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TWO TREATISES,

ON THE

CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD,

AND ON THE

DIGNITY OF THE EPISCOPAL ORDER:

WITH

A PREFATORY DISCOURSE

IN ANSWER TO

A BOOK ENTITLED, THE RIGHTS OF THE CHRISTIAN  
CHURCH, &c.,

AND AN APPENDIX.

BY GEORGE HICKES, D.D.,

SOMETIME FELLOW OF LINCOLN COLLEGE AND DEAN OF WORCESTER.

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THE FOURTH EDITION.

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VOL. III.

OXFORD,  
JOHN HENRY PARKER;  
AND 377, STRAND, LONDON.

M DCCC XLVIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE  
CITY OF OXFORD

BY JOHN SMITH

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME THE FIRST

AND AN APPENDIX

BY GEORGE BAKER

WITH A HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

BY JOHN SMITH

1724

OXFORD

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THE APPENDIX.



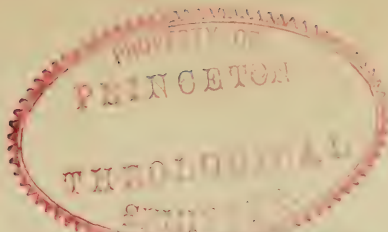


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## APPENDIX.

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THE ORDER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, ACCORDING TO THE FORM OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, AND OTHER RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH, AFTER THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, SET FORTH BY ACT OF PARLIAMENT ANNO 2 & 3 EDWARDI VI., TO BE USED THROUGHOUT ENGLAND, AND IN WALES, AT CALICE, AND THE MARCHES OF THE SAME, AND PRINTED AT LONDON BY EDWARD WHITCHURCH. 1549<sup>a</sup>.

Anno 2 & 3 Edwardi VI. cap. i. § 1.

[The king's majesty . . hath appointed the archbishop of Canterbury and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men of this realm to consider and ponder the premises,] And thereupon having as well eye and respect to the most sincere, and pure Christian religion taught by the Scripture, as to the usages in the primitive Church, should draw, and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of common and open prayer, and administration of the Sacraments to be had, and used in [his majesty's realm of England and in Wales;] the which at this time, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement is of them concluded, set forth, and delivered to his highness, to his great comfort and quietness of mind, in a book intituled *The Book of Common Prayer, &c.*

<sup>a</sup> [The text has been collated with that of the earliest edition of this Prayer Book. "Londini in Officina

Edouardi Whitchurche. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum. Anno Do. 1549. Mense Maii." ]

## The Supper of the Lorde, and the holy Communion, commonly called the Masse <sup>b</sup>.

So many as intende to bee partakers of the holy Communion, shall sygnific their names to the Curate, ober night: or els in the morning, afore the beginning of Matins, or immediatly after.

And if any of those be an open and notorious cuill liuer, so that the congregacion by hym is offended, or have doen any wrong to his neighbours, by worde, or dede: The Curate shall cal hym, and advuertise hym, in any wise not to presume<sup>c</sup> to the Lordes table, untill he have openly declared hymself, to haue truly repented, and amended his former naughtie life: that the congregacion maie thereby be satisfied, which afore were offended: and that he have recompensed the parties, whom he hath dooen wrong unto, or at the least bee in full purpose so to doe, as sone as he conueniently maie.

¶ The same ordre shal the Curate use, with those betwixt whom he perceibeth malice, and hatred to reigne, not suffering them to bee partakers of the Lordes table, untill he knowe them to bee reconciled<sup>d</sup>. And yf one of the parties so at variaunce, be content to forgeue from the botome of his hearte, all that the other hath trespassed against him, and to make amendes, for that he hymselfe hath offended: and the other partie will not bee perswaded to a godly bntie, but remayne still in his forwardnes and malice: The Minister in that case, ought to admit the penitent persons to the holy Communion, and not hym that is obstinate.

¶ Upon the daie, and at the time appointed for the ministracion of the holy Communion, the priest that<sup>e</sup> shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon hym

<sup>b</sup> De antiquitate hujus nominis consulendus est, Card. Bona Rerum Liturg., lib. i. cap. 3. [tom. i. p. 18.] Ubi constat, Ambrosium, Augustinum, aliosque Ecclesie Latinæ Scriptores “eo nomine tanquam consueto, et dudum fidelibus cognito usos fuisse.”

<sup>c</sup> Vide Joan. Chrysost. Hom., [lxxxii. (al.)] lxxxiii. in cap. xxvi. Matt. οὐ μικρά κείται κόλασις [τοῖς ἀναξίως μετέχουσιν, κ. τ. λ. Op., tom. vii. pp. 788, 789.] Card. Bonæ Rerum Liturgicarum, lib. ii. cap. 17. § 3. [tom. iii. p. 367.] “Olim ante communionem clamabat diaconus Sancta Sanctis, ac si diceret, qui non est sanctus, non accedat.” De quibus etiam verbis, vid. Librum Pontificalem Eccl. Græcæ ab Isaaco Haberto edit. cum notis, p. 249. [Pars x. Lit. Ord. Obs. ii. De formula Sancta Sanctis: ad ea verba ὁ διάκονος ἐκφωνεῖ, πρόσχωμεν\* ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης, τὰ ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις.]

<sup>d</sup> οἱ μέλλοντες τὴν θείαν ἐπιτελέσαι μυσταγωγίαν, ὀφείλουσιν εἶναι προηγουμένως μὲν κατηλλαγμένοι μεθ' ἁπάντων, καὶ μὴ ἔχειν κατὰ τινος.—[Habert. Pontific., p. 1.]

<sup>e</sup> In Alex. Alesii Latina editione edita Lipsiæ, 1551. [fol. 36.] Sacerdos indutus alba, casula vel cappa adstabit altari. [This translation of the Common Prayer Book of 1549 may be regarded as an authorized one. It is stated by Heylin (Hist. Ref., p. 79.) and Burnet (Hist. Ref., vol. ii. p. 155, fol.) that it was made for the use of Bucer in his examination of the Book, immediately on his coming to England in April, 1549; as Bucer's own words (Buceri Scripta Anglicar., p. 456) imply. It was two years afterwards published at Leipsic for the use of foreigners, under the title, Ordinatio ecclesie seu ministerii ecclesiastici, in florentissimo regno Angliæ conscripta sermone patrio, et in Latinam linguam



the vesture appointed for that ministracion, that is to saye: a white Albe plain, with a bestement or Cope. And where there be many Priestes, or Deacons, there so many shall be ready to helpe the Priest, in the ministracion, as shall be requisite: And shall haue upon them lykewyse, the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to saye, Albes, with tunacles. Then shall the Clerkes syng in Englishe for the office, or Entroite, (as they call it) a Psalmie appointed for that daye.

COMMUNION  
SERVICE.  
1549.

The priest standyng humbly afore the middes of the Altar<sup>f</sup>, shall saie the Lordes Prayer, with this Collect.

Almightie GOD, vnto whom all heartes bee open, and all desyres knowen, and from whom no secretes are hid: clense the thoughtes of our heartes, by the inspiration of thy holy spirite: that we may perfectly loue thee, and worthely magnifie thy holy name: Through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall he saie a Psalmie appointed for the introite<sup>g</sup>: whiche Psalmie ended, the Priest shall saie, or els the Clerkes shall syng.

iiij. Lorde haue mercie vpon vs.

iiij. Christ haue mercie vpon vs.

iiij. Lorde haue mercie vpon vs.

Then the Prieste standyng at Goddes borde shall begin<sup>h</sup>.

Glory be to God on high.

The Clerkes<sup>i</sup>.

And in yearth peace, good will towarδες men.

We praise thee, we blesse thee, we worship thee, we glorifie thee, we geue thankes to thee for thy greate glory, O Lorde GOD heauenly kynge, God the father almightie.

bona fide conversa, et ad consolationem ecclesiarum Christi, ubicunque locorum ac gentium his tristissimis temporibus edita. Alexander Alesse or Ales, the translator, had fled from Scotland to England in 1534; was received by Cromwell into his family, grew into great favour with Hen. VIII., and was commonly called his scholar: he was (Burnet says) much esteemed for his learning and piety, and was entertained by Cranmer at Lambeth. After Cromwell's death he went into Saxony and became a professor at Leipsic. See Burnet's Hist. Ref., vol. i. pp. 308, 214.]

<sup>f</sup> Injunctions by king Edward VI. 1547. § 9. "They shall declare that every person ought to know the said things before they should receive the blessed Sacrament of the Altar." [Wilkins' Concilia, tom. iv. p. 5.] So I Edward VI. cap. 1. § 1. "The most comfortable Sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar."

<sup>g</sup> Psalmum destinatum ad introitum missæ.—Alex. Ales. [fol. 36.]

<sup>h</sup> Sacerdos stans ad medium altaris canet.—[Id. Ibid.]

<sup>i</sup> Chorus.—[Id. Ibid.]

APPENDIX.  
NO. I.

☉ Lorde the only begotten sonne Iesu Christ, ☉ Lorde  
GOD, Lambe of GOD, sonne of the father, that takest  
awaye the synnes of the worlde, haue mercie vpon vs: thou  
that takest awaye the synnes of the worlde, receyue our  
prayer.

Thou that sittest at the righte hande of God the father,  
haue mercie vpon us: For thou onely art holy, thou onely  
art the Lorde. Thou onely (☉ Christe) with the holye  
Ghoste, arte moste highe in the glory of God the father.  
Amen.

Then the priest shall turne hym to the people and saye.

The Lorde be with you.

The Answer.

And with thy spirite.

The Priest<sup>1</sup>.

Let vs praye.

Then shall folowe the Collect of the daye, with one of these two  
Colletes folowing, for the kyng.

Almightie God, whose kynqdom is euerlasting, and power  
infinite, haue mercie vpon the whole congregacion, and so  
rule the heart of thy chosen seruaunt Edward the sixt, our  
kyng and gouernour: that he (knowyng whose minister he  
is) maye aboue all thinges, seke thy honour and glory, and  
that we his subjectes (duely consydering whose auctoritie he  
hath) maye faithfully serue, honour, and humbly obey him,  
in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word, and  
ordinaunce: Through Iesus Christe oure Lorde, who with  
thee, and the holy ghost, liueth, and reiqneth, euer one  
God, worlde without ende. Amen.

Almightie and euerlasting GOD, wee bee taught by thy  
holly worde, that the heartes of Kynqes are in thy rule and  
gouernaunce, and that thou doest dispose, and turne them as  
it semeth best to thy godly wisdom: we humbly beseeche  
thee, so to dispose and gouerne the heart of Edward the  
sixt, thy seruaunt, our Kynq and gouernour, that in all his  
thoughtes, wordes, and workes, he maye euer seke thy honour  
and glory, and study to preserue thy people, committed to

<sup>1</sup> Sacerdos.—Alex. Ales. [fol. 36.]

his charge, in wealth, peace, and Godlynes: Graunt this, COMMUNION SERVICE.  
 O merciful father, for thy dere sonnes sake, Jesus Christ 1549.  
 our Lorde. Amen.

The Collectes ended, the priest, or he that is appointed, shall reade the  
 Epistle, in a place assigned for the purpose, saying.

The Epistle of saint Paule written in the Chapter  
 of to the.

The Minister then shall reade the epistle. Immediately after the Epistle ended,  
 the priest, or one appointed to reade the Gospell, shall saye.

The holy Gospell written in the Chapter of.

The Clarke and people shal aunswere.

Glory be to thee, O Lorde.

The Priest or deacon then shall reade the Gospell: After the Gospell ended,  
 the priest shall begin.

I beleue in one God.

The Clarke shall syng the rest.

The father almightie maker of heauen and yearth, and  
 of all thinges visibible, and inuisibible: And in one Lorde Jesu  
 Christ, the onely begotten sonne of God, begotten of his  
 father before all worldes, God of GOD, light of light, very  
 God of very God, begotten, not made, beeyng of one sub-  
 stance with the father, by whom all thinges were made,  
 who for vs men, and for our saluacion, came downe from  
 heauen, and was incarnate by the holy Ghoste, of the  
 Virgin Mary, and was made manne, and was Crucified also  
 for vs vnder Poncius Pilate, he suffered and was buried,  
 and the thirde daie he arose again according to the scrip-  
 tures, and ascended into heauen, and sitteth at the right  
 hande of the father: And he shall come again with glory,  
 to iudge both the quicke and the dead.

And I beleue in the holy ghoste, the Lorde and geuer  
 of life, who procedeth from the father and the sonne, who  
 with the father and the sonne together, is worshipped and  
 glorified, who spake by the Prophetes. And I beleue one  
 Catholike and Apostolike Church. I acknowlege one

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NO. I.

Baptisme, for the remission of synnes. And I loke for the resurrection of the deade: and the lyfe of the worlde to come. Amen.

¶ After the Crede ended, shall folowe the Sermon or Homely, or some porcion of one of the Homelies, as they shalbe hereafter deuiced: wherein if the people bee not exhorted to the worthy receyuing of the holy Sacrament of the bodie and bloude of our sauour Christ: then shall the Curate geue this exhortacion, to those that be minded to receiue the same.

Deuely beloued in the Lord, ye that minde to come to the holy Communion of the bodie and bloud of our sauour Christ, must considre what S. Paule writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persones diligently to trie and examine themselues, before thei presume to eate of that breade, and drynke of that cup: for as the benefite is great, yf with a truly penitent heart, and lyuely fayth, we receyue that holy Sacrament: (for then we spirituallly eate the fleshe of Christe, and drynke his bloude, then we dwel in Christ and Christ in vs, wee bee made one with Christ, and Christ with vs) so is the daunger great, yf we receyue the same vnworthely, for then wee become qyltic of the body and bloud of Christ our sauour, we eate and drynke our owne damnacion, not consideryng the Lordes bodie. We kinde Gods wraithe ouer vs, we prouoke hym to plague vs with diuerse diseases, and sonderly kyndes of death. Therefore yf any here be a blasphemour, aduouterer, or bee in malice, or enuie, or in any other greuous cryme, (excepte he be truly sorry therefore, and earnestly mynded to leaue the same vices, and do trust hymselfe to bee reconciled to almighty God, and in Charitie with all the worlde) lette hym bewaile his synnes, and not come to that holy table, lest after the takyng of that most blessed breade: the deuill enter into hym, as he dyd into Judas, to fylle hym full of all iniquitie, and brynge hym to destruccion, bothe of body and soule. Judge therefore your selues (brethren) that ye bee not judged of the lord. Let your mynde be without desire to synne, repent you truly for your synnes past, haue an earnest and lyuely fayth in Christe our sauour, be in perfect charitie with all men, so shall ye bee mete partakers of those holy misteries. And aboute all thynges: ye must



geue moste humble and heartie thankes to God the father, the sonne, and the holy ghoste, for the redemption of the worlde, by the death and passion of our sauior Christe, both God and man, who did humble hymselfe euen to the death vpon the crosse, for vs miserable synners, whiche laye in darknes and shadowe of death, that he myghte make vs the children of God, and exalte vs to euerlastyng lyfe. And to thend that wee shoulde alwaye remembre the exceeding loue of oure maister, and onely sauior Jesu Christe, thus dving for vs, and the innumerable benefites, whiche (by his precious bloudshedding) he hath obtaigned to vs, he hath lefte in those holy Misteries, as a pledge of his loue, and a continuall remembraunce of the same<sup>k</sup> his olone blessed body, and precious bloud, for vs to fede vpon spiritually, to our endles comfort and consolacion. To him therefore with the father and the holy ghost, let vs geue (as we are most bounden) continual thankes, submitting our selves wholy to his holy wyll and pleasure, and studying to serue hym in true holines and righteousnes, all the dayes of our lyfe. Amen.

¶ In Cathedral churches or other places, where there is daillie Communion, it shal be sufficient to reade this exhortacion aboue written, once in a moneth. And in parish churches, vpon the weke daies it may be lefte vsayd.

¶ And if vpon the Sunday or holy daye, the people be negligent to come to the Communion: Then shall the Priest earnestly exhorc his parishioners, to dispose themselves to the receiuing of the holy communion more diligently, sayyng these or like wordes vnto them.

Dere frendes, and you especially vpon whose soules I haue cure and charge, on next, I do intende by Gods grace, to offre to all suche as shalbe godlye disposed, the moste comfortable Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christe, to be taken of them, in the remembraunce of his moste fruitfull and glorious Passion: by the whiche passion, we haue obtaigned remission of our sinnes, and be made partakers of the kyngdom of heauen, whercof we bee assured and assertaigned, yf wee come to the sayde Sacrament, with heartie repentaunce for our offences, stedfast faith in Goddes mercye, and earnest minde to obeye Goddes wyll, and to

<sup>k</sup> Perpetuum *μνημόσυνον*, suum [scilicet proprium quasi pignus amoris, &c.]—Alex. Ales. [fol. 37.]

APPENDIX.  
NO. I.

offende nomore. Wherefore our ducie is to come to these holy misteries, with moste heartie thankes to bee geuen to almightie GOD, for his infinite mercie and benefites geuen and bestowed vpon vs his vnworthie seruauntes, for whom he hath not onely geuen his body to death, and shed his bloude, but also doth bouehsaue in a Sacrament and Mistry, to geue vs his sayed bodye and bloud to feede vpon spirituallly. The whiche Sacrament being so Diuine and holy a thing, and so comfortable to them whiche receiue it worthilye, and so daungerous to them that wyl presume to take thesame vnworthely: My ducie is to exhorte you in the meane season, to consider the greatnes of the thing, and to serche and examine your owne consciences, and that not lychtly nor after the maner of dissimulers with GOD: But as they whiche shoulde come to a moste Godly and heavenly Banquet, not to come but in the mariage garment required of God in scripture: that you may (so muche as lieth in you) be founde worthy to come to suche a table. The waies and meanes therto is.

First that you be truly repentaunt of your former euill lyfe, and that you confesse with an vnfained hearte to almightie God, youre synnes and unkyndnes towardes his Majestic committed, eyther by wyl, worde, or dede, infirmitie or ignoraunce: and that with inward sorowe and teares you bewaile your offences, and require of almightie god, mercie and pardon, promising to him (from the botome of your heartes) thamentment of your former lyfe. And emonges all others, I am commaunded of God, especially to moue and exhorte you, to reconcile your selves to your nelyghbours, whom you haue offended, or who hath offended you, putting out of your heartes all hatred and malice against them, and to be in loue and charitie with all the worlde, and to forgeue other, as you would that god should forgeue you. And yf any man haue doen wrong to any other: let hym make satisfaccion, and due restitution of all landes & goodes, wrongfully taken awaye or withholden, before he come to Goddes borde, or at the least be in full mynde and purpose so to do, assone as he is able, or els let hym not come to this holy table, thinking to deceiue God, who seeth all mennes heartes. For neyther the abso-

lucion of the priest, can any thing auayle them, nor the receyuing of this holy sacrament doth any thynge but increase their damnacion. And yf there bee any of you, whose conscience is troubled and greued in any thing, lackyng comforte or counsaill, let hym come to me, or to some other discrete and learned priest, taught in the lawe of God, and confesse and open his sinne and grieffe secretly, that he maie receiue suche ghostly counsaill, aduise, and comfort, that his conscience maye be releued, and that of vs (as of the Ministers of GOD and of the churche) he may receyue comforte and absolucion, to the satisfaccion of his minde, and auoydyng of all scruple and doubtfulnes: requiryng suche as shalbe satisfied with a generall confession, not to be offended with them that do vse, to their further satisfyng, the auricular and secrete confession to the Priest: nor those also whiche thinke nedefull or conuenient, for the quietnes of their owne consciences, partieulerly to open theyr synnes to the Priest: to be offended with them that are satisfyed, with their humble confession to GOD, and the generall confession to the churche. But in all thinges to folowe and kepe the rule of charitie, and euery man to be satisfyed with his owne conscience, not iudging other mennes mindes or consciences: where as he hath no warrant of Goddes word to thesame.

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¶ Then shall folowe for the Offertory, one or mo, of these Sentences of holy scripture, to be song whiles the people dooe offer, or els one of them to bee saied by the minister, immediatly<sup>1</sup> afore the offeryng<sup>m</sup>.

Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good woorkes, and glorify your father which is in heauen. Matt. 5.

Laye not by for your selues treasure vpon the earth, where the ruste and mothe dothe corrupte, and where theues breake through and steale: But laie by for your selves treasures in heauen, where neyther ruste nor mothe dothe corrupt, & where theues do not breake through nor steale. Matt. 6.

Whatsocuer you woulde that menne shoulde doe vnto you, euen so do you vnto them, for this is the lawe and the Prophetes. Matt. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Dum populus offert munera ad Altare.—Alex. Ales. [fol. 38.]

<sup>m</sup> Desunt multæ harum sententiarum in versione Alesiana.



APPENDIX.

NO. I.

Matt. 7.

Not euery one that sayeth vnto me, lorde, lorde, shall entre into the kyngdome of heauen, but he that dothe the will of my father whiche is in heauen.

Luke 19.

Zache stode furthe, and sayed vnto the Lorde: beholde Lorde, the halfe of my goodes I geue to the poore, and yf I haue doen any wronge to any man, I restore foure folde.

1 Cor. 9.

Who goeth a warfare at any tyme at his olone coste? who planteth a vineiarde, and eateth not of the fruite therof? Or who sedethe a flocke, and eateth not of the milke of the flocke?

1 Cor. 9.

If we haue solwen vnto you spirituall thinges, is it a great matter yf we shall reape your worldly thinges?

1 Cor. 9.

Dooe ye not knowe, that they whiche minister aboute holy thinges, lyue of the Sacrifice? They whiche waite of the alter, are partakers with the alter? euen so hath the lorde also ordained: that they whiche preache the Gospell, shoulde liue of the Gospell.

2 Cor. 9.

He whiche soweth litle, shall reape litle, and he that soweth plenteously, shall reape plenteously. Let euery manne doe accordynge as he is disposed in his hearte, not grudgyngly, or of necessitie, for God loueth a chereful geuer.

Gal. 6.

Let hym that is taughte in the woorde, minister vnto hym that teacheth, in all good thinges. Be not deceyued, GOD is not mocked. For whatsoueer a man soweth, that shall he reape.

Gal. 6.

While we haue tyme, let vs doe good vnto all men, and specially vnto them, whiche are of the housholde of fayth.

1 Tim. 6.

Godlynes is greate riches, yf a man be contented with that he hath: For we broughte nothyng into the worlde, neither maye we cary any thing out.

1 Tim. 6.

Charge them whiche are riche in this worlde, that they be ready to geue, and glad to distribute, laying by in stoare for themselues a good foundation, against the time to come, that they maie attain eternall lyfe.

Heb. 6

GOD is not vnrightheous, that he will forgette youre woorkes and labor, that procedeth of loue, whiche loue ye haue shewed for his names sake, whiche haue ministred vnto the sainctes, and yet do minister.

To do good, and to distribute, forget not, for with such COMMUNION SERVICE. 1549.  
 Sacrifices God is pleased.

Whoso hath this worldes good, and seeth his brother haue Heb. 13.  
 neede, and shutteth by his compassion from hym, how dwelleth 1 John 3.  
 the loue of God in him?

Geue almoste of thy goodes, and turne neuer thy face from Tobit 4.  
 any poore man, and then the face of the lord shall not be  
 turned awaye from thee.

Be mercifull after thy powe: if thou haste muche, geue Tobit 4.  
 plenteously, yf thou hast litle, do thy diligence gladly to geue  
 of that litle, for so gathereste thou thy selfe a good rewarde  
 in the daie of necessitie.

He that hath pitie vpon the poore, lendeth vnto the Lord: Prov. 19.  
 and loke what he laieth out, it shalbe paied him again.

Blessed be the man that prouideth for the sicke and neddy, Ps. 41.  
 the lord shall deliuer hym, in the tyme of trouble.

Where there be Clerkes, thei shall syng one<sup>n</sup>, or many of the sentences aboue  
 written, accordyng to the length and shortnesse of the tyme, that the people be  
 offeryng.

In the meane tyme, whyles the Clerkes do syng the Offertory, so many as are  
 disposed, shall offer to the poore mennes boxe euery one accordyng to his habilitie  
 and charitable mynde. And at the offeryng daies appoynted, euery manne and  
 woman shall paie to the Curate, the due and accustomed offerynges.

Then so many as shalbee partakers of the holy Communion, shall tarye still in  
 the quire, or in some conueniente place nigh the quire, the men on the one side, and  
 the women on the other syde. All other (that mynde not to receiue the said holy  
 Communion) shall departe out of the quire, excepte the ministers and Clerkes.

Then shall the minister<sup>o</sup> take so muche Bredde and Wine, as shall suffice for the  
 persons appoynted to receiue the holy Communion, layng the bredde vpon the  
 corporas or els in the paten, or in some other comely thyng, prepared for that pur-  
 pose: And putting the wine into the Chalice, or els in some faire or conueniente  
 cup, prepared for that vse (if the Chalice wil not serue) puttyng therto<sup>p</sup> a litle

<sup>n</sup> Harum et similibus sententiarum  
 ex Thobia, Proverbiis, vel Psalmis, una  
 aut plures canantur.—Alex. Ales. [fol.  
 39.]

<sup>o</sup> Sacerdos [tot hostias calici aut cor-  
 porali imponet, &c.]—Alex. Ales.  
 [ibid.]

<sup>p</sup> Vide Joh. Lightfooti Hor. Hebraic.  
 in Matth. cap. xxvi. 27. [“‘ If he drinks  
 wine pure’ and not mingled with  
 water, ‘he hath performed his duty;’  
 but commonly they mingled water with

it; hence when there is mention of  
 wine in the rubric of the feasts, they  
 always use the word יין, ‘they mingle’  
 him a cup . . . The rabbins have a  
 tradition, over wine which hath not  
 water mingled with it they do not say  
 the blessing, ‘Blessed be He that  
 created the fruit of the vine,’ but  
 ‘Blessed be He that created the fruit  
 of the tree’ . . . ‘The wise agree with  
 R. Eleazar, that one ought not to bless  
 over the cup of blessing, till water be

APPENDIX. pure and cleane water: And setting both the bread and wyne upon the Alter:  
 NO. I. Then the Prieste shall saye.

The Lorde be with you.

Answer.

And with thy spirite.

Priest.

Lift up your heartes.

Answer.

We lift them up unto the Lorde.

Priest.

Let vs geue thankes to our Lorde God.

Answer.

It is mete and right so to do.

The Priest.

It is very mete, righte, and our bounden dutie, that we shoulde at all tymes, and in all places, geue thankes to thee, O Lorde, holy father, almightie euerlasting God.

¶ Here shall folowe the propre preface, accordyng to the tyme (if there bee any specially appointed) or els immediatly shall folowe. Therefore with Angels. &c.

## Propre Prefaces.

### Upon Christmas daye.

Because thou diddeste geue Jesus Christe, thynne onely sonne to be borne as this daie for vs, who by the operacion of the holy ghoste, was made very man, of the substaunce of the Virgin Mary his mother, and that

mingled in it."—Lightfoot, Works, vol. ii. p. 260, fol. London, 1684.] And in 1 Cor. cap. xi. 25. ["That cup which Christ used was mixed with water, if so be He retained the ordinary custom of the nation in this matter, which is not in the least to be doubted, &c."—Ibid., p. 777.] Just. Martyris Apol. i. pp. 125, 128. Edit. a Joh. Ernesto Grabe. Oxoniæ MDCC. [c. 65. pp.

82, D. 83, A; c. 67. p. 83, A. ed. Ben. quoted above, vol. ii. pp. 105, f, 106, g.] Ejusdem notas in Irenæi opera a se edita, lib. v. cap. ii. [quoted above, vol. ii. p. 106, h.] S. Cyprian. Epist. lxiii. edit. Oxon. [Ad Cæcilium, pp. 104, sqq. Ed. Ben. quoted above, vol. ii. p. 54, m.] Vide et, Dist. ii. de Consecratione, c. i.—v. [Decreti pars iii. ap. Corp. Jur. Can., tom. i.]



without spotte of sinne, to make vs cleane from all sinne. Therfore. &c.

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Apon Easter daie.

But chiefly are we bounde to prayse thee, for the glorious resurreccion of thy sonne Iesus Christe, our Lorde, for he is the very Pascall Lambe, whiche was offered for vs, and hath taken awaye the synne of the worlde, who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his risynge to lyfe againe, hath restored to vs euerlastinge lyfe. Therefore. &c.

Apon the Assencion daie.

Through thy moste dere beloued sonne, Iesus Christe our Lord, who after his moste glorious resurreccion, manifestly appered to all his disciples, and in theyr sighte ascended by into heauen, to prepare a place for vs, that where he is, thither mighte we also ascende, and reigne with him in glory. Therefore. &c.

Apon Whitsondaye.

Throughe Iesus Christe our Lorde, accordynge to whose moste true promyse, the holy Ghoste came doune this daie from heaben, with a sodaine great sounde, as it had been a mightie wynde, in the lyknes of fiery tounques, lightynge upon the Apostles, to teache them, and to leade them to all trueth, gebyng them bothe the gifte of diuerse languages, and also boldnes with feruente zeale, constantly to preache the Gospell vnto all nacions, whereby we are brought out of darkenes and error, into the cleare light and true knowledg of thee, and of thy sonne Iesus Christ. Therefore. &c.

Apon the feast of the Trinitie.

It is very meete, righte, and our bounden duetie, that we should at all tymes, and in all places, geue thankes to thee, O Lorde almightie, euerlastinge God, which arte one God, one Lorde, not one onely person, but three persones in one

<sup>9</sup> In versione Alesii: Quapropter profusis gaudiis totus in orbe terrarum mundus exultat, sed et supernæ virtutes, atque angelicæ potestates hymnum gloriæ tuæ concinunt, sine fine dicentes, Sanctus, Sanctus, &c. [fol. 40.]

<sup>r</sup> Versio Alesiana sic se habet: Qui cum unigenito filio tuo, et Spiritu Sancto unus es Deus, unus es Dominus; non in unius singularitate personæ, sed cum Trinitate personarum, in Unitate substantiæ. Quod enim de gloria tua revelante te credimus, hoc

substance: For that whiche we belebe of the glory of the father, thesame we beleue of the sonne, and of the holy ghoste, without any difference, or inequalitye: whom the Angels, (and Archangels, and also Cherubin, and Seraphin do praise, neuer ceasing to cry aloud with one continued voice, saying, holy, holy, holy, &c.<sup>s</sup>)

After whiche preface shall folowe immediatly.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, and with al the holy companie of heauen: we laude and magnifye thy glorious name, euermore prayying thee, and sayinge:

¶ Holy<sup>t</sup>, holy, holy, Lorde God of Hostes: heauen and earth are full of thy glory: Psanna in the higheste. Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lorde: Glory to thee, O lorde, in the highest. This the Clearkes shall also sing.

¶ When the Clearkes haue doen synngng, then shall the Priest, or Deacon, turne hym to the people and saye.

Let vs praye for the whole state of Christes church.

¶ Then the Priest turning hym to the Altar<sup>u</sup>, shall saye or sing, plainly and distinctly, this prayer folowing.

Almightie and euerlyuyng God, whiche by thy holy Apostle haste taught vs to make prayers and supplications, and to geue thanks for all menne: We humbly beseeche thee moste mercyfully to receyue these our prayers: whiche we offre vnto thy diuine Majestic, besechyng thee to inspire continually the vniuersall church, with the spirite of trueth, vnitie and concord: And graunt that all they that doe confesse thy holyc name, maye agre in the trueth of thy holyc worde, and liue in vnitie and godly loue. Specially we beseeche thee to saue and defende thy seruante, Edwarde our Kyng, that vnder him we maye be Godly and quietly governed. And graunte vnto his whole counsaile, and to all that bee put in

de Filio tuo, hoc de Spiritu Sancto, sine differentia discretionis sentimus, quem laudant angeli atque archangeli, cherubin quoque, et seraphin, qui non cessant clamare, jugiter una voce dicentes.—[Ibid.]

<sup>s</sup> [The words now enclosed in parentheses are not in the original Prayer Books of 1549, which ended with "whom the angels, &c." Hickes has

supplied the concluding words which were to be added from the Latin Service previously in use, from which this preface was simply translated; they are given in full in Ales' version.]

<sup>t</sup> "Chorus" præmittitur in versione Alesiana.

<sup>u</sup> Hæc verba nigra linea subducta notata desunt in versione Alesiana.

authoritie vnder hym, that they maye truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickednesse and vice, & to the maintenaunce of Goddes true religion and vertue. Geue grace (O heauenly father) to all Bishoppes, Pastors, and Curates, that they maie bothe by their life and doctrine, set furthe thy true and liuely worde, and rightely and duely administer thy holye Sacramentes. And to all thy people geue thy heauenly grace, that with meke hearte and due reuerence, they maye heare and receiue thy holy worde, truly seruyng thee in holynes and righteousnes, all the dayes of their lyfe. And wee moste humbly beseeche thee of thy goodnes (O Lorde) to counforte and succoure all them, whych in this transitory lyfe bee in trouble, sorolue, nede, sycknes, or any other aduersitie. And especially wee commend vnto thy mercifull goodnes, thys congregacion whych is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoracion of the moste glorious death of thy sonne: And here wee doe geue vnto thee moste high praise, & heartie thanks, for the wonderfull grace and vertue, declared in all thy saintes, from the begynninge of the worlde: And chiefly in the glorious and most blessed virgin Mary, mother of thy sonne Iesu Christ our Lord and God, & in the holy Patriarches, Prophetes, Apostles, and Martirs, whose examples (O Lorde) and stedfastnes in thy faythe, and keping thy holye commaundementes, graunte vs to folowe. *UAc*<sup>x</sup> commende vnto

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\* G. Forbes, Ep. Edenb. Consideration. Modest. de Purgatorio, Part ii. cap. 3. § 18, pp. 248, sqq. [London, 1658.] Sed audiatur Ecclesia Anglicana in Rituali sive Libro communium precum, tempore Edovardi impresso 1549, et latine verso ab Alexandro Alesio Scoto, S. Theol. Doctore, verba numero sequente tibi exhibemus Lector, in administratione Cœnæ Dom. § 19. 'Commendamus etiam tibi o Domine, reliquos omnes servos tuos, qui ex vita hac decesserunt cum signo fidei, et nunc requiescunt in somno Pacis. Concede illis, quesumus, misericordiam tuam, et æternam pacem, et ut in die universalis resurrectionis, nos et omnes, qui sunt membra mystici corporis Filii tui, sistamur a dextra ipsius, ut audiamus illam suavissimam vocem; Venite ad me benedicti,' &c. Et de sepultura mortuorum. 'Deus cui omnes spiritus mortuorum, et cum

quo omnium electorum animæ post liberationem oneris carnis, feliciter et in gaudio vivunt; præsta huic famulo tuo, ut peccata quæ in hoc mundo commisit, non imputentur ei; sed ut superatis portis mortis, et æternæ caliginis, semper in regione lucis habitet, cum Abrahamo, Isaaco, et Jacobo, ubi nullus luctus, dolor aut mæror. Et cum tremenda dies Iudicii advenerit, fac eum resurgere cum omnibus justis et electis,' &c. Hæc preces antiquissimas et piissimas Bucerii aliorumque monitu et consilio, postea præsules Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ expunxere; aut in aliam nescio quam formam, hodiernam novitatem redolentem convertere. Isaacus Casaubonus in responsione ad Epistolam Card. Perronii nomine serenissimi M. Britannicæ Regis scripta, affirmat hunc ritum orandi pro mortuis Ecclesiam Anglicanam, "et si non damnet in primis seculis, hodie tamen



Thy mercye (O Lord) all other thy seruauntes, whiche are departed hence from vs, with the signe of fayth, and nowe do

sibi non putare retinendum," &c. p. 54, &c. [Lond. 1611.] Sed utinam (ut nihil detraham laudibus serenissimi et nunquam satis laudati Principis Jacobi sexti, qui cum nihil haberet prius et antiquius pacis et concordiae pie inter Christianas Ecclesias procurandae studio, nunquam tamen per morosa et rixosa multorum Theologastrarum ingenia id consequi aut effectum dare potuit quod maxime voluit) Ecclesia Anglicana, quae singularem alioqui meretur laudem; ob magnam multis aliis in rebus, et si forte non paris momenti, moderationem adhibitam, universalis Ecclesiae antiquissimae consuetudini hoc in negotio, ut et in aliis nonnullis, sese potius conformasset; quam ob errores, et abusus, qui paulatim irrepserant postea, ingenti cum aliorum fere omnium Christianorum scandalo simpliciter rejecisset, et penitus sustulisset, § 20. Ex orationibus autem, et oblationibus pro mortuis apud Patres Purgatorium Romanorum minime probari posse luculentissime demonstrarunt infiniti viri doctissimi, Graeci, Romanenses, Protestantes.

The Prayer which Dr. Forbes cites in Latin, out of the Office of Burial, is thus in English.

"Let us pray.

O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead, and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity: grant unto this Thy servant, that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him; but that he, escaping the gates of hell, and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow, nor heaviness: and when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible. Set him on the right hand of Thy Son Jesus Christ, among Thy holy and elect, that then he may hear with them those most sweet and comfortable words, Come to Me, ye blessed of My Father, possess the kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the world. Grant this, we beseech Thee, O merci-

ful Father, through Jesus Christ, our Mediator and Redeemer. Amen."

To which may be added the Collect at the celebration of the Holy Communion of the Burial of the Dead, in the same book.

"O merciful God, the Father of our Lord Jesu Christ, who is the Resurrection and the Life; in whom whosoever believeth, shall live though he die; and whosoever liveth and believeth in Him shall not die eternally: who also hath taught us (by His holy Apostle Paul) not to be sorry, as men without hope, for them that sleep in Him: we meekly beseech Thee (O Father) to raise us from the death of sin, unto the life of righteousness; that when we shall depart this life, we may sleep in Him, (as our hope is this our brother doth,) and at the general resurrection in the last day, both we and this our brother departed, receiving again our bodies, and rising again in Thy most gracious favour, may with all Thine elect saints obtain eternal joy. Grant this, O Lord God, by the means of our advocate Jesus Christ, which with Thee, and the Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth one God for ever. Amen."

Herb. Thorndyke's Weights and Measures, chap. xxii. p. 159. "There is the same ground to believe the Communion of saints, in the prayers which those that depart in the highest favour with God make for us, in the prayers which we make for those that depart in the lowest degree of favour with God, that there is for the common Christianity; namely, the Scriptures interpreted by the perpetual practice of God's Church. Therefore there is ground enough for the faith of all Christians, that those prayers are accepted, which desire God to hear the saints for us, to send the deceased in Christ rest and peace, and light and refreshment, and a good trial at the day of judgment, and accomplishment of happiness after the same. And, seeing the abating of the first form under Edward VI. hath wrought no effect, but to give them that desired it an appetite to root up the whole; what thanks can we render to God for escaping so great a danger, but by sticking firm to a rule that will stick firm to us, and carry us through any dispute in religion, and land us in the

reste in the slepe of peace: Graunte vnto them, we beseeche thee, thy mercy, and euerlastyng peace, and that at the daie of the generall resurreccion, we and all they whychē bee of the mysticall body of thy sonne, maye altogether bee set on his right hand, and heare that his most joyful voice: Come vnto me, O ye that be blessed of my father, and possesse the kingdome, whiche is prepared for you, from the beginning of the worlde: Graunte this, O father, for Iesus Christes sake, our onely mediatour and aduocate.

O God heauenly father, whiche of thy tender mercie, diddeste geue thine only sonne Iesu Christ, to suffer deathē upon the crosse for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblacion once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblacion, and satisfaccion, for the sinnes of the whole worlde, and did institute, and in his holy Gospell commaunde vs, to celebrate a perpetuall memorie, of that his precious deathē, vntyll his comming againe: Heare vs (o mercifull father) we beseeche thee: and with thy holy spirite and worde vouchsafe to blessey and sanctifie these thy gyftes, and creatures of breade and wyne, that they maye be vnto vs the bodye and bloud of thy moste derely beloved sonne Iesus Christe. Who in thesame nyght that he was betrayed: tooke breade, and when he had blessed, and geuen thanks: he brake it, and gaue it to hys disciples, sayinge: Take, eate, this is my bodye whiche is geuen for you: do this in remembraunce of me.

Here the  
priest must  
take the  
bread into  
his handes.

Likewyse after supper he toke the cuppe, and when he had geuen thanks, he gaue it to them, sayinge: Drynke ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the newe Testament, whychē is shed for you and for many, for remission of sinnes: do this as oft as you shall drinke it, in remembraunce of me.

Here the  
priest shall  
take the  
Cuppe into  
his handes.

haven of a quiet conscience; what troubles soever we may pass through, in maintaining, that the reformation of the Church will never be according to the rule which it ought to follow, till it cleave to the Catholic Church of Christ in this particular." [The full title of this work is, "Just Weights and

Measures: that is the present state of religion weighed in the balance, and measured by the standard of the sanctuary, according to the opinion of Herbert Thorndike. London, 1662."]

7 Signa crucis non posuit in versione sua Alex. Ales.

¶ These wordes before rehersed are to be saide, turning still to the Altar<sup>2</sup>, without any eleuation, or shewing the Sacrament to the people.

Wherefore, O Lorde and heauenly father, accordyng to the Institution of thy derely beloued sonne, our sauoure Iesu Christe, we thy humble seruauntes doe celebrate, and make here before thy diuine Majestie, with these thy holy giftes, the memoryall whiche thy sonne hath willed vs to make: hauing in remembraunce his blessed passion, mightie resurreccion, and glorious ascencion, renderynge vnto thee moste heartye thanks, for the innumerable benefytes procured vnto vs by thesame, entyrelly desyringe thy fatherly goodnes, mercifully to accepte thys our Sacrifice of praise and thanks geuinge: moste humblly besechinge thee to graunte, that by the merites and deathe of thy sonne Iesus Christ, and through faith in his bloud, wee and all thy whole church, may obtieigne remission of our synnes, and al other benefytes of his passion. And here wee offre and present vnto thee (O Lord) oure selfe, oure soules, and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and liuely sacrifice vnto thee: humblly besechyng thee, that whosocuer shalbee partakers of thys holy Communion, maye worthely receiue the moste precious body and bloude of thy sonne Iesus Christe: and bee fulfilled with thy grace and heauenly benediction, and made one bodye with thy sonne Iesu Christe, that he maye dwell in them, and they in hym. And although we be vnworthy (through our manyfold synnes) to offre vnto thee any Sacrifice: Yet we besече thee to accepte this our bounden ductie and seruice, and commaunde these our prayers and supplications, by the Ministry of thy holy Angels, to be brought by into thy holy Tabernacle before the syght of thy diuine majestie: not wayng our merites, but pardoning our offences, through Christe our Lorde, by whom, and with whom, in the vnitie of the holy Ghost: all honour and glory, be vnto thee, O father almighty, world without ende. Amen.

Let us praye.

As our Sauour Christe, hath commaunded and taught vs, we are bolde to saye. Our father whiche art in heauen,

<sup>2</sup> Hæc verba subducta nigra linea notata prætereuntur in versione Alesiana.



halowed be thy name. Thy kynngdome come. Thy wyll be doen in yearth, as it is in heaben. Geue us this daye our dayly breade. And forgeue us our trespases, as wee forgeue them that trespasse against vs. And leade us not into temptacion.

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The Answer<sup>a</sup>.

But deliuer us from euill. Amen.

Then shall the priest saye.

The peace of the Lorde be alwaye with you.

The Clarke.

And with thy spirite.

The Priest.

Christ our Pascar lambe is offered by for vs, once for al, when he bare our synnes on his body upon the crosse, for he is the very lambe of God, that taketh away the synnes of the worlde: wherfore let vs kepe a joyfull and holy feast with the Lorde.

Here the prieste shall turne hym towarde those that come to the holy Communion<sup>b</sup>, and shall saye.

You that do truely and earnestly repent you of your synnes to almighty God, and be in loue and charitie with your neyghbours, and entende to leade a newe life, folowing the commaundementes of God, and walkyng from hencefurth in his holy wayes: drawe nere and take this holy Sacrament to your comforte, make your humble confession to almighty God, and to his holy churche here gathered together in his name, mekely knelyng upon your knees.

Then shall this generall Confession bee made, in the name of all those that are minded to receyue the holy Communion, eyther by one of them, or els by one of the ministers, or by the Prieste hymselfe, all kneling humbly upon their knees.

Almighty GOD, father of oure Lorde Jesus Christ, maker of all thinges, iudge of all menne, we knowlege & bewayle our manifold synnes and wyckednes, whiche we from tyme to tyme, most greuously haue committed, by thoughte, woorde and dede, agaynst thy diuine majestie, prouokynng moost iustely

<sup>a</sup> Chorus respondeat.—Alex. Ales.

<sup>b</sup> Conversus ad confitentem.—Alex. Ales.

thy wrath and indignacion againste vs: we do earnestly repent, and be hartely sorry for these oure misdoinges, the remembraunce of them is greuous vnto vs, the burthen of them is intollerable: haue mercie vpon vs, haue mercie vpon vs, moste mercifull father, for thy sonne our Lorde Iesus Christes sake, forgeue vs all that is past, and graunt that we may euer hereafter, serue and please thee in newnes of life, to the honour and glory of thy name: Through Iesus Christe our Lorde.

Then shall the Prieste stande up, and turning hymselfe to the people, say thus,

Almightie GOD our heauenly father, who of his great mercie, hath promysed forgeuenesse of synnes to all them, whiche with heartye repentaunce and true fayth turne vnto hym: haue mercy vpon you, pardon and deliuer you from all your sinnes, confirme and strengthen you in all goodnes, and bring you to euerlasting lyfe: through Iesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then shall the Priest also saye.

Heare what counfortable woordes our sauour Christe sayeth, to all that truely turne to him.

Come vnto me all that trauel and bee heauy laden, and I shal refreshe you. So God loued the world that he gaue his onely begotten sonne, to the ende that all that beleue in hym, shoulde not perishe, but haue lyfe euerlastyng.

Heare also what sainct Paule sayeth.

This is a true saying, and worthie of all men to be receyued, that Iesus Christe came into this worlde to saue sinners.

Heare also what sainct John saith.

If any man sinne, we haue an aduocate with the father, Iesus Christe the righteous, and he is the propiciacion for our sinnes.

Then shall the Prieste, turning hym to gods boord<sup>c</sup>, kuele down, and saye in the name of all them, that shall receyue the Communion, this prayer folowing.

We doe not presume to come to this thy table (o mercifull

<sup>c</sup> Omittuntur hæc in versione Alex. Alesii.

lorde) trustinge in our owne righteousnes, but in thy manifold and great mercies: we be not woorthie so muche as to gather by the cromes vnder thy table, but thou art the same lorde whose propertie is alwayes to haue mercie: Graunte vs therefore (gracious lorde) so to eate the fleshe of thy dere sonne Jesus Christe, and to drinke his blood in these holy Misteries, that wee maye continually dwell in hym, and he in vs, that oure synful bodyes may bee made cleane by his body, and our soules washed through his most precious blood. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Prieste, firste receiue the Communion in both kindes himselfe, and next deliuer it to other Ministers, yf any be there present (that they may bee ready to helpe the chiefe Minister) and after to the people.

¶ And when he deliuereth the Sacrament of the body of Christ, he shall saye to euery one these wordes.

The body of our Lorde Jesus Christ which was geuen for thee, preserue thy bodye and soule vnto euerlastyng lyfe.

And the Minister deliuering the Sacrament of the blood, and geuing euery one to drinke once and no more, shall saye.

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christe whiche was shed for thee, preserue thy bodye and soule vnto euerlastyng lyfe.

If there be a Deacon or other Priest, then shall he folowe with the Chalice: and as the priest ministrereth the Sacrament of the body, so shal he (for more expedicion) minister the Sacrament of the blood, in fourme before written.

In the Communion tyme the Clarkes shall syng.

ii. **A** lambe of god that takeste awaye the synnes of the worlde: haue mercie vpon vs.

**A** lambe of god that takeste awaye the synnes of the worlde: graunt vs thy peace.

Beginning so soone as the Priest doeth receiue the holy Communion: and when the Communion is ended, then shal the Clarkes syng the post Communion<sup>d</sup>.

¶ Sentences of holy scripture, to be said or song euery daie one, after the holy Communion, called the post Communion.

If any man will folowe me, let him forsake hymselfe, and take up his crosse and folowe me. Matt. 16.

<sup>d</sup> Nihil horum in versione Alesii, cui sufficere visum est solum dicere; "post Communionem canatur."

## APPENDIX.

NO. I.

Mark 13.

Luke 1.

Whosoeuer shall indure unto thende, he shalbe saued.

Praysed be the Lorde god of Esraell, for he hath visyted and redemed his people: therefore let us serue hym all the dayes of our life, in holines and righteousnes accepted before hym.

Luke 12.

Wappie are those seruauentes, whome the Lorde (when he cummeth) shall fynde wakynge.

Luke 12.

Be ye readye, for the sonne of manne wyll come, at an hower when ye thinke not.

Luke 12.

The seruauente that knoweth hys maisters wyll, and hath not preparedd himselfe, neyther hath doen accordynge to his will, shalbe beaten with many stripes.

John 4.

The houre cummeth and now it is, when true woorshippers shall woorship the father in spirite and trueth.

John 5.

Beholde, thou art made whole, sinne no more, leste any wurse thing happen vnto thee.

John 8.

If ye shall continue in my worde, then are ye my very disciples, and ye shall knowe the trueth, and the trueth shall make you free.

John 12.

While ye haue lighte, belue on the lght, that ye may be the children of light<sup>e</sup>.

John 14.

He that hath my commaundementes, and kepeth them, the same is he that loueth me.

John 14.

If any man loue me, he will kepe my woorde, and my father will loue hym, and we will come vnto hym, and dwell with him.

John 15.

If ye shal abyde in me, and my woorde shal abyde in you, ye shall aske what ye will, and it shall bee doen to you.

John 15.

Herein is my father glorified, that ye beare muche fruite, and become my disciples.

John 15.

This is my commaundement, that you loue together, as I haue loued you.

Rom. 8.

If God be on our syde, who can be against vs? whiche did not spare his owne sonne, but gaue hym for vs all.

Rom. 8.

Who shall lay any thing to the charge of Goddes chosen? it is GOD that justifieth, who is he that can condemne?

Rom. 13.

The nyghte is passed, and the daye is at hande, let vs

<sup>e</sup> Quæ dehinc sequuntur omnia prætereuntur ab Alesio. [“Et similes sententiæ in Evangelio, et Epistolis Pauli hæc ascribi possunt.” fol. 43.]



therefore caste awaye the dedes of darkenes, and put on the  
armour of light.

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Christe Iesus is made of GOD, unto vs, wisdome, and  
righteousnes, and sanctifying, and redemption, that (accordyng  
as it is written) he whiche rejoyceth shoulde rejoyce in the  
Lorde.

1 Cor. 1.

Knowe ye not that ye are the temple of GOD, and that  
the spirite of GOD dwelleth in you? yf any manne defile  
the temple of GOD, him shall God destroy.

1 Cor. 3.

Ye are derely bought, therefore glorifie God in your bodies,  
and in your spirites, for they belong to God.

1 Cor. 6.

Be you folowers of God as deare children, and walke in  
loue, euen as Christe loued vs, and gaue hymselfe for vs an  
offeryng and a Sacrifice of a swete sauoure to God.

Eph. 5

Then the Priest shall geue thanks to God, in the name of all them that haue  
communicated, turning hym first to the people<sup>1</sup>, and saying.

The Lorde be with you.

The Answer.

And with thy spirite.

The Priest.

Let vs praye.

Almightie and euerluyng GOD, wee moste hartely  
thanke thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to feede vs in these  
holy Misteries, with the spirituall foode of the moste precious  
body & bloude of thy sonne, our sauour Iesus Christ, and  
hast assured vs (duely receyuing the same) of thy fauour and  
goodnes toward vs, and that we be very membres incorporate  
in thy Mystical bodie, which is the blessed companie of all  
faithfull people: and heyres throughe hope, of thy euerlastynge  
kingdome, by the merites of the moste precious deathe and  
passion, of thy deare sonne. We therefore moste humbly  
beseeche thee, O heauenly father, so to assiste vs wylth thy  
grace, that we may continue in that holy felowship, and doe  
all suche good woorkes, as thou haste prepared for vs to walke  
in: through Iesus Christe our Lorde, to whom with thee,

<sup>1</sup> Hic nihil amplius in versione Alesii, quam "tunc sacerdos conversus ad  
populum orabit."—[Fol. 43.]

and the holy goste, bee all honour and glorie, worlde without ende.

Then the Prieste turning hym to the people, shall let them depart with this blessing.

The peace of GOD (which passeth all vnderstandynge) kepe your heartes and mindes in the knowledg and loue of GOD, and of his sonne Iesus Christ our lord. And the blessing of God almightie, the father, the sonne, & the holy gost, be emonges you, and remayne with you alway.

Then the people shall aunswere.

Amen.

Where there are no clearkes, there the Priest shall saye all thynges appointed here for them to syng<sup>s</sup>.

When the holy Communion is celebrate, on the workedaye, or in private howses: Then may be omitted, the Gloria in excelsis, the Crede, the Homely, and the Exhortacion, beginning.

Dearely beloved. &c.

¶ Collectes to be sayed after the Offertory, when there is no Communion, euery suche day one.

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy seruantes, toward the attainment of euerlasting saluacion: that emonge all the chaunges and chaunces of this mortall life, thei may euer be defended by thy moste gracious and readye helpe: through Christe our Lorde. Amen.

O Almighty Lorde and euerlyuyng GOD, bouchesafe, we beseeche thee, to direct, sanctifye, and gouerne, bothe our heartes and bodies, in the wayes of thy lawes, and in the woorkes of thy commaundementes: that through thy most mightie protection, both here and euer, we may be preserued in body and soule: Through our Lorde and sauour Iesus Christe. Amen.

Graunt we beseeche thee almightie god, that the wordes whiche wee haue hearde this daye with our outward eares, may through thy grace, bee so grafted inwardly in our heartes, that they may

<sup>s</sup> Ubi non sunt cantores.—Alesius.



bryng foorth in vs, the fruite of good luyng, to the honoure and prayse of thy name : Through Iesus Christ our Lorde. Amen.

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Preuente vs, O Lorde, in all our doinges, with thy moste gracious fauoure, and further us with thy continuall helpe, that in al our workes begonne, continued, and ended in thee : we may glorifye thy holy name, and finally by thy mercy obtaine cuerlasting lyfe : Through. &c.

Almightie God, the fountayne of all wisdome, whycher knowest our necessities before we aske, and our ignoraunce in asking : we beseeche thee to haue compassion vpon our infirmities, and those thinges whiche for our unwoorthines we dare not, and for our blyndnes we cannot aske, vouchsaue to geue vs for the woorthines of thy sonne Iesu Christe our Lorde. Amen.

Almightie god, whiche haste promised to heare the petitions of them that aske in thy sonnes name, we beseeche thee mercifully to incline thyne eares to vs that haue made nowe our prayers and supplicacions unto thee : and graunte that those thinges which we haue faithfullye asked accordyng to thy will, maye effectually be obteyned to the reliefe of oure necessitie, and to the setting foorth of thy glorie : Through Iesus Christe our Lorde.

#### For rayne.

O God heauenly father, whiche by thy sonne Iesu Christ, haste promised to all them that seke thy kingdom, and the righteousnes therof, al thinges necessary to the bodely sustenance : send us (we beseeche thee) in thys our necessitie, suche moderate rayne and showers, that we maie receiue the fruites of the earth, to our comferte and to thy honor : Through Iesus Christ our Lorde.

#### For fayre wether.

O Lorde God, whiche for the sinne of manne, didst once drowne all the worlde, excepte eight persons, and afterwarde of thy great mercie, didste promise neuer to destroy it so agayn : we humbly beseeche thee, that although we for oure iniquities

haue woorthelpe deserved this plague of rayne and waters, yet vpon our true repentaunce, thou wilt sende us suche wether wherby we maye receiue the fruites of the earthe in due season, and learne bothe by thy punishment to amende our liues, and by the grauntinge of our petition, to geue thee prayse and glorie: Through Jesu Christ our Lorde.

¶ Upon wednesdaies and frydaies, the Englishhe Letanie shalbe saied or song in all places, after suche forme as is appoynted by the kynges majesties Eniunctions: Or as is or shall be otherwise appoynted by his highnes. And though there be none to communicate with the Prieste, yet these dayes (after the Letany ended) the Prieste shall put vpon him a plain Albe or surplesse, with a cope, and saie all thinges at the Altare<sup>b</sup> (appoynted to bee sayde at the celebration of the lordes supper) vntill after the offertory. And then shall adde one or two of the Collectes afore written, as occasion shall serue by hys discretion. And then turning him to the people shall let them departe with the accustomed blessing.

And the same order shal be vsed all other daies, whensoeuer the people be customably assembled to praye in the church, and none disposed to communicate with the Prieste<sup>1</sup>.

Lykewyse in Chappelles annexed, and all other places, there shalbe no celebration of the Lordes supper, excepte there be some to communicate with the priest. And in suche Chappelles annexed where the people hath not been accustomed to pay any holy bread, there they must either make some chariitable provision for the beryng of the charges of the Communion, or els (for receyuyng of thesame) resorte to their parishe Church.

For auoyding of all matters and occasion of discencion, it is mete that the bread<sup>k</sup> prepared for the Communion, be made through all this realme, after one sorte and fashion: that is to say unleaued<sup>l</sup>, and rounde, as it was afore, but without all maner of printe, and some thing more larger and thicker then it was, so

<sup>b</sup> Præterit hæc in versione sua Al. Alesius.

<sup>i</sup> Hanc etiam Rubricam integram præterit.

<sup>k</sup> Hostia —A. Ales. [fol. 44.]

<sup>l</sup> Ecclesia reformata Tigurina in azymis conficit, utentes tamen fermentato non damnat. Orientales, exceptis Maronibus et Armeniis, fermentato in sacra Cœna semper usi sunt: Latini vero ante 800 plus minus annos soliti sunt panem azymum offerre. Vide Card. Bonæ rerum Liturg., lib. i. cap. xxiii. [tom. ii. pp. 172, sqq.] et Jacobi Sirmundi Disquisitionem de Azymo, ubi sic præloquitur. "Sæpe mirari subiit qui factum sit, ut in Eucharistiæ Sacramento, quod ex pane vinoque constat, cum de vino dubitet nemo,

quin verum, et ex uvis expressum esse debeat, quia id antiqui canones docent; de altera parte, quam panem simpliciter canones vocant, aliud potuerint quam germanum atque usitatum panem interpretari. Sed hominibus nimirum, qui sola in altari azyma contueri, sola in scholis et exedris audire azyma solerent, difficile fuerit de superioribus temporibus aliud suspicari quam de suis. Mihi vero etsi consultissimo ad azyma transiisse Latinam Ecclesiam non ambigo, serius tamen hoc egisse multisque antea seculis fermentato usam esse perspicue adeo demonstrasse hic libellus videtur, ut de tua, Lector, æquiorumque omnium approbatione non diffidam." [Jac. Sirmondi Opera, tom. iv. p. 348. Venet. 1728.]

that it may be aptly deuided in diuers pieces: and euery one shalbe deuided in two pieces, at the leaste, or more, by the discrecion of the minister, and so distributed. And men must not thinke lesse to be receiued in parte, then in the whole, but in eche of them the whole body of our sauoure Iesu Christe.

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And forsonmuche as the Pastours and Curates<sup>m</sup> within this realme, shall continually fynde at their costes and charges in their cures, sufficient bread and wine for the holy Communion (as oft as their Parishioners shalbe disposed for their spirituall comforte to receiue thesame) it is therefore ordred, that in recompence of such costes and charges, the Parishioners of euery Parische shall offre euery Sondag, at the tyme of the Offertory, the iust valour and pryce of the holy lofe (with all suche money, and other thynges as were wont to be offered with thesame) to the use of their Pastours and Curates, and that in suche ordre and course, as they were wonte to fynde and pay the sayed holy lofe.

Also that the receyuing of the Sacramente of the blessed body and bloud of Christ, may be moste agreable to the institution therof, and to the vsage of the primatiue Church: En all Cathedrall and Collegiate Churches, there shal alwayes some Communicate with the priest that ministrereth. And that thesame may be also obserued euery where abrode in the countrey: Some one at the least of that house in euery paryshe, to whom by course after the ordynauce herein made, it apperteyneth to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other whom they shall prouyde to offer for them, shal receiue the holy Communion with the priest: the which maye bee the better done, for that they knowe before, when theyr course commeth, and may therefore dispose themselves to the worthy receyuing of the Sacramente. And with him or them who doeth so offer the charges of the Communion: all other, who be then Godly disposed therunto, shall lykewise receiue the Communion. And by this meanes the Minister hauyng alwayes some to communicate with him, may accordingly solemnise so high and holy misteries, with all the suffrages and due ordre appointed for thesame. And the priest on the weke day, shal forbear to celebrate the Communion, excepte he haue some that will communicate with him.

Furthermore, euery man and woman to be bound to heare and be at the diuine serbice, in the Parische Church where they be resident, and there with deuout prayer, or Godly silence and meditation, to occupy themselves. There to pay their dueties, to communicate once in the yeare at the least, and there to receiue, and take all other Sacramentes and rites, in this booke appoynted. And whosouer willingly vpon no just cause, doeth absent themselves, or doeth vngodly in the Parische church occupy themselves: vpon proffe therof, by the Ecclesiasticall lawes of the Realme, to bee excommunicate, or suffre other punishment, as shal to the Ecclesiasticall iudge (accordyng to his discrecion) seme conuenient.

And although it bee read in auncient writers, that the people many yeares past, receiued at the priestes handes, the Sacrament of the body of Christ in theyr owne handes, and no commaundement of Christ to the contrary: Yet forasmuche as they many tymes conuoyghed thesame secretlye awaye, kept it with them, and diuersly

<sup>m</sup> Parochi—Al. Ales.; qui, quæ subsequuntur omnia in compendium redigit. [Ibid.]

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NO. I.

abused it to superstition and wickednes: lest any suche thing hereafter should be attempted, and that an uniformitie might be used, throughout the whole Realme: it is thought convenient the people commonly receiue the Sacrament of Christes body, in their mouthes, at the Priestes hande<sup>n</sup>.

<sup>n</sup> "Sacram Communionem antiquo ritu non ore excipi solitam esse, sed manu, et a suscipiente ori reverenter, admoveri" Græcorum, et Latinorum patrum testimoniis probat Card. Bona Rerum Liturg., lib. ii. cap. xvii. [§ 3.

pp. 368, sqq.] "Quando vero cœperit in os immitti," sicut in Ecclesia tum Græca, tum Latina mos ante multos annos fuit, "incertum" esse dicit.— [Ibid., § 7. p. 392.]



# APPENDIX.

## No. 2.

THE ORDER OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, OR HOLY COMMUNION, AS IT IS IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS, AND OTHER PARTS OF DIVINE SERVICE; PRINTED AT EDINBURG, FOR THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, MDCXXXVII.

So many as intend to bee partakers of the holy Communion, shall signifie their names to the Presbyter or Curate over night, or else in the Morning afore the beginning of Morning prayer, or immediatly after.

And if any of those bee an open and notorious evil liver, so that the Church by him is offended, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed: the Presbyter or Curate having knowledge thereof, shall call him, and advertise him, in any wise not to presume to come to the Lords Table, untill he have openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former naughty life, that the Church may thereby bee satisfied, which afore was offended, and that he have recompensed the parties whom he hath done wrong unto, or at the least declare himself to be in full purpose so to do, ass oone as he conveniently may.

The same order shall the Presbyter or Curate use with those betwixt whom he perceiveth malice and hatred to reigne, not suffering them to be partakers of the Lords Table, untill he know them to be reconciled. And if one of the parties so at variance, be content to forgive from the bottome of his heart all that the other hath trespassed against him, and to make amends for that he himself hath offended, and the other party will not be perswaded to a godly unity, but remaine still in his frowardnesse and malice: the Presbyter or Minister in that case ought to admit the penitent person to the holy Communion, and not him that is obstinate.

The holy Table having at the Communion time a Carpet, and a faire white linen cloth upon it, with other decent furniture, meet for the high mysteries there to be celebrated, shall stand at the uppermost part of the Chancell or Church, where the Presbyter standing



APPENDIX. at the north-side or end thereof, shall say the Lords Prayer, with  
 NO. II. this Collect following for due preparation.

**OUR** Father, &c.

**Almighty** God, unto whom all hearts be open, &c.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter, turning to the people, rehearse distinctly all the **TEN** **COMMANDEMENTS**: The people all the while kneeling, and asking God mercy for the transgression of every duty therein; either according to the letter, or to the mysticall importance of the said Commandement.

**GOD** spake these words and said, &c.

¶ Then shall follow one of these two Collects for the King, and the Collect of the day, the Presbyter standing up, and saying.

¶ **Let us pray.**

**Almighty** God, whose kingdome is everlasting, and power infinite, have mercy upon thy holy **Catholike** Church, and in this particular Church in which wee live so rule the heart of thy chosen serbant **CHARLES** our King and Governour, that he (knowing whose minister he is) may above all things seek thy honour and glory, and that wee his subjects (duely considering whose authority hee hath) may faithfully serbe, honour, and humbly obey him, in thee, and for thee, according to thy blessed word and ordinance, through **Jesus** **Christ** our Lord, who with thee and the holy Ghost liveth and reigneth, ever one God world without end. Amen.

**Almighty** and everlasting God, we be taught by thy holy word, that the hearts of Kings, &c.

¶ Immediately after the Collects, the Presbyter shall read the Epistle, saying thus: **The** **Epistle** written in the Chapter of at the verse. And when he hath done, he shall say: **Here** **endeth** the **Epistle**. And the Epistle ended, the Gospel shall be read, the Presbyter saying: **The** **holy** **Gospel** is written in the Chapter of at the verse. And then the people all standing up shall say: **Glor**y be to thee, **O** **Lord**. At the end of the Gospel, the Presbyter shall say: **So** **endeth** the **holy** **Gospel**. And the people shall answer: **Thanks** be to thee, **O** **Lord**.

And the Epistle and Gospel being ended, shall be said or sung this Creed, all still reverently standing up.

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I Welcebe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of Heaben and Earth, and of all things visible, &c.

¶ After the Creede, if there be no Sermon, shall follow one of the Homilies which shall hereafter be set forth by common authority.

After such Sermon, Homily, or Exhortation, the Presbyter or Curate shall declare unto the people whether there bee any Holydayes, or Fasting-dayes the week following, and earnestly exhort them to remember the poore, saying (for the offertory) one or moe of these sentences following, as hee thinketh most convenient by his discretion, according to the length, or shortnesse of the time that the people are offering.

And in processe of time it came to passe, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord: and Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering: but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. Gen. 4. 3.

Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart, yee shall take my offering. Exod. 25. 2.

Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty: every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord your God which he hath given you. Deut. 16. 16.

David blessed the Lord before all the congregation: and said, Blessed be thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatnesse, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty: for all that is in the heaben and in the earth, is thine: thine is the kingdome, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head abobe all: Both riches and honour come of thee, and of thine own do wee give unto thee. I know also my God, that thou tryest the heart, and hast pleasure in uprightnesse. As for me, in the uprightnesse of my heart I have willingly offered all these things. And now have I seen with joy thy people which are present here, to offer willingly unto thee. 1 Chron. 29. 10.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name, bring an offering, and come into his courts. Ps. 96. 8.

APPENDIX.  
NO. II.  
Matt. 6. 19,  
20.

Lay not up for your selves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where theebes breake through and steal. But lay up for your selves treasures in heaben, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where theebes doe not break through, nor steal.

Matt. 7. 12.

Not eberie one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdome of heaben: but he that doth the will of my father which is in heaben.

Mark 12.  
41—44.

Jesus sate ober against the treasurie, and beheld how the people cast money into it: and many that were rich cast in much. And there came a certain poore widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that this poore widow hath cast more in, then all they which have cast into the treasurie. For all they did cast in of their abundance: but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living.

1 Cor. 9. 7.

Who goeth a warfare any time at his owne charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?

1 Cor. 9. 11.

If we have solv'n unto you spirituall things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnall things?

1 Cor. 9. 13,  
14.

Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel.

2 Cor. 9. 6,  
7.

He which soweth sparingly, shall reap sparingly: and he which soweth bountifully, shal reap bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudginly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerfull giver.

Gal. 6. 6, 7.

Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.

1 Tim. 6.  
17—19.

Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy. That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate: laying up in store for themselves a



good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternall life.

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God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister.

Heb. 6. 10.

To do good, and to communicate forget not, for with such sacrifices God is well pleased.

Heb. 13. 16.

¶ While the Presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertory, the Deacon, or (if no such be present) one of the Church-wardens shall receive the devotions of the people there present in a bason provided for that purpose. And when all have offered, hee shall reverently bring the said bason with the oblations therein, and deliver it to the Presbyter, who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy Table. And the Presbyter shall then offer up and place the bread and wine prepared for the Sacrament upon the Lords Table, that it may be ready for that service. And then he shall say,

¶ Let us pray for the whole state of Christs church militant here in earth.

Almighty and everliving God, which by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men: we humbly beseech thee, most mercifully (to accept our almes, and) to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine Majesty, beseeching thee to inspire continually the universall church with the spirit of truth, unitie, and concord: and grant that all they that do confesse thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word, and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governours, and specially thy serbant Charles our King, that under him we may be godly and quietly governed: and grant unto his whole counsell, and to all that be put in authoritie under him, that they may truly and indifferently minister justice, to the punishment of wickednesse and vice, and to the maintenance of Gods true religion and vertue. Give grace (O heavenly Father) to all Bishops, Presbyters, and Curates, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and libely word, and rightly and duely administer thy holy sacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meeke

If there be no almes given to the poore, then shall the words (of accepting our almes) be left out unsaid.



heart, and due reverence they may heave and receive thy holy word, truly serbing thee in holinesse and righteousnesse all the dayes of their life. [And we commend especially unto thy mercifull goodnesse the congregation which is here assembled in thy name to celebrate the commemoration of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ.] And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodnesse, O Lord, to comfort and succour all them which in this transitory life be in trouble, sorrow, need, sicknesse, or any other aduersitie. And we also blesse thy holy name for all those thy serbants, who habing finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours. And wee yeeld unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderfull grace and vertue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choise vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their severall generations: most humbly beseeching thee, that we may have grace to follow the example of their stedfastnesse in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandements, that at the day of the generall resurrection, wee, and all they which are of the mysticall body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyfull voice, Come yee blessed of my ffather, herit the kingdome prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O ffather, for Jesus Christs sake our only Mediatour and Advocate. Amen.

¶ Then shall follow this exhortation at certain times when the Presbyter or Curate shall see the people negligent to come to the holy communion.

We be come together at this time (dearly beloved brethren) to feed at the Lords supper, unto the which in Gods behalfe I bid you all that be here present, and beseech you for the Lord Jesus Christs sake, that yee will not refuse to come thereto, being so lovingly called and bidden of God himself. Ye know how grieuous and unkinde a thing it is, when a man hath prepared a rich feast, decked his table with all kinde of provision, so that there lacketh nothing but the guests to sit down, and yet they which be called (without any cause) most unthankfully refuse to come. Which of you in such a case would not be mowed? Who would not think a great injury and wrong done unto him? Wherefore most dearly be-

lobed in Christ, take ye good heed, lest ye withdrawing your selves from this holy Supper, provoke Gods indignation against you. It is an easie matter for a man to say, I will not Communicate, because I am otherwise letted with worldly busines: but such excuses bee not so easily accepted and allowed before God. If any man say, I am a grieuous sinner, and therefore am afraid to come: wherefore then do ye not repent and amend? When God calleth you, be you not ashamed to say, You will not come? When you should return to God, will you excuse your self, and say that you be not ready? Consider earnestly with your selves, how little such feigned excuses shall abaile before God. They that refused the feast in the Gospel, because they had bought a ffarme, or would try their yokes of Oxen, or because they were married, were not so excused, but counted unworthy of that heavenly feast. I for my part am here present, and according to mine office, I bid you in the Name of God, I call you in Christs behalf, I exhort you as you love your own saluation, that ye will be partakers of this holy Communion. And as the Son of God did vouchsafe to offer up himself by death upon the crosse for our saluation: eben so it is our duty to celebrate and receive the holy Communion together in the remembrance of his death and sacrifice, as hee himself commanded. Now if you will in no wise thus do, consider with your selves how great injurie you do unto God, and how sore punishment hangeth ober your heads for the same. And whereas you offend God so grieuously in refusing this holy banquet, I admonish, exhort, and beseech you, that unto this unkindnes you will not adde any more: Which thing ye shall do, if ye stand by as gazers, and lookers on them that do communicate, and be not partakers of the same your selves. For what thing can this be accounted else, then a further contempt and unkindnesse unto God? Truly, it is a great unthankfulnessse to say nay when ye be called: but the fault is much greater when men stand by, and yet will not receive this holy sacrament which is offered unto them. I pray you, what can this be else, but eben to have the mysteries of Christ in derision? It is said unto all, Take ye, and eat; Take and drinke ye all of this, Do this in remembrance of me. With what face then, or with what countenance shall ye heare these wordes? what will

this be else, but a neglecting, a despising and mocking of the testament of Christ? wherefore rather then ye should so do, depart you hence, and give place to them that be godly disposed. But when you depart, I beseech you ponder with your selves, from whom ye depart; ye depart from the Lords table, ye depart from your brethren, and from the banquet of most heavenly food. These things if ye earnestly consider, yee shall by Gods grace return to a better mind: for the obtaining whereof, we shall make our humble petitions, while we shall receive the holy communion.

¶ And sometime shall this be said also, at the discretion of the Presbyter or Curate.

Dearly beloved, forasmuch as our duty is to render to almighty God our heavenly Father most hearty thanks, for that he hath given his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, not only to die for us, but also to be our spirituall food and sustenance, as it is declared unto us, as well by Gods word, as by the holy sacrament of his blessed body and bloud, the which being so comfortable a thing to them which receive it worthily, and so dangerous to them that will presume to receive it unworthily: my duty is to exhort you to consider the dignitie of the holy mysteric, and the great perill of the unworthy receiving thereof, and so to search and examine your owne consciences, as you should come holy and clean to a most godly and heavenly feast, so that in no wise you come but in the marriage garment required of God in holy scripture, and so come and be received, as worthy partakers of such a heavenly Table. The way and meanes thereto is: First, to examine your lives and conversation by the rule of Gods commandments, and wherein soever ye shall perceive your selves to have offended, either by will, word, or deed, there bewaile your own sinfull lives, and confesse your selves to Almighty God, with full purpose of amendement of life. And if yee shall perceive your offences to be such, as be not only against God, but also against your neighbours: then ye shall reconcile your selves unto them, ready to make restitution and satisfaction according to the uttermost of your powers, for all injuries and wrongs done by you to any other, and likewise being ready to forgive other that have offended you, as you would have forgiveness of your



offences at Gods hand: for otherwise the receiving of the holy Communion doth nothing else but increase your damnation. And because it is requisite that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in Gods mercy, and with a quiet conscience: therefore if there be any of you, which by the means aforesaid, cannot quiet his own conscience, but requireth further comfort or counsell, then let him come to mee, or some other discreet and learned Presbyter or Minister of Gods word, and open his griefe, that he may receive such ghostly counsel, advice, and comfort, as his conscience may be relieved, and that by the ministry of Gods word he may receive comfort, and the benefit of absolution, to the quieting of his conscience, and aboiding of all scruple and doubtfulnessse.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter say this exhortation.

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the Body and Bloud of our Saviour Christ, must consider what S. Paul writeth to the Corinthians, how he exhorteth all persons diligently to trie and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that Bread, and drink of that Cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and libely faith wee receive that holy Sacrament: (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drinke his bloud; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; wee be one with Christ, and Christ with us) So is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily: for then we be guilty of the body and bloud of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lords body: we kindle Gods wrath against us: we provoke him to plague us with divers diseases, and sundry kindes of death. Therefore if any of you be a blasphemers of God, an hinderer or slanderer of his word, an adulterer, or be in malice, or envie, or in any other grievous crime, bewaile your sinnes, and come not to this holy table; lest after the taking of that holy sacrament, the devil enter into you, as he entred into Judas, and fill you full of all iniquities, and bring you to destruction both of body and soul. Judge therefore your selves (brethren) that yee be not judged of the Lord. Repent you truly for your sinnes past: have a libely and stedfast faith



in Christ our Saviour. Amend your lives, and be in perfect charitie with all men, so shall yee be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And abobe all things, ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world, by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, who did humble himself eben to the death upon the crosse for us miserable sinners, which lay in darknesse and shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should alway remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ, thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding hee hath obtained to us: he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and continuall remembrance of his death, to our great and endlesse comfort. To him therefore, with the Father, and the holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continuall thanks, submitting our selves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serbe him in true holinesse and righteousnesse all the dayes of our life. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter say to them that come to receive the holy Communion this invitation.

You that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sinnes, &c.

¶ Then shall this general Confession be made, in the name of all those that are minded to receive the holy Communion, by the Presbyter himself, or the Deacon; both he and all the people kneeling humbly upon their knees.

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men, we acknowledge and bewaile our manifold sins and wickednesse, which we from time to time most grieuously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy diuine Majesty, proboking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and be heartily sorry for these our misdoings, the remembrance of them is grieuous unto us, the burthen of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most mercifull Father, for thy Sonne our Lord Jesus Christs sake,

forgiſe us all that is paſt, and grant that wee may eber here-  
after ſerue and pleaſe thee, in newneſſe of life, to the honour  
and glory of thy Name, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.  
Amen.

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¶ Then ſhall the Preſbyter or the Biſhop (being preſent) ſtand  
up, and turning himſelf to the people, pronounce the abſolution, as  
followeth.

Almighty God our heavenly Father, who of his great  
mercy hath promiſed forgibenefſe, &c.

¶ Then ſhall the Preſbyter alſo ſay.

¶ Heare what comfortable words our Saviour Chriſt ſaith  
unto all that truly turn to him.

Come unto me all ye that labour, and are heaby laden, and  
I will giue you reſt. So God loved the world, that hee gave  
his onely begotten Sonne: that whoſoeber belecbeſh in him,  
ſhould not periſh, but have eberlaſting life.

Matt. 11.  
28.  
John 3. 16.

¶ Heare alſo what S. Paul ſaith.

This is a faithfull ſaying, and worthy of all acceptation,  
that Chriſt Jeſus came into the world to ſabe ſinners.

1 Tim. 1. 15.

¶ Heare alſo what S. John ſaith.

If any man ſinne, we have an Advocate with the Father,  
Jeſus Chriſt the righteous: and hee is the propitiation for  
our ſinnes.

1 John 2.  
1, 2.

¶ After which the Preſbyter ſhall proceede, ſaying,  
Lift up your hearts.

Answer.

We lift them up unto the Lord.

Preſbyter.

Let us giue thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer.

It is meet and right ſo to do.

Preſbyter.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that wee ſhould  
at all times, and in all places, giue thanks unto thee, O Lord,  
holy Father, Almighty, eberlaſting God.

¶ Here shall follow the proper Preface according to the time, if there bee any especially appointed: or else immediatly shall follow,  
Therefore with Angels and Archangels, &c.

Proper prefaces.

¶ Upon Christmas day, and seven dayes after.  
Because thou diddest give, &c.

¶ Upon Easter day, and seven dayes after.  
But chiefly are we bound to praise thee, &c.

¶ Upon the Ascension day, and seven dayes after.  
Through thy most dearly beloved Sonne, &c.

¶ Upon Whitsunday, and six dayes after.  
Through Jesus Christ our Lord, according to whose most true promise the holy Ghost, &c.

¶ Upon the feast of Trinity onely.

It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places give thanks to thee, O Lord Almighty, and everlasting God, which art one God, one Lord, not one onely person, but three persons in one substance. For that which we beleebe of the glory of the Father, the same wee beleebe of the Sonne, and of the holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with Angels, &c.

¶ After which Prefaces shall follow immediatly this doxologie.

Therefore with Angels and Archangels, &c.

¶ Then the Presbyter standing up, shall say the prayer of consecration, as followeth, but then during the time of consecration, he shall stand at such a part of the holy Table, where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands.

Almighty God our heavenly Father, which of thy tender mercy didst give thy onely Sonne Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the Crosse for our redemption, who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sinnes of the whole world, and did institute, and in his holy gospel com-

mand us to continue a perpetuall memory of that his precious death and sacrifice, untill his coming again: **H**eare us, **O** mercifull **F**ather, we most humbly beseech thee, and of thy almighty goodnesse vouchsafe so to blesse and sanctifie with thy word and holy Spirit these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may bee unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved **S**on; so that wee receiving them according to thy **S**onne our **S**aviour **J**esus **C**hrists holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of the same his most precious body and blood: who in the night that he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, **T**ake, eat, this is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise, after supper he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, **D**rinke yee all of this, for this is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins: do this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me.

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At these words (took bread) the Presbyter that officiates is to take the Paten in his hand.

At these words (took the cup) he is to take the chalice in his hand, and lay his hand upon so much, be it in chalice or flagons, as he intends to consecrate.

¶ Immediately after shall be said this memoriall or prayer of oblation<sup>a</sup>, as followeth.

**W**herefore **O** **L**ord and heavenly **F**ather, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved **S**on our **S**aviour **J**esus **C**hrist, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine **M**ajestie, with these thy holy gifts, the memoriall which thy **S**on hath willed us to make, having in remembrance his blessed passion, mightie resurrection, and glorious assension, rendring unto thee most heartie thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Thorndike's *Just Weights and Measures*, ch. xxii. p. 157. "The Proper Prefaces, and the Seraphim's Hymn are of too ancient and general use in the Catholic Church to be omitted without a mark of apostacy from the devotion of it which they express. The prayer which we consecrate with seemeth agreeable to the intent of God's Church, but more agreeable is

that form, which the first Book of Edward VI. revived by the Scottish Liturgy, prescribeth. And that Memorial, or Prayer of Oblation, which is there prescribed to follow immediately after the Consecration, is certainly more proper there, than after the Communion, ending with the Lord's Prayer, and the Peace after that."



And we entirely desire thy Fatherly goodnesse, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Sonne Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we (and all thy whole church) may obtain remission of our sinnes, and all other benefits of his passion. And here wee offer and present unto thee, O Lord, our selves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and libely sacrifice unto thee, humbly beseeching thee, that whosoever shall be partakers of this holy communion, may worthily receive the most precious bodie and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, and be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one bodie with him, that he may dwell in them, and they in him. And although wee be unworthie, through our manifold sinnes, to offer unto thee any sacrifice: yet wee beseech thee to accept this our bounden dutie and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord; by whom, and with whom, in the unitie of the holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father almighty, world without end. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter say: As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

Our Father which art in heaben, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdome come. Thy will bee done in earth as it is in heaben. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as wee forgive them that trespasse against us. And lead us not into temptation: but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdome, the power, and the glorie, for ever and ever. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Presbyter kneeling down at Gods board, say in the name of all them that shall communicate, this collect of humble accesse to the holy communion, as followeth.

We do not presume to come to this thy table (O mercifull Lord) trusting in our own righteousnesse, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We be not worthie so much as to gather up the crumbes under thy table. But thou art the same Lord, whose propertie is alwaies to have mercie: grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus

Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinfull bodies may bee made cleane by his body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that wee may ebermore dwell in him, and he in us. Amen.

¶ Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Presbyter that celebrateth, first receive the communion in both kindes himself, and next deliver it to other Bishops, Presbyters and Deacons (if any be there present) that they may help him that celebrateth; and after to the people in due order, all humbly kneeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the bread to others, he shall say this benediction.

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the partie receiving shall say, Amen.

¶ And the Presbyter or Minister that receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, shall say this benediction.

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ which was shed for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.

Here the party receiving shall say, Amen.

¶ When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lords table, and cover with a fair linen cloth, or corporall, that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say this collect of thanksgiving, as followeth.

Almightie and everliving God, wee most heartily thank thee, for that thou doest bouchsafe to feed us, which have duely received these holy mysteries, with the spirituall food of the most precious body and blood of thy Sonne our Saviour Jesus Christ, and doest assure us thereby of thy favour and goodnesse towards us, and that we be very members incorporate in thy mysticall body, which is the blessed companie of all faithfull people, and be also heires through hope of thy everlasting kingdome, by the merits of the most precious death and passion of thy dear Sonne: we now most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace, that we may continue in that holy fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast prepared for us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom with thee and the holy Ghost, be all honour and glorie, world without end. Amen.

¶ Then shall be said or sung *Gloria in excelsis*, in English as followeth.

**Glorie be to God on high, &c.**

¶ Then the Presbyter, or Bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart with this blessing.

**The peace of God which passeth, &c.**

¶ After the divine service ended, that which was offered shall be divided in the presence of the Presbyter, and the Church-wardens, whereof one half shall be to the use of the Presbyter to provide him books of holy divinity: the other half shall be faithfully kept and employed on some pious or charitable use, for the decent furnishing of that Church, or the publike relief of their poore, at the discretion of the Presbyter and Church-wardens.

COLLECTS to be said after the offertory, when there is no Communion; every such day one or more. And the same may bee said also as often as occasion shall serve, after the Collects either of Morning and Evening prayer, Communion, or Letany, by the discretion of the Presbyter or Minister.

Assist us mercifully, O Lord, in these our supplications and prayers, and dispose the way of thy servants towards the attainment of everlasting salvation, that among all the changes and chances of this mortal life, they may ever be defended by thy most gracious and ready helpe, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

O Almighty LORD, and everlasting God, vouchsafe we beseech thee, to direct, sanctifie, and governe both our hearts and bodie in the wayes of thy Laws, and in the works of thy Commandements, that through thy most mighty protection, both here and ever, wee may bee preserved in body and soul, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

Grant we beseech thee Almighty God, that the words which we have heard this day with our outward eares may through thy grace be so grafted inwardly in our hearts, that they may bring forth in us the fruit of good living, to the honour and praise of thy Name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Prebent us, O LORD, in all our doings, with thy most gracious favour, and further us with thy continuall help, that in all our works begun, continued, and ended in thee, we may glorifie thy holy Name, and finally by thy mercy obtain everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty GOD the fountain of all Wisedome, which knowest our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking: we beseech thee to have compassion upon our infirmities, and those things which for our unworthinesse wee dare not, and for our blindness we cannot ask, vouchsafe to give us, for the worthinesse of thy Sonne Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Almighty GOD, which hast promised to heare the petitions of them that ask in thy Sons Name, we beseech thee mercifully to encline thine eares to us, that have made now our prayers and supplications unto thee, and grant that those things which we have faithfully asked according to thy will, may effectually bee obtained, to the relief of our necessitie, and to the setting forth of thy glory, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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Upon the Holy-dayes (if there be no Communion) shall be said all that is appointed at the Communion, untill the end of the Homily, concluding with the generall prayer, (for the whole estate of Christs Church militant here in earth) and one or more of these Collects before rehearsed, as occasion shall serve.

¶ And there shall be no publick celebration of the Lords Supper, except there bee a sufficient number to communicate with the Presbyter, according to his discretion.



¶ And if there be not above twenty persons in the parish, of discretion to receive the Communion; yet there shall be no Communion, except foure or three at the least communicate with the Presbyter.

¶ And in Cathedrall and Collegiat Churches, where be many Presbyters, and Deacons, they shall all receive the Communion with the Presbyter that celebrates every Sunday at the least, except they have a reasonable cause to the contrary.

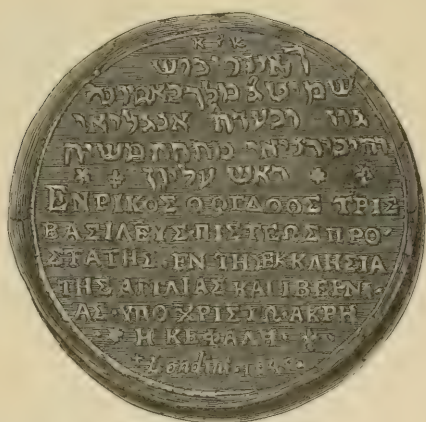
¶ And to take away the superstition, which any person hath or might have in the Bread and Wine, (though it be lawfull to have wafer bread) it shall suffice that the Bread be such as is usuall: yet the best and purest Wheat Bread that conveniently may be gotten. And if any of the Bread and Wine remaine, which is consecrated, it shall be reverently eaten and drunk by such of the communicants only as the Presbyter which celebrates shall take unto him, but it shall not be carried out of the Church. And to the end there may be little left, he that officiates is required to consecrate with the least, and then if there be want, the words of consecration may be repeated again, over more, either bread or wine: the Presbyter beginning at these words in the prayer of consecration (*our Saviour in the night that he was betrayed, took, &c.*)

¶ The Bread and Wine for the Communion, shall be provided by the Curate and the Church-wardens, at the charges of the Parish.

¶ And note that every parishioner shall communicate at the least three times in the year, of which Pasch or Easter shall be one, and shall also receive the Sacraments and observe other Rites, according to the order in this book appointed.

APPENDIX.

No. 3.



IV.



# APPENDIX.

No. 4.

AN EXTRACT OF A SERMON UPON I TIM. iii. 1, 2. OF THE DIGNITY AND DUTY OF THE MINISTRY. PREACHED BY GEORGE DOWNNAME, D.D.<sup>a</sup> AND PUBLISHED AT LONDON, 1608.

The text as it is in the title-page :

*It is a faithful saying, if a man desire the office of a bishop, he coveteth a good work. A bishop therefore must be un-reproveable, &c.*

The text as it is before the sermon :

*Faithful is this saying, If a man desire the office of a bishop, he coveteth a good, or goodly, work. A bishop therefore must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of decent behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, &c.*

THE blessed Apostle, [&c.<sup>b</sup>] — So that this text<sup>c</sup> is an entymeme, as we call it, the antecedent whereof setteth forth *amplitudinem ministerii*, the dignity of the ministry, or worthiness of the calling; the consequent, *aptitudinem ministrorum*, the worthiness of the persons who are to be ministers, inferred thereupon.

The antecedent Paul confirmeth by his own testimony. For that asseveration πιστός ὁ λόγος, “it is a faithful saying,” hath (as oaths also have) the force of a testimony; and in this place is used προληπτικῶς, that is, by way of prevention. For as the oaths, which the Holy Ghost interposeth any where in the Scriptures, do argue our infidelity, so these asseverations do presuppose in us some contrary and errone-

<sup>a</sup> [George Downname was at this time chaplain to King James I.; he became bishop of Derry in 1616, and died in 1634.

the original, and the text of Hickeys' third edition corrected by it.]

<sup>b</sup> [p. 1.]

<sup>c</sup> [p. 3.]

This sermon has been collated with



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NO. IV.  
Rom. 8. [7.]

ous conceit. As if the Apostle had said: although carnal men, whose “wisdom is enmity against God,” do basely esteem of ministers in regard of their calling; yet it is a most certain truth, which by the Spirit of truth I do testify unto you, that the office of ministers is an excellent and worthy calling, and that they are greatly honoured of God, whom He calleth thereunto. Indeed it is, and always hath been, the lot and condition of God’s ministers in this world to be contemned, scorned and abused. The prophets, who were the ambassadors of the great God, and angels of the Lord of hosts, were despised and derided. The Apostles, who were the twelve patriarchs as it were of the Israel of God, and ambassadors sent from Christ’s side, to reconcile men unto God, were notwithstanding esteemed as the “scum of the world, and offscouring of all things.” But what speak I of servants? Was not Christ Himself, our royal Priest and Prophet, “the Apostle and High-Priest of our profession,” of His own kindred esteemed as a mad-man; of His ill-willers slandered as a demoniac; of Herod and his gallants scorned, and even set at nought<sup>d</sup>?

2 Chron.  
36. 16.

1 Cor. 4. 13.

Heb. 3. 1.

Mark 3. 21.  
John 8. 48,  
52.

Against this carnal conceit of profane men, the Holy Ghost opposeth His verdict, when He saith, “This is a faithful saying.” Whereby we are taught, unless we had rather conform our judgments to the vain opinion of the wicked world, than to the infallible censure of the Holy Ghost, to conceive honourably of the ministers of God.

And this was the prosyllogism or proof of the antecedent, taken from the testimony of God’s Spirit speaking in the Apostle, and prefixed as a preface, to win both attention and credit to this text.

Now followeth the antecedent itself. “If a man desireth the office of a bishop, he desireth a good,” or excellent “work.” In which words, besides the commendation of the ministry, which is the main intendment thereof, two things are briefly to be discussed. The one, whether it be lawful for a man to desire the office of a bishop? the other, what is the office of a bishop, which the Apostle here doth so highly commend? Of the former the Apostle maketh no question, but taketh it for granted, that it is lawful for a man to desire this func-

<sup>d</sup> ἐξουθενήσας δὲ αὐτὸν Ἡρώδης. Luke xxiii. 11.

tion. "For what" (saith Chrysostom<sup>e</sup>) "doth the Apostle say? If a man desire the function of a bishop, I mislike it not, he desires a goodly work." For first, when men consecrate themselves, as Nazarites, to the study of divinity, they do it in this desire; which if it be a desire, as well to do the work of the ministry, as to obtain the honour thereto belonging, is without doubt most acceptable unto God. And afterwards, when God hath blessed their studies, and fitted them for this function, this desire and willingness to exercise their gifts, and to employ their talents, is a part of their calling from God. For God calleth men, partly inwardly by Himself, not only furnishing them with those gifts which appertain to the sufficiency of a minister, but also giving them this *προθυμίαν*, or willing readiness to employ their gifts; and partly outwardly, by His substitutes, to whom in His Church He hath committed the power of calling, ordaining, and admitting ministers. The Prophet Esay, when his tongue had been touched with a coal from the altar, and he had heard the voice of the Lord, saying "Whom shall I send?" he offereth himself, and saith, *Ecce me*, "Behold, here am I, send me." A desire therefore to glorify God in the service of the Church, and a signification of this desire, when a man is fitted for the calling, is not only lawful, but also commendable. The greedy and ambitious desire of them who either are not willing, or not able to glorify God in the ministry, is that which is to be condemned.

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Numb. 6;  
Amos 2. 11.

Rom. 1. 15;  
1 Pet. 5. 2.

Esay 6. 6,  
8.

As touching the second, it will be objected, that the calling of a bishop, being a function of great authority and pre-eminence in the Church of God, is indeed an excellent and worthy work; but what is this to other ministers, who are subject to the bishops? I answer, by *ἐπισκοπή* we are in this place to understand the office, and by *ἐπίσκοπος* the person, not only of such as ever since the Apostles' times have properly been called bishops, (howsoever this place is principally to be understood of them, and so is expounded by divers of the fathers<sup>f</sup>;) but of all pastors and ministers of

<sup>e</sup> [St. Chrysostom's words are, *καί τί φησιν; εἴ τις ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεται, οὐκ ἐγκαλῶ, φησι. προστασίας γὰρ ἔργον ἐστίν. εἴ τις ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, ὥστε μὴ τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς αὐθεντίας*

*ἐφίεσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ τῆς προστασίας, οὐκ ἐγκαλῶ. καλοῦ γὰρ ἔργου ἐπιθυμεῖ, φησιν.—S. Chrys. in 1 Tim. Hom. x. ad init. Op., tom. xi. p. 598, E.*

<sup>f</sup> [διαλεγόμενος περὶ ἐπισκόπων, . . .

the word and Sacraments in general. Which interpretation may be confirmed by conference of this Scripture with Tit. i., where the same canon being repeated, the Apostle useth sometimes the word ἐπίσκοπος, and sometimes πρεσβύτερος. From whence we may gather, either that by bishop here the Apostle meaneth any presbyter, the names being as yet confounded, as Jerome and Theodoret<sup>e</sup> suppose; or at the least, that the same things which here are spoken of the duty and dignity of bishops, do also appertain to presbyters in general; which cause the other fathers allege, why presbyters be not expressly mentioned in this place. But howsoever the fathers seem to be divided in the interpretation of the word bishop, some of them by bishop understanding every presbyter, others those who properly are called bishops; yet all agree in this, that both of presbyters and bishops, that is to say, of all ministers in general, this text is understood. For Theodoret<sup>h</sup>, though he say, that by bishop every presbyter is here meant; yet he professeth that what is here said of presbyters, doth chiefly appertain to bishops. And the other fathers, though they understand this text as spoken of them who properly are called bishops; yet they say, that in the name of bishops, presbyters are also included. Here by the way we are to note, that if the names of bishop and presbyter in the writings of the Apostles be confounded,

καὶ τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τάγμα ἀφείς, εἰς τοὺς διακόνους (v. S.) μετεπήδησε. τί δὴποτε; ὅτι οὐ πολὺ μέσον αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν εἰσὶν ἀναδεδεγμένοι, καὶ προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ ἃ περὶ ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀρμόττει.—S. Chrys. [ibid., Hom. xi. ad init. in 1 Tim. iii. 8. p. 604, C, D.]

[Post episcopum tamen diaconatum ordinationem subiecit. Quare nisi quia episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est? uterque enim sacerdos est, sed episcopus primus est; ut omnis episcopus presbyter sit, non tamen omnis presbyter episcopus.—Pseudo-] Ambros. Comment. in 1 Tim. iii. 8. [S. Ambros. Op., tom. ii. App., p. 295, A.]

[Quæritur cur de presbyteris nullam fecerit mentionem, sed eos episcoporum nomine comprehenderit: quia secundus, imo pene unus est gradus, &c.—Pseudo-Hieron. in loc.; ap. S. Hieron. Op., tom. xi. col. 1048, A.]

[τί δὴποτε τοὺς πρεσβυτέροις ἀφῆκεν; ὅτι ἃ περὶ ἐπισκόπων εἶπε, ταῦτα καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀρμόττει. καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ διδασκαλίαν καὶ προστασίαν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγκεχειρισμένοι εἰσὶν, μόνη τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ὑποβεβηκότες.—Theophylact. Comm. in loc. Op., tom. ii. p. 567, E.]

<sup>e</sup> [ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ἐνταῦθα τὸν πρεσβύτερον λέγει . . . τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν ποτὲ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ ἐπισκόπους. τοὺς δὲ νῦν καλουμένους ἐπισκόπους, ἀποστόλους ὀνόμαζον.—Theodoret. in 1 Tim. iii. Op., tom. iii. p. 473, D.]

<sup>h</sup> Theodoret. in 1 Tim. iii. Etiamsi presbyteris has leges constituit divinus Apostolus, clarum est quod eas oportet primos servare episcopos, ut qui majorem sint dignitate assecuti. [εἰ καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς ἐνοουθῆτησε Παῦλος, εὐδὴλον ὡς τοὺς ἐπισκόπους πρώτους προσήκει τούτους φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους, ἅτε δὴ καὶ μέζονος μεταλαχόντας τιμῆς.—Ibid., p. 474, A.]



as Jerome and Theodoret teach, and many in our times not only affirm, but also out of Acts xx., Tit. i., Phil. i., 1 Pet. v., confirm, insomuch as every bishop is a presbyter, so every presbyter a bishop, according to the Apostles' phrase; then it follows necessarily, that in the Apostles' writings there are no presbyters mentioned, but such as are pastors and ministers of the word. And agreeable to the phrase of the Apostles, hath the perpetual use of this word been in the primitive Church: there being, as I suppose, not any one example to be alleged out of any council or father, where the word presbyter doth signify any other than a minister or priest. And if the like shall be objected against bishops, that in the Apostles' times there was no difference betwixt presbyters and them; I answer, though the names of bishop and presbyter were for a short time confounded, yet the functions were not, as I have elsewhere shewed<sup>1</sup>.

But to come to that which, as I said, is the main intendment of these words: the commendation which the Apostle giveth to the office of a bishop, is, that it is *καλὸν ἔργον*, "a worthy work." He calleth it a work, that we should not imagine it to be an idle dignity, which when we have once obtained, we might give over ourselves to ease and security; but a work full of employment and difficulty, wherein it becometh ministers (who are the Lord's workmen<sup>1</sup>) to labour, and, as the Apostle speaketh, *κοπιᾶν*, that is, "to labour unto weariness." But neither is it a servile work, or a base ministry; but *καλὸν ἔργον*, "a goodly and excellent work."

Two things therefore do here offer themselves to our consideration, *onus et honos ministerii*, "the burden and the honour of the ministry," both appertaining to the greatness of this calling, and both requiring (which is the Apostle's scope) a correspondency of gifts in the person of the minister<sup>1</sup>. For in regard of both we may justly use that exclamation, *καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τίς ἰκανός*; "and who is sufficient for these things?" that is, who is able to bear this burden, who is worthy to have this honour? For in that he calleth it a work, that appertaineth to the burden; in that he termeth it ex-

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MINISTRY.

Acts 20. 17,  
28; Tit. 1.  
5—7; Phil.  
1. 1; 1 Pet.  
5. 1, 2.

1 Tim. 5.  
17; 1 Thess.  
5. 12.

<sup>1</sup> ["ministry," ed. 3.  
and Down-  
name.]  
2 Cor. 2.  
16.

<sup>1</sup> In Apoc. i. 20. [The reference is to a sermon on this text, "in defence of the honourable function of bishops," preached at the consecration of James

Mountague, bishop of Bath and Wells, and published in 1608, pp. 28, sqq.; see above, vol. ii. p. 374, note b.]

<sup>1</sup> Matt. ix. 38. [*ἐργαται*.]



cellent, that belongeth to the honour: and these two are unseparable companions; for *honor et onus*, "honour and charge" go together. Whence it is, that the same Hebrew word<sup>k</sup> signifieth both *honorare* and *onerare*. For whom God advanceth unto honour, them He doth burden with a charge; and on whom He imposeth a burden, to them He vouchsafeth honour. And as they be unseparable, so also proportionable. For such as is the weight of the burden, such is the height of the honour, and contrariwise. These things therefore which the Holy Ghost hath unseparably united ought not to be separated, neither by the ministers themselves, nor yet by the people. Desirest thou the honour of the ministry, *ut præsis*, that thou mayest be preferred above others? thou must also desire the work of the ministry, *ut prosis*, that thou mayest profit others. For, "he that desireth the office of a bishop, desireth an excellent work." Art thou discouraged with the weight of the burden? so much let the height of the honour, which God hath in this life awarded, and in the life to come provided for faithful ministers, encourage thee. As for the people; many care not how great a burden they lay upon the ministers, and how little honour they afford them; as though their charge among all callings could be the greatest, and their honour the least. In a word, let us on all hands so acknowledge the duty and dignity of the ministry to be conjoined, that the ministers be as ready to perform the duty of the ministry, as to challenge the honour; and the people as willing to yield the double honour of reverence and maintenance to their minister, as from him to expect the performance of his duty. For "what things God hath conjoined, let no man sever."

But howsoever in use these things may not be disjoined; yet, that I may distinctly and orderly speak of them, I am for a while to sever them in my speech. And first we are to weigh the burden of the ministry. For that are we to undergo, before we can justly claim the honour. Double honour indeed belongeth to the ministry; of which, as the people must count their ministers worthy, so must we labour to be worthy. For *ἀξιον εἶναι* should go with *ἀξιοῦσθαι*. And who are worthy of the honour of the ministry? Surely they

<sup>1</sup> Tim. 5.  
17.

<sup>k</sup> כבוד.

which bear the burden, or do the work of the ministry. The work of a bishop, whereof the Apostle speaketh, is, as may be gathered out of the words, *καλῶς ἐπισκοπεῖν*, “to be a good superintendent,” whereunto Peter exhorteth; 1 Epist. v. Now what that is, the Apostle sheweth, Acts xx., where he exhorteth the ministers of Ephesus, that they “would attend unto themselves, and to the whole flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them superintendents, to feed the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood.” The same He repeateth, though in other words, 1 Tim. v. Ministers “are to be accounted worthy of double honour.” But who? οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες, that “are good presidents, especially they that labour in the word and doctrine.” For to feed the flock is the chief work of the pastor or bishop, as appeareth in all these three places. “Feed the flock,” saith Peter to the ministers, *ἐπισκοποῦντες*, “performing the office of bishops or superintendents, not as of necessity, but as willingly,” &c. But to speak more distinctly, the work of a bishop or pastor, which, as I said, is *καλῶς προϊστασθαι*, or *ἐπισκοπεῖν*, “to be good presidents, or superintendents,” containeth these branches. The first is, that they attend to themselves; the second, to their flock. To themselves, that they may be precedents, and as the Holy Ghost speaketh, *τύποι*, “patterns” and samplers of a godly life. For this in the Apostle’s phrase is *προϊστασθαι τῶν καλῶν ἔργων*, “to be precedents of good works<sup>1</sup>.” But of this more, when I come to the worthiness of the person: verse 2. To the flock also they must attend, feeding and overseeing the same both willingly and carefully, as those who are to give an account. For whom in the New Testament the Holy Ghost calleth *ἐπισκόπους*, “superintendents,” in the Old He calleth *speculatores*<sup>m</sup>, “watchmen;” whose office is the custody and guardianship, not of men’s bodies, but, that which is more<sup>n</sup>, of their souls; for which they are to watch, as they who are to give an account. In-somuch, that if any of their flock shall perish through their default; they shall perish indeed in their sins, but their blood will the Lord require at the watchmen’s hands. And this

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1 Pet. 5. 2.

