the variety of reading which may be found in several copies, the necessity of salvation being secured. And then, in the next place, to say that the Scripture is not necessary, though not for the salvation of every Christian, yet for the salvation of the body of Christians, which is the Church; though that faction which separation engenders will suffer no opinion to be plausible but those which are in extremes, yet I hope the malice of Satan hath not yet debauched the ears of Christians to endure. And thus, as afore it was settled<sup>r</sup>, that the whole Scripture is received for the word of God upon the credit of tradition; so, of every part and parcel of it, wherein the credit of several copies consisteth, it is consequently to be said that nothing can oblige the faith of a Christian to receive it unquestionably for the word of God, the tradition whereof is not unquestionable.

§ 5. But this much being settled, that what was originally delivered in Greek and Hebrew is to be received for the authentic word of God; what was originally delivered in Greek and Hebrew may still remain questionable. That is to say, this being agreed, it may still remain questionable what copies they are that do contain that which was originally delivered in Greek and Hebrew. How probable it is I need not yet say, but any man of common sense must say that it is possible, through the changes that time is able to produce, that the translations shall prove better than the originals<sup>s</sup>, and that the Scriptures shall be truer read among

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But the truth thereof may as well be found in the translations of the Old Testament as in the Jews' copies.

<sup>r</sup> Chap. iii. sect. 19.

<sup>s</sup> "Because it is the judgment of some that yet other objections may be raised against the thesis pleaded for, from what is affirmed in the Prolegomena about gathering various lections by the help of translations, and the instances of that good work given us in the Appendix, I shall close this dis-

course with the consideration of that pretence.

"The great and signal use of various translations, which hitherto we have esteemed them for, was the help afforded by them in expositions of the Scripture. To have represented to us in one view the several apprehensions and judgments of so many worthy and

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those that have received, than among those that delivered them. And this is indeed the true state of the question, which is now come to be disputed, upon due terms, as it seems; to wit, whether the Hebrew copies which now we have from the Jews, and the Greek copies of the New Testament now extant, contain that Scripture which all Christians are bound to receive upon their Christianity, not only in opposition to the vulgar Latin, which the council of Trent enjoineth, and to the authority of the present Church—thinking that it is concluded in that decree—but in opposition to that tradition which other ancient copies, either original or translated, may and do contain the evidence.

§ 6. In which point I shall in the first place profess, as concerning the Old Testament, that I find it no inconvenience, but a great deal of reason, to grant that at what time those books were made up into a body, and consigned unto the synagogue, the reading which we have received from them was not delivered as unquestionable—so that it should be any prejudice to the law of God to suspect it—but as the most probable, and by admitting whereof no prejudice to the said law could follow. And the safety of this position, both Jews and Christians will witness with me.

§ 7. For if the Jews truly acknowledge and insist that<sup>240</sup> their Judaism is sufficiently grounded and witnessed by the letter of the Old Testament which we have; the Christians that their Christianity is as sufficiently to be evi-

learned men as were the authors of these translations, upon the original words of the Scripture, is a signal help and advantage unto men enquiring into the mind and will of God in His word. That translations were of any other use formerly, was not apprehended. They are of late presented unto us under another notion: namely, as means and helps of correcting the original, and finding out the corruptions that are in our present copies, shewing that the copies which their authors used, did really differ from those which we now enjoy and use. For this rare invention we are, as for the former, chiefly beholding to the learned and most diligent Cappelus, who is followed, as in sundry instances himself declares, by the no less learned Grotius. To this purpose the scene is thus laid. It is supposed of

old there were sundry copies of the Old Testament differing in many things, words, and sentences, from those we now enjoy. Out of these copies some of the ancient translations have been made. In their translations they express the sense and meaning of the copies they made use of. Hence by considering what they deliver, where they differ from our present copies, we may find out—that is, learned men who are expert at conjectures may do so—how they read in theirs. Thus may we come to a further discovery of the various corruptions that are crept into the Hebrew text, and by the help of those translations amend them. Thus Cappelus.”—Dr. Owen, *Divine Original*, part 2. chap. vii. pp. 310—312. Oxford, 1659.

denced by the copies we have, as Christianity was intended to be delivered by the Scriptures of the Old Testament; CHAP.  
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§ 8. For if I believe them when they tell me that there was such a company of men, I cannot disbelieve them that the prophets Haggai, Zachary, and Malachi, the scribe Esdras—the same with Malachi<sup>x</sup>, as they tell us, for any thing I

<sup>t</sup> "What use hath been made, and is as yet made in the world, of this supposition, that corruptions have befallen the originals of the Scripture, which those various lections at first view seem to intimate, I need not declare. It is in brief the foundation of Mahometism, Alcor. Azoar. 5: the chiefest and principal prop of popery, the only pretence of fanatical anti-scripturists, and the root of much hidden atheism in the world."—Dr. John Owen's *Divine Original*, p. 147. Oxford, 1659.

<sup>u</sup> Prima et maxime celebris librorum Veteris Testamenti editio, erat illa Esdræ—quem alterum Mosem vocant Judæi—et Synedrî Magni, sive virorum Magnæ Synagogæ, post reditum a Babylone. Nam cum toto captivitatis tempore negligenter servata fuerint Sacra Volumina, quia nec erat templum nec tabernaculum, ubi authentica exemplaria erant deposita; codices ex variis locis collegerunt, ordinarunt, et in unum corpus redegerunt Esdras et socii: quæ vitiata erant, re-purgarunt, et integritati suæ restituerunt: et sic canonem constituerunt. Erat vero hæc ipsorum constitutio di-

vinæ prorsus auctoritatis, cum in isto Synedrîo essent non tantum Esdras, sed et prophetarum ultimi Haggæus, Zacharias, Malachias, et, ut quibusdam videtur, Daniel: qui omnes partem canonis ab ipsis sanciti instinctu divino prius scripserant.—*Bibl. Polygl.*, Prol. iv. § 2. p. 30. Londini, 1657.

<sup>x</sup> Ille fuit Malachias; sic priscis Hebræorum quibusdam creditum, unde Jonathan paraphrastes Chaldæus, Mal. i. 1. transfert, 'per manum Malachiæ, cujus nomen vocatur Esra Scriba.' Et Rabbi David hoc loco scribit: 'Rabbi nostri, bonæ memoriæ, aiunt, Malachiam esse Esram.' At Abben Esra: 'Quidam dicunt, eum esse Esram, sed juxta meam sententiam nomen ejus est sicut scribitur.' Hinc Malachias . . . juxta Eliam similis fuit Angelo ministratorio, quem Deus administrandæ hominum salutis ex regno Babyloniæ in terram Israelis emisit. Venit eo ut Ecclesiæ Judaicæ in Babylonia corruptæ, et sacra Scripturæ in captivitate neglectæ, opem ferret. Sic fuit scribarum et legis divinæ peritorum pater.—Buxtorf. *Tiberias*, cap. ii. p. ii. Basileæ Rauracorum, 1620.

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know; for why should I not believe Malachi, being appellative, and signifying ‘my messenger,’ to be Esdras’s surname, given him from that which is prophesied Mal. iii. 1?—Mordecai, Nehemias, Joshua the son of Josedech, and many others of that time were of it. But shall I believe that their prophetic grace was employed to decide the true reading of the Scripture? shall I believe that a new revelation was given, to notify how every letter and syllable was to be read, when neither the consequence of the matter required it, and sufficient means had been given to certify common sense how to proceed? I know the good father St. Irenæus<sup>y</sup> was made to believe that the Scriptures were quite lost during the captivity of Babylonia, and that the copies we have contain only that which Esdras, by inspiration of God’s Spirit, wrote anew for the books of the Old Testament. I doubt not there are enough that find this unreasonable, which cannot hear without a great grain of jealousy, that Esdras—supposing him the man that made up and consigned the body of the Old Testament to the synagogue—should deliver any thing, but upon such credit, that if any syllable of it should be admitted questionable, the law of God itself must become questionable; to wit, because Esdras is supposed to have been endowed with God’s Spirit, though it cannot be supposed to what purpose. For, otherwise, why should it seem so dangerous to believe that there are faults in the reading of the Jews’ copies of the Old Testament which we use?

§ 9. That excellent humanist, Joseph Scaliger<sup>z</sup>, hath maintained that there are corrupt readings in the copies that we use, more ancient than Esdras. Ludovicus Cappellus<sup>a</sup>, at this

<sup>y</sup> Καὶ οὐδὲν γε θαυμαστὸν, τὸν Θεὸν τοῦτο ἐνηργηκέναι, ὅς γε καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπι Ναβουχοδονόσορ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ διαφθαρειῶν τῶν γραφῶν, καὶ μετὰ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀνελθόντων εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν, ἐπειτὰ ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις Ἀρταξέρξου τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπένευσεν Ἐσδρα τῷ ἱερεὶ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Δαυὶ, τοὺς τῶν προγεγονότων προφητῶν πάντας ἀνατάξασθαι λόγους, καὶ ἀποκαταστήσαι τῷ λαῷ τὴν διὰ Μωσέως νομοθεσίαν.—Lib. iii. cap. xxi. § 2. p. 216. ed. Ben.

<sup>z</sup> The Editor has not been able to find the place alluded to.

<sup>a</sup> “But we must not, it seems, rest here; within a few years after, to make way for another design which then he had conceived, Ludovicus Cappellus published a discourse in defence of the opinion of Elias—at least so far as concerned the rise of the punctuation—under the title of Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum. The book was published by Erpenius without the name of the author. But the person was sufficiently known, and Rivetus not long after took notice of him, and saith he was his friend, but concealed his name, Isag. ad Script. i. cap. viii. This new



day maintaineth<sup>b</sup> that the Hebrew copies may be mended not only by other texts of the Old and New Testament, but by the translations which have been made before those corruptions might prevail. I can neither pretend here to maintain nor to destroy that which either of them hath said. I will say further to the same purpose. The Syriac of the Old Testament, which is a translation made by Christians out of the original Hebrew, seemeth to have followed another reading

attempt immediately pleaseth some. Among others, our learned professor, Dr. Prideaux, reads a public lecture in the vespers of our comitia on that subject; wherein, though he preface his discourse with an observation of the advantage the Papists make of that opinion of the novelty of the points, and the danger of it, yet upon the matter he falls in wholly with Cappellus, though he name him not. Among the large encomiums of himself and his work, printed by Cappellus in the close of his *Critica Sacra*, there are two letters from one Mr. Eyre here in England, in one whereof he tells him, that without doubt the doctor read on that subject by the help of his book; as indeed he useth his arguments, and quotes his treatise, under the name of Lud Hanisebhoth Hanaegalah. But that, I say, which seems to me most admirable in the doctor's discourse, that whereas he had preface it with the weight of the controversy he had in hand, by the advantage the Papists make of the opinion of the novelty of the points, citing their words to that purpose, himself in the body of his exertions falls in with them, and speaks the very things which he seemed before to have blamed. And by this means this opinion tending so greatly to the disparagement of the authority of the originals, is crept in amongst Protestants also. Of the stop put unto its progress by the full and learned answer of Buxtorfius the younger—who alone in this learning, in this age seems to answer his father's worth—unto Cappellus, in his discourse de Origine et Antiquitate Punctorum, I shall speak more afterwards. However, it is not amiss fallen out that the masters of this new persuasion are not at all agreed among themselves; Cappellus would have it easy to understand the Hebrew text, and every word, though not absolutely by itself, yet as

it lies in its contexture, though there were no points at all. Morinus would make the language altogether unintelligible on that account; the one saith that the points are a late invention of the Rabbins, and the other that without them the understanding of the Hebrew is ἐν τῶν ἀδυνάτων: yet though they look diverse ways, there is a firebrand between them. But we have this brand brought yet nearer to the Church's bread corn in the Prolegomena to the Biblia Polyglotta, lately printed at London."—Dr. Owen's Epist. Dedicatory to the Divine Original of the Scriptures. London, 1659.

<sup>b</sup> Nec si quis demonstrare posset, alicubi in hodierno textu Græco et Hebræo lectionem esse aliquam quæ sensum necessario parit—falsum et absurdum, continuo inde efficeretur fontes istos esse absolute et in universum rejiciendos, ac hujus vel illius translationis rivulos, fontium illorum loco, esse consecandos. Hoc tantum efficeretur iis in locis hodiernam textus Græci aut Hebraici lectionem esse deserendam, eamque esse ejus loco sequendam, quæ vel ex conjectura, vel ex antiquis translationibus deprehenderetur veriore et convenientiorem gignere sensum, essetque lectionis illius vitium ex reliqua Scripturæ compage, atque harmonia plane admirabili, emendandum atque emaculandum.

Quod si mendum aliquod et vitium in fontes istos, toties a tot sæculis descriptos, ex scribarum incuria, atque ἀβελψία et inscitia illabi passus est Deus—quæ est omnium omnino librorum sors et conditio, nec alia horum esse potuit sine stupendo, ubi sæpe diximus, miraculo—idem tamen simul providit ut vitium illud—si quod est—deprehendi, corrigi, et emendari, ex reliqua totius Scripturarum corporis compage atque contextura possit.—Critic. Sac., lib. vi. cap. iii. § 6, 8. p. 390. Paris, 1640.

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§ 10. I will give you a few instances. Gen. ii. 2: it hath been thought so strange, that God should finish the work that He had made upon the seventh day, who is said elsewhere to have made heaven and earth in six days; that the Jews have reported that the Greek translates it the sixth day, lest the Gentiles should stumble at it. But when we see the Samaritan and the Syriac follow the Greek, shall not the credit of them balance the credit of the Hebrew copies? Gen. xliii. 18; “we are brought in that he may roll himself upon us,” or “fall upon us,” להתנבל is read many times in the sense of ‘casting down a man’s self prostrate.’ That it can signify simply ‘falling,’ I do not believe any Hebrew can justify. Read but with the Syriac להתנבל, changing only פ into ב, and the sense will be as proper as the Hebrew, ‘to put tricks upon us.’ Num. xxxi. 28—47, according to the Hebrew, the spoil being <sup>241</sup> divided in two, the army are commanded to consecrate one of five hundred to God, the congregation one of fifty; in the Syriac, both one of fifty. And the numbers specified afterwards differ accordingly. Now whereas these are consecrated to God as the first-fruits of the spoil, it is manifest that one of fifty was the legal rate of first-fruits, which any man might exceed, but no man was to go less: as St. Hierome<sup>c</sup> upon Ezekiel, agreeing with the Talmud, witnesseth. Which is the reason why I must account this reading considerable, notwithstanding the Hebrew.

§ 11. 1 Sam. xvii. 12: “And the man went among men for an old man, in the days of Saul.” Translate; “And the man in the days of Saul was old and stricken in years;” reading with the Syriac בא בשנים, not with the Hebrew בא באנשים; and then let any man that understands Hebrew and sense tell me which is the more proper Hebrew, which is the more proper sense. 2 Kings x. 1: “Jehu wrote and sent letters to Samaria, to the princes of Jezreel, the elders, and to those that brought up Ahab’s children.” Here is a great question, which all that maintain the Hebrew to be without fault will have much ado to answer; how should Jehu, sending to Samaria, send to the elders of Jezreel? And the Syriac

<sup>c</sup> See Right of the Church, chap. iv. sect. 50.

assoils it not, according to the Paris copy. But in the readings of the Great Bible it is noted that our copies read it not<sup>d</sup>. And truly, he that would say that we are to read the elders of Israel for the elders of Jezreel, might have much to say for himself. But that the elders of Samaria should be the elders of Jezreel cannot be reasonable.

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§ 12. 2 Kings xviii. 27: Rabshakeh said unto them, "Hath my master sent me to speak these words to thy master and to thee, or to the men that sit upon the wall, that they may eat their dung and drink their piss with you?" So we read it. But in conscience, were it not far better sense to read it with the Syriac; "that they may not eat their dung and drink their piss with you?" For how could he have said a fitter reason to make the people mutiny, than by telling them that his master had sent them that good counsel, that they might not by standing out the siege be put to eat their own dung and drink their own piss with Hezekiah and his council? I might have brought more than these, but it is a work by itself for him that would try what that translation would afford, and this may serve for an essay. And therefore to me it seemeth far safer to yield that it may be so, than utterly to ruin the credit of God's law in the opinion of those men, who being told that no tittle thereof can be questionable, without granting that it came not from God, do nevertheless find sensible reason to doubt of the reading of some passage.

§ 13. This being said, in the next place I shall as freely profess that I find no reason in the world to suspect<sup>e</sup> that the

The Jews  
have not  
falsified  
them of  
malice.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Polyglott. Var. Lectt. Syr., tom. vi. p. 25. London, 1660.

<sup>e</sup> Sufficit enim ad *adverſiſm* versionis qua versio est, a sensu qui continetur in origine nihil discrepare. Verum in textu Hebræo aliter omnino se res habet. Ut enim omittam in nonnullis locis de quibus agitur manifestissimas textus neoterici depravationes quas S. Hieronymus vel ex 70 interpretum translatione, vel ex Hebræorum codicum comparatione, vel denique Spiritu Sancto dictante, vertendo correxit, in Hebræo textu mutatio revera facta est: nec ullus tam effrons hoc inficiari poterit, quin statim temerariæ et mendacis assertionis apertissime convinctur. Nam ut demonstratum est autoritate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Apo-

stolorum et 70 interpretum, alius plane erat sensus in illis in locis ipsorum ætate, quam postea deprehensus est, et nunc deprehendatur. Saltem igitur Judæorum exseribentium hallucinatione, oscitantia, ignorantia illis in locis mutatus est textus Hebræus. Sed mutatio illa, concesso nullum continere errorem, facta est in deteriorem partem; de sensu scilicet divino, quem primum scripserat autor in humanum qui hallucinatione scribæ invecus est. Jure igitur, meritoque dici potest levior ista textus Hebræi mutatio, depravatio, et corruptio. Cogita nunc apud te, et recogita quid de mutationibus dicendum sit, quæ aliquid falsi, absurdum, aut male coherentis in textum inferunt. Universalius dicam, textus

Hebrew copies which we now have from the synagogue are maliciously corrupted and falsified by the Jews. I grant that precious saint of God, Justin the Martyr, did so believe, and so charges them, *Dial. cum Tryphone*<sup>8</sup>: and Eusebius, *Ecll. Hist.* iv. 18<sup>h</sup>, is bold to pronounce that the Jews were convinced by him in this point. But without disparagement to the great merit wherewith that blessed martyr hath obliged Christ's Church, it may and must be yielded, which I said before<sup>1</sup>, that a person so curious in all things which he could

divinus ab homine cum sensus mutatione nullomodo mutari potest, quin illa περικοπή saltem fiat humana, ac consequenter quin textus illa pars sit depravata, utpote a sensu divinitus vero in sensum humanitus verum degenerans. De versionibus authenticis licet, ex ejusmodi textu factæ sint, nihil horum dici potest, ut demonstravimus: nam sensus humanus auctoritate Ecclesiæ in propheticum et Apostolicum mutatus est, et pristinae dignitati restitutus: deinde a primigenia interpretis scriptione nihil degeneravit textus neotericus. Nulla igitur ratione aut prætextu textum vulgatæ esse depravatum ex argumentis istis colligitur.—Morini, Exercit. Biblic., lib. i. exerc. vi. cap. xiii. § 8. pp. 159, 160. Paris. 1686.