Acts 20. 28.

1 Tim. 5. 17.

1 Pet. 5. 3;  
Tit. 2. 7.

1 Pet. 5. 2;  
Heb. 13. 17.

Ezek. 3. 17;  
33. 8.

<sup>1</sup> Tit. iii. 8, 14, [“to maintain good works.” Eng. Vers.]

<sup>m</sup> Tsophim. [צופים.]

<sup>n</sup> Ars est artium regimen animarum.—S. Gregor. M. Regulæ Pastoralis, pars i. c. 1. [Op., tom. ii. col. 3, A.]

APPENDIX.  
NO. IV.

doth the Apostle Paul insinuate in his farewell sermon, where in the conscience of his ministry faithfully performed, he professeth that he was "free from the blood of them all." "By which word," saith Gregory<sup>o</sup>, "we are convicted who are called priests, who besides those evils which we have of our own, do add the deaths of other men. For so many do we kill, as we do suffer through our negligence and silence to perish." Now we are to attend the flock, first, by watching over the same as good shepherds, accommodating ourselves to their several estates and necessities. As namely, to instruct the ignorant, to reduce the erroneous, to heal the diseased, to seek the lost, to admonish the disorderly, to comfort the distressed, to support the weak, to be patient towards all.

2 Tim. 3. 16. to their several estates and necessities. As namely, to instruct  
Ezek. 34. 4. the ignorant, to reduce the erroneous, to heal the diseased,  
1 Thess. 5. 14. to seek the lost, to admonish the disorderly, to comfort the  
1 Pet. 5. 2. distressed, to support the weak, to be patient towards all.  
1 Sam. 12. 23. Secondly, by feeding them in the ministry of the word and  
Sacraments. And, lastly, by praying for them both publicly  
and privately.

This burden of the ministry was after a sort prefigured by the burden of the ark, which was imposed on the priests. For in the ark was the "golden pot having manna, and Aaron's fruitful rod, and the tables of the covenant, and upon it the propitiatory overshadowed with the glorious cherubins." For by the pot of manna, we may understand the Sacraments; by the rod, ecclesiastical discipline; by the budding and fruitfulness of it, their fruitful conversation; by the tables, the preaching of the law; and by bearing the propitiatory (figuring Christ), the ministry of reconciliation committed unto the ministers of God, both in respect of prayer and also of preaching.

But the principal burden and chief work of the ministry, for which double honour is especially due to ministers, is the preaching, that is, the expounding and applying of the word to the divers uses of doctrine, confutation, instruction, and reproof. To the diligent performance whereof, in the "demonstration of the spirit," in "sincerity as in the sight of God," in "discretion"<sup>p</sup> and "faithfulness"<sup>q</sup>, as it becometh the wise and faithful steward of God, with "gravity"<sup>r</sup>, "judg-

<sup>o</sup> [In qua voce nos convenimur, nos constringimur, nos rei esse ostendimur, qui sacerdotes vocamur, qui super ea mala quæ propria habemus, alienas quoque mortes addimus: quia tot occidimus, quæ ad mortem ire quotidie

tepidi et tacentes videmus.—S. Gregor. M. in Ezech. lib. i. Hom. xi. § 9. Op., tom. i. col. 1285, B, C.]

<sup>p</sup> Matt. xxiv. 45.

<sup>q</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Tit. ii. 7.



ment<sup>s</sup>," "boldness," and "power<sup>t</sup>;" and finally, with zeal of God's glory<sup>u</sup> and salvation of the hearer<sup>v</sup>: the minister is bound with a double bond of necessity, the one, in regard of himself; the other, in respect of the people. In regard of ourselves, every one of us must say with the Apostle, "Necessity is laid upon me, and woe unto me if I preach not the gospel." 1 Cor. 9. 16. For if they be subject to the curse who withhold the corn, what is to be expected of them who withdraw from the people of God the divine food of their souls? Assuredly both are accursed; they, of the people; these, of God: woe to those pastors, *qui non pascunt, sed depascunt gregem*, "who feed not the flock, but feed upon it." And again, *væ pastori nihili*, "Woe to the idle shepherd that forsaketh the flock: the sword shall be upon his arm, and upon his right eye," (whereby is meant his power and judgment.) Zech. 11. 17. "His arm shall be dried up, and his eye shall be utterly darkened."

In regard of the people, the ministry of the word is so necessary, that our Saviour saith there is "necessity" of this "one thing." Luke 10. 42. And Solomon, that "where this is wanting, the people perish." Prov. 29. 18. But the necessity of preaching in respect of the people, appertaineth to the dignity of the ministry, whereof I am now to speak.

And first of the office itself, and then of those titles wherewith ministers are adorned in the word of God. Of the office I am to speak, first, absolutely; then, by way of comparison. Absolutely it is affirmed in this place, to be an excellent or worthy work: and Heb. v. an "honour:" and elsewhere we are taught, that for this work's sake the ministers are "exceedingly to be loved, and revered<sup>w</sup>," and for the dignity of their function to be "had in honour." Yea, that the very "feet of those which preach the gospel" ought to seem "beautiful" unto us. Phil. 2. 29. And the same may be confirmed, Isa. 52. 7; Rom. 10. 15. by consideration of the *institution* of the ministry; the *eminency* of the persons who have exercised this function; the *excellency of the end* for which it was ordained; and, lastly, the *dignity of the parts*, whereof it doth consist.

First, therefore, ministers were ordained to supply the

<sup>s</sup> Micah iii. 8.

<sup>u</sup> John vii. 18; Mal. ii. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Ephes. vi. 19, 20; Jer. i. 8, 17;

<sup>v</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 2; Gal. iv. 19.

Ezek. iii. 8, 9.

<sup>w</sup> 1 Thess. v. 13, ὑπὲρ ἕκ περισσοῦ.



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office, and sustain the person of the Son of God, who is the Word and Wisdom of His Father. For from the beginning of the world until the times of Moses, the Lord for the most part in His own person, performed the office of preaching to His people. In which respect He is often called in the books of Moses, "the angel of God," and elsewhere "the angel of the covenant." But when the Lord in terrible manner had published His law from heaven, and the people not being able to endure His voice, had humbly intreated Him that He would be pleased to speak unto them by a prophet; upon this occasion the Lord ordained the public ministry, and promised a continual succession of prophets, (into whose mouth He would put His words,) which was to continue until Christ, in whom especially that prophecy was verified. And again, when Christ was to ascend into heaven He ordained the ministers of the gospel, as the ambassadors of God, in His stead; affirming, that as His Father "had sent Him, so He did send them." For "we," saith the Apostle, "are the ambassadors of God in Christ's stead, even as though God did intreat you by us; we beseech you in Christ's stead, be reconciled unto God." The ministers therefore were ordained to supply the room of Christ. Which the Lord did, not that He would have the ministry of the word less esteemed, than if He should speak from heaven Himself; but that He might by this means teach us after a more familiar manner, and might make the better trial of our obedience. For as John saith, "he that knoweth God, heareth us; and who is not of God, heareth us not." Our duty therefore is, when God doth speak unto us by His ministers, to set ourselves, with Cornelius and his company, in the presence of God; and to hear τὸν λόγον ἀκοῆς, "the word preached, not as the word of man, but as it is indeed the word of God:" and to receive the ministers of God, as the Galatians entertained Paul, as the ambassadors of Christ, as the angels of God, yea, as Christ Himself. For so hath He said to His ministers, "he that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me."

But let us also consider the excellency of those persons, who have in former times exercised any part of this function. And here I could commend unto you Noah, the prince of the

world, and preacher of righteousness<sup>v</sup>; Melchisedec, who was both a king and priest<sup>w</sup>; Moses the prophet and prince of Israel; David a king and a prophet; Solomon, that glorious king, affecting the name of a preacher<sup>x</sup>. I might allege, that the kings among the heathen, were also priests. For hence it was, that the Athenians and the Romans, after they had expelled their tyrannizing kings, did ordain to themselves *reges sacrificos*, “sacrificing kings,” because certain sacrifices among them might not be offered but by kings. But what speak I of mere men? the Son of God, before His incarnation, as you heard before, was the angel and messenger of God unto His people; and after He became flesh, He professed that He was sent to preach. And who knoweth not, that He being truly and only *τρισμαέριστος*, as He is our king, so also our prophet, and our priest? And that which yet more setteth forth the excellency of the ministry; Christ, who, as He was God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God; yet as He was also man, He would not take upon Him this honour to be our priest, unless He had been called thereto of God, as Aaron was. Whereas therefore I said, that certain princes have been prophets, you may well think that this is no greater credit to the ministry, that kings have prophesied, than it was commendation to the kings themselves, that they were prophets. And howsoever sometimes they have been graced with that part of the ministry, (for even Saul sometimes was among the prophets,) yet might they not intrude upon the other functions of the priesthood. And therefore Saul, the king of Israel, for thrusting himself into the office of the priest, was himself thrust out of his kingdom. Likewise when Uzziah, the king of Judah, presuming (his heart being lift up with pride) to offer incense upon the altar, which was a function peculiar to the priests, the sons of Aaron; the Lord not only caused a fearful earthquake<sup>y</sup>, to testify His displeasure; but also presently smote him with a leprosy, and sequestered him from his regal function. For “no man,” whatsoever he be, “may take upon him this honour, but he that is called thereunto of God, as Aaron was.”

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Luke 4. 18,  
43.

Heb. 5. 4, 5.

1 Sam. 10.  
11; 19. 24.

1 Sam. 13.  
9, 13, 14.

2 Chron. 26.  
16, 19.

Heb. 5. 4.

<sup>v</sup> 2 Pet. ii. 5.

<sup>w</sup> Heb. vii. 1; Gen. xiv. 18.

<sup>x</sup> Eccles. i. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Amos i. 1; Zach. xiv. 5. Joseph. Antiq. Jud., lib. ix. c. 10. [§ 4. Op., tom. ii. p. 421, ed. Hudson.]

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I come to the end of the ministry; which is, to save men's souls. Other professions respect the good of this life; as the magistracy, the maintenance of peace and good order among the subjects; the art of the physician, the health of his patient; the profession of the lawyer, the wealth of his client. But the end of the ministry alone is the salvation of souls. For although Christ hath performed so much as is sufficient for the salvation of all, yet none are actually saved but they only to whom the benefit of the Messiah is communicated. Now the merits of Christ are applied ordinarily by the ministry of the word and Sacraments; unto which, for that cause, the power of salvation is ascribed. They therefore who enjoy the ministry of the word and Sacraments, let them acknowledge themselves infinitely bound unto the Lord, who hath visited them with the favour of His people, and vouchsafed unto them the peculiar privilege of His visible Church; in that He hath not only sent His Son to redeem them, but also given them those means whereby the benefit of redemption may be applied unto them.

There remain the parts of the ministry; which are two; the liturgy or public service of God in the congregation, and the regiment of the Church. The liturgy hath three parts; the preaching of the word, public prayer, and administration of the Sacraments. In the preaching of the word, as the duty of the ministry, so also the dignity doth principally consist: this being the chief work of the ministry, for which double honour is especially due unto the ministers; yea, the "work of the Lord," in respect whereof the ministers, *ἰερούργουόντες τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ*, as the Apostle speaketh, that is, "performing the sacred function of preaching the gospel," are called, *συνεργοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, the "co-workers of God." But the worthiness of this work may easily appear, if we consider the excellency, profit, and necessity thereof. For what greater honour can be vouchsafed to a mortal and sinful man, than to be the angel or ambassador of God in stead of Christ; appointed and sent of God, to reconcile men unto Himself, to justify them, and to save them? And hereby also appeareth the exceeding profit and necessity of the ministry of the word. The profit, in that by the preaching of the word men are brought to salvation, and all the degrees thereof. The

Eph. 4. 12.

1 Tim. 5.

17.

1 Cor. 16.

10.

Rom. 15. 16.

1 Cor. 3. 9.

Job 33. 23.

2 Cor. 5. 18,

20.

necessity, in that without it ordinarily men cannot attain to salvation, no nor yet to any degree of salvation. For whereas there are three degrees of salvation in this life; our vocation, our justification, our sanctification: what one of these is not effected by the ministry of the word, and what one of them is effected ordinarily without it? For whom God hath elected, them doth He call; neither shall any be saved (I speak of such as come to years of discretion) but such as are, or shall be called. Hence it is that the Church, which is the company of the elect, is called *ἐκκλησία*, a company of men called. Now men are called by the ministry of the gospel, seconded and made powerful by the Spirit of God. For first, by it our minds are enlightened to see our own misery in ourselves, and the infinite mercies of God in the mystery of salvation by Christ. Secondly, by it, as by the arm of God, men are drawn unto Him that they may turn unto God, and believe in Christ. Neither is there any means in the world so effectual to work the conversion of a sinner, or to bring him unto faith in Christ, as the ministry of the word; by which if a man will not be persuaded, neither will he believe, though an angel should come from heaven, or a man be raised from the dead. For indeed the ministry of the gospel is “the power of God to our salvation.” And although in the world it be contemned as a weak and foolish means, yet it is “the good pleasure of God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save those that believe.”

Rom. 8. 30.

2 Thess. 2.  
14.

Luke 1. 79;  
Acts 26. 18.

Isa. 53. 1.

Acts 26. 18.

Luke 16. 31.

Rom. 1. 16.

1 Cor. 1. 21.

Again, whom God calleth, them He justifieth, acquitting them from their sins, and accepting them in Christ as righteous, and as heirs of eternal life. But men are justified by faith; and “faith cometh by hearing the word of God.” For as the Apostle reasoneth, “How shall they call on Him in whom they have not believed; and how shall they believe in Him of whom they have not heard; and how shall they hear without a preacher?” For this cause preachers are said to be “ministers by whom we believe;” and being ministers of faith, whereby men are justified, they are also said to “justify” men.

Rom. 8. 30.

Rom. 10.  
17.

Rom. 10.  
14.

1 Cor. 3. 5.

Moreover, whom the Lord doth justify by faith, them also

7 Dan. xii. 3. [In the Hebrew, literally, “who make many righteous;” or, to use the word by which

most commonly translated in our version, “who justify many.”]



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2 Cor. 5. 17.  
John 3. 3.

He doth sanctify by the spirit of regeneration. For "whosoever is in Christ, he is a new creature." Neither can any man truly hope to enter into "the kingdom of heaven, unless he be born again." But how should men be born again? by "the immortal seed," saith Peter<sup>2</sup>, "which is the word of the living God;" by which preachers do beget men unto God. And in that respect are called spiritual fathers, fathers in the faith; because, as Paul speaketh to the Corinthians, "they beget them by the gospel of Jesus Christ." And forasmuch as we are nourished, as the philosopher saith, by that from which we are engendered; the word therefore, as it is the seed of our spiritual generation, so is it the food of our souls, whereby we are to be nourished, and to grow up in grace; affording both "milk for the new-born," and "strong meat" for those who are better grown in Christ. And therefore, as the ministers be fathers to beget men; so are they also pastors to feed them. And whereas sanctification consisteth of two parts, a "dying unto sin," and a "living unto righteousness," the ministry of the word is as salt to mortify our corruptions. In which respect the ministers are called "the salt of the earth." And in respect of righteousness habitual it is the word of faith, the ministry of the spirit, the word of grace, by which we are sanctified. And as for actual righteousness, it is the fruit of the word preached, which being sown in the furrows of good and honest hearts, bringeth forth fruit with patience.

If therefore our vocation, justification, and sanctification, which are all the degrees of salvation, going between election and glorification, be all of them wrought by the ministry of the word, we must acknowledge it worthily to be called the power of God to our salvation; and not without good cause the power of saving men's souls to be ascribed unto it, and to the preachers of it, as to the means and instruments under God.

James 1. 21. "Receive with meekness," saith St. James, τὸν ἔμφυτον λόγον, "the word engrafted," (to wit, by the preachers, who are God's planters, 1 Cor. iii.) "which," saith he, "is able to save your souls." "Attend to thyself," saith Paul to Timothy, "and to doctrine, continue therein; for this doing, thou shalt save both thyself and them that hear thee." But to conclude this point with the oracle of our Saviour Christ, sounding in the ears of

\* 1 Pet. i. 23, [διὰ λόγον ξῶντος Θεοῦ.]

St. Paul at His conversion, from heaven; at which time He appearing unto Paul, to make him, as he there saith, a minister of the gospel, setteth down the end of the ministry in these words, which contain the sum of all that hath been said concerning the preaching of the word. "To open," saith he, "their eyes, that they may be turned from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God," (there is vocation,) "that by faith in Christ" (for so I construe the words, there being a comma in the Greek text after ἡγιασμένοις) "they may receive forgiveness of sins" (that is justification) "and inheritance among them that are sanctified:" there is sanctification, and glorification, and all to be procured by the ministry of the word.

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Acts 26. 16.

Acts 26. 18.

Here therefore by the way divers sorts of men are to be admonished. First, the ministers; that as they desire the salvation of their people, whom Christ hath redeemed with His most precious blood, they would not only be diligent in preaching, but also be careful so to preach, as that their conscience may bear them witness, that in their ministry they truly seek to glorify God in the salvation of the people. Secondly, the people; that as they tender the eternal salvation of their souls, so they should be affected to the ministry of the word. "For the kingdom of heaven" (so is the preaching of the gospel called, because it is the principal means of bringing us to God's kingdom) "is like a treasure, or a precious pearl, which a man having found, he will sell all that he hath to procure it." Thirdly, they that do hinder the preaching of the word; for seeing the word preached is of such necessity to salvation, they which are an hindrance to the preaching of the word, do also hinder the salvation of their brethren, which every Christian is bound by all good means to advance. Of this kind are they, who being not of the ministry do get into their hands the livings and possessions of the Church. For where is want of living, there will be want of preachers; where preachers or prophets are wanting, there prophecy or preaching faileth; and "where prophecy faileth, there the people perish." The people indeed shall perish in their sins, but their blood shall be required at thy hands, who hast been the cause of their spiritual famishment.

Matt. 13.  
14—46.

Prov. 29. 18.

Such also are those greedy patrons, or rather latrons of Church livings, who with Gehazi, sell such things as none but

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[Matt. 26.  
15.]1 Kings 12.  
31; 1 Kings  
13. 33.

Isa. 9. 15.

Simons will buy; who with the thief and traitor Judas, betray for *quid mihi dabit*, the body of Christ, which is His Church, into the hand of blind and pharisaical guides; who with Jeroboam the son of Nebat, prefer to the ministry the skirts, or, as the prophet calleth such, the tail of the people. But these men, as they imitate the practice of Gehazi, Judas, and Jeroboam, so let them fear their end.

And lastly, such are those ministers, who having either no will or no skill to feed the people of God with the food of life, do notwithstanding for the milk and fleece of the flock, take upon them the charge of souls. But let these and the former consider, that whereas they ought to be resolved not to hazard or lose their own souls, though they might gain the whole world; they to gain, not the whole world, but the tithes of some one parish, (which are as nothing in comparison of the world,) do hazard not their own souls alone, but the souls of the people, whom they deprive of the principal ordinary means of their salvation.

Mark 8. 36.

But to return to my purpose: have you by your own experience found the ministers to have been the means under God of your vocation, justification, sanctification, which are the necessary forerunners of salvation? then, I dare say, you will confess that to be true, which Paul writing to Philemon forbearth to speak; that you owe even your own selves unto them; and that you ought to be affected to them, as the Galatians were to St. Paul, who giveth this testimony of them, that they were ready (if it had been possible) to pull out their own eyes to do him good. But if you be more ready to pull out their eyes, than to do them any good, it is a manifest argument, that as yet you are not sanctified, not justified, not called; and therefore not to be saved, unless these graces shall hereafter be wrought in you by the ministry of the word. Which benefits if you do but look for at the ministers' hands, you cannot but honour and reverence them in the mean time. But if you neither have these graces, nor hope for any, we must count ourselves blessed, when for our calling and the discharge of our duty, we are of such persons hated and reviled.

Phil. 19.

Gal. 4. 15.

Thus much I thought good to speak of preaching the word. Now are we briefly to intreat of invocation, and so of the

rest. For as in the preaching of the word, the minister is the Lord's ambassador to His people, so in public prayer he is an orator, and as it were an intercessor for the people unto God: in which respect Chrysostom saith<sup>a</sup>, that the minister "performeth an embassy unto God, not only for his own people, but also for the whole world, as if he were an universal father having care of all." And Nazianzen<sup>b</sup> acknowledgeth it to be no small honour to be preferred "before others in nearness unto God, and to receive ψυχῶν προστασίαν, καὶ μεσιτείαν θεοῦ καὶ ἀνθρώπων, a presidentship of souls, and a mediation between God and men;" by which they stand, as Moses once did, in the breach, and for which, as the prophets were wont, so may godly ministers now, be worthily called the horsemen and chariots of Israel.

Ps. 106. 23.  
2 Kings 2.  
12; 13. 14.

I come to the Sacraments, whereof the ministers also are dispensers. For as in respect of the word, which is as it were God's treasury, the ministers are His treasurers; so in respect of the Sacraments, which are the seals of God, the seals of that righteousness which is by faith, they are the keepers of the Lord's seals, whereby the people of God are assured, not of an earthly patrimony, but of an eternal kingdom in heaven. If therefore it be a great honour (as it is indeed) to be the lord-keeper of the king's seal, which notwithstanding hath use but in temporal affairs, what shall we think of their function, who are the keepers of the heavenly King's seals; which also serve for the confirmation of spiritual blessings in heavenly things?

Rom. 4. 11.

Having spoken of the liturgy, we are now to entreat of the regiment of the Church. For to the ministers the Church, which is the spouse of Christ, is committed, that having espoused her against the marriage day, which is the day of judgment, they may present her unto Christ the bridegroom, as a pure virgin and undefiled. In which sense Nazianzen<sup>c</sup> calleth the minister *νυμφάγωγον τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ προμνήστορα*; and Chrysostom<sup>d</sup> thus describeth him, *ὁ τοῦ χριστοῦ τὴν νυμ-*

2 Cor. 11. 2.

<sup>a</sup> S. Chrys. De Sacerdot., lib. vi. c. 4. [Op., tom. i. p. 424, A, quoted above, vol. ii. p. 216, g.]

<sup>b</sup> ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους μακρῶ γενέσθαι τῆ πρὸς θεὸν ἐγγύτητι, δεξασθαι ψυχῶν προστασίαν, κ. τ. λ. οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι

γινώσκω.—S. Greg. Naz. Orat. ii. Apo-  
loget. § 91. Op., tom. i. p. 55, B.]

<sup>c</sup> [S. Greg. Naz. *ibid.*, § 77. p. 49, E.]

<sup>d</sup> De Sacerdot., lib. iii. c. 6. [Op., tom. i. p. 385, B.]



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φῆν κατακοσμεῖν λαχόν, "he whose office it is to adorn the spouse of Christ." And forasmuch as the Church in the Scriptures is also called the house of God, therefore the ministers who are set over the Church are called οἰκονόμοι, that is, stewards of God set over His household. And where- as the authority of a steward is signified by the keys committed unto him, our Saviour Christ therefore, to His stewards hath committed keys, "the keys of the kingdom of heaven;" that both by preaching the gospel and by ecclesiastical discipline, they might open to some the gates of heaven, and shut them to others: that to them which believe and repent, they might pronounce the sentence of absolution, and might denounce damnation against the unfaithful and impenitent; that they might loose the one, and bind the other. Which their authority He hath ratified with most gracious promises, assuring them on His word, which is infallible, that "Whose sins they remit, they shall be remitted, and whose sins they retain, they shall be retained." And again, "Whatsoever they bind on earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever they loose on earth, it shall be loosed in heaven." Wherefore, as by the work of their ministry men being thereby converted, the will of God is done as in heaven, so also upon earth, according to our daily prayer; so by the authority committed unto them, it is done, as in the earth, so also in heaven. Than which, what authority is more glorious upon the earth? the magistrates indeed, having the keys of an earthly kingdom, have also power to loose and to bind the bodies of their subjects, and to commit the same to a jailor or executioner. But the ministers having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, have power to bind and loose the souls of men, and to deliver the obstinate to Satan; and what they do upon earth, is ratified in heaven. And this is that which Jerome saith<sup>e</sup>, the ministers "having the keys of the kingdom of heaven, do judge after a sort before the day of judgment."

Hitherto the dignity of the ministry hath been absolutely declared, and without comparison. But if into the balance of comparison we shall put the ministers and other men,

<sup>e</sup> [Qui claves regni cœlorum habentes, quodammodo ante diem iudicii judicant.—S. Hieron. Epist. xiv.] Ad

Heliodorum de vita eremitica. [Op., tom. i. col. 33, D.]

I had almost in some respect added the angels, we shall find that to be true, which Ambrose<sup>f</sup> hath averred, that “the dignity of bishops can scarcely be matched with any comparisons.” We will therefore compare ministers with other men; first, as they are men; secondly, as they are Christians; thirdly, as they are honourable.

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Men by nature are “the children of wrath,” and enemies of God; the ministers are ambassadors sent from God to reconcile them unto Him. Men naturally sit in darkness and in the shadow of death, knowing no more of God than serves to leave them without excuse: the ministers are “the light of the world,” who are sent to “enlighten” them, to “open their eyes,” to bring “them out of darkness into light,” and to “guide their feet into the way of peace.” Men naturally are such as Ezechiel describeth, wallowing in their own pollutions, “not washed with water, nor seasoned with salt:” the ministers are “the salt of the earth,” ordained of God to season men, and to “sanctify them with the word of truth,” and to wash them with the laver of regeneration. Men naturally are dead in sin, neither can they live unto God, unless they be born again: ministers are spiritual fathers, who by preaching the gospel “beget men” unto God. Men naturally are without faith, void of the spirit, destitute of grace: preachers are “ministers by whom they believe;” ministers of the spirit, ministers of grace. Men naturally being the bond-slaves of sin, and captives of Satan, are by him as the Gergesenes’ swine carried headlong into *mare mortuum*, the dead sea of perdition; the ministers are by Obadiah called “saviours,” and by Christ Himself, the “fishers of men,” ζωγοῦντες, catching with the net of the word τοὺς ἐζωορρημένους, those who were caught of the devil; bringing them out of the power of Satan into God’s kingdom; out of the slavery of sin into the glorious liberty of God’s children; out of the state of damnation, as it were the universal deluge, into the state of grace and salvation, as it were into the ark of Noah. You see then how the comparison stands between ministers and other men.

Eph. 2. 3.  
2 Cor. 5. 18,  
20.  
Matt. 5. 14.  
Luke 1. 79.  
Acts 26. 18.  
Ezech. 16.  
14.  
Matt. 5. 13.  
John 17. 17.  
Eph. 2. 1.  
1 Cor. 4. 15.  
1 Cor. 3. 5.  
2 Cor. 3.  
6, 9.  
Luke 8. 33.  
Obad. 21.  
Luke 5. 10.  
Matt. 13.  
47.  
2 Tim. 2. 26.  
Acts 26. 18.

<sup>f</sup> Honor et sublimitas Episcopalis nullis potest comparationibus adæquari. —De Dignitate Sacerd., cap. 2. [opus

spurium inter Op. S. Ambros., tom. ii. App. p. 359, B, quoted above, vol. ii. pp. 224, 225, h.]

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Let us therefore compare them with others, as they be Christians, and such as shall be saved by Christ. Other Christians are but the sheep of Christ; ministers are also pastors or shepherds, to whom Christ the chief pastor hath committed His sheep to be guided and fed. Other Christians are but the plants in the Lord's garden: ministers are also the Lord's gardeners, appointed of God to plant and to water them. Other Christians are but living stones in the temple of God, which is His Church: ministers are also God's builders, ordained of Christ, *πρὸς οἰκοδομήν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ*, "for the edifying of His body," which is His Church. Others finally are but the family, and as it were the household servants of Christ: the ministers are the stewards, whom the Lord hath set over His family, to give to every one, which be of the household of faith, their *σιτομέτριον*, "portion of food" in due season.

John 10.  
Eph. 4. 11.  
John 21. 15  
—17; 1 Pet.  
1. 2; Acts  
20. 28.  
Cant. 4. 12.  
1 Cor. 3. 6  
—8.  
1 Pet. 2. 5.  
1 Cor. 3. 9.  
Eph. 4. 12.  
  
Titus 1. 7;  
Matt. 24.  
45; Luke  
12. 42.

Out of these two comparisons it doth evidently appear, that no man whatsoever he be, whether a true Christian, or but a natural man, hath just cause to despise the ministers of God. For in that the true Christian hath attained to grace, he hath obtained it by the help of the ministry, whereby he was reconciled unto God, enlightened with the truth, begotten unto God, &c. And the natural man, who wanteth grace, is also to receive it ordinarily by the help of the minister, if ever he have it. And therefore those who vilify and condemn the ministers of God in respect of their calling, do manifestly bewray themselves to be vile and contemptible persons, who neither have any grace, nor yet desire any.

But now let us compare the ministers with other men, as they are honourable; and first with all jointly, and together. For if we will make a comparison of all honours in general, we must also take a view both of their burden in this life, and reward in the life to come. For the first, I have shewed before, not only that *honor* and *onus* do always go together; but also that according to the weight of the burden, such is the height of the honour. Now every man is ready to lay load upon the ministers, and amongst all callings to attribute the greatest burden and charge unto them; by which reason they must be fain to ascribe unto them the greatest honour.

For they are pastors, not of men's bodies, as magistrates are, but of their souls; and they bear all men's burdens, as Chrysostom saith, and they watch for other men's souls, insomuch that if any perish through their negligence, the blood of those which do perish, shall be required at their hands. How weighty this burden is, it will easily appear, if we shall consider how heavy every private man's own burden will be to bear in the day of the Lord. For the ministers' own burden may seem to be heavier than others. First, because the Lord requireth greater matters in them than in others. Secondly, because the same sins, which in other men are less offences, in them are esteemed greater faults. Simple fornication, which in others was after a sort salved by marriage, in the priest's daughter was punished with death. Thirdly, because the priest was to offer as great a sacrifice for his own sins, as for the sins of the whole people. But the minister must not only bear his own burden, but as upon Aaron the names of the twelve tribes were imposed, so the ministers are to bear the charge of their flock; and of that flock which Christ hath redeemed with His blood, and therefore was more dear and precious to Him than His own most precious blood. But what use are we to make of this? shall we therefore depress the ministers by contempt, whom we oppress with our burdens? nay, rather as we press them down with our burden, so let us exalt them with honour. It is the exhortation of the Holy Ghost, Heb. xiii.: "Obey them that have the oversight of you, and submit yourselves unto them; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give an account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you."

Ezek. 33. 8.

Gal. 6. 5.

Lev. 21. 9.

Lev. 4. 3,  
13.Exod. 28.  
29.

Acts 20. 28.

Heb. 13. 17

Matt. 24. 45.

1 Tim. 4. 16.

But as the minister's charge is greater than others in this life; so having discharged his duty, he shall have a greater weight of glory in the life to come. For that wise and faithful steward, mentioned Matt. xxiv., shall not only receive blessedness for his reward, or that incorruptible crown of glory which the Holy Ghost hath promised unto them; but also having saved both himself and those that hear him, of whom he may say in the day of judgment, "Behold, here I am, and the children which the Lord hath given



APPENDIX. me," (for whom the minister begetteth through his gospel  
 NO. IV. unto God, they shall be, as Paul saith, his rejoicing in the  
 2 Cor. 1. 14. day of the Lord,) he shall be preferred above others in hap-  
 Apoc. 1. 20. piness. For good ministers, as they have been stars in the  
 Church militant, to enlighten others with the truth; so in  
 Dan. 12. 3. the Church triumphant, they shall shine as stars in the  
 firmament for ever and ever. And this is that, which in  
 the place before cited, the Lord promiseth to the wise and  
 Matt. 24. 47. faithful steward, that He will make him ruler over all His  
 goods. Upon which words, an ancient and learned expo-  
 sitor writeth to this effect<sup>g</sup>; "The greatest amongst all is the  
 priestly dignity, if a man keep it without blemish. For if the  
 Lord above all His works esteem the souls of men most  
 precious," (for them He hath redeemed with His own blood,)  
 "it is not to be marvelled, if He set him over all, who brings  
 unto Him the gain of souls."

Now are we to compare the ministers with those peculiar  
 sorts of men, to whom the Lord hath vouchsafed honour.  
 And these are either private in the family, or public out of  
 the family, in the Church and commonwealth. Those that  
 are to be honoured in the family, are our parents, to whom  
 great honour is due by God's commandment, but not so  
 great as to the ministers. For, from thy parents, as the  
 instruments of God, thou hast thy generation; from the  
 ministers, as the instruments of the Holy Ghost, thy re-  
 generation; by thy parents thou art a man, by the ministers  
 a Christian; thy parents by mortal seed beget thee unto  
 this world, the minister by immortal seed begetteth thee  
 unto the world to come; by thy parents is sin and corrup-  
 tion derived to thee from the first Adam, by the ministers  
 justification and freedom from sin is communicated unto  
 thee from the second Adam. Finally, thy natural parents  
 are fathers in the flesh, but the ministers are fathers in the  
 Spirit. Both then, as you see, are parents; but the spiritual  
 fathers are, as Chrysostom saith<sup>h</sup>, *τιμιώτεροι τῶν πατέρων*,

<sup>g</sup> [Omnium quidem bonorum magna est gratia, inter omnes autem maxima est sacerdotalis dignitas, si quis eam immaculate custodiat. Nam si super omnia opera sua pretiosiores existimat Deus animas hominum, quanto magis credibile est, ut super omnia bona sua constituat eum, qui confert Deo lucrum

animarum.] Auctor imperfecti operis apud Chrysost. in Matt. xxiv.—[Hom. li. ap. S. Chrys. Op., ad calc. tom. vi. p. cexvi.]

<sup>h</sup> S. Chrys. de Sacerdot., lib. iii. cap. 5. [Op., tom. i. p. 384, A, B; quoted above, vol. ii. pp. 321, 322, g.]

“more honourable than fathers.” And “so great is the difference,” saith he<sup>1</sup>, “of them both, as of the life present, and the life to come; for these beget thee into this life, they into the other.” Wherefore leaving our natural parents, we will compare them with another sort of spiritual fathers, which is now ceased; I mean the Levitical priests, and chiefly the high-priest, whose dignity appeared both in his office and in his attire. For his office he was, as it were, a mediator betwixt God and man; and therein, because he represented the Messiah, he was superior not only to other men, but to the angels themselves. And his attire, which the Lord appointed unto him, was answerable thereunto, signifying a person excelling the condition of other men: insomuch that as histories<sup>k</sup> do record Alexander the Great coming with his army against Jerusalem, when the high-priest did meet him arrayed with his sacred and magnificent attire, he dismounted himself, and in the high-priest worshipped God, who, as he said, had in a dream appeared unto him in that habit. But what is this to our ministry? As an argument of comparison from the less to the greater. For if the ministry of the law was so excellent, what shall we think of the ministry of the gospel, which, as the Apostle sheweth, 2 Cor. 3. 7 2 Cor. iii., is much more excellent and glorious than it? The same doth our Saviour seem to testify, when having extolled John Baptist above all the priests and prophets that went before him, as being more than a prophet, than whom a greater had not risen amongst the sons of women; notwithstanding he preferreth every faithful minister in the kingdom of God, Matt. 11. 11. that is to say, in the Church of Christ, before him.

Now we are to enter into comparison with the civil magistrate. Wherein the fathers<sup>1</sup> indeed have included also the sovereign magistrate, affirming, that the ministers excel princes, “as far as gold is better than lead,” “as heaven

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Exod. 28.  
39.

2 Cor. 3. 7  
—9.

Matt. 11. 11.

<sup>1</sup> S. Chrys. de Sacerdot., lib. iii. c. 6. *καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀμφοτέρων τὸ διάφορον, ὅσον τῆς παρούσης καὶ τῆς μελλούσης ζωῆς. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ταύτην, οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐκείνην γεννώσι.*—[Id. *ibid.*, D, quoted above, vol. ii. p. 215, f.]

<sup>k</sup> Joseph. Antiquit. Jud., lib. ii. cap. 8. [§ 4. Op., tom. ii. p. 503. ed. Hudson.]

<sup>1</sup> Ambros. [Pseudo-Ambros. de Dignitate Sacerdotali, c. 2., Op. S. Ambros., tom. ii. App. p. 359, B, quoted above, vol. ii. p. 225, h.] Chrysost. [de Sacerdotio, lib. iii. c. 5, Op., tom. i. p. 383, D, quoted above, vol. ii. p. 321, g.] Nazianz., [Orat. xvii. § 8. Op., tom. i. p. 323, A, quoted below, p. 78, g.]

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surpasseth the earth, as the soul excelleth the body ;” and such like speeches are frequent among them, which the papists abuse to the maintenance of the pope’s supremacy over princes. For whereas the fathers speak of the dignity and spiritual excellency of the ministry above all other callings, the papists understand their speeches of power and external authority. And again, whereas their commendations are given of the calling in general, either of all ministers, or at least of all bishops, whom the fathers notwithstanding acknowledged to be subject to their princes; the papists apply them as peculiar to their lord god the pope<sup>m</sup>, whom they style the king of kings, and the lord of lords. But howsoever the comparison of bishops with princes, used by the fathers, may seem capable of good construction, in respect of spiritual excellency and dignity celestial, yet methinks it should beseem the modesty of a loyal subject, in reverence due to that supereminent function, to exempt the royal majesty of sovereign princes from this comparison; not only in respect of external power and authority, (in regard whereof we do freely profess that ministers are and ought to be subject to their sovereign, and that to the king is committed of God a sovereign or supreme authority in all causes and over all persons as well ecclesiastical as civil,) but also in respect of external excellency and glory. For as the whole Church, the spouse of Christ, so the ministers especially, are glorious within, Ps. xlv. And as Christ’s kingdom was not of this world, so is not their excellency worldly, nor their dignity carnal. For the ministry, as Chrysostom saith<sup>n</sup>, “is indeed executed upon the earth, but it is to be numbered in the order of heavenly things:” to other magistrates we

Ps. 45. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Extravagantes Joannis xxii., tit. 14. De verborum sign., cap. iv. Cum inter. in glossa. [The passage referred to is part of a gloss of Zenzelinus on the Extravagantes of John xxii. c. iv. ad fin. ap. Corp. Jur. Can., tom. iii.: “Credere Dominum Deum nostrum Papam conditorem dictæ decret. et istius, sic non potuisse statuere prout statuit, hæreticum censeretur.” In the folio editions of the Canon Law up to the year 1612, the words run as above. The word Deum, however, is not found in later editions, e. g. Lyons, 1624, and

1671, and it is alleged (see Apologia pro R. P. Henrico Garneto Anglo, p. 138. Colon. 1610, quoted Brit. Mag., vol. xiv. p. 425) that the word Deum was originally inserted by mistake, that it does not occur in the original MS. in the Vatican, nor in the earliest editions. But see the note in Bp. Jewel’s Works, vol. ii. p. 195. Oxford, 1848.]

<sup>n</sup> ἡ γὰρ ἱερωσύνη τελεῖται μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τάξιν δὲ ἐπουρανίαν ἔχει πραγμάτων.—S. Chrys. de Sacerd., lib. iii. c. 4. [Op., tom. i. p. 382, B, quoted above, vol. ii. p. 259, u.]

say with Nazianzen<sup>o</sup>, ἄρχομεν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοί, “we also are rulers; yea, I will add,” saith he, “that we have a greater and more perfect rule, unless you will say, that the spirit must give place to the flesh, or heavenly things to earthly.” The judgment-seat of the magistrate is placed on the earth, and he only determineth earthly affairs; but the throne of the minister, who exerciseth heavenly judgments, is, as Chrysostom saith<sup>p</sup>, “in heaven;” and his sentence, pronounced on earth, is executed in heaven. The magistrate, as Peter saith, is, κτίσις ἀνθρωπίνη, “an ordinance human,” or ap- 1 Pet. 2. 13.  
 pertaining to men; but the ministry is θεῖα κτίσις, “an ordinance divine,” or appertaining to God. Or as Jehosaphat distinguisheth them; the one for the king’s affairs, and the other for the business of the Lord. Both indeed are God’s ministers, but the minister, as Procopius saith<sup>q</sup>, *Augustius est sortitus ministerium*, “hath obtained a more worthy ministry.” For the magistrate is conversant in external matters, that concern the world; but the minister is employed in spiritual things, appertaining to God; the one is the minister of God’s external judgment, the other of His word, and judgments spiritual. Both also may be called the pastors of the people; but the magistrates are pastors of their bodies, the ministers of their souls. The one may say with the Roman magistrate, *I licitor, liga manus, deliga ad palum*; or, as ours do use to write, *capias corpus*, take his body, or *habeas corpus*, having authority only to bind the body; the other may say with Paul, *tradatur Satanae*, “let him be delivered 1 Cor. 5. 5.  
 to Satan,” or let him be *anathema maranatha*, that is, “ac- 1 Cor. 16.  
 cursed until the coming of the Lord,” as having authority to bind the soul: the one procureth the temporal good of the body, the other the eternal salvation of the soul. The armour, warfare, and munitions of the one, are corporal; of the other, “spiritual, mighty through God, to the overthrowing 2 Cor. 10. 4.  
 of strong holds<sup>r</sup>.” The one preserveth us from external foes,

<sup>o</sup> προσθήσω δὲ ὅτι, καὶ τὴν μείζονα καὶ τελεωτέραν ἀρχὴν ἢ δεῖ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποχωρῆσαι τῇ σαρκί, καὶ τοῖς γήϊνοις τὰ ἐπουράνια.—[S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xvii. ad cives Nazianz § 8. Op., tom. i. p. 323, A.]

<sup>p</sup> S. Chrys., tom. i. de verbis Esaiæ, Hom. v. [Op., tom. vi. p. 132, E; quoted

above, vol. ii. p. 322, h.]

<sup>q</sup> [Sacerdote rex inferior, eo enim augustius est sortitus ministerium, &c. —Procopius Gaz. in Numer., Comment. in Octateuch. Latine, p. 428. Tigur. 1555.]

<sup>r</sup> δυνατὰ τῶ θεῷ πρὸς καθαίρειν ὀχυρωμάτων.



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who are but flesh and blood; the other warreth not with flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers, delivering men from most dangerous enemies, both within them, that is, their own sins and corruptions; and without them, that is, the world, and the prince of this world, the devil. And therefore in this respect also, as the prophets were wont, so may the ministers now, be called the horsemen and chariots of Israel. Wherefore if heaven and heavenly things surpass the earth and earthly affairs; if the soul and the eternal salvation both of body and soul, are to be preferred before the body and temporal good thereof; if the enemies of the soul be more dangerous than the foes of the body, then can we not deny, but that the ministry in dignity doth excel the magistracy. It is the conclusion of Chrysostom: "the ministry," saith he<sup>s</sup>, "so far surpasseth the magistracy, as the spirit excelleth the flesh." And not to stand any longer in particular comparison with the several sorts of men, this may be avouched in general; that as the "ministry is of all good things among men the most excellent," as Ignatius saith<sup>t</sup>, so the minister is vouchsafed the greatest favour among men; so that he may not unworthily be called by a special prerogative, as Moses in his speech to God, Deut. 33. 8. calleth the priest, *ish chasideca*<sup>u</sup>, *virum quem benignitate prosequeris*, as if the minister were among men the chief object of God's bounty and favour, and as you would say, the favourite of God. But I pray you what meaneth that speech of God to Moses, Exod. xxx., where having commanded him, ver. 30, to anoint the priests with the sacred oil, in the 32nd verse he forbiddeth to anoint man's flesh with it? "How shall we untie this knot," saith Procopius<sup>v</sup>, writing upon that place, "priests must be anointed with holy oil, but men may not? Surely," saith he, "you must remember that the priesthood or ministry surpasseth the height of all human excellency." For ministers, though they be men, yet are

Exod. 30.  
30, 32.

<sup>s</sup> De Sacerd., lib. iii. cap. 1. *ἱερωσύνη τοσοῦτον ἀνωτέρω τῆς βασιλείας ἐστῆκεν, ὅσον πνεύματος καὶ σαριεὶς τὸ μέσον.*—[Op., tom. i. p. 381, A.]

<sup>t</sup> *ἱερωσύνη γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ πάντων ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν ἀναβεβηκός.*—[S. Ignat. Epist. interpol. ad Smyrn., c. 9. ap. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 87.]

<sup>u</sup> [אִישׁ הַסִּידָךְ]

<sup>v</sup> [Cum præcepisset sacerdotes illo oleo consecrandos, continuo addit; caro humana non eo ungetur. Quo pacto illum scripturæ solvemus nodum? Memineris sacerdotium excedere omne humanum fastigium, quod Christi supra naturam particeps est.—Procopius Gaz. Comment. in Exodum, p. 308. Tigur. 1555.]

they not as others, men of the world, but as the Scripture usually calleth them, men of God. To conclude, if the charge of the ministry be, as Chrysostom speaketh, *onus angelorum humeris formidandum*, “a burden which the shoulders of angels may shrink at;” and yet God enableth those men whom He calleth to bear this burden, whereunto none in themselves are able; it cannot be denied, but those whom the Lord calleth to the ministry, He advanceth above the condition of other men; calling them, as to a charge, so also to an honour, which might seem to become angels rather than men.

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Wherefore ceasing to compare ministers with other men, let us consider, whether they may not be compared with the blessed angels: for as in some things they are like unto them, so in other things they seem to have some pre-eminence above them. Like in this, that as the angels, so also the ministers are “sent forth into the ministry for their sake, which shall be heirs of salvation.” In which regard the ministers are often called in the Scriptures angels, and the angels *σύνδουλοι*, “the fellow-servants” of the ministers. Superior they seem to be in respect of their embassy, and of their spiritual authority. The embassy of the ministers is not simple *ἀγγελία*, a message; but *εὐαγγέλιον*, “the evangel,” into which the angels themselves do desire, as Peter speaketh, *παρακύψαι*, that is, “stooping down,” as it were, “to look,” and to behold. The law indeed was published by the ministry of angels, but the gospel by Christ and His ministers. Now the ministry of the gospel is far more excellent than that of the law, and the contempt thereof more grievous. Neither hath the Lord, as appeareth by the story of Cornelius, committed the preaching of the gospel to angels; but to His ministers, whom we are bound to hear and to receive, not only as angels of God, but even as Christ Jesus.

And as touching their authority: “to the ministers,” saith Chrysostom<sup>x</sup>, “being conversant on earth, is committed the administration of things in heaven; and they have received such an authority as God never communicated to the angels:”

<sup>x</sup> S. Chrys. de Sacerd., lib. iii. cap. 5. *ἀρχαγγέλοις ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός.*—[Op., tom. i. p. 383, B.]  
τὰ ἐν οὐρανοῖς διοικεῖν ἐπετρέψαν, καὶ ἔξουσίαν ἔλαβον, ἣν οὔτε ἀγγέλοις οὔτε

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Matt. 18. 18.

for to which of the angels hath God said at any time, which He hath said to His ministers, "Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, it shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever you shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." And again, "Whose sins ye forgive, they shall be forgiven; and whose sins you retain, they shall be retained." On which words Theophylact's annotation is something hyperbolical, but in a qualified sense, true; "Mark me," saith he<sup>y</sup>, "the dignity of priests, that it is divine; for it belongeth to God to forgive sins: wherefore you must honour them as God." As if in plainer terms he had said, 'the authority of forgiving sins is divine; which being communicated after a sort to ministers, in that they pronouncing the forgiveness of sin, according to their commission, the sins indeed are forgiven; their authority also may be said to be divine. Wherefore they bearing the image of God's authority before men, in forgiving or retaining sins, you are to honour and obey them as God, whose vicegerents they be.' The like hath Ignatius<sup>z</sup>; "Be subject," saith he, "unto your bishop, as unto the Lord." And again, "reverence your bishop as Christ." Neither is this any more than is commended unto us in the example of the Galatians, who received the Apostle "as an angel of God, yea, as Jesus Christ."

Gal. 4. 14.

Hitherto I have commended the office of the ministry, both absolutely and by way of comparison; now I am to propound the honourable titles which are given to the ministers of the word, whereof great store might be produced out of the fathers, but I will content myself with a few. Chrysostom<sup>a</sup> therefore calleth ministers the "vicars, or vicegerents of Christ;" in which title, though common to all ministers in a right sense, the vicar of Rome (though lifting up himself above all that is called God) doth chiefly glory. Origen<sup>b</sup>

<sup>y</sup> σκοπεῖ μοι τῶν ἱερέων τὴν ἀξίαν, ὅτι θεῖα ἐστὶ, θεοῦ γὰρ τὸ ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας, οὕτως αὐτοὺς τιμητέον ὡς θεόν.—Theophylact. Comm. in Joan. c. xx. [Op., tom. ii. p. 76<sup>t</sup>, B.]

<sup>z</sup> τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ὑποτάσσεσθε.—[S. Ignat. Epist. interp. ad Trall., c. ii. ap. Patr. Apost., p. 60.] ὡς τῷ κυρίῳ [see vol. ii. p. 299] αἰδεῖσθε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ὑμῶν ὡς χριστόν.—[Ibid., c. vii. p. 63; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 300, d.]

<sup>a</sup> [Sacerdotes Christi vicarios esse Christi.] auct. oper. imperfect. Hom. 17. in Matt. vii. [ap. S. Chrys. Op., ad calc. tom. vi. p. lxxxvii.]

<sup>b</sup> In Matt. tract. 5. [Sacerdotes autem rationabiliter possunt dici ecclesiæ oculus, quoniam et speculatores habentur. Vet. Interp. Origen. in Matt., tom. xiii. § 24. Op., tom. iii. 603. These words are added by the translator, but Origen's comment (on

callesh them "the eyes of the Church:" Ambrose<sup>c</sup>, "the captains and governors of Christ's flock:" Augustine<sup>d</sup>, "the defenders of the true faith, and subduers of errors:" Nazianzen likewise, *προστώτας τῆς ἀληθείας*<sup>e</sup>, "the presidents of truth," *ψυχῶν ταμίας, μεγακνδεῖς*<sup>f</sup>, "the glorious guardians of men's souls; the foundations of the world; the light of life, and pillars of the Christian faith." Bernard and others, *prælatos*, as being preferred before other men.

But omitting the writings of the fathers, let us search the Scriptures, and enquire what titles or attributes of honour are by the Holy Ghost assigned to ministers. And [1.] first we will begin with this very title of "God's ministers," being a title common to them not only with princes, but also with Christ, who is called the "minister of circumcision," that is, of the Jews.

2. They are called *ἡγούμενοι*, "rulers." Heb. 13. 17.

3. By a special prerogative they are termed, not only in the Old Testament, but also in the New, "men of God." 1 Tim. 6. 11; 2 Tim. 3. 17.

4. *Συνεργοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "co-workers of God," who hath so honoured His ministers, that He communicateth His own work unto them. Hence it is that in the Scriptures they are said to remit sins, to beget men unto God, and to save them, &c. 1 Cor. 3. 9.

5. *Οἰκονόμοι τοῦ Θεοῦ*, "the stewards of God," to whom are committed the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Titus 1. 7.

6. "The ambassadors of God," and that, "in the stead of Christ." Haggaï 1. 13.

7. "The angels of the Lord," and "angels of the churches;" and therefore as angels to be received. 2 Cor. 5. 20. Apoc. 1. 2, 3; Judges 2. 1; Mal. 2. 7.

8. "The chariots of Israel, and the horsemen thereof;" that is, the strength and stay of the Church, which is the Israel of God. Job 33. 23; Gal. 4. 14. 2 Kings 2. 12; 13. 14.

9. "Stars," because as in this life they shine before others, Apoc. 1. 20.

Matt. xviii. 8, 9) seems to imply that he understood the clergy by the "eye" of the body.]

<sup>c</sup> [Duces et rectores gregis Christi.—Pseudo-Ambros. de Dign. Sacerd. Op. S. Ambr., tom. ii. App. col. 359, A.]

<sup>d</sup> [Defensor rectæ fidei ac debellator erroris.]—S. Aug. de Doctr. Christian.,

lib. iv. c. 4. § 6. [Op., tom. iii. p. 66, D.]

<sup>e</sup> [S. Greg. Naz., Orat. ii. Op., tom. i. p. 48, C.]

<sup>f</sup> [*ᾧ ψυχῶν ταμίας μεγακνδεες . . . ᾧ κόσμῳ θέμεθλα, βίου φάος, ἔρμα λόγιοι. Lux vitæ, fidei columen, fundamina mundi.*—Id., Carm. ii. 1. 13. ad Episcopos, 2, 5. Op., tom. ii. p. 824.]



APPENDIX.  
NO. IV.  
Dan. 12. 3.

with the light of doctrine and good example; so in the life to come they shall shine as the stars in glory.

Matt. 23.  
8, 9.

These are honourable titles, but you shall hear more glorious: for the Holy Ghost not content to have honoured the ministers with these, ascribeth also unto them such titles and effects as most properly belong unto God. For albeit we have but one Father, and one teacher, who is in the heavens; notwithstanding the ministers are called in the Scriptures, not only doctors, but also fathers, and such fathers as are more to be feared than princes, more to be honoured than fathers, as Chrysostom speaketh<sup>ε</sup>. For whom they beget, they beget them sons of God, heirs of heaven, and co-heirs with Christ. And although this very work of regenerating or begetting men to God, be the proper work of the Holy Ghost,

1 Cor. 4. 15.

yet the ministers also are said by the gospel to beget men

Mal. 4. 5;

unto God; likewise to convert men unto God, to open their

Luke 1. 16.

eyes, to turn them from darkness unto light, and from the

Acts 26. 18.

power of Satan unto God; to justify men, and to remit their

Dan. 12. 3;

sins, to season them as salt, that they do not putrify in their

John. 20.

corruptions, are the proper works of the blessed Trinity; and

23.

Matt. 5. 13.

yet notwithstanding all and every of them are ascribed to the ministers of God. Moreover, it is proper unto Christ to be

1 Pet. 2. 25.

the pastor of our souls, the light of the world, the Saviour of

John 1. 9.

His brethren; and yet the ministers also are called pastors,

Matt. 1. 21.

not of men's bodies, but of their souls; the light of the world;

Eph. 4. 11;

saviours of their brethren; to whom, as the instruments of

Heb. 13. 17.

God, power of saving is ascribed. Wherefore to conclude;

Matt. 5. 14.

if the ministers were ordained to supply the room of Christ,

Obad. 21.

and to be the ambassadors of God in His stead; if kings and

1 Tim. 4.

princes, yea if the King of princes have executed this function;

16; Rom.

if the proper end of their ministry be the salvation of souls;

11. 14.

if in regard of preaching they be the mouth of God to His

people; in regard of prayer, the mouth of the people unto

God; in respect of the Sacraments, the keepers of God's

seals; as touching the government of the Church, the

guardians of Christ's body, to whom are committed the keys

of the kingdom of heaven; if compared to other men, they

<sup>ε</sup> οὐκ ἀρχόντων μόνον φοβερώτεροι 384, A; see above, vol. ii. pp. 321, 322,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρων τιμιώτεροι.— De g.]  
Sacerd., lib. iii. cap. 6. [Op., tom. i. p.

be the children of wrath, as all by nature are; these, reconcilers to God; they, sitting in darkness; these, the light of the world; they, putrifying in their corruption; these, the salt of the earth; they, dead in sin; these, begetting them anew, that they may live to God; they, bond-slaves of Satan; these, sent to bring them out of the power of Satan unto God: if to other Christians, they, be sheep; these, pastors; they, plants; these, planters; they, stones; these, builders; they, household servants; these, stewards of God's house: if to other honourable personages in general, the ministers do so much excel others in honour, as their charge is greater in this life, and their reward more glorious in the world to come; if in special, the spiritual fathers be in honour to be preferred before the carnal, as far as the life to come before this present life; if the priests of the law, in whom notwithstanding appeared a mirror of God's glory, are far surpassed by the ministers of the gospel, who have received a more glorious ministry; if the spiritual pastors have a more excellent function than the civil, "by how much the heaven is more excellent than the earth, or the soul is more precious than the body," as Chrysostom saith<sup>h</sup>; if the Lord having advanced them above the condition of other men, hath made them in some things equal, in some things superior to the glorious angels of God; and lastly, if the Holy Ghost hath assigned unto them titles of honour, not only common to them with the best of the creatures, but also peculiar to the Creator, all which hath with unanswerable evidence of truth been demonstrated unto us; then can we not deny, but that the ministry is not only a worthy work, as the Apostle here speaketh, but a most excellent and glorious function.

The full demonstration whereof I thought to be very needful, as well for their sakes who be not of the ministry, as for those that be. For, first, those of the laity by this doctrine may be thoroughly persuaded to esteem their ministers worthy of that double honour, of reverence and maintenance, which by the word of God is due unto them; and to free themselves from the two, no more usual than capital sins of our time, contempt of the word and sacrilege.

<sup>h</sup> ὅσῳ γῆς τιμιώτερος οὐρανοῦ καὶ σωμάτων ψυχῶν.—De Sacerd., lib. iii. c. 5, [Op., tom. i p. 383, D; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 321, g.]

APPENDIX.  
NO. IV.

For as touching reverence, there is no true Christian but he will readily acknowledge that he ought highly to reverence those whom God would have in special manner honoured, as the ambassadors of God in the stead of Christ, sent to reconcile men unto God, and to save them. Neither will he easily despise those whom he acknowledgeth to be the blessed instruments of God, for his singular and everlasting good. Whereas contrariwise, not to reverence the ministers is to dishonour God, whose ambassadors they be. Basely to esteem of them in respect of their mean estate in the world, is an evident sign of a worldly-minded man ; who, as he hath not learned to distinguish the men of God from the men of the world, or to acknowledge the ordinance of God, who hath discerned them<sup>i</sup> ; so he seemeth to know no better good things than worldly goods, and therefore thinketh himself so much better than the minister, as he is richer. But those who are religious and wise, are otherwise minded. Obadiah, though the governor of the king's house, disdained not to do reverence to the poor prophet Elijah. And Joash the king, when Elisha was sick, was content to do him this honour, as not only to visit him but also to weep upon his face, and say, 1 Kings 18. 7, 9.

" My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and horsemen of the same." Yea, the Emperor Justinian<sup>k</sup>, acknowledging that the ministry and the magistracy were two principal gifts of God, giveth the precedence to the ministry. And the like pre-eminence do our laws give to those of the spirituality before them of the temporality. Howbeit private men stand otherwise affected towards the ministry, every mean man almost, not only preferring himself before the minister, but also disdainning to bestow either his son on the ministry, or his daughter on a minister. Yet Esay the prophet was a noble man, and as it is thought of the blood royal. Neither did the kings of Judah disdain to join in affinity with the priests. 2 Chron. 22. 11 ; 2 Kings 23. 31.

To despise and contemn the minister in respect of his calling, is to despise God and Christ our Saviour : for " he

<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 7, διακρίνει.

<sup>k</sup> Maxima quidem in omnibus sunt dona Dei a superna collata clementia, sacerdotium et imperium: et illud quidem divinis ministrans, hoc autem

humanis presidens, &c.—Authentic. Collationes, lib. i. tit. 6. Novell. 6. in Præfat. [ap. Corp. Jur. Civ. ; see vol. ii. p. 292, note s.]

that despiseth you," saith Christ, "despiseth Me, and he that despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me." It is to profess a man's self void of all soundness of religion. For it is certain that a true estimate may be taken of men's religion and piety towards God, by their behaviour to the ministers of God. Neither can it be, that they who have been brought by the ministry of the word to the state of grace and salvation, should contemn the ministers thereof. Wherefore he that despiseth the ministry, undoubtedly, saith Ignatius<sup>l</sup>, "he is an atheist and irreligious man, and a despiser of Christ." It is to hinder their own salvation, by making the means thereof uneffectual unto them, which Chrysostom<sup>m</sup> esteemeth a point of madness: "For it is manifest madness, to despise so great authority, without which we can neither attain to salvation, nor to the promised good things." For he that despiseth the ministers, despiseth also their ministry; by which notwithstanding, as by the ordinary power of God to our salvation, He is pleased to save those that believe. And whosoever despiseth the ministry of the gospel, it shall be easier for them of Sodom and Gomorrah, in the day of judgment, than for him.

DOWNNAME  
ON THE  
CHRISTIAN  
MINISTRY.  
Luke 10. 16.

Rom. 1. 16.  
1 Cor. 1. 21.  
Matt. 10.  
15.

To abuse the ministers by word or deed, is a sin highly displeasing unto God, and grievously provoking His anger. For seeing they are the ambassadors of God, it cannot be denied, but that by the injuries and indignities that are offered to them as ministers, the majesty of God is violated. Wherefore He hath said, "Touch not Mine anointed, and do My prophets no harm." Yea, who knoweth not that the persons of ambassadors are by the law of nations sacred and inviolable<sup>n</sup>? Because their ambassadors were contumeliously used, the ancient Romans thought it a sufficient cause to extinguish Corinth<sup>o</sup>, though the eye of Greece.

Psa. 105. 15.

<sup>l</sup> ἄθεος πάντων ἂν εἴη καὶ δυσσεβής, καὶ χριστῶν ἀπειθῶν.—[S. Ignat. Epist. interp. ad Trall., c. 7. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 63.]

<sup>m</sup> De Sacerd., lib. iii. cap. 5. *μανία περιφανής ὑπερορῶν τῆς τοσαύτης ἀρχῆς, ἧς ἄνευ οὐτε σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, οὐτε τῶν ἐπιτηγελμένων ἀγαθῶν ἐπιτυχεῖν.*—[Op., tom. i. p. 383, E; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 321, g.]

<sup>n</sup> Si quis legatum hostium pulsasset, contra jus gentium id commissum esse

existimatur: quia sancti habentur legati.—Digest., lib. l. tit. 6, lege ultima; [ap. Corp. Jur. Civilis.] Cic. in Verrem. lib. i. [c. 33.] Nomen legati ejusmodi esse debet, quod non modo inter sociorum jura, sed etiam inter hostium tela incolome versetur. De Harusp. Respons., [c. 16.] Sic enim sentio, jus legatorum cum hominum præsidio munitum sit, tum etiam divino jure esse vallatum.

<sup>o</sup> Cic. pro lege Manilia. [c. 5.]



- APPENDIX. David likewise revenged the indignity offered to his ambassadors, with the overthrow of the Ammonites. Do earthly princes, who are but dust and ashes, revenge the wrongs offered to their ambassadors; and shall we think that the Lord of hosts, the God of vengeance, will suffer the indignities offered to His ambassadors to go unpunished? "Never any man," saith Ignatius<sup>p</sup>, "offending in this kind escaped punishment." Let the withered hand of Jeroboam, which he had stretched out against the prophet: let the two captains with their fifties, who were sent to apprehend the Prophet Elijah, destroyed by fire from heaven: let the lewd children which reviled Elisha, devoured by the bears: let the people of Israel, for contemning and mocking the prophets, rejected: let Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, who for insurrection made against Aaron, were swallowed up of the earth, be witnesses of this truth. Neither hath the Lord taught this by example alone, but also by precept, wherein He hath appointed death to him that rebelleth against the priest. For though the contempt of the ministers now-a-days seem a very small, or none offence; yet Chrysostom<sup>q</sup> doubteth not to call it the cause of all evil, and the Scripture noteth it as a grievous sin. Wherefore the Prophet Hosea, when he would set out in lively colours the desperate wickedness of the people in his time, he saith, they were "like them which contend with the priest." For to impugn the ministers which are sent of God, is not to repugn men, but giant like, "to fight with God:" for it "is not Aaron that you strive against," saith Moses to Corah and his complices, "but even against God Himself."
- APPENDIX. NO. IV.  
2 Sam. 10.  
Ps. 94. 1.  
1 Kings 13. 4.  
2 Kings 1. 10, 12.  
2 Kings 2. 24.  
2 Chron. 36. 16.  
Numb. 16.  
Deut. 17. 12.  
Hosea 4. 4.  
Acts 5. 39.  
Numb. 16. 11.

I come to the honour of maintenance, which, though it be most due to the minister by the word of God, is notwithstanding now-a-days greatly called into question<sup>r</sup>. . . .

<sup>p</sup> οὐδὲς ἔμεινεν ἀτιμώρητος.—[S. Ignat. Epist. interp.] ad Magnes. [c. iii. ap. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 54.]

<sup>q</sup> [τοῦτο πάντων τῶν κακῶν αἴτιον, ὅτι τὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἠφανίσθη, οὐδέμια

αἰδῶς, οὐδὲς φόβος.—S. Chrys. in 2 Tim. Hom. ii. Op., tom. xi. p. 668, A.]

<sup>r</sup> [This extract ends at p. 71 of the original Sermon, which runs on to 103 pages.]

# A P P E N D I X.

## No. 5.

DU PIN, A DIVINE OF THE GALLICAN CHURCH, AND ONE OF THE SORBON DOCTORS, IN HIS PREFACE TO THE SEVENTH DISSERTATION OF HIS BOOK, ENTITLED, "DE ANTIQUA ECCLESIE DISCIPLINA," PRINTED AT PARIS 1686<sup>a</sup>, AND AFTERWARDS PRETENDED TO BE PRINTED AT COLOGNE 1691<sup>b</sup>.

*Duæ sunt inter homines maximæ et præstantissimæ societa-tes, civilis et ecclesiastica, &c.*<sup>c</sup> "There are," saith he, "two most noble and excellent societies among men, the civil and the ecclesiastical; of which, though the same persons are members of both, and for that reason they may seem to vulgar eyes confused and intermixed with one another, yet in reality they are powers of a different kind and nature, and tend by different means to different ends: for the end of the ecclesiastical society, is eternal life; but of the civil, peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth. Which ends, since they are sundry, and wholly separate from one another, it is no wonder that the means which conduce to them are plainly different from each other. For no man can attain to eternal life, but by those actions which flow from the freest motions of his will, proceeding from the love of God; from whence it is the business of religion, so to dispose and cultivate the minds of men by faith and piety, that they may willingly and freely obey the commandments

<sup>a</sup> [De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina Dissertationes Historicæ Autore Ludovico Ellies Dupin, 4to. Paris. 1686.]

<sup>b</sup> [This edition is 4to. of smaller size and type than the original. The whole number of pages is the same, and in parts they agree page for page. The title-page has the words, "Excerptæ ex conciliis Œcumenicis et Sanctorum Patrum ac auctorum Ecclesiasticorum Scriptis," after "Historicæ," and "Coloniæ Agrippinæ, Sump-

tibus Huguetanorum, 1691," but it was really printed at Amsterdam. See General Dictionary, vol. viii. p. 408, note B.]

<sup>c</sup> [Dissert. vii., in qua probatur Pontificem aut Ecclesiam nullam habere in reges eorumque bona auctoritatem directam vel indirectam, nec posse reges ab ipsis ullatenus deponi aut eorum subditos a fide et obedientia eximi. Præloquium,—p. 433. ed. 1686.]

of Christ. But on the other hand, it makes no difference as to the tranquillity of the commonwealth, whether its laws be observed willingly, or otherwise, so they be observed. And therefore it is the business of the civil society to take care that they be observed, which is effected by fear of temporal punishment and death. In a word, the power of the civil society hath the bodies of men for its object; but the authority of the ecclesiastical regards their souls. Wherefore seeing bodies are subject to force and compulsion, it is their office, who are governors of the civil society, to punish offenders, and put them to death. But since external force cannot touch the souls of men, it must follow, that the ecclesiastical society hath no power to use external force, nor to reduce sinners any other way from their sinful courses, but by prayers and precepts, which if they will not obey, it can inflict no other punishment upon them, but excommunication, by which they are denounced unworthy of the Church's society, and eternal life. In the last place, the laws of the civil society regard only the good and tranquillity of the commonwealth; but contrariwise there is no other end of ecclesiastical laws, but to keep the sanctity and purity of Christian doctrine and discipline sound and undefiled.

“From these principles, which are most evident and sure, it follows, that the power of the Church is wholly spiritual, and does not in the least reach the temporal rights or goods of kings or other men; so that neither kings can be deposed, nor private persons be deprived in any manner of what they have, by mere ecclesiastical power”——

“Wherefore<sup>d</sup> a great difference is to be observed between the power, and him who useth and exerciseth the power. For it may so happen, that he who useth one power may be subject to another power, though that power which he exerciseth is subject to no power. To apply which observation to my present purpose: you must take notice, that the same man may at the same time be a member both of the civil and ecclesiastical society, and therefore by different personal relations be subject both to the ecclesiastical and civil power. But then it does not follow from thence in the least, on this

<sup>d</sup> [Itaque observandum est &c., *ibid.* p. 434.]

hand, that the civil power which he hath is subject to the ecclesiastical; or, on the other, that the ecclesiastical is subject to the civil power. Thus bishops are subject to the regal power in civil matters, but so as the episcopal power is not subject to the civil power. And therefore a king or emperor cannot constitute or depose a bishop by civil authority and force. In like manner, kings are subject unto bishops, and the chief pontiff<sup>e</sup>, and the spiritual power; but they cannot be made or deposed by ecclesiastical authority: wherefore, though it is out of all doubt that kings are subject to the spiritual, and bishops to the temporal power; yet we must not from thence assert that the ecclesiastical power is subject to the civil, or the civil to the ecclesiastical; because both these powers are of a sundry different nature, and wholly dependent upon God, by whom they are instituted; so that neither of them can do any thing against the other, notwithstanding the spiritual is more noble than the temporal power.”

DUPIN  
DE ANTIQ.  
ECCL.  
DISCIP. ...

<sup>e</sup> The chief pontiff is added by the learned author, to avoid the censures of the Romish Church.





APPENDIX.

No. 6.

A PARTICULAR TREATISE

WRITTEN BY

ISAAC CASAUBON OF GENEVA,

ENTITLED,

DE LIBERTATE ECCLESIASTICA,

OF THE LIBERTY (OR FREE ESTATE) OF THE CHURCH;

ADDRESSED TO THE POLITICIANS (THEN SO CALLED) WHO DESIRE TO BE  
INSTRUCTED IN THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN POPE PAUL V. AND  
THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE, A.D. MDCVII.



## THE PREFACE<sup>a</sup>.

TO THE TRULY PIOUS AND TRULY POLITIC READER.

It is without cause, that many even sometimes judicious men, have so much wondered at the controversy which lately arose between Pope Paul V. and the most serene republic of Venice; for as it is not dissonant to reason, that the common people, who are unacquainted with affairs, and wholly taken up with their own daily business, should have been amazed and affrighted at such news: so that men well skilled in the history of times past, and especially of what is now doing in the world, should entertain the least admiration upon this occasion, there is no reason at all: for indeed wise men are used to admire only at such things as either rarely happen, or the causes of which are obscure and hard to be traced out. But what wise man can be ignorant of examples (with which all the histories of past times, as well as of our own abound) of the like controversies, and even of most bloody wars, wholly owing to the same cause? And the cause is also plain and obvious to all men. For ever since the pope has suffered himself to be persuaded by his flatterers, those fatal plagues of great potentates, that the empire of the world is his; that the dominion of all things, not only spiritual but temporal, (as they call them,) appertains to him; that on him alone all the kings and princes of the earth depend, as on one in whose power it is to confirm, or change, or take away their kingdoms and transfer them to whomsoever he pleases: since that time, he that was before revered by all as a common father, has begun to grow burdensome to them, and to be suspected and feared by them. Hence those so frequent, so lasting, and so often repeated quarrels, dissensions, and in the end most deadly wars, waged with the

CASAUBON  
DE LIB.  
ECCL.  
PREFACE.

<sup>a</sup> [This treatise was translated from the copy published in the 3rd edition of Casaubon's Epistles by Almeloveen, Rotterdam, 1706; see above, vol. i.

pp. 33, 34; see also the advertisement of Almeloveen after this preface, and the translator's advertisement after Appendix No. 8. of this volume.]



APPENDIX.  
NO. VI.

utmost hatred both by the pope and against the pope. And though in compliance with their common interest, they have often desisted from war; yet because it never was, nor ever will be possible for princes who disagree in their affections and opinions, and are perpetually in danger from one another, to be at peace in good earnest; that is rather to be looked upon as putting off the war, than as a firm peace.

Pax ante fida nivibus et flammis erit<sup>b</sup>.

Sooner shall snow and fire agree,  
Than peace 'twixt such e'er lasting be.

For what prudent man possessed of a lawful dominion, would submit to so immense and boundless an empire, the like whereto was never heard? would not use his utmost endeavour to throw it off? Princes who ascribe to the pope that unbounded power, which equally contains under it all rights human and divine, divest themselves not only of their majesty, but of their liberty. They may sometimes, I confess, do it with impunity, but can never be secured: wherefore if there be often disagreement between the pope and princes, it ought not to be thought any thing wonderful; but we should rather wonder by what engines the generous minds of the greatest and most powerful princes are at last subdued, so that they are either not sensible that they are governed or concerned at it, though they know it. Indeed it is worth while to consider by what art approaches are made to most of them on this occasion, while they are minding something else: for as in a free state it usually happens that a few, to gain the supreme power into their own hands, set upon the people by craft, and by such methods as the wisest of the philosophers calls the sophisms<sup>c</sup> of a few governing men: so they who endeavour to subject princes to the yoke of this dishonourable servitude (I mean the pope's temporal dominion) are careful to soften the harshness of the thing by giving it a decent name, and cover a certain and manifest usurpation (as the most holy father St. Bernard<sup>d</sup> called it even in his time) with the title

<sup>b</sup> [L. A. Seneca. Herc. Furens, act. ii. 375.]

<sup>c</sup> [ἄλιγαρχικὰ σοφίσματα. — Arist. Polit. iv. 13. 5. ed. Bekker.]

<sup>d</sup> [S. Bernard. de Consideratione, lib. ii. c. 2. Op., tom. i. col. 425, E; quoted below, p. 143.]

of ecclesiastical liberty: who if they meant nothing else than what these words seem to express, would be most worthy of the love and praise of all men: for he deserves not to be esteemed a Christian who does not desire, and to the utmost of his power promote the liberty and preservation of the Church of God, the spouse of our Lord Jesus Christ, for which He was contented to lay down even His life. But that which is done here is far different from that which is pretended; one thing is openly professed in words, another really meant under-hand; and while the liberty of the Church is made the pretence, that which is designed is the absolute dominion of one with a few associates. And when some men now labour with great industry, as if the Christian religion did wholly depend upon this one thing, to divest all the emperors, kings, and sovereign princes of the world of their majesty, and set up one, not so much over them all, as in the room of them; all their attempts and undertakings of this nature, which are sometimes very dreadful, are still cloaked under the soft name of the liberty of the Church. But not to recall to mind those past calamities, which have sprung from this fountain alone, and often miserably overrun all Italy, France, and Germany; the pope having now of late published a dreadful bull of excommunication against the most serene republic of Venice, alleges as the cause of all this anger, the violation of the liberty of the Church<sup>e</sup>. In the name of God and man! what, I beseech you, is that liberty, the contempt of which is to be expiated with the eternal damnation of so illustrious a prince, of a senate that has deserved so well of the universal Church, and of so many innocent cities and people? But why are the names changed by which things are signified? For the liberty of the Church is not concerned in this case, but only the interests of a few, who by a certain use or abuse of speaking are

<sup>e</sup> [Nos qui nullo pacto ferre debemus, ut ecclesiastica libertas et immunitas, nostraque et sedis Apostolicæ auctoritas violetur et contemnatur, &c. —Pauli V. Papæ excommunicationis sententia adversus serenissimum ducem et senatum ac universum dominium Venetum; ob decreta sua, I. De non alienandis bonis immobilibus in per-

sonas ecclesiasticas. II. De non erigendis de novo ecclesiis et monasteriis aliisque hujusmodi ædificiis absque licentia sereniss. Ducis, &c. III. De judicandis et puniendis clericis pro criminibus gravibus et atrocibus; et pro iisdem responsiones, pp. 4, 6. Francof. 1607.]

APPENDIX.  
NO. VI.

called by the name of the Church: the question is also concerning the impunity of ecclesiastics, and licence for them to attempt any thing under pretence of religion; and not concerning the liberty of elections, in defence of which the senate and people of Venice are prepared to undergo a thousand deaths: nor lastly, concerning any matter which regards the common interest of the Christian flock. Behold what is now styled the liberty of the Church; a liberty established by the damnation of so many innocent souls; and for the establishment of which God's praises are to be no longer sung<sup>f</sup>; the perpetual sacrifice is ordered to be taken away; an infinite multitude of miserable people, without any demerit of their own, are forbid all exercise of religion; nay, and alarmed with the fear of war, and of all the ills that attend it. What need many words? this is that liberty, against which if any man, induced by the love of his country, dare but to mutter, he is immediately called a politician, as though no longer deserving the name of a Christian. And indeed this was the only thing wanting to fill up the scandal of our age, that as though the Church of God were not at this time rent into parts enough, that new name should be likewise found out by some turbulent ringleaders of sedition, who are sworn enemies to the public tranquillity, to alienate from each other such as otherwise agree in the doctrines of faith; and when thus alienated, to compel them to divide into parties, or perhaps to join themselves, whether they will or no, to such whose suspension from the communion of the Church of Rome the whole Christian world hath long since lamented.

Hoc Ithacus velit, et magno mercentur Atridæ<sup>g</sup>.

It is this our enemies covet most,  
And would procure at any cost.

And yet what else can you think they desire or aim at, who are constantly speaking and writing severely against those whom they call "politicians?" They render them hateful to the common people; they cast the foulest reproaches upon them: Cardinal Baronius in a thousand places of his *Annals* calls them *novatores, novatoribus ortos, impios, hereticos*: "in-

<sup>f</sup> [Ibid., p. 7.]

<sup>g</sup> [Virg. *Æneid.* ii. 104.]

novators, the spawn of innovators, atheists, heretics.” There are in all men’s hands writings of divers authors, as of Thomas Bozius<sup>b</sup>, Alexander Carerius of Padoua<sup>i</sup>, published at Rome, Padoua, and other places, in defence of that ecclesiastical liberty “against the impious politicians,” as the titles of those books express. A fine way this indeed, and of great efficacy, to reduce the universal flock to one fold; when even those of the Church’s household are with atrocious revilings, grievous to ingenuous persons, thrust out of doors as it were by head and shoulders, as the saying is; and when thus driven away, all hope of return is cut off for ever by new stumbling-blocks, which are daily laid in their way. But that liberty forsooth is of such importance, that in defence of it, it is no shame to throw all things into disorder, to confound heaven and earth, and things sacred with profane; and when the precepts of our heavenly Master are such as cannot be gainsayed, and have been taught us also by His example; viz., by all means to encourage charity above all things, even towards our enemies; and to be subject to the powers ordained of God, and obey them for conscience sake: yet in maintenance and confirmation of this liberty, which for so many better ages was unknown, and not so much as heard of, to sow quarrels perpetually, to stir up wars in all places, to be a terror to kings and princes, to absolve subjects from their laws, and arm them against their own sovereigns, and in a word to violate all rights divine and human: this is called pious and holy, and maintained to be most acceptable to God. For, indeed, this is what they ought to do, who would confirm to posterity the truth of that old saying:

Male imperando summum imperium amittitur<sup>j</sup>.

By governing ill the supreme authority is lost.

But now I turn to you, most judicious and prudent statesmen, who are privy to the counsels of princes, and desire and beseech you to vouchsafe to read this book, com-

<sup>b</sup> [De Ruinis gentium et regnotum, adversus impios Politicos; libri viii. auctore Thoma Bozio Eugubino. Romæ. 1596.]

Alexandro Carerio Pativino I. C. auctore, Patavii. 1599.]

<sup>j</sup> [Publ. Syri Fragmenta, l. 133, ap. Corp. Poet. Lat., p. 1532. fol. Lond. 1713.]

<sup>i</sup> [De Potestate Romani Pontificis, adversus impios Politicos; libri duo.



posed indeed without much skill, but proceeding from a love of truth, and a particular devotion for the powers ordained of God. It concerns your fidelity, by whose counsels all things are administered in the state, to consider this case thoroughly yourselves, which if well understood, confirms all the strength of the civil government, and if otherwise, overthrows it; and to desire and endeavour to have it perfectly well known by all your master's subjects. But above all, it most concerns your princes to take the naked truth of the matter in this case from you, and to understand it rightly: for it is usual with the assertors of that doctrine, who are men of great wit and indefatigable industry, to come upon them unawares after a wonderful manner, and with soft and fine words to instil the poison of their pestilent doctrine into them, while they think of nothing less: for there is a vast difference between what they say upon this question in the ears of princes, and what they babble to the common people, and in their books. Which artifice has hitherto so happily succeeded, that very few princes seem to have known hitherto, what are their real sentiments in this matter, and what they teach concerning the power of the prince. But for the future it ought to be your care, most prudent and wise counsellors, that they may not be ignorant of what is so necessary. Indeed I know, that the greatest persons of your rank are thoroughly persuaded, and I am confident that I have clearly and evidently demonstrated in this short treatise, that if that doctrine be admitted, and this mock liberty received into the minds of men without examining it, all is concluded; there is an end of the authority and rights of all civil powers: for in effect the dominion itself is wholly taken away from princes, however the empty name of it may seem to be left them; although by this doctrine they are not allowed the right of using so much as the name, unless it be at the discretion of another; than which what more contumelious and reproachful can happen to those who receive that sublime pitch of dignity from God alone; whose ordinance is manifestly opposed by such as subvert the rights of princes, absolve subjects from their allegiance, and break all the bonds of civil government? let this be known, understood, and throughly considered both by those

who govern, and those who are governed. This is the common cause of all princes; for this liberty of the Church falsely so called, oppresses the liberty of them all. Oppresses do I say? yes whole kingdoms are taken from their lawful possessors, under the pretence of this liberty, and claimed for the pope; and that with so much vehemence, with such bitterness and sharpness of words, as nothing can be more. Pray read but that one most accurate digression of Cardinal Baronius, in his eleventh book<sup>1</sup> of Annals<sup>k</sup>, by which he endeavours to recover the kingdom of Sicily from the catholic king. You will wonder that Charles V., an emperor most worthy of immortal praise, with his son and grandson the two Philips, catholic kings of Spain, should by the fierce defenders of the apostolic see be no otherwise accounted of than as certain vile robbers of the world, and enemies to the Church<sup>1</sup>. But by what right? by that of this liberty of the Church; the name whereof is repeated so often in every page by that author, that it almost turns your stomach. And now let princes go, and bestow their riches, their kingdoms, and themselves in defence of that liberty. Nor is it of any moment, that some of them seem to be in no danger at present from this doctrine; for if once by their neglect they suffer the foundations of their dominion to be weakened in the minds of their subjects, it is altogether necessary that the dominion itself and their empire decay, totter, and fail at the root. Consider, most prudent counsellors, that he threatens all princes, who does injury to one. Consider, that it was most wisely said by Pope Felix III.<sup>m</sup>: “An error which is not opposed, is approved; and a truth that is not defended, is oppressed: for to neglect a perverse opinion, when you are able to overthrow it, is nothing less than to encourage it.” Consider, that you are those politicians, the

<sup>1</sup> [rather  
“volume.”]

<sup>k</sup> [Baronii Annales Ecclesiastici ad ann. 1097, num. xviii.—cxliii. tom. xi. col. 881—927. Mogunt. 1606. This Excursus is also contained in the first editions published at Rome; it was omitted in the edition Antw. 1608, tom. xi. col. 662, being proscribed by Philip III. It was published as a separate tract “de Monarchia Siciliae” at Paris, in 1609, with Cardinal Aescanius’ observations, and Baronius’ reply, and his letter to Philip III. In the

edition of the Annals, Lucæ, 1724, it is found, tom. xviii. pp. 49, sqq.]

<sup>1</sup> [Ibid., num. cxxxix.]

<sup>m</sup> [Error, cui non resistitur, approbatur; et veritas, quæ minime defensatur, opprimitur. Negligere quippe, cum possis deturbare perversam opinionem, nihil est aliud quam fovere.—Felicis Papæ III. (al. II. A.D. 483.) Epist. i. ad Acacium, ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 145, D.]

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name of which is so odious to the first authors of that sect. Take care therefore that they may effectually experience, that you understand the meaning of the name, and are truly skilful in civil policy; that you are careful of the future, and look with great sagacity, as well forward as backward; and that which the sage Megalopolitan (Polybius<sup>n</sup>) teaches to be the property of wise men, that you do not trust to fortune, but to those counsels which right reason dictates.

I shall only add, that I entreat and beseech all those in whose hands these papers shall come, that if in this dissertation any thing shall happen to fall from me, expressed with a little too much freedom, it may not be imputed to any ill will or irreverence towards the holy order whom I profess to regard with all due honour and veneration; but that they would ascribe it all, whatever it may be, partly to the love of my country, which I shall never conceal to be in me very vehement; partly to the love of truth, to which that a chief regard is to be had in all disputes, can be doubted by none that considers himself as a man born to a share of right reason. So may the Lord Jesus, who can neither deceive nor be deceived, hear my prayers when I call upon Him. Farewell, most prudent and noble counsellors, and administer well by God's help.

<sup>n</sup> [Polybii Hist. ii. 4.]

## THE EDITOR'S ADVERTISEMENT<sup>a</sup>.

THIS small tract was composed by the advice and command of some great men in France, upon occasion of the disputes between the pope of Rome and the republic of Venice. But things being changed, and the difference composed while it was in the press, and the 264th page was printing at Paris in the year of our Lord 1607, in octavo, Henry IV., king of France, forbid the printing any more of it, and commanded, that what was already published should be suppressed<sup>b</sup>: therefore the work remained imperfect. A very few copies that were begun, came abroad without Casaubon's name. Melchior Goldastus inserted a copy that came into his hands, in the first tome of his *Monarchia S. Romani Imperii*<sup>c</sup>, p. 674, et seqq.

I thought it would be a public service to give the world a new edition of this book, that is so very scarce. How learned in ecclesiastical antiquities Casaubon was is very easily shewn, both from this specimen and from his *Exercitationes upon Baronius's Annals*<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> [Observatio Editoris (Almeloveen) ap. Epist. Is. Casauboni, tom ii. p. 165. Roterod. 1706.]

<sup>b</sup> [Vita Isaaci Casauboni p. 43, ibid. tom. ii. See the note at the end of this treatise.]

<sup>c</sup> [Monarchia S. Romani Imperii

sive tractatus utriusque jurisdictionis. Francof. 1621.]

<sup>d</sup> [Isaaci Casauboni de rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis Exercitationes xvi. ad Card. Baronii Prolegomena in Annales &c. fol. Lond. 1614.]





THE  
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CHAPTERS OF THIS BOOK  
OF THE  
LIBERTY OF THE CHURCH.

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<sup>a</sup> [The work breaks off in the third chapter.] chapters which were omitted by Hicckes are here supplied from the original.]

<sup>b</sup> [The contents of the fifth and sixth



A

# PARTICULAR TREATISE

WRITTEN BY

ISAAC CASAUBON OF GENEVA,

ENTITLED, DE LIBERTATE ECCLESIASTICA, OF THE LIBERTY (OR FREE  
ESTATE) OF THE CHURCH.

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## CHAP. I.

THE CAUSE AND OCCASION OF THIS TREATISE. THE EXPLICATION OF THE  
WORD LIBERTAS. VARIOUS KINDS OF LIBERTY. THAT CHRISTIAN  
LIBERTY GIVEN BY GOD IS OFTEN MENTIONED BY THE ANCIENT FATHERS,  
BUT NOT ECCLESIASTICAL, OR THE LIBERTY OF THE CHURCH. A MIS-  
TAKE OF THE INTERPRETERS OF THE CANON LAW IN DEFINING THE  
LIBERTY OF THE CHURCH. A PARTICULAR ENQUIRY INTO ITS DEFINI-  
TION.

ALL men love liberty, as one of the chief goods of the mind, desire it themselves, and, for its sake, are indulgent to others: and all true Catholic Christians have a respect and veneration for the Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ, the pillar of truth, and haven of salvation; and yet all that are styled, and are in reality Catholics and Christians, do not appear affected in the same manner towards that which is now called the liberty of the Church. Many think this the only bulwark of Christian piety; place the sum of all religion in the defence and enlargement of it; avoid those that are of a different opinion, as persons in a dangerous error; and look upon them as execrable and detestable persons. Others on the contrary maintain, that the former are in a great and senseless mistake, and are either wholly ignorant of the signification of this word, or fraudulently conceal it; for that now the specious name of liberty is made use of by such as design to enslave others, and be lords themselves. In like manner as vices often counterfeit virtues, as covetousness doth good husbandry, prodigality



bounty, cruelty a zeal for justice, and remiss government mercy, which was observed by Gregory the Great<sup>a</sup>: so the liberty of the Church is falsely pretended, and made show of by such an endeavour to put a yoke of most severe bondage, both upon the Church, which was made free, not by the authority of the magistrate, but by the precious blood of Christ, and upon the necks even of kings and princes themselves. To make use of good words when you intend mischief, is the greater malice; for there is no one tolerably read in history, but knows that this liberty of the Church has for some ages past been the incentive which has set all the Christians in Europe at enmity against each other, and by cruel and long wars wasted them in a most deplorable manner; and now also it is owing to the same ecclesiastical liberty, that Italy, that most splendid part of the world, is disturbed, and in danger of being ruined betwixt war and peace, preservation and destruction: for this is the complaint of Pope Paul V.<sup>b</sup> in his bull of excommunication against the most serene republic of Venice, that his papal majesty is violated by their infringing the liberty of the Church. The Venetians on the other hand allege<sup>c</sup>, that by yielding to the pope in this particular they should betray the rights of their commonwealth and the true liberty of the Church. This is indeed a question of the greatest importance, and has deservedly employed many of the ablest pens to do justice to both sides. I hope it will move no one's envy, if among such a number of writers I have also an impression upon me to enquire thoroughly into a matter of so much moment; especially since I have taken great offence at what Cardinal Baronius says upon this subject, who in so many passages of his *Annals* defends this liberty after such a manner as not to fear pronouncing all such to be heretics, and damned to

<sup>a</sup> [Plerumque vitia virtutes se esse mentuntur. Nam sæpe sub parcimoniam nomine se tenacia palliat, contraque se effusio sub appellatione largitatis occultat. Sæpe inordinata remissio pietas creditur, et effrenata ira spiritalis zeli virtus æstimatur.—S. Greg. M. *Regulæ Pastoralis*, pars ii. c. 9. Op., tom. ii. col. 28, E.]

<sup>b</sup> [See above, p. 91, note e.]

<sup>c</sup> [Cum cognoverimus præfatum

breve contra omne jus et æquum emanasse, et contra ea quæ divina Scriptura, sanctorum Patrum doctrina, sacrique canones præcipiunt in præjudicium auctoritatis sæcularis a Deo nobis traditæ, et libertatis Reipublicæ nostræ promulgatum fuisse.—Seren. Venetiarum Ducis Rescriptum, printed in the work quoted above, p. 91, note e, p. 13.]

eternal flames, who have a different opinion of it from him. What Catholic will be so stupid, and so confident of his salvation, as not to be moved with so grievous a denunciation? as not to be inflamed with a desire of knowing, what it is which is now meant by the liberty of the Church? I have enquired into this, not for the sake of contention, I call the immortal God to witness, but with a desire to find out the truth. Therefore that this dissertation may proceed in order, I shall take the question from the very beginning, and first say something of the word *libertas*, which is of various and manifold acceptation.

*Liber* (free) in its first signification is a country word, as *clades*, *soboles*, and many others, which later time has transferred to things most different. *Λέπος* in Greek is the bark taken off the tree: but for  $\pi$  others wrote  $\beta$ , whence the grammarians derive *λεβηρίς quasi λεπηρίς*, and say, that originally that word signified *λέπος κνάμου*, the shell of a bean. From thence *liber* among the ancient Latins, at first in the same sense, meant the bark stripped from its tree, and *liberare*, to strip off the bark. Afterwards when in the wars any one that was taken got away from him that took him, by the elegance or wantonness of the soldiers, he began to be called *liber*; as on the contrary, he that being once taken remained with the conqueror, and could not get loose from him, was called *servus et mancipium*. With a little difference *ελεύθερος* in Greek is derived from a power of going where one has a mind: not as some trifle, *ὁ ελεύθων ὄπου ἐρᾷ*: but by a like analogy, as *πενθήρης*, “a mourner,” from *πενθῶ*, “to mourn;” *γοερὸς*, the same, from *γοῶ*, and others of the same sort. Therefore liberty is opposed to captivity and servitude: but both liberty and servitude come to man after many ways. And there are also several manners of expression, in which this word is used in divers senses, whereof I shall here speak briefly, lest for want of understanding the word we should (which cannot otherwise be avoided) be ignorant of the thing itself; for Plato said well in his *Gorgias*, *Εἰδὼς τὰ ὀνόματα εἴσεται καὶ τὰ πράγματα*: “He that rightly understands words, shall also

<sup>d</sup> [*ὅς ἂν τὰ ὀνόματα εἴδῃ, εἴσεται καὶ τὰ πράγματα*. The reference is to the Cratylus of Plato.—Platon. Cratylus, p. 435, E.]

understand the things themselves :” and Plutarch likewise most judiciously and truly says, from the common opinion of philosophers, (as he tells us<sup>e</sup>), “that they who have not learnt to interpret words rightly, will also take the things themselves wrong;” and that many now do so in the question before us, will plainly appear from what shall be said hereafter. But to come to the purpose.

Liberty is properly ascribed to persons, yet sometimes also to things inanimate, upon the account of some immunity or peculiar privilege granted to them. The liberty of man may be considered, either in particular persons, or in many, who constitute as it were one body. Of that which belongs to particular persons, there are as many sorts as there are kinds of things to which the wills of men may be referred : for both liberty and servitude, when spoken of man, do always relate to his will and determination. The will of man either regards those things which his mind desires as necessary to him, as he is a living creature, (which the holy Scriptures and the fathers call τὰ βιωτικὰ, “the things of this life :” Aristotle, τὰ πρὸς τὸ εἶναι ἀναγκαῖα, “things necessary to our being,”) or it hath respect to those actions, in which the difference of virtue and vice is placed, which belong to man as he is a rational creature, (the philosopher calls them things necessary, πρὸς τὸ καλῶς εἶναι, “to our well-being;” not only to our living, but to our living as we ought :) or lastly it respects those things which man’s mind desires, as he remembering his heavenly extraction prepares himself for a future life and happiness. Hence there is also a threefold liberty: the first is that of the body, which is likewise the primitive signification of liberty. Of this you meet with much in books of civil law; not so much in the holy Scriptures, and writings of divines: because it is of great importance to civil life, whether a man be free or a slave: but of none at all in order to obtain future happiness, as we are often taught in the gospel; although the Apostle, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, expressly adviseth us  
1 Cor. 7. 21. to desire rather to be free-men than slaves; “Art thou called being a servant<sup>f</sup>, care not for it; but if thou mayest

<sup>e</sup> [See Plutarch, *περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν*, c. vii. Op., tom. vi. p. 148. (41. 3.)]

<sup>f</sup> That is, a slave.

be made free, use it rather." It is known to all, that slaves are excluded from holy orders and monasteries, by many canons and constitutions made for that purpose. Next to this is the liberty of the mind, as much more noble than the former, as the mind is nobler than the body. They want this liberty, who are slaves to their vices and sinful affections: they enjoy it, who abandoning vulgar errors, wholly apply themselves to virtue, without coveting or fearing any thing. The obtaining of this was the end of all the moral doctrine of the philosophers: and it is a most known maxim of the Stoics, "that only the wise man is free, and that all others are slaves." But it was not possible for any man to attain to the liberty of the mind, either by the strength of human wisdom, or even by the Mosaical law, which to the people of the Jews was the mistress of piety and virtue; for all mortal men, as well Jews as Greeks, are the servants of sin, as the Apostle proves in that divine Epistle to the Romans: therefore no man living is free. For which reason it was necessary there should be a third kind of liberty, that men might attain to the liberty they desired. This is that liberty, not only of the mind but of the spirit, peculiar to the faithful, purchased by the death of our Lord Jesus Christ for His Church, as much more excellent than the former, as divine and heavenly things excel human and earthly, as life exceeds death, and eternal glory everlasting torments. Of this liberty, St. Thomas Aquinas upon St. John's Gospel says thus <sup>g</sup>: "The word of the Lord by its being the truth, delivers us from the slavery of believing lies; by its being the word of grace, frees us from the servitude of sin and iniquity; but by its being the word of Almighty God, it delivers us from the bondage of misery. By the first it confers the liberty of nature, by the second the liberty of grace, and by the third the liberty of glory." Thus that learned man. The most judicious divines refer this liberty to these two things; a deliverance from death, which is the wages of

CASAUBON  
DE LIB.  
ECCL.  
CHAP. I.

Rom. iii.

<sup>g</sup> [Veritas doctrinæ liberabit ab errore falsitatis . . . Veritas gratiæ liberabit a servitute peccati . . . Sed veritas æternitatis in Christo Jesu liberabit nos a corruptione. . . .  
. . . vera, et spiritualis, quæ est libertas

gratiæ, quæ est, carere criminibus, quæ est imperfecta, . . .

. . . gloriæ et perfecta atque plena, quæ erit in patria.—S. Thom. Aq. Comment. in S. Joan. Ev., c. viii. Op., tom. xiv. pp. 51, 52.]



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sin, and from the rigid observance of the law of Moses, particularly of the ceremonial law. Christian liberty therefore is of two kinds; of the former our Lord speaks in the eighth of St. John, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin: and the servant abideth not in the house for ever, but the Son abideth ever. If the Son therefore shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed." Of the latter the blessed Apostle St. Paul speaks in the fourth chapter of his Epistle to the Galatians, where having explained the type of this liberty, he at last concludes thus: Gal. 4. 31. "We are not children of the bond-woman, but of the free." Gal. 5. 1. "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." And indeed after all, that is absolute liberty when we serve God; for which reason to be free and to serve God only differ in words in the holy Scriptures, but in reality are the same. St. Peter in his former Epistle expresses himself thus: "As free, and not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but as the servants of God." 1 Pet. 2. 16. And St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans calls Christian Rom. 6. 18. liberty "the service of righteousness." Our Lord in the Gospel styles it a yoke, but an easy one, that brings saving health to those that take it upon them; *ὁ ζυγός μου χρηστός*, Matt. 11. 20. says He, "My yoke is easy." Contrary to this is the yoke of legal impositions, and human inventions, needless burdens which they bind on the consciences of the unskilful, as St. Augustine<sup>h</sup> piously observes in his learned 119th Epistle to Januarius. "This," says he, "I am very much troubled at, that many very wholesome precepts of God's word are neglected, and all things are so full of numerous inventions of men<sup>i</sup>, that he is more severely reprov'd, who in their octaves touches the ground with his bare foot, than he who buries his mind in drunkenness." The holy fathers are also wont to give the name of Christian liberty to that assurance which is the inseparable companion of a good conscience: when any one studying only to please God,

<sup>h</sup> [Hoc nimis doleo, quod multa quæ in divinis libris saluberrime præcepta sunt, minus curantur; et tam multis præsumtionibus sic plena sunt omnia, ut gravius corripitur, qui per

octavas suas terram nudo pede tetigerit, quam qui mentem vinolentia sepelierit. —S. Aug. Epist. lv. (al. cxix.) ad Januarium, Op., tom. ii. col. 142, D.]

<sup>i</sup> Rites not observed in the Church.

equally despises the favour and the hatred of men. In this sense St. Chrysostom, in his third book *de Sacerdotio*, says<sup>j</sup>, “A priest must take care that he do not seek that post through a desire of power, that he may administer all things with liberty; for he that does not desire to exercise this power with ostentation, is not afraid of being deposed from it; and he that is exempt from this fear, may do all things with that liberty which becomes Christians.” He afterwards speaks of the fear which is contrary to this liberty. Petrus Damianus, in his Epistle to Bishop Firmanus, declaiming against Pope Leo bearing arms, says<sup>k</sup>, “And indeed with what forehead, with what boldness of liberty can any priest engage in a confederacy of such as are at variance; when himself does not forgive those that hate him, but thirsts implacably for revenge?” The same St. Chrysostom does in another place give the name of liberty to that assurance of the saints which is procured by good works; as when in his sermon concerning Babyllas, he says this martyr was superior in liberty, or certainly equal to Elias or St. John; *ἔφθασεν οὕτως*, says he<sup>l</sup>, *ὡς μηδὲ τὸ τυχὸν ἀπολειφθῆναι τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῶν γενναίων ἐκείνων ἀνδρῶν*: “He came so near them, as not to fall short in the least of the liberty of those brave men.” The same holy father does elsewhere frequently call this liberty *παρρησία* and *πεποιθήσις*<sup>m</sup>, words familiar with the Apostle, in the vulgar translation, *fiducia et confidentia*, that is, “trust and confidence.”

CASAUBON  
DE LIB.  
ECLL.  
CAP. I.

[Rather “to the Bishop of Firmum,” that is, Firmo in Italy]

And that liberty which is ascribed by God to the Church and assembly of the righteous, may be variously distinguished; sometimes the liberty of the Church is called a free power of meeting together to worship God, wont to be requested and obtained of the prince. What Gregory

<sup>j</sup> [ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ τοῦ ἔργου, τῆς δὲ ἀθνητίας καὶ δυναστείας ἐπιθυμῶν, εἶπον εἶναι δεῖνόν. καὶ τοῦτον οἶμαι δεῖν τὸν πόθον πάσῃ σπουδῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξωθεῖν, καὶ μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν καθασχεθῆναι αὐτὴν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συγχωρεῖν ἵνα μετ’ ἐλευθερίας ἅπαντα αὐτῷ πράττειν ἐξῆ. ὁ γὰρ οὐκ ἐπιθυμῶν ἐπὶ ταύτης δειχθῆναι τῆς ἐξουσίας, οὐδὲ τὴν καθαίρεσιν αὐτῆς δέδοικεν οὐ δεδοικῶς δὲ, μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης χριστιανοῖς ἐλευθερίας, πάντα πράττειν δύναιτ’ ἄν.—S. Chrys. de Sacerdot., lib. iii. c. 11. Op., tom. i. p. 388, B.]

<sup>k</sup> [Et revera qua fronte, qua libertatis audacia sacerdos quilibet in dissidentium confederatione desudet, cum ipse suis osoribus non remissionis indulgeat veniam, sed effrenetur implacabiliter ad vindictam.—Petri Damiani Epist. ad Oldericum Episcopum Firmanum, lib. iv. Ep. 9. Op., tom. i. p. 57, B, C.]

<sup>l</sup> [S. Chrys. lib. de S. Babylla, c. 6. Op., tom. ii. p. 544, E.]

<sup>m</sup> [See S. Chrys. in Ep. ad Eph., Hom. vii. Op., tom. xi. p. 47, A.]

Nazianzen writing to Nectarius called<sup>n</sup> ἐξουσίαν λαβεῖν συν-  
 ἄξεως, “to receive power of assembling for divine worship;”  
 some do now call “liberty of conscience;” Optatus Milevi-  
 tanus calls it simply *libertas*<sup>o</sup>, “liberty.” Different from this  
 is that liberty of the Church, which the fathers of the council  
 of Ephesus declare to have been given her by Christ<sup>p</sup>; of  
 which I shall say more in the third chapter. And these are  
 the liberties of the Church, partly mentioned in the holy  
 Scriptures, and partly by the venerable fathers of the ancient  
 Greek and Roman Church. But after the Christian religion  
 was publicly received, and the clergy endowed with revenues  
 and dignities, first by emperors, and then by kings and other  
 nobles, that were Christians; then indeed among many other  
 things before unheard of in the Church of God, the word  
 liberty by little and little began to be taken in a new sense:  
 for the prerogative of honour, privileges, immunities, and all  
 such rights they called ecclesiastical liberty, or liberties in  
 the plural: and this word came at length to be used so  
 frequently, as none more. When the first use of it was  
 heard of in the Church shall be mentioned in the fourth  
 chapter. But what is to be understood by the name of  
 ecclesiastical liberty, I cannot even yet find clearly enough  
 explained; and I often wonder, when there is mention of  
 this liberty in so many passages of the canon law, that there  
 is no where added so much as any description to shew the  
 force of the word, much less an accurate definition of it.  
 And the interpreters of the canon law have given such dif-  
 ferent opinions in this matter, that there is no help to be  
 expected from them. It is manifest, that according as any  
 of them stood affected to the pope, or to the see of Rome,  
 he pronounced differently in this matter. In the charters  
 of those privileges and immunities which the Christian em-  
 perors, and other princes of old, and afterwards the popes  
 of Rome were used to grant sometimes to the catholic, and  
 other while to some particular Church, the use of the words  
*liber*, “free,” and *libertas*, “liberty,” is metaphorical, and of

<sup>n</sup> [S. Greg. Naz., Ep. ccii. ad Nec-  
 tarium, Op., tom. ii. p. 168, D.]

<sup>o</sup> [Tempestat persecutionis peracta  
 . . . Christianis libertas est restituta.  
 —S. Optat. Milev. de Schism. Donat.,

lib. i. c. 18. p. 15.]

<sup>p</sup> [Conc. Ephes. Decretum de Epi-  
 scopis Cypri (al. Canon. viii.) ap. Con-  
 cilia, tom. iii. col. 1325, E; quoted  
 below, c. iii. sect. 4.]



common form. In the charter of Charles the Great, granted to the Church of Osnaburg in Saxony, about the year of our Lord 804, there are these words<sup>q</sup>; *Insuper eidem episcopo, &c.* "Moreover we grant to the same bishop, and to his successors, perpetual licence, liberty, and absolution from all royal command, unless it shall happen that the emperor," &c. In that of Nicholas the Second<sup>r</sup>, given about the year of our Lord 1060, in favour of the monastery of St. Felicitas of Florence: *Liberum præterea, &c.* "Farther we render the said monastery free and absolved from all secular and worldly condition or distress." In others you read, *Liberam concedimus facultatem*; "we grant a free faculty." *Et liberum esse volumus*, "it is our pleasure it shall be free." I make no doubt but the appellation of the "liberty of the Church" came from this original; for they also used the word "liberty" for "privilege," and as was said before, that rude and unpolite age made too frequent use of this word; insomuch that we are sometimes put to guess what they meant by it. In an edict of Frederic Ahenobarbus, made in the year 1222, for the uniting of two monasteries, are these words; *Turbatores temerarios nostræ hujus libertatis*<sup>s</sup>, &c.: "The rash disturbers of this our liberty we proscribe for ever as rebels to God:" after he calls it, "concession and donation." Likewise "privilege" and "liberty" are often joined together, or "liberty" and "immunity," as in the Decretal *de Immunitate, Sexti* lib. iii.<sup>t</sup> Also "rights" and "liberties<sup>u</sup>," *ibid.* In Rigordus<sup>x</sup>, the "liberty of soldiers," and the "liberty and especial prerogative of scholars," at Paris under King Philip

<sup>q</sup> [*Insuper eidem episcopo ejusque successoribus perpetuam concedimus (licentiam) libertatem, et ab omni regali imperio absolutionem: nisi forte contingat, ut imperator, &c.*—Privilegium Eccl. Osnab. ap. Crantzii Hist. Eccl. Saxon., lib. i. c. 2. et Baronii Annales ann. 804, num. 18.]

<sup>r</sup> [*Liberum præterea idem reddimus monasterium, atque absolutum ab omni seculari et mundana conditione, sive districtione.*—Nicolai Papæ VI. *Ibid.*, ann. 1060, num. 2.]

<sup>s</sup> [This edict the editor has not found. There seems to be an error in the text, Frederic Barbarossa (Ahenobarbus) reigned from 1155 to 1199, Frederic II. from 1220 to 1250.]

<sup>t</sup> [*Libertatem et immunitatem ecclesiasticam lædere ac minuere tanquam honoris et privilegii ecclesiarum invidi moliantur.*—Sexti Decretalium, lib. iii. Tit. xxiii. de Immunitate Ecclesiarum, &c., cap. i. ap. Corpus Jur. Can., tom. iii.]

<sup>u</sup> [*Juris sui et libertatis.*—*Ibid.*]

<sup>x</sup> [*Milites qui olim sua libertate gaudere consueverant.*—Rigordus de Gestis Philippi Augusti Francorum Regis anno xix. ap. Historiæ Francorum Scriptores, Pithæi, p. 201. Francof. 1596.—Propter libertatem et specialem prærogativam defensionis, quam Philippus rex et pater ejus ante ipsum ipsis scholaribus impendebant.—*Ibid.*, ann. xxii. p. 207.]



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Augustus, and his father. What that Boniface, who is called the Apostle of the Germans, means by "secular liberties," may not without reason be doubted. So in his Epistle to Eadburga surnamed Bugga, cousin to the king of Kent<sup>y</sup>: "It is better in my opinion, if by reason of secular liberties you can by no means enjoy the liberty of a quiet mind in your own country, that by going abroad, if it be in your power, you get the liberty of contemplation." And I yet less understand that which is written in Gregory VII.'s Epistle to P., archbishop of Albano, and G., prince of Salerno<sup>z</sup>, viz., *Item magnus imperator*, &c.: "Also the great emperor" (speaking of Charles the Great) "offered Saxony to St. Peter. And he got a victory by his help, and erected a monument of devotion and liberty, as the Saxons themselves have it written, and the learned among them very well know;" that is, of his own devotion, and of the liberty and dominion of the Church of Rome, which she has over all persons and things. If any one thinks fit to interpret it otherwise, I am content; for it is a very obscure passage. Nor is that much plainer in the charter of Urban II., which confirms the deed of Count Berengarius, who by his authority and advice, as Urban himself attests, submitted the city of Tarracona, and the country about it, to the jurisdiction of the pope. "We therefore," says he<sup>a</sup>, "who by God's assistance desire to be the fellow-workers of this restitution, do commend the purpose of the said count, and the liberties and customs which he is known to have proclaimed to the new inhabitants of Tarracona." It is therefore from that manner of speaking, that *libertas Ecclesiastica*, "the liberty of the Church" came to be so called in the Latin Church: for the Greeks not

<sup>y</sup> [Melius mihi videtur, si propter libertates seculares in patria libertatem quietæ mentis habere nullatenus possis, ut peregrinatione libertatem contemplationis, si valueris et possis, acquiras.—Ap. Baronii Annales, ann. 725. num. 24. (et S. Bonifacii Epist. xx. ad Buggan, p. 28. Mogunt. 1605, in which libertates is omitted.)]

<sup>z</sup> [Item Magnus Imperator (speaking of Charlemagne) Saxoniam obtulit beato Petro: ejus etiam devicit adjutorio, et posuit signum devotionis et libertatis, sicut Saxones ipsi habent

scriptum, et prudentes illorum satis sciunt.—S. Gregorii Papæ VII. Epist., lib. viii. Ep. 23, apud Concilia, tom. xii. col. 505, A.]

<sup>a</sup> [Nos itaque, qui præstante Deo, restitutionis hujus optamus cooperatores existere prædicti comitis institutum libertatesque et consuetudines, quas novis Tarraconensis urbis colonis permulgasse cognoscitur, collaudamus.—Urbani Papæ II. Epist. vii. ad Berengarium; Ibid., col. 917, D. et ap Baronii Annales, ann. 1091, num. 11.]

knowing the thing, were also ignorant of the name. I speak of that liberty of the Church which is so much talked of at present, and peculiarly so called. For they are in a great error, who confound this liberty with the power of the Church, with her right of enjoying goods of all sorts, and with her privileges and immunities. The true power of the Church, concerning which there is an excellent book of John Gerson<sup>b</sup>, (an admirable divine,) is that which St. Chrysostom, treating of the sacerdotal office, distinguishes into *ἔργον*, "office," and *ἀρχὴν* or *τιμὴν*, "rule" or "honour<sup>c</sup>." "The function itself of the priestly office, and the honour which is due to priests," of which more in the next chapter: he also calls it *αὐθεντεία<sup>c</sup>*, "authority." Whether this power be of divine right or no, cannot be disputed without blasphemy; since all good men are persuaded, that Christ did from the beginning grant it to His Church, and to her ministers. But whether the liberty of the Church be of divine right, has been long disputed among the interpreters of the canon law, and remains still undecided. And indeed it may well seem absurd to most men, to say, that that has been introduced by divine right, which the purer Church knew nothing of for so many ages. A right of possessing (temporal) goods is in the canons of the Greeks called *δίκαιον κτήσεως*, "right of possession," or *κατοχῆς*, *immunitas*, "immunity of holding possession," *ἀτέλεια τῶν λειτουργιῶν*, "immunity from offices," or simply *ἀτέλεια*, "immunity," or *ἀλειουργησία*, "exemption from all public offices." Privileges are there called *προνόμια*, and *φιλοτιμήματα βασιλέων*, "royal privileges and donations," *δίκαια* or *δικαιώματα*, "legal rights or grants." Sometimes also *παραμυθίαι*, "additional encouragements," above what is strictly due. And as I have shewed that liberty is used for privilege, so have I observed privileges indulged to certain monasteries by the emperors of Constantinople, to be called *ἐλευθερία* and *αὐτοξοσιότης*, "liberty" and "the freedom of one's own will," in books of the Greek canon law. There is a constitution of the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus<sup>d</sup>, in

<sup>b</sup> [Tractatus de Potestate Ecclesiastica et origine juris et legum.—Joan. Gerson, Op., tom. ii. pars 2. pp. 225, sqq. Antw. 1706.]

10. Op., tom. i. p. 388, B.]

<sup>a</sup> [Constitutiones Imperatoris Alexii Comneni x. de oblationibus et aliis ecclesiasticis juribus.—Ap. Corp. Jur. Civilis. (Novell. Imp. Alex. Comn.]

<sup>c</sup> [S. Chrys. de Sacerd., lib. iii. c.

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which there is mention of monasteries instituted, either κατ' ἐπίδοσιν, with respect to their revenues, or, κατ' ἐφορείαν, with respect to their being visited, or, κατ' οἰκονομίαν, with respect to their government, παντελῶς κατ' ἐλευθερίαν, in all respects perfectly free, which therefore he calls ἐλεύθερα καὶ ἀντεξούσια μοναστήρια, "free and exempt monasteries." But far different from this is that ecclesiastical liberty of which I am now treating; and whose nature and force they who have attempted to comprehend in one simple definition, have, if I may say the truth, been guilty of great trifling: for what else is it, to endeavour to define an equivocal word, without first applying a distinction? or who can deny that there is a manifold signification in this word?

How variously the word liberty is taken, I have shewed already. The same must be necessarily observed here concerning the word Church: for as many ways as this word is used to be taken, so many different definitions will there be also of the liberty of the Church. Properly the Church is called "a congregation," κλητῶν ἁγίων, as the Apostles speak, that is, of the faithful called to be saints; who are also called "the elect." But because in this life we are mingled good and bad together, therefore under the appellation of the Church all are wont to be comprehended who profess the name of Christ. A third notion has long since obtained, that the flock of the faithful being divided into clergy and laity, only the clergy as the better and nobler part should be understood by the name of the Church. Then a fourth and a fifth sense came to be used, and are now very common; the former, when the Church is put for the Romish Church; the latter, when only for the pope of Rome. The three first acceptations of the word are common to the Greek and Latin Church, as also that manner of speaking, by which consecrated places are called Churches, was of old used both by Greeks and Latins. And the fourth acceptation, for the honour of St. Peter and the authority of the Church of Rome, has for several ages past begun to be in use with many even in the east, and throughout all the west. The fifth has not been approved of by all even in the west, but

only by such as acknowledge the pope of Rome to be the head and prince, and even sovereign lord of the universal Church. When in the capitulars of the ancient kings, and in the writers of that time, the liberty of the Church and the liberty of elections are mentioned and put for the same thing, this is meant of the liberty given by Christ to the universal Church: and although it was very long the custom for such as were to be admitted into holy orders, to be chosen by the common suffrages of the clergy and people, yet afterwards this custom was changed, and the right of suffrages was transferred wholly to the clergy. Thus according to the time this liberty has altered, though it was always called the liberty of the Church, viz., in the third acceptation of the word, not as before in the first and second. Innocent III. in his Epistle to the Empress Constantia, queer of Sicily<sup>e</sup>, prescribing the manner he would have observed by the Sicilians in making their elections, calls it the "canonical liberty" of the Church. They who understand by the liberty of the Church, "an exemption of the clergy from all subjection to their lawful princes," which is the opinion of Cardinal Bellarmine in a treatise published on that subject<sup>f</sup>, as well as of many others, take the word Church in the third sense. Which though it may seem to be done not unjustly, because that signification of the word has long obtained, yet it is attended with dangerous designs, because under the countenance of the word Church, the unskilful and common people are persuaded, that the liberty of the universal Church is concerned in this matter, to oppose which were the utmost impiety; whereas in reality it is only the liberty, nay the licentiousness of a few, and the absolute dominion of one, that is maintained under this pretence. Insomuch that they who consider the matter diligently, will clearly perceive that these patrons of eccle-

<sup>e</sup> [Innocentii Papæ III. Epist., lib. i. 411. tom. i. p. 242. Paris. 1682.]

<sup>f</sup> [See Bellarmine, Controv. ii. lib. i. De clericis, lib. ii. capp. xxviii.—xxx. Op., tom. ii. pp. 160, sqq., (printed also as a Disputatio de Exemptione Clericorum, in the Opuscula Bellarmini, Op., tom. ii. p. 496.) The heading of c. xxviii. is, An Clerici sint liberi a iugo potes-

tatis sæcularis; he says, (p. 160, col. 2, D,) Hæretici multi contendunt clericos tum majores tum minores, jure subiectos esse debere sæculari potestati, tum in solvendis tributis tum in iudiciis et causis; and the third proposition (p. 161, col. 2, B) is, Non possunt clerici a iudice sæculari judicari, etiam si leges civiles non servant.]



siastical liberty take the word Church in the fifth sense, for the pope of Rome only. For it is for him alone that plenary liberty, for him alone that empire, for him alone that power is procured, without end, without measure, over the lives, and estates, and fortunes of emperors, kings, and princes, and of all persons whatever, who desire to be called Christians throughout the whole world. For if any one object that Cardinal Bellarmine teaches far differently in his fifth book *De summo Pontifice*<sup>g</sup>; for this objection we have a most sure answer prepared, of which more in the sixth chapter and those following: there I shall shew, that what the Cardinal asserts in that book is so far disallowed, and daily refuted by the most zealous patrons of this liberty, that it is all to be accounted as unsaid and out of date. Alexander Pesantius, a Roman, in his book *de Immunitate Ecclesiastica, et Potestate Romani Pontificis*<sup>h</sup>, which not very long since he dedicated to Paul V. p. 45 of the Roman edition, says, *Dico summus pont.* &c.: “I say, the pope has by divine right most full power over the whole earth, as well in ecclesiastical matters as political.” And in the margin of the book the author has this note: “The pope is by divine right directly lord over the universe.” The same say many others. But let us proceed to shew the use of this expression. These are Gregory VII.’s words in his Epistle to the bishop of Passau, and [the<sup>i</sup>] abbot of Hirsau, where he speaks of the Germans electing an emperor in the room of Henry. “We know,” says he<sup>k</sup>, “that our brethren are wearied with a long contest, and with divers disturbances; yet it is discovered to be more noble to contend a long time for the liberty of holy Church, than to lie

<sup>g</sup> [Bellarmine maintains, *De Romano Pontifice*, lib. v. (de Potestate Pontificis temporali,) c. 2. Papam non esse dominum totius mundi: c. 3. Papam non esse dominum totius orbis Christiani: c. 4. Papam non habere ullam mere temporalem jurisdictionem directe jure divino.—Op., tom. i. pp. 433, sqq.]

<sup>a</sup> [The editor has not been able to see a copy of this work.]

<sup>i</sup> [The word “the” is added in this edition; they were distinct persons.]

<sup>k</sup> [Scimus quod fratres nostri longo

certamine, diversisque perturbationibus fatigantur: nobilissimum tamen esse dignoscitur, multo tempore pro libertate Sanctæ Ecclesiæ decertare, quam miseræ ac diabolicæ servituti subiacere. Certant namque miseri, scilicet membra diaboli, ut ejusdem miseræ servitute opprimantur: certant e contra membra Christi, ut eosdem miseros Christianam libertatem redueant.—S. Greg. VII. Epist. (lib. ix. 3.) ad Episcopum Passaviensem et Abbatem Hirsaugiensem; et ap. Baronii Annales, ann. 1081, num. 9.]

under a lamentable and diabolical servitude: for on one hand, those wretched persons, to wit, members of the devil, contend, that they may be oppressed by his miserable slavery: on the other, the members of Christ contend, that they may bring back those wretched persons to Christian liberty." Fair words but a foul meaning. The liberty of the Church properly so called is made show of, and a diabolical slavery is lamented. What Christian will be so stupid, whom those words will not stir up, and inflame him with hatred against his prince? But we must remember, that in this place, and other such like, the investiture of the clergy is spoken of, of which the pope of Rome had robbed the emperor and all other princes, and challenged it to himself alone, and those who derived their right from him. And this is called "the proper liberty of the Church<sup>1</sup>" in a certain canon of that council which the same Pope Hildebrand held at Rome in the year of our Lord 1080. Here therefore, and in other passages akin to this, the Church is taken for the pope; and those rights which he claims to himself as the vicar of Christ, God and man, are called Christian liberty. On the contrary in the year 1157, the Emperor Frederick, upon a difference arisen between the State and the Church, writes thus to the princes of the empire<sup>m</sup>: "Because we have hitherto endeavoured to rescue the honour and liberty of the Churches (now a long time oppressed with the yoke of unjust servitude) from the hand of the Egyptians, (he means Pope Adrian IV.,) and intend to preserve to them all the rights of their dignities, we desire you all to condole with us so great an ignominy to us and the empire." Here Frederick understands by the Church, either the universal Church, of which he himself was a part; or only the clergy. And so you will observe very often in the histories of what has happened since the times of Gregory VII., when there were most grievous dissensions between the popes and princes, and they were often at war with each other; yet on both

<sup>1</sup> [Ecclesiæ propriam libertatem dimittat.—Concil. Rom. vii. (A.D. 1080) Canon ii. ap. Concilia, tom. xii. p. 635, E. et ap. Baron. ann. 1086, num. 10.]

<sup>m</sup> [Quia hactenus honorem ac libertatem ecclesiarum, quæ jamdiu indebitæ servitutis jugo depressa est, a

manu Ægyptiorum studuimus eripere, et omnia eis dignitatum suarum jura conservare intendimus; universitatem vestram super tanta ignominia nobis et imperio condolare rogamus.—Literæ Circ. Fred. ap. Baronii Annales, ann. 1157, num. 14.]

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sides the defence of the liberty of the Church was the pretence of the war. So true is what was said by that most wise orator Demosthenes<sup>n</sup>, in his Oration *contra Leptinem*, “that many are wont μεταφέροντας τὰ ὀνόματα ἁπατᾶν, to deceive by changing the signification of words.” For there are many who use the names of things just as jugglers do their balls and goblets. And that Frederick defended the liberty of the Church even those cardinals attest, who wrote an epistle which begins thus<sup>o</sup>: *Ex quo contra honorem Ecclesie*, &c.: “Since the time that, contrary to the honour of God’s Church and of the empire, friendship was made between our Lord Pope Adrian and William of Sicily,” &c. We shall shew in the sequel, that the honour of the Church, and the liberty of the Church, are used to be taken for the same thing. The cardinal presbyters therefore say<sup>p</sup>: “But we on the contrary thought it meet, rather that the Sicilian should be excommunicated, who had violently taken away all the rights of the Church, both spiritual and temporal; than the emperor who hath taken true pains to recover the rights of the Roman Church and of the empire, and to restore the Church from servitude to liberty.” So that, if we believe these cardinals, the pope did only in show defend the liberty of the Church, but Frederick did it in reality. Nor ought this to seem strange to any one: for not only this, but many other emperors, and many kings of France and England, and other nations have been obliged to contend with the popes of Rome for the liberty of the Church, in which contest, though the cause of all Christians was the same, yet they had not every one always the same mind, nor the like constancy. As to the most Christian kings, the bishops, and all the clergy and nobility of France, it is their peculiar praise, (I say it without flattery,) that with an heroic piety and religious generosity they have, by the blessing of

<sup>n</sup> [See Demosth. contr. Lept. Orat., pp. 491, 16; 495, 13, ed. Reisk.]

<sup>o</sup> [Ex quo contra honorem ecclesie Dei et imperii, amicitia inter Dominum Papam Hadrianum et Wilhelmum Siculum facta est, &c.—Epist. Cardinalium; Radevici de gestis Frederici I. Imp., lib. ii. c. 52. p. 321. Basil, 1569; et ap. Baronii Annales, ann. 1156, num. 13.]

<sup>p</sup> [Nos autem e contra duximus potius Siculum excommunicandum, qui omnia jura ecclesie, tam spiritualia, quam temporalia violenter abstulerat; quam imperatorem, qui ecclesie Romanæ et Imperii jura fideliter laborabat recuperare, et Ecclesiam de servitute ad libertatem reducere.—Ibid.]

God, preserved the Christian liberty of their Church, if not wholly untouched, yet firm and unshaken to this day: who that dwells even in the most remote regions, and has received but the slightest account of the affairs of France, has not heard something of the liberties of the Gallican Church? so in the language of the law are the rights of ecclesiastical liberty called; which though they were from the beginning to the universal Church, (for they have all one and the same author and founder, Jesus Christ,) yet by a certain fate it has happened, that in all the noblest kingdoms of Europe the Churches have suffered their rights and liberties to be taken from them; whence it is come to pass, that while the neighbouring people groan under their servitude, the name of the liberties of the Gallican Church has been celebrated with great fame, even among far distant nations. Although other kingdoms likewise have done the same, but more remissly, and with less success. Thus in the histories of England, there is mention of the liberties of that Church, and of the liberties of the kingdom: which yet were of little advantage to them against the oppression and exactions of the pope of Rome. There are very many monuments of theirs extant, in which with grievous lamentation they bemoan the burdens laid upon them by the Roman pontiff or his legates. But this shall be clearly shewn in its proper place.

To return therefore from this digression. They who by ecclesiastical liberty will have meant the exemption of ecclesiastics, do accurately explain the force of this exemption; and that is, that he who was just now subject to this or that prince, as soon as he is got into any of the sacred orders, does in an instant become free from all jurisdiction of that prince; no more owns him for his sovereign, reverences his majesty no farther than he pleases, pays him no tribute<sup>a</sup>, nor has any fear of his laws; for it is expressly affirmed, "that the clergy are obliged to no temporal laws whatever, as to their coercive, but only with respect to their directive power<sup>r</sup>." What if any clergyman (for it may happen) should

<sup>a</sup> [Bellarmine's fourth proposition is, Bona clericorum tam ecclesiastica, quam sæcularia libera sunt, ac merito esse debent, a tributis principum sæcularium. De Clericis, lib. i. c. 28. Op.,

tom. ii. p. 162, D.]

<sup>r</sup> [See Bellarmine as quoted above, p. 113, note f. His second proposition is, Non sunt exempti clerici ab obligatione legum civilium quæ non repugnant



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commit some crime worthy of punishment in the State? What if any of them should be scandalous for debauchery? Shall the prince have no power to punish him? No; it is precisely determined he shall not. These are the words of John Mariana<sup>s</sup> the Spanish Jesuit, in the first book and tenth chapter of that elegant treatise, in which he lays down instructions for Philip III. king of Spain: "Farther the prince is obliged to take care, that the rights and immunities of the sacred order be untouched: let him subject none of the sacred order to punishment, though he deserve it." But what need we go into Spain? For we cannot learn the meaning of the Roman pontifical law better from any place than from the city of Rome, especially since many very learned men have within a few months published books there, which will not permit us to be ignorant of the force of this exemption. Among many late authors whose writings I have perused, Johannes Antonius Bovius<sup>t</sup>, a Carmelite, alone expresses the thing so very plainly in my opinion, that it were a great crime to pass over what he says, which I shall therefore give you here faithfully translated from the Italian; "Liberty is opposed to necessity, to bondage, or [to] servitude; therefore as the liberty from sin consists in this,

sacris canonibus, vel officio clericali. He says, nec volumus dicere, his legibus teneri clericos obligatione coactiva, sed tantum directiva. De Clericis, lib. i. c. 28. Op., tom. ii. p. 161, col. i. E.]

<sup>s</sup> [Deinde sacrați ordinis immunitates et jura intacta ut sint, curare princeps debet. Neminem ex sacro ordine supplicio quamvis merito subjiat.—Johannis Marianæ Hisp., e Soc. Jesu, de Rege et Regis Institutione, lib. i. c. 10. p. 88. Mogunt. 1605.]

<sup>t</sup> [Libertà si oppone a necessità, legame, o servitù. Come dunque la libertà del peccato consiste in essere sciolto dal legame del peccato, et la libertà dalla legge Mosaica in essere noi sciolti, et scarichi del giogo delle ceremonie legali: così la libertà Ecclesiastica consiste in essere gli Ecclesiastici nelle loro persone, beni, et cause, esenti, et non soggetti alle leggi, potestà, e giuriditione de' Principi secolari in quel modo che soggetti vi sono i Laici. Et questa è la vera, et pro-

pria descrizione della libertà Ecclesiastica, che in virtù contiene il tutto. Le altre due parti, che seguono, sono più tosto dichiarazioni di questa. Quello che dice Bartolo nell'auth. Cassa, essere contra la libertà Ecclesiastica gli Statuti, per li quali gli Ecclesiastici si rendono più timidi, et i Laici più arditì; vuol dire, che per la esentione che hanno dalla potestà loro gli Ecclesiastici, non solo non possono i Principi direttamente et in effetto pormano in essi, et nelle cose loro, ma ne anco indirettamente, et in apparenza pregiudicare alla loro libertà. Il dirò, se saprò. Vuol dire, che non solo non possono loro far danno, ma ne anco ombra, ò paura.—Risposta del P. Maestro Gio. Antonio Bovio da novara Carmelitano alle considerationi del padre Maestro Paolo da Venetia sopra le censure della santità di Papa Paolo V. contra la Republica di Venetia in Roma. 1606, con Licenza de i Superiori, p. 27.]

that we are freed from the bonds of sin, and the liberty from the Mosaic law in this, that we are freed and exonerated from the yoke of the ceremonial law, so the liberty of the Church does herein consist, that ecclesiastics are exempt in their persons, goods, and causes, and are not obnoxious to the laws, power, and jurisdiction of princes, as laics are; and this is the true and proper definition of the liberty of the Church, which extends to all this, the two remaining parts which follow have the force of a declaration. And as to what Bartolus says, (*In Authent. Caus.*) that those statutes are repugnant to the liberty of the Church, by which ecclesiastics are intimidated, and laics emboldened: this is his meaning, that by the right of exemption which ecclesiastics enjoy, it comes to pass, that princes cannot, I will not say directly and with effect lay hands upon their persons and estates, but that they have not power so much as indirectly, or even in pretence only to do any prejudice to their liberty. If it be possible I will speak yet more plainly; Bartolus means to say, that princes are so little empowered to do any damage to the clergy, that they have no right so much as in the lightest manner to terrify or affright them." How justly or unjustly these things are affirmed, I shall hereafter enquire. It is certain we have here a manifest declaration of the exemption of the clergy, and of a full and perfect licentious liberty. And yet all things that are established in the canon law for the sake of ecclesiastical liberty, cannot be referred to the exemption of ecclesiastics.

Boniface VIII., the most strenuous assertor of this liberty, says<sup>u</sup>, (*In Sexto*, tit. 23,) "Those who having temporal dominion at any time, forbid their subjects to sell any thing to prelates, clerks, or ecclesiastical persons, or buy any thing of them, or grind them corn, or bake bread for them, or presume to do them other services; since such things are presumed in derogation of the liberty of the Church, we decree they shall on that very account lie under a sentence of ex-

<sup>u</sup> [Eos, qui temporale dominium obtinentes, suis subditis, ne prælatis, aut clericis, seu personis ecclesiasticis quicquam vendant, aut emant aliquid ab eisdem, ne ipsis bladum molant, coquant panem, aut alia obsequia exhibere præsumant, aliquando interdiciunt:

quum talia in derogationem Libertatis Ecclesiasticæ præsumantur, eo ipso excommunicationis sententiæ decernimus subiacere.—Liber Sextus Decretalium D. Bonifacii Papæ VIII., lib. iii. tit. 23. cap. 5. ap. Corp. Jur. Can., tom. iii.]

communication." To complete the definition of ecclesiastical liberty, this decretal was not to be passed by, which is not indeed concerning the right of exemptions, but adds as it were the last hand to the prerogative of the clergy; for if all laymen, of what dignity or degree soever, may be condemned to eternal flames for things of so little moment, what else have they to take care of, from the lowest to the highest, besides this one thing, by what means they may be able to pacify the clergy? And in my opinion they will be able to do this, if they submit to them in all things, be slaves to their will, and allow them liberty to determine as they please concerning their affairs. That Boniface by that canon intended thus much none will deny.

From what we have hitherto said we at last infer that his error will not be far different from the opinion of the modern doctors of the pontifical law, who shall frame this, whether description or definition of ecclesiastical liberty: "Ecclesiastical liberty is a certain right primarily indeed adhering to the pope of Rome, by which he obtains the dominion of all the world; but secondarily to ecclesiastics, by which they are jointly and severally exempt, themselves and their goods, from all subjection, jurisdiction, and power of all princes; and laics are rendered obnoxious to them for all kinds of services." Though this definition be not perfect in all its parts, which we do not promise, yet it sufficiently explains the force of that, which by the moderns and men of the last ages is called the liberty of the Church. Now therefore it remains to be enquired, at what time, by what endeavours, and by whom this liberty was brought into the Church; then we will consider the chief reasons which are wont to be alleged by the patrons of it, and also briefly shew how dangerous a thing both to the Christian Church and State such a licentious liberty is.

## CHAP. II.

WHAT, AND OF WHAT KIND THE LIBERTY OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH WAS, FROM ITS FIRST RISE TO THE TIMES OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. A COMPARISON OF BOTH POWERS, ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL, AND CONCERNING THE RIGHT OF EACH, AS WELL ORDINARY AS EXTRAORDINARY.

HAVING explained the various measures of that liberty which is wont to be called Christian or ecclesiastical, before I undertake to shew what kind of liberty particularly every age of the Church used, I think it necessary in a few words to compare the sacerdotal power with the civil: for the State also has its liberty, which how it differs from that of the Church, will evidently appear from this comparison. Therefore that in an argument of so large extent I may not wander farther than is necessary for my purpose, I will lay down certain theorems, or (as they speak in the schools) conclusions, comprehending the virtue and rights of each power, and add a brief explication and proof to each theorem.

CASAUBON  
DE LIB.  
ECCL.  
CHAP. II.  
SECT. I.

### I. *The Church and the State differ sometimes both in reality and conception; sometimes in conception only.*

What Optatus Milevitanus<sup>x</sup> said, that "the Church is in the State," is indeed most true, but wants explication: for sometimes the Church is so in the State that it has its peculiar interests wholly separate from those of the State; which was the condition of the Church in her infancy, before the doctrine of salvation had subdued the stubborn minds, and overcome the obstinacy of the infidels. Sometimes the Church is so in the State that it is in some respect the State itself, as it then happened, when the darkness of the pagan errors being dispelled, the profession of Christianity was generally embraced by all: for from that time the people which constitute the State were also the Church: but that for a different reason and end, as will be shewn presently. So that they are the same in some respect, and not the same. Authors here do not always observe the propriety of words, but either ascribe those things to the State which

<sup>x</sup> [Non enim Respublica est in est.—S. Optat. Milev. de Schism. Ecclesia, sed Ecclesia in Republica Donat., lib. iii. c. 3. p. 52.]



APPENDIX.  
NO. VI.[Orig.  
προηγου-  
μένος.]  
[Orig.  
κατεπακο-  
λοῦθημα.]

belong to the Church, or those to the Church which appertain to the State. In a synodical Epistle to Lewis king of France, son of Charles, the king himself is styled "Ruler of the holy Church of God." But the king is not properly ruler of the Church, but of the State chiefly and primarily, and of the Church as it is a part and appendage of the State: but there and elsewhere frequently the king is called "Defender of the Church," and that properly.

II. *In every society, which has different ends, the same persons may in different respects both be superiors and subjects.*

Societies set up by men, whether private or public, have sometimes one single end, sometimes more. When passengers go on board a vessel to cross the seas, or pass over a river, they are understood to have entered into a tacit society, the only and simple end of which is their passage. When a regiment of marines embark to fight with an enemy, here is a two-fold society, and a double end: as they are all passengers, they are in subjection to the captain of the ship; as soldiers, to their proper officer, who himself, in respect of the governor of the ship, is only a passenger, and his as well as all their safety depends upon the skill and art of him that sits at the helm; and yet he also, with regard to military command, is subject to the colonel of the regiment, and obeys his orders. Now the Church and State have the resemblance of a ship, and are frequently represented by the ancients under that similitude. Before the gospel was received the State had only one end, which was to spend this life with as much convenience and reputation as was possible, that being the end for which nature incited men to institute societies. Aristotle sometimes calls it *αὐτάρκεια*<sup>z</sup>, as much as to say, a sufficient plenty of all things; sometimes the good of mankind, which consists in the fruition of those endowments of the body and mind, of which nature framed man fit to participate in this life: I say in this life, because the primary end of civil

† [Gloriosissimo et Christianissimo imperatori Carolo augusto veræ religionis rectori, ac defensori sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ, una cum prole sua . . . gratias agimus Deo Patri omnipotenti, quia sanctæ ecclesiæ suæ tam pium ac

devotum in servitio Dei concessit habere rectorem.—Conc. Mogunt. (A.D. 813) Præfat. Concilia, tom. ix. col. 328, B, C.]

<sup>z</sup> [Aristot. Polit. i. 2. 8, sqq.]

instruction extends no farther. But there is besides another good of mankind, for the participation of which, since God had first created man fit, and he lost that fitness by his own fault, by the inestimable benefit of our Saviour Christ he has recovered the same fitness, and indeed more effectually. That good is the blessed state which is reserved for good men in the next life, to the hope of which, what we style the Church in the world and within the State, is called by the voice of Christ Himself. As the end for which civil society is instituted is the obtaining of human good; so the worship of God, and our preparation for future happiness, is the end of instituting a Church; nor are the Church and State distinguished only by their different ends: but also by their condition, constitution, and government. The State is in this world, as in its own lawful country; seeks riches, and all the necessaries of this life, procures itself power, and promotes its own ends as far as it can: for in that men commonly think the good of mankind, now mentioned from Aristotle, consists. The Church, “following the prize of the high-calling,” as the Apostle speaks, and incessantly turning all its hopes and thoughts to the fruition of a better life, does not enjoy earthly goods, but only uses them; nor dwells in this world as in its own country, but sojourns in it as a stranger or foreigner, not as a citizen. Hence the fathers often call the Church by another name, the “city of God:” for it has its “conversation (franchises and freedom) in heaven,” as the same Apostle speaks; and the Church has learned of Christ her King to say, “my kingdom is not of this world.”

CASAUBON  
DE LIB.  
ECCL.  
CHAP. II.  
SECT. II.

Phil. 3. 14.

[Orig. πο-  
λίτευμα.]  
Phil. 3. 20.  
John 18. 36.

This diversity, which is so great, does also require different governors: they who govern the Church are by a common name styled priests (or bishops), and they princes who rule the State. The different duties of these governors depend on the difference of the ends now mentioned, and on the diversity of the subject matter about which they are conversant. For, as Synesius says<sup>a</sup>, “the political faculty is conversant about matter,” that is, about human and worldly

[Orig.  
ύλην.]

<sup>a</sup> [τοὺς μὲν εἰς ὕλην ἐπέστρεψε, τοὺς δὲ συνέταξεν ἑαυτῷ, τετάχεται δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς εἶναι.—Synesii Epist. 57. Op., p. 198, D, Paris, 1631.]

things, or (as divines use to speak) about secular affairs. "The priesthood," says the same author, is conversant "about God," that is, divine matters, or at least about human, as they are joined with divine. Whatever therefore appertains to things divine, is properly under the priest's jurisdiction; and on the contrary, all things that belong to the public estate, or to the goods, interests, and advantages of private persons, are under that of the prince. And because the Church is in the State, as a part in the whole, therefore its defence and preservation will so much the more belong to the duty of the prince as this is the more noble part of the State, and as it is of more concern, that this be preserved and defended. Lastly, (saith he<sup>b</sup>,) in things merely divine, the priests obtain a plenary power, the prince must be one of their flock: but in civil affairs the priest by common right shall be ranked with the rest of the people, unless by the prince's favour any privileges or prerogatives of honour are indulged to him. Hence it necessarily follows, that a Christian prince is subject to the sacred laws and canons of the Catholic Church, and a priest to the civil and political laws. This is the doctrine and opinion of Pope Gelasius, who about the year of our Lord 412, succeeded Felix in the administration of the apostolic see: for thus he writes to the Emperor Anastasius<sup>c</sup>; "There are two things, great emperor, by which chiefly this world is governed, the sacred authority of the bishops and the regal power; in which the burden of the bishops is so much the more weighty, as in the divine inquest they are to give an account to our Lord, even for kings themselves: for you know, most gracious son, that though in dignity you preside over mankind, yet you devoutly submit yourself to those that preside in divine matters, and desire of them the means of your salvation; and in the participation of the heavenly Sacraments, and in the due dispensation of them, you know that by the order of religion you ought to be subject rather than to preside. You know therefore, that with respect to these things you depend upon their judgment, and that they must not be brought to your will: for

<sup>b</sup> [The words "saith he," are added by the translator wrongly; these are not the words of Synesius.]

<sup>c</sup> [S. Gelasii Papæ I. Epist. viii. ad

Anastasium Imperatorem; ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 308, C, D; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 349, note u.]

if [as respects the order of public discipline] even those who preside in religious matters, knowing that the empire was conferred upon you from on high, obey the laws, lest even in things of this world they should seem to oppose the determination of Heaven; I beseech you with what affection ought you to obey these spiritual governors, who are appointed to dispense the holy mysteries?" You see it is most manifestly the opinion of Gelasius, that where salvation is concerned, that is, in spiritual matters, the emperor ought to submit: in all others, that the bishop must obey the command of the prince, whose power in the State I shall hereafter shew to be supreme.

But here we meet with the patrons of that exemption of the clergy, which is now called the liberty of the Church, who cry out that it is a thing absurd, that they who administer spiritual things should be subject to those who manage things that are temporal. But these acute men do not understand what we proved in the beginning, that nothing is more agreeable to nature than that where there are different ends and divers powers, there should also be different commands; and that the same numerical person should both command and obey, namely in a different respect. Thus we often see those who have been the greatest and most honourable civil magistrates, when they go into the army, obey those who were far their inferiors. The life of physicians is for the most part private, and unacquainted with all jurisdiction; yet emperors themselves observe the orders of physicians. The same person therefore may be both inferior and superior: on which Themistius of old elegantly jested, when being from the profession of philosophy, which by its own right commands kings, promoted by the Emperor Constantius to a great post in the State, in a most elegant epigram, he thus speaks to himself<sup>a</sup>, *νῦν ἀνάβηθι κάτω, καὶ γὰρ ἄνω κατέβης*: "Now ascend downwards, because you have descended upwards." Like to which was that of St. Chrysostom in his sixty-sixth Homily on St. Matthew<sup>c</sup>, concerning the sublime humility of Christ the

<sup>a</sup> [δεῦρ' ἀνάβηθι κάτω· νῦν γὰρ ἄνω κατέβης. Θεμιστίου εἰς ἑαυτὸν.—Ap. Anthol. Græc., tom. ii. p.404. It is more probable that Themistius was promoted

by Theodosius. See Petavius, Vita ap. Op. Themistii.]

<sup>c</sup> [S. Chrys. in S. Matt. Hom. lxvi. Op., tom. vii. p. 649, D.]



APPENDIX.  
NO. VI.

Lord of all: his words are these; Ἡ κατάβασις αὐτῆ πάντων ἀνάβασις γέγονε: "This very humiliation was the exaltation of all men." And many other like passages in the same father.

### III. *The Christian Church and State acknowledges Christ only as King and Priest.*

Ps. 110. 4;  
Heb. 5. 6;  
7. 1—17.

The holy Scriptures own the priesthood of Christ alone to be of the order of Melchisedec, that is, joined with the kingly office. Indeed in the beginning, when kingdoms and dominions were instituted among men, the same persons were both kings and priests; and that custom remained among the Egyptians and other barbarous nations, and even among the Grecians themselves for many ages; as Plato<sup>f</sup> (in Politic. viii.), Aristotle<sup>g</sup> (lib. iii. de Repub.), Clemens Alexandrinus<sup>h</sup> (Strom. vii.), and several others assure us. Cicero also in his first book of Divination<sup>i</sup>, affirms the same of the ancient Romans. This custom was afterwards changed, and instead of the first kings, who were also priests, there were instituted at Athens<sup>k</sup>, Rome, and other places, sacerdotal kings<sup>l</sup>, as it were only for the name, not much unlike those represented on the stage; for they had nothing of king except the name: Plato calls them κληρωτοὺς<sup>m</sup>, "kings made by lots." And there was formerly a like observance among God's own people; for to say nothing of Melchisedec, so much taken notice of in both Testaments as king and priest, it is manifest that the ancient patriarchs, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and indeed all the first-born, as St. Jerome observes<sup>n</sup>, were in some sort both kings and priests among their own people. But Synesius in his fifty-seventh Epistle says, it was God that changed that custom; and he there gives us this reason for the change. "Because," says he<sup>o</sup>, "divine worship was administered after

<sup>f</sup> [Platonis Politicus, c. 30. Op., iii. 290; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 276. notes l, n.]

<sup>g</sup> [Arist. Polit., lib. iii. c. 14. § 13, 14.]

<sup>h</sup> [S. Clem. Alex. Strom., lib. vii. c. 7. Op., p. 305, 45.]

<sup>i</sup> [Cicero de Div., lib. i. c. 40.]

<sup>k</sup> [See above, vol. ii. p. 276.]

<sup>l</sup> Reges sacrificuli.—[Liv. Hist., lib.

ii. c. 2.]

<sup>m</sup> [Platon. Polit., ibid., p. 291.]

<sup>n</sup> [S. Hieron. Ep. 73. ad Evangelum § 6. Op., tom. i. col. 442, D; see above, vol. ii. p. 199, note h.]

<sup>o</sup> [ἔλετ' ἐπειδὴ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ θεῖον ἔργον ἀνθρωπίνως ἐπράττετο, διόκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τοὺς βίους, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἱερός, ὁ δὲ ἡγεμονικὸς ἀπεδείχθη.—Synesii Epist. lvii. Op., p. 198, E; Paris. 1631.]

the manner of men, therefore God separated the office of the priest and the prince, which were before joined together in the same person." And the same most excellent writer says elegantly<sup>p</sup>; ὅτι πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἱερωσύνη συνάπτειν, τὸ κλώθειν ἐστὶ τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα, "that to join the political power with the priesthood, is to connect things into one, which are utterly inconsistent in their own nature." But the reasons for which God would have that distinction preserved in His Church are accurately explained by Pope Gelasius, whose words I think it necessary to write down. "These things," says he<sup>q</sup>, "might be before the coming of Christ, that some persons in a figure, though as yet appointed for carnal employments, were at the same time both kings and priests, as the sacred history acquaints us holy Melchisedec was." And a little after<sup>r</sup>, "But when once the true King and Priest was come, the emperor no longer took to himself the name of high-priest, nor did the high-priest claim the dignity of king. For although as members of Him, that is, of the true King and Priest, according to the participation of His nature, they may be said, in the sacred generation, to have taken both offices, that the regal and sacerdotal dignity might subsist together; yet Christ being mindful of human frailty, that He might act in conformity to the salvation of His people, by a glorious dispensation thus separated the duties of each power, dis-

<sup>p</sup> [Id. *ibid.*, paulo supra.]

<sup>q</sup> [Fuerint hæc ante adventum Christi, ut quidam figuraliter, adhuc tamen in carnalibus actionibus constituti, pariter reges existerent et pariter sacerdotes; quod sanctum Melchisedech fuisse, sacra prodit historia.—S. Gelasii Tomus de anathematis vinculo. Concilia, tom. v. col. 357, E. See above, vol. ii. p. 350, y. z.]

<sup>r</sup> [Sed cum ad verum ventum est eundem Regem atque Pontificem, ultra sibi nec imperator pontificis nomen imposuit, nec pontifex regale fastigium vindicavit. Quamvis enim membra ipsius, id est, veri Regis atque Pontificis, secundum participationem naturæ magnifice utrumque in sacra generatione sunsisse dicantur, ut simul regale genus et sacerdotale subsistant; attamen Christus memor fragilitatis humanæ, quo suorum saluti con-

grueret, dispensatione magna temperans, sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque distinctis, officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, suos volens medicinali humilitate salvari, non humana superbia rursus intercipi: ut et Christiani imperatores pro æterna vita pontificibus indigerent; et pontifices pro temporalium cursu rerum imperialibus dispositionibus uterentur, quatenus spiritalis actio a carnalibus distaret incurribus; et ideo militans Deo minime se negotiis secularibus implicaret; ac vicissim non ille rebus divinis præsidere videretur, qui esset negotiis secularibus implicatus; ut et modestia utriusque ordinis curaretur; ne extolleretur utroque suffultus; et competens qualitatibus actionum specialiter professio aptaretur.—Id. *ibid.*, 358, A, B.]

tinguishing them by their proper actions and dignities, being desirous that His elect should be saved by a wholesome humility, and not again destroyed by human pride: and that Christian emperors should stand in need of priests for the attainment of eternal life, and priests depend upon the emperors in the administration of temporal things, that the spiritual action might be free from carnal encroachments, and therefore that no man who is God's soldier should entangle himself in the affairs of this life: and on the other hand, that he who is entangled in secular affairs should not preside over such as are divine: and that by the balance of both orders it should be provided, that none should have both to puff him up; and that a competent profession should be peculiarly suited to the qualities of both actions." Thus Gelasius in his book *de Anathematis Vinculo*, from whence Pope Nicholas<sup>s</sup> took it, and Gratian from him<sup>t</sup>. You will here observe two very important causes, why no man can be king and priest in the Church of God: the first is "the balance of both orders." This judicious author calls *modestia* what the Greek writers of politics, when they treat of the nature of civil governments, style *ισορροπία* and *ζυγοστάτησις*<sup>u</sup>, "an equilibrium;" for they tell us that "a government cannot be firm and steady when the parts which constitute it in a geometrical proportion are not on all sides, by an equal weight, kept in their proper and lawful stations;" that otherwise it will necessarily come to pass, as Gelasius here says, that the part which is buoyed up with too much power will rise too high, and *ἐξοικῆ*, as Polybius<sup>x</sup> most aptly expresses it, that is, "go out of its place." Another reason is, lest that should happen which was just now mentioned from Synesius; but on the contrary, that sacred persons should take care of sacred things, and persons not consecrated of things not sacred. The archbishops of the provinces of Rheims and Rouen use this expression to Lewis their king<sup>y</sup>; "God coming in the flesh,

<sup>s</sup> [Nicolai Papæ I. Epist. viii. ad Michael. Imp. ap. Concilia, tom. ix. col. 1344, A, B, C.]

[Gratiani Decretum, pars i. dist. x. c. 8. ap. Corpus Juris Canonici.]

<sup>u</sup> [Polyb. Hist., lib. vi. c. 10.]

<sup>x</sup> [Id. ibid. c. 18. *ἐξοικεῖ* is the true reading, as in Casaubon's own edition, p. 465, D. Paris, 1609.]

<sup>y</sup> [Deus in carne veniens, qui solus Rex fieri potuit et sacerdos, et in cælum ascendens, suum Regnum, id

who alone could become King and Priest, and ascending into heaven, disposed of the government of His kingdom, that is, the Church, between the pontifical authority and the regal power."

CASAUBON  
DE LIB.  
ECCL.  
CHAP. II.  
SECT. III.

IV. *The prince and the priest, or the bishop, receive their power from Christ, both King and Priest; the one the civil, the other the sacerdotal power, but in different respects.*

Christ, God and man, is the author of both powers; nor does either the sacerdotal in things divine depend on the king, or the regal in things human on the bishop. The latter of which many falsely assert now, and endeavour to prove; for indeed Christian kings and princes have most of them among their very titles of honour long since begun to profess that they are what they are by the "grace of God<sup>z</sup>." And the Emperor Justinian says right, (in the sixth Novel<sup>a</sup>), that "the priesthood and kingly office flow from the same fountain," namely, Christ, who, as He said in St. Peter to all bishops universally, "Feed My sheep;" so speaking to the Pharisees, He gave this command to all people in general, of what order soever, "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's." And the same Christ by His Apostle Paul proclaims, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God." Where that he speaks of the secular powers, not of the ecclesiastical, is so manifest from what follows, that it is senseless to doubt of it, and mere sophistry to interpret it otherwise. Therefore Gregory of Nazianzum<sup>b</sup>, in a sermon delivered at that city, said, that the civil magistrate did *Χριστῶ συνάρχειν, Χριστῶ συνδιοικεῖν*, "share the empire with Christ in a joint administration." And Symmachus, bishop of Rome,

est, ecclesiam inter pontificalem auctoritatem et regiam potestatem gubernandam disposuit.—Epist. Episcoporum, &c. ad Ludovicum, ap. Baronii Annales, ann. 858, num. 51.]

<sup>z</sup> Dei Gratia.

<sup>a</sup> [μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ δῶρα θεοῦ, παρὰ τῆς ἀνωθεν δεδομένη φιλανθρωπίας, ἱερωσύνη τε καὶ βασιλεία· ἣ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς ὑπηρετουμένη, ἣ δὲ τῶν

ἀνθρωπίνων ἐξάρχουσα τε καὶ ἐπιμελουμένη, καὶ ἐκ μιᾶς τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἑκατέρα προϊούσα, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον κατακοσμοῦσα βίον.—Justin. Novell. Const. vi. Auth. Collat. 1. tit. vi. Præfatio, ap. Corp. Jur. Civ. See above, vol. ii. p. 292, s.]

<sup>b</sup> [Χριστῶ συναρχεῖς, Χριστῶ καὶ συνδιοικεῖς.—S. Greg. Naz., Orat. xvii. § 9. Op., tom. i. p. 323, -B.]



writing to the Emperor Anastasius, "Do you," says he<sup>c</sup>, "pay a deference to God in us, and we will pay a deference to God in you." Nor does it alter the case, that some princes obtain their dominion by hereditary right, others by election, and some by conquest: for though God uses certain men as His instruments to establish a prince or constitute a priest, yet it were an impiety not to acknowledge all dominion and power whatsoever to come originally from God. For "by Him kings reign," as a thousand passages of Scripture assure us. This princes mean when they affirm that they have received their power immediately from God. The Emperor Lewis of Bavaria says<sup>d</sup>, "Testimonies of both civil and canon law manifestly declare that the imperial dignity and authority came of old immediately from the Son of God, and that God, by the emperors and kings of the world, did openly give laws to mankind." And afterwards<sup>e</sup>; "We declare that the imperial power and dignity is immediately from God only." And this very justly: for if "neither he that planteth is any thing, nor he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase:" if neither Paul himself is any thing, nor Apollos, but God who giveth the increase of faith, shall we dare to say that they are any thing who elect a prince on earth, or set a crown on his head? Or shall we deny that the emperors of Constantinople, who received their crown from the patriarch, did justly and properly call themselves *θεοστεφεῖς*, "crowned of God?" But this is common to the regal and sacerdotal office, that both are called *ἀρχαὶ*, or "principalities." St. Paul in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, among ecclesiastical offices also reckons governments, taking the word either from such as sit at the helm in ships, or from political magistrates. St. John Chrysostom, both in his books *de Sacerdotio*, and frequently elsewhere, tells us that there is in the office of a bishop an *ἔργον*<sup>f</sup>, "a work," that is, the duty of teaching, of administering Sacra-

[κυβερνήσεις, 1 Cor. 12. 28.]

<sup>c</sup> [Defer Deo in nobis, nos deferemus Deo in te.—Symmachi Papæ Epist. vi. ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 428, C; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 353, g.]

<sup>d</sup> [Juris utriusque testimonia manifeste declarant, imperialem dignitatem et potestatem immediate a Filio Dei ab antiquo processisse, et Deum per imperatores et reges mundi jura hu-

mano generi aperte tribuisse.—Decretum Imp., &c. ap. Annales H. Rehdorff; inter Script. Rerum Germ. Freher; tom. i. p. 616; ed. Argent. 1717.]

<sup>e</sup> [Declaramus, quod imperialis dignitas et potestas est immediate a solo Deo.—Ibid.]

<sup>f</sup> [See above, pp. 51, e; 111, c.]

ments, and in one word, of feeding the flock. And more than this, ἀρχὴν, τιμὴν, and ἀθθεντεῖαν, “a certain principality, honour, and authority<sup>g</sup>.” Gregory Nazianzen also calls his episcopal charge<sup>h</sup> δυναστείαν, a “dominion,” and attributes “a tribunal” to himself. Nor this only, but comparing his power with the civil, he says, his “is as much greater and more excellent as the spirit is superior to the flesh, and heavenly things to such as are earthly.” And the holy fathers have frequently scattered up and down in their writings other expressions of like nature, to gain veneration to the priesthood. And there are those who compare the priesthood to the sun, which is the greater light, and the empire to the moon, which is the lesser: which similitude is also used by Innocent III.<sup>i</sup> in the very words of the ancient fathers, though with a different meaning. And indeed who that estimates things aright can doubt but that heavenly things excel earthly, and the spirit the flesh, or even the mind? Or who does not know that a priest duly administering divine offices is on account of his function far superior to all earthly empires? Which was perfectly well understood by those emperors of old, who first introduced that custom, that (as themselves declare in a certain law<sup>k</sup>) they should approach Christ’s altar without their crown, without their guards, and without the other ensigus of majesty; signifying thereby that themselves are only sheep within Christ’s fold, and that within the pale of the Church only Christ and such as represent Him have properly any right or power. But they who now abuse such like testimonies of the ancient fathers, in order to change their spiritual power, confined to the administration of spiritual things, into a dominion that comprehends things temporal as well as spiritual, do wonderfully impose upon the ignorant: for that those venerable writers had another meaning, and that they did not so much as dream of that exemption of the clergy, or this liberty of

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<sup>g</sup> [S. Chrys. de Sacerd., lib. iii. § 11. Op., tom. i. p. 388, B; see *ibid.*]

<sup>h</sup> [S. Greg. Naz., Orat. xvii. § 8. Op., tom. i. p. 323, A; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 311, note i.]

[Ad firmamentum igitur cœli, hoc est, universalis ecclesiæ, fecit Deus duo luminaria magna, id est, duas magnas

instituit dignitates, quæ sunt pontificalis auctoritas et regalis potestas.—Epist. Inn. III. tom. i. p. 550. ed. Baluz. Paris. 1682.]

<sup>k</sup> [Nos . . . Dei templum ingressuri . . . ipsum etiam diadema, regis majestatis insigne deponimus.—Cod. Theod., lib. ix. tit. 45. l. 4.]

the Church, it is ignorance not to know, impudence to deny, impiety, and that the greatest, to maintain the contrary. They urge that similitude above mentioned from Gregory Nazianzen<sup>1</sup>, and the chief of them draw a monstrous conclusion from it; not seeing, or pretending not to see, that it was the custom of those most eloquent authors to make frequent use of that force of oratory which the Greek rhetoricians call *δεινότης*, “vehemence:” and that therefore they express many things after the manner of orators, loftily, magnificently, and with great vehemence, which stand in need of a convenient interpretation. For to endeavour to wrest all the sayings of the fathers, as they do especially upon this subject, and not attend to the scope of them, is to imitate the wickedness of heretics, who made use of this method to vindicate their impious inventions. So the wretched Arius of old defended his wicked word *ποίημα*, or “creature,” used of the true Son of God, out of an orthodox father, Dionysius Alexandrinus’s<sup>m</sup> writings against Sabelius. Wherefore Pope Honorius<sup>n</sup>, in his Epistle to Sergius of Constantinople, did piously and learnedly observe, “that some of the fathers condescending to inform the minds and understandings of little ones, have (as it were lispings) taught some things which ought not to be drawn into ecclesiastical doctrines.” In such instances he will not err who shall keep in memory that golden rule of St. Athanasius<sup>o</sup>; *Οὐ δὲ τὰ κατ’ οἰκονομίαν γραφόμενα καὶ γεγόμενα ταῦτα κακοτρόπως δέχεσθαι*: “things written or done by way of dispensation ought not to be maliciously interpreted.” A golden rule, as I said, and of very extensive use. For that is most certainly the case. Pious men of old, both fathers and princes, did not only say or write, but do many things orderly, piously, and holily for the times, which were taken maliciously and insidiously by those that came after, as

<sup>1</sup> [Ut Christiani oves sunt Pastoribus episcopis subjecti, ut Nazianzenus docet, &c. (S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xvii.; quoted below, p. 134, note t.)—Bellarminus de Romano Pont., lib. i. c. 7. p. 259, B.]

<sup>m</sup> [See S. Athanas. Epist. de Sententia Dionysii, § 4. Op., tom. i. p. 246, A.]

<sup>n</sup> [κἂν εἴ τις φελλίζοντες, ἵνα οὕτως εἴπωμεν, ἐπεχείρησαν προφέροντες ἐκθέ-

σθαι τυποῦντες αὐτοὺς ἐν σχήματι διδασκάλων ὅπως δυνηθῶσι τὰς διανοίας τυπῶσαι τῶν ἀκροατῶν οὐ χρὴ ταῦτα πρὸς δόγματα ἐκκλησιαστικά μεταστρέφειν.—Apud Concilii Constant. III. act. xii. Concilia, tom. vii. col. 964, D.]

<sup>o</sup> [Ὁ δὲ τὰ κατ’ οἰκονομίαν γραφόμενα καὶ γεγόμενα, ταῦτα κακοτρόπως δέχεσθαι.—S. Athan. ibid., § 6. p. 247, C.]

St. Athanasius says; and which now, the wholesome and necessary admonition of Pope Honorius being neglected, are drawn to ecclesiastical doctrines, and insinuated into the minds of men for articles of faith. They manifestly do this who bring the above-mentioned passage of Gregory Nazianzen<sup>p</sup> to confirm the exemption of the clergy, as Cardinal Bellarmine<sup>q</sup> and many others do. In that sermon the holy man proposed two things to himself; first, to give some consolation to the magistrates, and all that had the administration of public affairs at Nazianzum, and deliver them from a very great fear they were then under, by reason of an offence committed against the president of the province; his other end was, to mitigate the president's anger, and incline his mind to grant them his pardon. Now it is natural, that when any thing of this kind is requested, chief regard should be had to the condition of the petitioner; for the petition is generally esteemed according to the dignity of him that makes it, rather than to the merits of the cause. This is the true reason why this man of divine humility, in the beginning of his request, does so magnificently extol the majesty of that character of priesthood which he sustained; not to set himself above kings, but to make himself useful to his people then lying under great disgrace. Thus St. Paul, the elect vessel, in whom all virtue and divine grace dwelt, that he might procure honour to his gospel, did not decline boasting of his own excellence. And I beseech you what is there in Gregory's words which in the least favours this modern doctrine? For to compare the priesthood to the spirit, and the civil power to the flesh, that is, to the natural man, as the Apostle speaks, what is it else but to say what all men readily confess, that bishops preside in spiritual, princes in temporal affairs? But they who from hence argue the exemption of the clergy, and subjection of princes in secular matters, with what face can they read the words almost immediately preceding, in which the same apostolic writer, suitably to the doctrine of Christ and His Apostles, twice expressly inculcates the duty of obeying magistrates? Nei-

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<sup>p</sup> [See above, p. 131, h.]

<sup>q</sup> [Bellarminus De Clericis, lib. i. c. 29. tom. ii. p. 164, B.]



APPENDIX.  
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ther does St. Gregory put the laity in the condition of subjects, and exempt himself and the rest of the priesthood from that number; but including himself also among the laity<sup>r</sup>, “Let us be subject,” says he, “both to God and to one another, and to our earthly princes: to God, for all things; to one another, for brotherly love; to princes, for the preservation of due order.” Afterwards going to repeat this very precept in the Apostle’s own words, he says by way of preface, that this is one of those laws imposed upon us Christians, and that it is very good and commendable, and proceeds from the Spirit of God. I omit that the same holy father, so great a bishop, reckons himself among those who are obliged to pay tribute to the prince: that he says in the same place, that magistrates who rightly administer their authority become gods; ἔξεστί σοι θεῖον γενέσθαι: “It is in your power,” says he<sup>s</sup>, “to become a god.” A passage which might put a stop to these men’s boasting so much of a like expression of Constantine’s concerning bishops, especially since bishops are no where in the holy Scriptures called gods, and yet lay powers (as every one knows) are found so styled. I might also add, that addressing himself to the president, the holy father says thus<sup>t</sup>: “I know thee to be a sheep of my flock and of that great Shepherd, and to have been excellently instructed from above by the Spirit, and enlightened as well as we by the holy and blessed Trinity.” Which expression of this most judicious father is very different from the haughtiness of those zealots who exclude princes and all the laity from what is sacred, as if they were profane persons, no way appertaining to God’s care, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Now let the readers who are desirous not to dispute but to know the truth, judge with what fidelity the writings of the fathers are dealt with by those men, who put their wits upon the rack to prove the exemption of the clergy from this similitude of St. Gregory’s. With like subtlety they

<sup>r</sup> [ὑποτασσάμεθα καὶ Θεῷ, καὶ ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς ἄρχουσιν Θεῷ διὰ πάντα, διὰ τὴν φιλαδελφίαν ἀλλήλοις, δι’ εὐταξίαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν.—S. Greg. Naz., Orat. xvii. § 6. Op., tom. i. p. 321, C.]

<sup>s</sup> [Id. *ibid.*, § 9. p. 323, D.]

<sup>t</sup> [οἶδ’, ὅτι πρόβατον εἶ τῆς ἐμῆς ποιμνῆς, τῆς ἱερᾶς ἱερῶν, καὶ θρέμμα τοῦ μεγάλου ποιμένος, καὶ καλῶς ἠνωθεν ἠγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, καὶ τῷ φωτὶ τῆς ἁγίας καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος ὁμοίως ἡμῖν ἐλλαμπόμενον.—Id. *ibid.*, § 8, A.]

also allege some passages of St. Chrysostom<sup>u</sup>, in which that sublime orator either extols the priesthood up to the skies, or treats some other like argument with his usual eloquence. I suppose they conceal what that father in many places repeats, that the rule or government of bishops, to such as rightly consider it, is not so much a principality as a ministry of teaching; that it has no manner of coercive jurisdiction whatever, but only a right to admonish and exhort. "We are instituted," says he<sup>x</sup>, "to teach the word, οὐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν οὐδ' εἰς ἀυθεντίαν, neither to govern, nor usurp authority," in his comments upon the Epistle to the Ephesians; and in his second homily on the Epistle to Titus he compares the bishop and ὁ ἔξωθεν ἄρχων, the secular prince and magistrate, together; the latter, he says<sup>y</sup>, "does νόμῳ κρατεῖν καὶ ἀνάγκῃ, govern by law, with a penal necessity of being obeyed: the former does ἐκόντων ἄρχειν, rule such as are willing to be governed," that is, has no right to force. And in his [second<sup>1</sup>] book *De Sacerdotio*, explaining the same opinion in more words, he says<sup>z</sup>, "Secular judges (οἱ ἔξωθεν) exert the force of their authority when they oblige malefactors to submit to their laws, and force them against their wills to obey their constitutions. But a bishop is obliged to reclaim the offender to a better life, not by force of arms, but by persuasion of words: for neither have we such a power granted us by the laws as to enable us to coerce sinners, nor if it were granted us should we know how to use it." And with like fidelity the sayings of some later popes are amassed together, in which they seem to claim to themselves an infinite power over the lives of kings and princes, while at the same time that divine humility of

<sup>1</sup> ["first," ed. 3.]

<sup>u</sup> [Bellarmine (de Summo Pontifice, lib. i. c. 7) alleges S. Chrysost., lib. iii. de Sacerdotio, Hom. 4. in cap. 6. Esaie, and Hom. 83. in S. Matt., which are quoted in the Treatise on the Dignity of the Episcopal order: see above, vol. ii. pp. 313, 321, 323.]

<sup>x</sup> [εἰς διδασκαλίαν λόγου προεχειρίσθημεν, οὐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν, οὐδὲ εἰς ἀυθεντίαν.—S. Chrys. in Ephes. Hom. xi. § 5. Op., tom. xi. p. 87, E.]

<sup>y</sup> [ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔξωθεν ἄρχων, ἐπειδὴ νόμῳ κρατεῖ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ, κ. τ. λ. ὁ μὲντοι ἐκόντων ὀφείλων ἄρχειν, κ. τ. λ.—Id. in

Ep. ad Tit. Hom. ii. § 2. *ibid.*, p. 738, F.]

<sup>z</sup> [οἱ μὲν ἔξωθεν δικασταὶ τοὺς κακοῦργους, ὅταν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις λάβωσι, πολλὴν ἐπιδεικνόνται τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ ἄκοντας τοῖς τρώποισι κωλύουσι χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτῶν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐ βιαζόμενον, ἀλλὰ πείθοντα δεῖ ποιεῖν ἁμείνω τὸν τοιοῦτον. οὔτε γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξουσία τοσαύτη παρὰ τῶν νόμων δέδοται πρὸς τὸ κωλύειν τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας· οὔτε, εἰ καὶ ἔδωκαν, εἴχομεν ὕπου χρησόμεθα τῇ δυνάμει.—S. Chrys. de Sacerdot., lib. ii. c. 3. Op., tom. i. p. 374, B.]

former popes is concealed, which gained them as far more sublime a degree of glory as they were more averse to the vain arrogance of the world. Out of many I will produce one example, that of Pelagius, bishop of Rome, into which see he was enthroned about the year 555. For he sending the profession of his faith to Childebert king of France, says<sup>a</sup>, “How much study and labour ought we to employ (in order to remove the scandal of suspicion) to give an account of our faith to kings, to whom the holy Scriptures command us also to be subject.”

But to return to my argument. What was said just now out of St. Chrysostom, that the sacerdotal government has no coercive power, is to be understood of temporal punishment: for otherwise that can be no discipline, which can propose no reward or punishment: that is the only sinew of discipline and good order. But there are two causes why St. Chrysostom speaks thus: for since the ancient Church knew no other punishment besides the censures of the college of bishops, and the bond of excommunication, which is the sword of the spirit, it was the opinion of this great father<sup>b</sup>, that that dire weapon was either very seldom, or not at all to be used against the faithful; of which by God’s assistance, I shall say more elsewhere. The other reason was, that this spiritual sword of the bishops, unless it be supported by the material one of the civil magistrate, is wont to be despised by the wicked even among the clergy, much more among the laity. See the second law in the Theodosian Code<sup>c</sup>, *De Episcopali Judicio*; for because the sacerdotal punishment is not to have its effect till the next life, you will find more persons who will be allured by pleasure set before their eyes, than whom the fear of a future remote punishment will restrain within their duty:

<sup>a</sup> [Quanto nobis studio ac labore satagendum est, ut pro auferendo suspicionis scandalo obsequium confessionis nostræ regibus ministremus? Quibus nos etiam subditos esse, Sanctæ Scripturæ præcipiunt.—Pelagii Papæ I. ad Childebertum Epist. ap Concilia, tom. vi. col. 479, D, et ap. Baronii Annales, ann. 559. num. 13.]

<sup>b</sup> [See S. Chrys. de Sacerd., lib. ii. c. 4. Op., tom. i. pp. 374, sqq.]

<sup>c</sup> [Suggerentibus episcopis didicimus quosdam sacerdotes Christianæ legis, quorum delicta cætu episcoporum deprehensa fuerint... permanere, et quærere turbas populi, &c.—*Extravagans seu subditus Titulus de Episcopali Judicio* (al. Cod. Theod., lib. xvi. Tit. 12. c. 2.) Impp. Aread. et Theod. A.D. 405. Cod. Theod. cum Comment. Gothofred, tom. vi. p. 303. Lugd. 1665.]

therefore though this sword be as much more formidable than that of the magistrate, as the death of the soul is more terrible than that of the body; yet such are the dispositions of men, that the latter is of more avail than the former towards the preservation of ecclesiastical discipline: and this is what divines are used to call the insufficiency and imperfection of the sword of the spirit. *Decreti, quæst. v. c. xx.*; “There would not be<sup>d</sup> the necessary powers within the Church, if what the priest is not able to effect by the word of doctrine, authorities should not fulfil by the terror of discipline.” Richardus Cantuariensis, in his Epistle, put by Petrus Blesensis among his, says<sup>e</sup>, “Let the Church first exercise her jurisdiction: and if that be not sufficient, let the secular sword supply its defect.” The same author observes the like insufficiency also in the material sword, and that therefore it is necessary that they conspire friendly together, and mutually help each other. His words are these<sup>f</sup>: “There are two swords, which want each other’s assistance, and mutually impart their strength to each other; that of the priesthood to kings, and that of the king to priests: therefore if one supplies the other’s insufficiency, it does not seem a double suffering, or a twofold punishment.” But St. Bernard said very well, that the material sword “is moved at the emperor’s command, and at the signification of the bishop<sup>g</sup>,” that is, the bishop pointing out, and as it were accusing and consenting; for that is understood by *nutus*: not what they mean, who frame us princes as certain executioners or public servants of the Roman pontiff, when it is undoubted that the prince draws his sword as the minister of Almighty God, the vicar on earth of Christ our king, not at another’s discretion, but by

<sup>d</sup> [Intra ecclesiam potestates necessariæ non essent, nisi, ut quod non prævalet sacerdos efficere per doctrinæ sermonem, potestas hoc impleat per disciplinæ terrorem.—*Decreti, pars ii. Causa xxiii. Quæst. 5. c. 20. ap. Corp. Jur. Can., tom. i.*]

<sup>e</sup> [Ecclesia jurisdictionem suam prius exercent; et si illa non sufficit, ejus imperfectum supplet gladius secularis.—Richardus Archiep. Cantuar. ad tres Episcopos Angliæ; *Epist. lxxiii. ap. Petri Blesensis Op., p. 110. ed.*

Paris. 1667.]

<sup>f</sup> [Duo sunt gladii, qui mutuam a se mendicant auxilium, atque ad invicem sibi vires impertiuntur alternas; sacerdotum regibus, et sacerdotibus regnum. Ideoque si ab altero suppletur alterius insufficientia, non videtur duplex contritio, aut punitio combinata.—*Id. ibid.*]

<sup>g</sup> [Ad nutum sacerdotis et jussum imperatoris.—S. Bernard. de Consideratione, lib. iv. c. 3. *Op., tom. i. col. 444, B.*]



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the force and lawful power of his own government ; to whom priests, bishops, and all sorts of ecclesiastical persons whatsoever, are as much obliged to submit their necks, as he is his to them in the Church, as Gelasius<sup>b</sup> said : for divinity considers three things in man, the body, the soul, and the spirit. Of these three that which is the noblest of all, the spirit, by which we receive the heavenly doctrine, which neither flesh nor blood have revealed, belongs to the government and power of the priest. He informs the spirit with the knowledge of God ; he opens the way of heaven ; he delivers the contumacious over to death by the force of his spiritual sword : for to be separated from the communion of Christ and of the Christian Church is the most dreadful death. And can this power seem little to any one ? or can he be justly said to be contumelious against the sacerdotal order, who believes it to be the judge of eternal life or damnation, if, as divines speak, the key do not err ? But the body and the soul are altogether in the prince's power ; the body by reason of things corporeal, and (as they call them) temporal, necessary to it ; and because the prince may by his own right, for a crime and for the public benefit, take away the life from the body of any of his subjects whatsoever : the soul, because the prince informs it with civil laws, and instructs it for a civil life. Therefore the sacerdotal power is the more noble ; but that of the prince is more extensive in the government of a Christian state. Theodorus Balsamon, a most judicious canonist, says in one of his meditations<sup>i</sup> : “ The assistance of emperors offers itself for the illumination and establishment as well of the soul as of the body : whereas the majesty of patriarchs is restrained to the advantage of the soul only ; for they have little care of those things which regard the conveniences of the body.” Balsamon here teaches us the very same thing that was just now said, but more obscurely ; for that threefold distinction mentioned above does wonderfully illustrate the matter : and the holy

<sup>b</sup> [S. Gelasii Epist. viii., ad Anastasium Imp. ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 308, D ; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 349.]

<sup>i</sup> [ὅτι δὲ τῶν μὲν αὐτοκρατόρων ἡ ἀρωγή πρὸς φωτισμὸν καὶ σύστασιν ἐπεκτείνεται ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, τὸ δὲ μεγαλεῖον τῶν πατριαρχῶν εἰς μόνην

ψυχικὴν ἐστενοχώρηται λυσιτέλειαν, ὀλίγη γὰρ τοῦτοις ἐστὶ φροντὶς εὐπαθείας σωματικῆς.—Theodori Balsamonis Meditatio, de Patriarcharum Privilegiis, ap. Jur. Græco-Roman. Leunclavii, tom. i. p. 449.]

Scripture makes the same distinction between the soul and the spirit. But under the appellation of ψυχή<sup>k</sup>, or "soul," the spirit also is often comprehended. So you will frequently read, that the priest is the governor of souls, to wit, with respect to things spiritual; for as to political matters the prince is the governor of souls. On which account that saying of Constantine the Great is commended, who in his discourses at a table, where there were many bishops sitting, and among them Eusebius Pamphili<sup>l</sup>: ὑμεῖς, says he, μὲν τῶν εἴσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθεσταμένους ἐπίσκοπος ἄν εἶην, "You indeed are bishops of those things which are done within the Church: but I may be said to be appointed of God a bishop or overseer of those things which are done without." Or thus, because the article τῶν is here ambiguous: "You indeed are bishops of those who are within the Church, I of those who are without." The Greeks call those things which do not belong to the Church or to the ecclesiastical court, τὰ ἐκτὸς, "things without;" and on the contrary, spiritual things, τὰ εἴσω, "things within;" and clergymen, οἱ εἴσω, "persons within." So we observed above, that secular judges are called by St. Chrysostom, οἱ ἔξωθεν δικασταὶ, "such as judge without;" but not profane persons or pagans, as some have thought. So "within the Church," in the canon law, signifies "in ecclesiastical matters," (causa xx. quest. 5<sup>m</sup>.) "Secular princes sometimes hold the supreme power within the Church, that thereby they may defend ecclesiastical discipline." And in what sense Constantine acted the bishop Eusebius thus explains<sup>n</sup>: "Meditating in his mind things suitable to the discourse he had made, ἐπεσκόπει, he performed the duty of a bishop towards all his subjects, and to the utmost of his power exhorted them to undertake a godly life." As Constantine called himself a bishop, so other emperors have styled themselves priests, by a much harsher and more dangerous expression: Leo Isaurus wrote thus

<sup>k</sup> Animus vel anima.

<sup>l</sup> [Eusebius de Vita Constantini, lib. iv. c. 24. Eccl. Hist., tom. i. p. 638.]

<sup>m</sup> [Principes seculi nonnunquam intra ecclesiam potestatis adeptæ culmina tenent, ut per eandem potestatem disciplinam ecclesiasticam inuniant.—

Decreti, pars ii. c. 20. ap. Corp. Jur. Can. Causa xxiii. Quest. 5. c. 20.]

<sup>n</sup> [ἀκόλουθα δ' οὖν τῷ λόγῳ διανοούμενος, τοὺς ἀρχομένους ἅπαντας ἐπεσκόπει, προὔτρεπέ τε ὕψη πῆρ ἂν ἡ δύναμις τὸν εὐσεβῆ μεταδιώκειν βίον.— Euseb. Vit. Const. ibid.]

to Gregory the Second, ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς εἰμι, "I am an emperor and a priest," and yet is not reproved by the pope so much for writing in that manner, as for not making good that title in his works. It may be worth while to set down Gregory's words<sup>o</sup>: "In compliance with your own stubborn mind, and your domestic disturbances, you have written, 'I am an emperor and a priest:;' and indeed your predecessors demonstrated this, both in their works and their discourse, who built churches, and took care of them together with the bishops, inflamed with a zealous desire, and following the truth of the right faith." And a little after<sup>p</sup>: "These are priests and emperors, who shewed that by their works." So far was it beyond all controversy among the ancients, that princes were not only defenders of the Church, which was of old the peculiar title of the kings of France, but also keepers and assertors of ecclesiastical discipline: not to make any innovations upon the doctrines of faith; God forbid! but as often as it was necessary to admonish the whole clergy of their duty. For which reason Ludovicus Pius<sup>q</sup> calls himself "admonisher of the ecclesiastical laws, not legislator." Which the great Emperor Justinian signified in other words, when he said, (Novell. 137<sup>r</sup>;) "that God had given him as it were the ἐξουσία of the civil laws," the power of making and repealing them, according as the common benefit of the republic and different times required; but "the παραφυλακὴ, the custody and defence of the canons and ecclesiastical laws." And in the Greek authors of the canon law, the emperor is said in affairs of the Church, οὐκ ἀθθεντεῖν, ἀλλὰ κανονικῶς διεξάγεσθαι, "not to determine by his imperial authority, but to transact all things by the direction of the canons." And

<sup>o</sup> [ἐξηκολούθησας τῷ πείσματι καὶ τοῖς ἐνοίκοις σου πάθεσι καὶ ἔγραψας ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ ἱερεὺς εἰμι. καὶ τοῦτο οἱ πρὸ σοῦ βασιλεῖς εἶδεισαν ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ, οἱ κτισάμενοι, καὶ φροντίσαντες τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἅμα τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἐκζητήσαντες πόθῳ καὶ ζήλῳ τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας τὴν ἀληθείαν.—Leonis Imp. Epist. ad Greg. Papam II, ap. Concilia, tom. viii. col. 669, A.]

<sup>p</sup> [οὔτοι εἰσιν ἱερεῖς καὶ βασιλεῖς ὅτινες καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐπέδειξαντο.—Ibid. B.]

<sup>q</sup> [Unde apparet quod ego omnium

vestrum admonitor esse debeo.—Ludovici Pii Imp. Capit. II. ap. Concilia, tom. ix. col. 628, B.]

<sup>r</sup> [εἰ τοὺς πολιτικούς νόμους, ὧν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπίστευσε, βεβαίους διὰ πάντων φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ἰπηκόων σπουδάζομεν, πόσῳ μᾶλλον πλείονα σπουδὴν ὀφείλομεν θέσθαι περὶ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων καὶ θείων νόμων παραφυλακὴν, κ. τ. λ.—Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xix. Nov. 137. Præf. ap. Corp. Jur. Civ.]



that this inspection into things sacred belongs to princes by divine right, appears from the institution of kings by God, in the 17th of Deuteronomy; and from the examples of the kings of Judah: 2 Kings xii. King Joash, when he saw that the sacred treasure was not rightly administered by the priests, took that care upon himself, and composed the matter by his royal authority: and that without the complaint of any one, not so much as of Jehoiada the high-priest, who had anointed him king. Jehoshaphat is commended as a religious king, 1 Kings xxii., but is there noted for not having fully done the work of God<sup>s</sup>: for he had not pulled down the altars; and how could he have done that, unless the authority of doing it were in the king? The same thing is said of several others: but Hezekiah alone has the praise of restoring religion, 2 Kings xviii. Ecclesiastical history is full of like examples of Christian kings, who in France, Spain, England, and elsewhere, have of their own accord, and by their royal authority, revived the decayed institutions of ancient piety. Of whom I shall speak in another place.

Here therefore we must observe the difference between the civil and the sacerdotal power: for the civil has not only a direct authority in temporal, but an indirect one in ecclesiastical affairs: whereas divine matters are so committed to ecclesiastics, as that they are forbid to concern themselves in those that are secular. They may indeed out of charity act in these too, but not by any sacerdotal power or authority. They who think otherwise, and allege that place of St. Paul, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. vi., and others such like, are refuted in the eighth chapter. We know there are examples, of the ancient priests of the Jewish people, who did not only meddle in the state, but acted the greatest things in it. But that was done either by God's express command, as when Elisha anointed Jehu king, or by a certain extraordinary <sup>2 Kings 9.</sup> right; of which sort are those duties, which the Greek philosophers call *κατὰ περίστασιν*, "in extremity:" for they teach, that besides the proper duty of every citizen according to the place and station he enjoys in the city, sometimes with re-

<sup>s</sup> [Bellarmine maintained, (De Romano Pontifice, lib. v. c. 4.) Papam non habere ullam mere temporalem jurisdictionem directe jure divino; but

(c. 5), Papam habere summam temporalem potestatem indirecte.—Op., tom. i. pp. 435, 439, sqq.]



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spect to the state there happen such times, that it is lawful for every one to consult the public safety, if he can contribute any thing thereto, even by going out of the ordinary course. These they call duties *κατὰ περίστασιν*, in the extremity, or according to the circumstance or exigence of the state, such as depend as it were on the necessity of the case or times of the republic. Thus though it is not lawful for any private person to kill any one, yet when the republic is oppressed, if any one slay the usurper<sup>t</sup>, he has a reward decreed to him, as to one that has deserved well of the commonwealth. These duties can be prescribed by no other certain law than the regard which is to be had to the public utility; for the sake of which the Greek sages tell us, that we ought *χαλάσαι τι τῆς ἀκριβείας*, “to abate something of what is rigidly just.” And for a rule in such cases, they allege that verse of the poet which defines that to be the best augury by which the safety of his country shall be procured. On which occasion I cannot but add the precept of St. John Chrysostom in his twenty-fifth Homily on the first Epistle to the Corinthians<sup>u</sup>. *Τοῦτο κανὼν χριστιανισμοῦ [τοῦ τελειοτάτου], τοῦτο ὄρος ἠκριβωμένος, αὐτὴ ἡ κορυφὴ ἢ ἀνωτάτω τὸ τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα ζητεῖν*: “This is the rule of Christianity, this its perfect definition, this the highest point of it above all, to consult the public utility.”

*V. The supreme power in a well-ordered State is the civil  
not the sacerdotal power.*

I lay it down for a thing certain and granted, which in politics is easily demonstrated, and of which no wise man doubts, that it is not possible for the safety of a State to be provided for by any other means, than by its having only one sovereignty in it, whether that be sustained by one person, as in a monarchical State, or by many, as in an aristocracy or a democracy: for in those also there is but one supreme power. This being laid down and granted, there does not seem so much as the least doubt, but that the supreme authority in a Christian State does of right belong to him or them in whom is that sovereignty. Indeed the Church and the State are two systems of bodies, each of which in things pro-

<sup>t</sup> Tyrannum.<sup>u</sup> [S. Chrys., in Ep. i. ad Cor.

Hom. 25. Op., tom. x. p. 223, A, B.]

perly pertaining to it have received a plenary power from Christ, but with this difference, that the Church should be subject to kings in this world, and expect its own kingdom hereafter in heaven, and then reign, and not till then, with its own head. That the State should hold its kingdom on the earth, but that a temporal kingdom begun in this world, and to end here. Besides, the sacerdotal power was not instituted by God to bear civil rule; but for the ministry of the word, and of things divine, as I have already shewn. St. Bernard says to Eugenius\*, lib. ii.: "Dominion is forbidden to the Apostles, and therefore to thee. Darest thou usurp either the Apostleship, being a prince, or the principality, being an Apostle? the apostolic form is this: dominion is forbid, ministration is introduced." If this be true in the Apostles, (and it is most true,) how much more in presbyters, bishops, and popes, whom I suppose no modest man will assert to be equal in dignity with the Apostles? add to this, that the State extends further than the Church: why therefore should the lesser part rule over the greater? especially seeing the methods of governing the Church are very different from those of ruling the State. If a ploughman in high shoes, unskilful of sea affairs, desires the government of a ship, Melicerta the sea-god cries out, There is no modesty left in the world. And will you, whose province it is to manage and take care of things sacred and divine, and to renounce the cares of the world, contend that you have right to govern the State? and seeing that civil prudence, which is the soul of the State, is joined with the administration of wars, the effusion of human blood, and many other things altogether contrary to the holiness of the priesthood, will you challenge to yourself alone these two things, that are so inconsistent in their own nature? certainly the State existed before the Church was admitted into it, and emperors and kings enjoyed the supreme power. Let any place of Scripture be produced, which takes away their right from princes, which divests them of the sovereignty, and gives it to the Christian priests. In

\* [Apostolis interdicatur dominatus; ergo et tibi. Tu usurpare audes, aut dominus Apostolatam, aut Apostolus dominatum? Forma Apostolica hæc

est; interdicatur dominatio, inducitur ministratio.—S. Bernardi de Consideratione ad Eugenium III., lib. ii. c. 1, 2. Op., tom. i. col. 425, E.]

the mean time let us believe with the universal Church, that our Lord Jesus, when He bestowed this new benefit upon States, which were before ordained, that they should also become churches of God, did in no sort diminish or weaken their former rights, otherwise those verses of Sedulius sung in the Catholic Church would be false<sup>y</sup> :

Hostis Herodes, &c.

Why, impious Herod, dost thou fear,  
That Christ our Saviour should appear?  
He comes not earthly crowns to snatch,  
Who does us crowns celestial reach.

To this testimony, not now of Sedulius, but of the Catholic Church, agree those of many popes of Rome, as those of Gelasius and Pelagius produced above. Of Gregory the Great I shall speak in the fourth chapter<sup>z</sup>. Pope Nicholas<sup>a</sup>, who succeeded Benedictus in the year of our redemption 858, says in his Epistle to the Emperor Michael, “Do no prejudice to the Church of God; for she does no prejudice to your empire.” If the Church is no way prejudicial to princes, who before Christianity was embraced enjoyed the supreme government in their principalities, then their rights remain to them untouched; nor is that true which is now taught, that the pope of Rome is the Lord of the whole earth, and that directly, as is daily asserted in public at Rome, and by some persons also elsewhere: besides it is most certain and notorious, that whatever right ecclesiastical persons now enjoy in things temporal, is all owing to the liberality of Christian emperors and princes; who when they indulged so many rights and privileges to ecclesiastics, assuredly thought of nothing less than of thereby divesting themselves of the sovereign authority, and transferring it upon the Church: on which account that has place here, which Pope Hormisdas says in his Epistle to Dorotheus, bishop of Thessalonica<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>y</sup> [Hostis Herodes impie,  
Christum venire quid times?  
Non eripit mortalia,  
Qui regna dat cœlestia.

Seduli Hymnus, l. 30. Op., p. 374. Romæ, 1794. et Brev. Rom. in Festo Epiphaniæ. ad Vesp.]

<sup>z</sup> [The passage referred to is, Potestas super omnes homines dominorum meorum pietate cœlitus data est.—S. Greg. M., lib. iii. Epist. 65. ad Mau-

ritium, Op., tom. ii. 676, A; as may be seen from Bellarmine de Rom. Pontif., lib. v. cap. iii., Op. tom. i. p. 434, from which this part of Casaubon's treatise is derived.]

<sup>a</sup> [Nolite præjudicium Ecclesiæ Dei irrogare; illa quippe nullum imperio vestro præjudicium infert.—Nicolai Papæ I., Epist. viii. ad Michaelem Imp. ap. Concilia, tom. ix. col. 1343, E.]

<sup>b</sup> [Quo pudore, rogo, privilegia circa

“With what face, I pray you, do you desire that their privileges should remain with you, who do not keep their commands? or covet that that reverence should be paid to you by the ecclesiastical authority, which you yourself do not pay to the faith?” Hormisdæ indeed speaks of another matter, but the same reason does plainly hold also in this argument: for there is likewise this rule in the canon law of the Greek Church, ὁ δωρησάμενος βασιλεὺς, εἰ ἀχαριστίας παρεμπέσοι λόγος, ἀναλαμβάνει τὴν δωρεάν: “a king who bestows any gift, does upon the ingratitude of him on whom it is bestowed, resume his grant.” And the Greek fathers allege this rule in the dispute concerning privileges granted to the Church by the emperors. And that most just axiom of the Longobardic law is known to every one; “he loses his fief or fee<sup>c</sup>, who wittingly denies he holds it as a fief.” Which yet is a much less crime than if you contend that he is your subject whom formerly you acknowledged as your lord and lawful prince. We may add the examples of former times, which ought to have the force of law: for from Constantine the Great, who was the first Christian prince, all the emperors, especially those of the east, and as many also of those of the west as understood that the authority of their dominion was given them by God; they all, I say, enjoyed the supreme authority in the Christian state: and the very same right was afterwards most deservedly claimed by the kings of several nations, who succeeded in the place of those emperors. Therefore that was ever most firmly believed by all, which is frequently inculcated by the Greek interpreters, both of the civil and canon law: τὸ νομοθετεῖν ἀνεῖται τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, “the right of making laws in the state is granted only to princes.” And when the same princes, by the suggestion or consent of the bishops, summoned synods, especially such as were greater than ordinary, they presently confirmed the decrees of those synods by their authority: for the right of summoning and

te illorum manere desideras, quorum mandata non servas? et reverentiam, quam non exhibes fidei, cupis tibi Ecclesiastica potestate deferri?—Hormisdæ Papæ Epist. xxii., ad Dorotheum, *ibid.*, tom. v. col. 597, B.]

<sup>c</sup> [Vasallus si feudum ex certa scientia inficiatur et inde convictus fuerit expoliabitur.—Feudorum Consuetudines, lib. ii. tit. xxvi. 3. ap. Corp. Jur. Civ.]



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convening assemblies is derived from the prince. But they who deny that synods of old used to be convened by the command of the emperors and princes, deny a thing that is most true, most certain, most notorious, and attested beyond all contradiction ; they deny a thing, of the truth of which even to doubt is shameful ignorance and stupidity : they deny a thing, the proof of which is so manifest, that to go against it is making war upon truth, openly undertaking the defence of a lie, and bidding defiance to ingenuity and modesty. Excuse me, I beseech you, candid reader, for I am not able to contain myself, when I see great men using or rather abusing the subtilty of their wit, not to rescue the memory of things done from oblivion, but to overwhelm them with it. All men know, not only that bishops were called together by the prince's letters ; but also that they had the use of the public carriages allowed them by the royal grants. And princes were present at councils, either themselves in person, or by their command the presidents of provinces, or others whom they appointed. But the dignity, authority, and power of the Church was then most eminent, when the prince being contented to act as an asserter of good order and lawful power, in all things else behaved himself as a private person : and the fathers on the contrary transacted all things according to the authority delivered to them by God, presided over the council, determined ecclesiastical controversies, pronounced concerning the orthodox faith, confuted heretics out of Christ's doctrine, delivered over the contumacious to destruction, prescribed canons and ecclesiastical laws to the Church, and lastly amended and superseded the very decrees of the emperors, concerning matters only ecclesiastical, where they were repugnant to the sacred canons. This was the lawful power of the fathers ; this the true liberty of the Church, which if any one think is to be little esteemed, I would fain know what such a one accounts great in human affairs. But because, as has been shewn above, bishops have received no coercive power from God, whereby they may forcibly compel the Christian people to receive their decrees, though synodical canons had their authority with godly persons without any imperial sanction, nay even in spite of all the opposition and rage of the emperors against them, as in

the first ages of the Church, yet that they might have a place in the Christian state, and that process might be issued out against such as disobeyed them, the assistance of the civil power was implored: accordingly the pious emperors, by their imperial authority, or (as the civilians speak) according to the plenitude of their power, enacted that those things which the fathers had decreed in the Church should be received by all the people, and gave sanction thereto by the addition of a penalty. Thus those canons, which, while supported only by the episcopal authority, were received by none but the good and holy, as soon as the weight of the civil authority was added to them, restrained the wicked, and such as despised the heavenly Deity. And this is what was said above of the material sword's supplying the deficiency of the spiritual. There are extant almost innumerable edicts of emperors and kings, by which synods, especially such as were general, are confirmed. The Greeks call them *διατάγματα*, or *θεσπίσματα*, or *χρυσόβουλλα κυροῦντα τὰς συνοδικὰς ἀποφάσεις*, "edicts, or golden bulls to confirm synodical sentences by royal authority," that is, *κυροῦν*, "to authorize." The Greek writers of politics, by the words *τὸ κῆρος* and *τὸ κράτος*, express that principality or sovereign authority, which we said must be only one in a state, as there is but one head in one man: for which reason, as the bishop is wont to be called the head of his Church, so in ancient monuments the emperor is styled *caput temporale populi Christiani*, "the temporal head of the Christian people," and *temporale caput mundi*, "the temporal head of the world:" and likewise *rector et temporale caput fidelium*, "the ruler and temporal head of the faithful." As therefore the *τὸ κῆρος*, or "supreme authority" in the state is but one: so the *τὸ κυροῦν*, the right of authorizing and giving sanction to any thing, that it may have the force of a law, is in the prince alone. To the fathers therefore assembled in council the Greeks do rightly ascribe *τὰς ἀποφάσεις*, "the right of pronouncing what is holy, and what not:" but the right *τοῦ κυροῦν*, of giving sanction to the decrees of a synod, so that they may obtain the force of a law, this they attribute to the princes. So you read in the canon law, that ecclesiastical affairs are administered by a synodical *κρίσει*, or "judgment," and are confirmed by the royal *ἐπικρίσει*, or as

it were "second judgment." In the synodical epistle about not forcing away bishops from their metropolis: *εὐρέθη τι καὶ τοιοῦτον γερόμενον κρίσει συνοδικῇ, καὶ ἐπικρίσει βασιλικῇ κυρωθὲν*, that is, "there was also found something like done by the decree of the synod, and confirmed by the after-decree of the emperor:" a propriety of words worthy to be observed. To the same purpose it is written there a little after, that the emperors do *ἐπισφραγίζειν τὰ κεκριμένα*, "put the seal of their authority to the decrees of the fathers." Nor ought it to be passed by in silence, that in the same canon law the canons of the fathers are called *ἐπιστάλματα*, as if you should say "injunctions;" the emperors' edicts, *προστάγματα*, "commands." What need of more words? read over carefully the lives of all the ancient Christian princes, and peruse the ancient civil and canon law, you will never find one instance where the decrees either of any council or of any pope, relating to the universal Church, had the force of a law in the state before they received that right from the prince, who is the head of the state: which custom, as in the most noble kingdom of France it was both instituted from the beginning, and afterwards observed with great religion by our ancestors; so is it now also preserved as a great arcanum of government by the most honourable bench in all the supreme courts. This is that right and liberty of the kingdom, upon which those that in the language of the law are called the liberties of the Gallican Church, rest as upon their basis and foundation.

Having thus explained the comparison which I made between the sacerdotal and civil power, I now come to that which was proposed in the beginning, to enquire whether the primitive Church knew and made use of any liberty: for all Catholics agree in this, that the Church of God, the nearer it was to the times of Christ its head, and of the holy Apostles, did the more plentifully and signally abound in all those virtues which are proper and necessary to God's Church. Let us see therefore if possibly any footsteps of the modern ecclesiastical liberty can be observed in the ancient monuments of those times.

But here we ought to call to mind what was said above, that the Church in the time of its infancy was so in the

State, as that yet it was not reckoned a part of the State; insomuch that it had its interests wholly separate and distinct from those of the State. For its ruin was for some ages attempted with all kinds of punishments, and the most cruel torments, by those who governed the State. God could indeed from the beginning have enlightened the minds of the Roman emperors with the bright beams of the Gospel; He could have made them nursing fathers to His Church, as the prophet foretells, and as it afterwards happened; and have made use of their help and ministry for the propagation of the Christian doctrine: but our great and good God is thus always used to despise the assistance and counsels of men, in bringing about all matters of the greatest moment: and it was besides most just, that that pattern of life which He had set them upon earth should be followed also by His disciples, and that they should leave an example of the same to their posterity. And as before the sun was created God said "Let there be light," that mortals might not think themselves obliged for so great a benefit only to the sun: so, that we might not believe that the doctrine of salvation was first embraced, and afterwards propagated through the world by the power of princes, the providence of God discharged all earthly powers from this province. Add to this, that while the Church of God was by this method severed from the rest of the world, and subsisted not so much in place as in its doctrines and institutions; it did so much more conveniently preserve its holiness, piety, and integrity undefiled, as it was farther set apart and removed from the commerce of this life: for those first believers used this world after such a manner, as if they had not used it [at] all, as the Apostle adviseth; while at the same time by the flagrant zeal of their piety, the innocency of their manners, their mutual love and sincere affection among themselves, their unfeigned humility, their constant meditation upon future blessedness, their fidelity and obedience to the civil powers, as far as their consciences would permit; and lastly, by their inexpressible and more than human constancy in suffering torments for the true religion, they became daily a spectacle to the whole world, and extorted admiration from their very enemies,



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whether they would or no. These were the beginnings of the Christian religion when first born, this the infancy of the Church of Christ, which was rendered happy by torments, glorious by ignominy, rich by contemning riches, and august by a crown, not of empire, but of martyrdom. And yet this holy Church and beloved of God, knew no other liberty but spiritual, which the ancient fathers call Christian. This, as was said above, is nothing else but a vehement desire of serving God; and those first Christians inflamed with that desire, notwithstanding all their princes' endeavours to hinder them, held their communions, and convened their synods, at first indeed privately, but afterwards daring to break out into the open light, they intrepidly exercised all the parts of ecclesiastical discipline with a holy liberty: for they had learned of the Holy Spirit, and by the example of St. Peter and the rest of the Apostles, that God was to be obeyed rather than men. Nor indeed did they know any other title of that liberty which they used; for as to that which is now called the liberty of the Church, and is defended with so much zeal, as if it were a certain palladium of the Christian religion, and is commended and augmented daily, those pious souls did not know so much as the name of it.

Acts 5. 29.

That there are three principal heads of this ecclesiastical liberty, appears from the definition of it above collected, viz., the empire of the pope of Rome over all secular dignities, the exemption of ecclesiastics from all civil power, and the subjection of the laity to their command in every thing. Which of these can we find in the primitive Church? to wit<sup>1</sup> the emperors were under the government of the popes of Rome, who all down to Sylvester, except a very few, ended their lives by cruel torments at the command of those princes. If those magnanimous heroes thought that the government of the world, as we are now taught, did belong to them by divine right, why did not they give some signification of it, at least at that time, when the multitude of believers had been sufficient to have asserted their dominion? for that they were able to prosecute their right by arms was shewed many ages after by Gregory II., by whose example afterwards almost innumerable other popes have waged very

<sup>1</sup> ["for-sooth," sci-licet, orig.]

dreadful wars with princes for the pontifical dignity. And as to what many now say, that the authority of the Roman pontiffs is only over believing, not unbelieving emperors, and that therefore it was necessary for them to dissemble this right till the times of Constantine the Great, that is both false and very ridiculous: for we do not speak here of the spiritual power, in regard of which even princes bowed their heads to the bishops, as Gelasius said. But why should Constantine's power in civil matters be less full and free than that of his father Constantius, or of Dioclesian, or any other of the former emperors? And there is also the same reason with respect to the exemption of the clergy. For as he is to be accounted an enthusiast who pretends that they enjoyed that privilege before there were Christian princes; so they that exempt them from subjection to such princes act both unjustly and ridiculously: to say nothing of their manifest impiety, who (as I shall shew in the sequel) miserably wrest the most plain words of the holy Scripture, to make them speak their own sense. But they who refer the original of this ecclesiastical liberty and immunity to the laws of Zephyrinus<sup>e</sup> and Caius<sup>f</sup>, or of other popes, laws made amidst the very flames of a cruel persecution, if they had any thing of right judgment left, would never traduce these holy men with a suspicion of so absurd an ambition. For it cannot be denied to be most absurd, that those popes should attempt to take off the yoke of that civil power from others, to which they themselves were so much subject, that themselves were led forth to suffer punishment at the command of their most barbarous princes. And to what purpose is it to speak of those services performed by the laity towards the ecclesiastics, which at that time were so much the more willingly paid as they were less demanded. The Apostle writing to the Galatians says, "I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me." But neither was that Apostle, as his Epistles shew, nor the rest of the Apostles such as would burden the Churches of God with superfluous exac-

Gal. 4. 15.

<sup>e</sup> [S. Zephyrini papæ (A.D. 201) Epistolæ duæ (supposititiæ) ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 620, sqq.]

<sup>f</sup> [S. Caii papæ (A.D. 283) Epistola decretalis (supposititia,) ibid., col. 942.]

tions, and fresh demands of services without end, as was afterwards done. And when the first bishops of the Church, being men of great sanctity, did wholly conform themselves to this example, there is no doubt but the people also on their side were most ready to pay all those observances which were required of them : for those pious pastors, contenting themselves with what was necessary, neither coveted to lord it over the people under them, nor over one another : but as St. Cyprian says<sup>g</sup>, “ Every one governed that portion of the universal flock which was allotted to him, as one that was to render an account of what he did to the Lord.” But in truth the Church of God is not without reason compared to a field in the holy Scriptures : this field at first, sowed with good seed, and cultivated with the greatest diligence by the householder, was after a very little time attempted to be corrupted by that old deceiver the devil ; and from that time amongst the bright and good corn there began to grow up docks, thistles, and wild oats. Some from the known path of the right faith have deviated into unknown ways : other have changed the heat of their former zeal into a remiss lukewarmness : some have heaped up riches : many even of the very husbandmen of the Lord’s field have gaped after honours, and wholly given themselves up to ambition : for no sooner had the Church a little enjoyment of peace allowed her by her external enemies, but all these intestine evils immediately breaking in upon her together in crowds, did wonderfully destroy her former beauty. St. Cyprian (de Lapsis) speaking of the most severe Decian persecution, says<sup>h</sup>, “ If the cause of the slaughter is known, the cure also of the wound is discovered. Our Lord had a mind that His family should be proved, and because a long peace had corrupted that discipline which was given us from heaven, this divine chastisement has raised our faith, which was fallen, and I had almost said, was asleep.” The holy man afterwards describing the corruption of the Church at large, among

<sup>g</sup> [Singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus.—S. Cyprian, Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 85.]

<sup>h</sup> [Si cladis causa cognoscitur, et medela vulneris invenitur. Dominus

probari familiam suam voluit ; et quia traditam nobis divinitus disciplinam pax longa corruperat, jacentem fidem et pene, ut ita dixerim, dormientem censura cœlestis erexit.—Id. de Lapsis, Op., p. 182.]

other evils mentions this as much the greatest, that bishops did already in that age begin to mingle secular cares with their spiritual ministry. "Very many bishops," says he<sup>i</sup>, "who ought to have been both a consolation and an example to the rest, despising the providence of God, became providers of secular things for themselves; leaving their sees, deserting their flocks, and wandering about through other provinces, they frequented markets, and hunted after gain; gave no relief to their hungry brethren in the Church; coveted great wealth; seized upon estates by fraud and treachery, and increased their riches by usury." And those evils are very like these, and yet more grievous, which Eusebius relates concerning the ambition of the bishops, and their desire of power, in the beginning of his eighth book<sup>k</sup>, where he is explaining the causes for which God raised that most violent persecution which the Church suffered under the reign of Dioclesian. Besides at that time the discipline of the Church was fallen into so much contempt, that the authority of the spiritual sword being grown obsolete, the synod which met at Antioch about the year of Christ 275, was obliged to implore the assistance of the civil sword against the contumacy of Paul of Samosata<sup>l</sup>, from Aurelian a heathen prince, and soon after a most deadly enemy to the Church. And this was the state of the Church then, when divine providence beyond all hopes was pleased to put a new face of affairs upon it.

<sup>i</sup> [Episcopi plurimi, quos et hortamento esse oportet cæteris et exemplo, divina procuracione contemta, procuratores rerum sæcularium fieri, derelicta cathedra, plebe deserta, per alienas provincias oberrantes, negotiationis quæstuosæ nundinas aucupari, esurientibus in ecclesia fratribus (non subvenire, ed. Pamel.), habere argentum largiter velle, fundos insidiosis fraudibus ra-

pere, usuris multiplicantibus sænus augere.—Id., *ibid.*, p. 183.]

<sup>k</sup> [Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, lib. viii. c. 1. tom. i. pp. 376, 377.]

<sup>l</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, lib. vii. c. 34, p. 364. The emperor however was only called on to oblige Paul to give up the see house, after he had been deposed by the synod and another made bishop in his place.]



### CHAP. III.

WHAT AND OF WHAT KIND THE LIBERTY OF THE CHURCH WAS FROM THE TIMES OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT TO GREGORY THE GREAT, BISHOP OF ROME.

APPENDIX.  
NO. VI.