<sup>1</sup> Quæ hactenus disputata sunt, de variis Hebræi textus lectionibus, quæ in translationibus S. Hieronymi, et 70 interpretum, varios sed sacros sensus nobis pepererunt, praxi Ecclesiæ illustrata et confirmata fidem, et auctoritatem apud omnes Catholicos longe majorem consequuntur. Res ista quidem extra omnem falsitatis aleam hoc principio constituta est, quod a sanctissimis patribus, Ecclesiaque universa varietates illæ lectæ, approbatæ, et commentariis illustratæ fuerint. Veruntamen selectis quibusdam exemplis, quæ diximus, evidentiora fient, et illustratiora. Dico igitur non tantum varias lectiones, quibus nihil est additum, sublatum, aut commutatum, quo religioni Christianæ injuria, aut periculum creetur, ab Ecclesia sanctisque patribus confirmatas esse καὶ κανονισθείσας; sed etiam nonnullas longe alterius generis, quarum scilicet immutatio Ecclesiæ injuriam facere videtur, firmissimæque religionis Christianæ argumenta eludere, ac e manibus nostris excutere; non quidem falsum exprimendo; nihil enim ejusmodi approbat

Ecclesia, sed multa quæ vera sunt, et a prophetis scripta, resectione aut commutatione supprimendo.

Hujus generis una habetur Psal. xcv. 10. 'Dicite in gentibus, quia Dominus regnavit.' Antiqua omnium patrum traditio addit huic versiculo, 'a ligno,' atque inde validissimum pro crucifixione Christi promit argumentum. . . . Contendit multis Justinus Martyr adversus Tryphonem Judæum a propheta scriptum esse, 'Dominus regnavit a ligno,' et Judæus has dictiones "a ligno" maligne abrasisse, ne hoc testimonio adversus eos uteremur. Quicquid sit de malignitate Judæorum, certum est verba ista non amplius reperiri, neque apud Hebræos, neque in editione 70 interpretum, neque in vulgata S. Hieronymi, atque admodum antiquam esse resectionem illam.—Morini, Exercit. Biblic., lib. i. exerc. vi. cap. xiv. § 1, 2. p. 160. Paris. 1685.

<sup>8</sup> Ἄλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς διδασκαλοῖς ὑμῶν πείθου, μὴ συντεθειμένοι καλῶς ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίων γενομένῳ βασιλεῖ ἑβδόμηκοντα πρεσβυτέρων· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐξηγεῖσθαι πειρῶνται. καὶ ὅτι πολλὰς γραφὰς τέλειον περιείλον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξηγήσεων τῶν γεγενημένων ὑπὸ τῶν παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ γεγενημένων πρεσβυτέρων, ἐξ ὧν διαβρῆδην οἷτος αὐτοῦ δ' σταυρωθεῖς, ὅτι Θεὸς, καὶ ἄνθρωπος, καὶ σταυρούμενος, καὶ ἀποθνήσκων κεκρυμμένος ἀποδείκνυται, εἶδέναι ὑμᾶς βούλομαι. . . .

Καὶ ὁ Τρύφων εἶπε· πρῶτον ἀξιοῦμεν εἰπεῖν σε ἡμῖν καὶ τινὰς ὧν λέγεις τέλειον παραγεγράφθαι γραφῶν.

Κἀγὼ εἶπον ὡς ὑμῖν φίλος πράξω.—cap. lxxi. p. 169. ed. Ben.

<sup>h</sup> Καὶ ῥητῶν δὲ τινῶν προφητικῶν μνημονεύει, διελέγχων τὸν Τρύφωνα ὡς ἂν περικοψάντων αὐτὰ Ἰουδαίων ἀπὸ τῆς γραφῆς.—P. 140. ed. Vales.

<sup>i</sup> Chap. xxii. sect. 12. See also chap. xxxiii. sect. 2.

enquire out tending to the advantage of Christianity, hath suffered himself to be imposed upon in divers particulars of historical truth concerning that purpose. CHAP. XXXII.

§ 14. And that this is one of them, I shall for proof need no more but to send them to the place, and desire them to consider whether those passages which he alleges to have been falsified by the Jews, were indeed so read as he recites them in the true Greek copies of the Old Testament at that time: or whether he was imposed upon to believe that they were true copies which read them as he does, though indeed they were not. Neither do I find that the Christians after him have thought themselves obliged to follow that reading, which he, as falsified by the Jews, professeth to restore. And truly, though—in regard of the bloody hatred of the Jews, which the Christians, at that time, when their departure was fresh, might justly impute the greatest persecutions to, that they endured—no suspicion upon them but may seem just; yet I would have this limited, so far as there appears reason <sup>242</sup> to believe that it may be true. For from the time that the study of God's law was in request among them, that is, as I conceive, from the return from captivity,—where it seems they were settled in a deep detestation of idols, and took in hand the teaching and learning of the law, as God had commanded in it—I say, from that time they seem to have been possessed with a disease on the other hand of a superstitious esteem of the very letters and titles of it. Which renders it a thing no way credible that they should make it their design to falsify those which they held in so superstitious a reverence.

§ 15. And truly, he that considers how necessary the preserving of the Old Testament entire must needs be to the propagation of Christianity which God had designed, will easily say that this perverse zeal of adhering to the letter of the law was purposely employed by the providence of God, to work His Gospel the freer passage, by presuming the letter of the law unquestionable. St. Augustine<sup>k</sup> therefore calleth the Jews *capsarios Ecclesiæ*, as those that keep the records, and carry those books for the Christians

<sup>k</sup> 'Major serviet minori,' modo impletum est: modo, Fratres, nobis serviunt Judæi, tanquam capsarii nostri

sunt, studentibus nobis codices portant. —S. Augustin. in Psalm. xi. tom. iv. col. 353. ed. Ben.

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I.

which serve to cut their own throat. And had it been their design to falsify the Scriptures, would any reason allow that they should practise it in such places as concerned Christianity little or nothing, rather than in those which they challenge most interest in? For without doubt it is hard to name any place controverted between the Jews and Christians, for the reading of it, that is of consequence to the truth of Christianity.

§ 16. I confess the reading of the Christians, Ps. xxii. 17, כָּרִי is true, and not that of the Jews כָּאֲרִי; for what good sense can they make of it? But I do not therefore see they intended to falsify the true reading of it, who have, of themselves, set a mark of a doubtful reading upon the place. So in Esay ix. 6, the modern Hebrew reads וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ, the Latin seems to have read וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ: but any man that knows the Hebrew will allow me that the first reading will bear the sense of the latter, “and his name shall be called:” so far there is no evidence of falsifying, as the end of it appears not to be obtained by admitting that reading which you pretend forged. How far it concerns either the credit of St. Paul, or the truth of Christianity, that Psalm xix. 5. be read קוֹלָם, as Rom. x. 18, not as we have it this day in our copies קוֹם, I am willing to refer unto judgment; knowing that whatsoever be decreed will not be of force to conclude so great a presumption as we have in debate.

§ 17. For, suppose we that they had never so much mind to do such a wickedness; and consider, on the other side, that the separation of Christians from Jews was not made in a moment, but that so long as there was hope to win the Jews, they conformed themselves to serve God with them, and, without doubt, carried a greater or a less party in all synagogues where Christianity found entrance—which, how soon it found entrance into the whole empire, the very writings of the Apostles may serve to assure us—I say supposing all this, we cannot doubt that at the separation the Christians were possessed of copies which the Jews warranted, in so many parts of the empire. And will any common sense allow that it should be possible for them to corrupt their own copies, whether in Hebrew or in Greek, and the Christians not convict them of it? knowing them both able, and willing, and obliged so to do.

§ 18. Seeing then we must conclude that what fault soever may have come into the copies which the Jews at present send us, it cannot be presumed to have come upon pre-pensed malice, but upon such casualties as the propagating of all records is subject to; it will be fit, as a further step to our proceeding, to enquire in the next place, whether the points, signifying the vowels whereby the sense of the Old Testament is now determined, are from the Spirit of God, or invented by man, and allowed by the synagogue. A conceit as eagerly maintained by some<sup>l</sup>, that would magnify their profession of the Hebrew, as if the credit of the Scripture, and by consequence of Christianity, were to stand or fall with every jot or tittle of the Jews' copies, as of the law our Saviour saith it doth. Which he that considereth the intent of the Old Testament to serve principally for a motive to introduce Christianity—but, to determine the matter of it, no otherwise than  
 243 first the meaning thereof shall be determined by the New—will never grant; though freely allowing the utmost of our Saviour's meaning, that every tittle of the law continues in force under the Gospel, to the effect whereto it was intended, not of the letter, but of the Spirit.

§ 19. Those that would have these points to carry the credit of God's word, do faintly maintain<sup>m</sup> that which the

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The points  
come nei-  
ther from  
Moses nor  
from Es-  
dras, but  
from the  
Talmud  
Jews.

[Jewish  
account of  
the origin  
of the  
points.]

<sup>l</sup> "The uncontrolled reception of them absolutely, without the least opposition all the world over, by Jews and Christians; the very nature of the punctuation itself following the genius of the language, not arising or flowing from any artificial rules; the impossibility of assigning any author to it since the days of Ezra, but only by such loose conjectures and imaginations as ought not to be admitted to any plea and place in this weighty cause; all attended with that great uncertainty, which without their owing these points to be of divine original, we shall be left unto in all translations and expositions of the Scripture.

..... Nor let men please themselves with the pretended facility of learning the Hebrew language without points and accents, and not only the language but the true and proper reading and distinction of it in the Bible." —Dr. Owen's Integrity of the Hebrew Text, chap. v. § 16. pp. 291—294.

Oxford, 1659.

<sup>m</sup> "The Jews generally believe these points to have been from mount Sinai, and so downward by Moses and the prophets; at least from Ezra and his companions, the men of the great synagogue, not denying that the use and the knowledge of them received a great reviving by the Gemarists and Massorites, when they had been much disused, . . . .

"Had it been otherwise, surely men stupendously superstitious in inquiring after the traditions of their fathers, would have found some footsteps of their rise and progress.

"It is not my design to give in arguments for the divine original of the present Hebrew punctuation, neither do I judge it necessary for any one so to do, whilst the learned Buxtorf's Discourse, *de Origine et Antiquitate Punctorum*, lies unanswered." —Dr. Owen's Integrity of the Hebrew Text, chap. ix. § 17, 19, pp. 247, 252. Oxford, 1659.

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Jews as familiarly affirm, as they do believe all their Constitutions to be God's law by word of mouth; to wit, that they were delivered to Moses in mount Sinai. But they seem to insist peremptorily<sup>n</sup>, that if not delivered by Moses, at least they were settled by Esdras, and his companions of the great synagogue or assembly, which I spoke of so lately. And truly, there is no question to be made, but this must have been done while the Spirit of God was among them; but this being granted, he that should thereupon presume that the Spirit was given to this effect, of settling the meaning of the Scriptures, must demand it gratis, or rather for less than nought, considering what appearance I have made that the copies were settled not by inspiration of the Holy Ghost but by tradition of historical truth.

§ 20. Yet not insisting upon this, I must profess I cannot but marvel what probability any man can imagine that this method of determining the reading and sense of the Hebrew of the Old Testament, which, according to the nature and custom of the Eastern languages, originally consists of consonants only, should be as ancient as Esdras's time. I make no question that there must be a certain method of reading things written by consonants only, otherwise they had not, in that estate, means to understand one another in writing. But this, in matters of common sense and effect, the mere use of speaking would easily furnish all that had practice of writing and reading with. For what great difficulty could remain in reading that which was of itself understood? The necessity of this method in writing is the difficulty of understanding; that is to say, a capacity of being determined to several senses in those writings to which it is applied.

§ 21. Suppose, now, that to be true which I shewed afore<sup>o</sup> to be probable, that from the captivity the study of the law came in request according to the law; from that time it must be known amongst them how the Scriptures were to be read. And truly, from that time the scribes were much more in

<sup>n</sup> "And as I shall not oppose them who maintain that they are cœvous with the letters, which are not a few of the most learned Jews and Christians; so I no ways doubt, but that as we now enjoy them, we shall yet manifest that they were completed by the men of the

great synagogue, Ezra and his companions, guided therein by the infallible direction of the Spirit of God."—Dr. Owen's Integrity of the Hebrew Text, chap. iv. § 1. pp. 210, 211. Oxford, 1659.

<sup>o</sup> Sect. 14. above.



request, though I have shewed elsewhere<sup>p</sup> that their profession began under the prophets, being nothing else but their disciples, which we read of in their writings. I have also shewed<sup>q</sup> that the profession extended from the judges of the great consistory to schoolmasters that taught children to read, and notaries that wrote contracts. These men's profession consisting in nothing else but the Scriptures—for what learning had they in writing besides?—is it strange that children could be taught by tradition to read it, though the vulgar language was somewhat changed? This supposition indeed will infer that the reading could not be so precisely determined for all to agree in the same; but it will also infer that the more the study was in use, the more precise determination they must needs attain.

§ 22. Now I desire the indifferent reader to consider two points, both of them certain, and resolved in the tradition of the Jews; the first, that this method of points is part of the law delivered by word of mouth, as appears by the tradition in the Gemara, that he that hath sworn that such a one shall never be the better for him, may teach him the Scriptures, because that they may be done for hire, but he may not teach him the points, because the law by word of mouth must not be taught for hire. The second, that it was never held lawful to commit this oral law to writing<sup>r</sup> till the time of R. Juda<sup>s</sup>, that first wrote their Misnaioth, or repetitions of the law, upon a resolution taken by the nation, that the preservation of the

<sup>p</sup> Rel. Assembl., chap. iii.

<sup>q</sup> Rel. Assembl., chap. iii.

<sup>r</sup> Primus qui e Talmud producitur locus, est Tract. de Votis, cap. 4. sectione 3. Ubi in Misnam—quæ tradit docendum esse gratis Midras, Halacas, et Haggadas, ac non docendum esse gratis . . . textum Biblicum—R. Johannes in Gemara commentatur, licere accipere mercedem distinctionis accentuum. Unde concludunt punctorum patroni, accentus in textu Biblico, tempore R. illius Johannis, apponi solitos esse.—Cappell. Arcan. Punct. Revel., lib. ii. cap. 4. p. 758. Amstel., 1689. To which Buxtorf replies, Quis dixit Revelatori, Non licere Judæis mercedem accipere pro labore docendi legem scriptam? Hoc nec Mischna nec Gemara expresse docet.—De Punct. Antiquit., par. i. cap. vi. p. 90.

Basil. 1648.

<sup>s</sup> Buxtorf quotes the following from Arugas Habbosem, cap. 26. . . . quod puncta et accentus creaverit Rex mundi una cum ipsa lingua, fuerintque penes ipsum veluti alumnus apud eos qui digni erant lege nostra sancta, donec data fuerunt Mosi in monte Sinai in figura et forma sua, una cum reliqua lege orali, ut non permissum fuerit scripto eam propalare. Cum vero concessum fuit scripto comprehendere legem oralem, necessitate nempe temporis sic requirente, permissum quoque fuit, ob eandem rationem docere figuras punctorum et accentuum per Scripturam, quas antea præceptor discipulum suum docebat ore, dicendo lineola transversa sub littera vocatur Pathech, &c.—De Punct. Antiq., par. i. cap. iv. p. 42. Basil, 1648.

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law in their dispersions did necessarily require that it should be committed to writing, as Maimoni<sup>t</sup>, the key to the Talmud, in the beginning, and divers others of the Jews do witness.

§ 23. He that would see more to justify both these points, let him look in Buxtorfius's<sup>u</sup> answer to Cappellus, i. 6, where he hath shewed sufficient reason to resolve against his own opinion; that all the Jews say of the points delivered to Moses in Mount Sinai, is to be understood of the right reading and sense of the law, which must be delivered from hand to hand, but was unlawful to be committed to writing before the be-<sup>244</sup>ginning of the Talmud by R. Juda: to wit, with authority; for it was lawful for scholars to keep notes of their lessons. Upon these premises I infer that there were no points written in the Jews' Bibles before this time, and that upon this decree they began to busy themselves in finding a method by points, and applying the same to the Scripture, though it is most agreeable to reason, that it should have been some ages before it was settled and received by a nation so dispersed as they were. And herewith agreeth all the evidence which the records of that nation can make. Though I repeat not here the testimonies in which it consisteth, having been so effectually done already in books for the purpose.

## CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE MOST ANCIENT TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE INTO GREEK FIRST; WITH THE AUTHORS AND AUTHORITY OF THE SAME; THEN INTO THE CHALDEE, SYRIAC, AND LATIN. EXCEPTIONS AGAINST THE GREEK, AND THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH. THEY ARE HELPS NEVERTHELESS TO ASSURE THE TRUE READING OF THE SCRIPTURES, THOUGH WITH OTHER COPIES; WHETHER JEWISH OR CHRISTIAN. THOUGH THE VULGAR LATIN WERE BETTER THAN THE PRESENT GREEK, YET MUST BOTH DEPEND UPON THE ORIGINAL GREEK OF THE NEW TESTAMENT. NO DANGER TO CHRISTIANITY BY THE DIFFERENCES REMAINING IN THE BIBLE.