THE Church of God had passed near three hundred years amidst almost continual torments, adorned with a crown of martyrdom, and generally with the purple of her own blood, when it pleased our great and good God at last to rescue her from the yoke of the most cruel tyrants: for now those wished for times were come, which the Lord had promised many ages before, and His prophets had foretold, when the kings of the earth should surrender themselves and their sceptres to Messiah the king, and not only adore Him in an humble manner, but also become nursing fathers, pastors, and defenders of His Church. Therefore the Church's long servitude was at last succeeded by that liberty which Constantine the Great first procured for her, and which the Christian emperors that followed him did afterwards preserve and variously augment. But because the meaning, extent, and rights of this liberty altered according to the times, as we have shewed in the first chapter; therefore that it may be clearly and distinctly understood how that ancient liberty differed from this modern, which is so often called the liberty of the Church, we will mark the difference of times, and consider them separately. Therefore we observe three ages of ecclesiastical liberty in history, which are wonderfully different from each other. For from Constantine the Great, the first author of it, for three hundred years and somewhat more, the Church flourished under the reign of emperors and kings, contented with the sole administration of spiritual and ecclesiastical matters, and perfectly free from all contagion of temporal dominion. This is the second age of the Church, which for method sake we bound with the pontificate of Pelagius II., predecessor to Gregory the Great<sup>m</sup>. After that followed another age, in which the clergy were first compelled to concern themselves in the administration of secular affairs, the exigence of the times so requiring.

<sup>m</sup> [The pontificate of Pelagius II. ended A.D. 590.]

But afterwards of their own accord they undertook the care of such things, and pretended that it belonged to them. We fix the bounds of this time from Gregory the Great to Gregory VII.<sup>n</sup> Then first were laid the foundations of the modern liberty of the Church, which being remarkably augmented and confirmed by Gregory VII. when it had now taken deep root, was afterwards enlarged by various occasions and divers arts in the following times, and at last brought to that form which was shewn in the first chapter. And that this liberty of the later ages had nothing common with that former liberty, of which Constantine the Great was author, I am confident will be acknowledged by all who impartially read what shall be said in this chapter. But lest in this most copious argument I should wander too far, I shall fix certain bounds to this present disquisition.

I. *The Christian Church received the liberty of religion  
from princes.*

Whatever right the Church obtained from the liberty granted her by the ancient emperors, may be all conveniently referred to these four heads; the free profession of religion, which the emperors Constantine and Licinius in their edict call the "liberty of religion<sup>o</sup>:" that immunity which Justinian<sup>p</sup> styles *ἐλευθερία τῶν λειτουργημάτων*, "liberty from public burdens:" the exemption of the clergy from secular tribunals: and lastly, the authority also of hearing and judging the causes of the laity. Of what sort these rights were in those times, of which I propose to treat in this chapter, shall be explained in their order. Liberty of religion was the name given by the emperors to that free power of doing all things which were requisite to the plenary exercise of the Christian religion: of which kind are the right of meeting together at public prayers, and the holy communion; that of building churches; convening synods; and using ecclesiastical discipline. Therefore Eusebius relates<sup>q</sup>, that after the publication of this edict, the people with an incredible joy and alacrity met freely together;

<sup>n</sup> [From A.D. 590 to A.D. 1073.]

<sup>n</sup> [τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς θρησκείας.—  
Euseb. Eccl. Hist., lib. x. c. 5. p. 480.]

<sup>p</sup> [Auth. Coll. iv. Tit. xxiv. Novell.

45. c. 1. ap. Corp. Jur. Civ.]

<sup>q</sup> [Euseb., *ibid.*, lib. x. c. 2. p. 463.]

began to build churches in several places, and held many synods; and all this the Christians had done long before: but then first *ἐλευθέρως καὶ ἀπλᾶστος*, as the emperors express it<sup>r</sup>, that is, “freely and without any reserve.” They err dangerously in many things, who make no distinction between the power given by God to the Church, and that which is owing to the prince. The former distinguishes the Church from the State, and makes it a people peculiar to God: the latter unites the Church and State together, and admits the Church to a participation of the same right with the other members of the State: for, as was said above, the Church was hitherto so in the State, as that yet it was not reckoned a part of it: and therefore did not enjoy an equal right with the rest of the people, nor had almost any other avenger of her injuries and despised discipline, but God only. But when she obtained liberty of religion from the prince, he also became both the avenger of her injuries, and the keeper and defender of her ecclesiastical discipline. From whence it came likewise to pass afterwards, that heretics, who till then had been in the same case with the orthodox Catholics under the government of heathen princes, were separated from the Church by Constantine’s edict, and deprived of that liberty which was granted to the Catholics<sup>s</sup>. And ecclesiastical history is full of the like edicts of princes against heretics.

II. *The ancient Church under Christian princes was wont to convene synods, either by the prince’s express command, or with his tacit consent.*

I have already said, that when the emperors by their edicts granted the Church liberty of religion, they gave her at the same time a right of freely convening synods, for this is a part of the Christian worship altogether necessary and essential. Therefore those synods which Eusebins mentions to have been convened immediately after this liberty was granted<sup>t</sup>, (as those of Ancyra<sup>u</sup> and Neocæsarea<sup>x</sup>, the canons

<sup>r</sup> [Ibid., c. 10. p. 481.]

<sup>s</sup> [κατὰ τούτων δὲ πάντων νόμον θεμένου ὁ βασιλεὺς, προσέταξεν ἀφαιρεθῆναι αὐτῶν τοὺς εὐκτηρίους οἴκους, καὶ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις συνάπτεσθαι· καὶ μήτε ἐν οἰκίαις ἰδιωτῶν, μήτε δημοσίοις ἐκκλησιάσιν.—Sozom. Eccl. Hist., lib. ii.

c. 32. p. 90.]

<sup>t</sup> [ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ ταυτὸ συνελεύσεις.—Euseb. E. H., lib. x. c. 3. p. 464.]

<sup>u</sup> [(A.D. 314.) Concilia, tom. i. col. 1485, sqq.]

<sup>x</sup> [(A.D. 314.) *ibid.*, col. 1509, sqq.]

of both which are still extant,) though they are not said to have met by the command of Constantine, yet were supported by the royal authority, no less than their daily assemblies. But here we meet with a distinction especially to be observed between local and particular synods and œcumenical or general councils; for those indeed are said to have been gathered together sometimes by the metropolitans and other bishops, without the express command or consent of the prince; sometimes by the emperor's mandate: but œcumenical councils are never read to have been assembled in those times without the prince's command. The reason of the difference is, that as metropolitan bishops and patriarchs had a plenary power first from Christ, and then also from the prince, to provide for the necessities of the Churches committed to their charge, so the prince looked upon it as his duty and right to preserve ecclesiastical discipline as well in all the parts of the Church as in the whole, and to take care that the orthodox faith should receive no manner of innovation. Therefore Constantine the Great, as was observed above, was wont to say that he was constituted by God a bishop or overseer, τῶν ἐκτὸς, "of those without," which Eusebius<sup>y</sup>, in the first book of his life, refers to this care of calling synods; for speaking there of the other care he took to assist and reform the State, he says<sup>z</sup>, "Yet bestowing a peculiar concern upon the Church of God, seeing dissensions in divers places were risen among the bishops, he, like some common bishop appointed by God, *συνόδους τῶν θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει*, summoned synods of God's ministers." This is to be understood of local synods. And hence it manifestly appears that Constantine, by his authority, convened lesser councils, as often as either of himself, or by the suggestion of the bishops, he judged there was need of a public assembly of the fathers. It was also the custom that they who suspected the synods of their province petitioned the prince to grant them judges. The Donatists

<sup>y</sup> [Euseb. de Vita Const., lib. iv. c. 24, p. 638. See above, p. 139.]

<sup>z</sup> [ἐξαίρετον δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ νέμων φροντίδα διαφερομένων τινῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατὰ δια-

φόρους χώρας, οἷά τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος ἐκ θεοῦ καθεσταμένος, συνόδους τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ λειτουργῶν συνεκρότει.—Euseb. Vit. Constant., lib. i. c. 44. Eccl. Hist., tom. i. pp. 523, 524.]



APPENDIX.  
NO. VI.

did this when Anulinus, pro-consul of Africa, urged them, by Constantine's command<sup>a</sup>, to be reconciled to Cæcilianus, orthodox bishop of Carthage. That was the first example given in the Christian Church in a matter of this nature: for they who say that before that Paulus Samosatenus appealed from the synod to the Emperor Aurelian, do not consider that they were pious bishops, convened in the synod of Antioch, who prudently and profitably made use of the assistance of the civil power to expel that contumacious heretic out of the bishop's see<sup>b</sup>. But the reason of the Donatists was quite different. For they petitioned the emperor for impartial judges, such as were not suspected, who might take cognizance of an ecclesiastical cause. For these are their words in Optatus Milevitanus<sup>c</sup>: "There are contentions between us and the other bishops in Africa; we beseech your holiness<sup>1</sup> to command that judges be given us out of Gaul." You see that judgment in ecclesiastical matters is not removed by appeal to the emperor, but only this, he is desired by his authority to command a synod that is unsuspected, to be convened. They therefore who condemn the example because it comes from the Donatists<sup>d</sup> do judge very much amiss; for at the same time they condemn a great many bishops of Rome, and other most holy men, who are known to have petitioned the emperors to summon new councils against former synods, as I shall observe of the Nicene fathers, St. John Chrysostom, Innocent I., Leo, and others. And as to what Optatus says<sup>e</sup>, that Constantine answered the Donatists "with great anger, and reproved them for asking judges of him, who was invested only with secular authority, and had nothing to do in the spiritual government of the Church," the meaning of it is, that Constantine gave them to understand that it were better and more desirable if the bishops would act among themselves with so much friendship and concord that none

<sup>1</sup> ["Pietas;"  
orig.]

<sup>a</sup> [Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. x. c. 6. p. 487.]

<sup>b</sup> [See above, p. 153.]

<sup>c</sup> [In Africa inter nos et cæteros episcopos contentiones sunt; petimus, ut de Gallia nobis iudices dari præcipiat pietas tua.—S. Optat. Milev. de Schism. Donat., lib. i. c. 22, p. 19.]

<sup>d</sup> [As Baronius, Annal. Eccl., ann. 314, n. 35, 36.]

<sup>e</sup> [Quibus lectis, Constantinus pleno livore respondit. In qua responsione et eorum preces prodidit, dum ait: Petitis me in sæculo iudicium, cum ego ipse Christi iudicium expectem.—S. Optat. Milev., *ibid.*, lib. i. c. 23, p. 20.]

of them might have any occasion to desire help from the prince; which because it was then done first by the Donatists, and that without just cause, what wonder is it that the emperor, being most desirous to preserve peace and unity in the Church, and moved with the newness of the thing, received them with expressions of some sharpness? especially since wise men are used to animadvert, not without severity, upon all new examples. And that example of the Donatists could not but be new, since it was not long before that, that the Church of God began to be subject to Christian emperors. Constantine did indeed judge very rightly that nothing was more to be wished by all men than that no such contention should ever happen among bishops. But the same pious emperor also knew and firmly believed that when any such misfortune did happen it was the duty of a Christian prince to take care, by his authority, that the matter should be determined by those to whom it appertained to judge of causes relating to the faith or discipline of the Church. Therefore Optatus adds<sup>f</sup>, “And yet judges were granted them, Maternus of the city of Cologne, Retitius of the city of Autun, Marinus of Arles.” Afterwards he mentions a council held at Rome by Constantine’s command: for neither did those three bishops alone hear the cause, but among many others whose names are there mentioned, these three, with Melchiades bishop of Rome, were the chief. There is extant in the tenth book of Eusebius’ History a letter of Constantine, in form, sent to Melchiades and these three above-mentioned (in the same words as is usual in letters of form<sup>g</sup>) upon the calling of that council. The letter is subscribed<sup>1</sup> thus: *Κωνσταντίνος Σεβαστὸς Μιλτιάδῃ* (as most of the Greek books call Melchiades) *ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Μάρκῳ*. The learned interpreter of Nicephorus translates it<sup>h</sup>, *Constantinus Augustus Miltiadi episcopo Romanorum et Marco*, &c.: “Constantine the emperor to Miltiades bishop of the Romans, and to Mark,” &c. It seems to have been in the Greek copy, *καὶ*

<sup>1</sup> [rather “super-scribed.”]

<sup>f</sup> [Et tamen dati sunt iudices, Maternus ex Agrippina civitate, Reticius ab Augustoduno civitate, Marinus Arelatensis.—S. Optat. Milev. de Schism. Donat., lib. i. c. 23. p. 20.]

<sup>g</sup> Literæ Formatae.

<sup>h</sup> [Nicephori Callisti Eccles. Hist. Lat. Vers. Io. Lang., lib. viii. cap. 43. tom. i. p. 248. Par. 1566.]

APPENDIX.  
NO. VI.

*Μάρκῳ καὶ λοιποῖς*, “and to Mark and to the rest.” So they who copy letters of form put down the name only of one, or at most of two of those to whom these letters were sent; therefore those words, *καὶ λοιποῖς*, “and to the rest,” signify that like copies were also sent to the rest, whose names are set down, as those of Retitius, Maternus, and Marinus are in this Epistle, from whence it appears that the name of Mark has erroneously crept into this superscription in the room of that of Maternus or Marinus, and that instead of *καὶ Μάρκῳ*, “and to Mark,” should be written *καὶ Μαρίνῳ*, “and to Marinus,” or (which I less like) *καὶ Ματέρνῳ*, “and to Maternus<sup>i</sup>.” In that letter the emperor commits the cognizance of this cause to Pope Melchiodorus and to those three others in these words<sup>k</sup>: “It seems good to me that the same Cecilian, with ten bishops who seem to accuse him, and ten others whom he thinks necessary towards the hearing of his cause, sail to Rome, that there before you and Retitius, Maternus, and Marinus your colleagues, (whom therefore I have ordered to hasten to Rome,) they may be heard, as you shall find the most venerable law directs.” You see that an assembly of bishops was commanded by the prince, and that in the words wherein the sovereign authority is administered, *visum mihi*, “It seems good to me;” *jussi*, “I have ordered or commanded;” but that the judgment is left to the bishops, to determine by the divine law and canons, for this is what he calls *νόμος σεβασμιώτατος*, “the most venerable law.” Besides the Donatists did not acquiesce in the sentence of the council of Rome, but appealed to the prince, a very ill example, as the pious emperor most deservedly exclaimed against them<sup>l</sup>: “O raging and audacious madness! they have interposed an appeal, as is usual in the causes of the Gentiles.” But the Donatists defended themselves with this pretence, that there were

<sup>i</sup> [See Valesius' note in loc. Euseb.]

<sup>k</sup> [ἔδοξε μοι ἴν' αὐτὸς ὁ Καικιλιανὸς μετὰ δέκα ἐπισκόπων τῶν αὐτὸν εὐθύνειν δοκούντων, καὶ δέκα ἐτέρων οὓς αὐτὸς τῆ ἑαυτοῦ δίκη ἀναγκαίους ὑπολάβοι, εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πλῆ ἀπίενας ἴν' ἐκεῖσε ὑμῶν παρόντων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ῥετικίου καὶ Ματέρνου καὶ Μαρίνου τῶν κολλήγων ἱμῶν, οὓς τοῦτου ἕνεκεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην

προσέταξα ἐπισπεῦσαι, δυνηθῆ ἀκουσθῆναι, ὡς ἂν καταμάθοιτε τῷ σεβασμιωτάτῳ νόμῳ ἀρμόττειν.—Euseb. Eccl. Hist., lib. x. c. 5. tom. i. p. 484.]

<sup>l</sup> [O rabida furoris audacia! sicut in causis gentium fieri solet, appellationem interposuerunt.—Epist. Constantini ad Conc. Arelat. S. Optat. Milev., lib. i. c. ult.; et ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 1455, D.]

fewer judges present in the Roman council than the greatness of the cause required; and indeed the event shewed that they only pretended this because they would not come to the point. Nor was the emperor ignorant of this, as appears from his Epistle to Chrestus<sup>m</sup>. But again, Constantine also observes, that so many sick minds of those who abstained from the communion of the Catholics throughout Africa could not be restored to health by force and punishments; therefore being compelled by necessity, he summons a great council at Arles. In a letter of form written for that purpose are these words<sup>n</sup>: “I was to take care that the business, which long since after the sentence given ought to have been determined by their ready consent, may now, when more are present, be at last certainly brought to an end. Therefore having ordered very many bishops from divers and almost numberless places to meet in the city of Arles before the first of August, I thought fit to write also to you.” And St. Augustine says rightly in his 162<sup>d</sup> Epistle, that Constantine in summoning this council “did by no means take upon him to judge himself concerning the determination of the fathers of the Roman council, but only so far received the complaints of the Donatists as to grant them other bishops to judge of them.” Therefore St. Augustine found nothing to condemn in this proceeding of Constantine. And in the same Epistle, as he shews that he was not likely to commend that bishop's design who voluntarily desired to be cleared by the pro-consul's judgment or appealed to the emperor's, so he strenuously defends those bishops who had not declined the judgment of him to whom the emperor had delegated the cause, not obscurely commending the prince himself for having with his authority assisted the Church in her distress. The most holy father's words are these<sup>p</sup>: “A cer-

CASAUBON  
DE LIB.  
ECCL.  
CHAP. III.  
SECT. II.

<sup>m</sup> [This is the letter next quoted, to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse.]

<sup>n</sup> [ὅθεν προνοητέον μοι ἐγένετο, ὅπως τοῦτο, ὑπερ ἑχρήν μετὰ τὴν ἐξενεχθεῖσαν ἤδη κρίσιν, ἀσθαιρέτω συγκαταθέσει πεπαύσθαι, κἂν νῦν ποτὲ δυνηθῆ πολλῶν παρόντων τέλους τυχεῖν. ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν πλείστοις ἐκ διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθῆτων τόπων ἐπισκόπους εἰς τὴν Ἀρεταλησίῳ πόλιν εἶσω Καλαυδῶν Ἀδγούστῳ συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν· καὶ σοὶ γράψαι ἐνομίσαμεν, κ. τ. λ.—Euseb. Eccl. Hist.,

lib. x. c. 5. tom. i. p. 484.]

<sup>o</sup> [Neque enim ausus est Christianus imperator sic eorum tumultuosas et fallaces querelas suscipere, ut de iudicio episcoporum, qui Romæ sederant ipse iudicaret; sed alios, ut dixi, episcopus dedit.—S. Aug. Ep. xliiii. (al. clixii.) ad Glorium, § 20. Op., tom. ii. col. 97. C. ed. Ben.]

<sup>p</sup> [Ait enim quidam, non debuit episcopus proconsulari iudicio purgari: quasi vero ipse sibi hoc comparaverit,



tain Donatist says the bishop should not have been cleared by the judgment of the pro-consul, as if he had procured this for himself, and it had not been got by the emperor's order, to whose care, of which he must give an account to God, that matter chiefly belonged." If in the judgment of so great a father Constantine did well, when the Donatists were raising tumults in Africa to delegate the cause to the pro-consul, who can blame him if after the council of Rome, being overcome by the pertinacious animosity of those wicked men, he chose rather to renew the hearing at Arles by bishops, but those far more in number, than to use violence or punish with the sword? Therefore it is without reason that in the Ecclesiastical Annals<sup>9</sup> there is a far different judgment given of this fact of Constantine's. But none can wonder that he who from the beginning undertook by all sorts of arguments to defend an opinion concerning ecclesiastical and pontifical power very different from that of St. Augustine, should also think and determine in this matter much otherwise than St. Augustine and all the ancient Church did. Besides, when the Donatists did not acquiesce in the judgment of the council of Arles neither, Constantine seemed to have something deviated from the rigour of the law when he determined to take cognizance himself of a cause so often judged by the bishops; not by his imperial authority to annul what had been well decreed by the fathers, to whose cognizance those things belonged, but wholly to cut off from such obstinate men all occasion of wrangling, and by this means, if possible, to save them even against their wills. Therefore St. Augustine intimates that he was afterwards to ask pardon of the bishops for this too hardy proceeding, but that an easy pardon, and deservedly joined with the praise of him who seemed to have offended. "I wish," says he<sup>r</sup>, "the Donatists had put an end to their

ac non imperator ita quæri jusserit; ad cujus curam, de qua rationem Deo redditurus esset, res illa maxime pertinebat.—Ibid., § 13. col. 93, 94. G, A.]

<sup>9</sup> [At licet invitus hos judices dedit . . . tamen cum ipse, quod adhuc in fide rudis esset, judiciorum ecclesiasticorum ordinem ignoraret, &c. . . . sentiens vero postea judicia episcoporum ex divinæ legis præscripto . . . absque

primariæ sedis antistite nefas esse cognosci, &c.—Baronius, Annal. Eccl., ann. 313. n. 22.]

<sup>r</sup> [Utinam saltem ipsius judicio insanissimis animositatibus suis finem posuissent, atque ut eis ipse cessit, ut de illa causa post episcopos judicaret, a sanctis antistitibus postea veniam petiturus, dum tamen illi quod ulterius dicerent, non haberent, si ejus senten-

most furious animosities, at least upon the judgment of the emperor, and as he yielded to them, to judge in that cause after the bishops, for which he was afterwards to ask pardon of the holy prelates, while yet they had nothing farther to say if they would not submit to his sentence, to whom themselves had appealed, so they would also once yield to truth." Therefore the prince's taking cognizance of a cause that had been judged by bishops, being done *οἰκονομικῶς*, and by dispensation, as the ancient divines speak, should neither be interpreted maliciously, as they do who severely accuse the emperor on that account, nor again be rashly drawn into example, as was observed from Gelasius in the former chapter. But his calling the synods of Rome and Arles, and delegating the cause to the bishops, this the emperor did by virtue of his own authority; and the same right was always most religiously made use of, both by other pious emperors and especially by this Emperor Constantine during his life. He therefore, when he saw that the flame kindled in Egypt by Arius was not extinguished by so many local synods of the Egyptian bishops, interposed his own authority, and by a sharp Epistle<sup>s</sup> called back to their duty both Arius, whose impiety was not yet publicly known, and Alexander the bishop; and between these two contending parties, as himself elegantly says<sup>t</sup>, *εἰρήνης πρύτανιν ἑαυτὸν προσάγει εἰκότως*, "by his own right<sup>1</sup> he makes himself a mediator of peace." But when that also had no success, the most noble, most famous, and most august council of Nice followed: I beseech you by whose persuasion, and at whose command? If that be true which is now taught as an article of faith, that nobody but the pope of Rome alone has right, I do not say to convene a council, but so much as to mutter any thing concerning ecclesiastical affairs, there can be no doubt but that Sylvester bishop of Rome was the person that summoned this council: this is therefore affirmed as certain and undoubted by all those who are advocates for the liberty of the Church. I pass over such sophisters and triflers as know nothing of ancient history. But who would not admire

<sup>1</sup> ["naturally."]

tix non obtemperarent, ad quem ipsi provocaverant, sic et illi aliquando cederent veritati.—S. August., *ibid.*, § 20. col. 97. C, D.]

<sup>s</sup> [Apud Euseb. de Vita Const., lib. ii. capp. 64—72. Eccl. Hist., tom. pp. 567, sqq.]

<sup>t</sup> [Ibid., c. 68. p. 569.]

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that Cardinal Baronius<sup>u</sup> should write and assert this so positively? For it is what none of the ancients have said. Why therefore does he affirm it? At least so industrious an author might produce something out of the treasures of antiquity, which should seem to have given some occasion to suspect this: but he cannot do so much as that, and therefore flies to miserable conjectures concerning the example of Dionysius bishop of Alexandria, formerly accused before Dionysius bishop of Rome<sup>x</sup>, and concerning the legatine commission of Osius<sup>y</sup>. As to the old instance of Dionysius I shall speak of that by and by, when I treat of appealing from synods. But that Osius the pope's legate did those things which Baronius says he did, may be as easily denied by any one, seeing no history speaks of it, as it is affirmed by him, contrary to all historians. But to grant him this for the present, what will follow from it more than that the emperor summoned this council at the suggestion of Sylvester? And this will be readily owned by all pious men, that the emperors were used to be advised in this matter by the bishops, and especially by the bishop of Rome, as the metropolitan of the chief see: for we read that the bishops of Rome have also made use of most humble petitions, to obtain of the emperors that they would call councils, or if occasion required, that when called they would delay their meeting. Pope Leo in his ninth Epistle to the Emperor Theodosius<sup>z</sup>, says, "If your piety vouchsafe to listen to our suggestion and supplication, that you may command a council of bishops to be held in Italy, all the scandals may immediately be cut off which are raised to the disturbance of the whole Church." The same Leo saith in his forty-third Epistle to the Emperor Marcian<sup>a</sup>, "I had begged of your most illustrious clemency that you would command the synod, which was desired by us, and was judged necessary

<sup>u</sup> [Baronius, *Annal. Eccles.*, ann. 325, n. 13.]

<sup>x</sup> [*Ibid.*, ann. 318, n. 76.]

<sup>y</sup> [*Ibid.*, ann. 325, n. 13.]

<sup>z</sup> [Si pietas vestra suggestioni ac supplicationi nostræ dignetur annuere, ut intra Italiam haberi jubeatis episcopale concilium, cito auxiliante Deo poterunt omnia scandala, quæ in perturbationem Ecclesiæ totius sunt commota, resecari.—S. Leonis M., *Epist.*

liv. (al. ix.) ad Theodosium, *Op.*, tom. i. col. 956, 957.]

<sup>a</sup> [Poposceram quidem a gloriosissima clementia vestra ut synodum, quam ad reparandam Orientalis Ecclesiæ pacem etiam a nobis petitam, necessariam judicatis, aliquantisper differri ad tempus opportunius juberetis.—S. Leonis M., *Epist.* xc. (al. xliii.) ad Marcianum, *Op.*, tom. i. col. 1063.]



by you, for to restore the peace of the eastern Church, to be deferred a little to a more convenient time." And Liberius, ancients than Leo, writing to <sup>1</sup>Constantine<sup>b</sup>, saith, "To entreat your lenity, that you would vouchsafe to hear our allegations, I thought fit that my brother and fellow-bishop the holy man Lucifer, with Pancratius my compresbyter, and Hilarius a deacon, should come to you, who we trust will be able without difficulty to obtain a council of your clemency for the peace of all the Catholic Churches." I pass over like instances, which are very many, from which no man in his wits can conclude that the emperor has no right of calling synods: but from such testimonies it will rather clearly and evidently follow, that bishops, especially the bishop of Rome, as metropolitan of the chief see, were wont according to their pastoral care in the Church of God, to put princes in mind of calling councils; and that princes by virtue of their supreme authority in the State, of which the Church is a part, did summon councils to meet. Therefore also that the Nicene council was summoned by the emperor both manifest reason shews, and the testimonies of ancient writers evince. Eusebius, in his third book of the Life of Constantine, calls the emperor's letter, by which this council was summoned<sup>c</sup>, *ἐπίταγμα Constantini*, "Constantine's mandate and command." Theodoret, in his first book, says, Constantine "being deceived with the hope of appeasing the tumults at Alexandria, τὴν πολυθρόλλητον ἐκείνην (πιστῶν) εἰς τὴν Νικαέων συνήγειρε σύνοδον<sup>d</sup>, convened that most celebrated council of the faithful at Nice in Bithynia." Socrates and Gelasius and others<sup>e</sup> do for that purpose make use of the word *συγκροτεῖν*, "to summon or gather together:" and the Nicene fathers themselves, in the beginning of their epistle to the Alexandrians, attest themselves *συγκροτηθῆναι<sup>f</sup>*, "to have been

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<sup>1</sup> ["Constantinus."]

<sup>b</sup> [Ad exorandam igitur mansuetudinem tuam, ut benevolenti animo allegationes nostras audire digneris, fratrem et coepiscopum meum sanctum virum Luciferum cum Pancratio compresbytero meo et Hilario diacono placuit proficisci; quos credimus de clementia tua ad pacem omnium Ecclesiarum catholicarum non difficulter posse concilium impetrare. — Liberii Pap. Epist. ii. ad Constantium, ap. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 802, C.]

<sup>c</sup> [οὐκ ἦν δὲ ἀπλοῦν τὸ ἐπίταγμα. — Euseb. de Vita Const., lib. iii. c. 6. Hist. Eccl., tom. i. p. 579.]

<sup>d</sup> [ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς ἑλπίδος ἐψεύσθη τὴν πολυθρόλλητον ἐκείνην εἰς τὴν Νικαέων συνήγειρε σύνοδον. — Theodoret. Eccl. Hist., lib. i. c. 7. tom. iii. p. 25.]

<sup>e</sup> [Socrates, Eccl. Hist., lib. i. c. 8. p. 18. Gelasius, Hist. Conc. Nic. c. v. ap. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 161, C. So Euseb. Vit. Const., lib. iii. c. 6. p. 579.]

<sup>f</sup> [ἐπειδὴ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ χάριτος, καὶ



gathered together by God and the emperor:" an expression usual among the Greek ecclesiastical writers, concerning the person who caused any synod to be held, and who summoned it: it was properly said of the masters of the chorus among the Athenians<sup>g</sup>, whose office it was to furnish out a chorus, each in his respective tribe at his own expense. Hereto Eusebius had regard, when he called this very synod *χορείαν ἐπισκόπων*<sup>h</sup>, "a chorus of bishops," and *εἰκόνα χορείας ἀποστολικῆς*, "an image of the apostolic choir or college." It is said also of a general who raises an army; for in the Greek historians you frequently read *συγκροτεῖν στρατεύμα*<sup>i</sup>, "to raise an army." Theodoret and Sozomen, speaking of the synod celebrated some years after at Caesarea in Palestine, use the words *προσέταξεν* and *ἐκέλευσεν*, "ordered and commanded," and signify that it was held by the command of Constantine<sup>k</sup>. That synod was for the most part a conventicle of factions and wretched men, that had conspired the destruction of St. Athanasius: for the good emperor was imposed upon by the bishops, not discerning that they were ravenous wolves hid under sheep's clothing: therefore Theodoret excuses him for giving credit to wicked men, because they were priests. The same prince understanding the deceit of these bishops, *προσέταξεν ἀθροισθῆναι*, says Theodoret<sup>l</sup>, "commanded another synod to be convened" in the city of Tyre. The emperor himself in his epistle to that synod calls his edict, by which he appointed the meeting of it<sup>m</sup>, *κέλευσιν*, his "order or command:" also *ἄρους ἀυτοκράτορος ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἐξενεχθέντας*, "imperial decrees published for the sake of religion:" and that bishops might not again abuse their power of assembling to perpetrate any ill design, he says he has<sup>n</sup> "sent Dionysius, a person of consular dignity, to be

τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου συναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς ἐκ διαφόρων ἐπαρχιῶν καὶ πόλεων, ἡ μεγάλη καὶ ἁγία σύνοδος ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνεκροτήθη.—*Epist. Conc. Nic. ap. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 81, D.*

<sup>g</sup> [*συγκροτεῖν χορόν.*—Demosth., *cont. Mid.*, p. 520, 11.]

<sup>h</sup> [*Euseb. de Vita Const.*, lib. iii. c. 8. tom. i. p. 580.]

<sup>i</sup> [e. g. Xenoph. *Hell.* vi. 2, 12. Perhaps the meaning of this expres-

sion is rather "to train or exercise" an army.]

<sup>k</sup> [*ὁ βασιλεὺς σύνοδον γενέσθαι προσέταξεν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης.*—Sozom. *H. E.*, lib. ii. c. 25. p. 78. *κακείσε κριθῆναι κελεῦσαι τὸν Ἀθανάσιον πεισθεὶς δὲ ὡς ἱερεῦσιν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοῦτο γενέσθαι προσέταξεν.*—Theodoret. *H. E.*, lib. i. c. 28. p. 60.]

<sup>l</sup> [*Id.*, *ibid.*]

<sup>m</sup> [*Id.*, *ibid.*, c. 29. p. 61.]

<sup>n</sup> [*ἀπέστειλα Διονύσιον τὸν ἀπὸ ὑπα-*

κατάσκοπον, an 'inspector and observer' of all that should be done by them, but especially of the moderation of each of them." But this Dionysius abusing the power committed to him, did not behave himself as the keeper and defender of discipline, but using open violence, changed the form of a religious synod into that of a secular, and even of a tyrannical convention. Therefore St. Athanasius in his second apology<sup>o</sup> does with justice deny that that can be called a synod: "With what face," says he, "dare they give the name of synod to a convention, in which a count presided? Where an executioner appeared, and a jailor admitted us, instead of the deacons of the Church? He spoke, the bishops held their peace, or rather obeyed the count: he commanded, we were led by the soldiers." This and more St. Athanasius says of the violence used in that council. But the author of all this ill was not so much the count as the Arian bishops themselves, who in the end of Constantine's reign, and afterwards under Constantius, Julian, and Valens, spared no violence nor barbarity to destroy the true faith, and its great patron St. Athanasius. But as soon as Constantine understood from St. Athanasius<sup>p</sup> how things had been carried at Tyre, exerting his royal power against the bishops of that conventicle, he commands them all to appear in their formalities at Constantinople, and give an account of the ill things they had committed. A synod also was assembled there, concerning which Ruffinus says<sup>q</sup>, "The emperor makes Arius come, who stayed at Alexandria to no purpose, and by his imperial edicts calls a council again at Constantinople." I pass over the council of Jerusalem, which followed that of Tyre<sup>r</sup>, and consisted for the most part of the same bishops. Since that assembled chiefly to celebrate the feast of the dedication of the temple

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τικῶν, ὅς . . . τῶν πραττομένων, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ τῆς εὐταξίας, κατάσκοπος παρέσται.—Id., *ibid.*]

<sup>o</sup> [πῶς δὲ σύνοδον ὀνομάζειν τολμῶσιν, ἧς κόμης προικάθητο, καὶ παρῆν σπεκουλάτωρ· καὶ κομεντάριος ἡμᾶς εἰσῆγεν ἀντὶ διακόνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας; ἐκεῖνος ἐφθέγγετο, καὶ οἱ παρόντες ἐσιώπων, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπήκουον τῷ κόμητι . . . ἐκεῖνος ἐκέλευεν, ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν ἡγόμεθα.—S. Athan. Apol. cont. Arianos, Op., tom. i. p. 130, F; p. 131,

Λ.]

<sup>p</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, § 86. p. 201, sqq.]

<sup>q</sup> [Arium necquicquam apud Alexandriam commorantem venire facit, et imperialibus edictis concilium denuo Constantinopolim convocari.—Ruffinus, Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 12. Opuscula, p. 204. Par. 1580.]

<sup>r</sup> [Theodoret, c. 31. p. 64. Euseb. Vit. Const., lib. iv. c. 43. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 479, sqq.]

of Jerusalem, it cannot be so much as doubted, but that it was convened by the emperor's command. But this great and pious emperor died not long after the council held at New Rome or Constantinople.

That his son Constantius did not only make use of the same right with his father in summoning councils, but also far transgressing the bounds of his lawful authority, did by the ministers of his royal power convene very many synods in favour of his Arians, is too evident from ecclesiastical history. And those assemblies which by his authority met at Antioch more than once, at Philippopolis, Jerusalem, Sirmium, Nice in Thrace, Nice in Bithynia, and in other places, are rightly called by the ancients *parasynagmata*<sup>s</sup>, "unlawful meetings," not synods. Hence St. Athanasius<sup>t</sup>, St. Hilary<sup>u</sup>, and the other writers of that age, so frequently complain of the wicked attempts of Constantius (whom they call Antichrist) in violating all the rights of the Church. Yet the same authors do willingly own his princely authority in those lawful councils which were called by him. St. Athanasius acknowledges, that the council of Sardica was summoned *κατὰ πρόσταξιν*<sup>x</sup>, "by the command" of the most pious emperors Constantius and Constans. Also the fathers of the orthodox council of Ariminum<sup>y</sup> profess, that councils are wont to be assembled *κελεύσει*, "by the command" of God, and *προστάγματι*, "by the precept" of the emperor: which also the fathers of the above-mentioned council of Sardica<sup>z</sup> signified in other words in their epistle, (Theodoret, lib. ii., to be cited chap. viii.) Concerning the general council appointed at Nice by Constantius's letters, and afterwards by others of his letters divided into the council of western bishops at Ariminum, and that of eastern at Seleucia, you may read in St. Athanasius, in a little treatise written concerning those councils<sup>a</sup>. We have also shewn

<sup>s</sup> [*παρασυναγωγας*.—S. Basil., *Canones ad Amphiloichium*, i. in *Epist. clxxxviii.* Op., tom. iii. pp. 268, D, sqq.]

<sup>t</sup> [S. Athan., *Hist. Arian. ad Mon.*, § 74. Op., tom. i. p. 388, E. vid. *passim.*]

<sup>u</sup> [S. Hilarii Pictav. *ad Constantium Augustum*, lib. i. c. 1. Op., p. 1217, sqq., et *passim*.—Antichristum præve-

nis,—*Lib. contra Constantium Imp.*, c. 7. p. 1242, C.]

<sup>x</sup> [S. Athan., *Apol. cont. Arian.*, § 1. Op., tom. i. p. 123, C.]

<sup>y</sup> [Id. *De Synodis*, ib., p. 723, A.]

<sup>z</sup> [Theodoret. *H. E.*, lib. ii. c. 8. p. 74.]

<sup>a</sup> [S. Athan. *De Synodis*, § 1. tom. i. p. 716, A, B.]

above, that Liberius bishop of Rome did with earnest entreaties desire a council of this very prince, though he was both wicked and heretical. But those councils which were held by Pope Julius in St. Athanasius's cause, under the reign of Constantius, since they were not general, did (as was observed above) stand in no need of the express command of the prince. Therefore you will often find, that metropolitans and patriarchs did by their own authority hold episcopal assemblies in their respective dioceses. It is certain that St. Athanasius alone convened many synods at Alexandria, of the bishops of his jurisdiction. And that an extraordinary right above others began even then to be ascribed to the bishop of Rome, shall be shewn hereafter in this very chapter. I will not lose my time in mentioning all the greater and lesser councils, which we read to have been afterwards assembled within the compass of that time, of which I am now treating: it will be sufficient to have hinted at the chief; from which it may appear to all impartial readers as clear as the sun, that they do wonderfully impose upon the credulity of the common ignorant people, who deny a fact that is so true and certain<sup>b</sup>.

In the reign of Valentinian I.<sup>c</sup>, about the year of our Lord 365, there was a council of some note held at Lampsacus. And Sozomen relates (lib. vi. cap. 7<sup>d</sup>) that Hypatianus [was] sent [by] the bishops of Hellespontus and Bithynia to the emperor, ὥστε ἐπιτραπήναι συνελθεῖν ἐπὶ διορθώσει τοῦ δόγματος, "that leave might be granted them to meet for the reformation of the Christian faith:" who brought back from the emperor this answer<sup>d</sup>, "It is not lawful indeed for me, who am ranked among the laity, to enquire with too much curiosity into those matters: but let the bishops, to whose care those things belong, meet wherever they please by themselves<sup>e</sup>." In the Greek it is, ἐμοὶ μετὰ λαοῦ τεταγμένω, "for me who am seated with the laics." The emperor alludes to his place in the church, in which whereas before the time of St. Ambrose the emperors sat within the par-

<sup>b</sup> [Concil. Semiarian., A.D. 364. ap. Concilia, tom. ii. p. 967.]

<sup>c</sup> The author writes Jovian by mistake.

<sup>d</sup> [Sozom. Eccl. Hist., lib. vi. cap. 7.

p. 227.]

<sup>e</sup> [ἐμοὶ μὲν, ἔφη, μετὰ λαοῦ τεταγμένω οὐ θέμις τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμανεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς οἷς τοῦτο μέλει, καθ' ἑαυτοῦς ὅπη βούλονται συνίτωσαν.—Id., ibid.]



tition of the sacerdotal order, he first altered that custom, and appointed them a place apart indeed from the people, but without the seats of the clergy, as Sozomen tells us in the seventh book of his history<sup>f</sup>. The emperor therefore does not deny, as some falsely and ridiculously assert, that the right of calling a council belongs to him: but being made wise by the unhappy example of Constantius, he says he will not πολυπραγματεῖν, “too busily enquire” into matters of faith. But he manifestly exerts his princely authority in the word συνίτωσαν, “let them come” to the council.

In the year 381, there was a general council held at Constantinople, not so famous for the number, as for the eminence of the bishops that were present. By whom was it summoned? The bishops in their synodical letter own themselves obliged for it only to the Emperor Theodosius<sup>g</sup>; and all the historians that have mentioned that council, agree with them herein. Yet Cardinal Baronius argues out of his own head, that the praise of it ought to be ascribed to Pope Damasus<sup>h</sup>: but that upon such weak conjectures, that they do not deserve so much as to be refuted. Socrates relates<sup>i</sup>, that it was decreed in this council, “that the affairs of every province should be determined by provincial synods:” and adds, as though it were a thing necessary, that “that decree was confirmed by the sentence of the emperor.”

Concerning the council of Rome the year following, let us hear St. Jerome in his epistle to Eustochium<sup>k</sup>: “When,” says he, “the emperor’s letter had drawn together to Rome the eastern and western bishops, by reason of some dissensions among the Churches, he saw those admirable men, and bishops of Christ, Paulinus bishop of the city of Antioch,

<sup>f</sup> [Sozomen, lib. vii. c. 25. p. 317. See above, vol. ii. pp. 344, 335.]

<sup>g</sup> [συνελθόντες κατὰ τὸ γράμμα τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας, κ. τ. λ.—Canones Conc. Constant. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1123, B, E.]

<sup>h</sup> [Placuisse in primis id Damaso Romano pontifici, ipsumque de his egisse apud Theodosium imperatorem, jure opinari licet, &c.—Baronius Annal. Eccles., ann. 381. num. 19.]

<sup>i</sup> [ἄρισαν δὲ ὥστε εἰ χρεία καλέσαι τὰ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἕνα ἢ τῆς

ἐπαρχίας σύνοδος διοικῆ· τοῖτοις καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο σύμφητος.—Socrates, H. E., lib. v. c. 8. p. 271.]

<sup>k</sup> [Cum orientis et occidentis episcopos ob quasdam ecclesiarum dissensiones Romam imperiales literæ contraxissent; vidit admirabiles viros, Christi pontifices, Paulinum, Antiochenæ urbis episcopum; et Epiphanium, Salaminæ Cypri, quæ nunc Constantia dicitur.—S. Hieronymi Epist. 108. ad Eustochium, § 6. Op., tom. i. col. 687, D, E.]

and Epiphanius bishop of Salamina in Cyprus, which city is now called Constantia." From which words it appears, that when a greater council was appointed to meet even at Rome, it was done by the emperor's letters, not by those of the bishop of that see. And therefore the bishops of the east, who were assembled at the same time at Constantinople, writing to this Roman council, attest that themselves were called to old Rome to that council, *διὰ τῶν τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου βασιλέως γραμμάτων*, "by the letters of the most pious emperor." And if those with whom we have to do, would allow as much authority as they ought to the undoubted monuments of true antiquity, this epistle alone would be sufficient to prove what I here contend for. For that the bishops of the east were invited to the council of Rome, they themselves interpret it only as an office of mutual charity and Christian love, and return their thanks to them upon that account: but do not understand it to imply any subjection in them, or dominion in others; for they behave themselves towards the western bishops no otherwise than as brethren, as ministers of equal rank in the same family, and equally subject to the civil powers. Where therefore is the temporal monarchy, which some mad priests do now dream of, and bring into the Church of God<sup>1</sup>?

In the year 399, Theophilus patriarch of Alexandria condemns the errors of Origen in a synod called by himself<sup>m</sup>. The year following St. John Chrysostom patriarch of Constantinople convenes the council of Ephesus<sup>n</sup>, and to restore the decayed discipline of the Church deposes twelve or (as Sozomen writes<sup>b</sup>) thirteen bishops of his jurisdiction from their sees. Both these patriarchs raised themselves great troubles and much hatred by these proceedings; and yet among those that found fault with them, there was not one who charged them with usurping an authority due to another. And that they had no need of the express command of the prince, has been often observed above: which also is the undoubted reason, why in so many lesser and greater coun-

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<sup>1</sup> [*ἡμᾶς ὡς οἰκεῖα μέλη προσεκαλέσασθε διὰ τῶν κ.τ.λ.*—*Epistola Episcoporum, Damaso, &c. Conc. Constant. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1146, D.*]

<sup>m</sup> [*Ibid.*, col. 1459.]

<sup>n</sup> [*Ibid.*, col. 1465. *Socrat., Hist. Eccl., lib. vi. cap. 10. p. 333.*]

cils, which at this time were assembled by the metropolitans and primates of Africa, at Carthage, or in other provinces of their comprovincial bishops, for the most part there is nothing said of the command or permission of the prince. That the synod which deposed St. John Chrysostom was called by the royal *προστάγματι*, "command," we are assured by Sozomen<sup>o</sup>. When St. Chrysostom had appealed from this synod to a general council, which was the only remedy for the injury that he had received (as Pope Innocent writes to the clergy of Constantinople<sup>v</sup>) there was a great deal of pains taken both by Innocent, and by all the Roman synod, convened for that purpose, that by the mediation of Honorius emperor of the west, they might obtain of Arcadius, who then governed in the east, right and leave to call a general council. Palladius bishop of Helenopolis, in his history of the life of St. Chrysostom, says<sup>q</sup>, "The bishops of Italy being assembled, beseech the emperor that he would write to his brother Arcadius, to command a council to be convened [in Thessalonica], that both parts of the east and west might the more easily meet together." Sozomen at the end of his eighth book tells us<sup>r</sup>, "that Innocent bishop of Rome desiring that St. John Chrysostom should be recalled, sent to the emperors Honorius and Arcadius legates, *σύνοδον αἰτήσοντας, καὶ καιρὸν ταύτης, καὶ τόπον*, "desiring he would appoint a synod, and the time and place for it." Afterwards a contention arising concerning the priesthood of the eternal city<sup>s</sup> between the anti-popes Boniface and Eulalius, A.D. 319, it appears that in a short time many councils were called by the Emperor Honorius.

In the year 430 the general council of Ephesus met, which condemned the heresy of Nestorius. It is certain that in that council, and in all the business of it, great deference was paid to Celestine bishop of Rome. Yet Celestine did not call that council, but the emperors Theodosius and Valen-

<sup>o</sup> [Sozom., Hist. Eccl., lib. viii. c. 16. p. 346.]

<sup>p</sup> [Ibid., c. 26. p. 361.]

<sup>q</sup> [ὅτι τινὲς ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Ἰταλίας συναχθέντες, παρακαλοῦσι τὸν βασιλέα γράψαι τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῷ καὶ συμβασιλεῖ Ἀρκαδίῳ, προστάξαι ἐν Θεσσαλονικίᾳ γενέσθαι σύνοδον, ὥστε δυναθῆναι εὐκόλως ἀμφότερα συνδραμεῖν τὰ μέρη ἀνατολῆς τε καὶ δύσεως.—Pallad. de

vit. S. Joan. Chrys. ap. S. Chrys. Op., tom. xiii. p. 12, B.]

<sup>r</sup> [Ἰννοκέντιος δὲ ὁ Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπος, ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτὸν σπουδάζων . . . πέπομφεν ἐπισκόπους πέντε, καὶ πρεσβυτέρους δύο . . . πρὸς Ὀνώριον καὶ Ἀρκάδιον σύνοδον αἰτήσοντας, κ. τ. λ.—Sozom. Eccl. Hist., lib. viii. c. 28. p. 363.]

<sup>s</sup> Rome commonly so called.



tinian. There are extant the circular letters<sup>t</sup> of those emperors sent to the metropolitans, in which they are commanded, laying aside all excuse, to repair to Ephesus against a day appointed: therefore when the fathers were come together, Juvenalis bishop of Jerusalem does before all other things require<sup>u</sup> that the emperor's command should be recited in the hearing of all, which accordingly was immediately done. I will not produce out of the acts of that council the words of the fathers, by which in many places they expressly acknowledge that they were assembled in that place by the mercy of God, and *νεύματι καὶ ἐκ θεσπίσματος*, "by the intimation and command of the emperors." I will only set down Celestine's words in his Epistle to Theodosius<sup>x</sup>: "On this heavenly care and glory every one of us as far as we are able, according to our sacerdotal office, employ our pains, and at this council, which you have commanded, we afford our presence in the proxies we have sent." And afterwards<sup>y</sup>: "This we humbly request of your piety, which we believe you also desire, that what you ask of God, you may perform yourself for His sake in the faith;" that is, that as you ask of God for yourself a firm and unshaken empire, so you may procure by your royal authority, that the true faith may remain unshaken. So also St. Cyril, writing concerning the same Nestorius to Juvenalis bishop of Jerusalem, says<sup>z</sup>, "that the emperors were to be earnestly entreated *χαρισάσθαι τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τὸ βέβαιον εἰς πίστιν ὀρθήν*, to grant the world a true and unshaken faith." I omit the council held in the cause of Pope Sixtus at Rome in the atrium of Sessorius' palace by command of the Emperor Valentinian in the year 433<sup>a</sup>. For neither can it be called a council, having been an assembly of presbyters and senators mixed together, which

<sup>t</sup> [Concil. Ephes., A.D. 431. pars i. c. 32. Concilia, tom. iii. col. 983, B.]

<sup>u</sup> [Ibid., Actio i. col. 1000, A.]

<sup>x</sup> [Huic cœlesti curæ vel gloriæ unusquisque nostrum pro sacerdotali officio operam nostram, in quantum valemus, impendimus; et huic synodo, quam esse jussistis, nostram præsentiam in his, quos misimus, exhibemus.—Ibid., Actio ii. sub. fin. col. 1149, D.]

<sup>y</sup> [Hoc a pietate vestra suppliciter

deposcimus, quod vos habere credimus in votis; ut quod a Deo petitis, hoc in fide ipsius causa præstetis.—Ibid., col. 1150, D.]

<sup>z</sup> [δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς ἀναγκαίως καὶ τῷ φιλοχριστῷ καὶ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἅπασιν τοῖς ἐν τέλει γράψαι καὶ συμβουλεύσαι . . . χαρισάσθαι τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τὸ βέβαιον εἰς πίστιν ὀρθήν.—Ibid., pars i. c. 24. col. 937, A, B.]

<sup>a</sup> [Conc. Rom. c. 5, sqq. apud Concilia, tom. iv. col. 509. D, E, sqq.]



sort of meetings came to be very frequently used afterwards, as I shall observe elsewhere.

In the year 448, by the command of Theodosius the Younger, a general council met at Constantinople, which condemned Eutyches. Theodosius in his letters to the council writes thus<sup>b</sup>: “Because we know that the most magnificent Patricius<sup>1</sup> Florentius is faithful, and has good testimonies of his orthodox faith, it is our pleasure that he be present at the holding of the council.” Also Nicholas the First, writing to the Emperor Michael says<sup>c</sup>, that the emperor has no right to be present in ecclesiastical assemblies, “except where there is any debate concerning the faith.”

Of the council called at Ephesus the year following by the same prince, Liberatus Diaconus speaks thus<sup>d</sup>: “The emperor directing his sacred Epistle to Dioscorus at Alexandria, commanded him to choose ten metropolitan bishops whom he would, and come to Ephesus; and a council being convened, to discuss Eutyches’s cause, himself commanding Barsumas the abbot to be present.” The holy imperial letter itself is extant in the Acts of the council<sup>e</sup>: if yet that name ought to be given to that infamous band of robbers, in which impious Eutyches was absolved, and Flavianus, patriarch of Constantinople, a pious man, was condemned as a wicked person. Pope Leo being called to this council by the emperor, among other things writes back to him thus<sup>f</sup>: “Although the cause of the faith is so evident, that for very good reasons a council should not have been called; yet inasmuch as my Lord<sup>2</sup> does

<sup>1</sup> [“patri-  
cian”]

<sup>2</sup> [“so far as  
the Lord”]

<sup>b</sup> [ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἶδαμεν τὸν μεγαλοπρεπέστατον πατρίκιον Φλωρέντιον ὄντα πιστὸν, καὶ μεμαρτυρημένον ἐπὶ τῇ ὀρθότητι, θέλομεν συνεῖναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἀκροάσει τῆς συνόδου, ἐπειδὴ λόγος περὶ πίστεως ἐστίν.—Conc. Constant. Act. viii. lect. in Concil. Chalced. Concilia, tom. iv. col. 1005, C.]

<sup>c</sup> [Dicite, quæsumus, utinam legistis imperatores antecessores vestros in synodalibus conventibus interfuisse? nisi forsitan in quibus de fide tractatum est, &c.—Nicolai Pap. I. Epist. viii. ad Michaellem Imp. ap. Concil., tom. ix. col. 1330, B.]

<sup>d</sup> [Annuit imperator et dirigens sacram Dioscoro in Alexandriam, præcepit, ut cum decem metropolitanis episcopis, alios quos voluisset, ipse

eligeret, et veniret Ephesum; et congregato universali concilio, Eutychetis causam discuteret; jubens Barsumam archimandritam interesse concilio, &c.—Liberati Diaconi Breviarium, c. 12. Bibl. Patr., tom. xii. p. 140, B, C.]

<sup>e</sup> [Concil. Chalcedon., Actio prima. Concilia, tom. iv. ad Dioscorum, col. 877, B.]

<sup>f</sup> [Cum tam evidens fidei causa sit, ut rationabilius ab indicenda synodo fuisset abstinendum: tamen in quantum Dominus juvare dignatur, meum studium commodavi, ut clementiæ vestræ statutis aliquatenus pareatur.—S. Leonis M. Epist. xxxvii. ad Theodosium, Op., tom. i. col. 887, et ap. Concilia (Concil. Chalced., pars i. Ep. xvi.) tom. iv. col. 802, B.]

vouchsafe His assistance, I have contributed my endeavour, that obedience may in some measure be paid to your clemency's laws." Wise and holy, as the event shewed, was the resolution of Leo, who had no mind that this council should be called: but when by dissuading the emperor from it, he had discharged the duty of a pious pastor, he laid aside all excuses, and obeyed his prince's command to the utmost of his power. So ignorant of the rights of the present liberty were the Roman bishops of those times. And there are many things of like nature in Leo's Epistles: as when he writes thus to Theodosius, desiring a general council may be convened in Italy<sup>g</sup>. "All the Churches of our parts, all the bishops beseech your lenity with sighs and tears, that you would command a general council to be held in Italy." And in his Epistle to the clergy and people of Constantinople, he says<sup>h</sup>: "Because it behoves you, under<sup>l</sup> the divine assistance, to promote<sup>2</sup> the favour of Catholic princes, . . . that the most gracious emperor may vouchsafe to grant our petition, in which we beseech him that a full council may be summoned." What need many words? It appears from the Epistle of the Empress Pulcheria to Leo<sup>i</sup>, that the emperor Marcian yielded up to Leo almost all his right of calling this general council: for thus Pulcheria writes; "Your reverence will vouchsafe to signify whatever way you shall provide, that all the bishops of<sup>3</sup> the whole east [and] of Thrace and Illyricum (as it is also the pleasure of our lord, the most pious emperor, my husband) may be able to meet speedily

CASAUBON  
DE LIB.  
ECCL.  
CHAP. III.  
SECT. II.

<sup>1</sup> ["next to"]  
<sup>2</sup> ["procure"]

<sup>3</sup> ["even of," ed. 3.]

<sup>g</sup> [πάντων τῶν μερῶν ἡμῶν αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλανθρωπίας καταδέονται διὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι πιστῶς ἀντειρήκασιν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις Φλαυιανὸς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος λίβελλον ἐκκλήτων ἐπιδέδωκε, γενικὴν σύνοδον κελεύσατε ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ συναλεθεῖν.—S. Leonis M. Epist. xlv. ad Theodosium, Op., tom. i. col. 916, et ap. Concilia, *ibid.* (Ep. xix.) tom. iv. col. 805, B.]

<sup>h</sup> [Quoniam oportet vos post divinum auxilium, etiam catholicorum principum gratiam promereri, humiliter ac sapienter exposcite, ut petitioni nostræ, qua plenariam indicii synodum postulavimus, clementissimus imperator dignetur annuere.—S. Leonis M. Epist. lix. (ad Cler. et Pleb. Constant. urbis),

Op., tom. i. col. 981, et apud Concilia, *ibid.*, (Epist. xxiii.) col. 818, B.]

<sup>i</sup> [ἡ σὴ εὐλάβεια, καθ' ὃν ἂν φανεῖ τρόπον, σημάνα καταξιώσει' ἵνα πάντες, καὶ πάσης τῆς ἀνατολῆς οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, Θράκης τε, καὶ Ἰαλλυρικοῦ, καθὼς καὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ δεσπότη τῷ εὐσεβεστάτῳ βασιλεῖ τῷ ἐμῷ συζύγῳ ἀρέσκει, εἰς μίαν πόλιν τὴν τυχίστην ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνατολικῶν μερῶν παραγέωνται' καὶ κείσε γενομένης συνόδου περὶ τε τῆς καθολικῆς ὁμολογίας, καὶ περὶ τούτων τῶν ἐπισκόπων, οἳ τινες πρὸ τούτου ἐχωρίσθησαν, καθὼς ἡ πίστις, καὶ ἡ χριστιανικὴ εὐσέβεια ἀπαιτεῖ, σοῦ αὐθεντοῦντος ὀρίσωσιν.—Epist. lxxvii. Pulcheriæ Aug. apud S. Leonis Op., tom. i. col. 1029, 1030; et apud Concilia, *ibid.* (Epist. xxxv.) col. 836, D.]

from the eastern parts in one city, and there in a holy council by your direction determine according as Christian faith and piety shall require, both concerning the Catholic confession, and those bishops who were formerly excommunicated." Yet Leo kept to the old customs, and leaving the authority of calling a council to the prince, in whose power he observes the *τὸ κῦρος*, the authority of the state and supreme government is, he thought it his duty only to suggest those things which he accounted necessary. Thus therefore he afterwards wrote in those letters which he sent to the emperor<sup>k</sup>: "From whence by a legate, who God willing shall immediately be with your clemency, whatsoever I think appertains to the advantage of the cause may be more fully and opportunely suggested to you, who are pleased to have so pious a concern for calling a council." See therefore the custom of the Church still in those times. The bishop of Rome adviseth, the emperor summons the council. Therefore in the emperor's letters, by which the bishops are called to this fourth general council, it is thus written<sup>l</sup>: "Because some doubts have been moved concerning the true faith, as is signified by the letters of Leo the most holy archbishop of Rome, as well as the greatest blessing to that see: it was our pleasure, that a holy council should immediately be assembled in Nice, a city of Bithynia."

Afterwards by the command of the emperors the fathers of this council removed to Chalcedon, where a council was held in the year of our Lord 451, very memorable for the disturbances that followed on that occasion, which for a very long time divided the eastern Church from the western. To Marcian the Emperor Leo succeeded; of whom when ill designing men earnestly desired another general council, and he was not very averse to it, Pope Leo by letters of great modesty as well as prudence, hindered him from giving his

<sup>k</sup> [Unde piissimæ sollicitudini vestræ, quam de indicenda synodo habere dignamini, per legationem, quæ confestim ad clementiam vestram, Deo annuente, perveniet, quidquid ad causæ utilitatem arbitror pertinere, plenius atque opportunius suggeretur.—S. Leonis M. Epist. lxxxii. ad Marcianum, Op., tom. i. col. 1045.]

<sup>l</sup> [ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ἀμφιβολαίαι τινὲς περὶ

τὴν ὀρθοδόξαν θρησκείαν ἡμῶν γεγενῆσθαι δοκοῦσι, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου τῆς ἐνδόξου πόλεως Ῥώμης Λέοντος δηλοῖ, τούτο ἰδικῶς τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἤρρεσεν ἡμερότῃτι· ἵνα ἅγια σύνοδος ἐν Νικαίῳ πόλει τῆς Βιθυνῶν ἐπαρχίας συγκροτηθῆ.—Concil. Chalced. pars i. Epist. xxxvii. ap. Concilia, tom. iv. col. 840, A.]



consent: "I received," says he<sup>m</sup>, "with veneration, your clemency's letters, full of the power of faith, and of the light of truth, which I was desirous to obey; but I suppose that will please you more, which reason shewed us should be chosen." Then he brings reasons why a new council is not necessary. Indeed it is plain, that from this time even provincial councils were less frequently celebrated in the east, and no general one for above a hundred years: for

The fifth general council met in the year 553, the seat of that council was Constantinople. They who persuaded the calling of it were Vigilius, bishop of Rome, who was then at Constantinople, and Menas, patriarch of Constantinople. The author and commander of it was the Emperor Justinian. Therefore the fathers, when they address themselves to him, use that form accustomed on the like occasion, professing themselves to be convened, *κατὰ θεῖον νεῦμα*, "by the will and pleasure of God;" but *κατὰ θέσπισμα*, "by the decree of the emperor<sup>n</sup>."

Hitherto we have mentioned only those councils which were called by the authority of the Roman emperors: but what method was observed in summoning councils under the dominion of other princes, and what custom obtained, shall be clearly explained in the following chapters. But because the empire of the Romans was already much decayed in those times whereof we speak, not only in many provinces, but even the capital city, formerly mistress of the world, was for some time in the hands of barbarous nations, we will add something concerning that matter also in this place; for it manifestly appears that those kings and princes who succeeded in the place of the Roman emperors, did, together with the holy rites of the Christian religion, also take upon them the right of protecting the Church, and preserving ecclesiastical discipline. Therefore these also each in his

<sup>m</sup> [Litteras clementiæ tuæ plenas virtute fidei et lumine veritatis veneranter accepi: quibus cuperem, etiam in eo, quod præsentiam meam pietas vestra necessariam existimat, obedire, ut majorem fructum conspectu vestri splendoris assequer. Sed magis id vobis arbitror placiturum, quod eligendum ratio demonstravit.—S. Leonis M. Epist. clvi. ad Leonem Augustum, Op., tom. i. col. 1321. et apud Concilia,

(Concil. Chalced., pars iii. c. 25,) tom. vi. col. 1849, B.]

<sup>n</sup> [The document referred to here and p. 189, seems to be the *λόγος προσφωνητικός* of the council of Constantinople under Justinian Rhinotmetus, A. D. 692, called Quinisext; which Casaubon has confounded with the fifth general council under the first Justinian.—Concilia, tom. vii. col. 1336, C.]



respective dominion did, as much as the Roman emperors, most deservedly challenge to themselves a right of summoning councils, and confirming them by virtue of their authority; and that, as was now said, as soon as they had submitted their sceptres to Christ the King of kings. Of all the kingdoms which had their rise from the ruins of the Roman empire, the most ancient, the most noble, and the most Christian is that of France. And the first Christian king of France was Clovis the fifth from Faramond their first king. He, not long after he had embraced the Christian religion, gave his successors an example of summoning councils. Hincmarus, in the life of St. Remigius, makes mention of the council of Orleans, convened by his command about the year 507: "By the advice of St. Remigius<sup>o</sup> he assembled a synod of bishops in the city of Orleans, in which assembly many useful things were appointed." The acts of the synod sent to the king begin thus<sup>p</sup>: "To their lord, the son of the Catholic Church, Clovis the most renowned king. All the priests whom you commanded to come to the council," &c. Of the council of Lyons convened in the cause of the bishops Salonius and Sagittarius, Gregory of Tours in his fifth book says<sup>q</sup>, "Which when King Guntheramnus had found, he commanded a synod to be assembled at the city of Lyons." Soon after he mentions that of Chalons<sup>r</sup>: "In the fourth year of Childebert, which was the eighteenth year of the kings Guntheramnus and Chilperic, a council met at the city of Chalons, by the command of the Prince Guntheramnus." The same author, in his eighth book, speaks of the council of Mascon<sup>s</sup>: "In the mean time the day of the edict came, and the bishops by the king's command met in the city of Mascon." And of the second council of Orleans<sup>t</sup>, held under

<sup>o</sup> [Per consilium beati Remigii in Aureliansi civitate episcoporum synodum convocavit; in quo conventu multa utilia constituta fuere. (Louis rot Clovis is the king here spoken of.) —Hincmarus de S. Remigio, ap. Vitas Sanctorum a Lipomano ed. Surius; Jan. 18. p. 94. Venet. 1581; et ap. Bolland. Oct. 1.]

<sup>p</sup> [Domino suo, Catholicæ Ecclesiæ filio, Clodoveo, clarissimo regi. Omnes sacerdotes, quos ad concilium venire jussistis, &c. —Concilii Aurelianensis I. (A.D. 511.) Epistola; ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 543, C.]

<sup>q</sup> [Quod cum rex Guntheramnus

comperisset, congregari synodum apud urbem Lugdunensem jussit.—S. Gregorii Turonensis Hist. Francorum, lib. v. c. 21. col. 231, 232, Op., Paris. 1699.]

<sup>r</sup> [Anno quarto Childeberti, qui fuit decimus octavus Guntheramni et Chilperici regum, apud Cabillonum civitatem synodus acta est, ex jussu principis Guntheramni.—Id., ibid., c. 28. col. 238, A.]

<sup>s</sup> [Interim dies placiti advenit; et episcopi ex jussu regis apud Maticensem urbem collecti sunt.—Id., ibid., lib. viii. c. 20. col. 392, C.]

<sup>t</sup> [Quum ex præceptione glorio-

Childebert, "When by the precept of the most glorious kings the holy fathers by God's help, convened in the city of Orleans, to treat concerning the observance of the Catholic law." And the same is professed by other fathers of other councils which met in those days, either in that city or elsewhere. In like manner Sigismund king of Burgundy, as soon as he became a member of the Church of God<sup>u</sup>, commanded a synod to be assembled at the city of Pau<sup>x</sup>.

I must not omit a most noble example with which the histories of Spain furnish us. The Goths, when they invaded that country, had brought the poison of Arius into those parts. It happened by the mercy of Christ, that about the year 589 the greatest of their princes, King Reccared, embracing the Christian religion, undertook to reform the confession of faith, and the whole ecclesiastical discipline throughout his kingdom. Do the bishops therefore meet on their own accord upon a matter of so great importance? Or do they expect letters of citation to be sent them from Rome? They do neither, but the king commands them, and they cheerfully obey and hasten together. The king himself tells us this, who addressing himself to them after the usual manner, says<sup>y</sup>, "And therefore, venerable fathers, we have commanded you to assemble for the holding of this synod." The fathers themselves say the same<sup>z</sup>: "Seeing the most glorious prince, according to the sincerity of his faith, had commanded all the prelates of his kingdom to meet together." This is that most famous third council of Toledo. And we have a like profession at the beginning of the fourth council of that city<sup>a</sup>: "Seeing that we the Lord's bishops were met together in the city of Toledo, by the prince's order and command, to treat about certain matters of discipline relating to the

sissimorum regum in Aurelianensem urbem de observatione legis Catholicæ tractaturi, Deo auxiliante, sancti patres convenerint.—Concil. Aurelianense II. (A.D. 533.) Canon. Præfat.; ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 926, C.]

<sup>a</sup> Ecclesiæ Dei ovis.

<sup>x</sup> [Concilium Epæonense, A.D. 517, ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 707, D.]

<sup>y</sup> [Et ideo, venerandi patres, ad hanc vos peragendam congregari jussimus synodum.—Conc. Toletanum III. (A.D. 589.) Præf.; Concilia, tom. vi. col. 694, B.]

<sup>z</sup> [Quum pro fidæ suæ sinceritate gloriosissimus princeps omnes sui regiminis pontifices in unum convenire mandasset.—Ibid., col. 693, B.]

<sup>a</sup> [Dum studio amoris Christi ac diligentia Sisenandæ regis, Hispaniæ atque Galliæ sacerdotes apud Toletanam urbem in nomine Domini convenissemus ut ejus imperiis, atque jussis communis, a nobis ageretur de quibusdam ecclesiæ disciplinis tractatus, &c.—Conc. Toletanum IV. (A.D. 633.) Præf. ibid., col. 1448, E.]

Church." But what pains does the most famous author of the Ecclesiastical Annals take, speaking of the third council of Toledo, to prove that the pope's authority intervened in the affairs of that council? Therefore this most learned author, like the old wife to the wine bottle, as the Latin proverb is<sup>b</sup>, betakes himself to his usual artifice. He says that Leander bishop of Seville, legate of the see of Rome, did in that council transact all things with absolute authority<sup>c</sup>. Indeed Leander was present at that council, but as metropolitan of the province of Bœtica, not as the pope's legate, as appears from the order observed in the Subscriptions<sup>d</sup>: for Massonas bishop of Merida being possessed of the first place, and Euphenius bishop of Toledo of the second, Leander is here set down as low as the third: which I know Baronius would not endure in a legate of the Roman see. Add to this, that concerning that legatine power nothing is said in all the councils, neither by the king nor by the fathers, nor so much as by Leander himself, when in the beginning of that council he made a speech, in which he gives God thanks for the conversion of the king and kingdom to the faith<sup>e</sup>: nor does Isidore say any thing of it in his Chronicle, or in the Life of Leander<sup>f</sup>.

Besides, the orthodox fathers were used to beg leave to assemble councils, even of the Arian kings. The council of Agde met about the year of our Lord 506. The acts of it begin thus<sup>g</sup>: "Seeing that in the name of God, and by the permission of King Alaric, a holy council was assembled in the city of Agde." Now Alaric was an Arian king, as were almost all the barbarous nations<sup>h</sup> at that time, who infested France, Italy, Africa, and Spain. And Theodoric king of Italy was an Arian, whose authority in matters ecclesiastical

<sup>b</sup> Ut anus ad armillum.

<sup>c</sup> [Non sine scientia atque consensu simulque auctoritate Pelagii papæ generale hoc celebratum esse concilium, ex eo intelligi potest, dum Lucas Tudensis ait, S. Leandrum huic interfuisse et præfuisse legatione functum pro Romano pontifice, quod absque controversia credi debet, cum certum sit, &c.—Baronii Annales, ann. 589, num. 9.]

<sup>d</sup> [Conc. Tolet. III. Subscriptionses, ap. Concilia, tom. vi. col. 712, D, E; see Baronius, *ibid.*, num. 44.]

<sup>e</sup> [Homilia S. Leandri, (the speech was made after the council.) *Ibid.*, col. 715, sqq.]

<sup>f</sup> [See S. Isidor. *Hisp. Chronicon*, § 118, Op., tom. vii. p. 104; *Hist. Gothorum*, § 53. *ibid.*, pp. 124, 125; *De Viris Illustribus*, § 57—59. S. Leander, *ibid.*, pp. 160, 161.]

<sup>g</sup> [Quum in Dei nomine ex permissu regis (Alarici) in Agathensem civitatem sancta synodus convenisset.—Concil. Agathensis A.D. 506. Canon. Præf. ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 521, C.]

<sup>h</sup> Goths, Vandals, &c.



was nevertheless owned by the bishops of Rome, who were subject to him. When therefore during his reign the fourth schism arose in Rome, between the anti-popes Symmachus and Laurentius, a cure for this evil was implored from the authority of the prince, though an Arian. "A contention arising," says Anastasius<sup>i</sup>, "the fathers appointed that both parties should go to Ravenna, to be judged by King Theodoric: and when they were both entered into that city they found this to be a judgment of equity." And afterwards the dissension being renewed, Theodoric to compose the disorders, did more than once call together the suburbicary bishops, that they might either renew the trial by the authority of a synod, or without a new trial transact the matter, and restore peace and quiet to the city. The king in his epistle to the bishops (which has this inscription, "The royal precept,") says<sup>k</sup>, "Because we do not think it our duty to determine any thing in ecclesiastical matters, therefore we have caused you to be called together out of divers provinces." But concerning councils held in this cause I shall say more hereafter in this chapter.

III. *The councils of the ancient Church of these times were confirmed by the emperor and not by the pope of Rome.*

How the canons of councils stood in need also of the prince's authority, has been explained in the last chapter. There we distinguished the royal authority, by which they have the force of laws in the State, from the episcopal and divine, by which they are of force in the Church, and upon the consciences of good men. But the court of conscience is different from the civil court: nor can such as transgress the canons of councils be punished with the penalties of civil laws, before the prince has given the force of laws to them. They who pretend that the decrees of councils do now stand in no need of confirmation from the prince, and that the establishment of the Church, which they received from the bishop

<sup>i</sup> [Facta contentione hoc constituerunt patres, ut ambo ad Ravennam pergerent ad iudicium regis Theodorici; qui dum ambo introissent in Ravennam, hoc iudicium æquitatis invenerunt.—Anastasius Bibliothec. Vitæ Pontificum, c. 52. S. Symmachi; ap.

Hist. Byzant. Script., p. 31. ed. Paris.]

<sup>k</sup> [Quia non nostrum iudicamus, de ecclesiasticis aliquid censere negotiis; ideo vos de diversis provinciis fecimus evocare.—Precepto Regis (Theuderici A.D. 501.) ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 466, C.]



of Rome, is abundantly sufficient; are either ignorant, what difference there is between the Church and the State, or (which I rather believe) they design by it, that the Church and the State over all the world being blended into one, may as well in spiritual matters as in temporal, acknowledge only one supreme monarch, the Roman pontiff, according as they do in Rome and in all St. Peter's patrimony. There indeed, I will own, ecclesiastical decrees have their sanction only from the pope; but then it is as he is now considered under two very different capacities, of a priest and of a prince. In France, Spain, and wherever these powers are separated, which are different in their own nature, the case is quite otherwise; which manifest reason and the practice of all times demonstrates, as was observed above. Besides, confirmation by the prince is wont to be made many ways: either not expressly, when by giving leave to meet in a council, the prince is understood to approve also of the decrees of the council, as in lesser councils is usually done: or expressly, suppose by edict, or letters writ to that purpose, or by the bare subscription of the prince. Examples of all these kinds are frequent in the Acts of the councils. Many councils, both Greek and Latin, are found subscribed by the emperors: but that all the general councils were confirmed by the emperors' letters or edicts, shall presently be made appear.

But this does not please Cardinal Baronius, who treating of the council of Nice, will have the confirmation of that to have been made, not by the emperor, but by the pope. First<sup>l</sup> he produces a passage out of the Acts of Sylvester, in which that is so expressly affirmed, that nothing can be more express, if yet that may be said of so barbarous and worthless a writer. Next he adds the testimony of Pope Felix III.<sup>m</sup>, and that also most evident. At last he brings a canon of the ancient Church<sup>n</sup>, to prove that this custom was always observed in the Church, and that inviolably, as he pretends. As to the Acts of Silvester, I will say nothing more now, but that Cardinal Baronius himself does in so many places ingenuously confess<sup>o</sup>, that they are false and full of fables, lies, and the most absurd trifles, that it is rather

<sup>l</sup> [Baronii Annales, ann. 325, num. 171. See Binii notas in edictum Constantini, A. D. 324, ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 1573, D.]

<sup>m</sup> [Baronius, *ibid.*]

<sup>n</sup> [*Ibid.*, num. 172.]

<sup>o</sup> [*Id.*, *ibid.*, ann. 315. num. 10, 15, 29q.]

incumbent upon so judicious a writer to give an account why in a matter of this moment he brings so scandalous an evidence, than upon me to search for arguments to destroy his credit. And indeed although there are many things very foolish in those spurious Acts, yet there is nothing more so, than all that section which brings in the Nicene fathers begging the confirmation of their decrees from Sylvester<sup>p</sup>, where there is neither sincerity in the words, nor truth in the sense of them. The Epistle of Felix III. which is alleged, though it be reckoned among his Epistles, yet is really not Felix's, but the council's, held at Rome about the year 484. The fathers of that council say<sup>q</sup>: "The three hundred and eighteen holy fathers assembled at Nice, addressed themselves to the holy Roman Church to confirm and authorize their proceedings; which custom, by the grace of Christ, all successions down to our age have observed." To understand the right meaning of these words, we must call to mind what was said above concerning a twofold authority of synodical canons: for both the prince confirms them by the sanction of the royal authority, and the bishops, if present, by voting and assenting; if absent, only by ratifying what is decreed. And it was the constant custom especially of greater councils, to send synodical letters to the patriarchs and bishops of the more considerable sees, to inform them what had been done in the councils: and there are examples of this custom extant even in St. Cyprian<sup>r</sup>. Therefore the bishops who admitted the synodical decrees, and used their endeavour to have them observed in their churches, were not without reason said to give confirmation and authority to them, although they who are present at the council are more properly said to confirm the canons when they decree them by their suffrages. Take it which way you will, it is not without some reason that this Roman council claimed that right for their bishop Felix; for even at that time the popes of

<sup>p</sup> [Synod. Nic. Epist. ad Silvestrum P. (spuria) ap. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 79.]

<sup>q</sup> [Trecenti decem et octo sancti patres apud Nicæam congregati, confirmationem rerum atque auctoritatem sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ detulerunt;

quam utramque usque ad ætatem nostram successiones omnes, Christi gratia præstante, custodiunt.—Epist. Synodi Rom. (A.D. 484.) ap. Concilia, tom. v. col. 248, D.]

<sup>r</sup> [See below, pp. 193, sqq.]

Rome maintained that that right belonged to them, as shall be shewn hereafter in this chapter. But what they say of that right having been given to the see of Rome by the fathers of this council is contrary to the testimony of all history: therefore it is as difficult to imagine on what ground this is affirmed, as why Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine ascribe the right of appeals to the grant of the council of Nice<sup>s</sup>; a right concerning which it is most evident the Nicene fathers had not the least thought. But why Cardinal Baronius, who interprets the words above mentioned, whether of Felix or of the council, so as to infer from them that it was not the custom for princes to confirm the canons of councils, why he should ascribe to the pope, or to the fathers of the Roman council, an opinion manifestly false, I leave him to consider. This I know, and shall presently prove, that there never was any council held under the emperors, especially any general council, which they did not confirm by their sanctions.

Nor does the canon alleged by the same author make any more to his purpose. When Pope Julius saw the Arians, who infested the Churches of Asia, Syria, and Egypt, convene local synods, violate the rule of faith with new inventions, and for that reason to have expelled Athanasius from the see of Alexandria, he, in order to overthrow the impious decrees of those synods, and give relief to the afflicted Churches, denied that those were to be accounted lawful assemblies, because he said there was an ancient law or custom which forbade Churches to make any canon without the knowledge and approbation of the bishop of Rome. Sozomen, in his third book, expresses it thus<sup>1</sup>: *Εἶναι γὰρ νόμον ἱερατικὸν, ὃς ἄκυρα ἀποφαίνει τὰ παρὰ γνώμην πραττόμενα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου*: “For that there is a canon extant relating to the rights of the priests, which pronounces those things null which shall be done contrary to the opinion, or without the knowledge and approbation of the bishop of Rome.” Socrates<sup>u</sup>, in his [second<sup>1</sup>] book, does more

<sup>1</sup> [“first,”  
ed. 3.]

<sup>\*</sup> [See below, pp. 234, sqq.]

<sup>†</sup> [The words in Sozomen are ὡς ἄκυρα ἀποφαίνειν κ. τ. λ.—Sozom. Eccl. Hist., lib. iii. c. 10. p. 105.]

<sup>u</sup> [τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος κελύοντος κ. τ. λ. . . κανονίξειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.—Socrates, Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. 17. p. 96.]

than once express it with little difference, thus: *Κανόνος ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κελεύοντος, μὴ δεῖν παρὰ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης τὰς ἐκκλησίας κανονίζειν*: the meaning of which words is, “that there is a canon of the Church which enjoins that no Churches make canons without the knowledge of the bishop of Rome.” And indeed with good reason: for since the bishop of Rome was both esteemed to be, and really was the chief part<sup>1</sup>, and consequently the head of the universal Church, which is but one, who can deny that it is most just that without consulting him no innovation should be made either in the faith or discipline of the Church? But from thence to infer that therefore princes have no right to confirm the canons of councils by their authority, and procure them the force of laws in the state, I beseech you what a consequence is this? Where is the force of this argument? From whence is this conclusion? Does it follow because a parliament in France can enact nothing without the president’s concurrence, that therefore the most Christian king has no right to confirm its acts? Or because the auditors of the rota can decree nothing in the absence of the president, that therefore the pope has no right to give authority to the decrees of that court? *Παρὰ γνώμην* in this canon signifies, “without hearing the pope’s opinion concerning it.” For though a general council might determine any thing where the pope of Rome was of a different opinion, because as St. Jerome says<sup>x</sup>, “if the question be about authority, that of the whole Christian world is greater than that of Rome;” yet it could not determine any thing without first hearing the opinion of the pope concerning it from his legates: for which reason Theodoret<sup>y</sup>, in his second book, chap. xxii., explains what is meant in this canon by *παρὰ γνώμην*, when among divers reasons alleged by him why the council of Ariminum was unlawful, he also produces this, that it wanted the assent of the pope of Rome, *οὗ πρὸ πάντων ἔδει τὴν γνώμην ἐκδέξασθαι*, “whose opinion,” says he, “they should have waited for before that of all others.” But I will now shew that the ancient Church

CASAUBON  
DE LIB.  
ECCL.  
CHAP. III.  
SECT. III.

<sup>1</sup> [pars potissima.]

<sup>x</sup> Si auctoritas quaeritur, orbis major est urbe. [Casaubon has “urbis.”] Op., tom. i. col. 1076, D.  
S. Hieron. Epist. 146. ad Evangelum, c. 22. p. 103.] <sup>y</sup> [Theodoret, Eccles. Hist., lib. ii.



was of a different belief in this matter from that of Cardinal Baronius, and of the advocates of this modern liberty of the Church.

That the council of Nice was confirmed by Constantine's letters we are assured by Sozomen<sup>z</sup>. There were two principal decrees of that council, the regulation of Easter day, and the condemnation of Arius and his doctrine. Concerning the former Constantine wrote to all the Churches that circular letter which is set down by Eusebius<sup>a</sup>, Gelasius<sup>b</sup>, Sozomen<sup>c</sup>, and others<sup>d</sup>. In that letter the emperor commands the bishops of the Church to notify the decree of the Nicene fathers concerning the celebration of Easter to all men, to receive it, and to appoint the use of it in the Church. Concerning Arius, the emperor sent all the Churches that edict<sup>e</sup> which contains his condemnation, and denounced capital punishment against all those who should not burn any of Arius's books that were brought to them.

The second general council was that of Constantinople, which was summoned by the Emperor Theodosius. The fathers of that council, after the conclusion of it, write to the emperor, and after returning him thanks in a very solemn manner for his great care of the true religion, they add these words<sup>f</sup>: "We beseech your clemency that the sentence of the council may be confirmed by your piety's edict, that as you have honoured the Church with your letters by which you called us together, so you may by your seal confirm the decrees which are at last made by our common suffrages." See how these holy fathers do not only acknowledge the prince's right to convene councils and confirm their decrees, but also profess that it is an honour to the Church for the emperor so to do. But Cardinal Baronius, whose design it was from the beginning to infringe the rights of

<sup>z</sup> [Sozomen, Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 25. pp. 42. 43.]

<sup>a</sup> [Euseb. de Vita Const., lib. iii. c. 17. ap. Hist. Eccl., tom. i. p. 586.]

<sup>b</sup> [Gelasii Hist. Conc. Nic., lib. ii. c. 36. ap. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 271, D, sqq.]

<sup>c</sup> [The letter itself is not given in Sozomen.]

<sup>d</sup> [Socrat. Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 9. p. 32. Theodoret, Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 10.

p. 34.]

<sup>e</sup> [Socrates, *ibid.*, p. 31. Gelasius, *ibid.*, col. 269, D.]

<sup>f</sup> [δέομεθα τοίνυν τῆς σῆς ἡμερότητος γράμματι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας ἐπικυρωθῆναι τῆς συνόδου τὴν ψήφον ἕν ὡσπερ τοῖς τῆς κλήσεως γράμμασι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τετίμηκας, οὕτω καὶ τῶν δοξάντων ἐπισφραγίσῃς τὸ τέλος.—Epist. Synod. Concil. Constant. ad Theodosium, ap. Concilia, tom. iii. col. 1123, C.]

princes, and to bring in a monarchy of the Church upon the State, when he was not able to impair the credit of this writing of the fathers, did not omit the only thing left him to do, to endeavour by misrepresenting the fact to enervate the emperor's power; for he pretends<sup>e</sup> that by begging this with so much earnestness of Theodosius, the fathers meant nothing more than by this means to engage the emperor to persevere in the true faith. Besides he is pleased to assert that this council was confirmed by Pope Damasus, and that this is attested by Photius. Indeed I cannot but wonder that he should appeal in this case to the evidence of Photius, a Greek, and whom, in other places of his Annals<sup>h</sup>, he calls a proud and an impious schismatic, and a most deadly enemy to the Church of Rome. Who therefore can believe that such a man has owned the monarchy of the Roman see? The passage he cites out of Photius is in his little tract concerning the seven general councils, where, after he has by name set down the principal of the Nicene<sup>1</sup> fathers, whom he calls ἐξάρχους, "exarchs," he adds these words<sup>i</sup>: *Οἷς οὐ πολὺς χρόνος καὶ Δάμασος ὁ τῆς Ῥώμης τὰ αὐτὰ κρατύνων ἐγνωρίζετο σύμφωνος τοῖς προλαβοῦσι καθιστάμενος*: that is, "to whom not long after it was known that Damasus, bishop of Rome, did also confirm the same decrees, declaring himself of the same opinion with the fathers above named." Photius speaks of the episcopal authority, the virtue of which is all spiritual, and which was common to the bishop of Rome with the other bishops; but we are speaking here of that authority by which canons obtain the force of laws in the state. Therefore how great an absurdity is it because Photius says that the pope of Rome did by his episcopal authority confirm what had been decreed by the fathers sitting in council, to make him for that reason deny princes their right in the state? And is any one ignorant that those words, *κρατύνειν, ἐπικυροῦν, καὶ*

<sup>1</sup> ["Constantinopolitan."]

<sup>e</sup> [Quod autem adeo studiose exposcunt statuta in synodo ab eo confirmari, atque sigillo muniri; id quidem prudenter, quod eo modo sibi fidem imperatoris duraturam oppignorarent; utpote qui experti essent Valentem imperatorem in deterius esse mutatum. Porro eandem synodum Constantinopolitanam confirmatam fuisse a Damaso

papa Photius tradit in libello de septem synodis.—Baronii Annales, ann. 381, n. 35.]

<sup>h</sup> [Id., ibid., ab ann. 853. num. 65, ad ann. 879, passim.]

<sup>i</sup> [Photius de Synodis, Concilium II. ap. Biblioth. Jur. Can. Justelli, tom. ii. p. 1143. Par. 1661.]

APPENDIX. *κραταιοῦν*, “to corroborate, authorize, and confirm,” are used of a prince and of bishops in a different signification?

Indeed the council of Constantinople, which met the next year, writes in such a manner to the council of Rome<sup>j</sup> concerning its own decrees, as manifestly declares that their authority did by no means depend upon the pope’s confirmation: for having given a summary account of what had been done in that council, and named some fathers whom the council had made bishops in the most considerable sees, they add these words: “Seeing therefore these fathers have lawfully and canonically obtained their sees at our hands, we exhort your reverences that you would congratulate with them on this behalf, as spiritual charity obliges you, and the fear of the Lord, by which all human actions ought to be regulated.”

The royal confirmation of the third general council is extant at the end of the Acts of that council<sup>k</sup>, together with the emperor’s sentence pronounced against Nestorius, and against his writings, which were condemned to the flames<sup>l</sup>.

The fourth general council held at Chalcedon was confirmed by the same Emperor Marcian by whom it was summoned. These are his words in his Epistle to Palladius, the pretorian prefect<sup>m</sup>: “Let no clergyman, nor soldier, nor person of any other condition for the future endeavour to treat of the Christian faith before crowds of auditors gathered together, seeking from hence an occasion of tumult and treachery: for if any one shall endeavour to consider over again, and publicly call in question those things which have been once determined and rightly ordered, he does an injury to the judgment of the most reverend council; since those

<sup>j</sup> [οἷς ὡς ἐνθέσμως καὶ κανονικῶς παρ’ ἡμῖν κεκρατηκόσι, καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν συγχαίρειν παρακαλοῦμεν εὐλάβειαν, τῆς πνευματικῆς μεσιτενοῦσης ἀγάπης, καὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ φόβου πᾶσαν μὲν καταστέλλοντος ἀνθρωπίνην προσπάθειαν.—Epist. Episcop., Conc. Constant. I. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1150, D.]

<sup>k</sup> [Conc. Eph., A. D. 431. Pars iii. c. 14. Concilia, tom. iii. col. 1578, B, C.]

<sup>l</sup> [Ibid., c. 45. col. 1730, B, sqq.]

<sup>m</sup> [μηδεὶς οὖν κληρικὸς, ἢ γοῦν στρατευόμενος, ἢ γοῦν ἑτέρας αἰρέσεως οἰασθῆποτε, περὶ τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν πίστεως, δημοσίᾳ συναγομένων ὄχλων καὶ

ἀκροωμένων, εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς διαλέξεις ποιῆσαι τολμάτω, ταραχὰς ἐκ τούτου καὶ κακοδοξίας προφάσεις ἐπινοῶν’ τῇ κρίσει γὰρ ὕβριν ποιεῖ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου, ὅστις ἂν τὰ ἅπαξ κριθέντα, καὶ ὀρθῶς τυπωθέντα, πάλιν ἀνακυλλεῖν ἐκ διαλέξεως, καὶ δημοσιεῖν φιλονεικοίη’ ὁπότε τὰ νῦν περὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστεως ὀρισθέντα κατὰ τὰς τῶν τιῆ. διδασκαλίας, καὶ τῶν νν. τυπωθέντα γινώσκειται’ οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐλλείψει τιμωρία κατὰ τῶν καταφρονούντων τοῦ νόμου.—Edictum Valentiniani et Marciani, ap. Conc. Chalced. part. iii. c. 3. Concilia, tom. iv. col. 1781, B, C. See col. 1785, C.]

things which have been now by our command established concerning the Christian faith by the bishops who assembled at Chalcedon, are known to have been determined according to the apostolic explications and institutions of the three hundred and eighteen holy fathers in the city of Nice, and of the hundred and fifty in this royal city. For the despisers of this law shall not fail of punishment.”

The fifth general council begged confirmation of its decrees from the Emperor Justinian<sup>n</sup>: and indeed those holy fathers address themselves to that prince in the same form, when they beg this of him, in which the bishops of the second general council applied themselves to the Emperor Theodosius on the like occasion: so much did they approve of the modesty of their predecessors, which we commended a little above. And these are the general councils which fall in with those times of which we are now speaking.

IV. *There lay an appeal in those times from the sentences of councils to a greater council or to the prince.*

To set the truth in a clear light concerning the right of appeals observed in the ancient Church, I shall not think much to go something back towards the original of the thing. You must know therefore that the ancient fathers did so attend [to] the government of the several flocks peculiarly committed to their charge, that they thought the care of the universal flock did likewise in some measure belong to them: for which reason St. Cyprian, St. Athanasius, St. Basil, and other persons of the same dignity, did not confine their care within the bounds of the particular Churches intrusted to them, but through the fervour of their piety, and desire of unity, extended it to the universal Church of God. St. Chrysostom in his Eucomium of St. Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, shews this very plainly, writing thus<sup>o</sup>: “He was perfectly well taught by the grace of the Spirit, that a

<sup>n</sup> [See above, p. 177, n.—Concilio Quinisext. λόγος προσφωνητικός, αρ. Concilia, tom. vii. col. 1340, C.]

<sup>o</sup> [καὶ γὰρ ἦν πεπαιδευμένος καλῶς παρὰ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος χάριτος, ὅτι τὸν ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτα οὐκ ἐκέινης μόνης κήδεσθαι δεῖ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κειμένης· καὶ

ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐμάνθανεν εὐχῶν. εἰ γὰρ τὰς εὐχὰς ποιεῖσθαι δεῖ, φησιν, ὑπὲρ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἕως περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης, πολλῶ μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης αὐτῆς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι δεῖ, καὶ ὁμοίως ἀπασῶν κήδεσθαι, καὶ μεριμνᾶν πάσας.—S. Chrys. Hom. in S. Eustathium, § 3. Op., tom. ii. p. 607, B.]



governor of the Church ought to take care not only of the particular Church which is committed to him by the Spirit, but also of the universal Church, which is dispersed over the whole world: and this he learned from our holy prayers: for if we must pray for the universal Church, which is extended from one end of the earth to the other, much more ought we to look to the salvation of all, to take care in like manner of all, and to be solicitous and concerned for all." There is a like encomium of St. Athanasius in a certain epistle in St. Basil<sup>p</sup>: "It is sufficient," says he, "for most of the other bishops, if each of them diligently take care of that Church which properly belongs to him: this does not satisfy you; but there lies upon you as great a care and solicitude for all the Churches as for that which was peculiarly committed to your charge by our common Lord." Therefore also he styles St. Athanasius<sup>q</sup> *κορυφήν τῶν ὅλων*, "the head of the whole Church." In another epistle he owns the same father to be the universal physician of the diseases of the Church. His words are<sup>r</sup>, *Σὲ ἰατρόν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀρρώστημάτων ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἐταμιεύσατο*, "Our Lord has constituted thee the physician of the infirmities in the Churches." For which reason Gregory Nazianzen also writes of St. Athanasius<sup>s</sup>, that he, when he was made bishop of Alexandria, *πιστευθῆναι τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης πάσης προστάσιαν*, "was intrusted with the prefecture of all the world." And the same father describes St. Cyprian and St. Athanasius<sup>t</sup> just as if they had been certain general bishops of all the Churches: nor this only for that reason, because they of whom we speak were bishops of the largest dioceses: for though, as St. Augustine speaking of deacons observes<sup>u</sup>, the magnificence of the see did very much contribute to the prerogative of dignity; yet in those things which are proper to

<sup>p</sup> [*τῶν μὲν ἄλλων τοῖς πλείστοις ἐξαρκεῖ, τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστον περισκοπεῖν σοὶ δὲ, οὐχ ἱκανὸν τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἢ μέριμνά σοι πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοσαύτη, ὅση καὶ τῆς ἰδίως παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ δεσπότου ἡμῶν ἐμπιστευθείσης ἐπίκειται.*—S. Basil, Epist. lxi. (al. lii.) ad Athanasium, Op., tom. iii. p. 161, D, E.]

<sup>q</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, p. 162, A.]

<sup>r</sup> [Id., Epist. lxxxii. ad Athanasium,

*ibid.*, p. 175, B.]

<sup>s</sup> [*τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ προεδρίαν πιστεύεται, ταυτὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν, τῆς οἰκουμένης πάσης ἐπιστάσιαν.*—S. Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. § 7. Op., tom. i. p. 389, D.]

<sup>t</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, et Orat. xxiv. § 12. *ibid.*, p. 445, B.]

<sup>u</sup> [De jactantia Romanorum Levitarum.—Pseudo-August. *Questiones ex utroque Testamento*; ap. S. Aug. Op., tom. iii. App. col. 92, G.]

the episcopal office, they were reputed "to be of the same merit and partakers of the same priesthood," as St. Jerome writes in his Epistle to Evagrius<sup>x</sup>. Nor does any thing more seem to be meant by those bishops, of whom St. Athanasius<sup>y</sup> in his second Apology<sup>1</sup> says that they paid the same honour to all bishops, and did not measure their esteem for them by the greatness of their sees. Therefore the bishops of the lesser cities, as well as the metropolitans, judged that expression to belong to them which is read in the sixth book and fourteenth chapter of the Clementine Constitutions<sup>z</sup>, concerning all bishops in common, that they τὴν καθόλου ἐπισκοπὴν πιστευθήναι, "are intrusted with the inspection of the whole," as if they were each of them after a certain manner universal bishop of the whole Church. The author of the Epistle which is ascribed to Pope Eleutherius says<sup>a</sup>, "For the sake of this thing the universal Church was<sup>2</sup> committed to your care by Christ Jesus, that you should labour for all, and not neglect to bring help to all." Sidonius Apollinaris in his sixth book, writing to Lupus bishop of Troyes in Champagne, says<sup>b</sup>: "Blessed be the Holy Spirit, and the Father of (Christ) the Almighty God, that you a father of fathers, and bishop of bishops, and another St. James of your age, do, as from a certain watch-tower of charity<sup>c</sup>, and not from the lower Jerusalem, oversee all the members of the Church of our God; worthy to comfort all the infirm, and to be deservedly consulted by all." And the reason which persuaded the ancient fathers of this is, that the universal Church spread over the whole world is only one, its body but one, its head but one,

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<sup>1</sup> ["Apology  
against the  
Arians."]

<sup>2</sup> ["has  
been."]

<sup>x</sup> [Ubicunque fuerit episcopus sive Romæ sive Eugubii, &c. . . ejusdem meriti, ejusdem est et sacerdotii.—S. Hieron. Epist. cxlvi. ad Evangelum (al. ad Evagrium) Op., tom. i. col. 1076, D.]

<sup>y</sup> [εἰ οὖν ἀληθῶς ἴσῃν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡγήσθε τιμὴν τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν πόλεων, ὡς γράφετε, κρίνετε τοὺς ἐπισκόπους, κ. τ. λ.—S. Athan. Apol. Cont. Arian. Op., tom. i. p. 145, A.]

<sup>z</sup> [Const. Apost., lib. vi. c. 14. ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 389, B.]

<sup>a</sup> [Hujus rei gratia universalis vobis a Christo Jesu commissa est Ecclesia, ut pro omnibus laboretis, et cunctis

opem ferre non negligatis.—Epist. (Spuria) Eleutherii papæ, ad Galliæ provincias ad fin.; ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 597, B, C.]

<sup>b</sup> [Benedictus Spiritus Sanctus, et Pater Dei Omnipotentis, quod tu pater patrum, et episcopus episcoporum, et alter sæculi tui Jacobus, de quadam specula charitatis, nec de inferiore Jerusalem, tota Ecclesiæ Dei nostri membra superinspicis; dignus qui omnes consoleris infirmos, quique merito ab omnibus consularis.—Sidonii Apollinaris, lib. vi. Epist. 1. ad Lupum papam, ap. Biblioth. Patrum, Galland., tom. x. p. 513, A.]

<sup>c</sup> De quadam specula charitatis.

Jesus Christ, therefore also the episcopacy but one, though expanded as it were into many branches. St. Cyprian, in his tract *de Unitate Ecclesiæ*, says<sup>d</sup>, “Let no man deceive the brotherhood by a lie; let no man corrupt the truth of the faith by a perfidious prevarication;” *episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*; “the episcopacy is but one, part of which each bishop shares, so as to have a right in the whole;” for *in solidum tenere* signifies “to hold by a plenary right,” and *ὀλοκλήρως*, “as heir of all,” not by way of deputation from any other lord upon earth, nor as joint-bishop with any other: for of one Church there can be but one bishop, as the canons direct<sup>e</sup>, and as the same father proves in so many places. Also in his epistle to Pope Stephen he says<sup>f</sup>: “Though we are many shepherds, yet we feed but one flock, and are obliged to gather together, and to cherish all the sheep which Christ has purchased with His blood and passion.” St. Cyprian alludes to St. Paul’s words in the 20th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, ver. 28, “Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost has made you overseers, to feed the Church of God, which He has purchased with His own blood.” Again St. Cyprian in his divine treatise *de Unitate Ecclesiæ*, says<sup>g</sup>, “We ought firmly to hold and defend the unity of the Church, especially we who are bishops, and preside in the Church, that we may prove the episcopacy itself also to be one and undivided.” Whoever considers this will at the same time understand the true cause of many orders and institutions of the ancient Church, out of the vast multitude of which it may suffice to have here mentioned a few before we come to explain the rights of appeals.

The fathers therefore were accustomed to send an account to the other bishops of all matters of any importance, which they had done or determined in their Churches or provinces.

<sup>d</sup> [Nemo fraternitatem mendacio fallat, nemo fidei veritatem perfida prævaricatione corrumpat. Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.—S. Cypr. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, Op., p. 195.]

<sup>e</sup> [See above, vol. ii. pp. 390, 391.]

<sup>f</sup> [Etsi pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, et oves universas quas Christus sanguine suo et

passione quæsit colligere et fovere debemus.—Id., Epist. lxxvii. ad Stephanum, p. 116.]

<sup>g</sup> [Unitatem, firmiter tenere et vindicare debemus, maxime episcopi, qui in ecclesia præsidemus, ut episcopatum quoque ipsum unum atque indivisum probemus.—Id., de Unitate Ecclesiæ, p. 195.]

As for instance, the council of Africa had decreed not to receive the lapsed to peace till after a long penance. Afterwards when they were threatened with a persecution, they thought fit to alter this sentence. St. Cyprian gives an account of this to Pope Cornelius in a letter<sup>h</sup>, in which he also explains at large the reasons for calling a council; not as an inferior giving an account to his superior, but out of Christian charity for the preservation of unity. For which reason the same father elsewhere gives this account, why he writes with so much solicitude to the Roman clergy concerning the supplication of the lapsed, and the immodest demands of the confessors<sup>i</sup>; “Both common charity, most dear brethren, and reason requires, that we should not conceal from you any of these things which are done among us; but take common counsel together concerning the interest of the ecclesiastical administration.” And the Roman clergy in answer to his epistle ingenuously profess that St. Cyprian did not do this because obliged thereto upon the account of subjection, but from the affection of charity<sup>k</sup>: “It is no wonder, brother Cyprian, that you do this, who according to your modesty and natural industry did not so much desire that we should be judges as partakers of your counsels, that we might share with you in the praise of your actions, while we approve them; and be partners of your counsels because we assent to them.”

From this custom the use of synodical epistles came, of which something was said above. Alexander, bishop of Alexandria<sup>z</sup>, in the beginning of his circular letter, which he writ to all the bishops, after he had condemned Arius in a provincial synod, explains the cause of this custom thus<sup>l</sup>: “Seeing the body of the Catholic Church is one, and we are

<sup>h</sup> [Id., Epist. liv. ad Cornelium, de pace lapsis danda; Op., p. 77.]

<sup>i</sup> [Et dilectio communis et ratio exposcit, fratres carissimi, nihil conscientia vestra subtrahere de his quæ apud nos geruntur, ut sit nobis circa utilitatem ecclesiasticæ administrationis commune concilium.—Id., Epist. xxix. (al. xxxv.) ad presbyteros et diaconos Romæ consistentes, p. 39.]

<sup>k</sup> [Quod te, frater Cypriane, facere non mirum est, qui pro tua verecundia et ingenia industria consiliorum tuo-

rum nos non tam iudices voluisti quam participes inveniri, ut in tuis rebus gestis laudem tecum, dum illas probamus, inveniremus, et tuorum consiliorum bonorum coheredes, quia et affirmatores, esse possimus.—Epist. xxxi. (Cleri Romani ad Cyprianum), ap. S. Cypr. Op., p. 42.]

<sup>l</sup> [ένός σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, έντολῆς τε οὐσης έν ταῖς θέλαις γραφαῖς, τηρεῖν τόν σύνδεσμον τῆς δημοσίας καί εἰρήνης, ἀκολουθόν έστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς, καί σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις τὰ



obliged by the tradition and command of holy Scripture to hold the bond of concord and peace; it is fit we should converse with one another by letters, and give each other an account what things are done by every one of us, that whether any of the members suffer or rejoice, we also among ourselves may suffer or rejoice with them." They were wont also in the creation of bishops both sometimes to send their suffrages, and when it was over, to declare the new bishop by congratulatory letters. Thus St. Cyprian by his own authority, and that of the other bishops of Africa, approves of the election of Pope Cornelius in his forty-second Epistle according to Pamclius's edition<sup>m</sup>. And they who were promoted to episcopal sees, signified their vocation by circular letters, written to all the bishops, or at least to those of the principal sees, which letters contained the profession of their faith. There are many letters of that kind extant to this day, especially of the bishops of Rome and Constantinople<sup>n</sup>, performing this office mutually to each other. But it appears from St. Cyprian, whose Epistles are a vast treasure of ecclesiastical antiquity, that letters were used to be sent to the Churches beyond the seas, even concerning the ordinations of inferior ministers in the Church, to wit, of presbyters, readers, deacons, and sub-deacons<sup>o</sup>. And sometimes also they mutually admonished, exhorted, and reprov'd one another. Thus St. Cyprian comforts Pope Cornelius, and exhorts him to despise the threats of the heretics<sup>p</sup>. But in his sixty-eighth Epistle he gives his opinion very freely concerning Pope Stephen, on whom through his neglect Basilides had imposed unawares<sup>q</sup>; which he does also upon another occasion in a very severe manner in his Epistles to <sup>r</sup>Quirinus<sup>r</sup> and Pompeius<sup>s</sup>. But the same Pope Stephen is yet much more vehemently accused by Firmilianus,

<sup>1</sup> [Quintus.]

παρ' ἑκάστοις γινόμενα· ἵνα εἴτε πάσχει, εἴτε χαίρει ἐν μέλος, ἢ συμπάσχωμεν, ἢ συγχαίρωμεν ἀλλήλοις.—Epist. Synod. Alexandri, ap. Concil, tom. ii. col. 149, D, E.]

<sup>m</sup> [S. Cypri. Epist. xlii. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 56. ed. Ben.]

<sup>n</sup> Romæ Veteris et Novæ.

<sup>o</sup> [See S. Cypri. Epist. xxiv., xxxiii. —xxxv.]

<sup>p</sup> [S. Cypri. Epist. lvii. ad Cornelium; in exilio de ejus confessione, Op., p. 94.]

<sup>q</sup> [Id., Epist. lxxviii. ad clerum et plebes in Hispania consistentes, de Basilide et Martiale, p. 119.]

<sup>r</sup> [Id., Epist. lxxi. ad Quintum, *ibid.*, p. 126.]

<sup>s</sup> [Id., Epist. lxxiv. ad Pompeium, *ibid.*, p. 138.]

bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, in those letters which he writ to St. Cyprian †; and which though they defended a cause that the Church afterwards did not approve, yet afford nevertheless a certain argument of what we have asserted. Thus when the African council held about the year 407 understood that there was a disagreement between Pope Innocent and Theophilus patriarch of Alexandria, they made no doubt but it was part of their duty to admonish the patriarchs of the east and west †: “It was resolved,” says the canon, “that a letter should be written to the holy Pope Innocent, that both Churches might preserve that peace with each other which the Lord has commanded.” And to how many bishops over the whole world the bishops of Rome have performed the same office cannot but be very well known to every one. They were wont also with impunity to institute priests and other clergymen in the districts of other bishops, how much soever by the ordinary canon law *αἱ ὑπερόριοι χειροτονίαι*, “ordinations in other dioceses” were forbid: as we see in the thirty-fifth Apostolic Canon<sup>x</sup>. Yet pious bishops are often read to have done that, not out of any ambition, but by virtue of that universal episcopacy above mentioned: and it appears that this has been done especially in the exigency of the Church. Theodoret, in his fourth book, chap. xiii., gives us this relation concerning Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, that great champion of Christ, when the Emperor Valens made havoc of the Church<sup>y</sup>: “Eusebius understanding that many Churches were de-

† [Firmiliani episcopi Cæsareæ Cappadociæ ad Cyprianum contra epistolam Stephani, Epist. lxxv. ap. S. Cypr. Op., p. 142. This is the only letter of Firmilianus; the cause which he maintained was that persons baptized by heretics ought to be rebaptized on their admission into the Catholic Church.]

‡ [Placuit etiam ut de dissensione Romanæ atque Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ ad sanctum papam Innocentium scribatur, quo utraque ecclesiæ intra se pacem, quam præcepit Dominus, teneat.—Ecclesiæ Africanæ Canon cī. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1333, D; see Concil. Africanum IV. (A.D. 407.) *ibid.*, tom. iii. col. 101.]

<sup>x</sup> [ἐπίσκοπον μὴ τολμᾶν ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὄρων χειροτονίας ποιεῖσθαι εἰς τὰς

μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτῷ πόλεις καὶ χώρας. εἰ δὲ ἐλεγχθῆι τούτο πεποιηκῶς παρὰ τὴν τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας ἢ τὰς χώρας γνώμην, καθαιρεῖσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς, καὶ οὓς ἐχειροτόνησεν.—Apost. Canon xxxiv. (al. xxxv.) ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 32, C, D.]

<sup>y</sup> [οὗτος γὰρ (Εὐσέβιος) πολλὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐρήμους εἶναι ποιμένων μαθῶν, στρατιωτικὸν ἀμπεχόμενος σχῆμα, καὶ τινὰ καλύπτων τὴν κεφαλὴν, τὴν Συρίαν περιήει, καὶ τὴν Φοινικίην καὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην, πρεσβυτέρους χειροτονῶν καὶ διακόνοισι, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τάγματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀναπληρῶν· εἰ δὲ ποτε καὶ ἐπισκόπων ὁμογνωμόνων ἐπέτυχε, καὶ προέδρους ταῖς δεομέναις ἐκκλησίαις προβάλλετο.—Theodoret, Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. c. 14. p. 164.]

prived of their pastors, clothing himself in the habit of a soldier, and putting a turban upon his head, went over all the countries of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, to ordain priests and deacons, and perform other ecclesiastical offices among them. And if at any time he happened to meet with bishops, who agreed in doctrine with him, he set them over those Churches that wanted pastors." Ruffinus says of Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari, who in the times of the Emperor Constantius was an exile in Asia<sup>z</sup>: "Lucifer with a fixed mind goes to Antioch, where the parties still disagreeing, yet not without hopes of being united, if they might have such a bishop chosen for them, as not only one but both parts of the people should like, he makes haste to constitute Paulinus their bishop, an orthodox and holy man, and in all things worthy of the sacred order." In like manner Hosius bishop of Corduba, Gregory Nyssen, Eusebius bishop of Vercelli, and Epiphanius bishop of Salamina in the island of Cyprus, and other great men, while upon divers occasions they passed through different provinces, redressed their grievances as far as they could, confirmed the true faith, and solemnized ordinations. And as often as new heresies or schisms arose, if they were neglected by the nearest neighbouring bishops, or such who lived at no great distance, yet they were by no means neglected by such as dwelt afar off, who would not place their hope of the Church's safety in the diligence of others, and be unconcerned spectators themselves. Thus St. Cyprian<sup>a</sup> sent Caldonius and Fortunatus from Carthage to Rome, to compose the schism; again when Cornelius was bishop of that see, the same father sent Mettius a sub-deacon to Rome, to reclaim the confessors seduced there by the wickedness of Novatianus and Novatus<sup>b</sup>, and bring them back to their mother, that is, to the Catholic Church, from which they had departed: and the same man of God, when

<sup>z</sup> [(Lucifer) intento animo Antiochiam pergît, ibique dissentientibus adhuc partibus, sed in unum tamen revocari posse sperantibus, si sibi talis eligeretur episcopus, erga quem non una plebs, sed utraque gauderet, præproperus catholicum quidem et sanctum virum, ac per omnia dignum sacer-

dotio Paulinum episcopum collocavit. —Ruffini Presb. Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 27. Opusc., p. 211.]

<sup>a</sup> [S. Cypr. Epist. xlii. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 56.]

<sup>b</sup> [Id., Epist. xlv. ad Confessores Romanos ut ad unitatem redeant. (vid. Epist. xliii. ad Cornelium,) p. 58.]

he understood that Martianus bishop of Arles had joined himself to Novatianus, wrote gravely to Pope Stephen, and shewed him in a brotherly manner what was necessary to be done. "It is," says he<sup>c</sup>, "most dear brother, our duty to take care of and remedy that matter, who considering the divine clemency, and holding the balance of Church government, do [so] denounce a vigorous censure against sinners," &c. And presently after<sup>d</sup>: "Wherefore you ought to write most fully to those, who are our fellow-bishops in France, that they do not any longer suffer our episcopal college to be insulted by Martianus, an obstinate and proud man, and an enemy to piety towards God, and to the salvation of his brethren." So also St. Hilary<sup>e</sup>, that light of the Gallican Church, when he knew that Auxentius an Arian sat in the see of Milan, hastened thither, and endeavoured with all his might to expel that pestilent heretic. St. Basil tells us of St. Athanasius<sup>f</sup>, that he "never gave over, sometimes in person, sometimes by letters, and often by his legates, endeavouring to reclaim all the Churches every where" to soundness of mind, and to concord and unity. And that the same St. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, did particularly at Antioch appease very great tumults by his authority, is both asserted by St. Basil<sup>g</sup>, and confirmed by the history of the Church. By the same right also St. Cyril<sup>h</sup>, knowing that Nestorius patriarch of Constantinople was sowing certain blasphemous doctrines against the nature of Christ, and the honour of the blessed Virgin, the true Mother of God, not minding the prætor's interdict for the regulating of bounds, sets himself to oppose him, at first with more mildness, but afterwards with all manner of freedom and courage: and not

<sup>c</sup> [Cui rei nostrum est consulere et subvenire, frater carissime, qui divinam clementiam cogitantes et gubernandæ ecclesiæ libram tenentes sic censuram vigoris peccatoribus exhibemus, ut tamen, &c.—Id., Epist. lxxvii. ad Stephanum, p. 115.]

<sup>d</sup> [Quapropter facere te oportet plenissimas litteras ad coepiscopos nostros in Galliis constitutos, ne ultra Marcianum pervicacem et superbum et divinæ pietatis ac fraternæ salutis inimicum collegio nostro insultare patiantur.—Id., *ibid.*]

<sup>e</sup> [See S. Hilarii Pictav. Lib. contra Auxentium, Op., col. 1263, sqq.]

<sup>f</sup> [ὅς γε οὐδένα χρόνον διαλείπει διαλεγόμενος, ρουθετῶν, ἐπιστέλλων, ἐκπέμπων τινὰς ἐκάστοτε τοὺς ὑποτιθεμένους τὰ βέλτιστα.—S. Basil. Epist. xlix. ad Athanasium, Op., tom. iii. p. 161, E.]

<sup>g</sup> [Id., Epist. lxxvi. ad Athanasium, *ibid.*, p. 159, D, sqq.; et Epist. cexv. ad Terentium, p. 321, C, sqq.]

<sup>h</sup> [See Epistola S. Cyrilli, ap. Conc. Ephes. pars i. c. 2—12. Concilia, tom. iii. col. 586, sqq.]



APPENDIX.  
NO. VI.

long after invites Celestine, archbishop of Rome, to share with him in the same praise<sup>i</sup>. Lastly, in the dissensions of Churches, the greater any one's authority was, and the more he abounded in divine graces, the more he concerned himself in the affairs even of the most remote Churches: nor was that in those times a matter of envy to any one, but rather of the greatest glory with all men. So much nearer at that time was the administration of the Church to a certain most beautiful aristocracy, than to that absolute and new invented monarchy, which afterwards began to be brought in. Therefore Nestorius himself is forced to commend his enemy St. Cyril on that account, although he would not reap any benefit from his pious admonition. His words are these<sup>k</sup>: *Τῆς δέ γε τῶν σκανδαλιζομένων φροντίδος καλῶς ποιεῖς ἀντεχόμενος, καὶ χάρις τῇ τῶν θείων μεριμνητικῇ σου ψυχῇ, καὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν φροντιζούσῃ.* By which words he commends the care of St. Cyril, in consulting the peace of the Church, by removing offences, and gives him thanks for expressing so much concern for the Church of Constantinople, over which Nestorius himself presided.

These things were necessary to be premised, that we might be able to understand what rights of appeals there were in the ancient Church. For because it was known to all, that whatever broke the unity or disturbed the quiet of the universal Church, did equally belong to the care of all the bishops; therefore they, who in their own province, whether justly or unjustly, had suffered a sentence of condemnation, often fled to the bishops of other provinces, to implore their help. Again, because amongst all the Churches the Roman was the most eminent upon many accounts, many therefore betook themselves to Rome, that by the favour and authority of the bishop of that see they might recover their episcopal thrones, if they had been deposed from them, and if suspended from communion might be restored to it. So formerly Marcion in Helenopontus, which was the native country of that monster, being excommunicated by his father, says Epiphanius<sup>l</sup>, that is, by the bishop of Sinope,

<sup>i</sup> [Ibid., c. 14. col. 889.]

878. C.]

<sup>k</sup> [Epist. Nestorii ad S. Cyrillum, ap. Conc. Ephes. pars i. c. 9, ibid., col.

<sup>l</sup> [See below, p. 205.]

as I suppose, not able to bear this reproach among his own people, went to Rome: so afterwards Felix and Fortunatus in Africa<sup>m</sup>, cut off from the Church by St. Cyprian's spiritual sword, go to the same place. In like manner also St. Athanasius, St. John Chrysostom, Flavianus of Constantinople, the monks of Scythia, and others in the east<sup>n</sup>, being evil entreated, did either in person, or by their procurators, seek the pope's help. Therefore they who pretend<sup>o</sup> that such instances as these are certain testimonies of appeals to the bishop of Rome, will be of another mind, if they will consider what we have been hitherto saying concerning the care of the universal Church, which was of old common to all bishops; and will yield to truth: for although the see of Rome excelled in a certain prerogative of honour, and therefore by its favour and authority was able to do something more than any one of those other Churches, even which had most power: yet if the right be considered, it was no more the custom in those first ages to appeal to Rome, than to Alexandria, or Carthage, or Milan, or any where else; from whence in a like case it is manifest help was sought. For Privatus<sup>p</sup> a heretic being condemned in the colony of Lambesca in Africa, came to Carthage, to plead his cause there; Novatianus<sup>q</sup> a Roman presbyter being excommunicated by a council at Rome, petitioned to be received into communion by the African Churches, and that of Alexandria; the Scythian monks being refused communion by the patriarch of Constantinople, to make way for their re-admission sent two messages into the west<sup>r</sup>, one into Italy to Pope Hormisda, and the rest of the Italian bishops; the other to the prelates of the African Churches. St. John Chrysostom himself, whose example is used to be so much urged, did in his exile with the same ink write letters upon the same subject<sup>s</sup> to Innocent bishop of Rome, and Venerius bishop of Milan, and Chromatius bishop of Aquileia. For indeed it is an old observation,

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<sup>m</sup> [See below, p. 207.]

<sup>n</sup> [See below, pp. 211, sqq.]

<sup>o</sup> [Bellarminus de Summo Pont., lib. ii. c. 21. Op., tom. i. p. 331.]

<sup>p</sup> [See below, p. 203.]

<sup>q</sup> [See *ibid.*] ]

<sup>r</sup> [See Baronius, ann. 519. num. 99, 111.] ]

<sup>s</sup> [ἐγράφη δὲ αὐτῆ καὶ πρὸς Βενέριον ἐπίσκοπον Μεδιολάνου, καὶ Χρωμάτιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀκυληγίας.—S. Joan. Chrys. ad Innocentium Papam. Epist. ap. Pallad. Vit., Op., tom. xiii. p. 9, E. See Epist. clv. ad Chromatium, Op., tom. iii. p. 189, E. Epist. clxxxii. ad Venerium, *ibid.*, p. 702, D.] ]

and the naked truth of the matter stood thus of old: they who had been condemned by an episcopal sentence, in order to get themselves restored, made use either of the ordinary canon law, or of that which was extraordinary. The ordinary law was, that there should be an appeal from a less assembly to a greater: now the greatest ecclesiastical assembly is a general council: but before Constantine there neither ever was any such council, nor is there any instance of an appeal to such a one: for which reason neither in those which are called the Apostolical Canons, nor in the Clementine Constitutions, where there are so many things concerning ecclesiastical and episcopal decisions, is there any mention of a general council, any more than of appeals to the see of Rome. And yet it is manifest, that even in those times controversies were used to be referred from a less assembly to a greater. St. Cyprian upon the approach of a persecution, did in the cause of the lapsed, communicating his purpose to a few, determine to receive them into the Church. Afterwards many disapproving the thing, as soon as the Church had rest and tranquillity, and they had liberty to meet together, he assembled a great number of bishops, and proposed this question to be debated by them. And when neither by that means the scrupulous minds of many were satisfied, St. Cyprian of his own accord, being the most rigid observer of ecclesiastical discipline, brought the matter to be controverted anew by a yet more numerous meeting of bishops: for he writes thus to Antonianus his accuser<sup>t</sup>: “If the number of bishops in Africa seemed not sufficient, we wrote also upon this subject to our colleague Cornelius, who also himself assembling a council of many provincial bishops, with like judgment and wholesome moderation, agreed with us in the same opinion.” And the same thing is also manifest from the repeated condemnation of Jovinus and Maximus, of which we shall speak presently<sup>u</sup>.

But farther, there was so much rigour in the discipline of

<sup>t</sup> [Si minus sufficiens episcoporum in Africa numerus videbatur, etiam Romam super hac re scripsimus ad Cornelium collegam nostrum; qui et ipse cum plurimis cœpiscopis habito

concilio, in eandem nobiscum sententiam pari gravitate et salubri moderatione consensit. — S. Cypr. Epist. lii. ad Antonianum, Op., p. 67.]

<sup>u</sup> [See below, p. 203.]

those times, that he who was excommunicated by the sentence of his bishop, with the consent of the presbytery, was as much banished from all the Churches of the whole world as if that sentence had been pronounced against him by any general council; for to such a one no admission was given into any Church whatever without communicatory letters, and those letters could be had only from that bishop from whom he had received the sentence of excommunication, and from no mortal besides. For if any one, despising this practice, admitted to communion in his Church one that was excommunicated elsewhere, he was so far from hereby absolving the guilty person, that he actually involved himself in the same sentence of excommunication. Read the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth apostolic canons<sup>x</sup>, and also the thirty-second<sup>y</sup> and the thirty-third<sup>z</sup>, together with what Zonaras and Balsamon write upon them<sup>a</sup>. By this means that rule of St. Cyprian was necessarily observed, that<sup>b</sup> “every one’s cause was heard there where the crime had been committed.” From whence also, by a like necessity, it followed that there was no occasion for appeals to judges without the province. And this was the ordinary law when the strict observance of those canons was required.

They who conspired with more obstinacy against the discipline of the Church, sought for assistance wherever they could find it against the authors of their condemnation. But we read of none that in those first ages made use of

<sup>x</sup> [εἰ τις ἀκοινωνήτω, κἄν ἐν οἴκῳ, συνεύξηται, οὗτος ἀφοριζέσθω.—Apost. Canon. x. Concilia, tom. i. col. 28, B.]

εἰ τις καθηρημένῳ κληρικῷ ὡν ὡς κληρικῷ συνεύξηται, καθαιρέσθω καὶ αὐτός.—Apost. Canon. xi. *ibid.*

εἰ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφωρισμένος, ἦτοι ἄδεκτος, ἀπελθὼν ἐν ἑτέρῳ πύλει, δεχθῆ ἄνευ γραμμῶν συστατικῶν, ἀφοριζέσθω καὶ ὁ δεξιόμενος καὶ ὁ δεχθείς. εἰ δὲ ἀφωρισμένος εἴη, ἐπιτινεσθῶ αὐτῷ ὁ ἀφωρισμὸς, ὡς ψευσαμένος καὶ ἀπατήσαντι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.—Apost. Canon. xii. *ibid.*]

<sup>y</sup> [εἰ τις πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος ἀπὸ ἐπισκόπου γένηται ἀφωρισμένος, τοῦτον μὴ ἐξείναι παρ’ ἑτέρου δεχέσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἢ παρὰ τοῦ ἀφορισάντος αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ ἂν κατὰ συγκυρίαν τελευταίῃ ὁ ἀφορισίας αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπος.—Apost. Canon. xxxi. (al. xxxii.) *ibid.* col. 32, A, B.]

<sup>z</sup> [μηδένα τῶν ξένων ἐπισκόπων, ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων ἄνευ συστατικῶν προσδέχεσθαι καὶ ἐπιφερομένων αὐτῶν, ἀνακρινέσθωσαν. καὶ εἰ μὲν ὄσι κήρυκες τῆς εὐσεβείας, προσδέχεσθωσαν. εἰ δὲ μήγε, τὴν χρεῖαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιχορηγήσαντες, εἰς κοινωνίαν αὐτοῦς μὴ προσδέξῃσθε. πολλὰ γὰρ κατὰ συναρπαγὴν γίνεταί.—Apost. Canon. xxxii. (al. xxxiii.) *ibid.*, B.]

<sup>a</sup> [Canones SS. Apost. Conciliorum, &c., commentariis amplissimis Theodori Balsamonis, pp. 238, 247. Par. 1620. Joannis Zonaræ in Canones SS. Apost., &c., Commentarii, pp. 6, 16. Par. 1618; et ap. Bevereg. Pandect. Canonum, pp. 7, 8, 21, 22.]

<sup>b</sup> [Uniuscujusque causa illic audiat ubi est crimen commissum.—S. Cvnr. Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 86.]



this extraordinary means; or if any, yet very few, and those for the most part heretics. St. Cyprian tells us that it was the constant custom of the ancient heretics and schismatics, that after they were thrown out of the Church by their own bishop, they went "from door to door, and from town to town, seeking such as would communicate with them:" and that for two ends, for they both longed to spread their poison as far as they could, and most of them desired to return to the communion of the Catholic Church. Hence that running up and down of such sort of men, and frequent sending of messengers out of their own province. These are St. Cyprian's words in his forty-first Epistle concerning those sent by Novatianus to the African bishops<sup>c</sup>; "And lest their audacious madness should ever stop, here also they endeavour to draw aside the members of Christ to join in their schism, and to divide and tear in sunder the one body of the Catholic Church; that running about from door to door through the houses of many, or from town to town through certain cities, they may seek to themselves companions of their obstinacy and schismatical error." Writing to the same Cornelius in his forty-ninth Epistle, he says<sup>d</sup>, "By your letters I both understood myself and have begun to instruct and acquaint others, that Euaristus, who was just now a bishop, does not enjoy so much as lay communion<sup>e</sup>, being banished both from his see and people, and wandering in exile from the Church of God through other far distant provinces, and having himself made shipwreck of the truth and faith, endeavours to procure like shipwrecks among certain others like himself." But these wretches coming without communicatory letters, the pious bishops ordered them to be sent away, as St. Cyprian also in those two Epistles assures us he did himself<sup>f</sup>. Nor did they only drive

<sup>c</sup> [Ac ne eorum furens audacia unquam desisteret, hic quoque in schismatis partes Christi membra distrahere et catholicæ ecclesiæ corpus scindere ac laniare nituntur, ut ostiatim per multorum domos, vel oppidatim per quasdam civitates discurrerent obstinationis suæ et erroris sui sibi quærant comites.—S. Cypr. Epist. xli. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 55.]

<sup>d</sup> [Quibus (sc. vestris literis) et didi-

mus, et docere atque instruere cæteros cæpimus, Evaristum de episcopo jam nec laicum remansisse, cathedræ et plebis extorrem, et de ecclesia Christi exsulem, per alias longe provincias oberare, et ipsum veritatis ac fidei naufragum factum, circa quosdam sui similes paria naufragia concitare.—Id., Epist. xlix. ad Cornelium, p. 63.]

<sup>e</sup> Nec laicum remansisse.

<sup>f</sup> [A communicatione eos nostra sta-

from their communion such as were cut off from communion elsewhere, but they also gave notice of them in their letters. The same great writer in his fifty-fifth Epistle says<sup>g</sup>, “When Privatus, an old heretic, condemned by the sentence of ninety bishops in the colony of Lambesca, now several years ago, for many grievous crimes, and severely animadverted upon in the letters of my predecessors Fabianus and Donatus, professed himself desirous to plead his cause before me in a council which I held on the 15th of May last, he was not admitted.” Yet sometimes they were not wholly rejected who came without communicatory letters, but their cause was re-heard, especially when the first sentence had been pronounced but by a few. We have an instance of this in the same Epistle<sup>h</sup>; for says Tertullian’s disciple, a greater man than his master, “There were also present, as companions to Privatus the heretic, Jovinus and Maximus, who had been condemned for abominable sacrifices and crimes proved against them by the sentence of nine bishops my colleagues, and again excommunicated by more in council with me last year.” Although the rigid observance of the canons required that they who did not exhibit their own bishop’s communicatory letters should immediately be driven away without hearing them; yet because they complained of the paucity of their judges, St. Cyprian condescended so far as to allow their cause a re-hearing in a more numerous assembly. This was lawful for St. Cyprian and the other bishops, according to the Christian liberty which the Churches then enjoyed, and also by the right of an universal care, or, as it is in the Clementine Constitutions<sup>i</sup>, τῶς

tim cohibendos esse censuimus.—Id., Ep. xli. p. 55. Communicatione prohiberi pro certo tenebat.—Id., Ep. xlix. p. 64.]

<sup>g</sup> [Per Felicianum autem significavi tibi, frater, venisse Carthaginem Privatum veterem hæreticum in Lambesitana colonia ante multos fere annos ob multa et gravia delicta nonaginta episcoporum sententia condemnatum, antecessorum etiam nostrorum, quod et vestram conscientiam non latet Fabiani et Donati litteris severissime notatum; qui cum causam suam apud nos in concilio quod habuimus idibus Maii, quæ

proximæ fuerunt, agere velle se diceret, nec admissus esset, Fortunatum istum sibi pseudoepiscopum dignum collegio suo fecit.—Id., Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, p. 84.]

<sup>h</sup> [Sed et Jovinus et Maximus comites cum Privato probato hæretico affuerunt, ob nefanda sacrificia et crimina in se probata sententia novem episcoporum collegarum nostrorum condemnati, et iterato quoque a pluribus nobis anno priorie in concilio abstenti.—Id., *ibid.*]

<sup>i</sup> [Const. Apost., lib. vi. c. 13; quoted above, p. 191.]

καθ' ὅλου ἐπισκοπῆς, of a general episcopacy, which we spake of above. By which right also the prelates of those times did sometimes take upon them, if any bishop in another province was said to think amiss concerning the faith, not altogether to reject such an accusation, but to think it very much belonged to them. Therefore Dionysius, bishop of Rome, when he was informed by the Pentapolitans that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, had wrong sentiments concerning the nature of Christ, and published them in his writings, did not neglect this accusation, though no more than a false calumny, as the event shewed, but at the same time undertook the defence of the true doctrine, and wrote a confutation of the false, and debated the matter by letters with him who had been accused, as St. Athanasius informs us, who has wrote that history at large<sup>k</sup>.

But farther, those heretics who had suffered sentence of condemnation, and run up and down the neighbouring provinces in vain, that they might the more easily deceive, went to those farther off; therefore most of them repaired to Rome. St. Cyprian, in his fifty-fifth Epistle to Pope Cornelius, says<sup>l</sup>: “To conclude, because they know their own conscience, they neither dare to come to us, nor approach the threshold of the Church, but wander up and down abroad through the provinces, to circumvent and make spoil of the brethren; and being now sufficiently known to all, and every where excluded for their impieties, they also sail thither to you.” Who doubts but it was of old the common endeavour of all heretics and schismatics, that (what St. Cyril in two places writes of Nestorius<sup>m</sup>) they might be able with regard to the Church of Rome, *συναρπάσαι*, that is, by stealth to reconcile her to themselves, and draw her over to their party? For they could not by any more compendious method come to the communion of the other Churches, than by shewing that

<sup>k</sup> [S. Athan. de Sententia Dionysii, § 13. Op., tom. i. p. 252. Cf. § 25, 26, pp. 230, 232.]

<sup>l</sup> [Denique quia conscientiam suam norunt, nec nos audent adire aut ad ecclesiæ limen accedere, sed foris per provinciam circumveniendis fratribus et spoliandis pererrant, et omnibus jam satis noti, atque undique pro suis faci-

noribus exclusi, illuc etiam ad vos navigant.—S. Cypr. Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 87.]

<sup>m</sup> [S. Cyrilli Epist. ad Joan. Antioch. Op., tom. vi. p. 43, A, et ap. Conc. Ephes. pars i. c. 21. Concilia, tom. iii. col. 928, E; Id., Epist. ad Juvenalem, Op., ibid. p. 66, D., et ap. Conc., ibid. c. 24, col. 936, D.]



they had obtained communicatory letters from that of Rome, whose faith was the most known, and her authority the greatest. With this design there went formerly to Rome, or (as St. Cyprian says) endeavoured “fraudulently”<sup>n</sup> and by stealth to procure letters from the bishop of that see, Cerdon out of Syria, Marcion from Pontus, Valentinus out of Egypt, Basilides and Martialis from Spain; and out of Africa, Priratus, Felicissimus, Fortunatus, Novatus, and many others. And in imitation of these a great many more in latter times. But a wide difference is to be made between the design of these wretched persons, and the cause of some most holy men, as St. Athanasius, St. John Chrysostom, and a few such like, whom history relates to have, in their adversity, sought to Rome for relief from their troubles. But that neither those former nor these latter, when they came to Rome themselves, or sent their procurators thither, did appeal to the bishop of Rome, I will shew in a few words, and afterwards speak of the right, and last of all of the advantage or danger of this right.

I pass over Cerdon and Valentinus, because no one (that I know of) so much as of the modern writers has said that they appealed to Rome. Marcion does in Cardinal Bellarmine stand in the front of the catalogue of such as have appealed to the pope<sup>o</sup>. But neither Irenæus<sup>p</sup> nor Tertullian<sup>q</sup>, who mention his coming to Rome, say this, nor indeed Epiphanius, the only author quoted by the cardinal. From whence therefore has he this fact? Epiphanius’s relation is this<sup>r</sup>: Marcion being expelled communion in his own country by his bishop, by many prayers *αἰτήσας μετάνοιαν*, “having sued for peace,” could not bend the mind of the pious and circumspect old man: hereupon not bearing the scoffs of his countrymen he went to Rome, and because by the death of Hyginus the see was then vacant, he applied himself to the

<sup>n</sup> [Hic execrandus qui fraudulenter obrepit.—S. Cyr. Ep. lxxviii. de Basilide, &c.; Op., p. 119 &c.]

<sup>o</sup> [Bellarmin. De Summo Pontifice, lib. ii. c. 21. Op., tom. i. p. 331.]

<sup>p</sup> [See S. Iren. cont. Hæer., lib. iii. c. 4. § 3. p. 178.]

<sup>q</sup> [See Tertull. de Præscr. Hæret., c. 30. Op., p. 212, C.]

<sup>r</sup> [ἐξεούται τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ τοῦ

ἰδίου πατρὸς . . . πολλὰ δῆθεν ὁ Μαρκίων καθικετεύσας, καὶ αἰτήσας μετάνοιαν, οὐκ εἴληφε παρὰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς . . . ὡς τοίνυν οὐκ ἔτυχε παρ’ αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς κολακείας ὧν ἐδέετο, μὴ φέρων τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν χλεύην, ἀποδιδράσκει τῆς πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς, καὶ ἄνεισιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην αὐτὴν, μετὰ τὸ τελευτήσαι Ἐργίνον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον Ῥώμης . . . καὶ τοῖς ἔτι πρεσβύταις περιούσι, καὶ ἀπὸ



presbyters of the Roman clergy, and desired of them *συναχθῆναι*, “to be admitted to the holy communion.” They unanimously rejected his petition. Upon this Marcion began to rage, and joined himself to Cerdon; and when, being admonished of his error, he transferred the blame upon the Roman presbyters, and said, “Why would not you receive me?” the pious presbyters answered, “Because we cannot do this without the permission of your venerable father; (so they called his bishop;) for there is one faith, one consent of all; nor is it lawful for us to oppose your father, our colleague and fellow priest.” What is here, I beseech you, that can afford even the lightest suspicion of an appeal? For to appeal is to remove a cause from a less power to a greater. But the Romans expressly deny that he can be loosed by them, who had been bound by another; and this they had right to deny; for it is a canon of the ancient discipline, the twelfth among those called apostolical<sup>s</sup>; “If any clergyman or layman excommunicated or suspended from communion, going into another city, be received without communicatory letters, let both him be excommunicated who is received, and him by whom he is received.” Nor was there any exception added to this canon, concerning any privilege on this account indulged to the see of Rome: therefore here is no greater power, and consequently no appeal. But you will say, Marcion desires to be received by the Romans; which was to reverse the sentence before given; therefore Marcion believed, and commonly all were then persuaded, that the reversal of episcopal and synodical sentences was to be sought for from Rome. Ridiculous! I have already said, and proved it from St. Cyprian<sup>t</sup>, that this was the custom of heretics and schismatics, that when expelled their own, they rambled to the neighbouring Churches. What therefore did they seek from them? No

τῶν μαθητῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁρμώμενοι συμβάλλων, ἤτιε συναχθῆναι, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ συγκεκριήρηκε· ζήλω λοιπὸν ἐπαρθεὶς, ὡς οὐκ ἀπειλήφε τὴν προεδρίαν τε καὶ τὴν εἰσδυσιν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας, ἐπινοεῖ ἑαυτῷ καὶ προσφεύγει τῇ τοῦ ἀπατεῶνος· Κέρδανος αἰρέσει· . . . τοῦτο οὖν φανερῶς αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε· τί μὴ ἠθελήσατέ με ὑποδέξασθαι; τῶν δὲ λεγόντων, ὅτι οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ

τιμίου πατρὸς σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ πίστις, καὶ μία ὁμολογία, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, πατρὶ δὲ σῶ, κ.τ.λ.—S. Epiph. Hær. xlii. Op., tom. i. p. 302, C, D; p. 303, A, C, D.]

<sup>s</sup> [Can. Apost. xii. Concilia, tom. i. col. 28, B; quoted above, p. 201, note x.]

<sup>t</sup> [See above, p. 202.]

man in his wits will deny, that they sought that communion and peace with them which they had lost among their own countrymen: for in those times the belief of the unity of the Catholic Church was so thoroughly rooted in the minds of the faithful, that as he that was separated from one Church, was banished from all; so he that was joined with one, had access to all by the commerce of letters communicatory. This occasioned that running up and down of those that were excommunicated. So that if desiring the communion of the Church of Rome is appealing to Rome, then they appealed likewise to all other Churches. Had we not better say, what all that have any insight into history know to be most true? For because nothing was wont to be done in this matter by authority, but ἀγαπητικῶς, as the Greek fathers are used to speak, that is, out of the duty of Christian charity; therefore there was no appeal, nor any inequality of power for that purpose. Besides that the clergy of Rome, in the vacancy of the see, had also a right of giving communicatory letters, they themselves shew in that letter which they wrote to St. Cyprian, where they make mention of Privatus of Lambesca<sup>u</sup>.

Next to Marcion Cardinal Bellarmine produces Fortunatus and Felix<sup>x</sup>, “who being deposed in Africa by St. Cyprian, went to Rome, and appealed to Cornelius.” This, he says, he has from St. Cyprian, in his third Epistle, which in Pamelius’s edition is the fifty-fifth<sup>y</sup>. St. Cyprian, good Sir, does not say in that place, either that Felix or Fortunatus went to Rome: but that Felicissimus was sent to Rome, with many others, by Fortunatus, an intruding or mock-bishop<sup>z</sup>, and ring-leader of sedition in Africa; with whom Felix another intruding bishop took part. That he appealed to the bishop of Rome, is neither said by St. Cyprian, nor is it true. A schism arising in Africa, those two bishops were made, partly by Privatus an old heretic, partly by a few others, followers of the same heresy. When after the

<sup>u</sup> [Presbyteri et diaconi Romæ consistentes ad Cyprianum; Epist. xxx. ap. S. Cypr. Op., p. 41.]

<sup>x</sup> [Anno 252, Pontifice Cornelio, Fortunatus et Felix in Africa a Cypriano depositi Romam navigaverunt atque ad Cornelium appellaverunt; testis Cy-

prianus, lib. i. Epist. 3. (ed. Erasm.) Bellarminus de Summo Pont., lib. ii. c. 21. Op., tom. i. p. 331.]

<sup>y</sup> [See S. Cypr. Epist. iv. ad Cornelium, de Fortunato et Felicissimo, sive contra Hæreticos, p. 79. ed. Ben.]

<sup>z</sup> Pseudo-episcopo.—[Ibid., p. 83.]

example of St. Cyprian, and others who were of his opinion, the rest of the African bishops also had, as it were striving who should do it first, pronounced these Church-robbers<sup>a</sup> or usurpers, to be aliens from the Church; and they had without success sued for admission to communion from city to city through the provinces of Africa; that they might uphold their sinking faction, many daily returning and knocking (as St. Cyprian says) at the Church-door, they sent Felicissimus to Rome, with most ample letters from a few intruding bishops, whom they falsely pretended to be the Catholic Church of Africa. It was said above, that it was the custom of the ancient Church, that they who were promoted to bishoprics sent letters to the other bishops, thereby to procure other letters back from them, by which it might appear that they were of the same communion: for by this means they were said to confirm the new election, who wrote to the new bishops even from the most remote countries. Thus St. Cyprian and the rest of the African bishops<sup>b</sup> approve the creation of Pope Cornelius. There is no doubt, but the letters which Felicissimus, procurator of the intruding bishops, brought to Rome, were upon that subject; for that was like to be the most effectual method to deceive the people of Africa. Therefore that they might bring communicatory letters from Cornelius, they did not only make use of entreaties, which Cornelius immediately rejected; but they also applied menaces and terrors, which almost conquered the Roman bishop; but when he was staggering, St. Cyprian made him steady by that divine fifty-fifth Epistle. But because Felicissimus with great clamour boasted at Rome, that he was prepared to prove that himself and his adherents had been without cause excommunicated by the Catholics in Africa, and therefore desired that his cause might have a re-hearing at Rome; St. Cyprian says a great deal concerning the injustice of that request, to dissuade Cornelius, who was inclining that way, from a sentence like to be prejudicial to the liberty of all the Churches. Great part of that Epistle is employed in proving, that the faith and discipline of the Church are

<sup>a</sup> Prædones Ecclesiæ.<sup>b</sup> [Id., Epp. xlii. xlv. pp. 56, 59.]



ruined, if the episcopal dignity be not inviolably preserved, "if it be not thought that in Christ's stead there is but one bishop and one judge at a time in a Church<sup>c</sup>." But St. Cyprian speaks of himself, and of all bishops in common, who each of them held then several Churches, as bishops of the whole; and does not speak of the bishop of Rome, as some falsely and absurdly write. On the contrary, in that place St. Cyprian does to Pope Cornelius defend his own right, and that of the rest of the African bishops, against Cornelius himself. Did Felicissimus therefore appeal to Pope Cornelius, or they who sent him to Rome? By no means: but by the custom of those times above mentioned, they brought their complaint of an injury, as they thought, received from their bishops, first to the African bishops, and then to the bishop of Rome; by equal right to both. But St. Cyprian, who could not bear that Cornelius, a holy man, should use a little more authority in that matter than seemed to agree with Christian charity, in that he so severely rebukes him in the aforesaid Epistle, and puts him in the same rank with others, does with one trouble inform us of two things; that neither in those former times there was any thing of that nature usually done in the Church of God; and that it ought not to appear wonderful to any one, that in latter times things have happened far more grievous. For new examples never stop there, where they first begun: the proof of which was not long deferred, as will appear from what I shall presently add:

For Cardinal Bellarmine goes on and says<sup>d</sup>, "Not long after, Stephen being pope, Basilides, who was deposed in Spain, appealed to Stephen." Basilides and Martialis were deposed in Spain for very great crimes. But Martialis staying at home, Basilides goes to Rome, where he obtains of Pope Stephen communicatory letters both for himself and for Martialis. Upon his return to Spain both Martialis and he recovered their sees. Yet I deny that it can be said that they appealed to the pope of Rome; they only used what I

<sup>c</sup> Unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, &c. . . . judex vice Christi.— [Ibid., p. 82; quoted vol. ii. p. 326, u; see also p. 80, quoted *ibid.*, p. 325, q.]

<sup>d</sup> [Non diu post, Stephano Pontifice,

Basilides in Hispania depositus, ad Stephanum appellavit. Cyprianus, lib. i. Epist. iv. (lxviii. ed. Ben.)—Bellarminus de Romano Pont., lib. ii. c. 21. Op., tom. i. p. 331, C, D.]



have frequently mentioned to have been the custom of the ancient Church, when they sought for themselves that help from the bishop of Rome which without doubt they had in vain expected from the bishops of the neighbouring provinces. But Stephen performed the office of an intercessor, or rather of a witness, but not of a judge exercising a superior authority upon his brethren, and assuming dominion over them. It is a most certain and clear argument of this, and almost palpable in a literal sense, that as Basilides and Martialis guarded themselves with the authority of the bishop of Rome against their colleagues in Spain, by whom they had been expelled from their sees, so their colleagues armed themselves against the sentence of the bishop of Rome with the judgment of St. Cyprian and of the African bishops. If Stephen had pronounced sentence in behalf of the excommunicate by the authority of a supreme judge, and that right was ascribed to the bishop of Rome in that age, what did the authors of the former sentence mean, when after the return of Basilides they brought the whole business before the bishops of Africa, and consulted them upon it? St. Cyprian in his sixty-eighth Epistle says<sup>e</sup>, “When we were met together we read your letters, most beloved brethren.” And then having related the facts he adds, “And you desired that we should write you an answer to these things, and ease your just and necessary trouble, either with the comfort or with the assistance of our sentence.” Then he discusses the question, and shews them from the divine precepts what ought to be done. Last of all, he thus in a few words explains what was to be judged concerning Stephen’s proceeding<sup>f</sup>: “Nor can he rescind an ordinance rightly made, because Basilides, after having discovered his crimes, and laid open his conscience even by his own confession, going to Rome, imposed upon Stephen our

<sup>e</sup> [Cum in unum convenissemus legimus literas vestras, fratres dilectissimi, &c. . . . Et desiderastis rescribi ad hæc vobis, et justam pariter ac necessariam sollicitudinem vestram vel solatio vel auxilio nostræ sententiæ sublevari.—S. Cypri. Epist. lxxviii. ad clerum et plebes in Hispania consistentes, de Basilide et Martiale, Op., p. 117.]

<sup>f</sup> [Nec rescindere ordinationem jure perfectam potest, quod Basilides post crimina sua detecta et conscientiam etiam propria confessione nudatam, Romanam pergens Stephanum collegam nostrum longe positum et gestæ rei ac veritatis ignarum fefellit, ut exambiret reponi se injuste in episcopatum de quo fuerat jure depositus.—Ibid., p. 119.]

colleague, placed at a distance, and a stranger to the matter of fact and to the truth, which was concealed from him, and prevailed with him to restore him unjustly to his bishopric, from which he had been justly deposed." Even this alone, that with so little difficulty and with so few words St. Cyprian reverses the sentence of Stephen, whether he do this by his own authority alone, or with the advice of a few colleagues whom he consulted in this matter; even this alone, I say, affords no contemptible argument for the truth: for if those prelates had believed that the pope had then been lawfully appealed to as to a supreme tribunal, can it be thought they would have dared to reverse the sentence of an unaccountable<sup>1</sup> judge in so light and negligent a manner? But you will say they reversed a false sentence, and one which had been passed by a mistake; if it had been otherwise, that they would have agreed and acquiesced in the judgment of the bishop of Rome. I do not deny it; but readily confess that such was the simplicity of that golden age that men of their own accord complied with such as advised them well, though persons of the meanest condition, much more with the bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter and St. Paul, as well in their doctrines as in their throne. Yet this I say, and affirm it again and again, that those monarchical commands were in that age unheard of in the Church of God, which was hitherto free, and subject to no other lord but Christ. Therefore there was no sovereign tribunal at Rome, nor any appeal to the court of Rome.

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<sup>1</sup> [ἀνυπευ-  
θύνου.  
Casaub.]

Thus far the right of appeals to the see of Rome has been defended by the examples of heretics and schismatics, whose doctrine it is not usual to propose in the Church for proof, nor their practice for imitation. But after these Cardinal Bellarmine gives us examples of some few holy men<sup>2</sup>: of the great St. Athanasius, who appealed to Pope Julius I.; of St. John Chrysostom, who appealed to Innocent I.; of Flavianus, bishop of Constantinople, who appealed to Pope Leo; lastly, even of Theodoret, who also appealed to Leo. But here I desire the reader who desires to know the truth, to think it is his interest not to be ignorant how truly and how appositely these facts are alleged, but to understand

<sup>2</sup> [Bellarminus de Romano Pont., lib. ii. c. 21. Op., tom. i. p. 331, C, D.]

and know them thoroughly. Indeed I will not deny, but rather most readily acknowledge, that for a few ages past there have been men of great authority, who, to maintain the right of all appeals to the see of Rome, have produced examples of so great heroes, and maintained that they ought to be a rule to all good Christians. But to this I have these two answers. 1st. I utterly deny that these holy men did appeal to the pope of Rome; 2ndly. I positively assert that whatever they did, when compelled by necessity, that is wrongfully and absurdly alleged in proof of the ordinary right. But the reader must remember that I speak here concerning a true appeal, that is, an appeal taken according to the propriety of the word; for it is a great mistake to give the name of an appeal to every petition for help made by a person that has suffered injury, whereas that only is a true appeal which is made according to the laws by ordinary right, and which is made from a less power to a greater. But where the power is either none, or equal and the same, that is not appealing, but flying for refuge. And he that is appealed to, how much soever he may excel in authority, unless the arbitration of the matter be left to him by both parties, only does the office of an intercessor, and not of a judge. The humanity of the Athenians was of old so much celebrated among the Grecians, that many who had been oppressed by the injury of such as were too powerful for them, fled from all the parts of Greece to the altar of mercy set up at Athens, as to a common refuge. The Heraclidæ, the Argivi, the children of Hippocrates, and a thousand others found help and assistance there. Yet if any one had said, either at Lacedæmon, or at Thebes, or among the people of Megara, who dwelt in that neighbourhood, that men appealed to the Athenians from all parts of Greece, without doubt he would not have escaped unpunished: but rather, so jealous were that people of their liberty, would have been in great danger of being torn to pieces by those that heard him, or certainly would have been condemned of the most stupid ignorance, for not knowing how to distinguish between the rule of right and the offices of humanity. Thus whereas among the people of the Jews it was by divine institution allowed for manslayers to fly to certain cities of



refuge, it were a madness therefore to affirm that there lay an appeal to those cities. In a word, it is one thing to procure an intercessor against an angry father, or to desire the assistance of a friend against an enemy, and to leave the judgment of the cause to him; and another, to appeal from the unjust sentence of an inferior judge to that of the prætor, or from the prætor to the prince. That St. Athanasius therefore, and St. Chrysostom, Flavianus, and other holy men implored the assistance of the popes against manifest violence, I readily acknowledge; and I own and willingly declare, that the Church of Rome cannot be sufficiently commended upon that account; that she hath by the same means both defended the true faith against the mad opinions of Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and other ancient heretics; and reached forth her hand to the relief of faithful bishops suffering for the same cause; but I assert that it is improper and dangerous to call that an appeal, which was no more than suing for help, seeing that, as we have already observed, there is no appeal properly so called, but to a greater power. Therefore when St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, and Flavianus submitted their sees to the decrees of councils, he that says they appealed to another council, says what is true, and agreeable to the ancients: for as yet that age owned no superior power in ecclesiastical affairs, but that of a greater council, or perhaps of the prince, of which I shall speak hereafter. But if you say that they appealed to the patriarch of Antioch, or of Jerusalem, or to the pope of Rome, you speak either falsely or improperly: falsely, if you mean a true appeal: but improperly, if you speak only of a petition for help. There are many things extant of their own writing, concerning the cases of St. Athanasius and St. John Chrysostom: but I deny that there can so much as one passage be produced out of them, where they have said that they appealed to Rome. I deny likewise that either Socrates, or Theodoret, or Sozomen ever used the word of appealing in that affair. For the historians say nothing else of St. Athanasius, but that he went to Rome to consult his safety; nor any thing more of St. Chrysostom, than this, that he sent letters to Innocent, and the bishops of the west, in which he informed them of the injury he had suffered, and

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desired their help and assistance. I have shewed in the beginning of this disquisition<sup>b</sup>, that the ancient bishops had so great a regard for the unity of the Church, that each of them thought, that in some sort the care of the universal Church belonged to him : and this was the reason that an injury offered to any one of them concerned them all. Therefore although the Apostolic Canons<sup>i</sup>, and those of the council of Nice<sup>k</sup>, and many others required, that all controversies should be determined in those provinces in which they first arose ; yet as often as any one was not able to obtain a fair hearing in his own proper ecclesiastical court, the cause was removed to any other bishops, or rather the arbitration of the matter submitted to them ; nor did they decline the trouble of it, who were applied to in any such case : yet what they did was by no other right than that of the universal episcopacy, which I have explained above, and of Christian charity, the cement that compacted them all together, and made them one body. Thus Sozomen in his eighth book relates<sup>l</sup>, that Ammonius and Isidore sought relief from St. John Chrysostom, patriarch of Constantinople, against the injuries done them by Theophilus, patriarch of Alexandria. Was there a right therefore of appealing from the patriarch of Alexandria to the patriarch of Constantinople ? By no means, but the offices of humanity are very different from, and of more extent than the observance of strict right. By what right therefore did they apply themselves to St. Chrysostom ? This question is thus satisfied by the words of Sozomen's relation of the fact<sup>m</sup> ; *ᾠοντο γὰρ ἐνδίκου παρῤῥησίας αὐτὸν ἐπιμελούμενον, δύνασθαι τὰ δίκαια*

<sup>b</sup> [See above, pp. 189, sqq.]

<sup>i</sup> [See above, p. 201, notes x, y, z.]

<sup>k</sup> [περὶ τῶν ἀκοινωνήτων γενομένων, εἶτε τῶν ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ, εἶτε ἐν λαϊκῷ τάγματι, ὑπὸ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων, κρατέτω ἡ γνώμη κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορευόντα, τοὺς ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἀποβληθέντας, ὑφ' ἐτέρων μὴ προσεσθαι. ἐξεταξέσθω δὲ, μὴ μικροψυχία, ἢ φιλονεικία, ἢ τιμι τοιαύτη ἀηδία τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀποσυνάγωγι γεγένηται. ἴνα οὖν τοῦτο τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνη, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἐκάστου ἐνωιωτοῦ καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δις τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι ἴνα κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ

συναγομένων, τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐξετάζοιτο καλ οὕτως οἱ ὁμολογουμένως προσκερουκότες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κατὰ λόγον ἀκοινωνητοὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν εἶναι δόξωσι, μέχρῃς ἂν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπισκόπων δόξῃ τὴν φιλανθρωποτέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκθέσθαι ψήφον.—Con. Nicæn. Can. v. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 36, A.]

<sup>l</sup> [οἱ περὶ Διδόκωρον καὶ Ἀμμώνιον . . . ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Ἰσιδώρος. κοινῇ τε ἐσπούδαζον, παρὰ βασιλεῖ κριτῇ καὶ Ἰωάννῃ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἐλέγχεσθαι τὰς κατ' αὐτοῖν ἐπιβουλὰς.—Sozom., Eccl. Hist., lib. viii. c. 13. tom. ii. p. 342.]

<sup>m</sup> [Id., ibid.]

βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς: “for they thought,” says he, “that St. John Chrysostom, through his concern for preserving lawful liberty, could give them help in a just cause.” The learned writer calls that care to procure the advantage of the universal Church ἐπιμέλεια ἐνδίκου παρῤῥησίας, common to all bishops: for παρῤῥησία ἐνδικος is that lawful right of taking care, which (as has been often observed) is in the Clementine Constitutions styled ἡ καθόλου ἐπισκοπή<sup>n</sup>, “the inspection and oversight of the whole.” And thus Socrates plainly speaks in his second book<sup>o</sup>, when he calls that letter of Pope Julius, which he writ to St. Athanasius and the other bishops in exile, that they might be restored to their sees, παρῤῥησιαστικὰ γράμματα, “a letter wrote with that liberty,” which belongs to every bishop, but especially to the prelate of the chief see. If any one had rather refer it to the liberty of the Church, it is all one; for then will be meant that care which the pastors ought to have, to preserve the liberty of every one of the faithful, especially of the ecclesiastics, as these were; that the weaker be not oppressed by the stronger, as Ammonius and Isidore complained had happened to them. Afterwards Sozomen adds<sup>p</sup>, that St. John Chrysostom “wrote to Theophilus, to receive those fugitives into communion, because they were orthodox in the faith. If he thought their cause was to be reheard, that he would send τὸν δικασόμενον, that is, “somebody to begin the process against them.” For St. Chrysostom takes upon him the part of a judge by the same right that he afterwards, when condemned by a faction, brought the judgment of his cause before Innocent, and other bishops. In that Epistle of St. Chrysostom to Pope Innocent, the ordinary right is excellently distinguished from the extraordinary: for he says of Theophilus, and of himself<sup>q</sup>; “But we being absent, and desiring to assemble a council, and earnestly praying for judgment, not declining the hearing of

<sup>n</sup> [Const. Apost., lib. vi. c. 14. Concilia, tom. i. col. 389, B. See above, p. 191, note z.]

<sup>o</sup> [Socrates, Eccl. Hist., lib. ii. c. 15. p. 92.]

<sup>p</sup> [Ἐγραψε δὲ Θεοφίλῳ, κοινωνίαν αὐτοῖς ἀποδοῦναι ὡς ὀρθῶς περὶ Θεοῦ δοξάζουσιν. εἰ δὲ δίκη δέοι κρίνεσθαι τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς, ἀποστέλλειν ὃν αὐτῷ δοκεῖ δικα-

σόμενον.—Sozomen. Hist. Eccl., lib. viii. c. 13. p. 343.]

<sup>q</sup> [ἀλλὰ ἀπόντων ἡμῶν καὶ σύνοδον ἐπικαλουμένων, καὶ κρίσιν ἐπιζητούντων, καὶ οὐκ ἀκράσιν φευγόντων, ἀλλ' ἀπέχθειαν φανεράν, καὶ κατηγοροῦς ἐδέχετο, κ. τ. λ.—S. Chrys. Epist. ad Innocentium, Op., tom. iii. p. 517, C.]

our cause, but only complaining of injuries, they yet admitted our accusers." And soon after<sup>r</sup>: "Getting," says he, "on board a ship, I sailed by night, because I was willing to call a council for the hearing of that cause." And a little below<sup>s</sup>: "Going in to the emperor we begged that he would call a council to revenge their wickedness." And presently<sup>t</sup>: "We trusting in our own conscience urged the most pious emperor to assemble a council." And after a few words<sup>u</sup>: "We continued incessantly requesting that there might be a trial, in which we might be heard and judged." This was the true discipline of those times. A synod maliciously deposes the patriarch: he against a synod of his enemies appeals to another synod, namely to a greater, or even to a general council: here is not one word of the pope of Rome. But when St. Chrysostom's lawful petition was despised, and all things carried by violence, nor any place left for ecclesiastical discipline: then at last the holy man is forced to use an extraordinary right, and beg help from his brethren. Hence those letters of his to the eastern and western bishops, but especially to Innocent, bishop of Rome, as prelate of the chief see, and of the chief authority. Therefore after he had said so expressly, and repeated it so often, that he being willing to make use of a canonical way of proceeding, did appeal to a council, but without success: at length declaring the injuries that had been done to him, and to other pious bishops<sup>x</sup>; "therefore," says he, "my most holy and reverend lords, do ye, thinking on these things, apply that authority and care which is suitable and worthy of your stancy; and avert, we beseech you, this great calamity, which has invaded the Churches." And then he desires that they would exert a vigorous censure upon his adversaries; and if it should be

<sup>r</sup> [εἰς πλοῖον ἐνεβαλλόμεν, καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ἔπλεον, ἐπειδὴ σύνοδον πρὸς δικαίαν ἀκρόασιν προεκαλούμεν. — Id., *ibid.*, D.]

<sup>s</sup> [εἰσιόντες παρεκαλοῦμεν τὸν θεοφιλέστατον βασιλέα, σύνοδον συναγαγεῖν εἰς ἐκδικίαν τῶν γεγενημένων. — Id. *ibid.*, p. 518, A.]

<sup>t</sup> [ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐδὲ οὕτως ἔστημεν, δ' αὖ τὸ τῷ συνειδότητι θαρρῆν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ, τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν παρακαλοῦντες τὸν εὐσεβέστατον βασιλέα. — Id., *ibid.*, B.]

<sup>u</sup> [ἐπεκέιμεθα ἀξιούντες δικαστήριον γενέσθαι κατὰ πῆσιν καὶ ἀποκρισιν. — Id., *ibid.*, C.]

<sup>x</sup> [μαθόντες τοίνυν ἅπαντα, κύριοί μου τιμιώτατοι καὶ εὐλαβέστατοι, τὴν προσήκουσαν ὑμῖν ἀνδρείαν καὶ σπουδὴν ἐπίδειξασθε, ὥστε παρανομίαν τοσαύτην ἐπισελοῦσαν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναστῆλαι. — S. Chrys. *ibid.*, p. 520, A. et ap. Palladii vitam S. Chrys., Op., tom. xiii. p. 9.]



necessary, undertake the hearing of his cause: and by this means the cognizance of the cause between St. Chrysostom and Theophilus was brought before Pope Innocent and the western bishops; and that (as you see) by the complaint of St. Chrysostom himself.

In the cause of St. Athanasius it happened a little otherwise: for both parties invited Pope Julius to bring the hearing of that cause before himself. After the fall of St. Athanasius a synod of pious bishops was convened, who wrote a synodical letter to all the bishops of the whole world, and also sent legates to the more considerable Churches, to shew the innocence of St. Athanasius to them all, and exhort them universally to espouse his cause. This letter, says St. Athanasius in his Apology<sup>1</sup> for his flying away<sup>v</sup>, was sent "both to all the other bishops, and to Julius, bishop of Rome." So that by writing that letter the synod did as it were sound an alarm against St. Athanasius' enemies; and at the same time constituted judges of his cause all the bishops who were in a condition to help him. Afterwards were added the prayers, not only of St. Athanasius, when he was come into the city, but also of the other bishops, who were likewise in exile there; and these were men of great authority and reputation, viz., Paul, patriarch of Constantinople, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza. But that the other party also brought the cause before Julius, St. Athanasius shews, and the historians from him. These are that father's words in the same book<sup>2</sup>: "Moreover the Eusebians also wrote a letter to Julius; and because they thought they should strike terror into us, they desired a synod might be convened, and that Julius himself, if he pleased, might be made judge of their cause." This letter of Eusebius' faction seems to have come to Rome before St. Athanasius got thither, or the holy synod's epistle was delivered to Julius: for Theodoret writes thus: Julius having received Eusebius's letter<sup>a</sup>, τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπόμενος νόμῳ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> [Apology against the Arians.]

<sup>v</sup> [ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πρὸς πάντας, καὶ πρὸς Ἰούλιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ῥώμης.—S. Athan. Apol. cont. Arianos, § 20. Op., tom. i. p. 140, B.]

λιον ἔγραψαν, καὶ νομίζοντες ἡμῶς ἐκφοβεῖν, ἤξίωσαν σύνοδον καλεῖσαι, καὶ αὐτὸν Ἰούλιον, εἰ βούλοιντο, κριτὴν γενέσθαι.—Id., ibid.]

<sup>a</sup> [Theodoret. Eccl. Hist., lib. ii. c. 4. tom. iii. p. 71.]

<sup>2</sup> [καὶ οἱ περὶ Εὐσεβίου δὲ πρὸς Ἰού-



αὐτοὺς καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὸν θεῖον Ἀθανάσιον εἰς τὴν δίκην ἐκάλεσε, “according to the direction of the ecclesiastical law commanded the Eusebians themselves to come to Rome, and called the divine Athanasius to plead his cause.” What ecclesiastical law does Theodoret mean in this place? No written law certainly; but either that custom, which was mentioned above, when we spoke of the confirmation of synods: or he thus calls an unwritten custom, confirmed by the use of the Church, which in any disagreement among the Churches appointed as judge of the controversy any bishop to whom one party had appealed, if the other party were not unwilling, as was proved above. But that this honour was chiefly given to the patriarchal sees, is worthy of belief, and of all most especially to the bishop of Rome, who had always some chief prerogative of dignity among his brethren. Therefore Sozomen<sup>b</sup> and Socrates<sup>c</sup> intimate, that on this occasion Pope Julius made mention of the privileges of the Roman see, which yet the historians inform us<sup>d</sup> were hissed at by the eastern bishops: but I have shewn that there was another more weighty cause, which gave him right to interpose his authority in this affair, and especially that synodical Epistle, a copy of which we have in St. Athanasius, and which (as the title shews) was sent<sup>e</sup> τοῖς ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόποις, “to all the bishops of the Catholic Church wheresoever.”

And now, candid reader, you understand how much injury they do to Pope Julius and Pope Innocent, who assert that they did, contrary to the custom of the Church, of their own heads, and relying solely on their own authority, assume to themselves the cognizance of the causes of St. Athanasius and St. Chrysostom.

It remains that I speak of Flavianus. This illustrious person was in the second council of Ephesus, by the contrivance of Dioscorus bishop of Alexandria, who presided over that conventicle of robbers<sup>1</sup> (as it was called), deprived both of his see by deposition, and also by blows, of his life<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> [Latrocinium.]

<sup>b</sup> [Sozomen. Hist. Eccl., lib. iii. c. 10. p. 105. See above, p. 185.]

<sup>c</sup> [Socrates, Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. 17. p. 96. See above, *ibid.*]

<sup>d</sup> [Sozomen, *ibid.*]

<sup>e</sup> [S. Athan. Apol. cont. Arianos.

§ 3. Op., tom. i. p. 125.]

<sup>f</sup> Vide Evagr. Scholast. Hist. Eccl., [lib. ii.] c. 18. p. 309, 321. Edit. Valès. [ed. Par. 1673. et pp. 310, 313. ed. Cantab., 1720.]

Liberatus writes thus concerning him (*in Breviario Causæ Nest.*<sup>g</sup>) “Flavianus, when sentence was pronounced against him, by his legates<sup>1</sup> appealed in writing to the apostolic see.” From what has been hitherto said upon the like cases of St. Athanasius and St. Chrysostom, it appears that Liberatus spoke both after a new manner, because they did not use to speak so before him, as has been proved; and also improperly, because Flavianus did not appeal to the bishop of Rome only, but barely interposed an appeal: for the Acts of the synod express it thus, after the sentence was pronounced against Flavianus, then<sup>h</sup> “Flavianus said, I appeal from thee.” Which most short form of appeal ought by all means to be interpreted by the common law of that time. Now I have observed that it was the common law that men should appeal from one synod to another; or if that hope failed, that help should be sought from the bishops of the more powerful Churches. There is no doubt but this was what Flavianus meant: but it happened at that time, that even the orthodox bishops yielding to impious violence, and subscribing his condemnation, there were but a few who behaved themselves like men: among these were the legates of Pope Leo, men of exceeding piety and great courage, Hilarus, who was afterwards pope, and Renuatus; and as Flavianus interposed his appeal, so did Hilarus his protest. Say the Acts of the council<sup>i</sup>, “Hilarus deacon of the Church of Rome said, it is gainsaid.” Therefore Flavianus despairing of his cause, delivered him an appeal in writing, namely, to that end, that when he returned to Leo, he might excite him to cause by his authority, that so great a wickedness should not go unpunished. That this was Liberatus’ meaning, such as have any knowledge in the ecclesiastical history of those times will not deny, if they be careful not to postpone the naked truth to their own prejudices. It is without cause, that Cardinal Baronius<sup>k</sup> does, on occasion of this one

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<sup>g</sup> [Flavianus autem, contra se prolata sententia, per ejus legatos sedem apostolicam appellavit libello.—Liberat. Diac. in Breviario Causæ Nest., cap. xii. ap. Biblioth. Patr. Galland., tom. xii. p. 140, D.]

<sup>h</sup> [Φλαβιανὸς ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· παραιτοῦμαι σε.—Acta Synod. Ephes. ii. ap.

Conc. Chalced. Act. I. Concilia, tom. iv. col. 1165, D.]

<sup>i</sup> [Ἰλαρος διάκονος τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας εἶπε· κοντραδίκιτουρ, ὃ ἐστίν, ἀντελέγεται.—Ibid.]

<sup>k</sup> [Decuit plane, decuit, inquam, adeo digna et nobili causa tantum episcopum promereri coronam martyrii:

word *appello* in Liberatus, so immoderately cry out *Io triumphe!* but there are many of these juvenile expressions in his Annals, at which I have sometimes been greatly amazed: as when he says that God permitted the heavenly man St. John Chrysostom to be overwhelmed with so great calamities, that no one might doubt of the Roman pontiff's supremacy in the Church<sup>1</sup>: and when no other cause of all the misfortunes that have happened to any prince or province is usually assigned in his Annals, but this one, that either by word or deed they have offended the majesty of the pope of Rome. I am not ignorant what and how great deference the ancients paid to the bishops of Rome; but as yet we have found no expressions in the ancient fathers like these, and five hundred others in his Annals. What, did it seem so great an argument to the cardinal for establishing the monarchy of the Church of Rome, that Liberatus said, Flavianus had appealed to the bishop of that see? But he should consider that the contrary appears from many, and those certain arguments, that ecclesiastical historians of more repute than Liberatus have made no mention of this kind of appeals, neither in the case of this Flavianus, nor any where else; that St. Athanasius, when he was so often condemned, and endured so many afflictions in Egypt and Asia, and was afterwards also sent to Treves, either to lay him aside, or to banish him, did not so much as once in so many years' time make use of the expeditious remedy of this appeal; that St. Chrysostom being condemned by an unjust sentence appealed no whither but to a synod; that neither of those fathers, when they relate their own misfortunes, ever wrote that they had appealed to the Roman bishops, Julius and Innocent; that those very bishops acted nothing at all in this affair by a monarchical authority; but making use of the common right, procured the cause to be reheard; sent letters to the Churches, attesting the innocence of those fathers, and their own communion with them; and then interceded with the emperors for them when in

decut pariter et sanguine tanti martyris consignatum et consecratum relinquunt titulum Apostolicæ sedis jurium, Romanæque sedis primatus, appellandi

nimirum ab œcumenica synodo ad Romanum pontificem.—Baron. Ann. Eccl., ann. 449, num. 105.]

<sup>1</sup> [Id., ibid., ann. 404, num. 21.]

banishment, as Julius did with Constantius<sup>m</sup>, and Innocent with Honorius<sup>n</sup>; that when at first there began to arise in the Church some light suspicion of this (pretended) right, by which all matters are drawn to the Roman pontiff, the pious bishops opposed themselves against it, as I have shewn of St. Cyprian, and shall hereafter observe of divers synods. Lastly, he should consider that this Liberatus lived in those times<sup>o</sup>, in which there were not wanting such, as either of their own accord ascribed that right to the Church of Rome, or seconded her claim when she began to challenge it to herself. But we are not here enquiring what a few bishops of Rome, perhaps more desirous of enlarging their power than they ought, have said or thought, (of which I shall speak in the sequel,) but what the universal Church of those times concerning which we are speaking, both believed and practised. But that there may be no place for calumny, I will shew as clearly as the light, that the ancient writers do sometimes make use of the word appeal, when they speak of those who desire help from any one, not judicially, but in the way of charity, and as the Latin divines of the middle age speak, *charitative*, “as an office of brotherly love.” The fathers of the holy synod which assembled upon the expulsion of St. Athanasius, after they have besought all the bishops to give St. Athanasius<sup>p</sup> the right hand of fellowship, to condole the injury done him, and to testify their indignation against the authors of his sufferings, add these words, *ὕμᾶς γὰρ ἐκδίκους κατὰ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀδικίας ἐπικαλούμεθα, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες τὸ ἀποστολικόν, ἐξήρατε τὸν πόνηρον ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν*, which were to be translated thus: “for we appeal to you as avengers of so great injustice, calling to your mind that of the Apostle, Put away from among yourselves that wicked person.” But this synodical Epistle was not particularly sent to the bishop of Rome, nor to any other of those prelates who had then most power in the Church; but generally (as appears from the title which was set down above)<sup>q</sup> to all the bishops of the whole Catholic Church. For which reason, after this letter St. Athanasius adds these words:

<sup>m</sup> [Sozom. Hist. Eccl., lib. iii. c. 10. p. 105.]

<sup>p</sup> [S. Athan. Apol. cont. Arianos, § 19. Op., tom. i. p. 139, E.]

<sup>n</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, lib. viii. c. 28. p. 363.]

<sup>q</sup> [See above, p. 218.]

<sup>o</sup> [A.D. 554.]



*Ταῦτα μὲν οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πρὸς πάντας καὶ πρὸς Ἰούλιον τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ῥώμης*<sup>r</sup>, “these things the Egyptians (wrote) as well to all, as to Julius bishop of Rome.” If I had a mind to cavil, I could say that the holy synod appealed from a factious synod to any bishop; for that may be implied in those words, *ἐκδίκους ἐπικαλούμεθα*, “we appeal to as avengers.” The Greeks call an appeal<sup>s</sup> *ἔκκλητος*, or *ἔκκλητος δίκη*, and to appeal *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι*. Observe St. Paul’s words in the Acts, *Καίσαρα ἐπικαλοῦμαι*, “I appeal unto Cæsar;” and often in the twenty-fifth chapter. But who could bear any one that should assert that it was lawful by equal right to appeal to every single bishop from the sentence of a synod, by an appeal properly so called? Let us acknowledge therefore, that *ἐπικαλεῖσθαι*, “to appeal,” in this synodical letter, and *appellare* in Liberatus, and in like places, which very seldom occur, ought to be understood of the imploring of that help which Christian charity and the pastoral care is obliged to yield to the injured. And therefore Pope Celestine in his Epistle to the clergy of Constantinople, writes thus concerning the flight of St. Athanasius to the Roman see<sup>t</sup>: *ἐν τούτῳ τῷ θρόνῳ*, says he, *εὔρε κοινωνίας ἀνάπαυσιν, ἀφ’ οὗ αἰεὶ τοῖς καθολικοῖς γεννᾶται βοήθεια*, “he found the consolation of communion in this see, from whence the Catholics always received help.” It is evidently so, as Celestine says: they who fled for refuge to the more powerful sees, as soon as they had proved the integrity of their faith, were received to brotherly communion, and had letters given them, (the Ecclesiastical History calls them *τύπους*, “letters of form,” and *παρῤῥησιαστικά γράμματα*, and *συστατικά*<sup>u</sup>, “apologetic and commendatory letters,”) as evidences and credentials of their orthodox faith: and then having received that pledge as it were of hospitality, wherever they came they were entertained as brethren by the Catholics. Therefore this “communication of peace, or ap-

<sup>r</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, p. 140, B.]<sup>s</sup> Or the person appealed to.—Vide Bud. Com. Ling. Gr., p. 67, [where it is said, *ἔκκλητος* “is dicitur qui appellatur, ad quem provocatur,” and Plutarch. Apotheqm. Lacon., tom. ii. p. 215, C. is referred to.]<sup>t</sup> [Cælestini papæ Epist. ad Cler. et Pop. Constant. ap. Conc. Ephes. Acta; pars i. c. 19. Concilia, tom. iii. col. 921, E.]<sup>u</sup> [See Suicer. Thes. Eccl. in voc. *συστατικός*, tom. ii. col. 1194.]

peal of fraternity," (as Tertullian speaks<sup>x</sup>;) is by Celestine rightly styled *κοινωνίας ανάπανσις*, "consolation of communion," as what was a mere office of humanity, flowing from the fountain of Christian charity. For this reason Sidonius says, that Lupus, bishop of Troyes, a prelate formerly of great authority in France, and as he himself calls him, bishop of bishops, "did as it were from a certain watch-tower of charity oversee all the members of the Church of God." And Pope Julius owns, that he himself was led by charity to hear the cause of St. Athanasius, and not by that vain and empty arrogancy which the holy fathers so much detest. Julius's words are in his answer to the bishops of the council of Antioch<sup>z</sup>: "What," says he, "is it not an argument of charity, that we sent presbyters to partake of the griefs of the afflicted, and to exhort those to come hither who had written to me," (he means the Eusebians, who themselves had brought the cause before him,) "that, controversies ended, all things may be composed as soon as may be; and neither our brethren suffer nor you be ill spoken of by any."

I have said enough concerning the appeals of St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, and Flavianus, which are used to be so much urged by the patrons of our modern liberty, on account of that very great authority which those holy martyrs (for so I may deservedly call them) had in the Church. I will add nothing in particular concerning Theodoret: for the reason is the same in his case and all others: and I never had the fortune to see in Greek that Epistle of his to Pope Leo<sup>a</sup>: which yet how important a matter it is, I am sorry to say, as often as I have experienced it<sup>1</sup> in perusing the monuments of ecclesiastical history. Now to what has been said above I will add this, that it is absurd, when the question is concerning the ordinary right of ecclesiastical discipline, to

<sup>1</sup> [how often I have experienced, in &c.]

<sup>x</sup> [Communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis et cetera hospitalitatis.—Tert. de Præsc. Hæc., c. 20. Op., p. 209, A.]

<sup>y</sup> [Quoted above, p. 191, note b.]

<sup>z</sup> [ἢ οὐχὶ ἀγάπης ἐστὶ γνώρισμα πρεσβυτέρους ἀποστείλαι συμπαθεῖν τοῖς πάσχουσι; προτρέψασθαι τοὺς γράψαντας ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα πάντα θάπτον λύσιν λαβόντα διορθωθῆναι δυναθῆ, καὶ μηκέτι

μήτε οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἡμῶν πάσχωσι, μήτε ὑμᾶς τινες διαβάλλωσιν.—S. Athan. Apol. cont. Arianos. Op., tom. i. p. 141, C.]

<sup>a</sup> [This letter was first published in Greek in the works of Theodoret, tom. iii. p. 984. Sirmond, Par. 1642, and is given in those of St. Leo, Epist. 52. tom. i. col. 941. Venet., 1756.]

bring in those instances which happened at a time when violence and injury were every where predominant, and all the rights of the Church overwhelmed: for this was a more immediate and a truer cause why St. Athanasius betook himself to the west, because he could do no otherwise. Within the Church havoc was made by the Arians, men violent, wicked, and upon all accounts detestable. Without the Church the rage of Constantius, an heretical prince, wasted all the Churches throughout the east. The orthodox were every where deposed, sent into banishment, sacrificed; the Arians had a license to do whatever they had a mind with impunity: and they had a mind to do all things that were grievous and destructive to the orthodox. Therefore St. Athanasius is dethroned, and required to be given up as a sacrifice by most cruel men; what should he do? which way could he turn himself? whence should he seek for help? should this admirable man then have never stirred his foot out of those caverns in which he is said to have absconded so many years? and shall there be such as boast of it as a great matter, that St. Athanasius went from Egypt and out of the east to Rome? Indeed the extraordinary indulgence of our most merciful and great God towards the Church of Rome appeared, when He appointed that and most of the western Churches, as bulwarks for so many ages against those pestilences of the east, Arius, Apollinaris, Nestorius, Eutyches, and others: for although there was then another reason, yet both when St. Chrysostom was expelled out of the city of Constantinople, and when Flavianus was beaten to death at Ephesus, the condition of the eastern Church was not much, either more glorious or more happy, than in the life-time of St. Athanasius. It was but just therefore, that in their afflictions holy men should turn their eyes to the west, when there both the orthodox faith flourished, (on which account St. Basil congratulates them so often<sup>b</sup>), and their princes were of sound faith and great piety: such as were the emperors Constantine the younger, and Constans, who laboured in St. Athanasius' cause, and Honorius, who did the same in St. Chrysostom's. But what things were then done by good men, partly such as were

<sup>b</sup> [See S. Basilii Epist. 66, 68—70, 89—92. Op., tom. iii.]

drove by necessity to make use of all the methods of extremity; and partly such whose bowels were moved with charity and compassion, to attempt any thing for the relief of the afflicted; to make such things a perpetual law of the Church, is perfect madness and infatuation: for be it granted that Pope Julius and Innocent transgressed the bounds of their lawful power, usurped a right over their brethren till then never made use of, and that (you may add if you please) a right which was not lawful: yet they were not without reason for what they did, when such was the condition of the times, that as the physicians speak, desperate remedies were to be applied to desperate diseases. Therefore where the ordinary right ceased, there was room for and indeed need of the duties of extraordinary charity. They are those which the Greek sages, as was observed in the preceding chapter, called duties *κατὰ περίστασιν*, "in extremity," as it were extorted from them by the very necessity of the times. And as often as a like tempest lies upon either the State or the Church, it is necessary for good men to do many things which are inconsistent with lawful order; yet because those things are done for the preservation of the State or of the Church, they are not only excused and tolerated, but accounted worthy of the highest praise. To convene the people, go to them, and harangue them in public assembly, was lawful at Rome only for the magistrates; for others to attempt it was a crime, and that punished with death: and the same law ever obtained in all well-instituted governments: yet Menenius Agrippa did this, and was commended for it by all men: for the disturbance of the commonwealth by sedition exacted that duty from him as a good subject. Who can deny but it was an offence against the majesty of the Roman people, to call the populace to arms, set himself at the head of them, and kill a citizen, and even a tribune of the people? Yet Publius Scipio Nasica, when Tiberius Gracchus had raised a sedition, because Mucius the consul acted too slowly, commanding all that desired the safety of the republic to follow him, pursued Gracchus into the capitol, and killed him; and this action of Scipio's was by Mucius himself not only defended by many decrees of the senate, but even extolled. Now if any one should produce these in-

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stances to one, that were enquiring after the lawful form of the Roman government, and the ordinary law of the city, and should refer such actions to the accustomed right, would you think such a man deserved to be thought in his wits, and not rather a madman to be carried about for a sight? and yet they evidently do this, who would form arguments for establishing the right of appeals from a few instances of good men flying for refuge to the west, and to Rome, when their affairs were desperate in the east: and contrary to the precept of Pope Honorius, draw into ecclesiastical doctrines what has been practised by a few bishops (I speak of those of elder times) for the sake of the public good, and by a certain dispensation, as divines speak. I wish they would rather call that rule to mind, which was cited above from St. Athanasius<sup>c</sup>, and deservedly commended, "What things are written or done by dispensation, ought not to be maliciously interpreted."

And thus much for the matter of fact, as far as it relates to those times concerning which we are speaking. I am to speak next of the matter of right, to treat accurately of which, by reason of the inventions of some<sup>d</sup>, wherein there is more subtlety than truth, requires another dissertation, in which the impartial reader shall have abundant satisfaction as to all those objections that are usually made. The truth of the matter, to give the sum of it in short, is this: before the council of Sardica we do not meet with the least word of any express provision in this matter, but it appears that the Catholic Church so made use of that right that the practice of extra-provincial appeals was altogether unknown. This virtue the use of communicatory letters had, as I have already shewn<sup>e</sup>: for no person could be absolved who was bound by an ecclesiastical censure but by the very bishop that had bound him. To what purpose therefore was it to appeal? unless perhaps the appeal was made from the bishop and presbyters of one Church to an assembly of more bishops, and from thence to a synod of comprovincial bishops, where the bishop who was appealed from was also present. The rights of patriarchal sees were unknown in

<sup>c</sup> [See above, p. 132, note n.]

D, sqq.]

<sup>d</sup> [Bellarminus de Summo Pont., lib. ii. c. 21. Op., tom. i. p. 330. col. ii.<sup>e</sup> [See above, pp. 192, sqq.]

the first ages. And that the Church of Rome had no extraordinary right in this behalf is evidently demonstrated from the example of Marcion, which was discussed above. Yet I do not deny that there were some even in those times, who being condemned by a sentence in their own, went to the neighbouring provinces, and sometimes also to Rome, that they might obtain peace. For that that was done sometimes is evident even from hence, that in the thirty-third canon (apostolic as they call it<sup>f</sup>) but certainly most ancient, this reason is alleged why it is so expressly provided that no stranger be received without the commendatory letters of his own bishops: *πολλὰ γὰρ κατὰ συναρπαγὴν γίνεσθαι*, “that many things are done by stealth.” The sense of which words is, that those bishops who admit such wanderers without communicatory letters, and assume to themselves the hearing of their causes, are often deceived by being stolen upon unawares. For which reason also St. Cyprian, in that most noble Epistle to Pope Cornelius<sup>g</sup>, alleges this canon of the ancient Church, and calls it just and righteous against those desperate strollers and wretched men (as he styles them) who went from Africa to Rome: “Let every one’s cause be heard there where his crime was committed.” By which canon all appeals both to Rome, and any whither else out of the bounds of the province, are so plainly forbidden, that they had need have a great confidence in the subtlety of their wit who are not afraid to encounter with so manifest a truth. There are only twenty canons of the council of Nice now extant; and it is certain that only those were from the beginning put into the body of canons which was made use of by both the eastern and western Church. In them there is not the least word concerning the right of appeals: and in the fourth canon, which is concerning the creation of bishops, are these words: *τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων γίνεσθαι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μετροπολίτῃ*<sup>h</sup>, “the authority and confirmation of all things

<sup>f</sup> [Canon. Apost. xxxii. (al. xxxiii.) ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 32, B; quoted above, p. 201, note z.]

<sup>g</sup> [Nam cum statutum sit ab omnibus nobis, et æquum sit pariter ac justum, ut uniuscujusque causa illic au-

diatur ubi est crimen admissum, &c.—S. Cypri. Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 86.]

<sup>h</sup> [Concil. Nicæen. Canon iv. ap. Concil., tom. ii. p. 36, A.]

done in every province belongs to the metropolitan." From whence I collect that the rights of patriarchal sees, concerning which the councils of later ages have made so many decrees, were not as yet enough known, although the sixth canon of the same fathers confirms those sees which were already approved of by former custom<sup>i</sup>. Not long after followed the council of Antioch, the fourth canon of which declares<sup>k</sup>, that "deposed bishops have no other hope of restitution left but in another synod;" and farther, the following canons enjoin that this synod consist only of the provincial bishops, or of those of the next province. The fifteenth canon provides thus<sup>l</sup>: "If a bishop accused of any crimes shall be condemned by all the bishops of the province, and they shall all pronounce one unanimous sentence against him, let not his cause be reheard before others, but let the sentence of the bishops of the province continue firm and valid." And it is enjoined by the preceding canon<sup>m</sup>, if the provincial bishops do not agree about the cause of any bishop, that the metropolitan of the next province, in conjunction with other bishops, have the cause heard before them. I know that in the cause of St. Chrysostom some wicked men, who alleged this canon with an ill design, were repulsed with that exception, that semi-Arians, the sworn enemies of the great Athanasius, had been the authors of it<sup>n</sup>. And indeed they deserve everlasting infamy who gave so much trouble and vexation to so great men. But the case of the canons themselves is different from that of the

<sup>i</sup> [τὰ ἀρχαία ἔθνη κρατεῖτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὡστέ τὸν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν, κ.τ.λ.—Id., Canon vi. p. 36, C.]

<sup>k</sup> [εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ συνόδου καθαιρεθείς . . . τολμήσειεν τι πρᾶξι τῆς λειτουργίας . . . μηκέτι ἐξὸν εἶναι αὐτῷ μηδ' ἐν ἑτέρῳ συνόδῳ ἐλπίδα ἀποκαταστάσεως, μήδε ἀπολογίας χόραν ἔχειν.—Conc. Antioch., (A.D. 341.) Canon iv. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 588, C.]

<sup>l</sup> [εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐπὶ τισιν ἐγκλήμασιν κατηγορηθείς, κριθεῖη ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπων, πάντες τε σύμφωνοι μίαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἐξενεγκοίῃ ψήφον· τοῦτον μηκέτι παρ' ἐτέροις δικάζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μένειν βεβαίαν τὴν σύμ-

φωνον τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων ἀπόφασιν.—Id., Canon xv. *ibid.*, col. 592, D.]

<sup>m</sup> [. . . ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ τὸν τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἀπὸ τῆς πλησιόχωρου ἐπαρχίας μετακαλεῖσθαι ἑτεροῦς τινὰς τοὺς ἐπικρινούντας, καὶ τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν διαλύσοντας, τοῦ βεβαίωςαι σὺν τοῖς τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῷ παριστάμενον.—Id., Canon xiv. *ibid.*, C.]

<sup>n</sup> [κανόνων . . . οὓς ἐθέσπισαν οἱ τεσσεράκοντα τῶν Ἀρείου κοινωρικῶν . . . καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὁ κανὼν, ὡς παράνομος ὑπὸ παρανόμων τεθείς ἐξωστράκισθη ἐν Σαρδικῇ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ Ἰταλῶν, καὶ Ἰλλυρίων, καὶ Μακεδόνων, καὶ Ἑλλαδικῶν.—Fallad. Vita S. Joan. Chrys., Op., tom. xiii. p. 31, E.]

author of them. For which reason the ancient Church, which did not refuse the good laws even of the worst princes, did with great consent, as well in the east as in the west, ascribe so much authority to the canons of this council, that she both immediately placed them in the ancient body of her canon law, and afterwards constantly continued the same honour to them. But of this more elsewhere.

The council of Antioch was soon followed by that of Sardica, which was always of great authority among the orthodox: for it confirmed the Nicene faith, and absolved St. Athanasius from the senseless calumnies thrown upon him. Yet that the ancients did not account that a general council is commonly known, to such at least as are not ignorant of the names of the seven general councils, known almost to every body. For though the bishops of both the eastern and western empire were called to it; and accordingly, as St. Athanasius tells us<sup>o</sup>, it was celebrated by a great concourse of bishops; yet no man doubts but that very few of the eastern bishops were present at the drawing up of the canons; which without dispute was the reason why the ancients never accounted this a general council. So that it is very strange, that in the late editions of the councils it has a fictitious and false title given it<sup>p</sup>: but what is the aim of this additional undertaking, and of many other sinister attempts like this, even such as are half blind may see clearly. I have already observed how different the condition of the eastern and western Churches was in those times under the reign of Constantius; when those of the west, by the peculiar mercy of Christ, preserved the true faith, though not every where, yet at least in the chief cities, and especially at Rome; whereas the eastern Churches being torn to pieces in a miserable manner, openly encouraged manifold heresies, and retained the orthodox faith but in few places. For which reason Hosius of Corduba, and the other holy western fathers of that council, who before in the case of St. Athanasius had more than once observed how much assistance there was in

<sup>o</sup> [S. Athan. Apol. cont. Arianos. cum, Concilia, Binii, tom. i. p. 433. Op., tom. i. p. 154. C.]

<sup>p</sup> [Concilium Sardicense Œcumeni-



APPENDIX.  
NO. VI.

the authority of the bishop of Rome, that they might open that asylum as it were to those of the western empire, against the cruel persecution of the Arians, introduced a new law: for they decreed, that if any bishop were deposed, he might appeal to Rome, and desire a rehearing of his cause before the bishop of that see. That this was a new law appears even from the words of Hosius, who was the author and adviser of it. In the fourth canon it is thus written<sup>a</sup>: “Bishop Hosius said, . . . But if any bishop hath been adjudged in any cause, and thinks he has good reason to be allowed a rehearing, if you approve of it, let us honour the memory of St. Peter, that the bishop of Rome be written to, either by those who tried the cause, or also by other bishops who dwell in the neighbourhood; and if he give his judgment that the trial be renewed, let it be renewed, and let him appoint judges: but if he approve of such a cause, that those things which are already done may not be acted over again, whatever the bishop of Rome decrees shall be confirmed. If therefore all of you approve of this, let it be decreed. The synod answered, We approve of it.” If all appeals had been brought to the see of Rome by divine right, as is now loudly contended; or this right had been ascribed to that see by the Nicene canons, what need had there been of this canon, and a few others which follow it? or who does not understand, that the thing was introduced by Hosius, concerning which nothing had been decreed to that day? For this is most evidently what Hosius would have then understood when he said, “If you approve of it, let us honour the memory of St. Peter.” Whether it was the intent of the fathers of the council of Sardica to oblige all the bishops both of the east and west by their decrees I will not rashly determine. Such was certainly the condition

<sup>a</sup> [“Ὁσιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε . . . εἰ δὲ ἄρα τις ἐπισκόπων ἐν τινὶ πράγματι δόξῃ κατακρίνεσθαι, καὶ ὑπολαμβάνει ἑαυτὸν μὴ σαθρὸν, ἀλλὰ καλὸν ἔχειν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἵνα καὶ αὐθις ἢ κρίσις ἀνανεωθῆ· εἰ δοκεῖ ὑμῶν τῇ ἀγάπῃ, Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὴν μνήμην τιμῆσωμεν, καὶ γραφήνια παρὰ τούτων τῶν κρινάντων Ἰουλίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης, ὥστε διὰ τῶν γειτνιώντων τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπων, εἰ δεῖοι, ἀνανεωθῆναι τὸ δικάστηριον, καὶ ἐπιγινώμονας

αὐτὸς παράσχοι. εἰ δὲ μὴ συστήναι δύναται τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ὡς παλινδικίας χρῆζειν, τὰ ἅπασι κεκριμένα μὴ ἀναλύεσθαι, τὰ δὲ ὄντα, βέβαια τυγχάνειν.—Conc. Sardic. (A. D. 347.) Can. iii. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 660, B, C, D. The concluding words “Si ergo hoc omnibus placet, statuatur. Synodus respondit: Placet;” are found in the Latin version of Isidorus Mercator.—Ibid., col. 681, D, E.]

of those times, that it was to be wished by godly men that the force of that decree might extend not only to the extreme part of the east bordering upon the west, whither the empire of old Rome reached, but universally through both empires. But when I have proved that that council was never reckoned among the general councils, to imagine that decrees made by the western bishops had the force of an obligatory law in the east, is more than a childish mistake. The council of Antioch had been celebrated a little before, which returned a very sharp answer to the letters of Pope Julius concerning the restoring of St. Athanasius, decreed in the council of Rome. "They wrote back to Julius," says Sozomen<sup>r</sup>, "a declamatory letter, composed in the style of a pleading at law, very full of irony, and not destitute of the severest threats." They added afterwards<sup>s</sup>, that "as they had not opposed themselves against the bishop of Rome when he had excommunicated Novatian," so he had no right of contradicting them whenever they cast any of their own bishops out of the Church. In the same letter, whereas the oriental bishops seemed to yield to the bishop of Rome by way of deference, τὰ πρεσβεῖα, that is, some prerogative of honour<sup>t</sup>, as to the first-born among his brethren, because Rome "had been from the beginning the school of the Apostles and metropolis of piety," they presently shewed openly with what intent they said this, adding these words, "Although they came from the east to Rome, who had taught them the Christian religion," which was plainly overthrowing the former words; therefore Sozomen rightly says that the Romans were commended in that letter by an irony. But that which follows does more shew their meaning; for they openly take back the honour which they seemed to have given, and recall their grant; for they add<sup>u</sup>, "that they desire

<sup>r</sup> [ἀντέγραψαν Ἰουλίῳ κεκαλλιεπημένην τινά, καὶ δικανικῶς συντεταγμένην ἐπιστολήν, εἰρωνείας τε πολλῆς ἀνάπλεων, καὶ ἀπειλῆς οὐκ ἀμοιροῦσαν δεινότητος.—Sozom. Eccles. Hist., lib. iii. c. 8. p. 103.]

<sup>s</sup> [ἀνθισταμένῳ δὲ τοῖς δεδογμένοις, τὰναντία προηγόρευσαν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆν ἑω ἱερέας οὐδὲν ἀντειπεῖν ἰσχυρίζοντο, ἦνικα Ναυματιανὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἠλάθη.—Id., ibid.]

<sup>t</sup> [φέρειν μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι φιλοτιμίαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασιν ἄμολόγουν, ὡς ἀποστόλων φροντιστήριον, καὶ εὐσεβείας μητρόπολιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενημένην· εἰ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑω ἐνεδήμησαν αὐτῇ οἱ τοῦ δόγματος εἰσηγηταί.—Id., ibid.]

<sup>u</sup> [οὐ παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ τὰ δευτερεῖα φέρειν ἤξιουν, ὅτι μὴ μεγέθει ἢ πλήθει ἐκκλησίας πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ὡς ἀρετῇ καὶ προαιρέσει νικῶντες.—Id., ibid.]

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that they might not therefore be postponed to the second place, if they did not so much abound in the greatness and plenty of their Church:” pleasant men indeed who so yielded the principal place to the bishop of Rome as yet not to suffer themselves to be put back to the second place. But if no one is second or third, as it is with those who stand round in a ring, neither can any one be first. Theirs was a like merry conceit, or rather ambition and emulation, who in the canon of the council of Constantinople and Chalcedon<sup>x</sup>, which gives Constantinople the honour of the first see, *μετὰ τὸν Ρώμης*, “after the bishop of Rome,” pretended that the word *μετὰ*, “after,” was so to be understood that new Rome was not postponed to the old; which was not witty, but plainly ridiculous, for there can be no order if there be not some one first for the rest to follow. Therefore Zonaras<sup>y</sup> does justly explode this interpretation. But what the oriental bishops add in the same Epistle is plainly contumelious: *ὡς ἀρετῇ καὶ προαρέσει νικῶντες*, “as excelling in virtue and good manners.” I do not mention these things with that intent as to approve of them, (for I remember by whom they are written, and for what end<sup>z</sup>.) but to shew that the oriental bishops had then and always so much spirit that they would have received those canons of the council of Sardica with great clamours if any one had obtruded this new right upon them. Neither would I have that understood of the wicked only and such as defend heretical doctrines, but also of the orthodox and truly pious. Who ever lived that was more illustrious for piety and true humility than the great St. Basil? Who more worthy of all Christian praise than Gregory Nazianzen? But they at least who have read the Epistles of these fathers know what was their opinion, what and how just their complaints of the arrogancy, pride, and unreasonable desire of *τῶν δυτικῶν*, of the occidental bishops,

<sup>x</sup> [τὸν μὲν τοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νεάν Ῥώμην.—Conc. Constant. Canon iii. ap. Concil., tom. ii. col. 1126, D. See Conc. Chalcedon. Canon xxviii. ap. Conc., tom. iv. col. 1692, D. 1693, A, B.]

<sup>y</sup> [Τινὲς μὲν οὖν τὴν μετὰ πρόθεσιν

οὐχ’ ὑποβιβασμὸν τῆς τιμῆς δηλοῦν νενοήκασιν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μετὰ χρόνον τῆς ταύτης συστάσεως, κ. τ. λ. See Zonaras in Can. iii. Conc. Constant. ap. Bevereg. Pand. Can. p. 90, A, sqq.]

<sup>z</sup> [The bishops of this council were Arians, and were opposing the Church of Rome for having received St. Athanasius into communion.]



that is, of the bishop of Rome, as I shall presently prove by producing their most modest words<sup>a</sup>. The œcumenical council of Constantinople was orthodox, of whose Epistle to the Roman synod Theodoret<sup>b</sup> gives a copy in his fifth book not unlike that of the Antiochian fathers; for this also is ironical, and pretends one meaning, when being well considered it has another, insomuch that it easily appears that even orthodox and holy men in the east did upon terms of so much equality court the majesty of the Church of Rome as yet to think themselves in full possession of their liberty, nor to be any way inferior to that see but only with respect to order and precedence. Therefore Zonaras and the other interpreters of the canon law of the Greeks, as often as they dispute concerning the right of appeals, or interpret the canons of the council of Sardica<sup>c</sup>, do most grievously complain of the Romans and their corrupt interpretations. And to this not general council of Sardica they oppose two general councils, those of Constantinople and Chalcedon<sup>d</sup>, which ascribe the same rights to the bishops of new as to those of old Rome. And by the ninth canon of the council of Chalcedon<sup>e</sup> all appeals [are referred<sup>f</sup>] to the royal city of Constantinople: which is to be understood of the provinces of the eastern empire. But they who here seek a difficulty where there is none, and bid us go to Pope Nicholas for a true interpretation of that canon<sup>g</sup>, should invent a few in-

<sup>a</sup> [This part of Casaubon's treatise was not printed.]

<sup>b</sup> [Epist. Synodica Concil. Constant. ap. Theodoret., Hist. Eccl., lib. v. c. 9. pp. 203—207; and Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1143, sqq.]

<sup>c</sup> [Zonaras in Can. Conc. Sardic. iii., v.; Comment. in Canones, p. 365, 367. Par. 1618.]

<sup>d</sup> [τὰ πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον. (Conc. Const. Can. iii. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1126, D.) In confirming this the council of Chalcedon says of the fathers of Constantinople, τῶ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης . . . οἱ πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασιν τὰ πρεσβεία of themselves εὐοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεία ἀπένειμαν τῶ τῆς νέας Ῥώμης ἀγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ.—Conc. Chalced. Can. xxviii. Concilia, tom. iv. col. 1692, D; and Zonaras' Comment, p. 71.]

<sup>e</sup> [After providing for the settlement of differences by the bishop, or the provincial synod, the canon says: εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας μητροπολίτην, ἐπίσκοπος ἢ κληρικὸς ἀμφισβητοίην, καταλαμβανέτω ἢ τὸν ἑξάρχον τῆς διοικήσεως, ἢ τὸν τῆς βασιλευούσης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶ δικαζέσθω.—Conc. Chalced., Can. ix. Concilia, tom. iv. col. 1185, C.]

<sup>f</sup> [The translation in the third edition was, "all appeals to the royal city of Constantinople are rejected," which was evidently contrary to the meaning of the author; the original is "rejeiuntur."]

<sup>g</sup> [Nicolaus I. in Epist. ad Michael. Imp. scribit, per primatem diaceseos nullum alium significari posse, quam episcopum Romanum.—Bellarminus de Rom. Pont., lib. ii. c. 22. Op., tom. i. p. 331, A.; et ibid., E.]



stances at least to prove that in those times the decree of the council of Sardica had taken place in the east. What! will they deny that after that council many bishops were deposed in Asia, Syria, and Egypt, some of them justly and some unjustly? Out of all the plenty of examples with which histories furnish us, let them produce one at least of a bishop that made use of the benefit of the Sardican decree, or in the least made mention of it. But this was like to be a remedy of general expediency, which all would make use of, who throughout the east should either really suffer or think they suffered any injury. Justinian afterwards either altered or explained the ninth canon of the council of Chalcedon (Novella cxiii. capite xxii.)<sup>h</sup>, the meaning of which is thus expressed by Julian, (capite ccccliv.)<sup>i</sup>: “If any one has a mind to go against his metropolitan, let the patriarch of that country determine the business.” But the Greek text adds: *οὐδενὸς μέρος κατὰ τῆς ψήφου αὐτοῦ ἀντιλέγειν δυναμένου*<sup>k</sup>, “neither party having power to contradict his sentence.” Therefore neither could they appeal to Rome: nor was this a new right introduced by Justinian; but an assertion of an old accustomed right, which had long prevailed in the oriental Churches. And indeed what and how great a difference there was in those ancient times between the authority of any œcumenical council and that of the council of Sardica, no one either better understood or can at this day more certainly inform us, than Pope Zosimus and his two successors, Boniface and Celestine<sup>1</sup>. About seventy years after the celebration of the council of Sardica, it came into Pope Zosimus’s mind to try to obtain of the African bishops this very right of appeals to the see of Rome, concerning which I am disputing; and to procure that the Sardican decrees made in this behalf should be allowed the force of an ecclesiastical law in Africa: for this end he sends into that country such as were even then called legates *a latere*, furnished with ample

<sup>h</sup> [Auth. Collat. ix. Tit. vi. Novell. 123. c. 22. ap. Corp. Jur. Civ.]

<sup>i</sup> [Si contra metropolitanum adire quispiam velit; regionis illius patriarcha negotium discernat.—Juliani Antecessoris Novell. Epitome, p. 411. Herdæ, 1567.]

<sup>k</sup> [Auth. Collat., *ibid.*]

<sup>1</sup> [See the Acts of the sixth council of Carthage, A.D. 419. Concilia, tom. iii. col. 441, sqq., et Concilium Africanum, § 101, sqq. *ibid.*, col. 528, E, sqq.]

instructions. If the Catholic Church of those times had looked upon that of Sardica as a general council, the conclusion of the cause had been very easy with the catholic bishops of Africa: for no one could doubt of the meaning of that council, at least none who had looked never so little into its acts and canons. But Zosimus very well knew that his legates alleging the canons of Sardica for the obtaining of this right would likely be repulsed with this exception, that the authority of that council was not of sufficient weight in the Catholic Church to be able to decide a matter of that importance. Indeed Zosimus did nicely and wisely foresee what was altogether likely to happen: for as yet the name of this council was at that time so little known among the Churches of Africa, that I know not whether in all that country there could be any one found who had so much as heard of it. This is evident from that deep silence concerning the Sardican council in so many councils held at Carthage upon this very subject; where there was not one found among all those bishops (who were sometimes more than two hundred, and the very flower of all the African province) that gave the least indication that he knew any thing of that council. Nor will this seem strange to any one who recollects that St. Augustine himself, undoubtedly the chief of all the prelates of Africa in that age, knew nothing at all of this pious and orthodox assembly of the Sardican fathers. Read his 153rd Epistle<sup>m</sup>, and the 34th chapter of his third book against Cresconius<sup>n</sup>, you will there find that this most learned father, notwithstanding his great knowledge in ecclesiastical affairs, had not heard so much as the least report concerning any other council of that name, but a certain conventicle of Arians, who from that city sent a letter into Africa to the Donatists. Therefore Zosimus, that he might obtain what he desired, saying nothing of the council of Sardica, did with very great cunning insert the name of the council of Nice in the memorial given to his legates when they were going away. His words are in that writing: "For a fuller con-

CASAUBON.  
DE LIB.  
ECCL.  
CHAP. III.  
SECT. IV.

<sup>m</sup> [S. August. Epist. xlv. ad Eleusium, Op., tom. ii. col. 103, E, F. ed. Ben.]

<sup>n</sup> [Id. cont. Crescon., lib. iii. c. 34.

Op., tom. ix. col. 454.]

<sup>o</sup> [Verba canonum, quæ in pleniorum firmitatem huic communitario inservimus. Ita enim dixerunt, dilectissimi

firmation we have in this memorial inserted the words of the canons: for our most beloved brethren in the council of Nice said thus:" then he adds the canon, which no man ever doubted to be the seventh of the council of Sardica. His legates arrive in Africa; a council is convened at Carthage; they lay before the council the purport of their commission; all the fathers being astonished at the name of the council of Nice, with the canons of which they were well acquainted, and had never read any thing in them concerning appeals to the bishop of Rome, by a memorable example of piety and modesty shewed how much honour and deference they paid to the most holy Nicene council: for they resolve, because Zosimus in vindication of his right to the appeals of the transmarine Churches to him, had produced canons of the council of Nice, which were not to be found in any of their African copies, before they would decide a controversy of so great importance, to send legates to the patriarchs of the east, especially to those of Alexandria and Constantinople, whose libraries were better furnished, that they might be more fully assured of the faithfulness of their own copies. In the mean time, while the truth was yet unknown, they paid this honour to Pope Zosimus, that they kept all rights suspended according to the mandates of his legates. While the council's legates were going and returning, some years passed away; in the mean while Zosimus dies, and Pope Boniface succeeds him. But neither did he see an end of the business begun by his predecessor, for he also died before the matter was brought to a conclusion; which was not effected before the times of Pope Celestine, who was chosen into the see of Rome vacant by the death of Boniface. Both Boniface and Celestine pursue the purpose of their predecessor: and since the only obstacle to their wishes was the uncertain authority of the canons, which had been alleged; if the universal Church had allowed as much authority to the council of Sardica as the whole Catholic world ascribed to that of Nice, who does not see, that by producing the true canons, the matter might have been decided in an instant? But neither Boniface nor Celestine were ignorant, that the exception above mentioned

frates, in concilio Nicæno, &c.—Com- Carthag. VI. c. iii. Concilia, iii. col.  
monit. Zosimi Papæ, recit. in Conc. 444, C.]

was ready to be made, if instead of the Nicene council, that of Sardica had been named in an affair of such importance. They who give any other reason<sup>p</sup> why three successive popes, Zosimus, Boniface, and Celestine, with a wonderful obstinacy of mind alleged the canons of the council of Sardica, instead of those of the council of Nice, and for these endeavoured to obtrude those upon the African fathers, as great masters of subtilties as they are, yet have undertaken a very difficult province. For they have an adversary to contend with, that *μεγίστην θεόν*, "greatest goddess"<sup>q</sup> of Polybius, which continues invincible to the last; I mean the truth, whose rays always shine even in the thickest darkness, much more in the clearest light, such as this is. Still five years longer was this business transacting, yet at last it was ended, and at the same time that question decided which we are here discussing. The public acts of that controversy are extant, and from them I shall here give the reader a transcript of that letter, which after the receipt of copies of the Nicene canons of most approved credit, was sent to Pope Celestine by the Carthaginian fathers, when that council was ended. This synodical Epistle is in all the editions of the councils, even in the latest printed at Cologne the last year<sup>r</sup>. What therefore the general council of Carthage, assembled from all the provinces of Africa, had decreed concerning transmarine appeals to the bishop of Rome, the fathers of that council declare to Pope Celestine in these words<sup>s</sup>:

"To our most beloved lord and honourable brother, Celestine, Aurelius, Valentinus, Antonius, Tutus, Servus Dei, Terentius, Fortunatus, Martinus, Januarius, Optatus, Celtitius, Donatus, Theasius, Vincentius, Fortunatianus, and the rest, who were present in the general council of Carthage. We could wish truly, that as your holiness intimated in your

<sup>p</sup> [See Bellarmin. de Rom. Pont., lib. ii. c. 24. Op., tom. i. p. 334, sqq. Baronius, Annal. Eccl. ann. 419, num. 60, 87, sqq. Besides other grounds they allege that the canons of Sardica were united to those of Nice in the Latin copies, the council of Sardica being regarded as a supplement to that of Nice.]