Of the  
most  
ancient  
transla-  
tions of  
the Bible

THE first turning of the Bible into Greek, the common opinion saith, was done by the authority of the high-priest and heads of that people resident at Jerusalem, and by men sent on purpose—six of every tribe, in all seventy-two, called

<sup>t</sup> Porta Mosis, pp. 35—37, ed. Po-  
cock. Oxon, 1655.

lium et Accentuum Origine. Basil,  
1648.

<sup>u</sup> Tractatus de Punctorum, Voca-

therefore by the round number for brevity's sake, the seventy translators—to Ptolemy Philadelphus. But this relation suffers many difficulties that have been made of late years<sup>x</sup>, and indeed seems to come from a writing pretending the name of Aristæus<sup>y</sup>, a minister of the said prince, from whence Philo<sup>z</sup> and Josephus<sup>a</sup> seem to have received the credit of it; who, being of those Jews that used the Greek tongue, may very well be thought to cherish that report which makes for the reputation of their law with them that spoke it.

§ 2. Josephus, we know, in other points hath related legends or romances for historical truth, as that of the acts and death of Moses<sup>b</sup>, and that of the third of Esdras, concerning the dispute of the three squires of the body to king Darius<sup>c</sup>. As for Philo, we have St. Hierome<sup>d</sup>, who hath made sport of the legend he tells of this business; to wit, how that being shut up every man in a several room, at the end of so many days they gave up every man his copy, translated all in the same words to a tittle. Which rooms Justin the Martyr, cozened by the Jews of Alexandria, reports were extant in his time, and that he had seen them; in his Cohortation to the Gentiles<sup>e</sup>. But the particulars are too many to find room in this abridgment. Those that would be further informed in this point, may see what Scaliger<sup>f</sup> hath said against this

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into Greek  
first;

<sup>x</sup> Habet quidem fabula hæc universæ antiquitatis favorem atque suffragia, crederunt eam tot sæculorum patres, Judæorum doctores, ipsiusque Talmudis auctores: creditit eam ipse Cl. Is. Vossius, Br. Waltonus, cum pluribus aliis magnis et eruditionis laude clarissimis viris. Primus tamen præterito sæculo, Lud. Vives, ad August. de Civit. Dei, lib. xviii. cap. 42. [tom. ii. pp. 441, 442.] fabulam hanc in dubium vocare cœpit, qui mox, inter innumeros sectatores Jos. Just. Scaligerum acerrimum suæ causæ defensorem nactus est ad Euseb. Chron. num. 1735.—Rogal, Thuribulum, § 3. apud Ugolini Thes. Ant. Sacr., tom. xi. col. 753. Venet. 1750.

<sup>y</sup> Aristæus, de Legis Divinæ ex Hebraica Lingua in Græcam Translatione per 70 Interpretes. Basil, 1561.

<sup>z</sup> De Vita Mosis, lib. ii. pp. 658—660. Paris, 1640.

<sup>a</sup> Antiq. Jud., lib. xii. cap. ii.

<sup>b</sup> Antiq. Jud., lib. iv. cap. viii. § 48.

<sup>c</sup> Antiq. Jud., lib. xi. cap. iii. § 2—8.

<sup>d</sup> Et nescio quis primus auctor Septuaginta cellulas Alexandria mendacio suo extruxerit, quibus divisi eadem scriptarent, quum Aristæus ejusdem Ptolemæi υπερασπιστής, et multo post tempore Josephus, nihil tale retulerint: sed in una basilica congregatos, contulisse scribant; non prophetasse.—Prolog. in Genesim, tom. i. ed. Ben.

<sup>e</sup> Ταῦτα οὐ μῦθος ὑμῖν ὁ ἄνδρες Ἕλλη-  
νες, οὐδὲ πεπλασμένως ἱστορίας ἐπα-  
γγέλλομεν· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξαν-  
δρείᾳ γενόμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἴχνη τῶν οἰκί-  
σκων ἐν τῇ φάρφῳ ἑωρακότες ἐτι σωζό-  
μενα, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκεῖ, ὡς τὰ πάτρια  
παρειληφότες, ἀκηκοότες, ταῦτα ἀπαγγέ-  
λλομεν, ἃ δὲ παρ' ἐτέρων ἔξεστιν ὑμῖν  
μανθάνειν, καὶ μάλιστα παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν  
περὶ τούτων ἱστορησάντων, σοφῶν καὶ  
δοκίμων ἀνδρῶν, Φίλωνός τε καὶ Ἰωσή-  
που, καὶ ἐτέρων πλειόνων.—§ 13. p. 17.  
ed. Ben.

<sup>f</sup> Nam et 72 cellas commenti sunt, quarum non meminit ille Aristæus, meminit autem Justinus, deridit Hieronymus, et merito. Quid quæ ad

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tradition in his Annotations upon Eusebius's Chronicle, and what Morinus<sup>g</sup> and others have said for it.

§ 3. But though we grant the book of Aristæas to be a true history, not a romance, which few will do that read it—for the roughness of the Greek makes it rather the language of some obscure legendary than of a courtier at Alexandria—though we grant that there were seventy-two sent from Jerusalem to Philadelphus, and did translate him the law; because, beside the agreement of all other Jews and Christians, Aristobulus, a learned Jew of Alexandria, writing to Ptolemy Philometor—in Eusebius *de Præparatione Evangelica*, xiii. 12.<sup>h</sup>—an exposition of the law some hundred and thirty years after avers it; yet will not that serve the turn, to make this copy

fastidium *τερατολογεῖ* Philon, et inter alia ex Chaldaismo conversas Scripturas ait? Quis non videt multa et apud ipsum Philonem affectata esse, et ad captandam admirationem excogitata? Quis nescit Judæorum commenta? Sed qui hæc admirantur tanquam verissima, sciant hanc translationem Alexandrinam adeo Judæis Hierosolymitanis execratam fuisse, ut solenne jejunium et angariam instituerint 8 die Tebeth, propter legem in prophanum sermonem conversam, et ex illa, ut ipsi putant, Alexandrinorum audacia tridui tenebras per universum orbem incubuisse fabulentur . . . .

Propter hanc interpretationem nunquam inter Hebræos et Hellenistas bene convenit: et sane quamvis quidam ex utroque Judæorum genere nomen Christo dedissent, et ex illo Christianæ charitatis vinculo eorum animos coalescere, similitates veteres sopiri oportuerat, tamen fieri non potuit, quin inter Ἑλληστας et Hebræos secundum priscam consuetudinem dissensiones orirentur.—Sealiger. *Animadv.* ad ann. 1734. p. 134. Amstel. 1658.

<sup>g</sup> Philonem Judæum Alexandrinum mutis istis autoribus iterum oppono. Christo Domino nostro, ejusque Apostolis coætaneus erat, atque ubi miraculum perpetratum est, vixit et scripsit. Ita autem de eo loquitur libro secundo *de vita Mosis*, ut non modo translationis miraculum ex omnium confessione prædicet; sed etiam speciale hoc, interpretum a se invicem separatim habitantium consonam etiam *κατὰ λέξιν* interpretationem . . . . Aut illa concors non modo sententiarum,

sed etiam verborum interpretatio contigit ipsis simul consultantibus et rem discutientibus, aut ipsis seorsim translationem elaborantibus. Si prius, nullum prorsus est miraculum, nulla prophetiæ necessitas: fit enim hoc quotidie, ut plures judices in eandem sententiam sensu et verbis consentiant, pluresque interpretes in eandem interpretationem, aut interpretationis correctionem hoc modo conveniant: ut Lovanienses, Genevenses et alii. Posterius igitur intellexit Philo, deinde finge omnes rem discutientes; non omnes sane simul loquebantur: quale hoc fuisset chaos, vocumque confusio, licet eadem omnes verba pronuntiasent. Hoc vero si concedamus, majus erit miraculum, quam in cellulis separatis verborum et sententiarum uniformitas. At sic miraculum fuisset inordinatum, translatioque secessu et meditatione non indigisset. Hos duos translationis modos se abnuas, quoquo te veritas, quicquid fingas, et miraculum tolles, et verbis Philonis nunquam satisfacies. Translationem autem illam cum extraordinario quodam miraculo factam fuisse evidenter præterea testatur, quod addit Philo, ab illo tempore ad suum usque tempus Judæorum aliarumque gentium magnum quotannis ad insulam Pharum concursum fieri, ut ibi pro translationis beneficio Deo gratias agant, diemque festum convivii ibidem laute præparatis, in tantæ rei memoriam, cum amicis sollemniter admodum celebrent.—*Exercit. Biblic.*, lib. i. exer. viii. cap. 1. § 6. p. 183. Paris. 1686.

<sup>h</sup> P. 663. Paris, 1628.

which we have their work. Because the same Aristobulus<sup>l</sup>, together with Josephus<sup>k</sup> and Philo<sup>l</sup>, the Talmud Jews<sup>m</sup> besides, and St. Hierome<sup>n</sup> among the Christians, do agree that those seventy-two that came from Jerusalem translated only the five books of Moses, as you may see them alleged in a late discourse of the late lord primate of Ireland, *de Septuaginta Interpretum Versione, cap. 1.*

§ 4. Now it is most evident that the copy which we have 245 is all of one hand, and that it can by no means be thought that the five books of Moses, which are part of it, were translated by any body but by him that translated the rest. Therefore we are as much to seek for the author of this translation, as if we did not grant that ever the law was translated by seventy-two persons sent from Jerusalem to Philadelphus. And therefore I make no difficulty to grant that this translation—which cannot be ascribed to those seventy-two—was made by the Jews of Alexandria or Egypt, where the Jews enjoyed great liberties from the first Ptolemy's time, flourishing in learning, and neglecting their own language for the Greek, whereupon they were called *Ἑλληνισταί*, that is to say, Jews that spoke Greek. But I say withal, that I do not understand why the reputation of this translation should be ever a whit the worse than if it had been made by seventy-two sent from Jerusalem to Alexandria on purpose, supposing it to have been done by the Jews of Alexandria.

§ 5. The reasons why I think it was made by the Jews of Alexandria, supposing the translating of the law by the

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[The Septuagint version made by Alexandrian Jews.]

With the authors and autho-

<sup>l</sup> Ἡ δὲ ὅλη ἐρμηνεία τῶν διὰ νόμου πάντων ἐπὶ τοῦ προσαγορευθέντος Φιλαδέλφου βασιλέως, σοῦ δὲ προγόνου, προσεγεκαμένον μείζονα φιλοτιμίαν Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως καὶ πραγματευσαμένου τὰ περὶ τούτων.—Apud Euseb. Præpar. Evangel., lib. xiii. cap. xii. p. 664. Paris. 1628.

<sup>k</sup> Οὐδὲ γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐκείνος ἔφθη λαβεῖν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ μόνα τὰ τοῦ νόμου παρέδοσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξανδρείαν.—p. 2. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

<sup>l</sup> Ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ζῆλον καὶ πόθον λαβῶν τῆς νομοθεσίας ἡμῶν, εἰς Ἑλλάδα γλῶτταν τὴν χαλδαϊκὴν μεταρμύζεσθαι διανοεῖτο· καὶ πρέσβεις εὐθὺς ἐξέπεμπε πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἀρχιερέα καὶ βασιλέα. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν.—de Vita Mosis,

lib. ii. p. 658. Paris. 1640.

<sup>m</sup> Nam a Judæorum Schola quinque tantum Mosis libros fuisse hic intellectos, ex utraque Gemara, tam Hierosolymitana quam Babylonica, in tractatu Megilleh, cap. i. manifestum est. Usser. de 70 Interp. Vers. cap. i. p. 4. Londini, 1655.

<sup>n</sup> Interpretatio Septuaginta—si tamen septuaginta est, Josephus enim scribit, et Hebræi tradunt, quinque tantum libros legis Moysi ab eis translato, et Ptolemæo regi traditos—tantum discordat in præsentī loco ab Hebraica veritate: ut nec capita posimus ex æquo ponere, nec eorum simul sententias explicare.—Comm. in Mich., cap. ii. 9. tom. iii. col. 1510, 1511. ed. Ben.

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rity of the  
same.

seventy, I confess are but probabilities, but which, finding the truth balanced by the difficulties premised, seem to weigh down on that side. First in Caninius's *Hellenismus*<sup>o</sup>, at the imperfect tense, ἔτυπτον, *Bœotice et Chalcidice ἐτύπτοσαν. Quæ forma septuaginta interpretibus frequens. Nam Asianis etiam vernacula. Lycophron, v. 21, ἐσχάζοσαν.* "For ἔτυπτον, the Bœotic and Chalcidic saith ἐτύπτοσαν, which form the seventy translators frequent. For it is the Asiatics' mother language. Lycophron uses ἐσχάζοσαν." That which he saith of the Asiatic Greeks I have not yet found. All that use this dialect, so far as I have observed, are the Greek Bible, the books we call Apocrypha, and Epiphanius; excepting Lycophron, who was born at Chalcis in Eubœa, standing upon the confines of Bœotia, but lived at Alexandria; and therefore, I conceive, Caninius should have counted it Alexandrian, and not Bœotic or Chalcidic. The like, I say, when for ἔτυπον in the second aorist, or indefinite tense, he<sup>p</sup> makes the Bœotic to say ἐτύποσαν, εἶδοσαν, ἐμάθοσαν, ἤλθοσαν. For in the same authors, namely, the Greek Bible, the Apocrypha, Epiphanius, and Lycophron, you shall find the like, and in some of them, if my memory fail me not, ἐτύψασαν for ἔτυψαν, and τύψαισαν for τύψαιεν, which dialect Caninius also alleges out of some grammarians. Now I have not found this Greek used by any author that lived in Palestine, where Epiphanius, though he conversed much, yet cannot well be thought to have learned his Greek. And therefore it is to me a mark that an Alexandrian rather than a Palestine Jew should make it.

§ 6. Secondly, whereas by Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 9<sup>a</sup>, by St. Hierome<sup>r</sup>, Hesychius<sup>s</sup>, and many others, it is manifest

<sup>o</sup> P. 252. Lugd. Bat. 1700.

<sup>p</sup> Canin. *Hellenismus*, p. 264. Lugd. Bat. 1700.

<sup>q</sup> Ὁ δὲ Σίκλος, νόμισμα Ἑβραίων ὄν, Ἀπτικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας, cap. viii. p. 117. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

<sup>r</sup> Siclus enim viginti obolos habet: et quarta pars sicli quinque sunt oboli. — Comment. in Michæ, lib. i. cap. iv. tom. iii. col. 1520. ed. Ben.

<sup>s</sup> Sed et ex Hesychio monebimus, apud eum extare σίγλον, et σίγλος et σίκλος, ubi addit quod sit βάρβαρος σίκλος. Quid sit σίκλος non explicavit, nisi voluit dicere, barbaros pronunciare σίκλος

pro σίκλος. Σίγλαι autem, quas ἐνότια et inaures vocat, ut et σίγλον et σίκλαι et σιγλοφόρους, eunuchos, qui tales inaures gestant, unde τὰς κατακλεῖδας τῶν ἐνωτίων σίγλας φασὶν vocari, οἱ δὲ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐνότια. Has ego siglas non a siclo Hebræorum derivandas crederem, sed a siglis Latinorum fluxisse: siglæ autem a sigillis; sigillum a signo. At quoniam siglæ vocabulum ante Justiniani tempora non legitur, vix quid dicam habeo de siglis notis, siglis inauribus, siglis mensuris, a siclis enim nummis vix deducere licet, nec siclicos. Phavorinus qui Lexicon suum

that the Jews' shekel was equal to the Attic tetradrachm, or piece of four drachms, it is always translated by them διδραχμων, or piece of two drachms. A thing which hath bred strange opinions in some men's fancies, and caused whole books to be written<sup>t</sup>, that the Jews used two shekels; and that the shekel of the sanctuary was double the vulgar. Whereas all this difficulty vanishes, if we say<sup>u</sup> that they translate it διδραχμων, by the Alexandrian drachma, because that was indeed double the Attic. For first, Julius Pollux, *Onomast.* ix. 6<sup>x</sup>, affirmeth that the talent of every Greek state consisted of six thousand drachms of the same coin, as the Attic talent contained six thousand Attic drachms. Then Festus<sup>v</sup>, in the word *Talentorum*, saith that the Alex-

CHAP.  
XXXII.

sub Leone X. scripsit, et Hesychii omnia de siclo transcripsit, hoc solum addit, σίκλος τέτταρες ὀβολοί. Unde hoc hauserit, non indicavit, aut ubi siclus hoc pondere consideratus fuerit. Ultima est sicli mentio apud Amoz prophetam, qui 800 circiter annis ante Christum scripsit, A.M. 3145. sed et centum ante Christum annis sicli in Macchabæorum historia, lib. i. cap. x. 40, 42. repetuntur, postea evanuerunt, nec in sacris pronuntur.—Othon. Sperlingii, Dissert. de Nummis non Cusis, cap. xii. apud Ugolin. Thes. Antiq. Sacr., tom. xxviii. col. 296. Venet. 1765.

<sup>t</sup> Etiam quinto paradoxo expedito nihil superest, quam ut de sexto non-nihil agamus. Est autem illud: Unum duntaxat fuisse sicli genus, non vero alium siclum sacrum alium profanum . . . . Etsi vero priora quinque pronuntiata mea magis quam hoc abundant a communi sententia etiam hoc tamen paucos habet adstipulatores, longe plures autem sentiunt plane aliud. Etenim Judæi quidem forte omnes, et Christianos inter Ecclesiæ veteris reverendi nobis et sancti patres Hieronymus, Epiphanius, Isidorus recentiorum quoque Scriptorum longe doctissimi Waserus, Kircherus, Giespius, Buxtorfius, Cappellus aliique ad-versantur.—Herman. Conringii, Paradoxa, de Nummis Hebræorum, cap. x. ap. Ugolini Thes. Antiq. Sacr., tom. xxviii. p. 576. Venet. 1765.

<sup>u</sup> Nam in Ægypto ortam fuisse interpretationem istam, et illa ipsa verba ex fine libri Estheræ producta non obscure innunt; et ex eo colligunt alii, quod siclum Hebraicum tetradrachmo Attico æqualem,—ut in libro iii. Antiq.

cap. 9. Joseph et alii indicant—per Alexandrinum didrachmum interpres exprimere soleat, quod Attici duplum fuisse apparet. Cum enim talentum quodque 6,000 haberet drachmas ejus loci proprias, cujus talentum esset, ut ex Julio Polluce constat: talentum Alexandrinum 12,000 drachmas Atticas continuisse, Festus Pompeius confirmat. Ex Ægypto deinde paulatim versionis hujus usus ad reliquas omnes Judæos qui inter Græcos erant dispersi, manavit; in quorum synagogis pars aliqua legis simul et prophetarum singulis Sabbatis prælegebatur: quod de Hellenistis Antiochiensibus Pseudisidæ, in Act. xiii. 15. speciatim habetur annotatum.—Usser. de Edit. 70 Interpret. cap. iii. pp. 23, 24. Londini, 1655.

<sup>x</sup> Τοῦτό γε μὴν οὐκ ἔκαιρον, ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν τάλαντον ἑξακισχιλίας ἐδύνατο δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς· τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον ἑπτακισχιλίας· τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίον μυρίας· τὸ δὲ Σύρων πεντακοσίας καὶ τετρακισχιλίας· τὸ δὲ Κιλικὸν τρισχιλίας· τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίον πεντακοσίας καὶ χιλίας, ὡς πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀττικῆς δραχμῆς λογισμὸν, ὥσπερ οὐκ καὶ τὰς μᾶς τὰς Ἀττικὰς· τὸ μὲν Ἀττικὸν ἐξήκοντα μᾶς εἶχε· τὸ δὲ Βαβυλώνιον, ἑβδομήκοντα· τὸ δὲ Αἰγυπτίον, ἑκατὸν, κατὰ ἀνάλογον. Ἡ μᾶ δὲ ὡς παρ' Ἀθηναίους ἑκατὸν εἶχε δραχμὰς Ἀττικὰς οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὰς ἐπιχωρίους δυναμένας πρὸς λόγον τοῦ παρ' ἐκάστοις τάλαντον κατὰ τε προσθήκην, καὶ ὑφαίρεσιν.—§ 86, pp. 1067, 1068. Amstelædami, 1706.

<sup>y</sup> Talentorum non unum genus. Atticum est sex millium denarium. Rhodium et cistophorum, quatuor millium quingentorum denarium. Alexandrinum, duodecim millium denarium.

andrian talent contained twelve thousand Attic drachms. Which cannot otherwise be true, unless the Alexandrian drachm be double the Attic. Now it is no less improbable, that Palestine Jews, though translating at Alexandria, should translate according to the value of that coin which was current at Alexandria—all other writers testifying that in Palestine they accounted otherwise—than it is probable that Alexandrian Jews should do it.

§ 7. So long, then, as I am peremptorily barred from believing<sup>z</sup> the translation which we use to be the work of any seventy-two sent from Jerusalem, I shall accept of these ink-lings of historical truth that entitle the Egyptian Jews, who first took up the Greek, to it. For as for the difference of copies, which, I grant, is very great in the Greek Bible, I suppose no man in his right senses will argue that it is derived from any other copies than one, which by the wantonness of copyists having suffered some change in less matters, <sup>246</sup> discovers the same plain song by variety of descants that are framed upon it.

Excep-  
tions  
against the  
Greek and  
the Sama-  
ritan Pen-  
tateuch.

§ 8. As for the credit of this translation, why should it be thought ever a whit the worse, coming from the Egyptian Jews, than those of Palestine? My reason is; I demand what there is to be found in all the writings of that nation since the prophets, of like consequence to Christianity with that which the Jews of Egypt have transmitted to us: why the Greek Bible should not be as well thought of, coming from them, as if it came from seventy-two men sent from the high-priest at Jerusalem. For here I set aside all prejudicate fancies and reports of inspiration<sup>a</sup>, by which it is said that these

Neapolitanum sex denarium. Syracusanum trium denarium. Rheginum Victoriat. —Sexti Pompeii Festi, de Verb. Signif., lib. xviii. p. 558. Amstelodami, 1699.

<sup>z</sup> Inde jam ultro consequetur, Græcos prophetas et Hagiographa falso ipsis attribui. Sed nec vulgarem legis versionem quam hodie tenemus, illorum esse genuinam, nunc ulterius probabo. Non tantum Hieronymi testimonio, qui in Præfat. super libros Paralip. Hebræa se volumina superflue translaturum fuisse ait, si 70 Interpretum pura, et ut ab eis in Græcum versa est, editio permansisset. Nunc vero cum pro varietate regionum diversa ferantur

exemplaria, antiquis illis corruptis atque violatis, merito se hanc curam suscepisse indicat. Sed principaliter ipsa versionis vitiositate hoc evinco, quam si quis tam venerandis, et ex universo Dei populo selectissimis senibus, per omnem ætatem in hoc solo studio exercitatissimis impingit, næ is insigni et plusquam forensi eos afficit injuria. . . . clarissime patet, hodiernam versionem Græcam falso 72 senibus attribui, genuinam vero et antiquam illam 19 sæculorum decursu dudum amisam esse, Quod erat demonstrandum.—Schickardi, Bechinath Happeruschim, Disp. iii. pp. 39—41. Tubingæ, 1624.

<sup>a</sup> In ipsis autem interpretationibus



seventy-two all translated the law in the same words, as mere fables. I go to issue upon evidence of that which appears in this translation, compared both with the present Jews' copy, and other translations which the Church useth of many ages. Only I question why it should not be of as good credit, coming from the Jews of Alexandria, as from seventy-two sent from Jerusalem.

§ 9. The prejudice that is alleged<sup>b</sup> against it is an addition to

Itala cæteris præferatur: nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ. Et Latinis quibuslibet emendandis, Græci adhibeantur, in quibus 70 interpretum, quod ad vetus Testamentum attinet, excellit auctoritas: qui jam per omnes peritiores Ecclesias tanta præsentia Sancti Spiritus interpretati esse dicuntur, ut os unum tot hominum fuerit. Qui si, ut fertur, multique non indigni fide prædicant, singuli cellis etiam singulis separati cum interpretati essent, nihil in alicujus eorum codice inventum est, quod non iisdem verbis eodemque verborum ordine inveniretur in cæteris, quis huic auctoritati conferre aliquid, nedum præferre audeat? Si autem contulerunt ut una omnium communi tractatu judicioque vox fieret, nec sic quidem quenquam unum hominem qualibet peritia, ad emendandum tot seniorum doctorumque consensum adspirare oportet aut decet: Quamobrem etiamsi aliquid aliter in Hebræis exemplaribus invenitur quam isti posuerunt, cedendum esse arbitror divinæ dispensationi, quæ per eos facta est, ut libri quos gens Judæa cæteris populis, vel religione vel invidia, prodere volebat, credituris per Dominum gentibus ministra regis Ptolemæi potestate tanto ante proderentur. Itaque fieri potest, ut sic illi interpretati sint, quemadmodum congruere gentibus ille qui eos regebat, et qui unum os omnibus fecerat, Spiritus Sanctus judicavit. Sed tamen, ut superius dixi, horum quoque interpretum qui verbis tenacius inhæserunt, collatio non est inutilis ad explanandam sæpe sententiam. Latini ergo, ut dicere cœperam, codices veteris Testamenti, si necesse fuerit, Græcorum auctoritate emendandi sunt, et eorum potissimum qui cum 70 essent, ore uno interpretati esse perhibentur. Libros autem Novi Testamenti, si quid in Latinis varietatibus titubatur, Græcis cedere oportere non dubium est, et maxime qui apud Ecclesias doctiores

et diligentiores reperiuntur.—S. Augustin. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. ii. cap. xv. tom. iii. coll. 27, 28. ed. Ben.

<sup>b</sup> Hanc vero totius Veteris Instrumenti traductionem, ut ante illum Euergetæ 38. ita post Philometoris fratris ipsius 4 annum in periodi Julianæ annum 4537, ante æram Christianam 177 incidentem, in lucem esse editam; ex historica illa nota, ad calcem libri Estheræ, in editione vulgata Græca, apposita colligimus,—here follows the passage in the text. Neque enim alius rex intelligitur, ut a Pererio recte est observatum, quam Philometor ille Ptolemæus: cujus ut et Cleopatæ uxoris ejus et Dosithei, apud Josephum, in 2 contra Apionem libro,—here follows the passage cited in note c. Quem Oniam sacerdotem post egregiam Philometori et Cleopatæ navatam in bellis operam, eorum permissu in agro Heliopolitano templum Hierosolymitani æmulum extruxisse, in libro 13 Antiq. cap. vi. idem Josephus narrat: hoc etiam ibidem addito,—here follows part of the passage cited in note d. Post quartum igitur illum Philometoris Ptolemæi annum, ut gentium curiositati, Judaica sacra penitus intelligere desiderantium, aliquo modo satisfaceret, a Judæo aliquo opus hoc peractum fuisse videtur; eandem sibi licentiam in tota Vetere Scriptura, additionibus, detractionibus et mutationibus suis vitianda permittere, quam ejus æmulatus exemplum Dositheus Samaritanus in ipso originali Pentateuchi Mosaici textu interpolando Apostolorum postea temporibus usurpavit: . . . Cumque hæc prima universæ Scripturæ Veteris Græca edita fuisset interpretatio: in novum primum Oniæ templum quoque hujus Scripturæ in eo prælegendæ formam inductam fuisse veri fit simillimum; sacerdotibus et Levitis, qui profani templi ministerio se addicere nihil sunt veriti, de versionibus non admodum laborantibus.—

BOOK  
I.

the book of Esther in the Greek, which says thus; Ἔτους τετάρτου, βασιλεύοντος Πτολεμαίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, εἰσήνεγκε Δοσίθεος, ὃς ἔφη εἶναι ἱερεὺς καὶ λευίτης, καὶ Πτολεμαῖος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν προκειμένην ἐπιστολὴν τῶν Φρουραῖ, ἣν ἔφασαν εἶναι καὶ ἡρμενευκέσαι Λυσίμαχον Πτολεμαίου τὸν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ. “In the fourth year of the reign of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, calling himself a priest and Levite, and Ptolemy his son, brought the foresaid letter of Phrurim—which you have in the Greek Bible, after Esther viii. 12—translated, as they said, by Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, of Jerusalem.” This Ptolemy and Cleopatra are those by whose permission Onias and Dositheus—whether he that is here named, or another of that name—Jews, having faithfully served them in their wars, built a like temple to that of Jerusalem in the country of Heliopolis in Egypt, as Josephus, *contr. Apion.* ii. <sup>c</sup>, and *Antiq.* xiii. 6<sup>d</sup>, testifieth; incurring thereby the like crime of schism as the Samaritans had committed, in setting up their temple on mount Gerizim, and undertaking to serve God there after Jerusalem was lawfully chosen for the place to which the law confined God’s service. And so this translation is supposed to come from the Jews of Egypt, when they were under that schism, and the sacrilege of it.

§ 10. To which I answer, that neither it doth appear by this addition to Esther—which in one of these two copies, which the late lord primate of Ireland<sup>e</sup> hath published out of the earl of Arundel’s library, appeareth not at all—that therefore the whole translation was made then, when it saith this letter came; nor that, if it were then made, it had any relation to, or dependance upon their schism, or the sacrilege of it. For though Josephus<sup>f</sup> says that Onias found priests and Levites of his mind to serve God there; and though he

Usserii de 70 Interpretum Versione, cap. iii. pp. 22, 23. Londini, 1655.

<sup>c</sup> Ὁ δὲ Φιλομήτωρ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Κλεοπάτρα, τὴν βασιλείαν ἔλην τὴν ἑαυτῶν Ἰουδαίους ἐπίστευσαν καὶ στρατηγοὶ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἦσαν, Ὀνίας καὶ Δοσίθεος. ὧν Ἀπίων σκόπτει τὰ ὀνόματα.—p. 1365. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

<sup>d</sup> Λαβὼν οὖν τὸν τόπον ὃ Ὀνίας, κατεσκεύασεν Ἱερὸν καὶ βωμὸν τῷ Θεῷ, ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν Ἱερουσόλοιμοις, μικρότερον δὲ καὶ πενιχρότερον.—p. 563. ed. Hudson.

Oxon. 1720.

<sup>e</sup> Libri Esther. editiones Græcæ duæ, ex Arundelliana Bibliotheca productæ; Alexandrini quoque et Romani exemplaris, in cap. vi. et xviii. Libri Judicium, discrepante lectione adjecta. ad *Calcem* De Græca 70 Interpretum Versione Syntagm. Londini, 1655.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐβρε δὲ Ὀνίας καὶ Ἰουδαίους τινας ὁμοίους αὐτῷ, καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ Λευίτας, τοὺς ἐκεῖ θρησκείοντας.—*Antiq. Jud.*, lib. xiii. cap. iii. p. 563. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

says elsewhere, that Onias did this out of contention, which he had with the Jews at Jerusalem, having banished him; thinking to draw the multitude from them to the temple which he had built, *de Bello Jud.*, vii. 30<sup>g</sup>, yet these are rather arguments that the body of the Jews at Alexandria did not submit to his pretences, whatsoever his credit with the king might oblige them to permit particular men to do. And Josephus, *Ant.* xiii. 6<sup>h</sup>, immediately after the building of this temple, telleth us of a trial between the Samaritans and Alexandrian Jews, before the same Philometor, whether the temple at Jerusalem or that on mount Gerizim were according to God's law. And that those Jews were so zealous in the cause, that they consented what side were cast, those that pleaded for it to be put to death; which accordingly was executed upon Sabbæus and Theodosius, that pleaded for the Samaritans.

§ 11. Now though Josephus say not that this, which he relateth presently after the building of the temple, came to pass after it in time, yet it is utterly incredible that those who had shewed such zeal for the temple at Jerusalem, should, the next day as it were, that is, in the same king's reign, run into the same crime whereof they had convicted the Samaritans. Certainly, when the addition to Esther saith that the letter which he had inserted was translated into Greek by Lysimachus, son of Ptolemy, a Jew of Jerusalem, it is no  
247 sign that there was any pretence of schism, between the Jews of Jerusalem and those of Alexandria, on foot. And therefore this aspersion takes away nothing from the credit of the Greek Bible.

§ 12. I am further confirmed in this opinion, by considering the writings of Philo the Alexandrian Jew, though I am

Ἔ Οὐ μὴν Ὀνίας ἐξ υἱοῦς γνῶμης ταῦτα ἔπραττεν, ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ φιλονεικία πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἰουδαίους ὀργὴν τῆς φυγῆς ἀπομνημονεῦντι· καὶ τοῦτο ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζε κατασκευάσας εἰς αὐτὸ περισπάσειν ἀπ' ἐκείνων τὸ πλῆθος.  
—P. 1326. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

<sup>h</sup> Τοὺς δ' ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἰουδαίους καὶ Σαμαρεῖς, οἱ τὸ ἐν Γαριζὲν ὄρει προσεκύνοῦν ἱερὸν οἰκοδομηθὲν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου χρόνους, συνέβη στασιάζειν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Πτολεμαίου διεκρίνοντο. Τῶν μὲν Ἰουδαίων λεγόντων κατὰ τοὺς Μωϋσεώς

νόμους ὀκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις, τῶν δὲ Σαμαρέων, τὸ ἐν Γαριζὲν παρεκάλεσαν οὖν σὺν τοῖς φίλοις καθίσαντα τὸν βασιλέα, τοὺς περὶ τούτων ἀκοῦσαι λόγους, καὶ τοὺς ἠττηθέντας θανατῶ ξημιῶσαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν Σαμαρέων λόγον Σαββαῖος ἐποίησατο, καὶ Θεοδόσιος· . . . ταῦτα λέγων Ἀνδρόνικος καὶ πολλὰ τούτοις ὕμνια, πείθει τὸν βασιλέα κρίναι μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Μωϋσεώς νόμους οἰκοδομηθῆναι τὸ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὸν, ἀποκτείνει δὲ Σαββαῖον καὶ Θεοδόσιον.—P. 563, 564. ed. Hudson. Oxon. 1720.

not moved by them to think he was a Christian, but only to conclude that he cannot be convinced to be no Christian. Three things I allege out of him, as steps which he hath made, beyond the rest of the Jews, towards a Christian. The first, that he hath followed the Gospels in reproving the tradition of the elders, for which they neglected to honour their parents, as the law commandeth. The tradition was this, as we find by him in his book *περὶ τῶν Δέκα Λογίων*<sup>1</sup>: if a man vow that his father or mother shall never be the better for any thing that is his, it shall not be lawful for him to maintain them out of his goods. For *korban* signifies anathema, and he that said, “be it *korban*, whatsoever thou mayst be the better for of mine,” in his anger, to father or mother, said in effect, be it anathema: that is, be he accursed that touches it. In this point, then, Philo follows the doctrine of Christ, against the tradition of their elders.

§ 13. The second is his exposition of Deut. xxviii. 46, “the stranger that is within thee shall get above thee more and more, and thou shalt come under him more and more;”

<sup>1</sup> Ἦδη μὲν οὖν τινὲς τῇ ἐτέρᾳ μερίδι προσκληρώσαντες αὐτοὺς ἔδοξαν τῆς ἐτέρας ὀλιγωρεῖν. ἄκρατον γὰρ ἐμφορησάμενοι τῆς εὐσεβείας πόθον, πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσαντες ταῖς ἄλλαις πραγματείαις, ὅλον ἀνέθεσαν τὸν οἰκεῖον βίον θεραπείᾳ Θεοῦ· οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἔξω τῶν πρὸς ἀνθρώπου δικαιομάτων ἀγαθὸν ὑποσησάντες εἶναι, μόνην τὴν πρὸς ἀνθρώπου ὁμιλίαν ἠσπάσαντο τῶν τὲ ἀγαθῶν τὴν χρῆσιν ἐξ ἴσου πᾶσι παρέχοντες διὰ κοινωνίας ἡμερον, καὶ τὰ δεινὰ κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπικουφίζειν ἀξιούντες. τοῦτους μὲν οὖν φιλανθρώπου, τοὺς δὲ προτέρουσιν φιλοθέου ἐνδίκως ἂν εἴποι τις ἡμιτελεῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν. ὀλόκληροι γὰρ, οἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέρου εὐδοκιμοῦντες· ὅσοι δὲ μήτ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐξετάζονται, συνηδόμενοι μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, συναλγοῦντες δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις, μήτ' εὐσεβείας καὶ δσιότητος περιέχονται, μεταβεβληκέναι δόξαιεν ἂν εἰς τὴν τῶν θηρίων φύσιν, ὧν τῆς ἀγριότητος οἶσονται τὰ πρωτεῖα οἱ γονέων ἀλογοῦντες, ἑκάτερας μερίδος ὄντες ἐχθροὶ, καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεὸν, καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀνθρώπου. ἐν δυσὶν οὖν δικαστηρίοις, ἃ δὴ μόνᾳ ἐστὶ τῇ φύσει μὴ ἀγνοοῦμενα, ἴστωσαν ἐαλωκότες, ἀσεβείας μὲν, ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, διότι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι παραγαγόντας, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο μισησαμένους θεὸν, οὐ περιέπουσι, μισανθρωπίας δ'

ἐντῷ κατ' ἀνθρώπου. τίνα γὰρ ἕτερον εἶ ποίησουσιν οἱ τῶν συγγενεστάτων καὶ τὰς μεγίστας παρεσχημένων δωρεῶν ὀλιγωροῦντες, ὧν ἐνταῖς δι' ὑπερβολὴν, οὐδ' ἀμοιβὰς ἐνδέχονται· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἀντιγεννησάμενος τὸν σπείραντα, κλῆρον ἐξαίρετον τῆς φύσεως χαρισαμένους πρὸς παῖδας γονεῶν, εἰς ἀντίδοσιν ἐλθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενον. ὅθεν καὶ σφόδρα προσήκει ἀγανακτεῖν, εἰ μὴδὲ πάντα μέλλοντες ἀντιχαρίζεσθαι, μὴδὲ τὰ κορυφαῖα ἐβελήσουσιν . . .