<sup>q</sup> [Polyb. Hist., lib. xiii. c. 5. § 4.]

<sup>r</sup> Viz. anno 1606. For this tract of Casaubon's was first published anno

1607. [Concilia; Bini, Colon. 1606.]

<sup>s</sup> [Domino dilectissimo, et honorabili fratri Cœlestino, Aurelius, Valentinus, Antonius, Tutus, Servusdei, Terentius, Fortunatus, Martinus, Januarius, Optatus, Celtitius, Donatus, Theasius, Vincentius, Fortunatianus, et cæteri, qui in universali Africano concilio Carthaginis adfuimus. Optaremus, si quemadmodum sanctitas tua de adventu Apiarum lætatos vos fuisse, missis



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letter sent by our compresbyter Leo, that you rejoiced at the arrival of Apiarius, so we could send this letter with joy for his clearing himself. Indeed both ours and your rejoicing would be now more certain; nor would that seem hastened or too forward, which had already been testified, both for the hearing of his cause and upon its being heard. On the arrival indeed of our holy brother and fellow-bishop, Faustinus, we convened a council, and believed he was therefore sent with Apiarius, that as by his help Apiarius had been before restored to the presbytery, so he might now by his endeavour be cleared from so great crimes laid to his charge by the people of Thabraca: and our council upon a thorough examination, found his guilt to be so great and atrocious, that the fore-mentioned Faustinus was so far from being able to acquit him as a judge, that even as an advocate he could not defend him; for first, how much did he oppose all the assembly, by offering them many injuries, as it were asserting privileges to the Roman Church, and expecting we should receive to communion him, whom your holiness (believing he had appealed, which you could not prove) had restored to communion? which yet was by no means lawful, and which you will know better by reading an account of what was done. Yet a most laborious trial of three days being heard, when we with very great trouble enquired into the different crimes laid to his charge, God the just Judge, patient and long-suffering, did by a most compendious way cut off either the delays of our fellow-bishop Faustinus, or the tergiversations of Apiarius himself, by which he endeavoured to cou-

per compresbyterum nostrum Leonem literis, intimavit; ita nos quoque de ejus purgatione hæc scripta cum lætitia mitteremus. Esset profecto et nostra et vestra modo alacritas certior: nec festinata, nec præpropere videretur, quæ adhuc tam de audiendo, quam de audito præcesserat. Adveniente sane ad nos sancto fratre et coepiscopo nostro Faustino, concilium congregavimus et credidimus ideo eum illo missum, quoniam sicut per ejus operam presbyterio ante redditus fuerat, ita nunc posset de tantis criminibus a Tabracenis objectis, eo laborante, purgari; cujus tanta ac tam immania flagitia decursus nostri concilii examen invenit, ut et memorati patrocinium

potius, quam judicium, ac defensoris magis operam, quam disceptatoris justitiam superarent. Nam primum, quantum obstiterit omni congregationi diversas injurias ingerendo, quasi ecclesie Romanæ asserens privilegia, et volens eum a nobis in communionem suscipi, quem tua sanctitas, (credens appellasse, quod probare non potuit) communioni reddiderat, quod minime tamen licuit; quod etiam gestorum ex lectione melius cognosces. Triduano tamen laboriosissimo agitato judicio, cum diversa eidem objecta afflictissimi quæreremus, vel moras coepiscopi nostri Faustini, vel tergiversationes ipsius Apiarii, quibus nefandas turpitudines oculere conabatur, Deus, judex justus fortis et

ceal his foul crimes: for his shameful and abominable obstinacy being overcome, by which he attempted to cover so black a guilt with the impudence of a denial, our God constraining his conscience, and bringing out into the sight of men those hidden things which he had already condemned in his heart, as in a sink of wickedness, immediately the deceitful denier broke out into a confession of all the crimes of which he was accused, and at length of his own accord convicted himself of all the incredible reproaches, and also converted into sighs that hope of ours, by which we both believed and wished he might be able to cleanse himself from such shameful spots; unless because he mitigated that sorrow of ours with only one consolation, that he both freed us from the pains of a longer inquisition, and provided some kind of cure for his wounds, although by an unwilling confession, made with the reluctance of his own conscience. Therefore our lord and brother, after having paid the duty of a just salutation, we earnestly beseech you, that for the future you will not too easily admit to your audience such as come from hence, nor any more receive to communion such as are excommunicated by us; because your reverence will easily observe, that this is also decreed by the Nicene council. For although the provision there made seems to be concerning the inferior clergy or laity, how much more was it the design of the council, that this should be observed concerning bishops, that such as are suspended from communion in their own province, may not seem to be hastily, or too forwardly, or unduly restored to communion by your holiness?

longanimis, magno impendio resecauit. Tetriore quippe ac putidior obstinatione compressa, qua tantum lividum cœnum impudentia negationis volebat obruere, Deo nostro ejus conscientiam coarctante, et occulta quæ in illius corde tanquam in volutabro criminum jam damnabat, etiam hominibus publicante, repente in confessionem cunctorum objectorum flagitiorum dolosus negator erupit. Et tandem de omnibus incredibilibus opprobriis ultroneus se ipse convicit, atque ipsam quoque nostram spem, qua eum et credebamus et optabamus de tam pudendis maculis posse purgari, convertit in gemitus: nisi quoniam istam nostram mœstitiam uno tantum solatio mitigavit, quod et

nos labore diuturnioris quæstionis absolvit, et suis vulneribus qualemcumque medelam, etsi invita ac sua conscientia reluctantante, confessione providit, domine frater. Præfato itaque debitæ salutationis officio, impendio deprecamur, ut deinceps ad vestras aures hinc venientes non facilius admittatis, nec a nobis excommunicatos in communionem ultra velitis excipere: quia hoc etiam Nicæno concilio definitum facile advertet venerabilitas tua. Nam et si de inferioribus clericis vel laicis videtur ibi præcaveri: quanto magis hoc de episcopis voluit observari, ne in sua provincia communionem suspensi, a tua sanctitate vel festinato, vel præpropere, vel indebite videantur commu-

And may your holiness, as is worthy of you, reject the impious applications for protection made you by our presbyters and the clergy following them, because no decree of the fathers has diminished the power of the African Church in this behalf: and the canons of the council of Nice have most evidently committed both the inferior clergy and the bishops themselves to the care and jurisdiction of their metropolitans; for they have most prudently and most justly provided, that all matters of controversy whatsoever be determined in those places in which they first arose; for that the grace of the Holy Spirit will not be wanting to each province, whereby the bishops of Christ may both most wisely discern, and most resolutely observe justice; especially because it is allowed to every one, if he be injured by the sentence of his judges, to appeal to a synod of his own province, or even to a general council; unless perhaps there be any one who thinks our God will inspire any particular person with justice to hear a cause, and will deny this to a numerous company of bishops assembled in council. Or how shall the transmarine judgment itself be valid, to which the persons necessary to give evidence, by reason of the infirmity either of their sex or of their age, and many other intervening impediments, cannot be brought? For that legates should be sent as it were from the presence of your holiness, is a method which we do not find appointed by the fathers in any council; for as to that which you formerly transmitted to us from thence, by the same Faustinus our fellow-bishop, as decreed by the council of Nice; in the truer councils, which we have received for

nioni restitui: presbyterorum quoque et sequentium clericorum improba refugia (sicuti te dignum est) repellat sanctitas tua: quia et nulla patrum definitione hoc ecclesiæ derogatum est Africanæ, et decreta Nicæna sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos, suis metropolitanis apertissime commiserunt. Prudentissime enim, justissimeque providerunt, quæcumque negotia in suis locis, ubi orta sunt, finienda: nec unicuique provinciæ gratiam Sancti Spiritus defuturam, qua æquitas a Christi sacerdotibus et prudenter videatur, et constantissime teneatur: maxime, quia unicuique concessum est, si iudicio offensus fuerit, cognitorem, ad concilia suæ provinciæ, vel

etiam universale provocare. Nisi forte quisquam est qui credat, unicuique posse Deum nostrum examinis inspirare justitiam, et innumerabilibus congregatis in concilium sacerdotibus denegare. Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum iudicium ratum erit, ad quod testium necessariæ personæ, vel propter sexus, vel propter senectutis infirmitatem, multis aliis intercurrentibus impedimentis, adduci non poterunt? Nam ut aliqui tanquam a tuæ sanctitatis latere mittantur, nulla invenimus patrum synodo constitutum. Quia illud quod pridem per eundem coepiscopum nostrum Faustinum, tanquam ex parte Nicæni concilii, exinde transmisistis: in conciliis verioribus, quæ accipiuntur



the Nicene, sent us by the holy Cyril, our fellow-bishop of the Church of Alexandria, and by the venerable Atticus, patriarch of Constantinople, transcribed from the authentic Acts, which also heretofore were transmitted by us to Bishop Boniface, your predecessor of venerable memory, by Innocent a presbyter, and Marcellus a sub-deacon, by whom they were directed by them to us; in these we could not find any such thing. And do not send at the request of every one your clergy executors<sup>t</sup>, do not yield to such petitions, lest we should seem to introduce the vain pride of the world into the Church of Christ, which holds forth the light of simplicity and the day of humility to such as desire to see the Lord. For as for our brother Faustinus, (Apiarius, who is to be lamented, being now removed from the Church of Christ for his heinous impieties,) we promise ourselves from the probity and moderation of your holiness, that you will preserve brotherly love, and not suffer him to remain any longer in Africa." And by another hand, "Our Lord keep your holiness, our lord and brother, with long life to pray for us."

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Many things might have been brought to illustrate this most memorable Epistle, which I omit for the present; yet I shall note a few things that are most necessary. In the first place the reader may observe, that the African fathers treat with the bishop of Rome just as with any other of the more considerable bishops. Therefore also they call him brother, as St. Cyprian always does Cornelius and Stephen, bishops of that see. The titles which are here added are borrowed, and have no proper signification; even that of "your holiness," now used only in addressing to the pope of Rome, was of old

Nicæna, a sancto Cyrillo coepiscopo nostro Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ, et a venerabili Attico Constantinopolitano antistite, ex authentico missis quæ etiam ante hoc per Innocentium presbyterum et Marcellum subdiaconum, per quos ad nos ab eis directa sunt, venerabilis memoriæ Bonifacio episcopo prædecessor vestro, a nobis transmissa sunt, in quibus tale aliquid non potuimus reperire. Executores etiam clericos vestros quibusque petentibus nolite mittere, nolite concedere, ne fumosum typhum sæculi in ecclesiam Christi, quæ lucem simplicitatis, et humilitatis diem, Deum

videre cupientibus præfert, videamur inducere. Nam de fratre nostro Faustino (amotum jam pro suis nefandis nequitias de Christi ecclesia dolendo Apiario) securi sumus, quod eum probitate ac moderatione tuæ sanctitatis salva fraterna caritas ulterius in Africa minime sustinere patiatur. Et alia manu: Dominus noster sanctitatem vestram ævo longiore orantem pro nobis custodiat, domine frater.—Epist. Concil. Africani ad Pap. Cælestinum, ap. Conc., tom. iii. col. 532—534.]

<sup>t</sup> Clericos executores.



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common to all bishops. So others saluted the bishop of Rome, and so the bishop of Rome saluted others; and indeed all bishops complimented each other in the same style. Pope Zosimus in his Epistle to the African bishop, says<sup>u</sup>, “We determined to make known to your holiness our inquisition about the whole faith of Celestius.” The use of that form is frequent in St. Augustine’s Epistles, and in other authors, as in the hundred and first canon<sup>1</sup> of the council of Milevis<sup>x</sup>. Apiarius mentioned by the fathers in the beginning, was an African presbyter, who being excommunicated by the most just sentence of Urban his bishop, had fled to Zosimus for protection, and been received and absolved by him. About the same time Pelagius and Celestius, most wicked heretics, also excommunicated by the African bishops, flying for refuge to the same pope, were admitted by him to the same favour; and Zosimus made use of this occasion to endeavour to establish in Africa a right of appeals to the bishop of Rome. To effect this, he sent three legates into Africa, two presbyters, Philip and Asellus, and Faustinus, bishop of the Church of Potentia, a wicked man, as appears from this Epistle; who after he came into Africa, did many things tyrannically against the will of the African bishops, especially in the cause of the profligate villain Apiarius, whom he restored to the presbytery by violence, to the great grief of the Africans; and then he made his cause to be reheard in this general council, and how that trial was managed, and when all the council was at a stand by reason of the impudence of Apiarius, whom Faustinus defended with great violence, how providence untied the Gordian knot, this Epistle shews. The fathers say, “Whom your holiness, thinking he had appealed, which you could not prove, had restored to communion, which yet was by no means lawful.” After the manner of the Africans the fathers speak obscurely; for those words, *quod probare non potuit*, “which could not be proved<sup>2</sup>,” whether they ought to be referred to Apiarius, or to the pope himself, is not plain. The Greeks turned the passage

<sup>1</sup> [“in the tenth and thirteenth canons.”]

<sup>2</sup> [“which he could not prove.”]

<sup>u</sup> [Unde in præsentī causa nihil præcox immaturumque censuimus, sed innotescere sanctitati vestræ super absoluta Cælestii fide nostrum examen.—Zosimi Pap. Epist. iii. ap. Concil., tom

iii. col. 402, C.]

<sup>x</sup> [Concil. Milev. II. (A.D. 416.) Canones x., xiii. Concilia, tom. iii. col. 383, C, E.]

thus<sup>†</sup>, ὃν ἡ σὴ ἁγιωσύνη πιστεύσασα ἐκκαλεῖσθαι, ὅπερ ἀποδείξαι οὐκ ἠδυνήθη, τῇ κοινωσίᾳ ἀποδέδωκεν, “whom your holiness believing to appeal, which it (that is, your holiness) was not able to prove, restored to communion:” without doubt referring the words to the pope himself, so as that the sense of them should be this; that Pope Zosimus, Boniface, or Celestine himself, (for there is no difference, because what the former had done was confirmed by the latter,) therefore took upon him to reverse the sentence of the African bishops, and himself to receive those whom they had ejected, and to command the Africans also to receive them, because he believed that the right of all appeals belonged to him, “which yet,” say they, “could not be proved.” And indeed they said true, for the Nicene canons were falsely alleged in this case, as will be observed presently in this Epistle. Now that imaginary right of appeals being once taken away, it necessarily follows, that whatever had been done in this affair by the bishop of Rome with arbitrary and absolute power, was by the law itself void, as being an usurpation and against law. The fathers do manifestly signify this, when they add, *quod minime tamen licuit*, “which yet was by no means lawful.” Besides in all that writing the Africans do so defend the rights of their own liberty, that they both always speak with the greatest modesty of the bishop of Rome, and would seem to have the most candid opinion of him; for these holy men had not yet learnt from the great mistress experience, how far at last the Roman pontiffs would improve these beginnings, to which they opposed themselves. If the same African fathers, by His command, who in the prophet

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<sup>†</sup> [Cod. Canonum Ecclesiæ Africanæ, can. cxxxviii. ap. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1366, B.]

sets<sup>z</sup> the modest complaints of these fathers in opposition against those of such as lived afterwards, which indeed were more severe but no less just. The fathers therefore say, "We beseech you, that for the future such as come to you from hence, may not be too easily admitted to your audience;" that is, that you may not admit them with that facility with which you have often done hitherto; nor in that meaning as if the right of appeals belonged to the Roman see. For otherwise the fathers would not hinder the bishop of Rome from receiving, by that office of charity which was explained above, such as had suffered injury in Africa, and assisting them after the accustomed manner there intimated. It was the assuming of authority, not the offices of humanity, which the holy fathers took ill. So also is to be taken that which follows: "That such as are suspended from communion in their own province, may not seem to be hastily, or too rashly, or unduly restored thereunto by your holiness." The patrons of our modern ecclesiastical liberty, whose cause is quite overthrown by the determination of so great fathers, have taken a handle to dispute from these words of the epistle<sup>a</sup>, *liberius*, "too easily," *festinato*, "hastily," *præpropere*, "over forwardly," and *indebite*, "unduly;" for from hence they conclude, that the African fathers<sup>b</sup> "do not wholly deny the right of appeals to the bishop of Rome, but desire that he would appoint another more humane way of prosecuting them." But when the fathers call back Celestine to the observance of the Nicene canons, and when they seriously contend that all appeals are taken away by that council, those of the lesser orders expressly, and those of bishops by necessary consequence, who does not see clearly, that that for which they contend is most false and absurd, viz., that in this council of Carthage only "the manner<sup>c</sup> of appeals" was

<sup>z</sup> [Baronius said, ann. 419. num. 73. Non quidem (ut hodie Novatores) arguerunt Zosimum imposturæ, dolumve malam atque fallacium proclamarunt; neque ob eam causam derogandum putarunt Ecclesiæ Romanæ juribus. Sed quid? summis animo rogaverunt, &c.]

<sup>a</sup> [Vides eos non prohibere appellationes ad Romanam sedem, sed tantum admonere ipsum Romanum pontificem ne (ut aiunt) facilius quam par est, nec

festinato, vel præpropere aut indebita agat.—Baronius, *ibid.*]

<sup>b</sup> [Cum ergo manifeste videas eos non refragari appellationibus ad Romanam Ecclesiam, sed tantum exigere, quod æquum justumque videretur.—*Id.*, *ibid.*, num. 74.]

<sup>c</sup> [Haud vere a quopiam dici potest, appellandi jus aliquando denegatum . . . sed potius perspicuum est, de modo prosequendæ appellationis obortum esse dissidium.—*Id.*, *ibid.*, num. 82.]

treated of? The fathers most evidently demonstrate this, when afterwards they add these words, "Because both no decree of the fathers has derogated from the power of the African Church in this behalf, and the canons of the council of Nice have most evidently committed both the inferior clergy, and the bishops themselves, to the care and jurisdiction of their metropolitans." And the following words do also clearly prove the vanity of those who thus cavil, and easily refute the fiction: "The Nicene fathers," say they, "have with very great prudence and justice provided, that all matters of controversy whatsoever be determined in the same places in which they first arose." Who is either so stupid or so malicious, as not to own that the African fathers, when they wrote these words, meant by them that all the affairs of the African Churches should be determined in Africa? This was certainly St. Cyprian's<sup>d</sup> meaning, when with the same invincible reason he calls Pope Cornelius back to the point in controversy, from which he was widely gone astray. And what St. Cyprian said in the same place<sup>e</sup>, "That there were a few desperate wretches, who thought the bishops constituted in Africa had less authority than Pope Cornelius, to whom he was writing;" the same thing in other, but milder words, the bishops of this council also intended should be understood, when they spake thus to Pope Celestine: "Unless perhaps there be any one that thinks our God will inspire any particular person with justice to hear a cause, and will deny this to a numerous company of bishops assembled in council." But what I have often said, that the ancient Church neither knew, nor made use of any other kind of appeals, than those from a lesser synod to a greater, or even to a general œcumenical council; this also the African fathers here affirm to Pope Celestine, when they shew that appeals to the bishop of Rome would for that reason be fruitless, "because it is allowed to every one, if he be injured by the judgment of the commissaries, to appeal to a synod of his own province, or even to a general council." But as to those words of the fathers, "For that any should

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<sup>d</sup> [S. Cypr., Ep. lv. ad Cornelium, p. 86; see above, p. 201, b.]

ditis minor videtur esse auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum.—  
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<sup>e</sup> [Nisi si paucis desperatis et per-



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be sent as legates *a latere*, from your holiness, we do not find appointed by any council of the fathers," they must be helped by an interpretation: for I have abundantly proved in the foregoing part of this discourse, that it was a most ancient custom of godly bishops to send their letters and legates to other Churches which laboured under heresy or schism, or were any otherwise disturbed; and I gave an account, that this was frequently done with the greatest zeal by St. Cyprian and St. Athanasius<sup>f</sup>. Was it therefore the meaning of the African fathers to deprive the bishop of Rome of that right? By no means. But they said this only, because the Roman bishops seemed to do that, not out of pure charity, as the rest, but by the prerogative of a certain right, and of a dominion, which they would obtain over their brethren. This the African bishops deprecate and detest, and for that reason they presently repeat the same caution, "Do not send your clergy executors at the request of any persons whatsoever;" where the very calling them executors discovers the meaning of those that sent them. On which subject St. Augustine<sup>g</sup> says many things in his Epistle to Celestine; and indeed in all that most judicious epistle nothing occurs which is more memorable, than that divine modesty used by those holy fathers in refuting their most false allegation of the Nicene canons. The matter in dispute was of very great moment, the liberty of the African Churches, the dominion over which the bishops of Rome might seem to have affected by none of the best arts: and if the African bishops had acted with strict justice, those of Rome had most manifestly stood convicted of forgery: nor was there any room for excuse, as though they had unawares been surprised into this mistake; for no man doubted, and it was most true, that what they did in this case was deliberately and of set purpose, and not by chance. Yet the African bishops do not complain; they do not cry out that they were circumvented by fraud; nor lastly, do they utter one harsh word, or unworthy of that "charity, which beareth all things, endureth all things," saith the Apostle. But neither do they therefore conceal other men's sins, but

1 Cor. 13.  
7.<sup>f</sup> [See above, pp. 195, sqq.]<sup>g</sup> [S. August., Ep. ccix. ad Cælesti-

num, Op., tom. ii. col. 799, E; quoted below, p. 252.]

reprehend the bishops of Rome; and at the same time that they forbear accusing them of having falsified, they both in words assert, and in fact prove, that they had affirmed a thing that was false: "that," say they, "which you transmitted to us, as decreed by the council of Nice, we have not been able to find in the truer copies of that council, sent us from such as are authentic." What was this to say else, but that three popes, who had peremptorily obtruded those canons upon them for the Nicene, had fallen into an error, and been deceived? For men's minds had not yet been accustomed to the modern persuasion of some, as if the Roman pontiff could neither err nor sin. That portentous saying of Pope Nicholas I. had not yet been heard in the Church of God<sup>h</sup>, "that the Old and New Testament were to be received, not because they were all reckoned among the canonical books, but because the holy Pope Innocent seemed to have pronounced sentence for receiving them." Those doctors had not yet broke into the sheepfold of Christ, who for the rule of pious and impious, and of true and false, acknowledge no other touchstone but the will of the pope of Rome. Behold three successive popes require those canons to be accounted Nicene, which were not made in that council. The African bishops doubt of the fact, and enquire into the truth of it, and having found it after a very diligent search, do not betray but assert it; and though with modesty indeed, yet defend it against the bishop of Rome. And will Cardinal Baronius dare to interpret that divine modesty of those fathers as an argument of their subjection? Will he dare to say that that holy council did not oppose appeals to the Church of Rome? Will he dare to deny that it is one thing to use an appeal, and another to seek for refuge? For the examples which he produces from St. Augustine<sup>i</sup> do not prove that men appealed juridically to the pope, but that a few persons fled to him for protection, who would not acquiesce in the judgments of the African bishops? Concerning which matter

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<sup>h</sup> [Vetus novumque Testamentum recipienda sunt, non quod codici canonum ex toto habeantur annexa, sed quod de his recipiendis sancti papæ Innocentii prolata videtur esse sententia.—Nicolai Papæ I. Epist. xlii. ap. Concil., tom. x. col. 283, A.]

<sup>i</sup> [Baronius, *ibid.*, num. 75, sqq., alleges the words of S. August. *Ep.* xliii. tom. ii. col. 91, E, and several instances mentioned by him on the case of Antony of Fussala, *Id.*, *Ep.* ccix. § 8. *ibid.*, col. 777, B, C.]

I have said many things in the foregoing part of this treatise. Let young students beware of the impropriety of such sort of expressions; for the misapplication (as the most judicious philosopher Maximus Tyrius calls it) of a word plainly insinuates an erroneous opinion into the minds of the unwary. The African fathers themselves do better, who in this Epistle style this the clergy's "flying for protection," not their appealing. But Cardinal Baronius should have remembered, that those instances in which he triumphs, happened even by his own confession before this council was concluded, in which at length the question was decided, concerning appeals to the see of Rome. But from Zosimus to the end of this council there was a space of above five years, during all which time the rights of the African bishops were suspended by their free concession, as I have already shewn. But after this council was ended, and the truth of the Nicene canons enquired into, and this synodical Epistle sent to Pope Celestine, there was so far from being any use of appeals in Africa to the Church of Rome, that many were persuaded (whether truly or falsely I do not now dispute) that the Africans did from that time wholly separate themselves from the Roman communion, or were cut off from it as schismatics by the pope himself. There is extant under the name of Boniface II. an Epistle written to one Eulalius<sup>k</sup>, to which if we give any credit, the fathers of this holy council, among whom was St. Augustine, were all excommunicated from the Church of Rome: and that schism continued more than one whole century, viz., a hundred and ten years, till at length Boniface II. being advanced to the see of Rome, that relation came from Africa which is mentioned in his life. Whether these things are true, as almost all men believe them, or of little credit, as some few think<sup>l</sup>; this certainly is evident from hence, that after that council the Africans went so seldom to Rome for protection, much less by way of appeal, that they seemed

<sup>k</sup> [Aurelius enim præfata Carthagenensis ecclesiæ olim episcopus, cum collegis suis (instigante diabolo) superbire temporibus prædecessorum nostrorum Bonifacii atque Cælestini contra Romanam ecclesiam cepit. Sed videns si modo peccatis Aurelii Eulalius a Romanæ ecclesiæ communione segre-

gatum, &c.—Bonifacii Pap. II. (A.D. 529.) Epist. i. ad Eulaliium, ap. Concil., tom. v. col. 827, E; 828, A.]

<sup>l</sup> [Bellarmine, Baronius, Binius, denied the genuineness of the letter. See Labbe's Observations, *ibid.*, col. 826, E.]

altogether separated from the communion of that Church. Towards the end of the epistle the fathers discover the reason why they so industriously opposed the bishops of Rome in their endeavours to draw transmarine appeals to themselves: "That we may not seem," say they, "to introduce the haughtiness of this world into the Church of Christ, which holds forth the light of simplicity and the day of humility to such as desire to see God." The same fathers had before written thus to Pope Boniface<sup>m</sup>: "But we trust by the assistance of the mercy of our Lord God, that your holiness presiding over the Church of Rome, we shall not now endure that haughtiness." The desire of the Roman bishops to establish that right of appeals, is what the holy fathers call *typhum seculi*, "the haughtiness of this world;" that is, haughtiness, ambition, and pride; and they lament that<sup>n</sup> that is brought into the Church of God, and desire to use diligence to hinder it, as far as they should be able.

Thus after a few years the fathers of the third œcumenical council receiving an account that the patriarch of Antioch, contrary to ancient custom, assumed to himself the right of hearing the ecclesiastical causes of the isle of Cyprus, pronouncing the thing to be of ill example, repressed the man's arrogance, "Lest peradventure, (say they in the eighth canon<sup>o</sup>,) under the pretence of administering things sacred, the arrogance of worldly power insinuate itself into the Church, and we unawares, by little and little, lose that liberty which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of all, hath purchased for us with His own precious blood." In the same place the fathers truly pronounce this arrogance<sup>p</sup> *πρᾶγμα εἶναι τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἀπτόμενον*, "to be a thing prejudicial to the liberty of all." And it is very worthy to be observed, that the fathers of both councils, seeing they were inspired with the

<sup>m</sup> [Sed credimus, adjuvante misericordia Domini Dei nostri, quod tua sanctitate Romanæ Ecclesiæ præsidente, non sumus jam istum typhum passuri.—Epist. Conc. Afric. ad Bonifacium P. ap. Cod. Can. Eccl. Afric. cxxxiv. tom. ii. 1360, B. See Conc. Afric. (A.D. 418.) *ibid.*, tom. iii. 448, D.]

<sup>n</sup> [A mistranslation in the third edition has been corrected here.]

<sup>o</sup> [Ἰνα μὴ τῶν πατέρων οἱ κανόνες παραβαίνωνται, μηδὲ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσχήματι ἐξουσίας τύφος (κοσμικῆς) παρεισδύηται, μηδὲ λάθωμεν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσαντες, ἣν ἡμῖν ἔδωρῆσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερωτῆς.—Conc. Ephes. decretum de Episcopis Cypr. (al. Canon. viii.) Concilia, tom. iii. col. 1324, E.]

<sup>p</sup> [Id., *ibid.*]



same spirit, and therefore agreed in the same opinion, did in the same manner mark out and detest the thirst of dominion, an evil already fatal to the Church in that age. The Carthaginian fathers call it *typhum seculi*, “the arrogance of this world.” The council of Ephesus styles it, *τύφον κοσμικῆς ἐξουσίας*, “the arrogance of worldly power.” I would to God the bishops that succeeded those times had always rightly considered the force of this word and the necessity of this precept. But I shall shew in the sequel, that the bishops of Rome especially did soon apply themselves with so much violence to procure themselves power, that in respect of<sup>1</sup> this one care they had little regard to any thing else. Therefore they took no notice of such as faithfully admonished them; and among these sometimes the most Christian kings of France, who pressed them with the very words of this council. And thus much may suffice to have been said at present concerning the right of appeals to the bishop of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> [“in comparison of.”]

Moreover that which I have observed in reading ecclesiastical history does not seem to me to have been done without design, viz., that the bishops of Rome have been most dangerously deceived almost as often as, neglecting to observe the most ancient canons, they have presumed to receive such as were excommunicated or condemned elsewhere by pious bishops, and to hear their causes. Felicissimus, the most wicked legate of the schismatics, almost set at variance with each other Cornelius, a very good man, and St. Cyprian, and other pious bishops of Africa<sup>q</sup>. Basilides of Spain being received contrary to the discipline of the Church, obliged Pope Stephen to pass a sentence, which was afterwards most justly condemned by the common suffrages of the Spanish and African Churches, not without some disgrace to so great a prelate<sup>r</sup>. There was one Eustathius, bishop of Sebastia, a subtle and crafty heretic, who being condemned by the sentences of the orthodox bishops in his province of Melitene (a part of Cappadocia so called), *ὁδὸν ἐαυτῷ* (says St. Basil in a certain Epistle to the western bishops<sup>s</sup>) *τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως ἐπενόησε, τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀφιξίην*, “thought of this way

<sup>q</sup> [See above, pp. 208, sqq.]

<sup>r</sup> [See above, pp. 209, sqq.]

<sup>s</sup> [S. Basilii M. Epist. ccxiii. § 3. Op., tom. i. i. p. 406, C.]

to procure his restitution, viz., to take a journey to you." Liberius was then bishop of Rome, whom the same father calls "most holy<sup>t</sup> bishop;" but that fox imposed even upon Liberius. Having therefore obtained commendatory letters from the bishop of Rome, and shewed them to the synod of Tyana, he was easily restored to his former see; but not long after the unclean dog returning to his vomit, did at once disturb the orthodox Churches of his own province, and not a little stain the glory of Liberius.

And Vitalis, another bishop from the east, did in like manner deceive Pope Damasus. He acknowledging his mistake, and μεταδιδασχθεις, "being set right," (as Gregory Nazianzen expresses it to Cledonius"), ἀποκήρυκτον αὐτὸν πεποιήται, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἀπάτην αὐτοῦ δυσχεράνας, ἣν ἔπαθεν ἐξ ἀπλότητος, &c., "excommunicated him (Vitalis), and being offended at the cheat by which he had been imposed upon through too much simplicity," &c. And what did not Pope Zosimus attempt, when deceived by the fair words of Patroclus of Arles, a most profligate villain? He nulled the ordinations of Ursus and Tuentius<sup>x</sup>, duly solemnized nearly twenty years before, and that in a lawful council held at Turin. In several letters, as Cardinal Baronius himself attests<sup>y</sup>, he most unjustly reviled Heros and Lazarus, two bishops of our Gallican Church, that were inflamed with a divine zeal. He raised Patroclus himself as high as he could, by an accession of new honour<sup>z</sup>. Lastly, the same Pope Zosimus absolved Pelagius<sup>a</sup>, an enemy to the grace of Christ, and undertook the protection and defence of Celestius<sup>a</sup>, a notorious heretic, and of Apiarius, a presbyter, free from no wickedness; and that against holy men, the bishops of Africa, who had chastised those monsters with the sword of discipline. And these are the persons in whose defence

<sup>t</sup> [τοῦ μακαριωτάτου.—Ibid.]

<sup>a</sup> [ὁ μοι δοκεῖ, καὶ Δάμασος αὐτὸς μεταδιδασχθεις, καὶ ἅμα πυθόμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προτέρων μένει αὐτοὺς ἐξηγήσεων, ἀποκηρύκτους αὐτοὺς πεποιήσθαι, καὶ τὸ γραμματεῖον ἀναγεγραφέναι, τῆς πίστεως σὺν ἀναθεματισμῶ· καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἀπάτην αὐτῶν δυσχεράνας, ἣν ἔπαθεν ἐξ ἀπλότητος.—S. Greg. Naz. Epist. cii. ad Cledonium, Op., tom. ii. p. 56, B.]

<sup>x</sup> [Zosimi Papæ Epist. vi. ad Episc. Gall. ap. Concilia, tom. iii. col. 411.]

<sup>y</sup> [Adeo vehementer infamat.—Baronius ann. 416, num. 23. Zosim. Epist. iii., iv. ibid., col. 401, sqq.]

<sup>z</sup> [Id., Epist. v.—xii. ibid., col. 409—417.]

<sup>a</sup> [Id., Epist. iii., iv. ibid., col. 401, sqq.]

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NO. VI.

Zosimus began the great controversy concerning the right of appeals. This pope lived in the administration of the see of Rome but one year and four months: if he had governed there longer, what might not have been attempted by a man of his spirit? Pope Celestine having undertaken the defence of Antony bishop of Fussala, after the death of Pope Boniface, to whom Antony had fled for protection when he was most deservedly turned out of his see in Africa, filled all that province of Africa with so much terror that St. Augustine was obliged to write to him, and use these words<sup>b</sup>: "They are threatened, whether it be by him or by most frequent rumours, with judicial proceedings, and public authority, and military force, as it were to execute the sentence of the apostolic see; insomuch that these most miserable persons, although they are Catholic Christians, do yet fear more from a Catholic bishop, than when they were heretics they apprehended from the laws of the Catholic emperors." I omit other instances like to these, which had certainly never happened if the ancient discipline had remained: and what I shewed was done in the case of Marcion<sup>c</sup> had been observed in those of all the rest, whose cause was different from, but not better than that of Marcion.

It remains that I speak a few words concerning appeals to the prince. Now it is a very different matter when a prince and when a greater synod is appealed to; for the bishops who assemble in a synod are the lawful judges of divine affairs. Appeals therefore are made to them as to those to whom the cognizance of such controversies belongs: but the prince is appealed to, not that he should pronounce sentence concerning divine matters, but that he should command it to be duly and orderly pronounced; for he is the keeper and defender of good order and discipline, and of all lawful ordinances, no less in the Church than in the rest of the State. It is an heretical opinion, maintained by many

<sup>b</sup> [Judicia quippe illis, et publicas potestates, et militares impetus tamquam executuros apostolicæ sedis sententiam, sive ipse, sive rumores creberimi comminantur, ut miseri homines Christiani catholici graviora formident

a catholico episcopo, quam, cum essent hæretici, a catholicorum imperatorum legibus formidabant.—S. August. Epist. ccix. Op., tom. ii. col. 779, E. ed. Ben.]

<sup>c</sup> [See above, p. 206.]

at present, who allow the prince no other place in ecclesiastical affairs. . . . .

CASaubON  
DE LIB  
ECCL.  
CHAP. III.  
SECT. IV.

The rest is wanting, the king of France, at the instance of Pope Paul V., having forbid the author to proceed, as was said above in the editor's advertisement. Vide *Mer. Casaub. Pietat.*, p. 124, edit. Lond. in 8vo. A.D. 1621<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>d</sup> [And ap. Is. Casauboni Epist., tom. ii. p. 101. Roterod. 1709.]





# A P P E N D I X.

No. 7.

[TESTIMONIES TO THE DOCTRINES OF THE TREATISE ON THE  
CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD.]

LAUD'S CONFERENCE WITH FISHER, § 35. pp. 305, 306<sup>a</sup>.

My third instance shall be in the sacrifice which is offered ABP. LAUD. up to God in that great and high mystery of our redemption by the death of Christ: for as Christ offered up Himself once for all, a full and all-sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, so did He institute and command a memory of this sacrifice in a Sacrament, even till His coming again. For at and in the Eucharist we offer up to God three sacrifices: one by the priest only; that is the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death, represented in bread broken and wine poured out; another by the priest and the people jointly, and that is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for all the benefits and graces we receive by the precious death of Christ; the third by every particular man for himself only, and that is the sacrifice of every man's body and soul, to serve Him in both all the rest of his life for this blessing thus bestowed on him.

HAMMOND'S PRACTICAL CATECHISM, lib. vi. § 4. p. 129<sup>b</sup>.

In 1 Cor. x. 16 the Sacrament is set down, and the nature HAMMOND. and use of it, thus: "the cup of blessing which we bless," or (as the Syriac<sup>c</sup>) "the cup of praise," i. e. the chalice of wine, which is in the name of the people offered up by the bishop or presbyter to God with lauds and thanksgivings, i. e. that whole eucharistical action (and that expressed to be the action of the people as well as the presbyter, by their

<sup>a</sup> [A Relation of the Conference between Abp. Laud and Mr. Fisher the Jesuit, sect. 35. § 7. Punct. 3. London 1639. (p. 256. ed. Oxford, 1839.)]

<sup>b</sup> [This reference is to the collected works of Hammond, vol. i. ed. 2. Lon-

don, 1684. (p. 393. ed. Oxford, 1847.)]

<sup>c</sup> ܐܘܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ Calix ille

gratiarum actionis, 1 Cor. x. 16.—Bibl. Polygl. Walton., tom. v. p. 704.]

drinking of it) is the communication of the blood of Christ, a service of theirs to Christ, a sacrifice of thanksgiving commemorative of that great mercy and bounty of Christ, in pouring out His blood for them, and a making them (or a means by Christ ordained to make them) partakers of the blood of Christ; not of the guilt of shedding it, but (if they come worthily thither) of the benefits that are purchased by it, viz., the washing away of sin in His blood. So in like manner the breaking and eating of the bread is a communication of the body of Christ, a sacrifice commemorative of Christ's offering up His body for us, and a making us partakers, or communicating to us the benefits of that bread of life, strengthening and giving us grace.

[HAMMOND] VIEW OF THE NEW DIRECTORY, § 39.  
pp. 374, 375<sup>d</sup>.

For the order of the offertory it must be first observed, that in the primitive apostolic Church the offertory was a considerable part of the action in the administering and receiving the Sacrament; the manner of it was thus. At their meetings for divine service every man, as he was able, brought something along with him, bread or wine, the fruits of the season, &c.; of this, part was used for the Sacrament, the rest kept to furnish a common table for all the brethren, (and therefore in Ignatius, *Ep. ad Smyrn.*<sup>e</sup>, *δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν*, "to celebrate the feast," is to administer that Sacrament, being joined there with the mention of baptism,) rich and poor to eat together, no one taking precedence of other, or challenging a greater part to himself by reason of his bringing more. This is discernible in St. Paul's words, chiding the Corinthians for their defaults in this matter. "Every man," saith he, "takes and eats before another his own supper," i. e. the rich that brought more eats that which he brought, *ὡς ἴδιον δεῖπνον*, as if he were at home eating his own private meals, without respect to the nature of those *ἀγάπαι*, which were a common meal for all; and so while one is filled to the full,

1 Cor. 11.  
21.

<sup>d</sup> [A View of the New Directory and a Vindication of the Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England, (Oxford, 1641,) by H. Hammond; Works, vol. i. pp. 374, 375. ed. 1684.]

<sup>e</sup> [οὐκ ἔξόν ἐστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὔτε δοχὴν ἐπιτελεῖν.—S. Ignat. ad Smyrn. Epist., c. viii. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 86.]

some other have little or nothing to eat; which is the meaning of that which follows, "One is hungry and another is drunken." After the ἀγάπαι ceased, and the bringing of the fruits of the season, which was a kind of first-fruit offering, was out-dated, whether by canon of the Church or by contrary custom, this manner was still continued, that every receiver brought somewhat with him to offer, particularly bread, and wine mixed with water. Justin Martyr, Apol. ii. p. 97<sup>f</sup>, sets down the manner of it clearly in his time, προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος, &c., "The bread and the wine of the brethren," i. e. communicants, "is brought to the priest or prefect," (not as the Latin interpreter reads *præfecto fratrum*, as if ἀδελφῶν were to be joined with προεστῶτι, which belongs to ἄρτος,) "and he receiving it gives laud and praise unto God, in the name of the Son and the Holy Ghost, and all the people join in the Amen; then do the deacons distribute that ἄρτον εὐχαριστηθέντα, the bread over which he has thus given thanks:" and then saith he over and above<sup>g</sup>, "the richer sort, and every one as he shall think good, contributes, and that which is so raised is left with the priest, who out of that stock succours the orphan and widow, and becomes a common provider for all that are in want." This clearly distinguishes two parts of the offertory, one designed for the use of all the faithful in the Sacrament, another reserved for the use of the poor; the former called προσφοραὶ, "oblations," in the council of Laodicea<sup>h</sup>, the other καρποφοραὶ, in that of Gangra<sup>i</sup>; and proportionably, the repository for the first called *sacrarium* in the fourth council of Carthage, can. 93<sup>k</sup>, (and by Possidonius, in the life of St. Augustine<sup>l</sup>, *secretarium unde altari necessaria*

<sup>f</sup> [S. Just. M. Apost., i. c. 65. p. 82, D. ed. Ben. See above, vol. ii. p. 106, g.]

<sup>g</sup> [οἱ εὐποροῦτες δὲ καὶ βουλόμενοι, κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἕκαστος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ὃ βούλεται δίδωσι· καὶ τὸ συλλεγόμενον παρὰ τῷ προεστῶτι ἀποτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικουρεῖ ὀρφανοῖς τε καὶ χήραις, καὶ τοῖς διὰ νόσον, ἢ δι' ἄλλην αἰτίαν λειπεμένοις, καὶ τοῖς ἐν δεσμοῖς ὄσσι, καὶ τοῖς παρεπιδήμοις ὄσσι ξένοις, καὶ ἅπλως πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν χρεία ὄσσι κηδεμῶν γίνεται.—Id., *ibid.*, pp. 83, E. 84, A.]

<sup>h</sup> [Conc. Laod. (364?) Canon xlx.

Concilia, tom. i. p. 1533, D, et Canon lviii. *ibid.*, p. 1540, D; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 116, note e.]

<sup>i</sup> [Conc. Gangr. (324?) Canon vii. *ibid.*, tom. ii. col. 429, A.]

<sup>k</sup> [Oblationes dissidentium fratrum neque in sacrario, neque in gazophylacio recipiantur.—Conc. Carthag. iv. (398.) Can. xciii. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1444, D.]

<sup>l</sup> [Possidii (al. Possidonii) Vit. S. Augustin., c. xxiv. pp. 104, 105; Aug. Vind. 1764.]



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*inferuntur*, “where those things are laid, and from whence fetched, which are necessary to the altar;”) the other *gazophylacium*, or “treasury.” The first St. Cyprian calls *sacrificia*, “sacrifices<sup>m</sup>,” the second *elemosynæ*, “alms,” (*Lib. de Op. et Eleem.*) parallel to those which we find both together mentioned, Acts xxiv. 17, “I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings.” This, saith Justin Martyr, (*Dial. cum Tryph.*, p. 260<sup>n</sup>), “is our Christian sacrifice;” which will more appear to him that considers, that the feasting of the people, their partaking of the sacrifice, having their *τόμας* and *μερίδας*, was always annexed to sacrifices, both among Jews and heathens, which the Apostle calls “partaking of the altar;” and consequently that the sacrifice and the feast together, the sacrifice in the offertory, the feast in the eating and drinking there, do complete and make up the whole business of this Sacrament, as far as the people are concerned in it; and all this blessed by the priest, and God blessed and praised by the priest and people, and so the title of Eucharist belongs to it. Thus after Justin, Irenæus, lib. iv. c. 34<sup>o</sup>, “The offertory of the Christians is accounted a pure sacrifice with God, as when St. Paul,” saith he, “mentions the acts of the Philip-  
 Phil. 4. 18. pians’ liberality, he calls them *θυσίαν δεκτῆν*, ‘an acceptable service,’” (and so Heb. xiii. 16, “To do good and to communicate forget not,” such acts of liberality to those that want, “for with such sacrifices God is well pleased,”) and presently defines what this sacrifice was, *primitiæ earum quæ sunt ejus creaturarum*, “the first-fruits of God’s creatures.” So Tertullian, *Apol.*, c. 39<sup>p</sup>, *modicam unusquisque stipem menstrua die adponit*, “every one brings somewhat every month,” just parallel to our offertory at monthly communions. Much more might be said of this out of ancient constitutions and canons, if it were not for my desire of brevity. Effectually St. Cyprian, (*De Op. et Eleemos.*, p. 280<sup>q</sup>), *Locuples et dives es*,

<sup>m</sup> [See below, note q.]<sup>n</sup> [S. Just. M., *Dial. cum Tryph. Jud.*, c. 41. p. 138, A. ed. Ben. See above, vol. ii. p. 103.]<sup>o</sup> [Quoniam igitur Ecclesia cum simplicitate offert, juste munus ejus purum sacrificium apud Deum deputatum est. Quemadmodum et Paulus Philippensibus ait, &c. ‘hostiam acceptabilem, &c.’—S. Iren. adv. Hær., lib.

iv. (c. 34. ed. Grabe,) c. 18. § 4. p. 250. ed. Ben.]

<sup>p</sup> [The words run, *Menstrua die, vel cum velit, et si modo velit, et si modo possit apponit.*—Tert. *Apol.*, c. xxxix. *Op.*, p. 31, B.]<sup>q</sup> [S. Cypr. de *Opere et Eleemosynis*, p. 280. ed. Erasm. Ant. 1541. *Op.*, p. 242. ed. Ben.; quoted inaccurately. See above, vol. i. p. 99, note q.]

*et Dominicum celebrare te credis, et corbanam non respicis, qui in dominicum sine sacrificio venis, qui partem de sacrificio quod pauper obtulit, sumis?* “Art thou rich, and thinkest thou receivest as thou oughtest, and respectest not the corban, feedest on the poor men’s sacrifice, and bringest none thyself?” And St. Augustine, (*Serm. de temp.* 215<sup>r</sup>.) to the same purpose; and it is worth observing, that many authorities which the papists produce for the external sacrifice of the body of Christ in the mass, are but the detorsion and disguising of those places which belong to the offertory of the people; and in the canon of the mass that prayer which is used for the offering up of Christ, (larded with so many crosses,) plainly betrays itself to have been first instituted in relation to these gifts and oblations, as appears by the mention of Abel’s sacrifice, and Melchisedec’s offering<sup>s</sup>, (that of Abel’s the firstlings of the flock, Melchisedec’s a present only of bread and wine to Abraham,) and the *per quem hæc omnia semper bona creas*<sup>t</sup>, (by whom thou createst all these good things,) which belongs evidently to the firstlings of the flock, those living creatures sacrificed by Abel, but is by them now most ridiculously applied to the body of Christ. I have been thus large in shewing the original of the offertory, because it has in all ages been counted a special part of divine worship, “the third part of the Christian holocaust,” saith Aquinas<sup>u</sup>, (*2<sup>a</sup>. 2<sup>a</sup>. quæst.* 85. *art.* 3. *ad* 2,) the observation of which is yet alive in our liturgy, (I would it had a more cheerful universal reception in our practice,) especially if that be true which Honorius saith<sup>x</sup>, that instead of the ancient oblation of bread and wine, the offering of money was by consent received into

<sup>r</sup> [Secundum vires eleemosynas pauperibus exhibete, oblationes quæ in altari consecrantur offerre.—Pseudo-Aug. *Serm.* cclxv. (al. *Serm.* de Temp. 215.) ap. S. Aug., Op., tom. v. App. col. 436, F.]

<sup>s</sup> [Canon Missæ (ap. *Missale Romanum*.) The words are the same as those quoted from S. Greg. *Sacram.*, above, vol. ii. p. 144, note c.]

<sup>t</sup> [Per Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem, &c.—*Ibid.*, paul. inf.]

<sup>u</sup> [Ad secundum dicendum, quod triplex est hominis bonum . . . Tertium est bonum exteriorum rerum, de quo sa-

crificium offertur Deo, &c.—S. Thom. Aquin. *Summa Theol.* Secunda Secunda Quæst. lxxxv. art. 3. ad 2.]

<sup>x</sup> [Statutum est . . . ut populus pro oblatione farinæ denarios offerrent, pro quibus traditum Dominum recognoscerent, qui tamen denarii in usum pauperum, qui membra sunt Christi, cederent, vel in aliquid quod ad hoc sacrificium pertineret.—Honorius Augustodunensis, Gemma Animæ, de antiquo ritu Missæ, lib. i. c. 66. ap. *Bibl. Magn. Patrum*, tom. xii. par. i. p. 1026, D, E. Colon. 1618.]

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the Church in memory of the pence in Judas's sale. Now that this offering of Christians to God for pious and charitable uses, designed to them who are His proxies and deputy receivers, may be the more liberally, and withal more solemnly performed, many portions of Scripture are by the liturgy designed to be read, to stir up and quicken this bounty; and those of three sorts, some belonging to good works in general, others to alms-deeds, others to oblations; and when it is received and brought to the priest, he humbly prays God to accept those alms: and this is it which I call the service of the offertory, so valued and esteemed among all ancients, &c.

[HAMMOND.] PREFACE TO DISPATCHER DISPATCHED, p. 164<sup>z</sup>.

HAMMOND.

The Protestants of the Church of England believe and reverence as much as any the sacrifice of the Eucharist, as the most substantial and essential act of our religion; and doubt not but the word *missa*, "mass," has fitly been used by the western Church to signify it; and herein abhor and condemn nothing but the corruptions and mutilations which the Church of Rome, without care of conforming themselves to the universal, have admitted in the celebration.

DODWELL DE JURE LAICORUM SACERDOTALI, [cap. i. § 4.]  
p. 12, 13<sup>a</sup>.

DODWELL.

*Male itaque Tertullianum explicant rursus eruditi<sup>b</sup> viri de id genus tinctione atque oblatione, quæ pro suis saltem ecclesiæ Romanæ principiis, non sint officiis sacerdotalibus accensendæ. Baptismum laicis, etiam mulieribus obstetricibus concedunt Romanenses. Adeo nullam includit, pro eorum sententia, potestatem sacerdotalem. Sic et illa donorum oblatio, seu eulogiarum, seu panis etiam (ante tamen quam consecraretur) eucharistici, laicorum potius spectabat officium, quam sacerdotum proprie sic dictorum. Offerebant enim illa dona sacerdotibus laici, Deo deinceps ab illis offerenda: non ipsi Deo immediate, quod proprium erat ipsorum sacerdotum.*

\* [The Dispatcher Dispatched. A third Defence of the Treatise of Schism. By H. Hammond. London, 1659. Works, vol. ii. p. 164. ed. 1684.]

<sup>a</sup> [De Jure Laicorum Sacerdotali, ex sententia Tertulliani, &c., ab Henrico

Dodwell. Lond., 1685. See above, vol. i. p. 239.]

<sup>b</sup> [Albasp. de l' Euch., liv. ii. c. 8. p. 251. ad calc. Op., S. Optat. Par. 1679. Petav. de Potestate Consecrandi Diatriba, c. i. p. 4. Par. 1639.]

IBID., [§ 16.] p. 44, 45. *Quid ni igitur episcopus eodem illo typici sacerdotii nomine et honore insigniamus? Ignatium certe aliosque insignisse veteres alibi ostendimus. Nec negari certe potest honorem quemcunque habent, a Christo eum habere, et in Eum redundare omnes proinde illorum contemptus atque contumelias. Christum itaque representent necesse est, unamque constituent cum eo in lege, personam. Alioquin nulla posset esse ratio, cur ad Christum pertineat quæ in illos admittitur contumelia. Negari iterum non potest, quæcunque locum habent in Christianismo, sacrificia ea etiam ad officium episcoporum attinere, nec ab alio esse quam a Christo eorum etiam illam sacrificandi potestatem, nec aliud representari in eucharistia sacrificium, quam Christi illud in cruce, quod et in cælis hodieque a Christo representatur. Qui ergo Christum in ipsa etiam sacrificandi potestate representant, quidni illos pro representatiis sacerdotibus habeamus?*

TESTIMONIES.  
DODWELL.

[DODWELL.] ONE ALTAR, &c. c. xi. § 1<sup>c</sup>.

But that which more nearly concerns the design of this present way of reasoning is, that these sacrifices and this high-priesthood of the gospel were mystical, and so mystical as not only to signify, but also to perform what was, according to the sense of those times, to be expected from mysteries. . . . that the Eucharist was the mystical sacrifice, performing the same thing under the gospel as the external bloody sacrifices under the law, and that their bishops were the mystical high-priests, exactly answering them in that very particular office of uniting with the *Λόγος*.

DODWELL.

AND § 2<sup>d</sup>. And therefore the public sacrifices being designed as ceremonies of admission to a league and covenant, and intimate union with God, such a kind of sacrifice was requisite to be asserted to our mystical Israelitism, as might engage God in covenant with us, and admit us to a mystical union with Him.

AND § 5<sup>c</sup>. Accordingly I am very apt to think, that this is indeed the true original of the name of Eucharist, as applied by the primitive Christians to this very Sacrament,

<sup>c</sup> [A Discourse concerning the one Altar and the one Priesthood, &c., by H. Dodwell, M.A., p. 296. London, 1683.]

<sup>d</sup> [Id., ibid., pp. 298, 299.]

<sup>e</sup> [Id., ibid., pp. 305, 306.]



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that they intended thereby to signify that this was among them to perform the office of a sacrifice of thanksgiving. The very name was thus commonly applied to the bread itself in the time of St. Justin Martyr. So he tells us expressly, (Apol. ii. p. 97<sup>f</sup>.) *Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῶν εὐχαριστία.*

PATRICK'S MENSÆ MYSTICÆ, pp. 15, 16<sup>ε</sup>.

PATRICK.

It will not be unprofitable to add, that this was one reason why the ancients called this action a sacrifice, (which the Romanists now so much urge,) because it doth represent the sacrifice which Christ once offered. It is a figure of His death, [which we commemorate,] unto which the Apostle St. Paul (as a learned man conceives<sup>b</sup>) has a reference, when he saith to the Galatians, c. iii. 2, "that Jesus Christ was set forth evidently before their eyes crucified among them." They saw as it were His sacrifice on the cross, it was so lively figured in this Sacrament. And it is very plain that St. Chrysostom (or whosoever was the author of those Commentaries) understood no more, when as he thus speaks upon the Epistle to the Hebrews, Hom. 27. *Τί οὖν; ἡμεῖς καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν οὐ προσφέρομεν, κ.τ.λ.*<sup>i</sup> "What then? do we not offer every day? Yet we offer by making a commemoration (*ἀνάμνησιν*) of His death . . . And we do not make another sacrifice every day, but always the same, or rather a remembrance of a sacrifice." Such an unbloody sacrifice which is only rememorative and in representation we all acknowledge.

Ibid., pp. 37, 38. Yea, they may know that the bread and wine of the Eucharist is an offering (out of the stock of the whole congregation) to this service, according as it was in the primitive times, when (as Justin saith, Apol. ii<sup>k</sup>.) "they offered bread and wine to the *προεστῶς*, chief minis-

<sup>f</sup> [S. Just. M. Apol. i. c. 65. Op., p. 83, A. ed. Ben.]

<sup>ε</sup> [Mensæ Mysticæ; or a Discourse concerning the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, &c., by Simon Patrick, D.D. (London, 1677.) The pages and extracts agree with the fifth edition of 1684.]

<sup>h</sup> [L'Empereur. (Constantini Cæsaris alias L'Empereur SS. Theol. in Leidensi Academiâ Professoris Dispu-

tationes Theologiæ xviii. Disp. v. de Cœnâ Domini; art. i. Lugd. Bat. 1648.)]

<sup>i</sup> [S. Chrys. in Epist. ad Hebr., Hom. 17. Op., tom. xii. p. 168, D; 169, A. See above, vol. i. p. 28, h. There is no reason to question the genuineness of these Homilies.]

<sup>k</sup> [S. Just. M. Apol. i. c. 65. p. 82, D. ed. Ben. See above, vol. ii. p. 106, g.]

ter of the brethren, who took it, and gave praise and glory to the Lord of the whole world, and then made (*ἐπὶ πολὺ*) a large and prolix thanksgiving to Him that had made them worthy of such gifts." We pray Him therefore, in our communion service, to accept our oblations (meaning those of bread and wine) as well as our alms. We still make *λογικὴν καὶ ἄκαπνον θυσίαν* (as Origen's phrase is), "a rational and unsmoky sacrifice;" for we offer ourselves, and our prayers, and our praises, and our goods. So that if you please we may call the table of the Lord *λογικὴν τράπεζαν* (in Theodoret's style) "a rational table," where as God provides for us, so we provide for Him in those that are His members, and offer upon it those sacrifices which are most befitting either Him or rational creatures.

TESTIMONIES.  
PATRICK.

ANSWER TO THE BISHOP OF CONDOM'S EXPOSITION OF THE  
CATHOLIC FAITH, § 14, p. 82<sup>1</sup>.

So that when M. Condom tells us from the council of Trent<sup>m</sup>, "that this sacrifice is instituted only to represent that which was once accomplished on the cross, to perpetuate the memory of it, and to apply its saving virtue for the remission of sins which we daily commit:" all this must be allowed true, and the proper ends of the institution of the holy Sacrament; but the council pleads them, &c.

[ANON.]

FULL VIEW OF THE DOCTRINES AND PRACTICES OF THE  
ANCIENT CHURCH RELATING TO THE EUCHARIST, pp. 101  
—103<sup>n</sup>.

I have already produced the testimonies where the fathers make what is distributed in the Eucharist to be without life or sense, which can be true of nothing else but of the bread and wine; so that unless we make them distribute what they had not consecrated, the bread and wine must remain after consecration. The same is also evidently proved from another common assertion of the fathers, "that Christ offered

PATRICK.

<sup>1</sup> [An answer to the Bishop of Condom, now of Meaux, (Bossuet,) his Exposition of the Catholic Faith; Sect. xiv. Of the Sacrifice of the Mass. London, 1686. This work is attributed to Mr. John Gilbert, M.A., of Hart Hall.]

<sup>m</sup> [Concil. Trident. Sess. xxii. cap. 1. Concilia, tom. xx. col. 128, E; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 183, note d.]

<sup>n</sup> [This work was written by Bishop Patrick, but published anonymously, London, 1688.]

APPENDIX.  
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the same oblation with Melchisedec." St. Cyprian, lib. ii. epist. 3<sup>o</sup>: *Quis magis sacerdos Dei summi, quam Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui sacrificium Deo Patri obtulit hoc idem quod Melchisedec obtulerat, id est panem et vinum, suum scilicet corpus et sanguinem?* "Who was more a priest of the most high God than our Lord Jesus Christ, who offered a sacrifice to God the Father, and offered this same that Melchisedec had offered, that is bread and wine, to wit His body and blood?" Which indeed the wine and bread was by representation; but if you understand this of proper flesh and blood offered in the Eucharist, then it is not the same oblation with that of Melchisedec.

Isidore Peleusiota, lib. i. Epist. 431, *ad Pallad.* <sup>p</sup> *Μελχισεδέκ ἄρτω καὶ οἴνῳ ἱερατεύων, δι' ὧν τὸν τῶν θεῶν μυστηρίων προσήμαινε τύπον:* "Melchisedec performed his sacred office in bread and wine, by which he fore-signified the type of the divine mysteries."

Eusebius, lib. v. *Dem. Evangel.*, c. 3<sup>a</sup>. "Ὡσπερ ἐκεῖνος (Melchisedec) ἱερεὺς ἐθνῶν τυγχάνων, οὐδαμοῦ φαίνεται θυσίαις σωματικαῖς κεχρημένος, οἴνῳ δὲ μόνῳ καὶ ἄρτῳ τὸν Ἀβραὰμ εὐλογῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον, κ.τ.λ. οἴνῳ καὶ ἄρτῳ τοῦ τε σώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ σωτηρίου αἵματος αἰνίττονται τὰ μυστήρια, τοῦ Μελχισεδέκ ταῦτα πνεύματι θεῷ προτεθεωρηκότος, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ταῖς εἰκόσι προκεχρημένου:" "For as he (Melchisedec) being a priest of the Gentiles, never seems to have made use of bodily sacrifices, but blessed Abraham only in bread and wine; after the same manner also, first our Lord and Saviour Himself, then all the priests that derive from Him, performing in all nations their spiritual function according to the ecclesiastical sanctions, by bread and wine do express the mysteries of His body and saving blood, Melchisedec having foreseen these things by a divine spirit, and having used before these images of future things."

St. Jerom. *Epist. ad Evagr.* <sup>r</sup> *Melchisedec pane et vino*

<sup>o</sup> [S. Cypr. Epist. lxxiii. ad Cæcilium. Op., p. 105. ed. Ben. See vol. i. p. 94.]

<sup>p</sup> [S. Isidor. Pelusiot. Ep. ccccxxxi. ad Palladium, lib. i. p. 110.]

<sup>q</sup> [Euseb. Dem. Evan., lib. v. p. 223,

C, D.]

<sup>r</sup> [S. Hieron. Epist. lxxiii. ad Evangelum (al. Evagrium.) Op., tom. i. col. 440, B; for the true reading, see above, vol. ii. p. 110. note l.]

*simplici puroque sacrificio Christi dedicaverit Sacramentum*: TESTIMONIES. PATRICK.  
 “Melchisedec, by bread and wine, which is a simple and a pure sacrifice, did dedicate Christ’s Sacrament.”

St. August. *Epist.* 95<sup>s</sup>. *Melchisedec prolato Sacramento mensæ*<sup>1</sup> *dominicæ novit æternum ejus sacerdotium figurare*:  
 “Melchisedec bringing forth the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper, (i. e. bread and wine,) knew how to figure Christ’s eternal priesthood<sup>t</sup>.” Again, lib. xvii. *de Civit. Dei*, c. 17, upon those words, “Thou art a priest for ever,” &c., he adds, *Ex eo quod jam nusquam est sacerdotium et sacrificium secundum ordinem Aaron, et ubique offertur sub sacerdote Christo quod protulit Melchisedec quando benedixit Abraham*: “Since now there is nowhere any priesthood or sacrifice according to the order of Aaron, and that is every where offered under Christ the priest, which Melchisedec brought forth when he blessed Abraham.” In many other places St. Augustine says the same.

Arnobius in *Psalm.* 109<sup>u</sup>. *Christus per mysterium panis et vini factus est sacerdos in æternum*: “Christ, by the mystery of the bread and wine, is made a priest for ever.”

St. Chrysostom in *Psalm.* 110, vel 109<sup>x</sup>. *Καὶ διὰ τὰ μυστήρια, ὅτι καὶ κείνος ἄρτον καὶ οἶνον προσήνεγκε τῷ Ἀβραάμ.* Why did he say a priest after the order of Melchisedec, “even because of the mysteries, because he also brought out bread and wine to Abraham.”

Isidor. Hisp. in *Gen.* c. 11<sup>y</sup>. *Non secundum Aaron pecudum victimas, sed oblationem panis et vini, id est corporis et sanguinis ejus sacramentum in sacrificium offeramus*: “Let us not offer the victims of beasts according to Aaron, but let us offer in sacrifice the oblation of bread and wine, i. e. the Sacrament of Christ’s body and blood.”

Bed. Hom. de 55. in *Vigil. S. Jo. Bapt.*<sup>z</sup> *Redemptor noster ideo sacerdos esse dicitur secundum ordinem Melchisedec, quia*

<sup>s</sup> [S. August. *Epist.* clxxvii. (al. xcv.) ad Innocentium. Op., tom. ii. col. 626, D.]

<sup>t</sup> [Id., *de Civ. Dei*, lib. xvii. c. 17. Op., tom. vii. col. 480, C.]

<sup>u</sup> [Qui per mysterium panis ac vini sacerdos factus est in æternum.—Arnob. in *Psal.* cix. ap. *Bibl. Vet. Patr.*, tom. v. par. iii. p. 291, H. Col. Ag.

1618.]

<sup>x</sup> [S. Chrys. in *Psal.* cix. § 8. Op., tom. v. p. 262, A, B.]

<sup>y</sup> [S. Isid. Hisp. Alleg. in *Vet. Test.* in *Gen.* c. 11. § 5. Op., tom. v. p. 298.]

<sup>z</sup> [S. Bed. Hom. *Æstiv. de Sanctis xxxii.* in *Vigil. S. Joan. Bapt.* Op., tom. vii. (ap. tom. ii.) col. 96. ed. Col. Agr. 1612.]



APPENDIX.  
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*ablatis victimis legalibus, idem sacrificii genus in mysterium sui corporis et sanguinis in Novo Testamento offerendum instituit:* "Our Redeemer is therefore called a priest after the order of Melchisedec, because taking away the legal sacrifices, He instituted the same kind of sacrifice, (viz. bread and wine,) should be offered under the New Testament, for the mystery of His body and blood."

MR. BENNET OF THE RIGHTS OF THE CLERGY<sup>a</sup>, c. 3. p. 52.

BENNET.

But St. Clement of Rome, who wrote in the Apostles' times, plainly speaks of the bishops presiding in the celebration of the Lord's Supper; for nothing else can be meant by their "offering the gifts<sup>b</sup>," especially if we consider that the Eucharistical elements are called a gift by St. Ignatius<sup>c</sup> himself, and that this language is used by innumerable other writers, particularly those that are the most ancient; and it is notorious that *προσφέρειν* signifies "to offer a sacrifice," such as all antiquity thought the holy Eucharist to be, and that this word is particularly applied to the holy Eucharist by Justin Martyr<sup>d</sup> and all antiquity<sup>e</sup>.

JOANNIS HUGHES, A.M., COLLEGII JESU APUD CANTABR. SOCIUS, IN DISSERTATIONE QUAM PRÆMISIT JOAN. CHRYSOSTOMI DE SACERDOTIO, libris vi. a se editis 1710, p. 134f.

HUGHES.

*Voluit salvator noster, ut cruentæ suæ passionis commemoratio primarias in officiis publicis teneret partes, imo ut sacrificiî commemorativi, typico illo, ac umbratili (quo Judæi gaudebant) longe nobilioris rationem haberet. Voluit itaque sine ulla dubitatione publicam hanc commemorationem a publicis ecclesiæ ministris celebrari, sacrificium hoc commemorativum a publicis sacerdotibus offerri. Vide pp. 135, 136, &c. 141, &c.*

<sup>a</sup> [The Rights of the Clergy of the Christian Church, by Thomas Bennet, M.A. London, 1711.]

<sup>b</sup> [S. Clem. Rom. Epist. ad Cor. i. c. 44. ap. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 173; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 88.]

<sup>c</sup> [τῆ δαρεῖ τῶ Θεοῦ.—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn., c. 7. Patr. Apost.,

tom. ii. p. 36.]

<sup>d</sup> [S. Just. M. Dial. cum Tryph., c. 41. Op., p. 138, A; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 94, note b.]

<sup>e</sup> [See above, vol. ii. p. 87, sqq.]

<sup>f</sup> [This is the treatise translated in the next number of the Appendix; Dissertation v.]

DR. BULL'S ANSWER TO A QUERY OF THE BISHOP OF MEAUXES,  
IN ADDITION TO SEVERAL LETTERS BETWEEN DR. GEORGE  
HICKES, &c., p. 246, &c.

TESTIMO-  
NIES.  
BP. BULL.

The first article I shall take notice of is this<sup>b</sup>; "I profess, that in the mass is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead; and that in the most holy sacrament of the Eucharist, there is truly, and really, and substantially the body and blood, together with the soul and divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ: and that there is wrought a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, which conversion the Catholic Church calls transubstantiation." Where this proposition, "That in the mass there is offered to God a true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead," having that other of the "substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist" immediately annexed to it; the meaning of it must necessarily be this, that in the Eucharist the very body and blood of Christ are again offered up to God as a propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of men. Which is an impious proposition, derogatory to the one full satisfaction of Christ made by His death on the cross, and contrary to express Scripture, Heb. vii. 27; ix. 12, 15, 26, 28; x. 12, 14. It is true the Eucharist is frequently called by the ancient fathers *προσφορά*, *θυσία*, "an oblation," "a sacrifice." But it is to be remembered, that they say also it is *θυσία λογική, καὶ ἀναίμακτος*, "a reasonable sacrifice," "a sacrifice without blood<sup>i</sup>:" which how can it be said to be, if therein the very blood of Christ were offered up to God?

<sup>e</sup> [The Corruptions of the Church of Rome, in relation to Ecclesiastical Government, and the Rule of Faith, and Form of Divine Worship; in answer to the Bishop of Meaux's queries. Lond. 1705. Bull's Works, vol. ii. pp. 251, sqq. Oxford, 1827. This letter of Bull was first published (entire) with Hickes' work entitled, Several Letters which passed between Dr. George Hickes and a popish priest; Lond. 1705.]

<sup>h</sup> *Profiteor in missa offerri Deo verum, proprium, et propitiatorium sacrificium pro vivis et defunctis; atque in*

*sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento esse vere, et realiter et substantialiter corpus et sanguinem, una cum anima et divinitate Domini nostri Jesu Christi, fierique conversionem totius substantiæ panis in corpus, et totius substantiæ vini in sanguinem, quam conversionem Catholica Ecclesia transubstantiationem appellat.*—[*Professio Fidei apud Bullam Pii IV. Papæ. Concilia, tom. xx. col. 221, D.*]

<sup>i</sup> [Const. Apost., lib. vi. c. 23. Concilia, tom. i. p. 404, A. See above, vol. ii. p. 111.]

They held the Eucharist to be a commemorative sacrifice, and so do we. This is the constant language of the ancient liturgies<sup>k</sup>: “We offer by way of commemoration,” according to our Saviour’s words when He ordained this holy rite<sup>l</sup>, “Do this in commemoration of Me.” In the Eucharist then, Christ is offered, not hypostatically, as the Trent fathers have determined, (for so He was but once offered,) but commemoratively only; and this commemoration is made to God the Father, and is not a bare remembering, or putting ourselves in mind of Him. For every sacrifice is directed to God, and the oblation therein made, whatsoever it be, hath Him for its object, and not man. In the holy Eucharist therefore, we set before God the bread and wine, as “figures or images of the precious blood of Christ shed for us, and of His precious body,” (they are the very words of the Clementine Liturgy<sup>m</sup>,) and plead to God the merit of His Son’s sacrifice once offered on the cross for us sinners, and in this Sacrament represented, beseeching Him for the sake thereof to bestow His heavenly blessings on us.

To conclude this matter: the ancients held the oblation of the Eucharist to be answerable in some respects to the legal sacrifices; that is, they believed that our blessed Saviour ordained the sacrament of the Eucharist as a rite of prayer and praise to God, instead of the manifold and bloody sacrifices of the law. That the legal sacrifices were rites to invoke God by, is evident from many texts of Scripture; see especially 1 Sam. vii. 9; xiii. 12; Ezra vi. 10; Prov. xv. 8. And that they were also rites for praising and blessing God for His mercies, appears from 2 Chron. xxix. 27. Instead therefore of slaying of beasts, and burning of incense, whereby they praised God, and called upon His name under the Old Testament, the fathers, I say, believed our Saviour appointed this Sacrament of bread and wine, as a rite whereby to give

<sup>k</sup> *μνησθέντες προσφέρομεν*, commemorantes, or commemorando offerimus. — [Const. Apost., lib. viii. c. 12. Concilia, p. 473. See above, vol. ii. p. 123.]

<sup>l</sup> *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν*.—Vid. Justin Mart. Dial. cum Tryph., p. 296, 297. [ed. Par. 1636. τοῦ ἄρτου ὃν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς ποιῆειν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ τε σω-

*ματοποιήσασθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτόν. κ.τ.λ. Op., pp. 168, E. 169, A. ed. Ben.]*

<sup>m</sup> *τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ ἐκχυθέντος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σώματος τὰ ἀντίτυπα*.—Const. Apost., lib. vii. c. 26. [ap. Concilia, tom. i. p. 428, D.]

thanks, and make supplication to His Father in His name. This you may see fully cleared and proved by the learned Mr. Mede, in his treatise entitled, *The Christian Sacrifice*". The Eucharistical sacrifice thus explained, is indeed λογικὴ θυσία, "a reasonable sacrifice," widely different from that monstrous sacrifice of the mass, taught in the Church of Rome.

TESTIMONIES.  
BP. BULL.

The other branch of the article is concerning transubstantiation, wherein the ecclesiastic professeth upon his solemn oath his belief, that in the Eucharist "there is made a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the body, and of the whole substance of the wine into the blood of Christ." A proposition that bids defiance to all the reason and sense of mankind. Nor (God be praised) hath it any ground or foundation in divine revelation; nay, the text of Scripture on which the Church of Rome builds this article, duly considered, utterly subverts and overthrows it: she grounds it upon the words of the institution of the holy Sacrament by our Saviour, the same night wherein He was betrayed, when He took bread and brake it, and gave it to His disciples, saying, "This is My body," τὸ διδόμενον, saith St. Luke, τὸ κλώμενον, saith St. Paul, "which is given and broken for you." After the same manner He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, "Drink ye all of this, for this is My blood of the New Testament," τὸ ἐκχυόμενον, "which is shed for many for the remission of sins." Now whatsoever our Saviour said, was undoubtedly true; but these words could not be true in a proper sense, for our Saviour's body was not then given or broken, but whole and inviolate, nor was there one drop of His blood yet shed. The words therefore must necessarily be understood in a figurative sense, and then what becomes of the doctrine of transubstantiation? The meaning of our Saviour is plainly this: What I now do is a representation of My death and passion near approaching, and what I now do, do ye hereafter, do this in remembrance of Me, let this be a standing, perpetual ordinance in My Church to the end of the world; let My death be thus annunciated and shewn forth, till I come to judgment: see 1 Cor. xi. 26.

" [The Christian Sacrifice, a Discourse on Mal. i. 11, published (after Mede's death) 1648. See above, vol. ii. p. 90.]



As little foundation hath this doctrine of transubstantiation in the ancient Church, as appears sufficiently from what hath been already said concerning the notion then universally received of the Eucharistical sacrifice. It was then believed to be an *ἀνάμνησις*, or “commemoration,” by the symbols of bread and wine, of the body and blood of Christ, once offered up to God on the cross for our redemption; it could not therefore be then thought an offering up again to God of the very body and blood of Christ, substantially present under the appearance of bread and wine; for these two notions are inconsistent, and cannot stand together. The ancient doctors, yea and liturgies of the Church<sup>o</sup>, affirm the Eucharist to be *incruentum sacrificium*, “a sacrifice without blood;” which it cannot be said to be, if the very blood of Christ were therein present, and offered up to God. In the Clementine Liturgy, the bread and wine in the Eucharist are said to be *antitypa*<sup>p</sup>, “correspondent types, figures and images” of the precious body and blood of Christ. And divers others of the fathers speak in the same plain language. *Vid. Greg. Naz., Apol. Orat. i. tom. i. q;* *Cyril Hierosol. v. Cat. Myst. r;* *Ambros. de Sacrament., lib. iv. cap. 4<sup>s</sup>.*

We are not ignorant that the ancient fathers generally teach, that the bread and wine in the Eucharist, by or upon the consecration of them, do become and are made the “body and blood of Christ;” but we know also, that though they do not all explain themselves in the same way, yet they do all declare their sense to be very dissonant from the doctrine of transubstantiation. Some of the most ancient doctors of the Church, as Justin Martyr<sup>t</sup> and Irenæus<sup>u</sup>, seem to have

<sup>o</sup> [See the Christian Priesthood, chap. ii. sect. 10. vol. ii. pp. 111—113, 97, 129, c. 132, o. 135, c. 136, l.]

<sup>p</sup> [Const. Apost. vii. 26. ap. Concilia, tom. i. p. 428, D.]

<sup>q</sup> [τὴν τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἀντίτυπον.—S. Greg. Naz. Orat. ii. (al. i.) Apolog., § 95. Op., tom. i. p. 56, D. See above, vol. i. p. 91, note a.]

<sup>r</sup> [οὐκ ἔρτου καὶ οἴνου κελεύονται γεύσασθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀντιτύπου σώματος καὶ αἵματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ.—S. Cyr. Hier. Catechesis Myst. v. § 20. Op., p. 331, C.]

<sup>s</sup> [Similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis bibis.—S. Ambros. de Sacram., lib. iv. c. 4. § 20. Op., tom. ii. col. 370, 371.

See also c. v. § 21, p. 371, B. . . . quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri, &c.; quoted above, see vol. ii. p. 143, note a.]

<sup>t</sup> [ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαρισθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.—S. Just. M. Apol. i. c. 66. p. 83. ed. Ben. (p. 129. ed. Grabe.)]

<sup>u</sup> [ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐκέτι

had this notion, that by or upon the sacerdotal benediction, the spirit of Christ, or a divine virtue from Christ, descends upon the elements, and accompanies them to all worthy communicants, and that therefore they are said to be and are the body and blood of Christ; the same divinity which is hypostatically united to the body of Christ in heaven, being virtually united to the elements of bread and wine on earth. Which also seems to be the meaning of all the ancient liturgies, in which it is prayed<sup>x</sup>, “that God would send down His Spirit upon the bread and wine in the Eucharist.” And this doubtless is the meaning of Origen in his eighth book against Celsus, p. 399, where speaking of the holy Eucharist, he says<sup>y</sup> that therein “we eat bread by prayer (i. e. by the prayer of consecration for the descent of the divine Spirit upon it) made a certain holy body, which also sanctifies those, who with a sound or sincere purpose of heart use it.” But that neither Justin Martyr, nor Irenæus, nor Origen, ever dreamed of the transubstantiation of the elements, is most evident; for Justin Martyr and Irenæus do both of them plainly affirm<sup>z</sup>, that by eating and drinking the bread and wine in the Eucharist “our bodies are nourished,” and that the “bread and wine are digested, and turned into the substance of our bodies;” which to affirm of the glorified body of Christ were impious and blasphemous, and to affirm the same of the mere accidents of the bread and wine, would be very absurd and ridiculous. And Origen expressly saith, “that what we eat in the Eucharist is bread, but bread sanctified and made holy by prayer; and which, by the divine virtue that accompanies it, sanctifieth all those who worthily receive it.” He that would see more of this notion of the ancient fathers, and particularly those places

κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία, ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγίγειν τε καὶ οὐρανίου· οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα.—S. Iren. contra Hæres., lib. iv. c. 18. (c. 34. ed. Grabe,) § 5. Op., p. 251. For the words of other fathers see above, vol. ii. pp. 96, sqq.]

<sup>x</sup> [See the Christian Priesthood, chap. ii. sect. 10. vol. ii. pp. 97 and

129, sqq.]

<sup>y</sup> [ἄρτους ἐσθλομένω σώμα γενομένους διὰ τὴν εὐχὴν ἁγίον τι καὶ ἁγιάζον τοὺς μετ' ὑγιούσ προθέσεως αὐτῶ χρωμένους.—Orig. cont. Celsum, lib. viii. c. 33. Op., tom. i. p. 766, D, E.]

<sup>z</sup> [See note t; and St. Irenæus' words: πῶς τὴν σάρκα λέγουσιν εἰς φθορὰν χωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ μετέχειν τῆς ζωῆς, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ τρεφομένην.—Ibid.]

of Justin Martyr<sup>a</sup> and Irenæus, fully cleared and vindicated from the forced and absurd glosses of the Romanists, may consult my learned friend Mr. Grabe, in his notes upon Justin Martyr's first Apology of his own edition, pp. 128, 129<sup>b</sup>, but especially in his large and elaborate Annotation upon Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 34<sup>c</sup>.

I shall dismiss this article with this one only observation, that after the prodigious doctrine of transubstantiation was ["fourth."] confirmed by the first<sup>1</sup> Lateran council<sup>d</sup>, there were many in the communion of the Church of Rome who could not digest it, did not in truth believe it, and wished from their hearts that their Church had never defined it. For this we have the ample testimonies of very eminent writers of that Church. "The conversion of the bread and wine into Christ's body and blood," saith Cajetan, par. 3. qu. 75. Article i.<sup>e</sup>, "all of us do teach in words: but indeed many deny it, thinking nothing less. These are diversely divided one from another: for some by the conversion that is in the Sacrament, understand nothing but identity of place; that is, that the bread is therefore said to be made the body of Christ, because where the bread is, the body of Christ becomes present also. Others understand by the word 'conversion,' nothing else but the order of succession; that is, that the body succeedeth, and is under the veils of accidents, under which the bread, which they suppose to be annihilated, was

<sup>a</sup> [ὄν τρόπον διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.—S. Just. M. Apol. i. c. 66. Op., p. 83, B.]

<sup>b</sup> [The notes are on the passage quoted above, note t.—S. Just. Mart. Apol. i. cum notis J. E. Grabe. Oxon. 1700.]

<sup>c</sup> [The notes on the passage quoted above, note u. S. Iren. cont. Hær. p. 327. ed. J. E. Grabe. Oxon. 1702.]

<sup>d</sup> [Cujus corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter contineri; transubstantiatis, pane in corpus, et vino in sanguinem, &c.—Conc. Lateran. IV. (A.D.

1215.) Decret. cap. i. Concilia, tom. xiii. pp. 929, 930.]

<sup>e</sup> [Verum novitatem conversionis licet omnes voce affirmant, secundum rem tamen multi negarunt, putantes se non negare illam. Et hi multifariam sunt divisi, dum quidam intelligunt conversionis nomine identitatem loci, ut hac ratione dicatur panem fieri corpus Christi: quia ubi est panis, est et corpus Christi. . . . Quidam vero conversionis nomine intelligunt successionis ordinem, . . . ut hac ratione dicatur panem converti in corpus Christi, quia corpus Christi est post consecrationem sub accidentibus, sub quibus erat panis, quem panem annihilari, aut solvi in præjacentem materiam dicebant.— Thomæ de Vio Card. Cajetani Comment. in D. Thom. Aquin. Summam; pars iii. de Sacram. Quæst. xvi. (al. 75.) Art. i. p. 161. Venet. 1596.]

before." Occam<sup>f</sup>, *Centiloquii conclus.*, cap. 19, saith, "There are three opinions about transubstantiation, of which the first supposeth a conversion of the sacramental elements, the second the annihilation, the third affirmeth the bread to be in such manner transubstantiated into the body of Christ, that it is no way changed in substance, or substantially converted into Christ's body, or doth cease to be, but only that the body of Christ in every part of it becomes present in every part of the bread." Waldensis<sup>g</sup>, tom. ii. *de Sacram. Eucharistiæ*, cap. 19, reports out of Christopolitanus Zacharias' book, entitled *Quatuor unum*<sup>h</sup>, "that there were some, perhaps many, but hardly to be discerned and noted, who thought still as Berengarius did." The same Waldensis, in the same book, cap. 64<sup>i</sup>, saith, "that some supposed the conversion that is in the Sacrament to be, in that the bread and wine are assumed into the unity of Christ's person; some thought it to be by way of impanation, and some by

<sup>f</sup> [In materia ista est triplex opinio. Quarum prima est hæc quæ ponit, quod in consecratione hostiæ, panis, quod subjectum est accidentibus istius hostiæ, transubstantiatur in corpus Christi; ad istum intellectum, quod talis transubstantiatio est quodammodo transumptio et conversio panis in corpus Christi: qua transumptione facta, non est ibi panis; sed accidentia quæ prius fuerunt in pane tamquam in subjecto, postea existunt sine subjecto. Secunda opinio ponit consimiliter quod in consecratione hostiæ, panis transubstantiatur in corpus Christi, non ut ipse panis aliquo modo convertatur in corpus Christi ex quo prius fuit, secundum se et secundum quamlibet ejus partem; sed ad istum intellectum, quod talis transubstantiatio nihil aliud est quam panem desinere esse, et verum corpus Christi sub accidentibus hostiæ existere vel consistere; et sic adhuc illa opinio ponit quod illa accidentia hostiæ consecrata sunt sine subjecto. Tertia opinio est, quæ adhuc ponit quod panis hostiæ transubstantiatur in corpus Christi, non quod aliquo modo mutetur vel convertatur in corpus Christi, sicut opinio prima ponit; nec etiam quod panis desinat esse, sicut secunda ponit; sed ad istum intellectum, quod ista transubstantiatio in corpus Christi nihil aliud est quam quod corpus Christi,

virtute verborum sacramentalium, secundum se totum et quamlibet sui partem, coexistit cuilibet sui (*sic*) parti panis.—M. Guil. de Ocham. *Centiloquium Theologicarum conclusionum* Concl. xxxix. C. ed. Lugd. 1495.]

<sup>g</sup> [Prout in libro suo, *Quatuor unum*, tractans hunc textum, 'Hoc facite in meam commemorationem,' Chrysopolitanus suggerit Zacharias. Sunt (inquiens) nonnulli, imo forsan multi, sed vix notari possunt, qui cum damnato Berengario idem sentiunt, tamen eundem cum ecclesia damnant.—Thom. Waldensis *Doctrinale Antiquitatum Fidei*, tom. ii. de Sacramentis, c. 19. fol. 36. Venet. 1671.]

<sup>h</sup> [Zachariæ Episc. Chrysopolitani (A.D. 1101) In *Unum ex Quatuor*, sive de Concordia Evangelistarum; lib. iv. c. 156. ap. *Bibl. Max. Patr.*, tom. xix. p. 916, D. Lugd. 1677.]

<sup>i</sup> [The words of Waldensis are, Fidem hujus conversionis simplicis panis in corpus Christi per transubstantiationem altissimi Witleff negat, et dissimulat, rem tollens, et terminum fallaciter ab ecclesiæ sensu pervertens, consequens Berengarianam perfidiam tripertitam. Nam primi conversionem istam per viam identificationis suppositorum efficiunt. Secundi per viam impanationis. Tertii per viam appellationis figuræ, et tropicæ, cum quibus currit Witleff



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way of figurative and tropical appellation. The first and second of these opinions found the better entertainment in some men's minds, because they grant the essential presence of Christ's body, and yet deny not the presence of the bread still remaining, to sustain the appearing accidents." These opinions he reports to have been "very acceptable to many, not without sighs wishing the Church had decreed that men should follow one of them."

PATRICK'S CHRISTIAN SACRIFICE, pp. 77, 78<sup>k</sup>.

PATRICK.

It is certain that it was not common bread and wine which the ancient Christians prayed might become the body and blood of Christ to them; but bread and wine first sanctified, by being offered to God with thanksgiving<sup>1</sup>, and presented to Him with due acknowledgments, that He was the Lord and Giver of all things. After which followed a thankful mention of the great love of God, in sending His Son to redeem mankind by His death, represented by that holy bread and wine broken and poured out, in commemoration of His passion. This was the principal thing of all, which our Church therefore expressly puts us in mind of, in the words now recited, and distinctly acknowledges in the prayer of consecration. As for the other, that also is to be understood when you see the bread and wine set upon God's table by him that ministers in this divine service. Then it is offered to God; for whatsoever is solemnly placed there, becomes by that means a thing dedicated and appropriated to Him.

And if you observe the time when this bread and wine is ordered to be placed there, which is immediately after the alms of the people have been received for the poor, you will see that it is intended by our Church to be a thankful oblation to God of the fruits of the earth. And accordingly all

Primi tamen, et secundi majorem favorem in quorundam mentibus obtinent: quia ponunt Christi corpus præsens secundum suam essentiam. Et quia ponunt panem adesse propter sustentificationem accidentium, multis grati sunt voventibus, et quasi suspirantibus, quod sic ecclesia decrevisset, quia fuisset, ut putabant, via levis.—*Id.*, *ibid.*, c. 64. fol. 109.]

<sup>k</sup> [The Christian Sacrifice: a treatise shewing the necessity, end, and manner of receiving the Holy Communion, &c. By Symon Patrick, D.D. (London, 1670.) Part ii. ed. 9. London, 1690.]

<sup>1</sup> Offerens ei cum gratiarum actione ex creatura ejus.—*Iren. cont. Hær.*, [lib. iv. c. 18. (34. ed. Grab.) § 4. Op., p. 251.]

that are there present, when they behold the priest thus preparing the bread and wine for consecration to an higher mystery, should secretly lift up their souls to God in hearty thanksgiving, and offer Him the sacrifice of praise for these and all other such benefits: desiring Him to accept of these gifts, as a small token of their grateful sense that they hold all they have of Him, as the great Lord of the world. And so we are taught to do in that prayer which immediately follows in our liturgy, for the whole state of Christ's Church, and wherein we humbly beseech Him to accept not only our alms, but also our oblations. These are things distinct: and the former (alms) signifying that which was given for the relief of the poor, the latter (oblations) can signify nothing else but (according to the style of the ancient Church) this bread and wine presented to God, "in a thankful remembrance of our food both dry and liquid," (as Justin Martyr speaks<sup>m</sup>), "which He, the Creator of the world, hath made and given unto us." But above all, we must be sure to offer our devoutest acknowledgments for that gift of gifts, the Son of God dying for us: without which thanksgiving, to speak the truth, we do not do that which Christ commanded, and so cannot hope for the blessing He hath promised.

DR. HEYLIN, IN HIS ANTIDOTUM LINCOLNIENSE,  
pp. 52, 53<sup>n</sup>.

"Now as the Doctor<sup>o</sup> was the first son of the Church of England, so was Sedulius the first writer before the Reformation that literally and in the first place did bend this text to the material altar." Just so I promise you, and no otherwise. Or had Sedulius been the first, the exposition had not been so modern but that it might lay claim to a fair antiquity. Sedulius lived so near St. Austin that he might seem to tread on his very heels, the one being placed by

HEYLIN.

[Heb. xiii. 10.]

<sup>m</sup> [S. Just. M. Dial. cum Tryph., § 117. Op., p. 210, B, C; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 95.]

<sup>n</sup> [Antidotum Lincolniense, or An Answer to a book entitled, The Holy Table, name and thing, by P. Heylin, sect. ii. chap. 6. p. 52, 53. London,

1637.]

<sup>o</sup> [This passage is the substance of Bishop Williams' words, p. 121, of The Holy Table, name and thing, &c.; printed for the Diocese of Lincoln, 1637.]

Bellarmino an. 420, the other an. 430, but ten years after <sup>p</sup>. And if the cardinal's note be true<sup>a</sup>, that he excerpted all his notes on St. Paul's Epistles from Origen, Ambrose, Hierome, and Austin, for aught I know his exposition of the place may be as old as any other whatsoever. But for Sedulius (wheresoever he had it) thus he clears the place<sup>r</sup>; *Habemus nos fideles altare, præter altare Judæorum, unde corpus et sanguinem Christi participamus*, i. e. "the faithful have an altar, yet not the Jewish altar neither, from whence they do participate of Christ's body and blood;" that is plain enough, and yet no plainer than St. Chrysostom, though you have darkened him as much as possibly you can to abuse the father<sup>s</sup>. Chrysostom expounds it (as you say) of τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, "of the things professed here amongst us;" for proof whereof you bring in Œcumenius with his παρατηρήσεις, "the tenets, as it were, of Christian men." So that if you may be believed, the father and his second do expound the place of the doctrine, tenets, or profession of the Church of Christ. First to begin with Chrysostom<sup>t</sup>, οὐκ οἶα τὰ ἰουδαϊκά, φησι, τοιαῦτα τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὡς μηδὲ ἀρχιερεὶ θέμις εἶναι μετέχειν αὐτῶν. The words you see put neutrally, and so translated in the Latin, *Non enim qualia sunt apud Judæos, talia etiam nostra sunt*; that is, as I conceive his meaning, "Our sacrifices, or our sacraments, are not such as the Jewish were, our altar not as theirs, nor any of our rites thereunto belonging." My reason is because it followeth in the father, ὡς μηδὲ ἀρχιερεὶ θέμις εἶναι μετέχειν αὐτῶν, "so that it is not lawful, no not to the high-priest himself, to partake thereof." Of what I pray you? Not of the things professed in the Christian Church? I hope you will not say but it was lawful to the priests to be partakers of the doctrine of our Lord and Saviour. Why did the Apo-

<sup>p</sup> [See Bellarminus de Script. Ecclesiast., ann. 420, 430. Op., tom. vii. pp. 126, 149. But see Cave, Hist. Lit., tom. i. p. 425, who distinguishes this Sedulius from the poet of the same name, and conjectures that he lived in the eighth century.]

<sup>a</sup> Scripsit explanationes in omnes epistolas Sancti Pauli, ex Origene, Ambrosio, Hieronymo, et Augustino excerptas.—[Bellarm., *ibid.*, p. 149.]

<sup>r</sup> [Sedulii Hibernensis in Epist. Pauli Collectanea; in Epist. ad Hebr., c. xiii. 10. fol. 100, D. Basil, 1528; and ap. Bibl. Patr. Max., tom. vi. p. 588, G. Lugd. 1677.]

<sup>s</sup> [Williams, in the Holy Table, &c.] p. 122.

<sup>t</sup> [S. Chrys. in Epist. ad Hebr. Hom. xxxiii. § 2. Op., tom. xii. p. 304, A, B; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 74, note g.]

stles preach unto the Jews, in case it were not lawful for them to make profession of the faith? Therefore the father must needs mean the Christians' sacrifices, (performed upon the altar which the Apostle speaks of,) of which it was not lawful for the high-priest (continuing as he was high-priest) to be partaker. And this I take the rather to have been his meaning, because Theophylact, who followed Chrysostom so exactly<sup>u</sup> that he doth seem to have abridged him, doth thus descant on it<sup>x</sup>: “Ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν, κ.τ.λ. Having before said (ver. 9) that no regard was to be had of meats, lest our own ordinances (τὰ ἡμέτερα) might be thought contemptible, as things unobserved, he adds, that we have ordinances of our own, (ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν παρατήρησιν,) not about meats, (as were the Jews,) ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, but such as do concern the altar or the unbloody sacrifice of Christ's quickening body<sup>y</sup>. Of which, which sacrifice (ταύτης γὰρ) it is not lawful for the priests to be partakers, as long as they do service to the tabernacle, i. e. the legal signs and shadows.” The like saith also Œcumenius with his παρατηρήσεις, which you have englished “tenets,” with the like felicity as you did the τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν in Chrysostom. For Œcumenius<sup>z</sup> saying as Theophylact had done before, because the Apostle had affirmed “that no regard was to be had of meats,” &c., he adds, Μὴ γὰρ καὶ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν παρατηρήσεις, “and have not we also our own ordinances or observations?” To which he answers with Theophylact, but a great deal plainer, Yes, ἀλλ’ οὐ βρωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἡμῶν, “not of meats, but of our altar.”

CONSULTATIO CASSANDRI, IN OPERIBUS H. GROTHI, EDITIS  
AMSTELÆDAMI, 1679. p. 604<sup>a</sup>.

*Atque hac ratione hoc sacrificium, quatenus sacerdotis pia* CASSANDER.  
*supplicatione peragitur, non modo eucharisticum, sed etiam*  
*propitiatorium dici possit; non quidem ut efficiens propitia-*

<sup>u</sup> Ita Chrysostomum secutus est, ut ejus abbreviator dici possit.—Bellarm. de Scrip. Eccl. [anno 1071. Op., tom. vii. p. 341, C.]

<sup>z</sup> [Theophylact. Comm. in Epist. ad Hebr. cap. xiii. Op., tom. ii. p. 758, C. 759, A; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 75, note i.]

<sup>y</sup> ἦτοι τῇ ἀνάμακτῳ θυσίᾳ τοῦ ζωοποιῦ σώματος. [Theophylact. ibid.] in loc.

<sup>z</sup> [Œcumenius in Epist. ad Hebr. c. xxi. Comment. in Nov. Test., tom. ii. pp. 432, A; quoted, ibid., note k.]

<sup>a</sup> [Hugonis Grotii Opera Theologica, tom. iii. p. 604. Amst. et Lond. 1679.]



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tionem, quod sacrificio crucis proprium est, sed ut eam jam factam impetrans, quomodo oratio, cujus hoc sacrificium species est, propitiatoria dici potest . . . . Ad orationem autem sacrificii intelligendam illud quoque observandum est, quod antiquissima, et, ut videtur, apostolica consuetudine, populus fidelis ad mensam dominicam panem et vinum solet offerre in usum sacri ministerii, quæ ipsæ hostiæ et sacrificia dici solent : omninoque hoc proprium Christiani populi sacrificium esse putabatur, quod in pane et vino peragitur, locoque omnium veterum sacrificiorum Christiano populo commendatur, quæ cum postea in corpus et sanguinem Domini per mysticam benedictionem transirent, et Deo Patri in mysterio offerrentur, typus oblationis Melchisedechi in hoc perpetuo Christi sacerdotio, quo ex his creaturis, quas obtulerat Melchisedech, ministri ecclesiæ sacrificium laudis et orationis offerunt, impleri traditur, atque hoc esse illud sacrificium quod Malachias prædixit, ‘ in omni loco a gentibus offerendum sacrificium mundum :’ de quo Justinus, Irenæus, Cyprianus, Eusebius, Hieronymus, Augustinus, et alii plerique omnes veteres scriptores concorditer scripserunt, quæ huc adferre longum esset<sup>b</sup>.

Mal. i. 11.

## ANNOTATA GROTHI AD CONSULT. CASSAND., p. 620.

Oblatio autem sive sacrificium hic est triplex. Primo enim offeruntur Deo species istæ creatæ a Deo ad vitæ hujus sustentationem. Hoc est quod dicitur in Liturgiis, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν, “ tua de tuis.” “ Offerimus ea quæ sunt ejus,” ait Irenæus dicto capite<sup>d</sup>. Nec mirum id dici sacrificium, cum LXX interpretes etiam illam legalem ex simila oblationem, de qua agitur Levitici cap. ii. θυσίαν vocent, et Græci Pagani προθύματα, quibus accedebat vini libatio. Alterum sacrificium est in eo ipso quod Christus obtulit ; namque hoc ipsum et ecclesia Deo offert per gratam commemorationem, Deumque orat ut suas preces ratas faciat propter corpus et sanguinem Christi. Et recte Deo offerimus quod Christus nostrum fecit. Hoc sensu Augustinus de Spiritu et Litera hoc sacramentum vocat<sup>e</sup> “ ipsum veris-

<sup>b</sup> [See above, vol. ii. p. 57, note r.]<sup>c</sup> [See above, vol. ii. pp. 127, x; 130, k; 137, m; 143, e; 145, g.]<sup>d</sup> [προσφέρομεν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἴδια.—S. Iren. contra Hæres., lib. iv. c. 18. (al. 34. ed. Græc.) § 5. Op., p. 251.]<sup>e</sup> [In ipso verissimo et singulari sa-

crificio, Domino Deo nostro agere gratias admonemur.—S. August. de Spiritu et Litera, c. xi. § 18. Op., tom. x. col. 94, E. Nonne quotidie nobis Christus immolatur, &amp;c.—Id. Enarr. in Ps. lxxv. § 15. ibid., tom. iv. col. 781, B.]

simum et singulare sacrificium :” et alibi ait eum non mentiri, qui ait “ Christum ibi immolari :” quod et μνήμην προσφέρειν καὶ θύειν<sup>†</sup>, “ memoriam offerre et immolare” dixit Eusebius, lib. i. de Demonstratione Evangelica. Nicæna autem synodus “ situm dicit <sup>g</sup> in sacra illa mensa agnum illum Dei tollentem peccata mundi, incruente a sacerdotibus immolatum, et pretiosum ipsius corpus et sanguinem vere nos sumentes credere hæc esse resurrectionis nostræ symbola.”

TESTIMONIIUS.  
GROTIUS.

GROTII ANIMADVERSIONES IN ANIMADVERSIONES RIVETI,  
p. 643.

Nam si illa legalis ex similia oblatio dicitur proprie θυσία, cur non et panis et vinum ex usu profano seposita, et assumpta in usum sacrum? Erant ibi ritus, sunt et hic ritus.

GROTII VOTUM PRO PACE, ibid., p. 660.

Nam de sacrificii voce quid illis libet illam arctius restringere, quam ferat aut origo vocis, aut usus? Nihil respondet D. Rivetus ad id quod dixi legalem de similia oblationem, id est, חקן, dici θυσίαν. Addam ego ex Gen. iv. 3. ex Græco: ἤνεγκε Καὶν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν τῆς γῆς θυσίαν τῷ Κυρίῳ, “ tulit Cain de fructibus terræ sacrificium Domino.” Ergo etiam de fructibus terræ quæ fit oblatio, θυσία, id est, sacrificium recte dicitur. Sacrificant ergo fideles cum fructum segetis et fructum vineæ offerunt, ut in usum illum sanctissimum consecrentur. Deinde ecclesia sacrificium Christi quo solet ritu verbisque commemorans, in eo quoque sacrificat et offert quod suum est, sibi a Christo datum, id Deo ob oculos ponit, per id Deum obsecrat, estque idem quod Christus obtulit sacrificium; idem “ unum verum et singulare sacrificium<sup>h</sup>” Augustino; μνήμης θυσία<sup>i</sup>, “ sacrificium memoriale,” Eusebio; νοερά θυσία, “ sacrificium intellectuale,” aliis. Post id semet offerunt fideles ad exemplum Christi, bona sua, labores suos, etiam vitam, si non effectu certe affectu, quomodo Abrahamus filium obtulit sacrificans. Quid in his novum, quid detortum, quid noxium?

<sup>†</sup> [μνήμην καὶ ἡμῶν παραδοῦς, ἀντὶ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ διηλεκτικῶς προσφέρειν.—Euseb. de Dem. Evan., lib. i. p. 38, C; quoted above, vol. i. pp. 10, 104, t.]

<sup>g</sup> [Gelasii Hist. Conc. Nic., c. 31. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 241; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 111, n.]

<sup>h</sup> [Carnis Christi, quod est verum et

unicum sacrificium pro peccatis.—S. Aug. contra duas Epist. Pelag., Op., tom. x. col. 458, B; and see above, note e.]

<sup>i</sup> [τούτου τοῦ θύματος τὴν μνήμην ἐπιτραπέζαν ἐκτελεῖν διὰ συμβόλων.—Euseb., de Dem. Evan., p. 39, A; quoted above, vol. i. p. 104, x.]

GROTII RIVETIANI APOLOGETICI DISCUSSIO, *ibid.*, p. 699.

*Qui sacrificii nomen missæ sive eucharistico ritui hactenus denegarunt, eo usi sunt argumento, quod in ea voce, cum proprie ponitur, occisionem putarent includi. At aliter se res habet. Ostenderat Grotius Græcam vocem, quæ sacrificii voce transferatur in versionibus Græcis Novi Testamenti, ut et in scriptore ad Hebræos xi. 4. dici de terræ frugibus et de libo e similia. Neque verbum, unde id nomen Græcum venit, primitivo significatu est occidere, quanquam ex victimarum occisione eo postea traductum est, sed suffire; ut notatum est Porphyrio: quod et nomina multa ei verbo affinia in Græco sermone ostendunt. Bene dixit Huntlaus<sup>k</sup>, “sacrificium nihil esse aliud, quam oblationem rei sensibilis, Deo factam:” sacrificium autem hoc esse representativum, seu commemorativum, in id institutum, ut Dei supremum dominium, et Christi passionem representet. Cardinalis Perronius<sup>l</sup> “sacrificium sacrificii applicativum appellat.” Quid in hac re melius dici potuit?*

*IBID.*, p. 715. *Quod vero dicit D. Rivetus, ad illam precationem in Liturgiis antiquis omnibus positam, ut Deus “dona illa per suum Spiritum sanctificet, eaque faciat corpus et sanguinem Christi,” addi in Romana Missa, “nobis<sup>m</sup>,” id rectum est, et cum sensu aliarum liturgiæ optime congruit. De tali formula sic Augustinus, Epist. lix.<sup>n</sup>, quæst. v., ad illud Pauli, “Obsecro primum omnium fieri obsecrationes,” sc.*  
<sup>1</sup> Tim. 2. 1. *“Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel pene omnis frequentat ecclesia, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione sacramentorum, antequam illud quod est in Domini mensa incipiat benedici; orationes, cum benedicuntur [et sanctificantur] et ad distribuendum comminuitur, quam*

<sup>k</sup> [Sumitur vox sacrificii proprie, et in speciali significatione pro externa oblatione rei sensibilis Deo facta, quæ non tam ex sua propria natura quam ex Dei institutione vim et valorem habet.—R. P. Jacobi Gordoni Huntlæi Scoti, e soc. Jesu, Controversiarum Epitome, tom. iii. Controv. ix. De Sacrificio Missæ, § 7. p. 183. col. Agrip. 1620.]