Παῖδων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἴδιον, ἢ μὴ γονέων ἐστίν, ἢ οἴκοθεν ἐπιδεδωκότων, ἢ τὰς αἰτίας τῆς κτήσεως ἐπιπαρασχομένων. εὐσεβείαν δὲ καὶ δσιότητα τὰς τῶν ἀρετῶν ἡγεμονίδας, ἀρα γ' ἐντὸς ὕρον ἔχοντες τῶν ψυχῶν; ὑπερορίου μὲν οὖν ἐλλήκασσι καὶ πεφυγαδευκάσι. Θεοῦ γὰρ ὑπηρεταὶ πρὸς τέκνων σπορὰν οἱ γονεῖς, ὁ δ' ὑπηρετὴν ἀτιμάξων, συνατιμάξει καὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα. Τῶν δ' εὐτολμοτέρων ἀποσεμνύοντες τὸ γονέων ὄνομα, φασὶ τινεὶς ὧς ἀρα πατὴρ καὶ μητὴρ ἐμφανεῖς εἰσὶ θεοὶ, μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀγέννητον ἐν τῷ ζωοπλαστεῖν· ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου Θεόν, τοὺς δὲ μόνων ἂν ἐγέννησαν. ἀμήχανον δ' εὐσεβεῖσθαι τὸν ἀόρατον ὑπὸ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς καὶ ἐγγύς ὄντας ἀσεβοῦντων.—Liber de Decalogo, pp. 760, 761. Paris. 1640.

in his book *περὶ Ἀρῶν*<sup>k</sup>. ‘Ο μὲν ἔπηλυσ ἄνω ταῖς εὐτυχίαις μετέωρος ἀρθεῖς, περιβλεπτος ἔσται, θαυμαζόμενος καὶ μακαριζόμενος ἐπὶ δυσὶ τοῖς καλλίστοις, τῷ τὰ αὐτομολῆσαι πρὸς Θεὸν, καὶ τῷ γέρας λαβεῖν οἰκειότατον, τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ τάξιν βεβαλαν, ἣν οὐ θέμις εἰπεῖν· ὁ δ’ εὐπατρίδης, παρακόφσας τὸ νόμισμα τῆς εὐγενείας ὑποσυρήσεται κατωτάτω, πρὸς αὐτὸν τάρταρον καὶ βαθὺ σκότος ἐνεχθεῖς, ἵνα ταῦτα ὁρῶντες τὰ παραδείγματα πάντες ἄνθρωποι σωφρονίζωνται, μαυθάνοντες ὅτι τὴν ἐκ δυσγενείας ἀρετὴν φυομένην Θεὸς ἀσπάζεται, τὰς μὲν ρίζας ἐὼν χαίρειν, τὸ δὲ στελεχοθὲν ἔρνος, ὅτι μετέβαλεν ἡμερωθὲν πρὸς εὐκαρτίαν ἀποδεχόμενος; “the stranger truly, lifted aloft with good success, shall be gazed at, as admired and counted happy for two the greatest excellencies; that having turned to God, he hath received the most proper reward, a firm rank in heaven, not lawful to be expressed; but the right born, debasing and counterfeiting the coin of his birth, shall slide down till he come to the very depth of darkness; that all men, seeing these examples, may grow sober, considering how God accepts that virtue which springs from an enemy-stock, bidding the root farewell, but the shoot welcome, that is grown to a stock, because, by tillage, it is changed to bear good fruit.” For how would a Christian expound this text against the Jews, in the mystical sense, but by making the Christian the stranger, whom this text prophesieth of, that he shall have the upper hand of the Jew, as Origen<sup>l</sup>, more than once, if my memory fail me not, out of this place of Philo, hath done?

§ 14. The third consists of those things which he hath said<sup>m</sup>

<sup>k</sup> De Execratione, pp. 934, 935. Paris, 1640.

<sup>l</sup> Sed quod Philo, ad mentem Moysi, Deut. xxviii. 42, 43. interpretandam adducit, id Origenes, plus semel, ad stabiendum Christianismum; non posse intelligi proselytum, qui Judæo superior futurus sit; quod Philo diserte prædictum a Moysæ contendit; alium a populo Christiano. Nam proselytum propterea, superiorem futurum Israelæ Philo exponit, quod ad Deum verum se recipiens, ad sortem in cælis ineffabilem evectus sit; degenerare Israelita, neglecta Dei lege, ad imas Tartari tenebras subsidente. Proselytus autem qui veram Dei legem sequatur, post fidem a Domino Christo proditam, solus intelligi potest Christianus. Vide Philonem, libro de maledic-

tionibus Legis.—Thorndic. de Ratione ac Jure Finiendi Controversias Ecclesiæ, cap. iv. p. 73. Londini, 1670.—Vid. Origen. Select. in Psalm., tom. ii. p. 569. ed. Ben.

<sup>m</sup> Διττὸς γὰρ ὁ Λόγος, ἐν τῇ τῷ παντὶ, καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει· κατὰ μὲν τὸ πᾶν, ὃ, τε περὶ τῶν ἀσωμάτων καὶ παραδειγματικῶν ἰδεῶν, ἐξ ὧν ὁ νοητὸς ἐπάγη κόσμος, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῶν ὀρατῶν, ἃ δὴ μιμήματα, καὶ ἀπεικονίσματα τῶν ἰδεῶν ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ὧν ὁ αἰσθητὸς οὐτός ἀπετελεῖτο· ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ δ’ ὁ μὲν ἐστὶν ἐνδιάθετος, ὃ δὲ προφορικὸς, καὶ ὁ μὲν οἷα τις πηγῆ, ὃ δὲ γεγανθός, ἀπ’ ἐκείνου βέων· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐστὶ χῶρα τὸ ἡγεμονικόν, τοῦ δὲ κατὰ προφορὰν, γλῶττα καὶ στόμα καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα φωνῆς ὀργανοποιία . . . ὅ, τε γὰρ τῆς φύσεως λόγος ἀληθῆς καὶ δηλωτικὸς πάντων, ὃ, τε

in so many places concerning the word of God, agreeable to those passages of the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and Baruch, which I compared afore<sup>n</sup> with the doctrine of the Apostles, concerning that wisdom of God which is His word; of which you have enough in Grotius's annotations upon those texts, but much more might be produced. For whosoever compares them together, shall find that he who said them was not far from the Christian faith. For if it be objected and said that there is no evidence that ever this Philo professed Christianity, without which he cannot be counted a Christian; it may reasonably be answered that, during the time when the synagogue was at a bay, whether to receive Christianity or not—at what time, it is plain, they did not persecute it—nothing can be said why it might not be professed by any Jew of those synagogues which stood so affected to it; not only without any mark of apostasy upon him among his fellows, but even with that trust which we know this Philo had among the Jews of Alexandria, being deputed by them to Caligula<sup>o</sup>, in business concerning their whole subsistence. For if those who were baptized by John the Baptist were not thought to depart from the law, why should those who were baptized into Christ—whether the effect of both baptisms were the same or divers—the law continuing in practice long after that time?

§ 15. I must therefore profess to allow the opinion of those that will have this work to have been done by the Jews of 248 Alexandria, of which we know there was a very great body, from the time of the first Ptolemy, who having taken up the Greek instead of their mother tongue, necessarily required that they should have the Scriptures in it. It is then agreeable

τοῦ σοφοῦ μιμούμενος ἐκείνον, ὀφείλει προσηκόντως ἀφευδέστατος τε εἶναι τι μῶν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ μηδὲν φθόνῳ συσκιάζειν, ὧν ἡ μήνησις ὠφελήσει τοὺς ἀναδιδαχθέντας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δυσὶ λόγους τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἡμῶν, τῷ τὲ προφορικῷ καὶ ἐνδιαθέτῳ, δύο ἀρετὰς ἀπένειμαν οἰκείας· τῷ μὲν προφορικῷ δῆλωσιν, τῷ δὲ κατὰ διάνοιαν, ἀλήθειαν· ἀρμόζει γὰρ διανοία μὲν μηδὲν παραδέχεσθαι ψεῦδος, ἐρμηνεία δὲ μηδὲν ἐμποδίζειν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην δῆλωσιν.—Philon. de Vita Mosis, lib. iii. p. 672. Paris. 1640.

Λόγος δὲ ἐστὶν εἰκὼν Θεοῦ, δι' οὗ

σύντας ὁ κόσμος ἐδημιουργεῖτο.—Philon. de Monarch., lib. ii. p. 823. Paris. 1640.

<sup>n</sup> Chap. xxxi. sect. 29—31.

<sup>o</sup> Aiunt hunc sub Caio Caligula Romæ periclitatum, quo legatus gentis suæ missus fuerat. Quum secunda vice venisset ad Claudium, in eadem urbe locutum esse cum Apostolo Petro, ejusque habuisse amicitias, et ob hanc causam, Marci, discipuli Petri, apud Alexandriam sectatores ornasse laudibus suis.—S. Hieron. Catalog. Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, § 9. tom. iv. col. 106. ed. Ben.

to reason, that this translation being made so soon after the study of the law came in request, and so far from Jerusalem, should acknowledge more difference of sense, arising from the divers ways of determining those words that are written without vowels, than those that are of a later date, when the reading was better determined by custom and practice. Which, accordingly, we see is come to pass.

§ 16. For the translations into the Greek that were made after the time of our Lord, by Aquila<sup>p</sup>, Symmachus<sup>q</sup>, and Theodotion<sup>r</sup> — no Christians — and the Chaldee of Onke-

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Then into  
the Greek,  
Syriac, and  
Latin.

<sup>p</sup> Nulla itaque extitit alia ante Christum versio Græca præter illam τῶν δ: post Christum vero, seculo secundo et tertio, variæ fuerunt Græcæ ex Hebræo fonte traductæ, ex quibus Tetrapla, Hexapla, et Octapla sua contexit Origenes: quarum nulla ab Ecclesia publice probata fuit: at in privatis doctorum manibus extiterunt, qui in commentariis et expositionibus suis iis usi sunt: Unde est quod omnes perierint: nec de iis aliqui hodie extat præter fragmenta, quæ in scriptorum veterum libris hic illic dispersa reperiuntur; quæ quantum per industriam virorum doctorum fieri potuit, in unum collecta, in ultimo nostro tomo exhibemus. Sola illa τῶν δ, ut quæ in usu publico erat, tam in Synagogis, quam Ecclesiis; et adhuc sola in Ecclesiis Græcorum legitur, hodie mansit. Prima post Christum fuit Aquilæ, gente Pontici, urbe Sinopæi: quem male confundunt quidam cum Onkeloso paraphraste Chaldæo. Aquila enim longe post urbis excidium vixit, et sub Adriano imperatore versionem suam fecit, circa annum Christi 130, teste Epiphano *de Ponderibus et Mensuris*. Onkelosum vero ante calamitatem istam mortuum esse plerique affirmant. Fuit vero Aquila proselytus, ex Christiano factus Judæus, et R. Akibæ, Christiani nominis hostis infensissimi, discipulus, . . . . Hic gentilis primo, postea ad fidem conversus, cum astrologiæ et genethiacæ nimium deditus esset, et post monitionem non respiciens eiectus esset ex Ecclesia, a fide Christiana deficiens fit apostata Judæus: et cum linguam Hebræam didicerat, interpretationem Græcam aggressus est, in qua ex odio Christianæ religionis testimonia de Christo, quantum potuit, pervertit et corruptit, teste Epiphano loco citato.—Walton. Proleg. ix. § 19. p. 61. Londini, 1657.

<sup>q</sup> Secunda erat Symmachi sub Severo imperatore, testibus eodem Epiphano et Athanasio in Synopsi. Alii vero non sub Severo, sed sub Lucio vero Symmachum transtulisse volunt: unde eum ante Theodotionem ponunt, qui sub Commodio scripsit. Ideo mendum suspicantur in Epiphano, Severo pro Lucio Vero per errorem scribæ posito: quod tamen legente Epiphanium vix probabile videbitur. Fuit Symmachus, natione Samaritanus, postea Judæus et circumcisus, deinde Christianus, postremo Ebionita hæreticus, ut ex Epiphano liquet. Unde Hieronymus, præf. priorie in Job. vocat Symmachum et Theodotionem, judaizantes hæreticos, alibi etiam ipsum laudat, quod non verbum e verbo ut Aquila, sed sensum ex sensu expressit.—Walton. Proleg. ix. § 19. p. 62. Londini, 1657.

<sup>r</sup> Tertia erat Theodotionis, qui Commodio imperante suam confluxit, testibus iisdem Epiphano, et Athanasio. Multum enim errant, qui Theodotionem eundem esse dicunt cum Jonathane paraphraste Chaldæo; cum inter eos intercesserint anni plus minus 200. Hic natione Ponticus, vel, ut alii, Ephesius; postquam ad fidem conversus erat, ad Ebionis et Marcionis hæreses prolapsus, tandem proselytus et apostata Judæus factus. Unde ab Hieronymo, proem. ad Danielelem, vocatur incredulus et Ebionita, et Ep. 89. *ad August.* homo Judæus et blasphemus. . . . De auctoritate vel usu harum versionum si quis quaerat, respondeo; quod in iis quæ ad Christum et Christianæ religionis mysteria spectant, et de iis vaticinia, nullam fidem merentur cum ex odio Christianæ religionis factæ fuerint, ut ex dictis patet. Unde ab Hieronymo judaizantes hæretici dicuntur, qui multa mysteria Salvatoris subdola interpretatione celarunt, Præf. priorie in Job. In reliquis, ut ex iis

BOOK I. los<sup>s</sup> and Jonathan<sup>t</sup>, who, whatsoever time they were made in, are later than so; though we cannot say that they do always

quæ supersunt fragmentis liquet, ad verum sensum elicendum, et versionis Septuaginta sinceritatem demonstrandam, non parum prosunt: unde ab Origene in Hexaplis descriptæ, et ab Hieronymo in Commentariis, aliisque veteribus scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, sæpius citatæ. Hieronymus etiam tum in versione ejus Latina, tum alibi, cum a Septuaginta discedit, eos pro se adfert, et ut supra indicavimus sæpe laudat.—Walton. Proleg. ix. § 19. p. 62. Londini, 1657.

<sup>s</sup> De Onkelo, vel Onkeloso, primo videndum. Hic pentateuchum Chaldaice vertit: de auctore autem duplex vertitur quæstio, dum alii eundem faciunt cum alio ab Akila, qui teste Schickardo Bechin., dis. 2. et Helv., c. 2. aliud Targum confecti in prophetas et hagiographa: quod, ut diximus, hodie non extat; alii eundem cum Aquila qui primo Christianus, postea Judæus apostata, Vetus Testamentum in Græcum sermonem contentiose transtulit, ut affirmat Hieronymus, i. e. ut versioni Septuaginta quod tunc temporis apud Christianos in magno honore fuit, derogaret; cum tamen hic ab utrisque diversus esse videatur. Non fuit idem cum Akila illo sub Eleazare, licet uterque proselytus fuerit; nam primo nomina Akilas et Onkelos multum differunt: deinde variis temporibus vixerunt, Onkelos tempore Hillelis senioris ante Christum annis circa 40 sub Hircano, et coætaneus erat Jonathani, alteri paraphrastæ, teste R. Asar in *Meor Enajem*, c. 45. aliisque Rabbis ab aliis adductis. Hic vero quem faciunt Titi imperatoris ex sorore nepotem, post excidium urbis vixit, et sub Adriano imperatore. Ille scripsit in pentateuchum, hic in hagiographa et prophetas: Aquilas vero qui versionem Græcam confecit, de quo quædam diximus, Prolegom. de 70 interpretibus, post utrosque vixit: floruit enim circa annum Christi 130. teste Theodoro et aliis, nec tantum legem, vel sola hagiographa et prophetas, sed universam veterem Scripturam vertit, adeo ut multam fallantur Bel-larm. *de Verbo Dei*, ii. 3. Serarius, Proleg. de Rabb., et alii qui Onkelosum cum Aquila interprete Græco confundunt, nec non Rabbi David alique Rabbitorum qui Akilam eundem faciunt cum eodem Aquila. Huic vero Onkeli Targum merito primas

deferunt Judæi, tum quod textum Hebræum ad verbum magis exprimat, ita ut sub iisdem accentibus Hebræorum instar ipsius textus authenticici decantari possit, ut annotat Schickardus, exceptis quibusdam verbis per Maccaph conjunctis a Rabbis, ut Genes. i. 2. ut hoc modo accentuum series inviolata servaretur, ubi liberius expatiatur, tum quod reliquis facilius et discitentibus utilior.—Walton. Proleg. xii. § 9. p. 83. Londini, 1657.