<sup>l</sup> [Qui de nous nie que le sacrifice de la croix ne soit l'unique sacrifice de redemption? L'unité du sacrifice de redemption empêche t'elle la subordination des sacrifices de religion instituez

pour celebrer, venerer et appliquer celui de redemption, &c.—Traité du Sainct Sacrement de l'Eucharistie, par Cardinal Du Perron. Livre ii. Auth. 17. c. i. pp. 316, 317. Par. 1622.]

<sup>m</sup> [See above, vol. ii. p. 139, note s, and p. 145, note g; and compare with them the concluding words of the extracts pp. 130, note k; 133, s: 135, e; 137, l.]

<sup>n</sup> [S. August. Epist. cxlix. (al. lix.) ad Paulinum cap. 2. § 16. Op., tom. ii. col. 509, C; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 219, k.]

*totam orationem pene omnis ecclesia dominica oratione concludit.*" *Epistola vero cxviii.*<sup>o</sup>; "Unde intelligi datur (quia multum erat ut in epistola totum illum agendi ordinem insinuaret, quem universa per orbem servat ecclesia) ab ipso ordinatum esse, quod nulla morum diversitate variatur. Sic et Basilius, libro de Spiritu Sancto<sup>p</sup>, formam consecrandi, usitatam in ecclesiis, ait esse traditionis apostolicæ. Et sane tantus ille apud Græcos, Latinos, Arabas, Armenios, Syros, Ægyptios, Æthiopes, non in rebus tantum, sed et in verbis præcipuis, consensus non potest manasse nisi a communi fonte<sup>q</sup>.

TESTIMONIES.  
GROTIUS.

MONTHLY PREPARATIONS FOR THE HOLY COMMUNION, BY R. B., (i. e. BY RICHARD BAXTER,) WITH A PREFACE BY MR. MATTHEW SYLVESTER, second edition. London, printed by Th. Bunce, for Th. Parkhurst, 1706, p. 9<sup>r</sup>.

In the consecration the Church doth first offer the creatures of bread and wine, to be accepted by God to this sacred use; and God accepteth them, and blesseth them to this use, which He signifies both by the words of His own institution, and by the action of His ministers and their benediction; they being the agents of God to the people in this accepting and blessing, as they are the agents of the people to God in offering or dedicating the creatures to this use.

BAXTER.

<sup>o</sup> [Id., Epist. liv. (al. cxviii.) ad Inquisitiones Januarii, i. cap. 6. § 8. B, C. The person spoken of is St. Paul, and the passage referred to is his promise to "set things in order when he comes;" 1 Cor. xi. 34.]

<sup>p</sup> [S. Basil. lib. de Spiritu Sancto, c. xxvii. § 66. Op., tom. iii. pp. 54, E.

55, A; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 93, note z.]

<sup>q</sup> [See extracts from these liturgies above, vol. ii. pp. 122, sqq., and the argument from their agreement, *ibid.*, p. 154.]

<sup>r</sup> [The Editor has not been able to see a copy of this work.]





# A P P E N D I X.

No. 8.

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MR. HUGHES'S

## PRELIMINARY DISSERTATIONS

TO

ST. CHRYSOSTOM DE SACERDOTIO <sup>a</sup>,

WHEREIN THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH, AS IT IS DISTINGUISHED FROM THAT OF THE STATE, IS EXPLAINED AND DEFENDED, AND ALL THE OBJECTIONS OF THE ERASTIANS ANSWERED, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF A LATE AUTHOR, WHO HAS PUBLISHED A BOOK, ENTITLED, THE RIGHTS OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

<sup>a</sup> [For the title of this work, see above, p. 266; and for an account of the author see vol. i. p. 31, 32, note q.]



THE  
CONTENTS  
OF THE  
FOLLOWING DISSERTATIONS.

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DISSERTATION I.

The Christian Church is a true and proper, although it be a spiritual society, distinct from all the societies of this world; and a society to which all men are obliged to join themselves, under the greatest peril of their souls.

DISSERTATION II.

The Apostles constituted bishops for the perpetual government of the Christian Church, with a peculiar power of ordination.

DISSERTATION III.

From the time of Constantine the Christian society has never incorporated with the civil, but with respect to all its purely spiritual powers has ever remained entire and distinct.

DISSERTATION IV.

The right of excommunication belongs to the Christian Church by a divine right.

DISSERTATION V.

The laity never received the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, without having it first consecrated by priests.

DISSERTATION VI.

Of the power of Christian people in the elections of the clergy.





## THE INTRODUCTION.

THERE came forth not long since, out of the mire of the Socinians, a certain infamous book, with this pleasant title<sup>a</sup>, “Concerning the Rights and Authority of the Christian Church;” when the only thing which that foul-mouthed scribbler did therein propose to himself, was to the best of his skill to prove, that the Church considered as a Church could have no right or authority whatsoever belong to her. He does most strenuously contend that all ecclesiastical power, even that which is most spiritual, is to be derived from the civil magistrate: that the election of all the ministers of the Church, and the consecration of them when elected, belongs to the people by a certain natural and original right, which cannot be transferred to others: that there is no mystery at all in the holy Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper; that it contains nothing more than a mere and simple commemoration of Christ’s Passion; and that there is no need of consecration or of priesthood to the due and effectual administration of it: that the right of excommunication, as it is practised by our Church, nay as it has been always administered by the universal Church of Christ, from the reign of Constantine down to our times, is absurd, monstrous, and tyrannical, and evidently repugnant to the safety of the civil government; though at this very day it does very well and conveniently agree with our English monarchy, and has done so with all the Christian governments in the world for thirteen hundred years. And yet this very book, which is so full of absurdities throughout, and contains so many impieties, and even blasphemies, is in the hands of all the libertines, being wonderfully caught up by them all, and they are all strangely fond of it. Here the Socinians exult and triumph, and openly and loudly brag, that the cause of the clergy is entirely defeated by this one

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<sup>a</sup> [The Rights of the Christian Church asserted. See vol. i. p. 49, and notes, and the Prefatory Discourse, *passim*.]

book : and that the most learned divines can give no sound and solid answer to these irrefragable arguments. For my part I solemnly profess, I am not able so much as to conjecture what there is in the clergy of the Church of England which this impious herd of deists can upon any account despise. For whether we consider their natural endowments, or their learning, or the probity and integrity of their manners, their worst enemies must confess, that in all these respects there was never any body of men superior to the divines of our Church. And this their enemies are forced to own whether they will or no ; and whatever they prate to the contrary among their own party, their silent and desponding thoughts acknowledge this truth. They have seen their cause wonderfully baffled, and all their plausible arguments, by which they attempted to impose upon the unwary common people, solved, refuted, and entirely overturned. They have seen the authority of the Church most strenuously defended by men of the greatest learning ; and defended in such a manner, that they must be obliged either to allow this authority to the clergy, or to renounce the Christian faith themselves, though this latter be not like to give them any great trouble. With how much strength of reason, and with what weighty arguments, has the power of excommunication been asserted to the clergy by Dr. Hicckes<sup>b</sup>, a great man, eminent for almost all sorts of learning ? And the whole controversy has been so well and learnedly handled by Dr. Potter<sup>c</sup>, Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford, that nothing farther seems to be wanting to put an end to this unhappy controversy. Nor must I omit to mention Mr. Hoadly<sup>d</sup>, who has with very great perspicuity and judgment answered all the arguments produced from holy Scripture for the authority of the laity in things sacred. But here I shall be asked, and that not without reason : if it be as I say ; if we have obtained so just and complete a victory ; what can I dare to promise after so great men ? The answer to this objection is very easy : that

<sup>b</sup> [In the Prefatory Discourse, first published in 1706. See vol. i. pp. 158, sqq.]

<sup>c</sup> [A Discourse of Church Government, wherein the Rights of the Church

and the Supremacy of Christian Princes are vindicated and adjusted by John Potter, D.D. London, 1711.]

<sup>d</sup> [A Defence of Episcopal Ordination, by Benj. Hoadly. London, 1707.]

we cannot either write or preach often enough against such pernicious and poisonous books. The venom has spread far and wide; has infected men of all conditions; and undermines and destroys the very foundations of the Christian religion. It is incumbent upon us to take care, that provision be made of variety of different medicines against this spreading infection, that out of the whole heap of them every one may choose for himself that which his palate likes best. As to my own particular, if these dissertations of mine be able to bring back into the way but one of those that have strayed from it; if so much as one Christian that is staggering be hereby kept upon his feet and confirmed; I shall think my pains abundantly rewarded. Nor will it perhaps be unprofitable for such as intend to study divinity, (for whose sake I have published this edition of St. Chrysostom *de Sacerdotio*,) to see as it were at one view all the power and authority of the Church, for which we have been so fiercely disputing against the outrageous madness of heretics from the beginning of the Reformation, to be no other than what the primitive Church did always both acknowledge and assert. And indeed in this work, whatever after all it may prove, I thought regard was chiefly to be had to such as intend to be divines: for I was thoroughly persuaded, that if all who are initiated into holy orders did first imbibe just notions concerning this most important question, we should easily overcome our adversaries. For nothing has been a greater prejudice to the Catholic Church, especially to that part of it which is reformed, than a gross ignorance of the dignity of the priesthood, which has occasioned the contempt of it even among the clergy themselves. How far my pains in this undertaking may be serviceable to this most noble purpose, I leave others to judge; I am sure my intention was very good. But besides this, our modern defender of the Christian Church is pleased to arraign St. Chrysostom, whose authority was always in the greatest esteem, and to accuse him of ignorance, pride, and ambition. What wonder is it, say the laity, if St. Chrysostom, who was a priest himself, has made such glorious harangues concerning the au-



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thority of the priesthood? We need not give credit to him: he is pleading his own cause; and being led or rather carried headlong by an ungovernable ambition, he ignorantly and unadvisedly says any thing that may seem to conduce to the support of the ecclesiastical tyranny. The only thing, say they, which this haughty priest proposed to himself, was to gratify the growing ambition of the bishops; to bind the people to a blind and tyrannical obedience, and put them under a spiritual yoke; and to raise the clergy so much above them, though taken out of the very dregs of the people, as to have no superior but God only. If this be the case, and our St. Chrysostom be the person they describe him, I have indeed deserved little praise for publishing such an author, and recommending him so earnestly to those who purpose to study divinity. For which reason it appeared to me not only useful, but also in a manner necessary to defend the holy father from these senseless calumnies; and to shew that nothing is contained in this treatise concerning the dignity of the Christian priesthood, but what is most amply confirmed by the judgment of the universal Church. Either therefore St. Chrysostom must be wholly cleared from this unjust accusation, or the whole primitive Church, of as great extent as it was, will have been universally involved in the same guilt.

The venerable father seems to prove the dignity of the Christian priesthood chiefly by those two extraordinary privileges with which it is adorned, viz., the consecration of the Eucharist, and the power of absolving penitents. Therefore I shall undertake to prove, that the Christian clergy have these two powers, and that the Church of Christ has always laid claim to them, and exercised them as entrusted with her by Jesus Christ. And since these two powers do both suppose and demonstrate the Christian Church to be a true and proper society, and that if we grant the Church of Christ to be a true society, it thence evidently follows, that a right of excommunication belongs to her; I was persuaded it would not be foreign to my purpose to take the matter a little higher, and premise something concerning the nature, and privileges, and authority of this spiritual society. And after

I had considered the thing once and again, the following method seemed the easiest, and best adapted to my purpose, viz., that I should undertake to prove,

- I. That the Christian Church is a true and proper (although it be a spiritual) society, distinct from all the societies of this world, and a society to which all men are obliged to join themselves, under the greatest peril of their souls.
- II. That the government of this society was by the Apostles committed unto bishops, with a peculiar power of ordaining the ministers of the Church.
- III. That this Christian society has by no means been incorporated with the civil from the time of Constantine, but has always remained entire, and with regard to all its spiritual powers wholly separate.
- IV. That the right of excommunication belongs to the Christian Church by divine right.
- V. That the power of consecrating the Eucharist appertains only to priests duly ordained by bishops.
- VI. That the Christian people had no proper votes in the elections of the clergy.

If I can once prove all this, which I hope to do most abundantly, whatever has been senselessly and rashly thrown out against the Christian clergy by Erastus, Selden, Hobbes, and this late scribbler, who has with great diligence stolen from their writings, must necessarily fall to the ground, and come to nothing.

I will therefore now, by the assistance of God, (for whose honour and glory I have undertaken this work, such as it is,) begin with the nature of the Christian society.

## DISSERTATION I.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH IS A TRUE AND PROPER (ALTHOUGH IT BE A SPIRITUAL) SOCIETY, AND DISTINCT FROM ALL THE SOCIETIES OF THIS WORLD; AND A SOCIETY TO WHICH ALL MEN ARE OBLIGED TO JOIN THEMSELVES UNDER THE GREATEST PERIL OF THEIR SOULS.

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THIS is my first proposition. Now in order to prove this proposition, it will be of use to consider those various names and appellations by which the Church of Christ is frequently denoted in holy Scripture; for from these it will easily appear to any modest man that Jesus Christ has founded a proper and a public society.

I. The Church then is called in the holy Scriptures “the kingdom of heaven<sup>a</sup>,” “the kingdom of God<sup>b</sup>,” “the kingdom of the Son<sup>c</sup>,” “the house of God<sup>d</sup>,” “the temple of God<sup>e</sup>,” “the commonwealth (or government) of Israel<sup>f</sup>,” by which is properly signified the administration of some kingdom. Jesus Christ is called “the head of the Church<sup>g</sup>,” and the Church is styled “the body of Christ<sup>h</sup>,” and “a spiritual house<sup>i</sup>.”

Now such expressions as these do at least imply thus much, that Jesus Christ has constituted a certain regular society, whereof all are obliged to be members who will obtain that salvation which Christ has purchased for us. For they who are not members of this body, of this society, cannot have Christ for their head; and they who are not joined to the head cannot partake of any influx derived from it.

To this may be added that in St. Matthew<sup>k</sup>, “the kingdom of heaven is likened unto a man which sowed good seed in his field,” compared with what follows<sup>l</sup>, “so shall it be in the end of this world.” And the Church is expressly called “the house of God;” “that thou mayest know how thou

<sup>a</sup> βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν: Matt. x. 7.

<sup>b</sup> βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ: Acts xxviii. ult.

<sup>c</sup> βασιλεία τοῦ υἱοῦ: Col. i. 13.

<sup>d</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ: Heb. iii. 6.

<sup>e</sup> ναὸς θεοῦ: 1 Cor. iii. 16.

<sup>f</sup> πολιτεία τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ: Eph. ii. 12.

<sup>g</sup> τῆς ἐκκλησίας κεφαλὴ: Eph. i. 22.

<sup>h</sup> τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ: *ibid.* v. 23.

<sup>i</sup> οἶκος πνευματικός: 1 Pet. ii. 5.

<sup>k</sup> ὁμοιώθη ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀνθρώπῳ σπείροντι καλὸν σπέρμα ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ: Matt. xiii. 24.

<sup>l</sup> οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου: *ibid.* v. 40.

oughtest to behave thyself in the house of God, which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth<sup>m</sup>." All Christians are said to be "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God; to be built upon the foundation of the Apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit<sup>n</sup>." If therefore all the disciples of Jesus Christ, wheresoever dispersed, are fellow-citizens, built together upon one foundation, and constitute one building, one temple, one habitation, it evidently follows that all the Christians in the world are members of one society, which is separated from all other societies by some certain privileges.

"For as the body is one," says the Apostle<sup>o</sup>, "and has many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ, for by one spirit we are all baptized into one body. Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular; and God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers," &c. All Christians are members of one body, and are united to that body by the Sacrament of Baptism. The Christian Church is a body consisting of various and different members ordained and appointed for divers uses; that is, the Christian Church is one society, furnished and adorned with several orders, and offices, and ministries of men. Some are to be taught, and some teach in this Church; some are subjects, and some, on the contrary, are rulers and governors, appointed by Jesus Christ Himself. They must be stupid and senseless whom all this does not

<sup>m</sup> . . . ἵνα εἴδῃς πῶς δεῖ ἐν οἴκῳ θεοῦ ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζῶντος, στῦλος καὶ ἐδραῖωμα τῆς ἀληθείας: 1 Tim. iii. 15.

<sup>n</sup> συμπόλιται τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκεῖοι τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, ὅντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκοδομὴ συναρμολογημένη αὔξει εἰς ναὸν ἅγιον ἐν Κυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὑμεῖς συνοικοδομεῖσθε εἰς κατοικήτηριον τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν πνεύματι: Eph. ii. 19—22.

<sup>o</sup> καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἓν ἐστὶ, καὶ μέλη ἔχει πολλὰ, πάντα δὲ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐνὸς, πολλὰ ὄντα, ἐν ἐστὶ σῶμα· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν; 1 Cor. xii. 12, 13. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐστε σῶμα Χριστοῦ, καὶ μέλη ἐκ μέρους· καὶ οὐς μὲν ἔθετο ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πρῶτον ἀποστόλους, δεῦτερον προφήτας, τρίτον διδασκάλους, κ.τ.λ.: ver. 27, 28.



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convince that the Christian Church is a society to which all men are obliged to join themselves; and if it be granted that the Church of Christ is a society to which all Christians, as such, are obliged to join themselves, it will plainly follow from hence that this society is different and distinct from all other societies whatsoever.

II. Another argument of this, and one which to me always seemed of great force, may be drawn from those passages of Scripture in which all Christians are commanded to be baptized, and to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and where ministers and pastors, whose duty and office it is to administer the Sacraments, are enjoined to offer up prayers to God for the people, and to inflict ecclesiastical censures, and where obedience and submission to those censures is required as a necessary duty of all men.

“For by one spirit,” says the Apostle<sup>P</sup>, “are we all baptized into one body.” “For we being many are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread.” Being initiated by baptism, we were made members of the Christian Church; by partaking of the Lord's Supper we grow and are confirmed. Nay, by the Sacrament of Baptism we acquire a right to participate of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. And that this right of baptism is to continue to the end of the world does most evidently appear from that passage in St. John<sup>Q</sup>, “Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.” Seeing, therefore, that all Christians ought to be baptized, and afterwards to commemorate in the Eucharist the Passion of our blessed Saviour, it hence follows that we are all obliged to unite together into a society, to the end that these Sacraments may be the better and the more safely administered. For supposing the Christian Church to be no society there will be an end of the Sacraments. On this supposition no one will be obliged to be baptized, nor to partake of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Nay, if you take away the Christian society nothing will be more useless and insignificant than the Sacrament of Baptism; for

<sup>P</sup> καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν: 1 Cor. xii. 13. ὅτι εἷς ἄρτος, ἐν σῶμα οἱ πολλοί

ἔσμεν· οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν: ch. x. 17  
<sup>Q</sup> John iii. 5.

by this Sacrament, as by a holy rite or ceremony, we are joined and associated to the Christian, as the Jews were of old to the Jewish Church by the right of circumcision. But if the Christian Church is not a society unto which we are obliged to join ourselves, such as the Jewish Church was, to what use or purpose, I would fain know, can this ceremony of initiating serve? And the same is also proved from the sacrament of the Eucharist. For seeing that we are partakers of one consecrated bread, we therefore constitute one body; one mystical body, as we are united to God by faith; one political body, as we are most closely incorporated with one another by the participation of the same holy mysteries.

“Not forsaking the assembling of ourselves together,” says the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews<sup>r</sup>, “as the manner of some is, but exhorting one another.” And the Apostle to Timothy<sup>s</sup>, “I exhort, therefore, that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men,” &c. From these passages it is I think sufficiently manifest that the profession of the Christian faith is lame and imperfect, unless the public worship be joined with it. We are therefore all under the highest obligation to assemble together, in order to worship Jesus Christ according to His institution, and to receive the Sacraments appointed by Him. In this one privilege the Christian society consists: Jesus Christ Himself entrusted this authority with His Church, that in all countries they should meet together in public assemblies for the sake of worship and discipline. Hence also we may conclude, that whatsoever may conduce to the due and entire conservation of these public assemblies was also granted by our Saviour to the Church. From this most plain principle may be evidently deduced a right, both of admitting such as are worthy to baptism, and of rejecting the unworthy by excommunication. Tertullian himself describes the Christian Church thus<sup>t</sup>: “We are a body from the agreement of our

<sup>r</sup> μὴ ἐγκαταλείποντες τὴν ἐπισυναγωγὴν ἑαυτῶν, καθὼς ἔθος τισὶν, ἀλλὰ παρακαλοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς, κ.τ.λ.: Heb. x. 25.

<sup>s</sup> παρακαλῶ οὖν πρῶτον πάντων ποιεῖ-

σθαι δεήσεις, προσευχάς. ἐντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίας ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, κ.τ.λ.: 1 Tim. ii. 1.

<sup>t</sup> Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis, et disciplinæ unitate, et spei fœ-

religion, and the unity of our discipline, and the covenant of hope. We assemble together in a congregation, that we may as it were with joint forces offer up our request unto God," &c. But of this I shall treat more at large elsewhere.

In St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus we frequently read, that deacons, priests, and bishops, were made to establish, and teach, and govern the Church of God. Timothy and Titus are instructed by the Apostle how they should also choose others into the ministry, who might perform the same duties. Now to what purpose, I beseech you, is all this, if the Church of Christ be not a society? To these bishops appointed by the Apostles it belongs to correct, not only the laity, but the clergy, and to deprive such as are incorrigible, as appears from that of the Apostle to Timothy<sup>u</sup>, "Against an elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses."

It is their duty not only "to preach the word, and to be instant in season and out of season," but also even "to reprove, and to rebuke<sup>x</sup>." To them it appertains to remove heretics out of the Church; "A man that is an heretic," says St. Paul to Titus<sup>y</sup>, "after the first and second admonition reject." If all this do not prove a society, it will be very difficult to comprehend what a society is. Add to this, that all Christians are commanded to yield obedience to bishops and priests that are duly ordained in those words of the Apostle<sup>z</sup>, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account," &c. See the learned Grotius upon the place<sup>a</sup>.

III. This Christian society is likewise abundantly demonstrated from all those passages of holy Scripture, in which schism and schismatics are condemned, as that of St. Paul<sup>b</sup>, "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divi-

dere. Coimus in cœtum et congregationem, ut ad Deum quasi manu facta precationibus ambiamus orantes, &c.—  
—[Tertull. Apol., c. 28. (al. 39.) Op., p. 31, A.]

<sup>u</sup> 1 Tim. v. 19.

<sup>x</sup> 2 Tim. iv. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Tit. iii. 10.

<sup>z</sup> Heb. xiii. 17.

<sup>a</sup> [Grotii Annot. in Epist. ad Hebr. xiii. 17. Op. Theol., tom. iii. p. 1068. et ap. Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. col. 1187. See above, vol. ii. p. 281, note p.]

<sup>b</sup> παρακαλώ δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, σκοπεῖν τοὺς τὰς διχοστασίας, καὶ τὰ σκάνδαλα παρὰ τὴν διδασχὴν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐμάθετε, ποιοῦντας· καὶ ἐκκλίνατε ἀπ' αὐτῶν: Rom. xvi. 17.

sions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them;" and that where schism is reckoned amongst the most grievous sins, and such as shut men out from the kingdom of heaven<sup>c</sup>, "idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies;" and where schismatics are called "grievous (or ravenous) wolves<sup>d</sup>;" carnal, &c. "For whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men? For while one saith, I am of Paul, another I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal<sup>e</sup>?" From these passages we most expressly gather, that every schism or separation from the Church made without a just cause, is a sin, and such a sin as excludes from the kingdom of heaven. Now what is the meaning of all this? What is the reason that schism is so grievous, and so very dangerous a sin? From this open condemnation of schism, it manifestly appears according to the best of my understanding, that all Christians are tied by the strictest obligation to hold communion with each other in the holy offices. It appears also that Jesus Christ hath instituted a certain society, to which all men are obliged to join themselves.

But here it may not be amiss to say something concerning the nature of schism; for there are not wanting those who believe, that that notion of schism which obtained in the third and fourth century is by no means the same with that which we are taught in the sacred oracles.

For the better understanding of the nature of schism, these two things seem to be necessary. 1st. That we should be rightly informed what was the opinion of the Jews in this matter. 2ndly. That we should also know, what conceptions concerning schism the apostolic fathers had, who without doubt received their notions from the very Apostles themselves. And it is hardly possible to believe, that those most holy men could in a matter of so great moment either be deceived, or vary the least tittle from the Apostles' own

<sup>c</sup> εἰδωλολατρεία, φαρμακεία, ἐχθραὶ, ἔρεις, ζῆλος, θυμοί, ἐριθείαι, διχοστασίαι, αἰρέσεις: Gal. v. 20.

<sup>d</sup> λύκοι βαρεῖς, lupi rapaces; Acts xx. 29.

<sup>e</sup> ὅπου γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ζῆλος, καὶ ἔρις, καὶ

διχοστασίαι, οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε, καὶ κατ' ἄνθρωπον περιπατεῖτε; ὅταν γὰρ λέγῃ τις, ἐγὼ μὲν εἰμι Παύλου· ἕτερος δὲ, ἐγὼ Ἀπολλῶ· οὐχὶ σαρκικοί ἐστε: 1 Cor. iii. 3, 4.



opinion. By this method in my judgment we shall more easily arrive at the true nature of schism, than by wresting several passages of the holy Scriptures, in which we cannot expect to meet with a perfect description of schism, when there was no such thing as a formal schism had yet happened. It does not by any means appear, that in the times of the Apostles heretics had set up altars against altars, in which alone the very nature and essence of schism is placed both by St. Ignatius and St. Cyprian<sup>f</sup>, whose opinions concerning schism have been very closely followed by the Catholic Church, as most clearly appears from St. Jerome and St. Augustine. This being the case, I was of opinion that there could not be a more commodious way taken to clear this difficulty, than by accurately considering what were the principles of the Jews with respect to this question, and what the practice and custom of the primitive Church.

I. First then, let us see what was the opinion of the Jews in this matter. It is most evident from Josephus<sup>g</sup>, that Manasses, brother to Jaddcus the high-priest, inveigled by the fair promises of Sanballat, made a separation from the temple of Jerusalem, and erected a new temple, and instituted a new order of priests in mount Gerizim. Here we see altar properly set up against altar, and priest against priest. This the Jews called a schism. From this fountain was derived that fierce and cruel enmity between those two people, which continued from this time down to that of our blessed Saviour. The Jews took it for granted, that the worshippers at the temple of Gerizim, in that they had departed from the centre of unity and the succession of the priests, were no longer Jews, no longer a part of God's *peculium*, had nothing to do with the covenant of God, no claim to His promises. They accounted them all, though born of Jewish parents, to be ἀλλόφυλοι, "strangers," and indeed mere heathens. And that this was the cause of that deadly hatred to them, is evident from hence, that there cannot be alleged any other probable cause of it. They were not Gentiles, but they were proselytes of justice; they embraced all the Mosaical or ceremonial law, and had received

<sup>f</sup> [See below, pp. 300, sqq.]

<sup>g</sup> [Joseph. Ant. Jud., lib. xi. c. 8. p. 501, sqq. ed. Hudson.]

circumcision, the seal of the covenant. Nor were they idolaters; there is no mention of this accusation against them, the Jews never upbraided them with it. This appears farther from the defence of Andronicus<sup>b</sup>, “beginning from the law to prove his sanctity and religion, and shewing by the continued successions of the high-priests, the propagation of the priesthood down to his own times.”

1st. He argues from the unity of the priesthood prescribed by the law; and 2ndly, from the succession, which Manasses had violated.

All these things are confirmed by the Samaritan woman’s question; “How is it<sup>i</sup>,” says she to our Saviour, who had asked her to give Him drink, “that thou being a Jew, askest drink of me, which am a woman of Samaria: for the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans,” &c.

From this story I would observe these things:

1. That between those two temples opposite to each other, there was a true schism.

2. That the schism did therein consist, that they had violated the principle of unity, and the succession of the priests.

3. That such is the nature of schism, according to the principles of the Jews, that it alienated men from the covenant of God.

The Samaritan woman, perceiving that Jesus Christ was a prophet, immediately asks Him concerning that famous controversy, which was at that time debated with very great eagerness of mind: “Our fathers,” says she, “worshipped in this mountain, and ye (Jews) say, that in Jerusalem (alone) is the place (or temple) where men ought to worship<sup>k</sup>.”

Our Saviour apparently determines the controversy against the Samaritans; “Ye worship,” says He, “ye know not what: we know what we worship: for salvation is of the Jews<sup>l</sup>.” Elsewhere<sup>m</sup> He calls the Samaritans *ἀλλογενεῖς*, “strangers,” that is, separated from the Jewish *peculium*. And He joins the Samaritans with the Gentiles<sup>n</sup>, and makes them both subject to the like condition.

<sup>h</sup> . . . ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, καὶ τῶν διαδοχῶν τῶν ἀρχιερέων, ὡς ἕκαστος παρὰ πατρὸς τὴν τιμὴν ἐκδεχόμενος ἤρξε τοῦ ναοῦ.  
—Joseph. Ant. Jud., lib. xiii. c. 3. (al. 6.) [p. 562. ed. Hudson.]

<sup>i</sup> John iv. 9.

<sup>k</sup> Ibid. 20.

<sup>l</sup> Ibid. 22.

<sup>m</sup> Luke xvii. 18.

<sup>n</sup> Matt. x. 5.

You see what were the principles of the Jews concerning this matter, and how those principles were confirmed by our Saviour Himself.

II. We are next to consider how the holy fathers have argued against schism from these principles.

1. St. Ignatius maintains that every religious assembly without a bishop (who answers to the Jewish high-priest) is unlawful and schismatical. "Let us hasten therefore," says he<sup>o</sup>, "not to resist the bishop, that we may be subject to God." "That we may obey the bishop and college of presbyters with an undistracted mind, breaking one bread, which is the antidote against mortality<sup>p</sup>," &c.

He describes the unity of the Church by one temple and one altar. "All therefore," says he<sup>q</sup>, "run together to the temple of God, as to one altar," &c. Who does not see that all this is deduced from the principles of the Jews?

He ascribes only to the external communion of the bishops all those spiritual sacrifices which flow from Jesus Christ. "Do not mistake," says he, "my brethren; if any man follows one that makes a schism, he shall not inherit the kingdom of God; if any one shall be of another opinion, he contradicts Christ's passion<sup>r</sup>."

"Study therefore," says he, "to join together in one Eucharist or thanksgiving<sup>s</sup>." The Eucharist answers to the Mosaical sacrifices. And he produces these reasons for their so doing, "For there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, and one cup in the unity of His blood; one altar, as one bishop," &c. Therefore the unity of the altar and the priesthood proves that we ought to join in one Eucharist in the unity of the Church. And thus also the Jews disputed against the Samaritans.

"But where there is division," says he<sup>t</sup>, "and wrath, there

<sup>o</sup> σπουδάσωμεν [ὄν] μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἵνα ὦμεν θεῷ ὑποτασσόμενοι.—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Eph., c. 5. [ap. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 13.]

<sup>p</sup> εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ἡμᾶς τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερίῳ ἀπερισπάστῳ διανοίᾳ, ἕνα ἄρτον κλώντες, ὅς ἐστι φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, κ.τ.λ.—Id. *ibid.*, c. 20. [p. 16.]

<sup>q</sup> πάντες οὖν ὡς εἰς [ἕνα] ναὸν συντρέχετε θεοῦ, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓν θυσιαστήριον, κ.τ.λ.—Id. Ep. ad Magn., c. 7. [p. 19.]

<sup>r</sup> μὴ πλανᾶσθε, ἀδελφοί μου εἰ τις σχίζονται ἀκολουθεῖ, βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ

κληρονομήσει· εἴ τις ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περιπατεῖ, οὗτος τῷ πάθει οὐ συγκατατίθεται.—Id. Ep. ad Phil., c. 3. [p. 31.]

<sup>s</sup> σπουδάξτε οὖν μίᾳ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον εἰς ἑνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ, ἐν θυσιαστήριον, ὡς εἰς ἐπίσκοπος, κ.τ.λ.—Id., *ibid.*, c. 4.

<sup>t</sup> οὐ δὲ μερισμός ἐστιν καὶ ὀργή, θεὸς οὐ κατοικεῖ· πᾶσιν οὖν μετανοοῦσιν ἀφίει ὁ κύριος, ἕαν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἐνότητα θεοῦ, καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου.—Id., *ibid.*, c. 8. [p. 32.]

God dwelleth not; therefore God pardons all that repent, if they return to the unity of God, and to the assembly of the bishop." So that even repentance itself, out of the bishop's communion, is not available to the forgiveness of sins. This is what we find in St. Ignatius.

2. And St. Cyprian says almost the same. "Whosoever being separated from the Church," says he, "is joined to an adulteress," he means to any schismatical congregation, "he is separated from the promises of the Church; nor does he attain the rewards of Christ, who forsakes Christ's Church. He is a stranger, a profane person, [a foreigner,] an enemy. He can no longer have God for his father, who has not the Church for his mother. If any one could escape that was out of Noah's ark, then he that shall be out of the Church will also escape<sup>u</sup>."

He says that the sacrifices, that is the Eucharist, cannot be celebrated by those who separate from the Church. "What sacrifices," says he, "do these rivals of the priests think they celebrate? Do they imagine Christ is with them when assembled, who are assembled out of the Church of Christ? Though such persons should be put to death for confessing the name of Christ, yet that stain" (he means their schism) "would not be washed off even with their blood. He cannot possibly be a martyr, who is not in the Church<sup>x</sup>." It is plain that he has regard to the temple. No sacrifices offered out of the temple were accepted.

"He who divides the Church," saith the same father, "and dissipates the unity, profanes the Sacrament<sup>y</sup>." And again<sup>z</sup>, "Being an enemy of the altar, and a rebel against

<sup>u</sup> Quisquis ab ecclesia segregatus adulteræ jungitur, a promissis ecclesiæ separatur. Nec perveniet (al. pervenit) ad Christi præmia, qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, profanus [ἀλλογενής] est, hostis est. Habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam, qui extra arcam Noe fuit, et qui extra ecclesiam foris fuerit evadit (al. evadet).—S. Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. [Op., p. 195.]

<sup>x</sup> Quæ sacrificia celebrare se credunt æmuli sacerdotum? an secum esse Christum cum collecti fuerint opinantur, qui extra ecclesiam Christi

colliguntur? tales etiamsi in confessione nominis fuerint interfecti, macula ista nec sanguine abluunt. . . . Esse martyr non potest, qui in ecclesia non est.—Ibid., [p. 198.]

<sup>y</sup> Qui . . . ecclesiam scindit, . . . caritatem dissipat, sacramentum profanat.—Ibid., [p. 199. Hughes read unitatem, for which there is no authority.]

<sup>z</sup> Hostis altaris, adversus sacrificium Christi rebellis, contemptis episcopis, et Dei sacerdotibus derelictis, constituere audeat aliud altare, precem alteram illicitis vocibus facere, dominicæ hostiæ veritatem per falsa sacrificia profanare.—Ibid., [p. 200.]



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the sacrifice of Christ, despising the bishops, and forsaking the priests of God, he dares erect another altar, offer up another prayer with unhallowed lips, and by false sacrifices profane the truth of our Lord's own oblation of Himself." Now this is the very phrase and manner of speaking among the Jews, which St. Cyprian uses frequently; and that St. Ignatius made use of the same was just now shewn. Therefore it cannot be denied, that the holy fathers, even such as were contemporary with the Apostles themselves, argued against schism from the principles of the Jews, namely, that they used arguments drawn from the unity of the altar and of the priesthood. From whence it most evidently follows, that the nature of schism consists in a separation from the unity of the altar. And that these are the very same notions which our Saviour and His Apostles taught, is manifest from these two considerations. First, That it is certain that in the times of St. Ignatius, and even in those of St. Cyprian, manifestations of the Spirit and extraordinary gifts were very familiar. How therefore can it be conceived, that persons of the greatest prudence, and those often divinely inspired, could be mistaken concerning the nature of schism? Secondly, That they must either have borrowed these notions of schism from the very Apostles themselves, or despising and rejecting with scorn the opinions of the Apostles concerning this matter, they must have formed to themselves new and indeed monstrous notions of schism: that is to say, the first bishops from the Apostles, who succeeded the Apostles in their sees, and had frequently lived in familiarity with them, men of extraordinary piety and of the greatest integrity, who had nothing more at heart than not only to imitate but reverence the Apostles; these men, I say, through too much nicety, left the way that had been trodden by the Apostles, and found out new paths for themselves. They must be far more credulous than I who can believe this. Hence we collect, that the nature of schism, viz., of that which the Apostles condemned, consists in a separation from the principle of unity; and therefore from these principles we must explain all those passages of holy Scripture which speak of schism or schismatics. Schism then is a dividing or cutting off, namely, as often as the consociation or society of the Church is

broken, when any one does so divide himself from that society of the true Catholic Church, as that he will be no more a member or part of it. That therefore is truly and properly the schism, concerning which I am now treating, when the separation above mentioned is made from the true Catholic Church, with a breach of communion in things divine.

From the very nature of schism these things following are easily deduced.

1. That the Christian Church is a true and proper society.
2. That all persons are obliged to join themselves to this society.
3. Since peace and unity with the universal Church of Christ can no otherwise be maintained than by adhering to some particular Church, that therefore all Christians are under an obligation to join themselves to some particular Church.
4. That all separation from any particular Church, which requires no unlawful terms of communion, is schismatical, and excludes from the kingdom of heaven.

5. That private Christians have not a power of joining themselves to any sect or faction at their own discretion, but are obliged, on peril of eternal damnation, to adhere to that part of the Catholic Church, of which they are members.

These arguments drawn from the holy Scriptures do sufficiently prove that the Church is a true society. It were very easy both to urge these farther, and to add others, as well to confirm as to illustrate my proposition; but I determined only to point out those arguments that may be brought from Scripture, since what I chiefly proposed in this work was to shew the opinion of the primitive Church in these controversies; for I am thoroughly persuaded that that doctrine which has obtained at all times, in all places, and among all Christians, is true and consentaneous to the Word of God, and in one word is Catholic. In vain, therefore, do our adversaries attack us with certain little subtleties sprung out of their own brains; in vain do they miserably wrest the holy Scriptures, to charge us with a crowd of passages from thence. For I confidently affirm, that all those interpretations of the Scriptures which are repugnant to the universal practice of the primitive Church, however

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subtle and plausible they may seem, are very false, and ought to be despised.

Let us see, therefore, what was the opinion of the primitive fathers concerning the nature of Christ's Church.

We will begin with St. Clement, a man truly apostolic, and a witness so far above all suspicion, that it were the highest degree of impudence not to give credit to him. This venerable father, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, says: "They, therefore," (he speaks of the Apostles,) "preaching the word through cities and countries, and by the Spirit approving<sup>1</sup> of their first-fruits, constituted them bishops and deacons of those who should hereafter believe<sup>b</sup>." And a little after he adds: "And our Apostles knew by Jesus Christ our Lord that a contention would arise concerning the name of episcopacy; and for this reason, being endowed with a perfect foreknowledge, they constituted the ministers above mentioned, and gave that distribution of holy offices in the mean time, that as they should die other approved men might succeed in the ministry<sup>c</sup>."

<sup>1</sup>["having proved by trial."]

In this passage St. Clement does most expressly teach us that Jesus Christ had instituted a society (which he calls "Christ's flock<sup>d</sup>") that was to continue to the end of the world: for this society does by no means expire with the Apostles, but is equally extended to all the ages of the world. The Apostles administer the Church by an authority committed to them by Christ Himself, and name others for their successors, to whom they commit the same ordinary powers, that they also, after the death of the Apostles, might happily and prosperously govern the Church. Nor is it to be doubted but that our Saviour will be with the successors of the Apostles unto the end of the world, to ratify their acts in heaven. But they who interpret "the end of the world<sup>e</sup>" concerning the age of the Apostles, do only endeavour

<sup>a</sup> κατὰ χάρας οὖν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, (ἀπόστολοι) καθίστανον τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, εἰς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεῦειν.—[S. Clem. R. Ep. i. ad Cor. c. 42. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 171.]

<sup>c</sup> οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἡμῶν ἔγνωσαν διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὅτι ἔρις ἔσται ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς·

διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν πρόγνωσιν εἰληφότες τελείαν, κατέστησαν τοὺς προειρημένους, καὶ μεταξὺ ἐπινομήν δεδώκασι, ὅπως ἐὰν κοιμηθῶσι, διαδέξωνται ἕτεροι δεδοκιμασμένοι ἄνδρες τὴν λειτουργίαν αὐτῶν.—[Id., *ibid.*, c. 44. p. 173.]

<sup>d</sup> ποίμνιον τοῦ Χριστοῦ.—[Id., *ibid.*]

<sup>e</sup> συντέλεια τοῦ αἰῶνος: Matt. xxviii.

to impose upon us, and are the veriest triflers imaginable. But from this passage of St. Clement I would observe farther: 1. That the Christian society does not owe its original to any private agreement occasioned by the necessity of the times, but was founded by Jesus Christ Himself. 2. That it is by no means lawful for the people to appoint their own ministers, and institute their own priests; but that our Saviour prescribed a certain rule, according to which all these things should be performed; and by this means He most admirably consulted both the peace and unity of the Church. For the most holy Jesus foresaw that great "contentions would arise concerning the name of episcopacy," and therefore applied this remedy against them. He appointed that the Apostles whom He had sent should also send others, and confirm them by a certain solemn ordination. He appointed also that they whom the Apostles should ordain should have a power granted to them of ordaining others to succeed them. Whither, I beseech you, went the right of the people? What is become of their natural power? Pray why does our adversary make such a stir about the original right of the people<sup>f</sup>? What does he mean? Had not God Himself a power of constituting an order of clergy as He should think fit? And did He not constitute it accordingly? And are not we all obliged to yield obedience to the institutions of God? Most vain disputant, you must either abandon your original right, or renounce the Christian religion; choose which of the two you will.

Next to St. Clement I should produce St. Ignatius, that "temple of the Holy Ghost<sup>g</sup>;" but it would itself make a book to cite all which that most holy martyr has written upon this subject. Every epistle of his, and every chapter, I had almost said every sentence, does most fully confirm this our spiritual society. But I have already considered St. Ignatius's judgment concerning this controversy, where I insisted on the argument drawn from schism.

Let us therefore proceed next to St. Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp. This most judicious author says many excellent things concerning the Christian society. "We can

<sup>f</sup> [Rights, &c., c. i.]

<sup>g</sup> ὁ θεοφόρος.—[Martyrium S. Ignat., c. 4. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 164.]



enumerate those," says he<sup>h</sup>, "who were made bishops in the Churches by the Apostles, and their successors down to us. . . . For to this Church" (he speaks of the Roman) "by reason of her more powerful principality, it is necessary that every Church come, that is, all the faithful wheresoever." And again<sup>1</sup>: "For which reason it is necessary to obey the priests that are in the Church, these who have their succession from the Apostles, as we have shewn; who with the succession of the episcopacy have received a certain gift of truth, according to the pleasure of the Father. But as to the rest, who depart from the succession and are assembled in any place whatsoever, we ought to suspect them, and look upon them as heretics, and<sup>1</sup> such as disturb the peace, as persons puffed up," &c.

<sup>1</sup> [cr]

St. Irenæus is of the same opinion with St. Clement, and teaches the same thing. He does most strenuously contend, that our obedience in things appertaining to religion is due to the priests, who are able to derive their succession from the Apostles themselves. And what Irenæus understands by succession will easily appear to any one that peruses his book never so percursorily: he means without all doubt episcopal ordination.

St. Irenæus acknowledges no other method of ordaining ecclesiastics; nor was any other method known to the second century, in which he flourished. He affirms that the first bishops were ordained by the Apostles, without any the least mention of the people. Indeed, that in the second century ordinations were appropriated to the bishops alone is not unwillingly owned even by such of the patrons of an equality among the clergy as have any learning or ingenuity. To them, therefore, who derive their succession from the Apostles, to them who are ordained by bishops,

<sup>h</sup> Habemus annumerare eos, qui ab Apostolis instituti sunt episcopi in ecclesiis, et successores eorum usque ad nos. . . . Ad hanc enim ecclesiam (Romanam) propter potiorem (potentiorum) ed. Oxon.) principalem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles.—S. Iren. adv. Hær., lib. iii. c. 3. [p. 175. ed. Ben.]

<sup>1</sup> Quapropter eis, qui in ecclesia sunt, presbyteris obaudire oportet, his qui

successionem habent ab apostolis sicut ostendimus, qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris, acceperunt: reliquos vero qui absintunt a principali successione, et quocunque loco colligunt (al. colliguntur), suspectos habere, vel quasi hæreticos, [et malæ sententiæ] vel quasi scindentes et elatos, &c.—Id., ib' d., lib. iv. c. 43. [c. 26. p. 262. ed. Ben.]

the greatest obedience is due, according to the opinion of St. Irenæus, and with them we are obliged to communicate. But they on the contrary, "who depart from this primary succession," that is, who separate from the episcopal communion, "are to be suspected by us, and esteemed as heretics, and such as destroy the peace." Now from hence it manifestly follows that it is not lawful by any means for the people to choose their own minister, to form a sect to themselves, or when formed to join themselves to it: nay, that all are tied by the strictest obligation to communicate with bishops, who derive their succession from the Apostles. They commit sin who do otherwise, and violate the divine institution. They destroy the peace of the Church, are severed from the Head Jesus Christ, and are in the greatest danger of eternal damnation. Besides the most holy father asserts, "that every Church is obliged to resort to the Church of Rome, by reason of the more powerful principality<sup>k</sup>." This makes nothing for the papal tyranny: for neither St. Irenæus, nor the fathers of the second, third, or fourth century, dreamed any thing concerning either the monarchical supremacy of St. Peter, or the infallibility (of his successors.) This I could easily shew, if it were to my present purpose. That alone which this noble testimony proves most evidently is that the Church of Christ is one society, and a society that is obliged to preserve a most firm peace and unity: but this firm and truly Christian unity cannot possibly be obtained unless private Christians pay a most humble obedience to their priests, and the priests do the like to the bishops, and the bishops to the metropolitans. With these bonds the primitive Church being both joined together and strengthened did flourish with the greatest splendour, and in the midst of the flames and swords of tyrants always came off conquering and triumphant. And I solemnly profess, (O miserable condition of the Christian world!) that for want of this unity, which our most loving Saviour when He was now going to die for us recommended to us in the most passionate manner,

[John 17.  
21, 23.]

<sup>k</sup> Viz., as the seat of the empire.— 232, note 1.] et Can. 28. Conc. Chalced. [ibid., tom. iv. col. 1692, D; tom. ii. col. 1126, D; quoted above, p. 1693, A. See above, p. 233, note r.]

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our religion seems to be rather a vain shadow than a vigorous and living substance. This truly Christian unity is utterly subverted and destroyed by our innovators (in religion), what with their being deceived through ignorance, or inveigled by avarice, or hurried on headlong by their ungovernable ambition. O most blessed Jesus, have compassion upon Thy Church, Thy most dear spouse, for she has only Thee in whom she can confide.

We are come at last to St. Cyprian, a most holy martyr, and egregious assertor of the unity of the Church. It were endless to collect out of his works all things which make for our purpose, which prove the Christian Church to be a true and proper society; which shew that out of this society there is no hope of eternal salvation; and which demonstrate that the unity of the Church is placed in the bishop, from whom all ordinations and ministerial powers are to be had. It will be abundantly sufficient to point out some of the more considerable passages, and from them to explain the nature of unity, according to the principles of St. Cyprian.

Let us begin with that elaborate and most valuable treatise which he wrote against Novatianus, concerning the Unity of the Church, a book most worthy (if any other) to be turned over by all hands, and deeply fixed in every breast.

[Matt. 16.  
18.]

“The Lord,” says he<sup>1</sup>, “speaks thus to St. Peter: ‘I say also unto thee that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.’ And again He says to the same (Apostle) after His resurrection: ‘Feed My sheep.’ Upon one He builds His Church; and though He gives equal power to all the Apostles, and says, ‘As My Father hath sent

[John 21.  
16.]

[John 20.  
21—23.]

<sup>1</sup> Loquitur Dominus ad Petrum, ‘Ego tibi dico,’ inquit, ‘quia tu es Petrus, et super istam (hanc ed. Ben.) petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferorum non vincent eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, et quæ ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in cælis; et quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in cælis.’ Et iterum eidem post resurrectionem suam

dicat; ‘Pascere oves meas.’ Super (illum) unum ædificat ecclesiam suam (et illi pascendas mandat oves suas): et quamvis apostolis omnibus (post resurrectionem suam) parem potestatem tribuat, et dicat: ‘sicut misit me Pater, et ego mitto vos, accipite Spiritum Sanctum,’ &c., tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit.

Me, even so send I you . . . Receive ye the Holy Ghost, &c.,” (which I desire to know how the papists can reconcile with the primacy of St. Peter,) “yet to manifest the unity of the Church, He by His authority so disposed the original of that unity as that it should have its rise from one. For the rest of the Apostles were the same with St. Peter, endowed with an equal share of honour and power; but the beginning proceeds from an unity, that the Church may be shewn to be one. . . . Can he, that does not hold this unity, believe that he holds the faith? Does he that opposes and resists the Church, trust that he is in the Church, when also the blessed Apostle St. Paul teaches the very same thing, and shews the mystery of unity, saying: ‘One body, and one spirit, one hope of your calling, one Lord, one faith, one baptism, one God.’ . . . Whoever being separated from the Church of Christ, is joined to an adulteress, is separated from the promises of the Church. Nor does he attain the rewards of Christ, who forsakes Christ’s Church. He is a stranger, he is a profane person, he is an enemy. He can no longer have God for his father, who has not the Church for his mother. If any one could escape who was out of Noah’s ark, he shall also escape who is out of the Church . . . What peace therefore do the enemies of the brethren promise themselves? What sacrifices do the rivals of the priests imagine they offer up? Do they think that Christ is with them, when assembled, who are assembled out of Christ’s Church? Though such persons should be put to death for confessing the name of Christ, yet that stain would not be washed off even with their blood.

HUGHES  
DISSERT. I.

[Eph. 4.  
4, 5.]

Hoc erant utique (et) cæteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, (et primatus Petro datur) ut (una Christi) ecclesia (et cathedra) una monstretur. . . . Hanc ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit? Qui ecclesiæ renititur et resistit, (qui cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est ecclesia deserit) in ecclesia se esse confidit? Quando et beatus apostolus Paulus hoc idem doceat, et sacramentum unitatis ostendat, dicens: ‘unum corpus, et unus Spiritus, una spes vocationis vestræ, unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus.’ . . . Quisquis ab ecclesia segregatus adulteræ jungitur, a promis-

sis ecclesiæ separatur. Nec pervenit (perveniet ed. Ben.) ad Christi præmia, qui relinquit ecclesiam Christi. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est: habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem. Si potuit evadere quisquam qui extra aream Noe fuit; et qui extra ecclesiam foris fuerit, evadet, (evadit ed. Ben.) . . . . Quam sibi igitur pacem promittunt inimici fratrum? Quæ sacrificia celebrare se credunt æmuli sacerdotum? An secum esse Christum cum collecti fuerint opinantur, qui extra Christi ecclesiam colliguntur? Tales etiamsi occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. Inexpiabilis et gravis culpa discordiæ, nec passione



The grievous and inexpressible guilt of division is not purged away even by suffering. He cannot be a martyr who is not in the Church. He cannot attain the kingdom (of heaven,) who forsakes her that shall reign (there.) . . . Does he fancy himself to be with Christ, who acts against Christ's priests? who separates himself from the society of His clergy and people? He bears arms against the Church, and fights against the order and disposal of God. An enemy to the altar, and a rebel against the sacrifice of Christ, for faith perfidious, for religion sacrilegious; a disobedient servant, an undutiful son, and an enemy instead of a brother; who despising the bishops, and forsaking the priests of God, dares erect another altar, offer up another prayer with unhallowed lips, and by false sacrifices profane the truth of our Lord's own oblation of Himself; not vouchsafing to know, that he who resists the ordinance of God, is for that audacious rashness punished with divine vengeance. . . . God is one, and Christ one, His Church one, and the faith one, and one people joined together by the cement of concord unto the solid unity of a body. The unity cannot be divided, nor the one body be broken in sunder by the dissolution of its joints, and rent in pieces by tearing out its bowels. Whatever is torn from the womb, cannot live apart, but loses all means of subsistence."

Here we may observe with the greatest satisfaction, that there is nothing contained in all this Epistle (as much as it may seem too severe and unreasonable) but what is abundantly confirmed by the most express words of St. Ignatius.

purgatur. Esse martyr non potest, qui in ecclesia non est. Ad regnum pervenire non poterit, qui eam, quæ regnatura est, derelinquit. . . . An esse sibi cum Christo videtur, qui adversus sacerdotes Christi facit? Qui se a cleri ejus et plebis societate secernit? Arma ille contra ecclesiam portat, contra Dei dispositionem repugnat: hostis altaris, adversus sacrificium Christi rebellis, pro fide perfidus, pro religione sacrilegus, inobsequens servus, filius impius, frater inimicus, contemptus episcopis, et Dei sacerdotibus derelictis constituere audent aliud altare, precem alteram illicitis vocibus facere, Dominicæ hostiæ veritatem per falsa sacrificia profanare; nec [dignatur] scire,

quoniam qui contra ordinationem Dei ninitur, ob temeritatis audaciam divina animadversione punitur. . . . Deus unus est, et Christus unus, et una ecclesia ejus, et fides una, et plebs (una) in solidam corporis unitatem concordia glutino copulata. Scindi unitas non potest, nec corpus unum discedio compaginis separari, divulsis laceratione visceribus in frustra discernpi. Quicquid a matrice discesserit, seorsim vivere et spirare non poterit; substantiam salutis amittit.—S. Cyp. de Unit. Eccl. [pp. 194, 195, sqq. ed. Ben. The words enclosed in parentheses are in the Benedictine edition, but not in the Oxford or Amsterdam editions which Hughes used.]

From hence we may easily understand, that these principles of ecclesiastical unity were not born with St. Cyprian, but derived down to us by a continual succession from the very times of the Apostles. From this most noble treatise we learn, not only what St. Cyprian's opinion was concerning the unity of the Church, and that of the African bishops with him, but what all the bishops of all ages and places have most firmly believed concerning this important question. It is not necessary to dwell longer on the explication of these passages of St. Cyprian, for they are so clear and perspicuous, that nothing can be more. Nor will it be worth while to collect other passages of the same father, to confirm these that I have already produced. For almost in every Epistle you will find many things which demonstrate the same opinion. But they who, not content with these, desire to obtain a farther knowledge of this father's principles, I most earnestly recommend to them the learned Mr. Dodwell's *Dissertations upon St. Cyprian*<sup>m</sup>, in which nothing can be wanting that may seem any way to conduce to the illustration of this matter.

However, it may be neither troublesome nor altogether useless to observe these few things.

1. That the African bishops were of opinion, that the unity of the Church was to be reckoned amongst the most fundamental points; that out of this unity no Sacraments were efficaciously administered, no ordinations were to be accounted lawful, and in one word, no hope of eternal salvation was possible to be obtained.

2. That schism is a crime so grievous, so dangerous, and so opposite to the Christian religion, that they thought no exaggeration of words could express it; nay, they went so far as to think it could not be atoned for even by martyrdom itself.

3. That the principle of unity was placed in the bishop alone, without whose authority nothing could be done in the Church.

These are those Cyprianic principles so much talked of, which the whole primitive Church did always most firmly hold, and which are no other than what St. Cyprian had

<sup>m</sup> [*Dissertationes Cyprianicæ ab Henrico Dodwello. Oxon. 1684. et ap. Op. S. Cypr. Oxon. 1682.*]

learnt from the Irenæus's and Ignatius's, and they from the Apostles. Whether therefore we have respect to the sacred oracles themselves, or to the perpetual practice of the Catholic Church, or to the testimonies of the most holy fathers, it will abundantly appear, that Jesus Christ has founded a true and proper society, perfectly separate and distinct from all the societies of this world.

And indeed if we consult reason itself, we shall find that too wonderfully on our side in this question; for as I have been very often considering of the Christian religion, nothing has appeared to me more plain and evident, than that that society is as distinct as can be imagined from all the societies of this world. For thus I used to think with myself; those societies which cannot only subsist, but also increase and flourish separately from each other, and without any other's help or protection, those societies without all doubt are most distinct. This seems to be evident from the very nature of society, for that which can by itself, and without the aid of another hold together very well and in good order, must needs have in itself without any regard to other societies all those things that are necessary to constitute a society, and consequently is of itself a true and proper society, in its own nature separate from all others. And although we suppose this society to be so blended and confounded with certain other communities, that it is very difficult to distinguish one from the other, yet it can by no means be denied, after what I have been saying, that one remains distinct from the other, and may subsist without it. Having laid down these principles, which always appeared to me most evident, I applied my mind seriously to consider the Christian religion. It was a long time before the profession of our most holy faith had the least assistance or defence from the powers of this world. It long experienced the greatest enmity from the Roman commonwealth, it long struggled with the most cruel tyrants, monsters of men, and reproaches of mankind, who used all their endeavours utterly to overthrow the new-born religion. There passed three hundred years and upwards before God raised up Constantine to protect and preserve the Church of Christ. During all this long and tedious space of time she suffered the rage of the Roman emperors, and being weak-

ened with innumerable persecutions, flourished apparently by the divine assistance. Here it will be easy to discern what we are to judge of the Christian Church, whether it be a true society or no, and whether it can subsist without the civil magistrate. That in those days it was divided from the secular society no man will deny, and yet it is most manifest that it even then remained a society. Nay, the Christian religion was at that time a society, extended far and wide, spread with wonderful celerity over all the face of the whole earth, and joined together under its own governors by the strictest bonds of communion. This heavenly society was so far from ever sinking under the weight of all the persecutions it suffered from the most subtle malice of those tyrants, that it always came off with advantage, flourished and triumphed daily, and from its innumerable martyrdoms received both glory and increase. From all which it seems to me most manifest, that the Christian is a true and proper society, and that it still continues entire and distinct from all the societies of this world. And although from that protection and those various advantages given to it by the Christian emperors, there accrues to the civil power a very great authority in matters ecclesiastical, yet if the civil power act any thing in prejudice to the fundamental agreements<sup>1</sup> of the Christian society, if it either recommend heresy by its authority, or drive its people to it by force, if it defend those that make schisms, I mean if [it] so defend them as to oblige its subjects to join with the schismatics, if it invade and profane the sacerdotal offices; in any of these cases the Christian society shall immediately withdraw from the civil, and fly to its own divine rights, which can never be transferred; shall subsist as a society of itself, by its own spiritual principles: and to this Christian society, thus separated from the civil, and using its own rights, all men are obliged to associate themselves under the severest peril of eternal damnation, whatever damage they are like to suffer in this world for their so doing. For it has pleased God to place the ordinary means of salvation not in the state but in the Church, and He has not entrusted them with the princes of this world, but with the bishops, who are the princes of His Church.

But farther, that the Christian Church is a true and proper



society, distinct from the societies of this world, may be proved from the grounds, and nature, and end of these societies, which are all various and different. All men know that the civil society arises from this principal ground, that man is of his own nature a political animal, which by a certain innate impulse is driven to join with others in society. And it is also founded for this end, that men may obtain the greatest felicity which by means purely natural it is possible to arrive at in this life. But both the ground and the end of the Christian Church are far different; for this society could never have been invented by the mind of man, but is wholly owing to revelation. And this revealed religion is therefore instituted, that men may learn from it so to order their lives in this world, that in the next they may enjoy eternal happiness with the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, who are essentially one God. Nor is it enough to believe that the Christian faith is true, but we are also obliged openly and courageously to profess this faith before all mankind, although this our profession be attended with the severest punishments. Neither is a bare profession sufficient, though it be open and ingenuous; we are farther obliged to combine together in a society, to the end that we may worship our Saviour according to His own institution, and partake of His Sacraments duly consecrated; and they who despise this public worship are deservedly accounted to have denied their faith. On this principle alone, viz., that Christians are obliged to meet together to worship Jesus Christ according to His institution, does that spiritual society depend for which we dispute. And from hence we easily gather, that that society is most different from the civil, and depends upon a different authority; for Christians are obliged to join themselves to this society, not by any authority of the state, but by the same divine authority which instituted our religion. This obligation of meeting together to perform public worship to Jesus Christ, is such as no civil power can either take away, or change, or diminish. Therefore the Christian Church is a true and proper society, different from these worldly societies, because it has certain privileges granted to it by divine authority which the civil magistrate can neither take away nor violate. It is therefore a society different from the civil, because all

men are obliged to join themselves to this society, whether the public authority command them so to do or forbid them. From thence it appears that this obligation is not derived from the civil magistrate, but from a certain former obligation; and consequently it follows that the Christian Church is not the same society with the state; for if the Church and the state did constitute one and the same society, all the obligation that we are under of joining ourselves to this society would arise from the civil authority; and the consequence of that would be, that we should be under no such obligation if the secular magistrate should appoint otherwise. Therefore Hobbes rightly determined from his principles, that no man is obliged openly to profess the Christian faith, if that be displeasing to the supreme power; nay, and that even the holy Scripture cannot have the nature of a law if the civil power reject it. It farther appears, that the Church of Christ is not the same society with the civil authority, from the various and different privileges of each society; for if it be granted to be the same, then he that has right to the civil society has also right to the spiritual communion of the Church; and reciprocally, he that has right to the ecclesiastical thereby acquires also a right to the civil society, and to all those emoluments which are annexed to that society: but this is manifestly repugnant both to reason and to the constant opinion of all men and all ages. These arguments are such as have abundantly convinced me, and will I hope persuade others, that the Christian Church is one proper society, as distinct as can be imagined from all the societies of this world.

It remains that I say something briefly concerning the unity of this spiritual society; for this new reformer or restorer of the Church asserts<sup>n</sup> that the Catholic Church consists of a great many different societies, which are all independent of each other, insomuch that he who is consecrated a bishop in one country, if he remove to another immediately becomes a layman. Nay, he affirms that the contrary hypothesis is so foolish and absurd that it is impossible to defend it without having recourse to some universal bishop, such for instance as the bishop of Rome.

<sup>n</sup> [Rights, chap. x. See above, vol. i. p. 293, sqq.]

On this head he has employed his whole tenth chapter, with an assurance equal to his ignorance.

On the contrary, I assert with the primitive Church, that the Catholic Church, wheresoever dispersed, is only one society, united by the strictest bond of communion.

1. My first argument for the proof of this shall be drawn from the Sacrament of Baptism. By being baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we are not only made members of the particular Church wherein we live, but obtain a right to the communion of the whole Catholic Church. To whatever part of the world we Christians travel, by our baptism we have a right to communicate with that Church in ecclesiastical offices. But this could not be unless all particular Christian Churches did constitute one and the same society, for no society can by any private act confer a right to the privileges of another society; and I make no doubt but all the Christians in the world, from the times of the Apostles down to ours, were always persuaded that by baptism they were made members not of any particular Church, but of the universal Christian society. There is not any thing which is more confirmed by the constant suffrage of Christians than that by virtue of their baptism all Christians obtain a right to communicate with all Churches whatsoever, and with all assemblies consecrated to the public worship.

2. A second argument may be fetched from excommunication, as it was administered in the primitive Church. Nothing can be more notorious to such as are the least versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, than that he who was excommunicated from any particular Church was thereby thrown out of the whole Catholic Church. Thus the twelfth apostolic canon directs<sup>o</sup>, "If any clergyman or layman that is excommunicated, or suspended from communion, shall remove, and be received in another city, let both him that receives him be excommunicated and he that is received. And though he be already excommunicated, yet let his ex-

<sup>o</sup> εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφορισμένος, ἢ τοι ἄδεκτος, ἀπελθὼν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει, δεχθῆ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφοριζέσθω καὶ ὁ δεξιόμενος καὶ ὁ δεχθείς. εἰ δὲ ἀφορισμένος εἴη, ἐπιτεινέσθω

αὐτῷ ὁ ἀφορισμὸς, ὡς ψευσαμένῳ καὶ ἀπατήσαντι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.— [Can. Apost. xii. Concilia, tom. i. col. 28, B, C. See above, pp. 201, sqq.]

communication be farther extended, as against one that has lied to and deceived the Church of God." This practice of the Church is very well explained by Synesius in his Epistle concerning Andronicus, where we have these words<sup>p</sup>: "The Church of Ptolemais sends these orders to her sisters all over the world. Let no temple of God be opened to Andronicus and his adherents, nor to Thoas and his. Let every holy place be shut against them, and every temple and fold. The devil has no part in paradise. . . . But if any one despise this as the Church of a small city, and shall receive those whom she has excommunicated, as if there was no necessity of obeying a poor (Church,) let him know that he has divided the Church which Christ will have to be one. And such a one, whether he be a deacon, or a priest, or a bishop, shall by us be esteemed no otherwise than Andronicus himself; and we will neither give him the right hand (of fellowship,) nor ever eat with him at the same table; and we will be very far from partaking of the ineffable mystery with such as are willing to take part with Andronicus and Thoas."

A very remarkable passage this, and one that fully demonstrates the truth of my notion of the Christian Church. Synesius anathematizes Andronicus and Thoas for certain very heinous crimes. He notifies the matter to all other Churches, and does not so much advise as command them to condemn those persons by an unanimous suffrage, and exclude them from the public assemblies; and that Church which should do otherwise, which should admit them to communion, he judges them thereby to tear the Church in sunder, which Christ Himself appointed should be one. In the opinion, therefore, of Synesius, the unity of the Church does herein consist, that the public acts of any one Church are confirmed by the Church universal.

Ἡ Πτολεμαΐδος ἐκκλησία, τάδε πρὸς τὰς ἀπανταχοῦ γῆς ἐαυτῆς ἀδελφὰς διατάττεται Ἀνδρονίκῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ, Θόαντι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀνοιγνύσθω τέμενος τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἅπας αὐτοῖς ἱερὸς ἀποκεκλείσθω, καὶ σηκὸς, καὶ περίβολος· οὐκ ἔστι τῷ διαβόλῳ μέρος ἐν παραδείσῳ. . . εἰ δέ τις ὡς μικροπολίτιν ἀποσκυβαλίσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δέξεται τοὺς ἀποκηρύκτους αὐτῆς, ὡς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τῇ πένητι πείθεσθαι· ἴστω σχίσσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν,

ἦν μιὰν ὁ Χριστὸς εἶναι βούλεται. Ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος, εἴτε λευίτης ἔστιν, εἴτε πρεσβύτερος, εἴτε ἐπίσκοπος, παρ' ἡμῶν ἐν Ἀνδρονίκου μίρῳ τετάξεται, καὶ οὔτε ἐμβαλοῦμεν αὐτῷ δεξιὰν, οὔτε ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ποτε σιτησόμεθα· πολλοὺ δὲ δέησομεν κοινωνῆσαι τῆς ἀπορρήτου τελότης, τοῖς ἐθελήτασιν ἔχειν μερίδα μετὰ Ἀνδρονίκου καὶ Θόαντος.—[Synesii Cyrenensis Epist. lvi. ad Episcopos. Op., p. 203.]



Consonant hereto is that which Epiphanius relates of Marcion, that being excommunicated from the Church by his father, he betook himself to the presbyters of the Church of Rome; for Ilyginus, bishop of that see, was dead, and no other yet chosen to succeed him; that he besought them that he might be permitted to communicate with the Latin Church, and that the Roman presbyters answered him to this purpose<sup>r</sup>: "We cannot do this without the permission of your venerable father;" adding this reason for it, "because there is one faith and one mind, and we cannot act in opposition to our good colleague and your father." From all this it appears sufficiently that according to the opinion of the most ancient fathers the Catholic Church is one and the same society: for if it consisted of different societies independent of each other, it could never have happened that a person excommunicated from one particular Church should be thereby excluded from all others. It is therefore sufficiently proved, both from baptism and from excommunication, that the Christian Church does not consist of divers members all independent of one another, but that it composes one society, joined together by the straitest bond of unity.

3. We may also prove that this is the true notion of the Church, from that article of our Creed in which we are taught to profess our belief of the holy Catholic Church. This article concerning the Church is found in the most ancient Creeds, as in that of Jerusalem<sup>s</sup> and in the Alexandrian<sup>t</sup>. And what pious antiquity understood by this article is abundantly manifest from thence, that they always made use of this weapon against heretics, as may be seen in St. Augustine and St. Jerome. If we go to the sacred oracles, many passages occur there which confirm this notion of the Church. It will easily be granted that the word Church<sup>u</sup> has many significations. Sometimes it may mean the place where the Church is gathered together<sup>x</sup>; but it

<sup>r</sup> οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄνευ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς τοῦ τιμίου πατρὸς σου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· μία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ πίστις, καὶ μία ἡμόνοια, καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα ἐναντιωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, πατρὶ δὲ σὺν.—[S. Epiphani. Hær. xlii. § 2. Op., tom. i. p. 303, C. See above, p. 205, note r.]

<sup>s</sup> [S. Cyril. Hier. Catech. xviii. Op.,

p. 285, A.]

<sup>t</sup> [Epist. Alexand. ap. Theodoret. Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 4. p. 19.]

<sup>u</sup> ἐκκλησία.

<sup>x</sup> "When ye come together in the Church, I hear that there be divisions among you;" 1 Cor. xi. 18.

very often signifies the multitude of the faithful who embrace the Christian religion. And this we read differently expressed, sometimes of the Churches of God, and the Churches of the saints; and sometimes of the Church, as of that in Priscilla's and Aquila's house<sup>γ</sup>. But it is to be observed, and was observed long since by the great Bishop Pearson<sup>z</sup>, that "as often as the holy Scripture speaks of any country or people converted to the faith, it always uses the word Churches in the plural number; but when it speaks of a city, though it were never so large, and contained many congregations of the faithful, it only calls it one Church<sup>a</sup>." And this manner of writing was imitated by the most ancient authors.

St. Ignatius superscribes an epistle<sup>b</sup>, "To the Church of God, which presides in the place of the chorus<sup>1</sup> of the Romans," (according to the old Latin version,) or rather, in the city and suburbs of Rome<sup>c</sup>. Clemens Romanus<sup>d</sup>: "The Church of God which sojourns at Rome." Polycarp<sup>e</sup>: "To the Church of God sojourning at Philippi." From these superscriptions of epistles it is very easy to observe that Church always answers to city. Who does not know that *παροικία* among the ancients signifies the same thing that *διοίκησις* or diocese does with us. But a Church founded in one city never consisted of various and different congregations independent of each other, (as some late dreamers have with wonderful subtlety imagined,) but always comprised the whole city, together with all its suburbicary districts in their utmost extent. And after the same manner that several congregations united to their bishop

<sup>1</sup> [chori, fors. chorii, for *χωρίου*.]

<sup>γ</sup> "Greet the Church that is in their house;" Rom. xvi. 5.

<sup>z</sup> [Bishop Pearson's Exposition of the Creed, Art. ix. p. 566. Oxford, 1833.]

<sup>a</sup> "Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth;" 1 Cor. i. 2. "At that time there was a great persecution against the Church which was at Jerusalem;" Acts viii. 1. "Unto the Church of the Thessalonians;" 2 Thess. i. 1. "The Church of the Laodiceans;" Coloss. iv. 16.

<sup>b</sup> τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Θεοῦ ἣτις προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων.—[S. Ignat.

Ep. ad Rom. init. ap. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 25.] Ecclesię Dei quę pręsident in loco chori Romanorum.—[Vet. Int., *ibid.*, p. 128.]

<sup>c</sup> Vide Pearson. not. in loc.—[Pearsoni Vindicie Ignatianę, pars ii. c. 16. . . de inscriptione Epistolę ad Romanos disputatur; ad calc. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. pp. 437, 438.]

<sup>d</sup> ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην.—[S. Clem. Ep. ad Cor. init., Patr. Apost., tom. i. pp. 145, 146.]

<sup>e</sup> ἐκκλησία [τοῦ] θεοῦ τῇ παροικοῦσῃ Φιλίπποις.—[S. Polycarp. Ep. ad Phil. init. *ibid.* tom. ii. p. 186.]

composed a diocesan Church, also divers diocesan Churches united to the archbishop or principal bishop<sup>f</sup> constituted a provincial Church. But all the provincial Churches spread over the whole world preserved a most strict peace among themselves by means of their communicatory and recommendatory letters, insomuch that what one Church did, whether in admitting catechumens to baptism, or in excommunicating the wicked and profane, was also ratified by the rest. Hence there arises one society, one Church made up of various provincial Churches, and united to Jesus Christ alone, who is the head of all Churches. Nor let any one imagine that all this ecclesiastical polity is only owing to human prudence and the canons of councils, for it is founded in that great command of Jesus Christ, by which He so often enjoined His disciples to “follow after peace,” and most diligently to “avoid divisions and schisms,” and to “preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.” I make no doubt but the Apostles themselves understood these passages concerning the most firm unity of the ecclesiastical society; for which reason all the Apostles did by unanimous consent so institute Churches that they might with all convenience possible obtain this most desired end. They appointed the private congregations of every particular Church should be subject to their bishop, the episcopal Churches to their archbishop, and all to a general council, which without all dispute has the greatest authority, and whose decrees it is the greatest insolence and madness to oppose. Now that this was the sense and judgment of the Apostles there are many arguments to convince us. As

1st. The incomparable Archbishop Ussher has with very great variety of learning proved<sup>g</sup> that the angels in the Apocalypse were not only bishops, but also archbishops or metropolitans, to whom episcopal Churches ever acknowledged a certain obedience to be due. Concerning these apostolical Churches the Holy Spirit always speaks in the singular number<sup>h</sup>: “Unto the angel of the Church of Ephesus.” From

<sup>f</sup> πρώτῳ ἐπισκόπῳ.

<sup>g</sup> [The original of Bishops and Metropolitans briefly laid down by James Ussher, (1641.) Works, vol. vii. pp.

61, sqq. ed. Dublin.]

<sup>h</sup> τῷ ἀγγέλῳ τῆς Ἐφεσίνης ἐκκλησίας.—Αποκ. ii. 1.

whence it follows, 1st, That different diocesan Churches united to an archbishop, as to the centre of unity, do in the sense of the Holy Spirit constitute one Church. 2ndly, That this dependence of Churches obtained in the times of the Apostles. 3rdly, That it was the opinion of the Apostles that by this means the unity of the Catholic Church was best consulted.

2ndly. This dependence of Churches, for which I am contending, is wonderfully proved from that famous controversy concerning circumcision, and the council of Jerusalem which was convened upon that occasion<sup>i</sup>. A question arises concerning circumcision: the Judaizing Christians urge that this rite is necessary even under the Gospel; on the contrary, St. Barnabas and St. Paul deny this. But neither St. Barnabas nor St. Paul (though both were divinely inspired) attempted to decide this controversy. They appeal to the Church of Jerusalem, to St. James the bishop, and to the Apostles in council: the council is convened, and the question determined by the common suffrages of them all. This, to the best of my judgment, evidently proves a manifest dependence of Churches.

3rdly. It is certain that the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria, were all founded by the Apostles themselves. It is also certain that these very Churches, in the times immediately following the Apostles, were the heads of many Churches, to which, "by reason of their more powerful principality," (as St. Irenæus speaks<sup>k</sup>,) all inferior Churches were wont to come. Why, therefore, may we not conclude that that was the meaning of the Apostles, that Churches should be so disposed, viz., in such subordination, that the unity of the Catholic Church might remain safe and entire?

These arguments abundantly prove that the Christian Church is one society most closely united together. It were very easy to confirm this notion of the Church by innumerable testimonies of the holy fathers, if that were my present purpose. I will select two or three. St. Cyprian

<sup>i</sup> Acts xv.

<sup>k</sup> [Propter potentiorē principalitatem.—S. Iren. cont. Hær., lib. iii. c. 3;

tem.—S. Iren. cont. Hær., lib. iii. c. 3; quoted above, p. 306.]



says<sup>1</sup>: "The Lord speaks thus to St. Peter: 'I say unto thee that thou art Peter,' &c.; and again He says to him after His resurrection, 'Feed My sheep.' And though He gives an equal power to all His Apostles, and says, 'As My Father sent Me,' &c., yet to manifest the unity (of the Church), He by His authority has so disposed the original of that unity, as that it should have its rise from one; for the rest of the Apostles were the same with St. Peter, endowed with an equal share of honour and power, but the beginning proceeds from an unity, that the Church may be manifested to be one. For there is one God and one Christ; His Church one and the faith one, one people joined together by the cement of concord into the solid unity of a body." And again<sup>m</sup>: "The episcopacy is but one, and is so shared among all bishops as that each has a right to the whole. The Church also is one, which by a fruitful increase is widely extended to a multitude." But if the episcopacy be no more than one, and all bishops do so share this one episcopacy among them as that each has a right to the whole, it follows, that he, who is regularly ordained a bishop in any one Church, will be owned as a bishop by the whole Catholic Church; and that, from that very ordination of his, the care of the whole Catholic Church is incumbent upon him. St. Irenæus says of the Church<sup>n</sup>: "that though she is dispersed over the whole world, yet she dwells as it were in one house." And Tertullian says<sup>o</sup>: "We and they have one faith, one God, the same Christ, the same hope, the same Sacrament of Baptism; in a word, we are one Church." These passages are sufficient to shew what opinion was entertained concerning the nature of the Catholic Church by the most holy fathers, even those that lived almost in the next age to the Apostles. Whether, therefore, we consider the arguments drawn from baptism and excommunication,

<sup>1</sup> S. Cyp. de Unitat. Eccl.; [quoted above, pp. 308—310.]

<sup>m</sup> Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. Ecclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur.—S. Cyprian. de Unitat. Eccl. [p. 195.]

<sup>n</sup> ἡ ἐκκλησία, καίπερ ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ διεσπαρμένη. . . ὡς ἓνα οἶκον οἰκοῦσα.

—S. Iren. cont. Hær., lib. i. c. 10. [p. 49.]

<sup>o</sup> Una nobis et illis fides, unus Deus, idem Christus, eadem spes, eadem lavacri sacramenta; semel dixerim, una ecclesia sumus.—Tertull. De Veland. Virgin. cap. 2. [Op., p. 173.]

or the signification of the word "Church" in the holy Scriptures, or the constant practice and custom of the Church, or lastly, the testimonies of the holy fathers, it is necessary to believe,

1st. That the Christian Church is a true and proper society, distinct from all the societies of this world.

2ndly. That the Catholic Church, wheresoever dispersed, is only one society united by the strictest bond of union.

## DISSERTATION II.

THE APOSTLES CONSTITUTED BISHOPS FOR THE PERPETUAL GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH, WITH A PECULIAR POWER OF ORDINATION.

HAVING proved that the Christian Church is a true and proper society, my method seems to require that I should proceed to speak concerning the governors to whom the administration of this society is committed. I therefore assert that the Apostles constituted bishops for the perpetual government of the Church, with a peculiar power of ordination.

But to the end that this dissertation concerning the government of the Church may be the more clear and perspicuous, I shall premise some things which will give the greatest light to this controversy.

1. It is agreed between us and our adversaries, at least the Presbyterians, that Jesus Christ has instituted a certain form of Church government from which it were a heinous sin to depart. I confess, when I seriously read over St. Paul's Epistles to Titus and to Timothy, it seems to me very wonderful that it could come into any one's mind to think the contrary. But this is so fully confirmed by St. Clement<sup>p</sup>, a person of the greatest integrity and authority, that nothing that is of the least moment can be alleged against it.

2. There is a very great difference to be made between a Church to be founded, and a Church which is already regularly founded and perfect in all its parts. It is foolish and absurd to expect that the Scriptures should particularly enu-

<sup>p</sup> [See above, p. 304.]

merate all the offices in the Church, when the Christian Church was not yet come to full maturity.

3. And for that reason the testimonies of the second century, when the Church was now perfect and consummate, will be the safest judges in this controversy.

4. From all this we may gather, that our schismatics are guilty of the most senseless trifling, as often as they importunately demand that we should prove our three orders (viz., of bishops, priests, and deacons) from clear and express words of holy Scripture. It seems abundantly sufficient for us and our cause, if we can prove (which we can very easily) that the Apostles committed the care and government of cities converted to the Christian faith to single persons, with a peculiar power of ordination, which could not be administered by those of the inferior orders.

5. I assert therefore against all innovators whatsoever, that the holy Scripture of the New Testament (if it be expounded according to the custom either of the temple or of the synagogue, and the universal practice of the primitive Church both of the first and second century) does most clearly and fully prove that the Apostles constituted bishops for the perpetual government of the Catholic Church, with a peculiar power of ordination.

6. Jesus Christ did punctually imitate the Jewish rites and institutions, as sufficiently appears in the Sacraments of Baptism and of the Lord's Supper. And for that reason it is very probable, that also in establishing the government of the Church He had the Jewish form before His eyes, and framed His own chiefly after the model of that. Now from hence we may conclude, that that form of government which approaches nearest to the Jewish, is the very same that Jesus Christ has constituted. It farther follows from hence, that all the passages of holy Scripture which concern the government of the Church, particularly the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, ought to be so understood as to agree most conveniently with the principles of the Jews, and by no means be perverted and wrested with the utmost violence to make them seem favourable to the unheard-of politics of innovators.

7. Every one knows very well that the Jewish form of government, founded by God Himself, had Levites, priests, and

the high-priest. It is therefore very consentaneous to reason that our Saviour instituted a form of government also in the Christian Church not altogether unlike this. This certainly is no contemptible argument of it, that almost all the fathers do with one consent most constantly affirm that the thing was so. Nay, that which perhaps will have more force with our adversaries, St. Jerome himself, the most strenuous advocate for the equality of orders, (as they are wont to boast,) does most eagerly contend<sup>q</sup> that deacons hold the same rank in the Christian Church which Levites held in the Jewish; that presbyters have obtained the same dignity which the priests of old claimed, and that bishops have succeeded in the room of the high-priest. And if we go from the temple to the synagogues, we shall likewise in them easily perceive no obscure footsteps of the same inequality; for besides the ordinary ministers who were employed in reading lessons and making exhortations, they had also their ἀρχισυναγωγος, or “ruler of the synagogue.”

Having premised these things, I come now to the confirmation of my proposition. And I begin my proofs with the holy Scriptures.

We read in the Epistles to Timothy, that this holy person, adorned with the greatest gifts, was by St. Paul set over the Church of Ephesus, with full authority to do all things that might any ways conduce to the confirmation and enlargement of that Church. There can be no doubt but Timothy was superior to all the presbyters then constituted at Ephesus, and endowed with a superior power. Nay, it most clearly appears, that he received authority from St. Paul to ordain deacons and presbyters, to reward<sup>r</sup> “with double honour” such as had “ruled well,” to inflict ecclesiastical censures even upon the presbyters themselves. It must therefore remain a thing undoubted, that the Church of Ephesus was committed to the care of Timothy alone, with a peculiar power of ordination.

But here it is usually asked, not without very great

<sup>q</sup> [Et ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumtas de veteri Testamento, quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi et presbyteri et diaconi vindicent in ecclesia.

—S. Hieron. Epist. cxlvi. ad Evangelium. Op., tom. i. col. 1077, D.]

<sup>r</sup> οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν; 1 Tim. v. 17.



earnestness, whether St. Timothy is to be reckoned among the ordinary ministers of the Church, or only among such as were extraordinary; namely, among those to whom greater authority than ordinary was committed in order to found the Christian Church, but was to expire with the Apostles and those apostolic men. For this is that known subterfuge to which the schismatics always have recourse.

I assert therefore that St. Timothy was an ordinary governor of the Church, and exercised an ordinary authority, the same which was to continue to the end of the world.

The reasons upon which I assert this are chiefly two: the first is drawn from the intrinsic characters of these Epistles; the second from the constant opinion of the primitive Church.

I. In the whole course of these Epistles we do not meet with any thing at all that may occasion so much as the least suspicion that the authority committed to St. Timothy was extraordinary and to continue only for a time. Nay, all that occurs there is to the contrary. Pray what is there which Timothy used to do in the Church of Ephesus, that bishops are not in all Churches both obliged and accustomed to do?

1. The Apostle in the first place exhorts him<sup>s</sup>, that he would take most diligent care, that public prayers should be duly offered up “for all sorts and conditions of men, especially for kings, and for all that are in authority.”

2. He admonishes Timothy<sup>t</sup> what sort of persons they ought to be, and adorned with what virtues, whom he should advance to the dignity of bishops.

3. He teaches him<sup>u</sup> how to behave himself towards heretics, and by what method to preserve safe and entire the people committed to his charge.

4. He instructs him<sup>x</sup> how he should inflict ecclesiastical censures, and what was fit for the elders, what for the younger, and what for widows.

5. The Apostle also shews him<sup>y</sup> how he ought to “receive an accusation against an elder” or presbyter: to pass by all the rest of this kind.

<sup>s</sup> 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid., iii.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid., iv.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid., v.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid., v. 19.

Now what can there be found in all these instructions which does by any means denote an extraordinary office? what is there that does not shew such an one as was ordinary and convenient for the Church in all times?

For what reason is it therefore that they exclaim with so much assurance, that Timothy was an extraordinary minister, and that nothing can be gathered from his authority over presbyters which will make for our episcopal tyranny? But from what indications, from what characters do they collect this? that is what they do not know.

Since therefore all the characters and indications contained in the Epistles themselves do apparently declare his ministry to have been ordinary, we are under an obligation to assert that St. Timothy was an ordinary minister, and that he exercised no more than an ordinary authority, such as is very necessary to all Churches in all times. Likewise I cannot but think that St. Timothy affords us a most clear example of episcopal government. The same may be said of Titus.

II. But I come to the second reason for which I asserted that Timothy and Titus were ordinary ministers, and that is taken from the constant opinion of the primitive Church. And here it will be sufficient to observe, that all the holy fathers who speak of Timothy and Titus, do always make mention of them as of bishops ordained by the Apostles. Eusebius says<sup>z</sup>, “that Timothy is related to have been the first that obtained the bishopric of the diocese of Ephesus, as also Titus did that of the Churches in Crete.” The false Ambrosius, whom the Presbyterians boast to be on their side, asserts<sup>a</sup>, “that the Apostle consecrated Titus a bishop.” Theophylact says<sup>b</sup>, “he was appointed bishop of Crete.” We have also in this case the acknowledgment of St. Jerome, that<sup>c</sup> “Timothy was ordained bishop of the Ephesians by St. Paul.”

<sup>z</sup> Τιμόθεός γε μὴν τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πα-  
ρουσίας ἰστορεῖται πρῶτος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν  
εἰληχέναι ὡς καὶ Τίτος τῶν ἐπὶ Κρήτης  
ἐκκλησιῶν.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. iii.  
c. 4. [p. 91.]

<sup>a</sup> Titum apostolus creavit episco-  
pum. See his Commentaries upon Ti-  
tus. [Pseudo-Ambros. in Epist. ad Tit.  
ap. S. Ambros. Op., tom. ii. col. 313,  
A.]

<sup>b</sup> ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Κρήτης κεχειροτό-  
νητο.—[Theophylact. Comm. in Ep. ad  
Tit. Argumentum. Op., tom. ii. p. 621,  
A.]

<sup>c</sup> Timotheus Ephesiorum episcopus  
ordinatus a beato Paulo.—[S. Hieron.  
lib. de Viris Illust. (al. Script. Eccles.)  
App. i. e Græc. Vers. Sophronii, § 8.  
Op., tom. ii. col. 943.]

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It is manifest therefore, as well from the intrinsic characters of the Epistles as from the unanimous consent of the holy fathers, that Timothy and Titus were ordinary ministers of the Church, that is, bishops; from whence, therefore, I would willingly know, had the Presbyterians those monuments of antiquity, and under what rubbish were they buried, which informed them that the authority committed to Timothy was extraordinary, and such as was to continue only for a time? Let them produce their evidences into the open light, that we may at length be undeceived as to this inveterate error. In the meantime, I beseech our adversaries that they will vouchsafe to pardon me, if I am not willing to have the same value for their unskilful conjectures as for the clearest testimonies of Eusebius, St. Jerome, and other very great men.

But they who reckon ecclesiastical government as one of the things indifferent, are wont farther to urge that there is no consequence from all this. St. Paul, say they, instituted an episcopacy at Ephesus and at Crete, therefore episcopacy is of divine right, therefore all other forms of Church-government are unlawful. That does not follow. The other Apostles might appoint altogether different forms of government; nay, and perhaps St. Paul himself did in other places make choice of another way.

I answer, that all the Apostles agreed together in the institution of episcopal government; for,

1. In the first place the Apostles were careful to observe a wonderful uniformity in things of great moment; and what can be of greater moment than the government of the Church, without which the Christian religion could not subsist?

2. It is in fact most evident that the episcopal form of government obtained in all Churches founded by the Apostles, even in the very times of the Apostles themselves.

Now this will be easily confirmed by the particular enumeration of the successions. That the rulers of the Churches of Asia, of which the Apocalypse makes mention, were bishops, is a fact beyond all possibility of doubt. They are called the "angels of the Churches;" it is necessary, therefore, that they must have been single persons, for who ever

heard that an assembly of presbyters could be represented by an angel? But here also it may be added, that our Saviour very severely reproveth the angels for the impieties of the Churches. Now this plainly supposes that the whole administration of the Church was committed to these single persons, signified by the name of angels. But why do I dwell on these kind of arguments, when the very learned Archbishop Ussher<sup>d</sup> has most fully demonstrated, from the ancient monuments of the Church, that these angels were not only bishops, but even archbishops?

This is also farther proved from the catalogues of bishops compiled by Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea, by which we perceive, at first sight, that the primitive Church acknowledged no other form of government but the episcopal.

All this is most fully confirmed by St. Irenæus, a person of the greatest authority, and as ancient as the age next the Apostles; for more than once he calls bishops the successors of the Apostles, and he affirms that the Apostles constituted bishops in the Churches, and then proceeds to enumerate those bishops to us who sat in the see of Rome. “The Apostles, therefore,” says he<sup>e</sup>, “founding and instructing the Church, for the government of it committed the episcopacy to Linus, and to him succeeded Anacletus, &c. And likewise Polycarp, who was not only taught by the Apostles, and had conversed with many of those that had seen our Lord, but was also by the Apostles constituted bishop in Asia, in that Church which is at Smyrna,” &c. Here it is to be observed that the Church of Smyrna is one of the Asiatic Churches mentioned in the book of the Revelations, nor is it unlikely that Polycarp himself was the angel of that Church.

<sup>d</sup> See his treatise de Jure Metropolitano. [Episcoporum et Metropolitanorum origo, pp. 20, sqq., ap. Usserii opuscula duo, &c. Lat. Lond. 1688.]

<sup>e</sup> Fundantes igitur et instruentes beati apostoli ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt . . . succedit autem ei Anacletus, &c. [θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Λίνῳ τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν . . . διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος, κ.τ.λ.] — S. Iren. cont.

Hær., lib. iii. c. 3. [§ 3. p. 176.]

Et Polycarpus autem non solum ab apostolis edoctus, et conversatus cum multis ex iis qui Dominum nostrum viderunt; sed etiam ab apostolis in Asia, in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesia constitutus episcopus, &c.

[καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς, καὶ συναναστραφείς πολλοῖς τοῖς τὸν Χριστὸν ἑωρακόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπίσκοπος, κ.τ.λ. ibid., § 4.]



Next to St. Irenæus I will produce Tertullian, who in his book *de Præscriptione Hæreticorum*, affords us a most full testimony. "Let them shew, therefore," says he, "the originals of their Churches; let them run over the order of their bishops, descending from the beginning through their successions in such manner as that the first bishop had some of the Apostles or apostolical men (who yet had conversed with the Apostles) for his author or predecessor: for by this means the apostolic Churches deduce their originals, as the Church of Smyrna recurs to Polycarp placed there by St. John, as likewise Clement bishop of Rome was ordained by St. Peter: and in the same manner as the other Churches exhibit those who were constituted bishops by the Apostles, and are therefore shoots from the apostolic stock, so let the heretics invent any thing like this."

From this most noble testimony of Tertullian we understand, 1. That the episcopal government did every where prevail in Tertullian's time. 2. That the first bishops were appointed by the Apostles. "Let the heretics," says Tertullian, "invent any thing like this;" and I say the same of the Presbyterians.

To all this it were easy, if that were my present purpose, to add a long enumeration of bishops whom the Apostles themselves instituted, as we find them in Eusebius, Origen, Theodoret, and other authors of good credit. But he that desires more instances may read Dr. Taylor concerning episcopacy, sect. 18<sup>g</sup>, where he will find great plenty of them.

The sum, therefore, of the whole argument is this: Timothy and Titus were invested with episcopal authority, and set over the Churches of Ephesus and Crete by St. Paul. All the other Apostles did every where institute the same

† Edant ergo origines ecclesiarum suarum, evolvant ordinem episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille episcopus aliquem ex apostolis vel apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit auctorem et antecessorem: hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos deferunt; sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia Polycarpum ab

Joanne collocatum refert: sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum itidem: perinde utique et cæteræ exhibent, quos ab apostolis in episcopatum constitutos apostolici seminis traduces habeant: confingant tale aliquid hæretici.—[Tertull. de Præscr. Hæret., c. xxxii. Op., p. 213, B.]

‡ [Works, vol. vii. pp. 72, sqq. ed. Heber.]

form of government. It is abundantly manifest that bishops presided in all Churches whatsoever, the least monuments of which have escaped the injuries of time and come to our hands. Nor is there to be found so much as one instance, so much as one example of any Church for the three first centuries, which owned any other form of government. From all these considerations laid together, I think it clearly and perspicuously follows, that bishops were instituted by the Apostles for the perpetual government of the Christian Church.

But they are wont to urge yet farther that nothing can be founded by divine right but what may be most certainly known to have come from God, with a design to oblige perpetually. But it is, say they, by no means manifest from the practice of the Apostles, to which you appeal, that this form of Church government was instituted by God with such a design of perpetual obligation. The practice of the Apostles shews indeed sufficiently that this form of government is safe and convenient enough, and not unacceptable to God; but, say they, it by no means proves that this form of government is perpetual; it does not by any means shew that it is unlawful, that it is a crime, to change this form in compliance with the exigence of times, and to substitute another in the room of it.

To this objection, which is plausible indeed as well as common, I answer:

First, granting that the episcopal form of government was founded by the Apostles themselves, and has been confirmed by the whole Catholic Church, by a continual succession down to this very time, it seems from hence to be very credible that it was the intention of the Apostles that this form of government should remain for ever. That the episcopal form is safe our adversaries freely own, but no man living will ever be able to prove that it is safe to alter this form. In a matter of so great importance wise men will always follow that which is certain, and has been confirmed by primitive antiquity, and will most carefully avoid that which is uncertain and inconsiderate, and which may possibly prove to be against the intent of the apostolic institutions.

Secondly, the very same unquestionable evidences that

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prove episcopacy to have been constituted by the Apostles, do also prove that it was constituted with an intention of obliging perpetually: that, if I am not mistaken, is abundantly manifest from St. Ignatius, St. Cyprian, and the rest of the fathers, who often inculcate the necessity of episcopacy. It will be sufficient to observe that the very definition of the Church given by the primitive fathers did always comprehend this form of government. St. Ignatius says<sup>h</sup>, "Without these" (he speaks of bishops, priests, and deacons) "it is not called a Church." And St. Cyprian, "They are the Church," says he<sup>i</sup>, "the people united to the bishop, and the flock adhering to its shepherd." And again: "That is no Church which has not bishops." And again: "In like manner also the Church, consisting of many degrees, ends in deacons, presbyters, and bishops." I conclude, therefore, that the Apostles founded episcopacy with an intention that it should oblige perpetually.

What has been hitherto said in this important controversy does in my opinion abundantly suffice to maintain episcopacy against all the calumnies of innovators. But that nothing may be wanting which can be desired to confirm a matter of this great moment, I will produce some new proofs from St. Ignatius and St. Cyprian.

St. Ignatius flourished in the beginning of the second century, almost contemporary to St. John himself; and he must be the vainest of all men living that can doubt but he is an unquestionable evidence of the apostolic institutions. Indeed, if we had no other but St. Ignatius, he has given such ample testimony to episcopacy, that the cause of the equality of the clergy must come to nothing. Our adversaries have never been able to invent any thing (as fruitful as we may allow their imaginations to have been in this kind) that could defeat his authority. As for such as babble I know not what concerning the beginnings of Anti-

<sup>h</sup> χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται  
—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Trall., [c. 3. Patr.  
Apost., tom. ii. p. 22.]

<sup>i</sup> Illi sunt ecclesia, plebs sacerdoti  
adunata, et pastori suo grex adhærens.  
—[S. Cypr. Epist. lxi. ad Florentium  
Pupianum. Op., p. 123.] et alibi: Eccle-  
sia non est quæ non habet sacerdotes

... Similiter et ecclesia multis gradi-  
bus consistens ad extremum diaconis,  
presbyteris, episcopis finitur. [The  
words "et alibi" "and again" are  
added by the translator, the words ap-  
parently quoted have not been found  
in St. Cyprian.]

christ, and a certain universal corruption, I can think them only fit for bedlam.

1. From every one of the Epistles of this most excellent writer it is as clear as the sun, that, at that time, the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons prevailed. From whence, I beseech you, was this sudden and great change, if it was the intention of the Apostles that all the authority of the Church should reside in an assembly of presbyters? These are nothing but the dreams of madmen and the impertinencies of mere triflers.

2. It appears from these Epistles that nothing relating to the Church ought to be done without the permission of the bishop. Without the bishop's leave the presbyters could neither consecrate the Eucharist, nor baptize, nor celebrate the agape or love-feast<sup>k</sup>.

3. The most holy martyr exhorts the Ephesians<sup>l</sup> "not to resist the bishop, that they may be subject to God." And a little after: "It is manifest, therefore, that we ought to regard the bishop as the Lord Himself."

4. In his third Epistle, which was written to the Magnesians, he admonishes them to yield the highest reverence to the bishop, because the reverence which was paid to the bishop was understood to be given not to him, but to God the Father. He that imposeth upon the bishop, says he<sup>m</sup>, "does not despise him that is visible, but Him that is invisible." Nay, the most holy man goes farther, and being inflamed with an heavenly ardour, affirms that they are by no means true Christians who dare attempt any thing without the bishop. "Such (says he<sup>n</sup>, as dare do any thing without the bishop's allowance) do not seem to me to be conscientious persons, because they do not assemble authoritatively according to the commandment." Now by *κατὰ ἐντολῆν*, "according to the commandment," St. Ignatius means according to the apostolic institutions; for the Apo-

<sup>k</sup> See S. Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. [c. 8. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 36; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 296.]

<sup>l</sup> σπουδάσαμεν οὖν μὴ ἀντιτάσσεσθαι τῷ ἐπίσκοπῳ, ἵνα ᾤμεν Θεοῦ ὑποτασσόμενοι.—Id. Ep. ad Ephes. [c. 5. p. 13.] τὸν οὖν ἐπίσκοπον δῆλον, ὅτι ὡς αὐτὸν τὸν Κύριον δεῖ προσβλέπειν.—[Id., ib., c. 6.]

<sup>m</sup> ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τοῦτον τὸν βλεπόμενον πλανᾷ τις, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀόρατον παραλογίζεται.—Id. Ep. ad Magnes., [c. 3. *ibid.*, p. 18.]

<sup>n</sup> οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ οὐκ εὖσυνειδητοὶ μοι εἶναι φαίνονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως κατὰ ἐντολὴν συναθροίζεσθαι.—[Id., *ibid.*, c. 4.]



stles had so regularly disposed matters that nothing should be done without the bishop, to the end that the unity of the Church might suffer no damage.

These and the like passages do every where occur in the writings of this most blessed martyr, and are to be found in every epistle and in every page. Now let us pause a while here, and contemplate the most ancient form of the Catholic Church. Hitherto we see the Christian Church chaste, modest, and uncorrupted, just now formed and modelled by the greatest masters, the Apostles themselves. In this Church, which no man will deny to be truly apostolic, we have deacons, priests, and bishops. That the centre of unity was placed in the bishop is confirmed by a thousand testimonies. Nay, without the bishop, in the judgment of St. Ignatius, the Church itself cannot subsist. What greater privileges, I beseech you, than these, which are so extraordinary, do our bishops either enjoy or desire? Whence is it, therefore, that they are persecuted by the schismatics with so inveterate an hatred? Whence is it that they are accused of tyranny, popery, and whatever worse even than popery itself the fanatics can invent? To wit, this is our fault, this our crime, which no atonement can expiate, that we have closely followed St. Ignatius and the Apostles themselves; and that with the greatest constancy we maintain and defend the primitive form of Church government. This has ever afflicted our tribe of innovators, who have nothing more at heart than to overturn all things, to contemn ecclesiastical traditions, to pervert the holy Scriptures with their foolish and senseless comments, and with their most absurd reformations both to deform and to destroy the Christian Church itself. But enough of these men. Let us shake hands with them and their party.

From St. Ignatius we proceed to St. Cyprian, a wonderful great man, and an egregious assertor of the authority of the Church. In his incomparable Epistles we meet with a great many passages relating to the discipline of the Church, which do very well deserve to be taken notice of. With regard to episcopacy these following particulars are most observable.

1. That in the Church of Carthage there were many pres-

byters. See his fifth Epistle<sup>o</sup> and his thirty-fifth<sup>p</sup>, wherein he acquaints his clergy that Numidicus, for his extraordinary fortitude and constancy of mind, was consecrated a priest, and advises them to add him to the number of the presbyters of Carthage.

2. That both the presbyters and the whole Church were under the government of St. Cyprian. In his tenth Epistle he reproves the presbyters after this manner<sup>q</sup>: “For what danger ought we not to apprehend from such an offence against the Lord, when some of the presbyters, unmindful both of the Gospel and of their station; nay, and thinking neither of the judgment of the Lord hereafter, nor of the bishop that is now set over them, do what was never in the least done before under my predecessors, with the reproach and contempt of their superior challenge all to themselves?” See also his twenty-first<sup>r</sup>, twenty-second<sup>s</sup>, twenty-fifth<sup>t</sup>, thirtieth<sup>u</sup>, thirty-fourth<sup>x</sup>, and thirty-ninth<sup>y</sup> Epistles (according to Pamelius’ order.)

3. That St. Cyprian himself was fully persuaded that the power of governing the Church was committed to him, not by the people, but by God Himself. For thus he speaks in his Epistle concerning the lapsed<sup>z</sup>: “Our Lord, whose precepts we ought to observe and revere, ordering the honour of the bishop, and the constitution of His Church, speaks in the Gospel, and says to St. Peter, ‘I say unto thee that thou

<sup>o</sup> [S. Cyprian. Epist. iv. (v. ed. Pamel.) ad Presbyteros et Diaconos (Ecl. Carth.) Op., p. 9.]

<sup>p</sup> [Id. Epist. xxxv. ad Clerum et plebem (Carthag.) de Numidico ordinato presbytero. Ibid., p. 48.]

<sup>q</sup> Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini, quando aliqui de presbyteris, nec evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini iudicium, neque nunc sibi prepositum episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia et contemptu prepositi totum sibi vindicent. — [Epist. ix. (x. ed. Pamel.) ad Clerum de quibusdam presbyteris qui temere pacem lapsis dederunt, p. 18. ed. Ben.]

<sup>r</sup> [Celerini ad Lucianum. ap. S. Cyprian. Epist. xx. (xxi. ed. Pamel.) p. 29.]

<sup>s</sup> [Lucianus Celerino respondet, *ibid.*, Epist. xxi. (xxii. ed. Pamel.) p. 30.]

<sup>t</sup> [S. Cyprian. Epist. xxv. ad Moysen et Maximum et ceteros confessores, *ibid.*, p. 34.]

<sup>u</sup> [Presbyteri et Diaconi Romæ consistentes ad Cyprianum. ap. S. Cyprian. Epist. xxx. *ibid.*, p. 41.]

<sup>x</sup> [S. Cyprian. Epist. xxxiv. ad clerum et plebem de Celerino lectore ordinato, *ibid.*, p. 47.]

<sup>y</sup> [Caldonii, Herculani, et ceterorum epistola ad Cyprianum de abstanto felicissimo cum suis. ap. S. Cyprian. Epist. xxxix. *ibid.*, p. 52.]