<sup>t</sup> Onkeloso proximus est Jonathan Ben Uziel, qui prophetas priores et posteriores—excepto Daniele—transtulit, de quo non ita litigant auctores ac de Onkeloso. Fuit hic Jonathan discipulus Hillelis, senis illius celeberrimi qui post reditum e Babylone ætatis anno 40 erat doctor Academicæ Hierosolymitanæ, et iterum per 40 annos rector collegiorum ejusdem academicæ, si vera sunt quæ de eo narrat Judæi. Jonathani vero condiscipulum faciunt plerique Simonem Justum, quem Christum infantem ulnis excepisse memorat Evangelista, et Gamalieleum Sancti Pauli præceptorem. Ut vero Onkelum quidam eundem fecerunt cum Aquila, interprete Græco, sic Jonathanem eundem faciunt alii cum Theodotione illo qui itidem in Græcum sermonem Scripturam vertit, argumento a nomine ducto, quia scilicet utriusque nomen Dei donum significat, quod sane sublestæ fidei est argumentum, cum eadem ratione, ut acute arguit Schickardus, probare possent eundem esse cum Theodosio imperatore cujus nomen idem habet significatum. Floruit hic centum annis ante templi secundi vastationem, ut habetur in Talmude, Tract. *de Sabbato*, cap. i. Hujus item collega erat Shammaius, sive Shimeon, ut in eodem loco legitur. Shimeon hic primus erat Hillelis filius, Gamaliel Shimeonis filius, Hillelis nepos, Shimeon secundus Gamalielis filius ab nepos Hillelis, qui in excidio urbis et templi peremptus fuit Gorionades, lib. v. Historiæ suæ, scribit quod Herodes honoravit supra modum Hillelem seniore, principem Phariseorum, et Sammaium discipulum ejus, illi enim primi fuerunt qui suaserunt populo electionem Herodis regis. Fuerunt itaque Onkelos et Jonathan σύγχοροι Hillelis senioris et Sammai inter quos erat contentio cum Sammai Hilleli contra-



and in all things agree, either with one another or with the Hebrew copies which we use; yet must we needs say that there is a great deal more agreement between them visible, than there is between the Greek of the seventy and any of them, judging of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, by the remains of them ever recorded by the fathers of the Church. As for the Syriac<sup>u</sup> and vulgar Latin, both made by the Christians, and the former justly challenging as great antiquity—and therefore as great credit—as the early coming of those parts

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diceret, unde adagium 'esto humilis ut Hillel, et non iracundus ut Sammaius.' —Walton. Proleg. xii. § 10. pp. 83, 84. Londini, 1657.

<sup>u</sup> Ut vero de tempore et authoribus quando vel a quibus factæ fuerunt versiones istæ dicamus, veterem sive simplicem Veteris Testamenti contendunt Syri factam ex parte, tempore Salomonis in gratiam Hiram regis Tyri, videlicet, Pentateuchi, Josuæ, Judicum, Ruth, Samuelis, Paralipomenon, Proverbiorum, Cantici Canticorum, et Job, reliquos libros tam Veteris quam Novi conversos tempore Abgari regis Syriæ, cura et sollicitudine Thaddæi aliorumque Apostolorum. Sic Sionita, Præf. in Psalm. Syr. ex Soadodo quodam Episcopo Hadehiensi antiquo apud Syros scriptore. Fatetur tamen ibidem Sionita quorundam Syrorum sententiam esse, totam Veteris et Novi Testamenti versionem factam fuisse tempore S. Thaddæi—quem Addæum vocant—et regis Abgari; priorem vero sententiam probabiliorum judicat, quæ mihi multo improbabilior videtur. Nam primo Tyri et Phenices incolæ communem habebant cum Judæis linguam, Hebræam scilicet, ut supra ostendimus. Quorsum ita versionem desideraret Hiram librorum in linguam sibi vernaculam cum in eadem extarent. Si enim aliqua esset differentia inter Tyriorum linguam et Judæorum, dialecto tantum discrepabant. Deinde nulla extabat versio librorum Veteris Testamenti ante natum Christum præter Græcam τῶν ὁ ut satis, ni fallor, suo loco planum fecimus, præter illas Jonathanis et Onkeli in Judæorum gratiam factas; nec aliarum ulla extat apud Judæos memoria: si hæc Tyriorum extitisset non esset tam altum de ea silentium apud antiquiores Judæorum scriptores quos latere non potuit; imo quantum de hac per Salomonem facta versione gloriarentur Judæi, qui qua-

libet capta occasione nihil non fingunt quod ad gentis suæ gloriam faciat. Præterea apud quosdam servata fuit hæc antiqua Salomonis versio? non apud Judæos qui eam non agnoscunt, nec apud Christianos, quorum nomen multis post sæculis inauditum. An vero Tyriorum tanta esset cura de libris sacris Judæorum servandis? Tandem dialectus qua extant Biblia Syriaca aperte clamat multis sæculis post Salomonis tempora hanc versionem ortam esse, imo post Christi tempora. Lingua enim Judæorum, ut et Syrorum vicinorum erat pura Hebraica ante captivitatem Babylonicam, at hæc versio scripta est lingua ex Chaldæa et Hebræa mixta, quæ et Syriaca communiter dicta est, et Judæis circa Christi tempora vernacula fuit; imo una eademque dialecto omnes libri in hac versione Veteris et Novi Testamenti scripti sunt, non quidem alii lingua Tyriorum sed omnes Syriaca quæ eadem est cum illa Judæorum . . . .

Ab Apostolorum aliquo factam haud facile concesserim, sic enim divinam et parem cum reliquis libris sacris haberet auctoritatem, quod nemo hactenus affirmavit: ab Apostolicis vero viris factam concedo, quod præter traditionem generalem Ecclesiarum Orientalium, cui multum in hoc tribuendum, cum nulla ratio clara in contrarium affertur, etiam ex insitis argumentis probatur in ipsa versione quæ magnam ejus antiquitatem testantur . . . .

De versione Syriaca testatur Sionita, quod ut semper in summa veneratione et autoritate habita erat apud omnes populos qui Chaldaica sive Syriaca utuntur lingua, sic publice in omnibus eorum Ecclesiis antiquissimis, constitutis in Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldæa, Ægypto et denique in universis Orientis partibus dispersis ac disseminatis accepta et lecta fuit.—Walton. Proleg. xiii. § 15, 18. pp. 90, 91. Londini, 1657,

BOOK I. to Christianity—and thereupon the necessity of having the Scriptures—enforces; it is manifest that they were translated out of copies which were had from the Jews, and yet that the sense was not determined in those copies, as it is by the vowels determined in the Hebrew copies we use.

§ 17. Whether that in St. Hierome's time, the method of points was not complete, and written into their books, or whether they would not suffer such copies to go out of their hands for the use of Christians, I confess I have met with a passage in the *Gemara, Berachoth cap. ult.*<sup>x</sup>, that seems to argue the contrary. It is reported there that R. Akiba—about Adrian the emperor's time—decreed, that they were not—saving your presence—to wipe the backside with the right hand, “because it shews the accents of the law,” טעמי תורה. For if there were then accents to be shewed, certainly there were vowels. But the gloss of R. Solomon Jarchi clears the meaning of the passage to be no more than this; that by holding the right hand up or down, they signified how the lessons of the law were to be sung, according to that, whether music or howling, which still, it seems, they use in their synagogues.

[Excep-  
tions  
against the  
Samaritan  
Penta-  
teuch.]

§ 18. Now to come to the resolution of the point propounded, I think it not unfit to divide from the rest the Greek and Samaritan copies, because a reason is pretended<sup>y</sup> why

\* R. Akiva disoit; une fois j'ai suivi R. Jehochua dans une maison de la chaise, et j'ai appris de lui trois choses; j'ai appris qu'on n'évacue pas vers l'orient ou vers l'occident; mais vers le septentrion ou le midi; j'ai appris qu'on ne se découvre pas étant debout, mais lorsqu' on est assis; et j'ai appris qu' on ne se torche pas avec la main droite, mais avec la gauche . . . .

Pourquoi donc ne se torche-t-on pas avec la droite, mais seulement avec la gauche? . . . R. Jehochua dit: c'est a cause que l'on écrit avec elle; R. Akiva dit: c'est à cause que l'on montre avec elle les accens de la loi.—Chiarini, *Le Talmud de Babylone*, tom. ii. pp. 333, 339. Leipzig, 1831.

<sup>y</sup> “Of the Samaritan Pentateuch, both original and translation, we shall not need to add much. What the people from whom it hath its denomination were, is known; nor have the enquiries of Scaliger, or Morinus, added anything

to what is vulgarly known of them from the Scripture and Josephus; in a word, an idolatrous, superstitious, wicked people they were, before they were subdued by Hyrcanus, afterwards they continued in the separation from the true Church of God, and upon the testimony of our Saviour had not salvation among them. When they received their Pentateuch is uncertain; uncertain also how long they kept it; that they corrupted it whilst they had it, is not uncertain; they are charged to have done so by the Jews in the Talmud, and the instance they give abides to this day; Deut. xi. 30. They have added Sichem to the text, to give countenance to their abominations. And openly in Deut. xxvii. 4, where God gives a command that an altar should be set up on Mount Ebal, they have wickedly and nefariously corrupted the text, and put in Gerizim. Now one such voluntary corruption made on set

they should never be taken into consideration when there is any question of the true reading of the Old Testament, whatsoever account is to be had of the rest. By the Scripture of 2 Kings xvii, we understand that the Samaritans, at their first planting, were idolaters, and worshipped God as the God of that country, not as the one true God that made heaven and earth; in which worship there must needs be as much idolatry as in the Athenians' worshipping the "unknown God," among innumerable idols: though that title yielded St. Paul an argument against idols. When the temple and city came to be restored under Esdras and Nehemias, they offered themselves to assist the work, pretending that then they worshipped the true God only, Ezra iv. 2. And what reason can we have to doubt that they said true in it? For when, in opposition to the Jews, they had built themselves a temple upon mount Gerizim, and sacrificed there, as the ten tribes did at Bethel and Dan from Jeroboam's time, there can no question be made but that they sacrificed to the true God, though not, according to the true intent of His law, at Jerusalem, but, as schismatics, where they pleased themselves.

§ 19. Whatsoever then was the reason why, under Esdras and Nehemias, they were not admitted to build the city and temple with the Jews—as just there might be, and no doubt was, though we suppose them not to have been idolaters—from the time that they were thus rejected, I make account,

purpose to countenance a sin and false worship, is enough to lay low the authority of any copy whatever."—Dr. Owen's Purity of the Hebrew Text, chap. vii. § 10. pp. 327, 328. Oxford, 1659.

"This is not a place to speak at large of the Samaritans, their Pentateuch, and its translation. The original of that nation is known from the Scripture, as also their worship of God, 2 Kings xvii.; their solemn excommunication and casting out from any interest among the people of God, is also recorded, Ezra ix., Nehem. vi. and xiii. Their continuance in their abominations after the closing of the canon of the Scripture is reported by Josephus, Antiq. xi. 8. In the days of the Maccabees they were conquered by Hyrcanus, and brought into subjection by the Jews, Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 17. Yet their will-worship upon the credit of the

tradition of their fathers continued to the days of our Saviour, and their hatred to the people of God, John iv. When, by whom, in what character they first received the Pentateuch, is most uncertain; not likely by the priest sent to them; for notwithstanding his instructions they continued in open idolatry; which evidences that they had not so much as seen the book of the law. Probably this was done when they were conquered by Hyrcanus, and their temple razed after it had stood 200 years. So also did the Edomites. What diligence they used in the preservation of it, being never committed to them by God, we shall see afterwards. That there are any of them remaining at this day, or have been this thousand years past, is unknown."—Dr. Owen, *ib.* chap. v. § 2. pp. 260—262.

BOOK I. we may clearly say that they have been and are schismatical Jews, professing the law, but according to a copy of their own, which, for a rare monument of antiquity, is printed in<sup>249</sup> the great Paris Bibles, and so extolled, by those<sup>z</sup> that pretend to oblige the Christian world by publishing the same, as if it were the true copy of Moses. As for the rest of the Old Testament, seeing it cannot be said that ever they admitted either the writings of the prophets or the resurrection and world to come, which under them<sup>a</sup> was more and more declared, I leave to those of better skill to consider whether this were not the reason why they were refused the communion of the Jews under Ezra and Nehemias.

§ 20. This is the original credit of this copy of Moses's law, which cannot be greater than the credit of those that use it; but it is alleged<sup>b</sup>; over and above, out of an extract from

<sup>z</sup> His igitur omnibus prætermisissis, Christiane lector, duorum tantum te commonefacere necessarium duximus. Prius, quales fuerint codices Samaritani quorum ectypa hoc volumine conspicis, atque unde eos nacti sumus: posterius quid in eis eudendis præstiterimus. Cum enim Pentateuchi duplicis memoriam tot sæculis intermortuam suscitemus, eumque ab oblivione hominum in qua tamdiu jacuerat, vindicemus, resque illa sit, *ἡρις ἀκονόντεσσι νεωδότη ἀμφιπέληται*. Ne tam inaudita rei novitas scrupulum tibi injiciat, utrumque hoc ob oculos tuos paucis exponemus. Est in Bibliotheca Presbyterorum Oratorii Parisiensis Pentateuchus MSS. Hebræo-Samariticus, integer, pulcherrimis litteris nulla cum litura in charta vitulina descriptus. Æra temporis non est adscripta: notatur tamen in fine Genesis et Exodi ad duos successive Samaritanorum sacerdotes pertinuisse, eorumque alterum abhinc ducentos triginta et aliquot annos Damasci quadringentis argenteis illum sibi comparasse. Hunc codicem curavit erui sibi Damasci doctissimus et illustrissimus Episcopus Macloviensis, Achilles Harlæus, cum antequam Ecclesiæ nomen daret, Constantinopoli apud Turcarum imperatorem legatione pro rege Christianissimo fungeretur. Hunc codicem cum permultis omnibus generis Rabbinnicis libris cussis et MSS. Oratorianæ Bibliothecæ donavit eruditissimus ille præsul, quo nobilissimo sodali et symmysta gloriatur nostra con-

gregatio. Hic est ille codex quem in editione nostra fideliter et ad amussim expressimus, quemque, ut vides, latinitate donavimus.—Morini Præf. in Bibl. Polyglott. Paris, 1645.

<sup>a</sup> "Prophets."—MS.

<sup>b</sup> Ad Samaritanam Pentateuchi editionem jam accedo: quam vel primus, vel certe inter primos, nostris temporibus in occidentem ipse intuli. Cum enim Christianæ pietatis homines paulo hac in re negligentiores hactenus fuisse, ex Scaligero didicissem: non prius destitit quam ex Syria et Palæstina quinque vel sex illius exemplaria—una cum Arabicæ versione textus illius parte magna et Arabici in eundem commentarii fragmento—mihi comparavissem. Cumque ab Eusebio Cæsariensi, Diodoro Tarsensi, Hieronymo Stridonensi, Cyrillo Alexandrino, Procopio Gazæo et aliis, citatum invenissem: apud Photium in Bibliotheca *cod.* 230. decreti synodici Eulogii Patriarchæ Alexandrini in Samaritanos editi argumentum exponentem, tandem reperi, librorum Mosaicorum a Samaritis receptorum depravatorem fuisse Dositheum illum cujus in libro i. *contra Celsum* Origenes ita meminit. Post Jesu tempora Dositheus Samarita persuadere Samaritis voluit se esse Christum illum a Mose prænuntiatum, et visus est nonnullos doctrina sua cepisse! Et in *Matthæum*, Tract. 27, 'Sicut manifestat historia lectionum, non multi fuerunt homines in tempore Apostolorum, qui Christos se esse dixerunt: nisi forte Dositheus

Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, in Photius, that this copy was falsified by Dositheus, a doctor of such credit among the Samaritans, that Origen upon St. Matthew xxiv.<sup>c</sup> informs us that he pretended to be the Messias whom the Samaritans, as Jews, did expect. As for the Greek of the seventy, it is alleged<sup>d</sup> that by comparing it with the original—which is the most effectual conviction of common sense—it may appear that they who made it never intended to translate the Hebrew which they had before them, but to enlarge, abridge, and change the sense and matter of it, as best pleased their own fancies, though to what purpose it is hard to affirm. This is alleged to be visible in the book of Job, the Proverbs, Esther, and I know not whether any other parts of the Old Testament.

§ 21. Supposing these exceptions made to those two, the

Samareus, unde et Dositheani dicuntur, et Simon de quo referunt Actus Apostolorum.<sup>7</sup>

Synodum vero illam ab Eulogio coactam docet Photius occasione controversiæ inter Samaritas Alexandrinos de loco illo Mosis ortæ. Deuter. xviii. 15. 'Prophetam tibi suscitabit Dominus,' &c., quem eorum alii Jesum Nave, sive Josuam filium Nunis proximum Mosis successorem, fuisse contendebant; alii Dosthen, sive Dositheum, genere Samaritanum et Simoni Mago æqualem,—*συνακμάσαντα κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Σίμωνι τῷ Μάγῳ*—a cujus nomine Dostheni cognominati sunt. De quo et postea hoc habetur additum: *μυρίαὶ καὶ ποικίλαι ἄλλαι νοθείαι τὴν Μωσαϊκὴν πεντάτευχον*—ea enim vox pro *ὀκτατεύχῳ* in Photio est reponenda—*κατακιβδηλεύσας καὶ ἕτερα τινὰ συγγράμματα. μωρὰ τε καὶ ἀλλόκοτα καὶ ἀπενάντια πνευματικῆς νομοθεσίας συντεταχῶς τοῖς πειθομένοις κατέλιπε.* [Phot. Bibl. p. 285. Berolin. 1824.]—Usser. Ep. ad Lud. Cappellum, pp. 215, 216. Londini, 1655.

<sup>c</sup> Origen, tom. ii. p. 851. ed. Ben. The passage is cited in the preceding note from Ussher.

<sup>d</sup> Sed nihil editionis illius auctoritatem magis minuit, quam multiplex illa tot assumentorum ad sacram Hebraicæ veritatis purpuram audacissime facta additio: quæ aliquando non versiculorum tantum aliquot, sed integrorum etiam est capitum. Harum additionum, ab Origine in epistola ad Julium Africanum, ex Jobi et Estheræ

libris producta habentur exempla. Et de libro Estheræ agnoscis ipse 'multa fuisse addita et ommissa ad libitum interpretis; qui non fuit accuratus in vertendo, sed studuit tantum utcunque sensum reddere.' Sed ut sensum utcunque ille redderet; tam multa a textu demere, tam multa aliena in eum intrudere, quid attinebat? et qui minus accuratus ille fuit in hoc quam in prophetis libris? in quibus vel ille vel illi interpretes, ut tu quoque fateris 'passim vocum genus, numerum, statum, tempus, modum, conjugationem et personam immutârunt pene pro arbitrio; ut sensum aliquem, uti ipsis videbatur, commodum exculperent iis in locis, in quibus alioqui sensus non videbatur ipsis elici posse aptus et accommodatus.'

Qui vero in uno libro ad libitum multa addunt, et omittunt, in aliis ita commutat omnia pene pro arbitrio, non æqui sane habendi sunt Hebraicæ lectionis arbitri. Præsertim quum in Daniele complura illi capitula Hebræo textui addiderint, quæ ob hanc ipsam causam Eusebius et Apollinarius, Porphyrii calumniis respondentes, ut legitimam Scripturæ partem defendere recusabant; sed etiam reliquæ prophetiæ faciem universam ita immutaverunt, ut Christianæ Ecclesiæ, in aliis libris eorum versionem secutæ, hic eam repudiare atque in ejus locum Theodotionis editionem coactæ fuerint substituere.—Usser. Epist. ad Ludovicum Cappellum, pp. 207, 208. Londini, 1655.

BOOK I. most ancient copies—beside the Hebrew—that the world has, I will not enter into the dispute concerning the true copy of the seventy, which every man knows what difficulties it becomes liable to, by the diligence and industry of Origen<sup>e</sup>; who, that it might appear at one view what the difference was between the Greek and Hebrew copies, first set a mark upon every word which the Greek of the seventy had expressed, more than the Hebrew contained; then, under another mark, added to the same copy that which, being found in the Hebrew, was not found translated in the Greek of the seventy. For those marks being afterwards left out by the negligence of copyists, there came into the common use of the Church, a mixed copy of the Greek according to the seventy, and that which the Hebrew had more than the Greek, according to Theodotion, whom Origen had stuck to in that busi-

<sup>e</sup> Nemo enim Christianorum post 70 ante Hieronymum novam ex Hebræo versionem Græcam tentavit.

Prima erat Origenis; quem propter magnos labores Adamantium vocarunt; et ob multiplicem doctrinam, post Apostolos Ecclesiarum magistrum dixerunt veteres: quod neminem nisi ignorantem negare posse, affirmavit Hieronymus. Hic cum in editionem quæ tunc vulgata et communis dicebatur errata quædam irrepsisse advertisset, ex Alexandrina Bibliotheca ubi genuinum Cleopatrz exemplar—et ut quidam sentiunt Ptolemæi autographon—asservatum erat, versionem Græcam τῶν δ̄ descripsit, et collatis plurimis optimisque exemplaribus, magno labore puram 70 editionem exhibuit: in qua nihil ad textum Græcum adjecit, nihil admisit; sed quantum potuit, ab omni corruptela et mixtura puram et integritate suæ restitutam vindicavit: quam in Tetraplis et Hexaplis posuit: et hæc ab omnibus veteribus pro sincera et genuina—etiam ab ipso Hieronymo—semper agnita fuit. Et ut ex aliorum versionum collatione plus utilitatis ad Ecclesiam redundaret, primo tres illas, Aquilæ, Symmachi, et Theodotionis, una cum illa τῶν δ̄ per columnas singulis paginæ disposuit, ita ut uno intuitu lector omnes conspiceret, easque conferre posset: quæ volumina propter quatuor columnas et versiones, Tetrapla appellavit. In Threnis tamen, teste Origene in Catena Græca, editio Aquilæ et Theodotionis nusquam apparet, sed

solius Symmachi et 70. Postquam enim linguæ Hebræicæ cognitionem assecutus esset, textum Hebræum, characteribus tum Hebræicis, tum Græcis addidit: unde Hexapla nominata. Tandem post repertam quintam et sextam versionem, et ipsas cum reliquis disposuit, et Octapla nominavit. Hoc ejus opus ita omnibus probatum erat, ut opus Ecclesiæ nominaretur, propter multiplicem ejus usum, quod olim præstabat, et adhuc, si extaret, præstaret. Nam ex illo, textus Veteris Testamenti ejusque sensus verus illustrari, et sinceritas demonstrari posset; multæque controversiæ hodiernæ, de ejus integritate, ut et de litteris, punctis vocalibus, vera lectione, et recta pronuntiatione, determinari possent. Unde inexcusabilis est Græcorum negligentia, qui nobilissimum et incomparabilem hunc thesaurum amiserunt . . . .

Idem Origenes, cum omnium non esset magna hæc volumina comparare, aliam editionem elaboravit solius versionis 70, cui asteriscos, et obelos apposuit. Quæ enim in textu Hebræo erant, et in Græco deerant, supplevit ex Theodotione plerumque; ut qui præ reliquis propius ad versionem 70 accederet, apposito asterisco, ne additamentum hoc cum textu τῶν δ̄ confunderetur; quæ vero in Græco erant, et non in Hebræo, non expunxit, nec delevit, sed obelo notavit; non ut quicquam in textu 70 mutaret.—Walton. Proleg. ix. § 21, 22. p. 62. Londini, 1657.

ness. Whereby, and by several copies corrected and ordered by Lucian<sup>f</sup>, Hesychius<sup>g</sup>, and others, to set a period to this disorder, it is become impossible to say what is the true Greek of the seventy, or Alexandrian Jews, in abundance of places.

§ 22. But this dispute, I conceive, I shall not need to enter into, having nothing to do here to say how well or how ill the Church hath been served by the multiplying of several copies, which is a far divers point, that may come to hand in due place; but only supposing things to be as they are, what means we have to assure ourselves of unquestionable Scripture, in order to the deciding of difficulties in matter of re-

C H A P.  
XXXIII.

<sup>f</sup> Tertia editio fuit Luciani presbyteri Alexandrini et sanctissimi martyris qui, teste Eusebio Hist., lib. viii. 'editionem 70 cum codicibus Hebraicis contulit et recensuit.' De hac Euthymius *Præf. in Psalmos*, 'Hæc cum 70 translatione consentit, et quæ ab aliis depravata fuerunt, reprobant.' De Luciano etiam et Hesychio affirmat Hieronymus, *Præf. in 4 Evang.*, 'Eos nec in toto Veteri Testamento post 70 interpretes emendare licuisse, nec in Novo emendasse profuit.' Hic itaque emendavit, non de novo transtulit. Et ut idem Hieronymus, *Ep. 135. ad Suniam et Fretelam*, 'Eadem fuit cum Vulgata, ita ut *κωνή* sive Vulgata a plerisque *Λουκιανός* diceretur:' unde iterum patet, novam versionem non fuisse, sed Vulgatam emendatam. Flaminus Nobilius *Præf. ad editionem Romanam Latinam* dicit, quod in 'Apollinario reprehendit Hieronymus quod 70 interpretum dictiones mutavit sæpe, ac pro ipsis Symmachi vel alterius, vel etiam suas substitueret.' Lucianus martyr in eodem fortasse instituto, verecundior tamen videtur fuisse. Hujus enim interpretationem, memoriæ proditum est, cum 70 interpretatione, rejectis iis quæ ab aliis depravata erant, consensisse. Hinc fluxit illa quam multi septimam nominarunt. Hæc Luciani editio, ejus manu scripta, teste Athanasio in *Synopsi*, post ipsius certamen sub Maximiano Nicomediæ inventa est.—Walton. *Proleg. ix. § 25. p. 63. Londini, 1657.*

<sup>g</sup> Quarta fuit Hesychii Episcopi Ægyptii, in eadem persecutione decima martyrio coronati: de quo Eusebius, lib. viii. cap. xiv. Hic veterem translationem recognovit; quæ teste Hieronymo per Ægyptum et Alexandriam

celebris erat: novam non cudit. Hujus editionis habemus antiquissimum exemplar, quod ex Alexandria allatum fuit; ejus discrepantias a codice Vaticano, in hac Bibliorum editione excudi curavimus, De his editionibus scribit Hieronymus in *Epistola ad Chromat.* quæ in libros Paralipomenon est Præfatio 1. quod 'Alexandria et Ægyptus in 70 suis Hesychium laudant auctorem, Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probent. Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus evulgaverunt: totusque orbis inter se hac trifaria varietate compungat.' Quicquid vero scripserit Hieronymus de harum editionum discrepantiis, qui omnes ingenii nervos intendit, ut versionem *τῶν ὀ* deprimeret, et ut suam Latinam, ex Hebræo noviter factam, in ejus locum in Occidentis Ecclesias introduceret: varietates tamen istas haud magni momenti fuisse, patet: tum ex scriptis et commentariis eorum, qui eisdem locis, ubi editiones istæ vigeant, claruerunt, in quibus magna est concordia—ita ut nemo præter Hieronymum alicujus fere differentię inter istas editiones meminerit—et ex ipsis discrepantiis, quæ ab Hieronymo afferuntur, ep. ad Suniam et Fretelam, quæ nullius momenti sunt; tum ex præcipuis exemplaribus, et editionibus antiquis et recentibus, eorumque collatione: maxime vero ex Psalterio Vulg. Latino, quod ex Luciani editione esse, Hieronymus omnesque alii fatentur: inter quod et illud quod ex Græco 70 in nostris Bibliis imprimatur vix aliquod discrimen observatur. Sed de his posthac plura.—Walton. *Proleg. ix. § 25. p. 63. Londini, 1657.*

BOOK  
I.

ligion, which not only ordinarily, but universally, have their beginning from some uncertainty in the meaning of the same. But supposing the Greek and Samaritan liable to these exceptions, supposing that we have a very ancient translation of the Old Testament into that language which the Jews from the captivity used—for what can be the reason why the Jews should turn it into Chaldee, but for the vulgar use of their people?—that we have the vulgar Latin, and that ancient and worthy Christian translation into the Syriac, is there any body will undertake to say, either, that having these helps, we cannot assure ourselves of the Scripture which God delivered to the Church, so far as the necessity of the Church requireth to be assured of it; or that nothing but the copy<sup>h</sup> which now we have from the Jews is to be regarded, God having provided us so many helps over and above?

§ 23. For suppose the Samaritan copy of the law to have been falsified by Dositheus, must it not needs have been falsified upon some certain design? And will one certain design require, or will it endure that all should be falsified, whether it concerned that design or not? So suppose those Jews of Alexandria who turned the Old Testament into Greek, gave themselves liberty to make the book of Job, the Proverbs, more of the Old Testament, if more can be

<sup>h</sup> “We add that the whole Scripture entire, as given out from God, without any loss, is preserved in the copies of the originals yet remaining; what varieties there are among the copies themselves shall be afterwards declared; in them all we say is every letter and tittle of the word of God. These copies we say are the rule, standard, and touchstone of all translations, ancient and modern, by which they are in all things to be examined, tried, corrected, amended, and themselves only by themselves. Translations contain the word of God, and are the word of God, perfectly or imperfectly according as they express the words, sense, and meaning of those originals. To advance any, all translations concurring into an equality with the originals, so to set them by it, as to set them up with it, on even terms, much more to propose and use them as means of castigating, amending, altering anything in them, gathering various lections by them, is to set

up an altar of our own by the altar of God, and to make equal the wisdom, care, skill, and diligence of men, with the wisdom, care, and providence of God Himself. It is a foolish conjecture of Morinus from some words of Epiphanius, that Origen, in his *Octapla*, placed the translation of the seventy in the midst, to be the rule of all the rest, even of the Hebrew itself, that was to be regulated and amended by it—*Média igitur omnium Catholica editio collocata erat, ut ad eam Hebrææ cæteræque editiones exigerentur et emendarentur*, Exercit. lib. i. cap. iii. p. 35. [Paris, 1633.]—the truth is, he placed the Hebrew in Hebrew characters in the first place, as the rule and standard of all the rest; the same in Greek characters in the next place, then that of Aquila, then that of Symmachus, after which in the fifth place followed that of the seventy, mixed with that of Theodotion.”—Dr. Owen, *Integrity of the Hebrew Text*, chap. ii. § 7. Oxford, 1659.



alleged, not what the original contained, but what themselves fancied would be handsome; shall we therefore say the whole work is not a translation but a romance, which we see stick so close to the original in the most of the Scripture? Surely the very great antiquity of both copies, and the experience which all that study the Scriptures with an intent to clear the meaning of them have, of the great advantage which the comparing of the Greek advances more and more every day to that design, will no way endure that it should be counted no translation of the Old Testament: or that though a man pretend not to build upon the credit of either of those copies alone, in opposition to the Hebrew which we now use; yet the agreement of them with other copies, together with the reason and consequence, or pertinence of sense enforced by the text of the Scripture, may give him just ground to assure himself and the Church of the true reading of the Scripture, yea, though the present Hebrew should not agree with others.

§ 24. For I shall not here need to say what or how great faults may be found in our Hebrew copies, who had rather be assured that there were none at all to be found, greater or less; but that we—who neither rely upon the dictate of the Spirit to them that are able to conclude the Church, nor much less to particular persons for assuring the true reading of Scripture—are not bound to resolve our faith in it into the present tradition of the synagogue, having, over and above, so considerable helps to the verifying of the same.

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They are helps nevertheless to assure the true reading of the Scriptures, though with other copies, whether Jewish or Christian.

§ 25. For, magnifying first the providence of God, in that the Jews, having Christians in utter hatred, should nevertheless, neither be willing for their interest, nor able for their malice, to falsify those things in their own books which bear witness against themselves; seeing God hath given the Church that most ancient Greek translation, which is commonly ascribed to seventy interpreters sent from Jerusalem, but more justly to the Jews of Alexandria, beside that copy of the law which the Samaritans still use; since we have considerable remains of those Greek translations made by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, the bodies whereof, to the great loss of the Church, have perished with the worthy labours of Origen, in joining them in columns to the Hebrew; since we

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have those ancient translations into the Chaldee, which the Jews make so much esteem of; since we have the Syriac and vulgar Latin made by Christians—to say nothing of the Arabic, whether made by Jews or Christians, or of any other though ancient translations, which have not had the like use and credit in the Church—so far am I from giving way to that unreasonable demand, so destructive to the being of Christianity, that we cannot assure ourselves that we have any Scripture; that in all that I have to say, or shall have said, concerning the dispute on foot in England about religion, I shall either undertake to assure men that will be content with reason, that I allege nothing for Scripture which I cannot justify so to be, or else, undertake to resolve that which shall come in debate, without the help of that which I cannot assure to be such.

§ 26. Not intending, in that which follows, to allege any more evidence hereof in the particulars than I have done in the premises; but building myself upon the resolution premised, and intending that there shall be nothing to be objected, from the true means of questioning and settling the true reading of the Scriptures, that may breed any considerable scruple concerning the truth of those Scriptures which I shall employ to my purpose.

Though  
the vulgar  
Latin were  
better  
than the  
present  
Greek, yet

§ 27. As for that part of the difficulty which remains, concerning the true reading of the New Testament, it is in vain to maintain the decree of the council of Trent, by pretending<sup>i</sup> that the Greek copy out of which the vulgar Latin was

<sup>i</sup> Respondeo, negari non posse, quin sint fontes Scripturarum anteponeendi rivulis versionum, quando constat, fontes non esse turbatos: nunc autem fontes multis in locis turbidos fluere jam ante ostendimus, et certe vix dubitari potest, quin sicut Latina Ecclesia constantior fuit in fide retinenda, quam Græca: ita etiam vigilantior fuerit in suis codicibus corruptione defendendis. Quod enim olim Hieronymus scripsit ad Damasum in epistola de nomine hypostasis, nunc maxime habet locum, videlicet, profligato a Græcis patrimonio, apud Latinos tantum incorruptam patrum hæreditatem servari.—Card. Bellarm. de Verbo Dei, lib. ii. cap. xi. col. 99. Colon. 1620.

Ex quibus colligitur editionem nostram vulgatam vere authenticam esse,

et sensu quidem per omnia et in omnibus locis concordem esse cum editione illa, quæ primum ab ipsis sacris scriptoribus Deo dictante conscripta est; neque audiendos esse illos, qui fas esse putant vulgatam versionem Latinam, etiam ubi de genuina ejus lectione constat, ex Græco aut Hebraico textu, si quandoque ab iis dissentiat, corrigere.—Tanner, Disp. de Fide, Qu. v. Dub. ii. n. 77. tom. iii. p. 316.

Nec in hoc rejecit textus Hebræos et Græcos veros et originales, sed potius probavit eosdem, quod vulgata editio cum illis conveniat, vel saltem tempore divi Hieronymi, Augustini et aliorum gravissimorum patrum convenit et quod credendum sit, quod sancti patres qui in primitiva Ecclesia ex Hebræis et Græcis Latina fecerunt,

translated, was more entire and of better credit than the Greek copies now extant: understanding that decree to make that copy authentic in point of faith, by virtue of any gift of infallibility entailed upon the decrees of the present Church. For if it be only made authentic because the use and credit of it is not allowed to be questioned in the Church<sup>k</sup>, it is

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must both depend upon the original Greek of the New Testament.

puriores et emendatiores codices Hebræos et Græcos habuerint, quam illi sint, qui per tot sæcula ad nos per varios scriptores devenerunt, vel in manibus Græcorum schismaticorum postea extiterunt.—*Vetweis, Specul. Veræ Ecclesiæ, lib. ii. cap. vi. a. iv. p. 44. Colon. 1664.*

Quia tamen de fontibus Hebraicis et Græcis dupliciter loqui possumus; uno modo, ut in sui puritate olim editis, vel suæ nativæ puritati olim restitutis; alio modo de illis, ut in aliquo vel aliquibus locis, temporum injuria vel oscitantia exscriptorum turbatis; si de iis primo modo sermo sit, non solum eos non exclusit, sed nec eis Vulgatam prætulit: quis enim prudens suo fonti rivum præferret, qui quidquid habet ex fonte hausit? Potius ergo Vulgata authentica declarata fuit, quia eam cum Græcis et Hebræis fontibus concordare patres Tridentini crediderunt. E contra autem, si de illis, ut in aliqua parte a sua puritate deturbatis, sermo sit, quis illos ausit præferre? Quia tamen publicæ pacis perturbatores opponebant, hunc vel illum locum non recte fuisse et suo fonte translatum, concilium prudenter se gerens, potius voluit credere fontem in illo fuisse turbatum, quam Ecclesiam et patres, qui tanto consensu, et tanto sæculorum tractu, vulgatam translationem usu et probatione consecraverant, fuisse deceptos, et errorem suo calculo comprobasse. Quare in hoc sensu cænosis fontibus rivum purum præferens, permisit quidem fontes consulere, sed vetuit, ex iisdem fontibus, Vulgatam in eo, in quo ab illis discordat emendari.—*Gotti, Verit. Rel. Christ., Tract. iii. cap. viii. § 1. tom. i. p. 149. Venet. 1750.*

<sup>k</sup> Patres Tridentini declararunt Vulgatam authenticam, non faciendo authenticam, quæ authentica in se non esset, sed solum declarando, eam esse versionem fidelem, et fonti suo consonam, in eaque non esse mendas, vel si quæ sunt, non esse fidei ac bonis moribus repugnantes. Assertum hoc constat, sicut enim declarando librum

esse divinum et canonicum, non facit, sed supponit esse talem, et solum illum talem proponit, ne quis de illo dubitet, et tanquam talem haberi præcepit: ita et declarando versionem aliquam esse authenticam, non facit eam esse conformem suo originali, sed illam esse talem supponit, et talem esse omnibus proponit, et ut talis habeatur omnibus præcipit, atque ut tali ab omnibus fides adhibeatur mandat. Quid enim est authenticum? apud Jurisperitos est: 'Scriptum aliquid quod ex se fidem facit in judicio, et supremæ est autoritatis, ut a nullo rejici, vel in questionem vocari queat.' Ita Julianus jurisconsultus, tract. *de Fide Instrumentorum*. Hanc ergo vocem a jurisperitis mutuati Theologi, codices Veteris et Novi Testamenti eos authenticos dicunt, qui fidem divinam faciunt, ut a nullo rejici, nec in questionem vocari queant: hinc etiam dicta sunt authentica instrumenta, quæ certam fidem et infallibilem faciunt.

Observandum tamen est, duobus aliquid dici posse authenticum: primo per se; et hoc modo authentica sunt autographa, sive originaria scripta. Sic enim originaria principum edicta, et scripta proprie et per se authentica dicuntur. Secundo authenticum dici potest per illud, cui est conforme; et sic omnia exemplaria, sive exscripta authentica dicuntur, quatenus cum autographo conveniunt, quæ convenientia sigillo, aut testimoniis probanda est. Sic ergo in casu præsentis discurrendum est; ipsa namque prophetarum et Apostolorum autographa, propriis eorum manibus descripta, vel eorum voce dictata, secundum propriissimam hujus vocis significationem, et per se authentica sunt, ut quæ a Spiritu Sancto dictata, apographa vero inde exscripta proprie quidem, non tamen primario et per se, authentica sunt, sed quatenus conformia sunt, et fideliter referentia secum autographum. Rursus autem versiones, quæ autographa, sive apographa in alias linguas transferunt, in latiori quadam significatione authenticæ dicuntur, quatenus cum textibus

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§ 28. And if the credit of the vulgar Latin be derived from the Greek copy out of which it was translated, then is it no further authentic<sup>m</sup> than as it expresseth the authentic reading which then was found in the Greek out of which it was translated. And so the whole credit of the Scripture is re-

primitivis, ex quibus sunt traductæ, conveniunt, ac fideliter eos referunt, ita ut absque ulla hæsitatione in causis fidei eis sit adhibenda fides ac si foret textus ipse primigenius. Esse autem textui originario conformia sic, ut apud omnes firmam fidem faciant, ad quem pertinet judicare, nisi ad Ecclesiam, cujus testimonium sit, tanquam sigillum, quod illi appensum sive impressum sit, omnibus suæ authenticæ indubium argumentum? Hoc ergo tertio sensu authenticam esse dicimus Latinam vulgatam, quia præ omnibus Latinis versionibus, eam textui originario conformem et fideliter ipsum referentem statuit, ac probavit Ecclesia Catholica. Primo quidem usu, secundo autem speciali decreto. Usu quidem; nam ea tot sæculorum decursu usa est, ante Hieronymum enim utebatur vulgata veteri, seu communi, quam Augustinus vocat Italiam, post Hieronymum autem processu temporis uti cœpit vulgata Hieronymi, quæ vel Hieronymi solius est, vel saltem mixta ex antiqua et Hieronymi versione, ut supra ostendimus. Hanc omnes patres subsequentes probavere præ cæteris, quia eam solam explanandam susceperunt, in concionibus populis proposuerunt, ea ad fidem tuendam, et confirmandam usi sunt in conciliis; quod evidens signum est, eam tacito consensu fuisse ut authenticam ab Ecclesia probatam. Decreto tandem, quia ex hac generali Ecclesiæ approbatione, non verbo sed facto, nempe usu et consuetudine, novissime con-

cilio Tridentino suum decretum tanquam sigillum apponens, eam ut authenticam declaravit, et ut talem habendam præcepit.—Gotti, Verit. Rel. Christianæ, tom. i. tract. iii. cap. vii. § 2. p. 146. Venet. 1750.

<sup>1</sup> Chap. xxxii. sect. 2.

<sup>m</sup> At certe tanta encomia a tantis viris huic editioni tributa; tanta item existimatio, quanta nullius alterius editionis fuit, satis indicant, patres et ipsos communiter fideles habuisse hanc interpretationem pro tali, quæ Spiritus Sancti sententiam ubique assequatur, quod ad doctrinam et mores attinet: nec tamen hoc ipso præfertur a nobis aut a patribus ipsi fonti Hebræo et Græco; sed exæquatur; si quidem Hebræi ac Græci fontes cum Latina vulgata editione consentiant. Sufficit nobis exæquatio; non postulatur prælatio. At si quod ad dogmata fidei vel morum attinet, Græci et Hebræi fontes a vulgata versione discrepent, intrepide eam hujusmodi fontibus præferimus, utpote corruptis; quia decretum Ecclesiæ habemus, vulgatam editionem nusquam a mente Spiritus Sancti deviare, quoad dogmata fidei et morum; non habemus autem hujusmodi decretum de textibus Hebræo et Græco, prout hodie extant. Fuerunt quidem et sunt authentici, quis neget? sed ubi cum editione vulgata concordant; nam si alicubi discordent, ibi authentici vi præditos esse negamus.—Gretseri, Defensionis Bellarmini, cap. x. lib. ii. Opp. tom. viii. p. 283. Ratisbonæ, 1736.

solved into the credit of the originals, whereof we stand possessed in the translations of them that remain, in whatsoever language. So that the question comes to be the very same that remained before, concerning the authentic copy of the Old Testament, and the resolution clear that the original Greek is the authentic<sup>n</sup>, the reading thereof being first assured, neither by the dictate of God's Spirit, to any persons enabled to oblige the Church by their decrees, nor to any never so good Christian, much less by the tradition of any particular copy which the Church stands possessed of, but by that tradition which is justified and assured by all copies wherein the letter of the Scripture is recorded to the Church.

§ 29. For though I do for disputation sake suppose, yet do I not grant for a truth that the copy out of which the vulgar Latin was translated, is to be held of better credit<sup>o</sup> than that out of which that excellent translation into the Syriac, which, to the great benefit of Christianity, these last ages have brought into Europe<sup>p</sup>, was made. The antiquity of this

<sup>n</sup> Dico tertio: textus Hebræus, etsi a Judæis non fuerit corruptus, adhuc tamen pro authentico habendus non est. Hoc asserto non est mihi in animo contendere, textus originarios Hebraicum et Græcum non esse absolute, et in se, seu vera authenticos, quales dictati a Spiritu Sancto, descripti fuere a prophetis et Apostolis; forte enim tales in se sunt; forte mendæ, quæ in eis deprehenduntur tales non sunt, quæ eis eripiant auctoritatem; ideoque non tollunt, quin ex eis sumi possit regula certa pro fide et moribus. Contendo solum, a nobis non esse habendos ut positive authenticos, quia cum Ecclesia eos ut tales non recognoverit in concilio Tridentino, nec suo decreto eos tanquam tales fidelibus proposuerit, sed ut dicebamus, illos prætermiserit, ac solum de versionibus Latinis sermonem fecerit, inter omnes Vulgatam declarando authenticam; non est, cur nos textus Hebræum et Græcum authenticos pronunciemus, quos Ecclesia tales nondum pronunciauit. Sicut enim ut Scriptura aliqua humana, seu apographum aliquod habeatur ut authenticum, non sufficit, ut sit suo autographo conforme, sed insuper requiritur, ut hoc constet publica Notarii, vel alterius publicam fidem facientis attestatione, sine qua publicam fidem in iudicio non faciet, poteritque rationabi-

liter negari, ita divina Scriptura, ut authentica, id est, firmam fidem faciens, haberi non poterit, nisi accedat Ecclesiæ universalis testimonium, quod circa textus Hebræum et Græcum haecenus non habemus.—Gotti, Verit. Rel. Christ., Tract. iii. cap. viii. § 3. tom. i. p. 151. Venet. 1750.

<sup>o</sup> Quod vero subjungit, nos nolle nostram versionem ad fontes examinari, per fontes intelligens eos codices Hebraicos et Græcos, qui modo habentur, jure id facimus. Non enim constat, eos, cum suis fontibus, id est, primis exemplaribus convenire: quibus tamen conformem esse nostram versionem, nos certos facit Ecclesia: itaque sicubi exemplaria Hebræa aut Græca discrepant a Latina vulgata editione, quod attinet ad fidei et morum dogmata, ea potius ad Latinam versionem, quam istam ad illa comparandam et conferendam esse dicimus: et quid, oro, tandem isti cum sua collatione versionis Latinæ ad fontes Hebræos aut Græcos efficiunt? Tot jam contulerunt, et adhuc conferunt, et ex Hæbræo Græcoque prorsus disparatas editiones nobis procuderunt.—Gretseri, Defens. Bellarm., cap. x. lib. ii. Opp. tom. viii. p. 286. Ratisbonæ, 1736.

<sup>p</sup> Primus qui Novum Testamentum Syriacis typis edidit erat Johannes Albertus Widmanstadius jurisconsultus,

BOOK I. latter, and the eminent helps which it hath contributed toward the understanding of the New Testament, being so great, as the vulgar Latin, though very learned, and therefore very helpful, can never outshine. And yet will I never grant that either or both of them, and that with the help of the Arabic<sup>a</sup> and other the most ancient translations which the Church beside may have, are not to give account to the consent of many copies now extant, nay, to the credit of some one, if it should so fall out in any passage, that the sense of

et provinciæ Austriæ Orientalis Cancellarius, auspiciis Ferdinandi imperatoris, Viennæ anno 1555, vir linguarum Orientalium peritus. Cum enim quidam Moses Meridinaus ex Mesopotamia sacerdos ab Ignatio Patriarcha Jacobitarum Antiocheno, tum ob alias causas, tum ut Novum Testamentum, cujus exemplar MSS. secum attulit arte typographica—cujus usu in Oriente destituuntur—multiplicatum in usum Ecclesiarum suarum, quæ libro inopia laborabant, reportaret, et frustra Venetiis ac Romæ laborasset, neminemque qui opus hoc arduum et difficile aggredi vellet invenisset, tandem ad Widmanstadium profectus est qui jussu imperatoris Ferdinandi illud typis nitidissimis imprimi curavit: primus certe liber qui excusus characteribus Syriacis in Europa lucem viderit, cujus ad duo vetustissima exemplaria collati et impressi numerum magnum, ad patriarcham Antiochenum Christiani regniæ muneris loco, mitti curavit Ferdinandus imperator religiosus. Quamprimum vero in lucem prodiit, summo doctorum applausu tanquam *Κειμήλιον* divinum et magnus Orientis thesaurus approbatus, variis formis, variisque locis, et a variis latinitate donatus, ut per Immanuelem Tremellium, Fabricium Boderianum, Trostium, characteribus Syriacis et Hebraicis cum punctis et sine punctis sæpe cusus et recusus est. Post Novum Testamentum psalmos etiam edidit sine punctis Erpenius, cum punctis Gabriel Sionita, ejusdem versionis quæ in Bibliis Parisiensibus et in nostris exhibetur, videlicet, antiquæ sive simplicis, in cujus editione habuimus, præter impressum Psalmorum Parisiense exemplar, aliud MS. Rev. Usserii, dico quoque Pocockiana, unum Jacobitarum alterum Nestorianorum, quæ cum priori conveniunt.—Walton. Proleg. xiii. § 8. p. 88. Londini, 1657.

<sup>a</sup> Quoad versionem Arabicam, non

illam dico Pentateuchi versionem, quæ juxta Vulgatam concinnata est, et Romæ edita, sed illas quæ Arabicæ propriæ sunt, quibusque Arabes utuntur. In genere ergo loquendo, Arabicæ versiones non magna sunt auctoritatis, quia non multum veteres, et pleræque etiam juxta Syriacas non multum diligenter adornatæ. Quæcunque Arabicæ versiones occurrunt, cœpere tantum, ex quo a Saracenis Oriente domito, Arabica lingua invaluit; antea enim Syri omnes, Maronitæ, Jacobitæ, aut Nestoriani Syra lingua libros suos habebant: sua quoque lingua Christiani Ægyptii, sive Coptæ, versiones legitabant; et forte adhuc supersunt. Cum ergo Saraceni Arabicam linguam, in populos, quos domuerant, diffudissent, paucique superessent, qui priscarum linguarum notitiam conservassent, necesse fuit, novas novæ linguæ, jam factæ communis, versiones sacræ Scripturæ, imo et maxime partis liturgiarum, concinarent. Sic ergo Syria suas Arabicas versiones fecere, alteram juxta Hebræum, id est, juxta Veterem Syriacam, quæ ex Hebræo sumpta erat; alteram juxta 70. Syri enim duplicem versionem Syriacam habebant, unam ex Hebræo fonte; alteram ex 70 versione. Prima versio et antiquior, quæ lingua Arabica comparuit, edita fuit circa annum Christi nongentesimum a Rabbi Saadia, ut vulgo creditur; et hæc ex Hebræo textu facta est, servato Hebraico characteribus, quamvis alicubi Onkelosum sequatur, et paraphrasis potius sit, quam versio, ut observarunt eruditi. At cæteræ Arabicæ versiones posteriori tempore editæ, et Arabicis characteribus exaratæ opus fuit Christianorum, et immediate ex 70, interpretum textu Græco creduntur expressæ: de his Waltonus, Prolegom. xiv.—Gottii, Verit. Rel. Christ., Tract. iii. cap. iii. § 14. tom. i. pp. 125, 126. Venet. 1750.

the Scripture, which cannot be made out by the rest, is clear to common reason, according to that one: whether such a case do ever fall out in any part of the Scripture or not; the assurance of Christianity not standing in this, that either this or that is, or must needs be true, but in this, that the Church is assured in all cases. But by this it may appear how innocent the resolution of the authentic original of the Old Testament which I have premised is, and how safely I ground myself, not upon the credit of the Jews' copy, but upon all the records whereby the Church assureth the tradition of the Scripture; in that it is freely confessed that the difference of reading which can become questionable, notwithstanding the superstitious diligence of the Jews in preserving their copy, is neither so frequent, nor any thing so weighty, as in the New: which, how much more considerable it is towards the upholding of our common Christianity, is plain enough to him that shall have perused but the premises.

§ 30. And surely, were it not true, as hath been premised, that a certain rule of faith was, from the beginning, delivered to the Church, it would seem strange that we cannot deny that there have considerable differences crept into the reading of the New Testament, so much more nearly concerning our salvation than the Old, in the reading whereof, through the diligence of the Jews, there remains no considerable difference. But if we remember that St. Paul makes the ministry of preaching the Gospel to be the "ministry of the Spirit," in opposition to the ministry of Moses in giving the law, which was the "ministry of the letter," we shall find that faith, the receiving whereof qualified Christians to be endowed with the Holy Ghost, to be of such sufficiency, that, remaining entire, we need not think the Church disparaged if the records thereof suffer decay, so long as the effect of them remains written by the Holy Ghost in the hearts and lives of Christians.

§ 31. Always, it being unquestionable that there are considerable differences remaining in the reading of the New Testament, it will be a very great impertinence to forecast any danger in granting that some question may be made to the Jews' copy of the Old Testament, though neither so fre-

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No danger to Christianity by the differences remaining in the Bible.

BOOK I. quent nor so considerable. And all that hath been said hath issue in this consequence, to justify and to recommend to the 252 world, the usefulness of the design lately set on foot in London<sup>s</sup>, for printing the Bible with the most ancient and learned translations in columns; most agreeably to the design of Origen, in his *Tetrapla*, *Hexapla*, and *Octapla*, that is, Old Testament of four, six, and eight columns, according to the several numbers of translations or columns whereof his several editions consisted. For in a word, this furniture, and that which serves to the same purpose—for who will undertake that one book shall contain all?—is the instrument I appeal to for evidence of the Scripture which we have. And further, here is the original means of determining the sense of the same, though, besides this, I have claimed many other helps to be requisite to that purpose.

<sup>s</sup> “Whereas the ground of faith is the word of God, contained in the Scriptures, it must needs be a work of highest consequence to preserve those sacred oracles in their original purity, freed as much as may be from all possibility of error that may arise, either by the negligence of scribes, and injury of times, or by the wilful corruption of sectaries and heretics, which, as was foretold, abound in these latter times, and so to transmit them to posterity.

“To this end nothing can more conduce than the publishing of the original text, according to the best copies and editions, with the most ancient translations, which have been of greatest authority in the Church, especially those of the eastern languages; which

in regard of their affinity and nearness to the original, are fittest to express, and in regard of their antiquity and general use, in the first and purest ages, are the truest glasses to represent that sense, and reading, which was then generally received into the Church of Christ, to whose care the custody of the Scriptures is committed; the comparing of which together hath always been accounted one of the best means to attain the true sense in places doubtful, and to find out and restore the true reading of the text where any variety appears.”—Prospectus of Walton’s *Biblia Polyglotta*, in Todd’s *Life of Walton*, chap. ii. pp. 32, 33. London, 1821. See note d, chap. xxx. sect. 23.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

LAUS DEO.



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