<sup>z</sup> Dominus noster, cujus præcepta et monita observare (et metuere ed. Oxon.) debemus, episcopi honorem, et ecclesiæ suæ rationem disponens, in evangelio loquitur et dicit Petro, Ego tibi dico, quia tu es Petrus, et super istam Petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferorum non vincunt eam, et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, et quæ

art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' From thence, through the vicissitudes of times and successions, the ordination of bishops and the government of the Church is derived, so as that the Church is constituted upon bishops, and every act of the Church is regulated by the same superiors. Since this, therefore, is founded by the divine law, I wonder that some with an audacious rashness would so write to me as to draw up letters in the name of the Church, when the Church is constituted upon the bishop and clergy, and all such as stand fast in the faith."

From all this it does most evidently follow that episcopacy prevailed every where in the time of St. Cyprian, and that it did so prevail as an institution of Jesus Christ Himself. Nay, if we believe the most holy martyr, the Church is so constituted upon the bishops, that if you take away episcopacy you cannot so much as conceive a Church. This was the judgment of pious and uncorrupt antiquity, to whose opinion in this and all other controversies I most religiously profess myself to subscribe. From these passages we likewise understand that St. Cyprian's episcopacy was diocesan episcopacy, viz., such an episcopacy as contains many assemblies or congregations under it. But as to that congregational episcopacy which Baxter<sup>a</sup>, and after him Clarkson<sup>b</sup>, took so much pains to establish, there does not any where appear the least trace or footstep of it, either in St. Cyprian or in all antiquity. But believe me it is so senseless and foolish an invention, so foreign to all, both reason and ex-

ligaveris super terram, erunt ligata et in cœlis, et quæcunque solveris super terram, erunt soluta et in cœlis. Inde per temporum et successionum vices, episcoporum ordinatio et ecclesiæ ratio decurrit, ut ecclesia super episcopos constituatur, et omnis actus ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. Cum hoc itaque divina lege fundatum sit, miror quosdam audaci temeritate sic mihi scribere voluisse, ut ecclesiæ

nomine literas facerent; quando ecclesia in episcopo et clero, et in omnibus stantibus sit constituta. — Id. Epist. xxvii. [ad Lapsos, p. 37.]

<sup>a</sup> [See A Treatise of Episcopacy, &c., by Richard Baxter. Lond. 1681.]

<sup>b</sup> [Primitive Episcopacy stated and cleared, from the Holy Scriptures and ancient records, by the late David Clarkson. Lond. 1688.]

ample, that I am often used to wonder with myself how it could ever get even into Baxter's head.

HUGHES  
DISSERT. II.

Thus I have abundantly proved that the Apostles instituted bishops with an authority over presbyters for the perpetual government of the Church. The bounds of this discourse will by no means admit our descending to the fathers of the fourth century, a great army of most learned men, and a vast crowd of witnesses for episcopacy.

#### ORDINATION BELONGS ONLY TO BISHOPS.

I would not be so understood as if I maintained that presbyters were never joined with bishops in ordinations, nor ever laid hands with them upon the heads of such as were to be ordained. I only mean that ordinations cannot be made without a bishop, and that all ordinations by presbyters, and much more by laics, are invalid and null. Nay, I assert that the presence of presbyters is by no means necessary to ordinations, but that they may be duly celebrated by the bishop alone. Having thus explained my opinion, I shall confirm it by these following arguments.

St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans says, "How shall they preach except they be sent<sup>c</sup>?" So that in the Apostle's judgment no man can lawfully preach the Gospel, or perform any sacred function, but he that is sent by God, but he to whom God has committed the power of preaching the word. But since, now that miracles have been long ceased, we can have recourse only to ordinary means, it is a great question in debate among Christians what is the subject of this power, I mean of ordination, viz., who they are to whom the power of consecrating others for the ministry is committed; a question indeed of the greatest moment, and to the discussion of which we ought seriously to apply ourselves. I maintain, therefore, that this power of ordaining is placed only in the bishops, and am convinced of this both by the testimonies of holy Scripture, and by the unanimous consent of the first and purest ages of the Church.

I. Though you read over the New Testament never so often, you will find that none but the Apostles ordained

<sup>c</sup> πῶς δὲ κηρύξουσιν, εἰ μὴ ἀποσταλῶσι; Rom. x. 15.



APPENDIX.  
NO. VIII.

ecclesiastics. St. James is set over the Church of Jerusalem by the Apostles. St. Paul and St. Barnabas, both of them Apostles, consecrate presbyters<sup>d</sup>. As to the argument drawn from "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery<sup>e</sup>," which the Presbyterians produce against us, not without great triumph, many things may be answered to it. It may be enough in this place to observe only, that the second Epistle 2 Tim. 1. 6. to Timothy informs us that St. Paul himself also laid his own hands upon Timothy. But what countenance is given by these Epistles to the cause of the equality of the clergy I am not able to see. It is proved indeed that the presbyters did, together with the Apostles, lay their hands upon the heads of the candidates. But I desire to know whether from this place it can ever be proved that the presbyters did at any time ordain without the Apostles or without bishops. No such matter. It is most certain that the imposition of hands, mentioned Acts xiii. 3, relates to a particular benediction. St. Paul committed a power of ordaining to Timothy and Titus, when he made them bishops of the Churches of Ephesus and of Crete. And indeed from these Epistles it may be gathered, not without the highest probability, that the presbyters of the second order did never in the Apostles' times obtain a power of ordaining. It cannot be doubted but that many presbyters were constituted by St. Paul in the Church of Crete; yet Titus is sent thither with a peculiar power of ordaining. Now from this it seems to follow that a power of ordaining was never committed to the presbyters of the second order. But to despatch this matter in a few words: the holy Scriptures do not afford the least argument by which it can be proved that presbyters either ordained, or received a power of ordaining from the Apostles. We read in the New Testament of no man that was ordained but by the Apostles themselves, who without doubt were superior to the presbyters. St. Paul set single persons over Churches, with a peculiar authority of ordination. Let those that are impartial judges say whether the opinion of such as are for episcopacy be not both safer and wiser which declares for retaining that method of ordaining which the

<sup>d</sup> [χειροτονήσαντες αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους.] Acts xiv. 23.

<sup>e</sup> μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. 1 Tim. iv. 14.

holy Scriptures, if they do not command, do at least not obscurely describe and commend to us.

HUGHES  
DISSERT. II.

II. But that we may the more perfectly understand the sense of the holy Scriptures concerning this controversy, I am next, according to my proposed method, to produce the testimonies of the primitive Church, backed with which we need not fear asserting that lawful ordinations can be derived only from bishops. And indeed if I can clearly prove that the primitive Church acknowledged no ordinations but such as were episcopal, it will be easy for any one that has but common sense to collect that that was the sense of the Apostles who founded the Christian society; and that that was also the meaning of all those passages of holy Scripture which plainly declare that ecclesiastics were ordained only by the Apostles; and that a power of ordaining was in a peculiar manner entrusted with Timothy and Titus; and of those which attest that if such are promoted to the sacred dignity of the priesthood as are not worthy nor fit for it the fault is in the bishops alone, and the bishops alone are to be blamed for it. This article concerning ordination comprises in itself alone almost all the controversies concerning the authority of bishops. If they with whom we have to do would at least grant us this, that ordinations ought to be had from none but bishops, we should very easily agree about other controversies which are of much less moment. In this matter we utterly disagree with the Presbyterians. We cannot allow the ordinations of presbyters; we cannot but reject them as rash, vain, and null. Nor have the Presbyterians any just cause of complaining that we treat them more harshly than what becomes Christians, since as they pretend they are joined with us in the same bond of faith and charity. But we are forbid to deal more mildly in a matter of so much importance by the sacred oracles, which seem to have committed this power of ordination only to the Apostles and their successors. We are forbid this by the constant opinion of the Catholic Church, whose authority, next to that of the holy Scriptures, ever has been, and ever must be regarded by us, as of very great weight. And indeed, unless I am very much mistaken, the Catholic Church affords us such full evidence in this behalf, so perfect and

complete in every part, that nothing farther can be desired even by the most obstinate of our adversaries. Now to demonstrate this with all the clearness possible, I will undertake to prove these three propositions:

1st. That the primitive Church admitted of no ordinations but such as were administered by bishops:

2ndly. That all the holy fathers to a man, who speak of ordination, do so speak of it as of a power appropriated only to bishops.

3rdly. That ordinations attempted by the insolent temerity of presbyters were always invalid upon that very account, that they were administered by presbyters, who have not the least authority in this matter.

I. In order to prove my first proposition beyond all dispute I could produce all the histories of the Church, all the epistles of the holy Fathers, and in fine all the councils, as evidence in this behalf. Wherever we read of the ordination either of a bishop or of a presbyter, we also read that it was administered by a bishop. The second canon (of those which are called apostolical, and which, without all doubt, do testify the usages of the second and third centuries<sup>f</sup>) enjoins, "that a presbyter be ordained by one bishop." And who ever saw a canon, which I do not say confirms, but so much as intimates ordinations by presbyters? But let us reflect a little upon the two first canons; they are expressed thus: "Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops, and a presbyter by one bishop<sup>g</sup>." From these two canons taken together I argue, 1st. That the ordination of bishops is distinct and separate from the ordination of presbyters; I mean that by which they are made presbyters. 2ndly. That a presbyter cannot be made a bishop without a new ordination, different from the former by which he was made a presbyter. From hence also I think it follows that Blondel's *πρωτοκαθεδρία*, or first place among the presbyters, which that learned man endeavours with so much pains to make good, can by no means be confirmed by the most ancient monuments of the Catholic Church. And indeed it is well worth

<sup>f</sup> [See Beveridge, *Codex Canonum Vindicatus*, ed. Oxon. 1848.]

<sup>g</sup> ἐπίσκοπος ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων χειροτονείσθω δύο ἢ τριῶν.—[Can. Apost. i.

ap. *Concilia*, tom. i. col. 25, A.] *πρεσβύτερος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ἐπισκόπου [χειροτονείσθω, καὶ διάκονος, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ κληρικοί.* —Can. ii. *ibid.*]

observing that Salmasius<sup>h</sup>, Blondel<sup>i</sup>, and Dallé<sup>k</sup>, that triumvirate of enemies to the episcopal order, did all own that the power of ordaining was appropriated to bishops only, as soon as the orders of bishop and priest began to be distinguished. Since, therefore, it has been sufficiently proved that these orders were always distinct, from the very times of the Apostles, it will follow from that concession of theirs that the power of ordaining did always belong to the bishops only.

But that I may omit nothing which may seem to conduce to the farther illustration of this matter, I will thoroughly consider all the arguments that are usually brought for the ordinations of presbyters. And since David Blondel does, both in learning and judgment, and great reading, far exceed all the rest of our adversaries, I will sum up with the utmost fidelity all that even Blondel can suspect makes against us. All which that learned man has been able to collect concerning ordinations I have carefully read over more than once, and it may be all reduced to these five heads:

1st. He maintains<sup>l</sup> that the presbyters of the Church of Alexandria, from the time of St. Mark the Evangelist down to that of the patriarch Heracleas, (that is, from the year of our Lord 61 to the year 264,) “did name their bishops at their own discretion, and were both the electors and ordainers, and enthronizers of their own bishop.”

2ndly. He expects great service in this cause from the chorepiscopi<sup>m</sup>, who being, he says, no more than mere presbyters, are frequently read to have ordained presbyters and deacons.

3rdly. He asserts that in the Gothic Churches, “for the space of almost seventy years, from about the year of our Lord 260 to the year 327, the power of ordination and jurisdiction was in the hands of the presbyters<sup>n</sup>.”

<sup>h</sup> [Apparatus ad libros Cl. Salmasii de Primatu Papæ, pars i. p. 66. Lugd. Bat. 1645.]

<sup>i</sup> [Apologia pro sententia Hieronymi de episcopis et presbyteris auctore Davide Blondello, sect. iii. § x. p. 157. Amst. 1646.]

<sup>k</sup> [Dallæus de Pseudepigraphis Apostolicis, lib. i. p. 121. lib. ii. p. 359. Harderv. 1653.]

<sup>l</sup> [Presbyteros episcopum pro arbitrio nominasse . . . eosdem ut electores, sic ordinatores et ἐνθρονιστὰς præpositi sui fuisse.—Blondel, *ibid.*, pp. 310, sqq. et Præfatio ad Ecclesiarum Rectores, pp. 17, sqq.]

<sup>m</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, de Chorepiscoporum munere, pp. 93, sqq.]

<sup>n</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, pp. 313, 314. See below, p. 345.]



4thly. He borrows his next argument from Cassian, who relates "that the abbot Daniel was advanced to the dignity of presbyter by Paphnutius a presbyter<sup>o</sup>."

5thly. He concludes all with a famous passage of St. Leo concerning the ordinations of pseudo-bishops, whom Blondel, honest man, dreamed to have been mere presbyters<sup>p</sup>.

These are all the arguments for the ordinations of presbyters which this most zealous and learned adversary has with the greatest industry, and with indefatigable pains, been able to rake together, out of numerous libraries and scraps of history, and in one word, out of the rubbish of all antiquity. And to each of these arguments I shall endeavour to give a short, clear, and solid answer.

1st. The first instance is grounded upon the authority of St. Jerome, and of Eutychius's Annals. "The presbyters," says St. Jerome<sup>q</sup>, "choosing one out of their own number, and placing him in a higher degree, named him bishop." Eutychius, as he is translated into Latin by Mr. Selden, affirms<sup>r</sup>, "that St. Mark chose twelve presbyters with Hananias, to the end that when the patriarchate should be vacant they might out of those twelve presbyters make choice of one on whose head the other eleven might lay their hands and consecrate him."

I answer, that nothing can be gathered out of this passage of St. Jerome that does any way come up to the purpose.

<sup>o</sup> Cass., col. iv. cap. 1. [Blondel, *ibid.*, p. 357. See below, p. 246.]

<sup>p</sup> S. Leo, *Epist.* xcii. [The words of St. Leo are; Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter episcopos habeantur, qui nec a clericis sunt electi, nec a plebibus expetiti nec a provincialibus episcopis cum metropolitani judicio consecrati; unde cum sæpe quæstio de male accepto honore nascatur, quis ambigat nequaquam istis tribuendum quod non docetur fuisse collatum? si qui autem clerici ab istis pseudo-episcopis in eis ecclesiis ordinati sunt, qui ad proprios episcopos pertinebant, et ordinatio eorum cum consensu et judicio præsentium facta est, potest rata haberi; ita ut in ipsis ecclesiis perseverent. Aliter autem vana habenda est ordinatio quæ nec loco fundata est, nec auctoritate munita.—S. Leo, *Epist.* clxvii. (al. xcv.) ad Rusti-

cum Narbonensem, *Inquis.* i. De presbytero vel diacono qui se episcopos esse mentiti sunt, et de his quos ipsi clericos ordinarunt. *Op.*, tom. i. col. 1420.—Blondel, *ibid.*, p. 166.]

<sup>q</sup> [Presbyteri (semper) unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, episcopum nominabant.—[S. Hieron. *Ep.* cxlvi. ad Evangelum. *Op.*, tom. i. col. ii. 1076, B; quoted fully above, vol. i. p. 221, note p. Blondel, p. 310.]

<sup>r</sup> Constituit item Marcus evangelista duodecim presbyteros cum Hanania . . . adeo ut cum vacaret patriarchatus, eligerent unum e duodecim presbyteris, cujus capiti reliqui undecim manus imponerent, eumque benedicerent et patriarcham eum crearent.—[Eutychii *Origines*, Selden, p. xxix. Lond. 1642; et ap. Seldeni *Op.*, tom. ii. pars i. col. 421. See above, vol. i. *ibid.* Blondel, *Præfat.*, p. 17, sqq.]

He affirms, indeed, that a bishop "was chosen and named by the presbyters;" but he says not one word of his ordination. And what is this to the case in hand? I assert, that in the primitive Church presbyters never ordained. On the contrary, Blondel shews out of St. Jerome that the presbyters of Alexandria "chose their bishop, placed him in a higher degree, and named him;" as if it were the same thing to choose and to ordain, or as if he that names has also power to consecrate a bishop.

With respect to Eutychius, it will suffice to observe that he was a little author of the tenth century, an ignorant, credulous, and foolish collector of all sorts of trivial worthless matters, and is deservedly to be reckoned not among the historians, but among the famous compilers of romances. Besides all this, he contradicts both St. Athanasius and Eusebius. Nay, to shew all the world how diligent and accurate an historian he is, he affirms that the bishops assembled at the council of Nice were in number 2048<sup>s</sup>. And yet Eutychius himself can never be brought to give his suffrage for the ordinations of presbyters. In his Chronicle he frequently enough affirms that bishops are superior to presbyters by divine institution. But they who desire to see more concerning the antiquities of Alexandria let them consult Abrahamus Echellensis Maronita<sup>t</sup>, who has deservedly chastised Selden for his wretched blunders with regard to the Arabic tongue, and for his meanly serving a very bad hypothesis.

2ndly. The next example is taken from the chorepiscopi, to which I give this answer: the thirteenth canon of the council of Ancyra provides<sup>u</sup> that the chorepiscopi shall not ordain presbyters or deacons without the leave of those bishops under whom they were. The tenth canon of the council of Antioch has these words<sup>x</sup>: "It pleased the holy

<sup>s</sup> [Eutychii Annales, tom. i. p. 440. Oxon. 1656.]

<sup>t</sup> [See above, vol. i. p. 221, q.]

<sup>u</sup> [χωρεπισκόπους μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διακόνους χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπιτραπήναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γραμμάτων ἐν ἑτέρα παροικία.—Conc. Ancyra. (A.D. 314.) Can. xiii. Concilia, tom. i. col. 1492, A.]

<sup>x</sup> *Iti qui sunt in vicis et regionibus, vel qui chorepiscopi nominantur, etiam si impositionem manuum episcoporum acceperint, placuit sanctæ synodo, ut suum modum sciant, et sibi subjectas ecclesias administrant, earumque cura et moderamine contenti sint, &c. [τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κόμαις, ἢ ταῖς χώραις, ἢ τοὺς καλουμένους χωρεπισκόπους, εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἰεν ἐπισκόπων εἰληφότες ἔδοξε*

council that they who are in villages or countries, or they who are called chorepiscopi, although they have received imposition of hands from bishops, should yet know their own bounds, and govern the Churches put under them, and content themselves with the government and care of them," &c.

"This Antiochian canon," says Cabassutius<sup>y</sup>, "does farther inform us in two particulars concerning chorepiscopi. 1st. That they were not constituted in cities, but in villages and lesser towns. 2ndly. That it may happen that chorepiscopi be also dignified with the episcopal order; which observation does admirably reconcile the Antiochian canon with the decretal Epistle of Pope Damasus<sup>z</sup>, which denies that the chorepiscopi have any right of ordaining, because they are no more than presbyters, and are by no means bishops. For Damasus speaks of the power of a chorepiscopus strictly as he is such; yet he does not deny but it may happen that a bishop undergo the care of a chorepiscopus, or a chorepiscopus be consecrated a bishop." Thus far Cabassutius. Therefore from this Antiochian canon it manifestly appears that the chorepiscopi were very often adorned with the episcopal order. And why then might they not ordain and consecrate both priests and deacons by imposition of hands? In vain, therefore, does Blondel bring into the field against us these chorepiscopi, since they make nothing for the ordinations of presbyters.

3rdly. Our next combatants are the Goths, whom he arms out of Philostorgius: but we have little occasion to be

τῇ ἀγίᾳ συνόδῳ εἰδέναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν μέτρα, καὶ διοικεῖν τὰς ὑποκειμένας αὐτοῖς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρκείσθαι φροντίδι καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ, κ.τ.λ.—Conc. Antioch., (A.D. 341.) Canon x. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 589, C.]

<sup>y</sup> [Hic porro canon Antiochenus duo circa chorepiscopus edocet. Primo, illos non in civitatibus, sed in vicis et minoribus oppidis constitui τοὺς ἐν ταῖς χώραις ἢ ταῖς κώμαις καλουμένους χωρεπισκόπους. Secundo, posse contingere ut episcopali quoque ordine præfulgeant chorepiscopi. Quæ observatio conciliat canonem Antiochenum cum epistolâ decretali papæ Damasi, negante chorepiscopus ullam habere ordinandi potesta-

tem, eo quod nihil amplius sint quam presbyteri, nec ullatenus episcopi. Loquitur namque Damasus de potestate chorepiscopi præcise, quia talis est; non tamen negat fieri posse, ut episcopus curam subeat chorepiscopi, aut chorepiscopus in episcopum consecretur.—Joannis Cabassutii Notitia Ecclesiastica in Conc. Ancyran. Can. xiii., p. 95. Lugd. 1690.]

<sup>z</sup> [Et vacuum est et inane, quicquid in prædicto sacerdotii summo egerunt ministerio. Quod ipsi iidem sint, qui et presbyteri, sufficienter invenitur.—Damasi Papæ Epist. v. ap. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 1026, A.]

afraid even of the Goths. Concerning the Gothic regions converted to the Christian faith we may consult Philostorgius<sup>a</sup>, Sozomen<sup>b</sup>, Socrates<sup>c</sup>, and Theodoret<sup>d</sup>. Blondel contends<sup>e</sup> that these Gothic Churches, being converted to the faith by the clergy that were in captivity, continued without any bishop for seventy years; and that all power, as well of jurisdiction as ordination, was in the hands of the presbyters till Ulphilas was created bishop by Eusebius. To this I answer:

1. Granting that there were no bishops in the Gothic Churches before Ulphilas, it does not by any means follow from thence that presbyters ordained. It is possible that all who were employed in the sacred function were ordained by other bishops: nay, and that the thing was actually so the principles of that age hardly leave us room to doubt. See the story of Frumentius in Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History<sup>f</sup>.

2. We learn from Socrates<sup>g</sup>, Theodoret, and Sozomen, that before Ulphilas, Theophilus governed the Churches of the Goths. Nor yet will this furnish Blondel, as he flatters himself, with any stronger argument against us: for neither has he proved, nor will his followers ever be able to prove, that this Theophilus was consecrated by presbyters.

3. Neither Socrates, nor Sozomen, nor Theodoret, nor Philostorgius mentions so much as one deacon, much less a priest, nor so much as one priest, much less a bishop, to have been ordained by these Gothic presbyters. What, therefore, is to be gathered from the Goths? That presbyters in the fourth century had a power of ordaining? By no means. This learned man wearies himself to no purpose. It is to no purpose that he endeavours with so much

<sup>a</sup> [Philostorgii Comp. Eccl. Hist., lib. ii. cap. 5. ap. Hist. Eccl., tom. iii. p. 480; Blondel, pp. 313, 314.]

<sup>b</sup> Sozomeni Hist. Eccl., lib. vi. c. 36. [Eccl. Hist., tom. ii. p. 271.]

<sup>c</sup> Socratis Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. cap. 33. [ibid., p. 255.]

<sup>d</sup> Theodoret. Hist. Eccl., lib. iv. cap. 37. [ibid., tom. iii. p. 190.]

<sup>e</sup> [Utcunque sit, cum clericis captivi Gothicas Ecclesias fundaverint, eademque per annos fere septuaginta . . . pleno jure administraverint; penes

presbyteros ecclesiarum illarum rectores universa ordinationum et jurisdictionis potestas mansit, nec ullus (si Philostorgium audiamus) fuit inter eos ante Ulphilam præsul.—Blondel, *ibid.*, p. 314.]

<sup>f</sup> [See Rufinus' continuation of Euseb., lib. x. cap. 9. Hist. Eccl. Auctores, p. 225. Basil. 1528.]

<sup>g</sup> [Socratis Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. cap. 41, p. 157. The other historians are added apparently by a misunderstanding of Blondel's words.]



subtlety, and with such an immense variety of learning, to defend a most senseless cause. The cause of the Presbyterians is not capable of being defended.

4thly. But let us proceed to the abbot Daniel, ordained by Paphnutius, a presbyter<sup>h</sup>. In the first place I will produce the passage of Cassian. "He was preferred<sup>i</sup>," says he, "to the office of a deacon by blessed Paphnutius, a presbyter of the same retirement, and that when he was inferior in years to many. For the holy Paphnutius had so much regard to his virtues as to hasten to make him equal to himself in the order of priesthood, whom he knew to be equal in merits and grace; for not bearing that he should continue any longer in an inferior ministry, and desiring to provide himself a fit successor in his own lifetime, he advanced him to the honour of presbyter." From this passage, forthwith, it manifestly appears that the presbyter Paphnutius consecrated Daniel a presbyter. I must own that my eyes are too weak to discern any such consequence. Daniel "was preferred to the dignity of presbyter by Paphnutius," therefore Paphnutius ordained him. I doubt this is no demonstration. Well, let us go on. But Paphnutius "advanced him to the honour of presbyter." What then? Did he therefore consecrate him? O Blondel! I congratulate you with that new logic of yours which has taught you to frame such wonderful, such unusual, and such illogical consequences. But to be serious. In the ecclesiastical writers men are most frequently said to be preferred or advanced by those who recommend or elect them. So that from this kind of expressions it is in vain for any one to argue who has a mind to persuade either himself or others. We are also taught by the very rules of St. Benedict that the abbot chooses out of his own order such as are worthy to perform the priest's office. The matter, therefore, at last comes to this. Paphnutius being induced by Daniel's virtues com-

<sup>h</sup> [Blondel, pp. 357, 358.]

<sup>i</sup> A beato Paphnutio solitudinis ejusdem presbytero, et quidem cum multis junior esset ætate, ad diaconi prælatus est officium. In tantum enim beatus Paphnutius virtutibus ipsius adgaudebat, ut quem vite meritis et gratia parem noverit, cœquare sibi

etiam sacerdotii ordine festinare: siquidem nequaquam ferens in inferiori eum ministerio diutius immorari, optansque sibimet successorem idoneum providere, superstes cum presbyterii honore provexit.—Cassiani Collatio iv. cap. 1. [Op., p. 250. Atrebat. 1628.]

mends him to the bishop, and the bishop makes him a presbyter.

5thly. It only remains that I say something of the pseudo-bishops<sup>k</sup>, and to despatch the matter in few words I say this; that these pseudo-bishops were really bishops, honoured with episcopal ordination, and were only called pseudo-bishops because they were not bishops of that place, because they had violated the canons, and because they had ordained ecclesiastics contrary to the practice of the Church. Why did not Blondel prove these pseudo-bishops to be mere presbyters? Nothing could have made more for his purpose. But this learned man knew very well that he could never be able to prove this: therefore, with a conscious silence, he disingenuously concealed the senseless fallacy. What, I beseech you, may be observed more frequently than that those are called pseudo-bishops who are not canonically ordained, although by their own bishops, or who exercise their episcopal power out of their own dioceses? This appears very evidently from St. Cyprian alone<sup>l</sup>.

I had perfectly forgot the ridiculous story of the Culdees, and the argument drawn from that story, which is no less ridiculous. The Presbyterians are wonderfully fond of these Culdees with their cowls, and none more than our Blondel. And thus he speaks<sup>m</sup>: "That the first Church of the Scots was in the same condition with the Goths is the opinion of John Fordon and John Major, two writers of that courageous nation." Well, I grant that it is possible that those courageous Scottish Churches were in the same condition with the Churches of the Goths. But what follows from hence? That presbyters had power to ordain? Nothing less. Neither the Gothic presbyters nor the Scottish ever ordained bishops or priests. Neither Fordon, nor Major,

<sup>k</sup> [See above, p. 342, note p.]

<sup>l</sup> [See S. Cypr., Epist. lv. ad Cornelium, Op., p. 79; quoted above, p. 207, note z.]

<sup>m</sup> [Pari cum Gothicis conditione primam Scotorum ecclesiam fuisse censent animosæ gentis illius quæ Albaniam Britannicam coloniam Hibernicæ jure in colit, scriptores Joannes Fordonus . . . Joannes Major, &c.—Blondel, *ibid.*, pp. 314, 315.]

<sup>n</sup> [Per sacerdotes et monachos sine episcopis Scoti in fide eruditi.—Fordon. *Scotichronicon*, lib. iii. cap. 8. Ante (Palladii) adventum habebant Scoti fidei doctores ac Sacramentorum ministratores presbyteros solummodo vel monachos, ritum sequentes ecclesiæ primitivæ.—Johannes Major de *Gestis Scotorum*, lib. ii. cap. 2. fol. 23, A. Blondel, p. 315.]

nor Boëthius<sup>o</sup> says any thing of the ordination of presbyters.

It remains, therefore, a certain and unshaken truth that no ordinations were admitted by the primitive Church but such as were administered by bishops. I come next to my second proposition, which is this :

II. That all the holy fathers to a man who speak of ordination do speak of it as of a power appropriated only to bishops.

Thus St. Jerome declares in most express words : “ What,” says he, “ can a bishop do which a presbyter does not, except ordination only ? ” Therefore in St. Jerome’s opinion ordination does so properly belong to bishops that a presbyter dares by no means usurp it. Nor is there any reason that with Blondel we should suppose<sup>q</sup> that the holy father had respect only to his own times and to the practice of the Church in the fourth century. There is nothing that any way upholds this supposition ; for if St. Jerome himself had known that presbyters, even in the most ancient times, had ever exercised the power of ordaining, it is hardly credible that he would have omitted that, when nothing could be alleged more material to his purpose, which was to make presbyters equal to bishops.

St. Chrysostom comments upon 1 Tim. iv. 14, in these words : “ He does not speak here of presbyters, but of bishops, for the presbyters did not ordain the bishop.” Nothing can be more evident than that the holy father spoke of ordinations administered in the times of the Apostles. In the judgment, therefore, of St. Chrysostom, the power of ordaining was appropriated to bishops in the very age of the Apostles.

Hereto may be added the words of St. Epiphanius, speaking concerning the Aërian heresy, which are very full to our purpose. Aërius argues thus : “ In what particular does a bishop excel a presbyter ? There is no difference between

<sup>o</sup> [Boethii Scotorum Hist., lib. vi. fol. 92. ed. Par. 1574. Blondel, p. 315.]

<sup>p</sup> [Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat.—S. Hieron. Epist. cxlvi. ad Evangelium, Op., tom. i. col. 1076.]

<sup>q</sup> [See Blondel, *ibid.*, p. 311.]

<sup>r</sup> οὐδὲν περὶ πρεσβυτέρων φησὶν ἐν ταύτῃ, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐπίσκοπων· οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον χειροτόνουν.—[S. Chrysost. in 1 Tim. Hom. xiii. § 1. Op., tom. xi. p. 618, B.]

the one and the other, for they are both of the same order; both have the same honour and dignity. The bishop ordains, and so does the presbyter<sup>s</sup>," &c. In the first place St. Epiphanius calls this a "mad assertion<sup>t</sup> of Aërius, and the utmost degree of folly<sup>u</sup> to say that a bishop and a presbyter are equal; for every wise man," says he, "will easily perceive that nothing is more foolish than to attempt to make them equal." And the most learned father proceeds thus: "And how is this possible? for the bishops' order is to propagate fathers, for it begets fathers to the Church; but the order of presbyters, unable to beget fathers, does by the laver of regeneration beget children to the Church, but neither fathers nor teachers. And how was it possible for him to constitute a presbyter who had not received imposition of hands (and therewith authority) to ordain?" From this passage many considerations do naturally arise that yield a wonderful confirmation to my proposition, for from hence it appears,

1st. That Aërius was ranked among the heretics.

2ndly. That he was ranked among them for this very reason, because he made presbyters equal to bishops. So also St. Augustine, in his treatise concerning heretics, condemns Aërius because he had asserted "that there ought to be no difference made between a bishop and a presbyter<sup>x</sup>."

3rdly. That by the principles of the fourth century a presbyter, as such, cannot ordain.

4thly. That the reason why presbyters cannot ordain is, because they have not received imposition of hands or power to ordain.

5thly. From all which it likewise follows that to presby-

<sup>a</sup> τί ἐστὶν ἐπίσκοπος πρὸς πρεσβύτερον; οὐδὲν διαλλάττει οὗτος τούτου· μία γὰρ ἐστὶ τάξις, καὶ μία, φησί, τιμὴ, καὶ ἐν ἀξίωμα. χειροθετεῖ, φησὶν, ἐπίσκοπος· ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτερος, κ.τ.λ.—S. Eriphan. adv. Hær., lib. iii. [Hær. lxxv. § 3. Op., tom. i. p. 906, D.]

<sup>t</sup> λόγος μαριώδης.—Id., ibid.

<sup>u</sup> καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἀφροσύνης ἐστὶ τὸ πᾶν ἔμπλεων, τοῖς σύνεσιν κεκτημένοις, τοῦτο δῆλον· τὸ λέγειν, αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ πρεσβύτερον ἴσον εἶναι. καὶ πῶς ἔσται τοῦτο δυνατόν; ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἐστὶ πατέρων

γεννητικὴ τάξις· πατέρας γὰρ γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ· ἢ δὲ πατέρας μὴ δυναμένη γεννᾶν, διὰ τῆς τοῦ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας τέκνα γεννᾷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οὐ μὴν πατέρας ἢ διδασκάλους· καὶ πῶς οἶόν τε ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτερον καθιστᾶν, μὴ ἔχοντα χειροθεσίαν τοῦ χειροτονεῖν.—[Id., ibid., § 4. p. 908, A.]

<sup>x</sup> [Dicebat (Aerius) presbyterum ab episcopo nulla differentia debere discerni.—S. Aug. lib. de Hæres. ad Quodvultdeum, Hæres. liii. Op., tom. viii. col. 18, E.]



ters, as such, the holy Scriptures have not committed any power of ordaining.

My second proposition does therefore hold good, viz., that all the holy fathers to a man, who speak of ordination, do speak of it as of a power appropriated only to bishops. I proceed to the third, which is this :

III. That ordinations attempted by the insolent temerity of presbyters were always invalid upon that very account, that they were administered by presbyters, who have not the least authority in this matter.

This proposition is abundantly demonstrated by the famous example of Ischyras, who was therefore replaced among the laics, because he had been consecrated by Colluthus, an imaginary bishop. But because Blondel has taken a great deal of pains to deprive us of this instance, it will be necessary to enquire into it a little more particularly. I shall therefore, in the first place, faithfully relate the whole story of Ischyras from St. Athanasius, and afterwards consider Blondel's objections, on which he lays so much stress. What St. Athanasius has written concerning the ordination of Colluthus is in his Apology against the Arians. "But because Colluthus," says he, "died a presbyter, both all his ordinations were inauthoritative, and all that were ordained by him, (and) in schism, were become laics again." . . . "For he was ordained by Colluthus, a presbyter that personated a bishop, and was lately enjoined by Hosius in a general council, and by the bishops there assembled, to demean himself as a presbyter, such as he was before. In like manner Ischyras himself was reckoned a laic<sup>z</sup>."

From these words of St. Athanasius I collect,

1st. That Colluthus was a mere presbyter when he died.

2ndly. That for that reason all his ordinations were invalid, and all the persons ordained by him remanded among the laics.

<sup>z</sup> ἄλλ' ὅτι Κόλλουθος πρεσβύτερος ὦν ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ πᾶσα χεὶρ αὐτοῦ γέγονεν ἄκυρος, καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ κατασταθέντες ἐν τῷ σχίσματι, λαϊκοὶ γεγόνασιν.—[S. Athanas. Apol. cont. Arianos, § 12. Op., tom. i. p. 134, B, C. Hughes read καὶ ἐν τῷ σχίσματι.]

<sup>2</sup> ὑπὸ γὰρ Κολλούθου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου

φαντασθέντος ἐπισκοπῆν, καὶ ἕστερον ὑπὸ κοινῆς συνόδου Ὁσίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων, κελευσθέντος πρεσβυτέρου εἶναι, καθὼ καὶ πρότερον ἦν, κατεστάθη . . . ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς Ἰσχυράς λαϊκὸς ἐφθῆ.—[Synod. Mareot. Epist., ap. S. Athanas., ibid., p. 193, A, B.]

3rdly. That being but a presbyter he pretended to be a bishop, but had never been dignified with the episcopal order, and was only an imaginary and no real bishop, ἐφάνταζετο ἐπισκοπήν, that is, among his own friends and companions he feigned himself a bishop, and gloried in it.

4thly. That it was decreed by Hosius and the council of Alexandria that he should remain a presbyter, as he was before. Where it is to be most carefully observed, that Colluthus was not degraded from the episcopal order as one that had truly received it, but only deprived of an imaginary title, which he had insolently arrogated to himself. It was decreed that he should remain a presbyter, because he was never consecrated bishop, viz., by the imposition of bishops' hands. From hence it is to me most evident that in the judgment of the primitive Church the ordinations of presbyters were invalid and null for that very reason, because they were administered by presbyters. The assertors of the equality of the clergy shall never wrest from us this instance, which is so full and clear against them. But let us see what Blondel has been able to allege against most evident history, a man indeed of very great learning, but too much addicted to the faction of the Calvinists.

There are three things which this most learned adversary produces to enervate the force of this example<sup>a</sup>, viz.,

1st. That Colluthus was not a presbyter, but a bishop in the Upper Cynus<sup>b</sup>, consecrated by Meletius.

2ndly. That he did not cease to be a bishop till he was deposed<sup>c</sup> by Hosius and the synod of Alexandria<sup>d</sup>.

3rdly. That Ischyras was therefore replaced among the laics, not because he had been ordained by a presbyter, but because he had been ordained uncanonically by a bishop, contrary to the canons and established usage of the Church<sup>e</sup>.

To these three objections I answer,

1st. It appears from Alexander's circular letter that there was one Colluthus, a presbyter of the Church of Alexandria. That this was the same with our Colluthus who ordained

<sup>a</sup> [Blondel, Apol., sect. iii. pp. 317, 319.]

<sup>b</sup> Κόλλουθος ἐν τῇ ἄνω Κύνῳ. [This occurs among the subscriptions of bishops; ap. S. Athan., *ibid.*, § 71, p. 187,

E. Blondel, p. 318.]

<sup>c</sup> [Blondel, *ibid.*, p. 321.]

<sup>d</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, p. 319.]

<sup>e</sup> ἀκανονίστως [παρὰ κανόνας.—Id., *ibid.*, p. 325.]

Ischyras is manifestly attested by St. Epiphanius<sup>f</sup>, whose authority Blondel does in vain endeavour to enervate. We read that Coluthus was constituted a bishop in the Upper Cynus, but not Colluthus<sup>g</sup>. Either Blondel is miserably blind, or he imposes upon his followers what he sees and knows to be false.

2ndly. It is as clear as the light from the very words of St. Athanasius, that before the synod of Alexandria Colluthus was by no means a bishop; for pray let us reflect a little: "by Colluthus, a presbyter, that personated a bishop, and lately by a general council<sup>h</sup>," &c. He that personated a bishop was not a true and real, but only a fictitious and imaginary bishop. Colluthus, even before the assembling of the synod of Alexandria, did only personate a bishop, only counterfeited and boasted himself to be a bishop, when he was a mere presbyter. Therefore the Alexandrian synod did not deprive him of the episcopal order, which he had never received; but openly pronounced that he was by no means a bishop, that he was nothing more than a mere presbyter, because he was never ordained by a bishop.

3rdly. From hence it naturally follows that Ischyras was put back among the laics because he was consecrated by a pseudo-bishop, (not only an uncanonical, but) a false and fictitious bishop.

And having thus both confirmed and illustrated my three propositions, I shall not fear boldly to assert that ordinations belong only to bishops, and that ordinations administered by mere presbyters are upon that very account void, invalid, and null.

But before I conclude this dissertation it will not be either unprofitable or foreign to my purpose to make some few observations concerning the order of deacons, for there are some who dream that the deacon's order is only a temporary and civil office, by no means to be reckoned among such as are ecclesiastical.

This, therefore, shall be my last proposition.

<sup>f</sup> [S. Epiphanius. adv. Hæreses, lib. ii. Hæc. 69. § 2. Op., tom. i. p. 728, C, D, is the passage referred to, but it does not affirm so much as is here stated.]

<sup>g</sup> Κόλουθος non Κόλλουθος. [Κόλλου-

θος ed. Ben., edd. priores Κόλουθος.]

<sup>h</sup> Κολλούθου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, φαντασθέντος ἐπισκοπήν, καὶ ὕστερον ὑπὸ κοινῆς συνόδου, κ. τ. λ.; quoted above, p. 350. note z.]

IV. The order of deacons instituted in the sixth of the Acts is not civil and temporary, but is spiritual and perpetual.

1. The Apostles require<sup>1</sup> that the persons to be chosen to this office should be "full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," that is, that they should be endowed with extraordinary gifts and well instructed in the holy Scriptures, viz., in the Old Testament, especially in the prophecies, that they might be able, as often as occasion should offer, to dispute with the Jews, as St. Stephen did. Does not this seem to suppose something more excellent than the office of a steward? What, are extraordinary gifts of the Spirit and a full knowledge of God's word requisite to the discharge of that office? I am very much mistaken if an honest mind and a well approved integrity be not abundantly sufficient for that employment.

2. Deacons were instituted to "serve tables<sup>k</sup>," and had their name from thence. But "the tables of the disciples" (as the great Bishop Pearson<sup>1</sup> rightly observes) "were common and sacred, that is, they celebrated the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in common," each contributing his symbol to the "feast of charity." It is very credible that these deacons assisted the Apostles in the celebration of it, and distributed the consecrated elements among the faithful. This is most certain, that in the time of Justin Martyr that office belonged to the deacons. "The president," says he<sup>m</sup>, (or bishop,) "having blessed or consecrated the bread and wine and water, those that are by us called deacons distribute them to every one present."

3. They were ordained by imposition of hands of the Apostles in the very same manner that priests and bishops are ordained. But this ceremony, which is so solemn, would certainly never have been used for the designation of a civil and temporal<sup>1</sup> office.

[“tempo-  
rary.”

<sup>1</sup> πλήρεις πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ σοφίας. Acts vi. 3.

<sup>k</sup> διακονεῖν τραπέζαις. Ibid., v. 2.

<sup>1</sup> Mensæ enim discipulorum tunc temporis communes et sacræ etiam fuere: hoc est, in communi convictu sacramentum eucharistiæ celebrabant.—Pearson. Lectiones in Act. Apost., Lect. iii. sect. vi. p. 53. [This reference is to Pearson's Opera Posthuma,

1688. Minor Theol. Works of Bishop Pearson, vol. i. p. 346. Oxford, 1844.]

<sup>m</sup> εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος . . . οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῶν διάκονοι διδάσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος.—[S. Just. M. Apol. i. c. 65. p. 83, A. See above, vol. ii. p. 106, g.]



4. Add to all this, that soon after Stephen preached the gospel, and Philip administered baptism to the eunuch. These several particulars, as far as I can judge, do most evidently denote an ecclesiastical office.

“They,” says the Apostle, “that have used the office of a deacon well purchase to themselves a good degree,” that is, a degree towards the order of presbyter; for that was the custom of those ages, to choose deacons out of the best of the Christian people, presbyters out of the best deacons, and out of the best presbyters to elect presidents or bishops. In the Clementine Constitutions there are prayers for a deacon, in which are these words: “Grant that he having administered the office committed to him agreeably, constantly, unblameably, and irreproveably, may be thought worthy of a greater degree<sup>o</sup>.”

But besides all this, let us enquire what opinion concerning this office was held by pious and uncorrupt antiquity. That the holy Apostles did in all Churches, together with bishops and presbyters, also constitute deacons, appears from St. Clemens Romanus<sup>p</sup> and from Hermas Pastor<sup>q</sup>. But what sentiments the primitive Church had concerning deacons you will easily judge from the following citations out of the holy fathers.

St. Polycarp, in his Epistle to the Philippians, exhorts the deacons to behave themselves “unblameably, as the deacons or ministers of God in Christ, and not of men<sup>r</sup>.”

St. Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Trallians, has these words: “And deacons being the mystery (or rather ministers of the mysteries) of Jesus Christ, ought by all means to please all men, for they are not dispensers of meat and drink, but ministers of the Church of God<sup>s</sup>.”

<sup>n</sup> οἱ καλῶς διακονήσαντες βαθμὴν ἑαντοῖς καλὴν περιποιούνται. 1 Tim. iii. 13.

<sup>o</sup> καταξίωσον αὐτὸν εὐαρέστως λειτουργήσαντα τὴν ἐγχειρισθεῖσαν αὐτῷ διακονίαν ἀτρέπτως, ἀμέμπτως, ἀνεγκλήτως, μείζοντος ἀξιώθῆναι βαθμοῦ.—[Imploratio in ordinatione diaconi.] Const. Apost., lib. viii. c. 18. [ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 489, A;] quoted by Grotius in loc. [Grotii Annot. in 1 Tim. iii. 13. Op., Theol., tom. iii. p. 968. et ap. Crit. Sacr., tom. vii. col. 478.]

<sup>p</sup> [S. Clem. R. Epist. i. c. 42. ap.

Patr. Ap., tom. i. p. 171; quoted above, p. 304, note b.]

<sup>q</sup> [Lapides quidem illi quadrati . . . ii sunt apostoli et episcopi, et doctores, et ministri, &c.—S. Hermæ Past., lib. i. Vis. iii. cap. 5. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 80. The passage is quoted on this subject by Bishop Pearson, in the place referred to in note l.]

<sup>r</sup> ὡς θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ διάκονοι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπων.—[S. Polycarp. Ep. ad Phil., c. v. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 188.]

<sup>s</sup> δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ὕντας μυσ-

St. Cyprian speaks thus of deacons: "But deacons ought to remember that the Lord chose Apostles, that is, bishops and governors; but after the Lord's ascension into heaven the Apostles constituted deacons for themselves, to be attendants upon them as bishops and upon the Church." What does it signify to proceed further, and weary the reader with a long enumeration of authors? From these three most clear evidences of the truly apostolic traditions it is abundantly manifest that deacons are not servants of tables, (as some triflers among us assert,) but attendants of the bishops and of the Church, and consequently are with the bishops and the Church to continue unto the end.

HUGHES  
DISSERT. II.

### DISSERTATION III.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIETY FROM THE TIMES OF CONSTANTINE HAS NEVER INCORPORATED WITH THE CIVIL: BUT WITH RESPECT TO ALL ITS PURELY SPIRITUAL POWERS HAS EVER REMAINED ENTIRE AND DISTINCT.

To any one that seriously considers the Christian religion it will easily appear that there are two states of the Church very different and distinct; one, when the powers of the world did not as yet protect the Christian faith; the other, from the time that the Roman empire began openly to profess the name of Christ. In the former state, while persecution was still raging, the Church was administered by bishops with the counsel of their presbyters; and for the more convenient government of it they made laws, and confirmed them with the greatest and strongest sanction, viz., with banishment from all sacred commerce, which they looked upon as a great prejudice<sup>1</sup>, (or kind of ruled case,) that pre-determined the future judgment<sup>2</sup>. But when the most renowned emperor Constantine had submitted his victorious eagles to the cross, and heartily professed the most pure

τήριον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κατὰ πάντα τρέπον πάντων ἀρέσκειν· οὐ γὰρ βρωμάτων καὶ ποτῶν εἰσὶν διάκονοι, ἀλλ' ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ὑπηρεταί.—[S. Ignat. Ep. ad Trall. c. 2. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 22.] μυστηρίων legunt et interpolator, et vetus interpres, quæ forsan lectio præferenda est. [See above, vol. ii. p. 255, note 1.]

<sup>1</sup> Meminisse autem diaconi debent quoniam apostolos, id est, episcopos et

præpositos Dominus elegit: diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in cælos apostoli sibi constituerunt episcopatus sui et ecclesiæ ministros.—[S. Cypr. Epist. lxx. ad Rogatianum de diacono qui contra episcopum contendit. Op., p. 113.]

<sup>2</sup> [Summum futuri iudicii præjudicium.—Tertull. Apol., cap. 28. Op., p. 31, A; quoted above, vol. i. p. 159.]

doctrine of Christ, a new face of things seemed to arise, and from this new face of things we shall be apt to expect many, and those considerable alterations. The emperor confirms the ecclesiastical power with new laws and new authority, and the Church yields to the emperor certain new and extraordinary privileges. What therefore I assert is only this, that by this alteration the Christian Church was by no means blended and confounded with the secular authority, but with regard to all its purely spiritual powers remained entire and separate.

<sup>1</sup> [In the ninth chapter of the first book.]

Mr. Selden in his ninth book<sup>1</sup> *de Synedriis*<sup>x</sup>, grants us, that before the times of Constantine the Christian Church was a certain fixed society, and exercised the power of excommunication. But then, honest man, he thinks all this is to be derived, not from any divine right, nor from any precept of the Apostles, nor from the nature of the Christian religion, but from I know not what compact, very obscure and known but to few, viz., only to one or two of the tribe of the critics. But how does it appear that any such compact was ever made? It appears (if we believe Mr. Selden<sup>y</sup>) as clear as the sun from that famous Epistle of Pliny to the Emperor Trajan, in which Pliny writes thus of the Christians: "That they were wont to bind themselves with an oath not to commit theft, nor robbery, nor adultery, not to break their word, nor deny what was entrusted with them, when it should be called for<sup>z</sup>." From this passage the learned man does with great subtlety gather that the Christian society is owing to a certain private compact, because the Christians bound themselves with an oath not to violate the precepts of their Saviour. This reasoning to men of small and moderate understanding may seem perhaps new and very admirable, but it is thus that great wits are sometimes pleased egregiously to trifle. For this invention of Mr. Selden's, raised with so much zeal and labour, falls and vanishes at one blow, if we only call to mind that all the holy fathers, without exception, who make mention of this

<sup>x</sup> [De Synedriis Veterum Ebræorum, lib. i. c. 9. Seldeni Op., tom. i. pp. 839, 940.]

<sup>y</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, c. viii. p. 907.]

<sup>z</sup> Quod essent soliti . . . se sacra-

mento . . . obstringere . . . ne furta, ne Iatrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.—Plinii Epist., lib. x. Ep. 96. (al. 97.)

society, do not intimate that it arose from any compact, but maintain that it was delivered down by the Apostles themselves, and founded by the very precepts of our Saviour. The whole controversy therefore comes to this: whether more regard is to be had to Mr. Selden, a man indeed of very great learning, but a most deadly enemy to the clergy, than to the constant opinion of the primitive Church. And yet from this unlearned and rash hypothesis Mr. Selden proceeds, after his usual manner, to argue<sup>a</sup> that all this power, as soon as Constantine had embraced the Christian faith, was by a certain natural right devolved upon the civil government, insomuch that all ecclesiastical powers whatsoever, from the reign of Constantine down to our times, are not in his opinion to be derived from God, nor from a spiritual authority founded by Jesus Christ, but from the king, and from the senate, and from the people. This is that impious and pestilent opinion which, alas! has ravaged far and wide, and which I shall now undertake to overthrow.

I assert, therefore, against Mr. Selden, and all the other authors of that stamp, that the Christian society, from the times of Constantine, was not mixed with the civil. I assert that all those powers which Jesus Christ committed to the governors of His Church do still belong to the Church of Christ, so that no laws nor edicts whatsoever can either abolish them or deprive the clergy of them.

And to make good this assertion I shall take the following method. I shall prove it,

1st. From the nature itself of the Christian society.

2ndly. From the very concessions of the emperors.

3rdly. From various contentions that have happened between the emperors and the bishops.

I. First, therefore, it is abundantly manifest from the very nature of the Christian society, that it cannot by any means be mixed or confounded with the civil power. I have proved<sup>b</sup> that the Christian Church is a true and proper society; I have proved<sup>c</sup> that the authority of governing this society is committed to the three orders of ministers. How, therefore, this power and authority can be transferred to the

<sup>a</sup> [Selden, *ibid.*, c. x. p. 942.]

<sup>c</sup> [See above, Diss. i.]

<sup>b</sup> [See above, Diss. ii.]



civil magistrate it is past my skill to discern. I own, indeed, that there is nothing in the nature of things can hinder but that the civil and ecclesiastical authority may meet in one and the same person ; for the exercise of the latter is by no means inconsistent with the administration of the former. And it is agreed among all learned men that before the law of Moses the supreme civil and sacerdotal power remained in the hands of the first-born<sup>d</sup>. Hence we read of Gen. 14. 18. Melchisedec that he was both a king and also “the priest of the most high God.” Abraham was a priest to himself and his family, offered sacrifices, and ordered as he thought fit all things relating to the worship of God. The case was the same with all kings, and with heads of families, who themselves were also very often kings. But God, who knew what was fit for His Church, thought good to change this order of things, and therefore taking away this right of primogeniture he transferred the priesthood to certain particular persons. He chose the tribe of Levi, and the family of Aaron, out of all others, and adorned them with the illustrious dignity of the typical priesthood. To them only He gave leave to carry the tabernacle, to slay the sacrifices, and to burn incense in His presence. And whatever authority of old kings had claimed in things sacred did now all of it accrue to this peculiar order, and did so accrue to it that it was no longer lawful for kings, without the greatest impiety, to meddle with these sacred things. It was not now permitted to the kings of Judah either to offer sacrifice or to burn incense. Upon all that violated the priesthood God inflicted the most grievous punishments, as we learn from the example of Uzziah. The same and abundantly more may be said of the Christian priesthood. The most blessed founder of our religion did not revive that ancient and patriarchal priesthood, nor left it to the powers of this world to frame their own forms of Church-government, but partly Himself, and partly by His Apostles, He consecrated to Himself a peculiar select order of men, separated from the multitude of the faithful to represent Him and perform ecclesiastical offices. To these, and to these only, He committed the right of consecrating His most sacred body and blood in the Eu-

2 Chron.  
26. 16.

<sup>d</sup> [See above, vol. ii. p. 200, note n.]

charist, and that of inflicting ecclesiastical censures, the power of proposing articles of faith, and authority to ordain others. No man living can consecrate the holy Eucharist, nor admit any one into the Church, or after he is admitted shut him out again, but he that has received this power from Jesus Christ, who has promised that He will ratify that in heaven which they shall do according to His institution upon earth. A king as he is king, as he is the supreme power, neither has nor can have any manner of right whatever in offices purely spiritual, for there is a very great difference to be made between natural religion and religion which is revealed and instituted. In natural religion, I readily own, it belongs to the supreme power to take care of things sacred, and to name, and choose, and appoint such as may preside in holy offices. Where there is no revelation, this right is grounded on the nature itself of the supreme power, to which it belongs to order and appoint with full authority what things soever may conduce to the public good. But granting that religion was instituted by God Himself the reason<sup>1</sup> is altogether different. We are obliged to observe His institution, let it be what it will, and though it appear never so unjust to the civil magistrate. Since, therefore, it was sufficiently proved in the preceding dissertation that Jesus Christ committed this society to bishops, it follows that the Church cannot be so blended with the civil society as that its spiritual rights should be transferred to the supreme power in such a manner as that all ecclesiastical powers must be derived from that only.

<sup>1</sup> ["the case."]

No man can efficaciously administer the Sacraments but he who is instituted to that office by Jesus Christ, and to whom Christ has promised to ratify whatever he shall perform according to that institution. The emperor, or the sovereign authority in whomsoever it resides, never received this power from Jesus Christ, and therefore cannot efficaciously administer the Sacraments.

No man can ordain others, that is, grant them a power of administering the Sacraments, but he who has received this authority from God, to send others, and endow them with such privileges as these. But the sovereign power, as such, never received this authority from God.

No man can with authority determine concerning controversies of faith, but he to whom the custody of the faith is committed; to whom it belongs to propose the faith to the people, as a necessary condition of ecclesiastical communion. But the faith was never committed in this manner to the civil magistrate. Jesus Christ committed the *depositum*<sup>e</sup>, the form of sound words to the Apostles, and the Apostles to bishops. It belongs to them to propose the faith, without the profession of which no man ought to be admitted into the Church of Christ. It is their business to judge, whether such a one thinks rightly or not concerning the fundamental articles of faith: and it appertains to them to determine which articles are to be esteemed necessary and fundamental. Hence moreover we collect, that it belongs to bishops to compose creeds, to explain controverted articles; and if the necessity of the case require it, with new terms to confirm and defend them against heretics. And therefore the most holy fathers of the council of Nice did by the term consubstantial<sup>f</sup> admirably confirm the doctrine of the holy and undivided Trinity against the unreasonable wiles of the Arians. Besides, all Christians are obliged not only to profess the faith in general, but to express it in terms appointed by the Church. They that do otherwise, and either reject the terms of the Church, or invent new ones of their own heads, are deservedly shut out of the Church.

These powers our blessed Saviour committed to the governors of His Church: and for that reason I maintain, that they cannot be transferred to the civil magistrate.

But our adversaries will object, that there is no need there should be found in the holy Scripture express mention concerning this matter. This right, say they, arises from the nature of the sovereign power, to which alone it appertains to perform all those things that any way regard the weal public, and the advantage of the society. I own indeed, that this objection would have some weight if our controversy were concerning mere natural religion. But, as was observed above, it is of no moment at all in religion that is revealed. Jesus Christ has delegated these powers to a certain peculiar

<sup>e</sup> τὴν παρακαταθήκην . . . ὑποτύπωσιν ὑγιαίνοντων λόγων.—2 Tim. i. 12, 13.

<sup>f</sup> ὁμοούσιως.

order, without any the least mention, that they were to be devolved upon the civil magistrate, as soon as he should embrace the Christian faith. It is therefore necessary that the civil magistrate depart from his natural right, to pay obedience to the institutions of Jesus Christ. This is what the Jewish kings did: the Christian emperors also did the same most willingly: and all princes are obliged to do the same, who believe that the hope of eternal life is placed in the merits of Christ's death.

But the followers of Erastus go on with their noise. What, say they, according to your hypothesis a Christian king has no authority in ecclesiastical matters, all things depend upon the will of the clergy, who, as is very often seen, are not wont to be too favourable to the regal dignity. It is not permitted to Christian princes to stir the least pin of the Church without the bishop's leave: but to do it were the greatest impiety, and a profane invasion of the priesthood.

But on the contrary, we who are priests do openly maintain, that according to our hypothesis Christian kings have the greatest authority even in matters ecclesiastical.

Now, what may be safely allowed to Christian princes in ecclesiastical matters, without any prejudice to the divine institution, we may learn from Grotius. Kings, says he, may do these things following with respect to sacred matters.

"1st. They may take care that what is commanded by God, be performed with liberty and conveniency.

"2ndly. The human law superinduces a new obligation, not only by permitting, but also by commanding what is already commanded by the divine law.

§ [Primum a summis potestatibus ἀμέσως fluit, quod ea quæ Deus imperat, libere, imo et commode facimus amotis impedimentis, datis adminiculis . . . Secundo . . . lex humana non tantum permittendo, sed et jubendo quod jubet lex divina, novam superaddit obligationem . . . Tertio summa potestas humanas circumstantias quosdam loci, temporis, modi actionis a Deo imperatis præscribit, ut fiant εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν. Huc spectant leges, &c. . . Quarto per humanum imperium vetitis a Deo actionibus materia et occasiones subtrahuntur. Sic Ezechias amovet

excelsa, &c. . . Quinto summæ potestatis est pænis propositis homines ad ea adigere quæ Deus jubet, et a vetitis absterre . . . quod θεῶν νόμων παραφυλακὴν egregie vocat Justinianus.—Novell. (Auth. Coll., lib. ix. tit. 20.) cxxxvii. . . quemadmodum Augustinus dixit Epist. xlviii. ad Vincentium (Ep. xciii. Op., tom. ii. p. 239, A. ed. Ben.) 'Serviant reges terræ Christo, etiam leges ferendo pro Christo.'—Grotius de Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra, c. xi. Op., Theol., tom. iv. p. 214.]



“3rdly. The sovereign power prescribes certain circumstances of place, time, and manner to actions commanded by God, in order to the more decent performance of them. Hitherto belong various laws in the Novels.

“4thly. Human laws take out of the way the matter and occasions of such actions as are forbidden by God. Thus Hezekiah removed the high places.

“5thly. It belongs to the supreme power, by denouncing punishments, to constrain men to do those things which God commands, and to deter them from what he forbids. And Justinian calls this, ‘the keeping of the divine laws<sup>h</sup>.’ And to the same purpose is that of St. Augustine, ‘Let the kings of the earth serve Christ, even by making laws for Christ<sup>i</sup>.’”

These are those things which the bishops granted to the first Christian emperors: contented with these, those excellent princes did not so much as desire any farther power; but accounted it the greatest impiety, either to invade or to diminish the offices of the priesthood. And we likewise most willingly allow the same authority, and the same privileges to the supreme power; but a larger authority than this we neither can nor dare allow, for fear of basely and dishonourably betraying, to the destruction of our souls, and the apparent ruin of the Catholic Church, the most holy offices of the priesthood, which our blessed Saviour has intrusted with us. We maintain and defend the sacerdotal dignity in such a manner, as that no occasion of fears and jealousies can be taken from thence by kings, whom we most freely acknowledge to be next to God, and inferior to Him only: and to resist whom, even when they command what is most unjust, we stedfastly pronounce not only to be unlawful, but to be a crime that shall be punished with eternal damnation. We so regard and reverence the authority of kings, as yet to esteem it inferior to that of Jesus Christ: for we are careful, as becomes both Christians and priests, not by a base and abject flattery to give those things unto kings which Jesus Christ claims wholly and entirely to Himself. This therefore after all is what we mean, this is what we so

<sup>h</sup> θείων νόμων παραφυλακή.—Auth. Coll. ix. tit. 20. Novell. Const. 137. Præf.

<sup>i</sup> Serviant reges terræ Christo, etiam leges ferendo pro Christo.—[S. August. Ep. xciii. Op., tom. ii. p. 239, A.]

cagerly contend for, that the things that are Cæsar's be rendered unto Cæsar, and that those which belong to God, and to Christ, and to the Church, be in like manner granted unto them.

Our adversaries do farther object, that granting the Church of Christ to be a true society, distinct from the civil, it will hence follow, that there will be<sup>k</sup> one government or society within another; which both implies a contradiction, and roots up the very foundations of the civil society. This is an objection they never fail to make; this they continually challenge us with: and confidently boast that it can never be answered. And yet such is the unhappy confidence of these men, that if we look never so little into it, we shall find nothing was ever seen more trivial and foolish, than this very objection: for

1st. It may be safely denied, that from our hypothesis it follows that there will be one government or society within another: for by government they ought at least to understand a government vested with power of life and death. To suppose two such governments independent of each other, in one society, does indeed imply a most manifest contradiction. But what is this to us? It may perhaps be of some force against the papists; but against us it is of none at all.

We most industriously disclaim, in our society, all external force whatsoever: we affirm over and over, and stedfastly maintain, that the Church of Christ is not of this world; but that all its punishments, as well as its rewards, are to be expected in the world to come. She gives not the least disturbance to secular governments, which without any opposition from the Christian Church, enjoy all things that appear any way necessary to their preservation. Mr. Selden knew all this very well; and for that reason would acknowledge no punishments, but such as are external and coercive<sup>l</sup>: but how very trifling this is, and how unworthy of Mr. Selden, is evident to all men at the first view.

2ndly. Granting that it followed from our hypothesis, that there would be one government or society within another, there is no consequence from thence, which is either absurd or contradictory: the reason is plain, because these govern-

<sup>k</sup> Imperium in imperio.

<sup>l</sup> [Selden, *ibid.*, p. 941.]

ments or societies are of such a different nature, for one is secular, the other spiritual; one endowed with external power, the other with such as is only spiritual and internal. Hereto must be likewise added, that the Christian Church teaches us to pay the most devout obedience to the civil magistrate; and in the fullest manner condemns all sorts of resistance whatsoever. Why may not these two societies agree very well in one government? As far as I can discern, they mutually confirm and adorn one another.

3rdly. We shall find one government within another almost from the very infancy of the world; therefore this involves no contradiction. Every political government comprehends many paternal governments within it. Parents have a right to the obedience of their children from the law of nature; the obligation of which law cannot by any means be abrogated by the sovereign power. And yet the sovereign power has no reason to be afraid of this paternal government; because the power of life and death is placed only in the civil magistrate. Now for the very same reason the State can receive no damage from the Church; which enjoys only an internal power.

But our adversaries urge still farther.

It may happen, say they, that the king may command one thing, and the bishops the contrary: so that it will be impossible to obey both their commands. What shall the people do? They stand hesitating and know not which way to turn themselves: if they obey the Church, they must expect nothing but racks and halters; but if they comply with the prince, they must be condemned to eternal flames. Who does not see, say they, that in this case the very foundations of the society are undermined and dissolved.

Now to all this I return these several answers.

1st. If it shall happen that the king and the Church impose contrary commands, I grant indeed that a great inconvenience will arise from thence, and a grievous calamity. But can we thence conclude, that there cannot be one government within another: because there may arise some inconveniences from such a supposition: I cannot, I confess, see the least shadow of a consequence in this. As if there were any state of things in this world, so happily and per-

fectly established, as to be liable to no inconveniences. I suppose our disputant came lately out of Utopia ; the arms and arguments he makes use of are so evidently of that growth.

2dly. It can never happen, that the political and the sacerdotal power have any struggle with each other, while they contain themselves within the bounds that are proper to each of them. Let the king govern his people, and consult the safety and ornament of the State ; and let the priest serve the altar, faithfully expound the word of God, explain the faith and defend it : let the king strengthen and adorn the Church with his secular authority : and let the Church make the subjects obedient and faithful to the king, by the principles of Christianity, by the obligation of conscience, and by the most just dread of hell and eternal damnation. By this means the Church makes the most grateful returns to the king for the benefit of his protection. Believe me, the sovereignty and the priesthood are in their nature so disposed by God, that they mutually embrace and cherish each other. Neither of them can be happy and perfect without the other. The sacerdotal without the secular power, wants both ornament, and protection ; and the secular without the sacerdotal, does in vain require the faithful allegiance of the subjects, and the stedfast obedience which arises from conscience. Away therefore for ever with those worst of men, friends neither to God nor the king, neither to Church nor State, who dare to separate and disjoin the two greatest powers in the world, that most sweetly agree with each other, and are not only safe, but happy in their mutual embraces.

3rdly. Granting that it may happen that the king and the bishop impose different and contrary commands ; in this case it is not so difficult as they pretend to determine to which of the two obedience must be paid. Let us only consider a little these few and those very easy rules, and all the difficulty will immediately vanish.

1st. If the bishop invade the rights of the civil magistrate, there is no obedience due to him ; because secular power does not belong to the bishop, as he is a bishop. All the power that he has of that nature must of necessity be derived from the civil magistrate, who may revoke it whenever he thinks fit.



2ndly. If the king violate the rights of the bishops, it must be well considered whether the rights thus violated are such as were committed to the Church by God, or as are owing to human laws, namely, to the constitutions of canons.

For,

1. If they are of the former kind, we must obey the bishop (which is in this case to obey God) rather than the king. This controversy, if it ought to be called a controversy, Acts 4. 19. has been determined by the Apostles themselves.

2. If they are of the latter sort, and are plainly indifferent, and do no way strike at the essentials of religion, obedience must be paid to the king and not to the bishop. But

3. If they are of a doubtful nature, and it be very probable that an essential part of the Christian religion is in danger, it will then be best and safest to obey the decrees of the Church, and with a great and stedfast mind to bear the punishments inflicted by the civil magistrate.

He that observes these rules will, in all contests of this nature, easily perceive to which side he ought to join himself.

There is still remaining one objection, though it hardly deserves that name, which our adversaries are wont to produce as the last struggle for their sinking cause: and I shall not think much to vouchsafe an answer to it, though it does not at all deserve one. The objection being brought into the form of a syllogism, stands thus.

Those powers which may be limited by the civil magistrate, are derived only from the civil magistrate: but ecclesiastical powers may be limited by the civil magistrate. Therefore ecclesiastical powers are derived only from the civil magistrate.

I deny the major proposition which the Erastians will never be able to prove. But that you may fully perceive the weakness of this argument, you need only consider the Jewish priesthood. Few will deny that that was derived from God. And yet every one knows that with respect to the outward exercise, the priesthood of the Jews was limited by the Jewish kings; which yet does not prove that these sacerdotal powers were derived only from the civil magistrate. How then, I beseech you, should it prove that in

the Christian priesthood! Let our adversaries find this out, and as occasion offers, let them impart the secret to us.

Hitherto I have argued from the nature of society, that the ecclesiastical can by no means be blended with the civil government; I mean so blended, as that the spiritual powers should be transferred to the secular. But for a more full and perfect decision of this controversy, it will be very necessary to consider what was the opinion of the most holy fathers concerning the nature of this society. Whether they thought that this society was temporary, formed only for the present exigence of time, and afterwards to sink into the civil, and be consolidated with it; or that it was a society distinct from the civil, and to remain so to the end of the world.

II. My second argument is taken from the very concessions of the emperors. I will begin with Constantine the Great. In the time of this emperor two calamities miserably afflicted the Church. One, a controversy concerning the celebration of Easter; the other, the impious heresy of Arius concerning the Son of God, which had spread far and wide. The pious and truly Christian emperor, to apply some remedy to these evils, convenes a council at Nice, and refers all these matters to the judgment and determination of the bishops. But let us see in what words he addressed himself to the bishops, and what he seemed to think of their authority. Socrates relates<sup>m</sup>, "That the emperor being entered into the council, would not so much as sit down till the bishops desired him." In an epistle written the decrees of the council, the most holy emperor expresses himself in these words<sup>n</sup>, "Since therefore three hundred and more bishops, wonderful for their gravity and sagacity, have all confirmed one and the same faith. . . . Let us go to the common body." And after a few words he proceeds thus: "For that which the three hundred bishops decreed, is

<sup>m</sup> οὐ πρότερον καθίξεν, πρὶν ἂν οἱ ἐπίσκοποι ἐπινεύσειαν.—Socratis Hist. Eccl., lib. i. c. 8. [tom. ii. p. 20.]

<sup>n</sup> τριακοσίων γοῦν καὶ πλείονων ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ σωφροσύνη τε καὶ ἀγχινοῖα θαυμαζομένων μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πίστιν . . . βεβαιούντων . . . ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν σώμα . . . ἴωμεν. — [Epist. Const. Imp. ad

Eccl. Alexand.] *ibid.*, [p. 30.]

<sup>o</sup> ὃ γὰρ τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἤρεσεν ἐπισκόποις οὐδέν ἐστιν ἕτερον, ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμη, μάλιστα γὰρ ὅπου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα τοιοῦτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἀνδρῶν ταῖς διανοαῖς ἐγκείμενον τὴν θέαν βούλησιν ἐξεφώτισεν.—[*Id.*, *ibid.*]

nothing else but the determination of God, especially where the Holy Spirit, inspiring the minds of such and so great men, revealed the divine will." And in his epistle which he sent to the Churches<sup>p</sup>: "For," says he, "whatsoever is transacted in the holy councils of bishops, is all to be referred to the divine will; for which cause ye ought to receive the reason above-mentioned." And in his discourse with the bishops we meet with this expression<sup>q</sup>, "You indeed are appointed by God a bishop of those things which (or of those persons who) are within the Church; I, of those that are out of the Church." What Constantine means by τὰ ἐκτὸς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, "the things which are out of the Church," is very aptly explained by a canon of the council of Carthage, which decrees thus<sup>r</sup>: "If any one be disobedient to his bishop, he shall be deposed: . . . If he persist in his madness, he shall be chastised by the external power," that is by the secular. Therefore Constantine's meaning was, that the State belonged to him, and the Church to the bishops: and that this was the opinion of that most excellent emperor, we are informed by Ruffinus, who describes Constantine expressing himself in these words<sup>s</sup>: "God has made you bishops, and given you power to judge also of us; and therefore we are rightly judged by you; but you cannot be judged by men." It cannot be doubted what Constantine's opinion was concerning the sacerdotal authority. He openly affirms that bishops have power to judge even concerning emperors in things spiritual; and that this power was committed to them, not by the civil magistrate, but by God Himself. But farther, from these passages taken together, we may easily collect these following particulars.

Ist. That it appertains to Christian emperors to convene councils, at least such as are general and œcumenical. This

<sup>p</sup> πᾶν γὰρ ὃ, τι δ' ἂν ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις τῶν ἐπισκόπων συνεδρίοις πράττηται, τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν θέλαν βούλησιν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν διὰ τὸν προειρημένον λόγον ὑποδέχεσθαι. . . ὀφείλετε.—[Id. Epist. ad Ecclesias, *ibid.*, p. 34.]

<sup>q</sup> ὑμεῖς μὲν τῶν εἰσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἐκκλησίας ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθιστάμενος ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἴην.—[Euseb. Vit. Const., lib. iv. c. 24. ap. Hist. Eccl., tom. i. p. 638.]

<sup>r</sup> Si quis episcopo inobediens fuerit,

deponetur: . . . si pergat insanire castigabitur διὰ τῆς ἐξωθεν ἐξουσίας. [This canon the Editor has not succeeded in finding.]

<sup>s</sup> Deus vos constituit sacerdotes; et potestatem dedit de nobis quoque iudicandi: et ideo nos a vobis recte iudicamur: vos autem non potestis ab hominibus iudicari.—Ruff. Hist. Eccl., lib. x. c. 2. [Eccl. Hist. Auct., p. 218, B. Basil. 1528.]

power the first Christian kings ever claimed to themselves; and we also most willingly allow the same to our kings: what the Jesuits prate of the authority of the Roman pontiff in this particular is all vain, frivolous, and without foundation.

2ndly. That it belongs to the bishops only, and to such as are ecclesiastics, to examine into controversies concerning articles of faith; to condemn unreasonable, false, and heretical propositions; to confirm by new testimonies such as are true and catholic, and to propose them to the people to be believed. This is most evidently collected from the very words of Constantine. "Whatever," says he, "is determined by a plenary council of bishops, that is to be regarded as the will and determination of God, and ought to be received by all Christians<sup>t</sup>." This one thing is to be observed, that this determination of the faith, established by the Nicene fathers, derived all its virtue and obligation, not from royal authority, but from the spiritual power of the council. From these two propositions there arises another.

3rdly. That the Christian society is not mixed and confounded with the civil.

From Constantine let us proceed to Theodosius, who will most clearly confirm our opinion. It is very well known to every one, how the emperor, as he was entering into Milan, was treated by St. Ambrose, who was perfectly well acquainted with the bounds both of the temporal and of the ecclesiastical authority. Having encouraged a cruel and barbarous slaughter, the emperor goes to the church after his usual manner; but St. Ambrose meets him, tells him it is neither right nor lawful for a man laden with so heinous a guilt to approach to the holy table, and be made partaker of the Eucharist; and then breaks out into these words<sup>u</sup>: "Depart therefore, and do not attempt to increase your former transgression by additional sins: but take the bond which God, who is the Lord of all, confirms by His suffrage from above. For this is medicinal, and a procurer of health." The

<sup>t</sup> θεοῦ γνώμη, καὶ θεοῦ βούλησις. [See above, notes o, p. The passage in the text is given as the substance of Constantine's words.]

<sup>u</sup> ἄπιθι τοίνυν, καὶ μὴ πειρῶ τοῖς δυνάτεροις τὴν προτέραν ἀβχεῖν παρανομίαν, καὶ δέχου τὸν δεσμὸν, ᾧ ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν ὅλων δεσπότης ἄνωθεν γίνεταί σύμψηφος. *la-*

*τρικὸς δὲ οὗτος, καὶ πρόξενος ὑγιείας. τοῦτοις εἶξας ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς γὰρ θεοῖσι λόγοις ἐντεθραμμένους ἤδει σαφῶς τίνα μὲν τῶν ἱερέων, τίνα δὲ τῶν βασιλέων ἴδια, κ.τ.λ.—Theodoret. Hist. Eccl., lib. v. c. 18. [pp. 215, 216. See above, vol. ii. p. 331, sqq.]*



emperor yielding to these words, for being instructed in the divine oracles, he knew very well what were the proper offices of bishops, and what of kings," &c. And then at last being reconciled to the Church, he professes to Nectarius that he now understood the difference between an emperor and a bishop<sup>x</sup>. "I was hardly," says he, "at last instructed, what was the difference between a bishop and an emperor. I with difficulty at last found a master of truth; for I know none but Ambrose that deserves to be called a bishop." From this most full evidence of the emperor's may be drawn a very strong argument against Mr. Selden's hypothesis. In the first place the bishop by the right of the keys repels the emperor from the holy Eucharist. The emperor, "perfectly instructed in the Christian faith<sup>y</sup>," submits to the bond of excommunication: he owns that there is a very great difference between a bishop and a king; that each of them has his proper offices, which the other cannot usurp. He desires absolution of the bishop in the most humble manner; and after performing due penance, at last obtains it. Theodosius does by no means reprove this proceeding of St. Ambrose, as rash, or bold, or impious: on the contrary, he extols him with praises after a wonderful manner, that he had behaved himself with that constancy of mind which became a bishop of Jesus Christ. Is it credible, if all ecclesiastical powers had been derived from the civil, that St. Ambrose, a man bred up at court, and that bore a very great affection to his prince, and was most observant of him, would treat him with so much impudence and impiety? Is it probable that the emperor would not only take no notice of this most unjust and insolent affront, and let it escape unpunished; but would also approve and commend it? It is abundantly evident, that the Christians of the fourth century had a quite different opinion concerning episcopal authority, from that of our modern reformers, who have nothing more at heart than utterly to subvert and overthrow all ecclesiastical power, and together with the power of the Church to destroy the Christian religion itself.

<sup>x</sup> μόγισ βασιλέως και ιερέως ἐδιδάχθην διαφοράν' μόγισ εὔρον ἀληθείας διδάσκαλον' Ἀμβρόσιον γὰρ οἶδα μόνον ἐπίσκοπον ἀξίως καλούμενον.—Id., *ibid.*,

p. 218.

<sup>y</sup> τοῖς θεοῖς λογιῶις ἐντετραμμένος.  
[See above, note u.]

If we descend to the council of Chalcedon, we may find many things that confirm the truth of my assertion. The emperor Marcian absolutely renounces and disclaims all power of judging concerning matters of faith. He acknowledges over and over, that it belongs only to God's priests. But I refer the reader to the acts of the council themselves<sup>z</sup>.

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Hereto likewise ought to be added that famous answer of the emperor Valentinian to the bishops, who desired him that they might meet and correct the errors introduced by the explication of the word "consubstantial<sup>a</sup>." Sozomen gives us his answer, and it is conceived in these words<sup>b</sup>: "For me indeed, who am ranked among the laics, it is not lawful to examine too nicely into such matters; but let the bishops, to whom the care of this belongs, meet by themselves wherever they please."

What was the opinion of the emperors concerning the authority of the Church and the powers of the Christian priesthood, it will not be difficult to conjecture from what I have said: but before I dismiss this argument, it may not be unprofitable to add something concerning the imperial laws which related to matters ecclesiastical. From thence, without the least difficulty, this controversy of ours will be determined. For if all the authority of the Church were mixed and confounded with that of the State, then all spiritual powers are to be derived from the secular fountain; and no ecclesiastical laws can become obligatory even in conscience, any farther than as they are confirmed by the emperor. But if on the contrary it shall appear (as, if I am not mistaken, it will most evidently) that the Church ever enjoyed an authority proper to herself; that the ecclesiastical canons derived their force of obligation from the councils themselves; that the bishops always exercised this authority; and that the emperors always acknowledged it: if (I say) I can make all this appear, will it not follow with the clearest evidence, that the ecclesiastical authority is most fully separated from the civil? And that all this is so, no man will deny, who having

<sup>z</sup> [See Epist. Imp. Marciani xxxiii. sqq. ap. Conc. Chalced. part i. Concilia, tom. iv. col. 832, sqq. et Allocutio Imp., ibid., Actio vi. col. 1476, A, B.]

<sup>a</sup> ὁμοούσιος.

<sup>b</sup> ἔμοι μὲν μετὰ λαοῦ τεταγμένω, οὐ θέμις τοιαῦτα πολυπραγμανεῖν· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς, οἷς τούτου μέλει, καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ βούλονται συνίτωσαν. — Sozom. Hist. Eccl., lib. vi. cap. 7. [tom. ii. p. 227.]

carefully perused the Theodosian and Justinian codes, will there easily perceive that the Christian emperors never determined anything concerning articles of faith but what had been before decided by councils; that they never inflicted ecclesiastical censures, but always referred the exercise of that power to the bishops, as a thing most foreign to the royal dignity.

But before we come to the laws themselves, it will not be disagreeable to my purpose to lay before the reader what the Catholic Church has determined concerning the true agreement of these two highest powers, the sacerdotal and the imperial. For although on the one side she most strenuously contends that the Church of Christ is a spiritual society, and contains in her by the grant of God all those things which may any way seem necessary to her preservation, even in the worst of times: for which reason she has always claimed to herself a power of determining controversies of faith; that of ordaining bishops and presbyters, to whom only it appertains to offer up prayers publicly to God for the multitude of the faithful, and to administer the Sacraments; and lastly, a power of inflicting ecclesiastical censures: although, I say, on the one side the Church always laid claim to these powers, and claimed them as such as can neither be alienated from the Church, nor transferred upon any other, even upon the emperor himself; yet on the other side she most evidently granted that we are subjects as well as Christians; and as subjects are under the government of the secular magistrate: that kings are bound to serve God, not only as private men, but also as kings: that they are guardians of the laws of both tables; that they are assertors and defenders of the ecclesiastical canons; that they have the greatest power over all Christians, as they are Christians, and even over ecclesiastics themselves; that it belongs to them to take most diligent care, that ecclesiastical canons constituted by councils be most religiously observed by all persons, and especially by the clergy; that they have power to make laws for establishing the observation of such canons, and to subject those who do not observe them, not only to secular, but also to canonical punishments: not that emperors can either exclude a private Christian from communion, or depose a

bishop, but they can press the governors of the Church both to deprive the one, and excommunicate the other, for offending against the canons. And from hence the answer is easy to all those laws which frequently occur in the codes, whereby it is commanded that such a one be excommunicated or deposed. They by no means prove what Mr. Selden pretends<sup>c</sup>, that the emperor, for that reason because he is emperor, has power of excommunicating or deposing. They prove no more than this, that Christian kings have power to confirm the canons, and to oblige the clergy to inflict ecclesiastical censures, according as the canons prescribe. But these two things, if I am able to discern anything, are very widely different.

Having premised this, I come now to the imperial laws themselves, from which it will most clearly appear, what the emperors of the fourth century judged concerning the authority of the Church; and with how unanimous a consent they all disclaimed, as foreign from them, those spiritual powers which have with so much labour been attempted to be fastened upon them by Mr. Selden, and by Erastus and all his followers, who are very numerous.

First, it is abundantly manifest from the imperial laws, that the emperors never determined anything concerning matters of faith, but what had been first decided by councils.

I will begin with the Theodosian code: and here we meet with "that golden sanction<sup>d</sup>" of Theodosius, "that pious and wholesome edict," (as Baronius justly calls it,) "whereby the most excellent emperor confirms the Nicene faith, and commands, "that according to the apostolical discipline, and the doctrine of the Gospel, we believe the one Godhead of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, under an equal majesty and a sacred Trinity<sup>e</sup>." He commands likewise<sup>f</sup>, that all people "embrace the same religion which St.

<sup>c</sup> [Selden. de Synedriis, c. x. Op., tom. i. col. 942, sqq.]

<sup>d</sup> [Aurea illa sanctio.—Baronius, Annal. Eccl. A.D. 381. num. 1. The Editor has not found the other words.]

<sup>e</sup> Ut secundum apostolicam disciplinam, evangelicamque doctrinam Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, unam deitatem sub parili majestate, et sub pia

Trinitate credamus.—[Cod. Theod., lib. xvi. tit. i. 2.]

<sup>f</sup> [Cunctos populos, quos clementiæ nostræ regit temperamentum, in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum apostolum tradidisse Romanis, religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat; quamque pontificem Danasum sequi claret, et Petrum Alex-



Peter delivered to the Romans, and which Damasus bishop of Rome, and Peter bishop of Alexandria, do still," says he, "most stedfastly hold," namely the very same faith which was declared by the council of Nice.

The most serene emperor, in concurrence with the decree of the council of Constantinople, commanded that the Macedonian heresy, which that council had condemned, should be utterly extirpated, and "that all heretics<sup>e</sup> should be expelled out of the Churches, . . . to the end that the sacerdotal offices" (they are the very words of the law) "of the true and Nicene faith may remain uncorrupted." Sozomen also makes mention of this law in these words<sup>h</sup>: "And these things were thus decreed by the council," (namely by that council which Nectarius assembled at Constantinople:) "and the emperor ratified them by his suffrage, and made a law, that the faith of those who had met at Nice should be confirmed." That which the historian means is, that the council condemned the error of Macedonius, and proved the Nicene faith by a new testimony; but the Christian emperor added force to the council's decrees, and confirmed them by the secular power. The same thing may be observed of all the imperial laws, which were made concerning articles of faith.

The emperors Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian enact<sup>i</sup>, "that as often as any contest should happen among the clergy concerning any matter relating to religion, it should especially be observed, that the presbyters of the diocese being convened by the bishop, the matters in controversy should be determined by their judgment." So the interpretation.

We must distinguish between ecclesiastical and secular causes. "Political actions," as the Novels speak<sup>k</sup>, which ap-

andriæ episcopum.—Ibid. The words of the preceding note follow this passage.]

<sup>e</sup> Omnes autem qui ab eorum, (Patrum scil. Concilii Constant.) fidei communionem dissentiunt, ut manifesto hæreticos ab ecclesiis expelli, &c. . . . ut veræ et Nicænæ fidei sacerdotia casta permaneant.—Ibid., tit. i. 3. [See also the previous part of the law.]

<sup>h</sup> καὶ τὰ μὲν ᾧδε τῆ συνόδῳ ἔδοξε, καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεψηφίσαστο, καὶ νόμον ἔθετο κυρίαν εἶναι τὴν πίστιν τῶν ἐν Νικαίᾳ συνελθυσάντων.—Sozomen. Hist. Eccl.,

lib. vii. cap. 9. [tom. ii. p. 289.]

<sup>i</sup> [Imp. Valens, Gratianus, Valentinianus, &c. . . . Quoties ex qualibet re ad religionem pertinente inter clericos fuerit nata contentio, id specialiter observetur, ut convocatis ab episcopo diœcesanis presbyteris, quæ in contentionem venerint, iudicio terminentur.—Cod. Theod., lib. xvi.] tit. ii. 23. [Interpretatio.]

<sup>k</sup> πολιτικά ἐγκλήματα. — Novella Constit. lxxxiii. Præf. [Auth. Collat., lib. vi. tit. 12. ap. Corp. Jur. Civ.]

pertain to the practice of the public law, belong to the civil magistrates, and ought to be determined by them: but it is fit that causes of faith, "ecclesiastical controversies<sup>1</sup>," be decided by bishops: nor can they without impious rashness be handled by the secular magistrate. This we are taught by the most peremptory testimony of the ancient fathers, who had the greatest veneration for the powers committed to them by Christ, and defended them with the utmost constancy<sup>m</sup>. Hence it was, that the most holy Ambrose inveighed with so much bitterness against the emperor Valentinian the younger, because he had violated the sacred authority of the bishops, and had submitted ecclesiastical causes to the judgment of the laics. "When," says he, "most gracious emperor, did you hear that laics judged concerning bishops in a cause of faith? Are we therefore so bowed down by flattery, as to be unmindful of the right of the priesthood? And that what God has bestowed upon me, I should think ought to be committed to others? If the bishop be to be taught by a laic, what will be the consequence? Therefore let the laic dispute, and the bishop hear; let the bishop learn of the laic. But certainly if we either consider the tenor of the holy Scriptures, or call back ancient times, we cannot deny, but that in a cause of faith the bishops were wont to judge concerning the emperors, and not the emperors concerning the bishops<sup>n</sup>."

In his oration against Auxentius he has these words<sup>o</sup>: "Tribute is Cæsar's; none denies it. The Church is God's, and therefore ought not to be ascribed to Cæsar; because the temple of God cannot be Cæsar's right. Which no man

<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά ζητήματα.—Novel. Constit. lxxxiii. c. 1. [ibid. q. v.]

<sup>m</sup> Vide Basil. Epist. cclxxxv. [Epist. ccxxv. ad Demosthenem. Op., tom. iii. p. 344. ed. Ben.] S. Gregor. Nazianz. ad Nectarium. [Epist. clxxxv. Op., tom. ii. p. 152. ed. Par. 1840.]

<sup>n</sup> Quando audisti, clementissime imperator, in causa fidei laicos de episcopo judicasse? Ita ergo quadam adulatione curvamus, ut sacerdotalis juris simus immemores? Et quod Deus donavit mihi, hoc ipse aliis putem esse credendum? Si docendus est episcopus a laico, quid sequetur? Laicus ergo disputet, et episcopus audiat; episcopus discat a

laico. At certe si vel Scripturarum seriem divinarum, vel vetera tempora retractemus, quis est qui abnuat in causa fidei, in causa, inquam, fidei, episcopos solere de imperatoribus Christianis, non imperatores de episcopis judicare?—[S. Ambros. Epist. xxi. ad Valentinianum, § 4. Op., tom. ii. col. 860, E, sqq.]

<sup>o</sup> Tributum Cæsaris est, non negatur. Ecclesia Dei est, Cæsari utique non debet addici: quia jus Cæsaris esse non potest Dei templum. Quod cum honorificentia imperatoris dictum nemo potest negare: quid enim honorificentius, quam ut imperator ecclesie

can deny to be said with due honour to the emperor: for what is more honourable than that the emperor should be said to be the son of the Church. And when this is said, it is said without offence, nay it is said with respect. For a good emperor is within the Church, not above the Church." What could have been conceived more full, or more suitable to my purpose, than this testimony of the venerable father? Is it possible to believe that Mr. Selden's hypothesis obtained at that time? Who, pray, can so much as suspect that the Church was so blended with the civil government, as that all ecclesiastical powers were to be derived from that only? Nay the contrary is most evidently demonstrated. St. Ambrose, and the fathers of the fourth century, did not in the least dream that all the power of the Church depended upon the secular magistrate, and was to be fetched from the imperial law. Innumerable are the instances to this purpose, with which we are furnished in the Theodosian code: but the bounds of this discourse will by no means suffer me to venture any farther into so vast an ocean.

Let us proceed therefore to the emperor Justinian, and see what he has determined concerning this most important question.

In his code there is extant the emperor Marcian's edict in these words: "Let no man dispute publicly concerning the Christian faith; for it is also injurious to the judgment of the most reverend synod, if any one shall go about to reverse and publicly dispute things that are once determined and rightly disposed: seeing that those things which are known to have been now decreed concerning the Christian faith, by the bishops who were assembled at Chalcedon by our command, were established according to the expositions of the Apostles, and the constitutions of the 318 Nicene fathers, and of the 150 in this royal city<sup>p</sup>."

filii esse dicatur? Quod cum dicitur, sine peccato dicitur, cum gratia dicitur. Imperatore enim (bonus) intra ecclesiam, non supra ecclesiam est.—[Id., *ibid.*, Sermo contra Auxentium,] *ibid.*, § 35. col. 873, C.]

<sup>p</sup> Nemo . . . de fide Christiana (publice disputet) . . . nam et injuriam facit iudicio reverendissimæ synodi, si quis semel iudicata, et recte disposita,

resolvere, et publice disputare contenderit: cum ea quæ nunc de Christiana fide a sacerdotibus, qui Chalcedone convenerant per nostra præcepta, statuta sunt juxta apostolicas expositiones, et instituta sanctorum patrum 318 Nicææ, et 150 in hac regia urbe, definita esse noscantur.—Cod. Justin., lib. i. [tit. i. leg. 4. ap Corp. Jur. Civ.]



“Neither let any man either speak or write against the venerable council of Chalcedon<sup>9</sup>.”

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In the book of Authentics we shall find other instances like to these ; or rather yet more full to our purpose. Out of that immense heap I will select one or two.

“We enact therefore<sup>r</sup>, that those holy ecclesiastical canons obtain the force of laws, which were expounded or confirmed by the four sacred councils ; that is, by the Nicene council of 318 holy fathers ; by the Constantinopolitan of 150 ; by the first council of Ephesus, in which Nestorius was condemned ; and by that of Chalcedon, wherein Eutyches was anathematized together with Nestorius : for we receive the decrees of those four now mentioned councils, as we do the holy Scriptures ; and shall observe their canons as laws. And therefore we enact according to their determinations.”

“If<sup>s</sup> we study that the civil laws, the power of which God through His goodness to men has entrusted with us, be kept inviolable by all, for the security of such as obey them : how much more care ought we to take to keep the sacred canons and divine laws, which are established for the salvation of our souls ? For they who keep the sacred canons are worthy of the help of our Lord God : but they who transgress them, thereby render themselves obnoxious to judgment. There-

<sup>9</sup> Nulli etiam contra venerabilem Chalcedonensem synodum liceat aliquid vel dictare vel scribere, &c.—Ibid., tit. v. [leg. 8. § 5. ibid.]

<sup>r</sup> Sancimus igitur vicem legum obtinere sanctas ecclesiasticas regulas, quæ a sanctis quatuor conciliis expositæ sunt aut firmatæ, hoc est, in Nicæno 318, et Constantinopolitano sanctorum patrum 150, et in Ephesino primo, in quo Nestorius est damnatus, et in Chalcedonio, in quo Eutyches cum Nestorio anathematizatus est : prædicatarum enim quatuor synodorum dogmata sicut sanctas Scripturas accipimus, et regulas sicut leges observabimus. Ideoque sancimus secundum eorum definitiones.

[θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν, τάξιν νόμων ἐπέχειν τοὺς ἁγίους ἐκκλησιαστικούς κανόνας, τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων τεσσάρων συνόδων ἐκτεθέντας ἢ βεβαιωθέντας, τούτεστι τοὺς ἐν Νικαίᾳ τῶν τιγ', καὶ τοὺς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει τῶν ἁγίων ρν' πατέρων, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ πρώτης, ἐν ᾗ

Νεστόριος κατεκρίθη' καὶ τοὺς ἐν Χαλχιδόνι, καθ' ἣν Εὐτύχης μετὰ Νεστορίου ἀνεθεματίσθη. τῶν γὰρ προειρημένων ἁγίων συνόδων καὶ τὰ δόγματα καθάπερ τὰς θείας γραφὰς δεχόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς κανόνας ὡς νόμους φυλάττομεν' καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεσπίζομεν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἄρτους, κ. τ. λ.]—Auth. Collat. ix. tit. 14. c. 1. Novell. cxxxii.

<sup>s</sup> εἰ τοὺς πολιτικούς νόμους, ὧν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπίστευσε, βεβαίους διὰ πάντων φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ὑπηκόων σπουδάζομεν, πόσω μᾶλλον πλείονα σπουδὴν ὀφείλομεν θέσθαι περὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν κανόνων, καὶ θείων νόμων παραφυλακῆν τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἡμετέρων ψυχῶν σωτηρίας ὀρισθέντων. οἱ γὰρ τοὺς ἱεροὺς κανόνας φυλάττοντες, τῆς τοῦ δεσπότης θεοῦ βοήθειας ἀξιοῦνται' καὶ οἱ τούτους παραβαίνοντες, αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς τῇ κατακρίσει ὑποβάλλουσι' μείζονι δὲ ὑπόκειται κατακρίσει οἱ δσιώτατοι ἐπίσκοποι, οἷς πεπίστευται καὶ ζητεῖν τοὺς κανόνας, καὶ φυλάττειν, εἶπερ



fore those most holy bishops lie under greater condemnation, to whom it has been entrusted and committed to enquire into and observe the canons, if they leave any omission of them uncondemned and unpunished . . . For if the general laws do not allow that the transgressions of the laics escape both inquisition and punishment: how shall we suffer those things to be despised, which have been canonically decreed by the holy Apostles and fathers concerning the salvation of all men?" . . . "That ordination of bishops<sup>t</sup> ought to be administered with all diligence and rigour, Gregory the divine, who is also accounted among the saints, plainly teaches us, following the Apostles and the divine canons." . . . And a little after: "Resting therefore upon these things, which have been decreed by the sacred canons, we make the present law," &c.

But I will stop here, that my dissertation may not exceed its bounds. From these imperial laws, which I have set down with the utmost fidelity, may be very easily gathered these following particulars.

1. That causes of faith cannot be handled by laics, without the greatest impiety, and a contempt of the divine ordinance.

2. That the emperors of the fourth century, as often as they enacted anything concerning the faith, did that in consequence and confirmation of the decrees of councils.

3. That all such are unmindful of the sacerdotal right who think this power of determining concerning articles of faith is to be entrusted with laics.

4. That it appears from the tenor of the holy Scriptures, that bishops are used to judge concerning emperors in controversies of this nature, and not emperors concerning bishops.

5. That ordinations of bishops ought to be performed, that is, observed, with all diligence and rigour.

τι τούτων παραβαινόμενον, ἀνεκδίκητον καταλειφθείη.—Auth. Coll. ix. tit. 20. (Novell. Const. 137.) Præfatio. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν λαϊκῶν ἀμαρτανόμενα οἱ γενικοὶ νόμοι οὐ συγχωροῦσι δίχα ζητήσεως, καὶ ἐκδικήσεως καταλιμπάνεσθαι, πῶς τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ πατέρων ὑπὲρ τῆς πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίας κανονικῶς διατυπωθέντα περιδείν ἀναγχόμεθα:—

[*ibid.*, cap. 1.]

<sup>t</sup> ὅτι δὲ τὰς χειροτονίας τῶν ἱερέων μετὰ πάσης ἀκριβείας (cum omni diligentia et rigore) προσήκει γίνεσθαι, διδάσκει ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Γρηγόριος, ὁ θεολόγος, ἐπόμενος τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀποστόλοις, καὶ θεοῖς κανόσι . . . τοῖς οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν θείων κανόνων ὀρισθεῖσιν ἀκολουθοῦντες, τὸν παρόντα ποιούμεθα νόμον, κ.τ.λ.—[*ibid.*, c. 2.]

6. That ecclesiastical canons derive their authority and obligatory nature, not from the civil power, but from councils and the determinations of bishops. HUGHES  
DISSERT. III.

And from all these particulars I farther argue, that the Church of Christ under the Christian emperors retained a legislative power committed to it by Jesus Christ Himself; and consequently that it is a true society distinct from the civil; and therefore is not by any means blended and confounded with the civil society.

III. My last argument is drawn from the contests which have happened between the emperors and bishops; and of this very briefly.

It is a thing most notorious, that there were the greatest controversies and the most grievous contentions between the Arian emperors and the Catholic bishops. And it will make very much for our purpose, if we rightly understand, how the bishops behaved themselves towards the emperors; what powers they claimed as due to them by divine right; and on the contrary what they owned to have received from the emperors. Our question is stated concerning the matter of fact, viz., whether the Christian society was so incorporated with the supreme civil power, as that all the rights of the Church depended upon the secular magistrate: or whether it reserved to itself spiritual powers entire and untouched. Now this will appear most evidently from these contests.

First therefore let us hear St. Athanasius himself, the great ornament and support of the Christian faith. In his Epistle to such as lived a solitary life, this most holy confessor writes thus"; "The bishops hearing these things, (viz., the emperor's menaces,) and being very much astonished, lifted up their hands to God, and proposed their reasons to the emperor with very great freedom, informing him that the kingdom was not his, but God's, who had given it to him, whom they prayed him to fear, lest He should suddenly take it away again: and threatened him with the day of judgment; and advised him not to corrupt their ecclesiastical

<sup>π</sup> ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἐπίσκοποι, πάνυ γε θαυμάσαντες, καὶ τὰς χεῖρας ἀνατείναντες πρὸς τὸν θεὸν πολλῇ τῇ κατὰ αὐτοῦ παρρησίᾳ μετὰ λόγων ἐχρήσαντο, διδάσκοντες μὴ εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐ-

τοῦ ἀλλὰ τοῦ δεδωκότος θεοῦ, ὃν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἤξιων, μὴ ἐξαίφνης αὐτὴν ἀφέληται. ἠπέλουν τε τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως, καὶ συνεβούλευον αὐτῷ μὴ διαφθεῖρειν τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά, μηδὲ ἐγκατα-

rights; nor blend the Roman empire with the decrees of the Church." And again: "For when," says he, "were such things heard from the beginning of the world? When did the judgment of the Church receive its authority from the emperor? Or when was this ever owned as a judgment? There have been many synods before now, and many judgments or determinations of the Church; but neither did the fathers ever address themselves to the emperor in these things: nor did the emperor concern himself with the affairs of the Church<sup>x</sup>." From these words of the most holy father it is evident beyond contradiction, that the fathers of the fourth century were of opinion, that the Church is a society subsisting of itself, separate from that of the State. They thought that it belonged to none but the bishops to determine controversies of faith: they judged it a very heinous crime for the emperor to concern himself in matters of this nature. This was the opinion of that most excellent and courageous prelate, who was perfectly well acquainted with the nature of the Christian religion, and maintained it with the greatest constancy. He had not the least suspicion of any authority in ecclesiastical matters that appertained to the civil magistrate, nor of the confusion of those two powers.

Next to St. Athanasius let us hear Hosius the famous bishop of Corduba, a man truly great, and eminent both for piety and constancy of mind; though at last wearied out with old age and misery, he left a memorable example of human weakness.

In an Epistle which he wrote to Constantius himself, there is this passage most worthy of a primitive bishop<sup>y</sup>: "Forbear, I beseech you, and remember that you are a mortal man; dread the day of judgment, and preserve yourself pure

μίσειεν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν τῇ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαταγῇ.—[S. Athan. Hist. Arian. ad Monachos, § 34. Op., tom. i. pp. 363, E. sqq.]

<sup>x</sup> πότε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἠκούσθη τοιαῦτα; πότε κρίσις ἐκκλησίας παρὰ (τοῦ) βασιλέως ἔσχε τὸ κύρος, ἢ ὅλως ἐγνώσθη (τοῦτο) τὸ κρίμα; πολλαὶ σύνοδοι πρὸ τούτου γεγόνασι· πολλὰ κρίματα τῆς ἐκκλησίας γέγονεν· ἀλλ' οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ἐπέισάν ποτε περὶ τούτων

Βασιλεία οὔτε βασιλεὺς τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας περιεργάσατο.—[Id., *ibid.*, § 52. p. 376, A.]

<sup>y</sup> παῦσαι, παρακαλῶ, καὶ μνησθητι, ὅτι θνητὸς ἄνθρωπος τυγχάνεις· φοβήθητι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως, φύλαξον σεαυτὸν εἰς ἐκείνην καθαρὸν· μὴ τίθει σεαυτὸν εἰς τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικά, μηδὲ σὺ περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν παρακελεύου· ἀλλὰ μάλλον παρ' ἡμῶν σὺ μάνθανε ταῦτα· σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχείρισεν. ἡμῖν τὰ

against that day. Do not concern yourself in the affairs of the Church, nor lay any commands upon us in such matters; but rather learn such things from us. God has invested you with the kingdom, but has entrusted ecclesiastical matters with us: and as he that secretly invades your government, resists the ordinance of God; so do you also beware, lest by drawing to yourself those things which belong to the Church, you become guilty of a great crime. It is written, Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's. Neither therefore is it lawful for us to govern upon earth, nor have you, O emperor, power to offer incense." He admirably agrees with St. Athanasius. He repeats almost the same words, and most expressly distinguisheth between the regal authority and the sacerdotal. As it is a crime for the bishop to snatch the reins of the empire, so it is a crime for the king to usurp the rights of the bishop.

The last I shall mention is Lucifer bishop of Cagliari, a most strenuous defender of the Nicene faith, and of the discipline of the Church. This bishop of Cagliari wrote three bold Epistles<sup>z</sup>, and such as shewed the spirit of a bishop throughout. He sent these Epistles to the emperor Constantius, to plead in behalf of St. Athanasius. In the first of them there are these words<sup>a</sup>: "Confess yourself a Christian, join with us in execrating the sect of the Arians, raised by the device of the devil; believe as we believe, who are bishops deriving our succession from the blessed Apostles; confess the only Son of God, as they confessed Him, and as we confess Him; and you shall obtain the pardon of so great crimes." And a little after: "It is not to be wondered at,

τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίστευσε· καὶ ὡσπερ ὁ  
τῆν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποκλέπτων ἀντιλέγει  
τῷ διαταξαμένῳ θεῷ· οὕτω φοβήθητι, μὴ  
καὶ σὺ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἔλ-  
κων, ὑπεύθυνος ἐγκλήματι μεγάλῳ γένη·  
ἀπόδοτε, γέγραπται, τὰ Καίσαρος Καί-  
σαρι, καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, τῷ θεῷ· οὔτε τοί-  
νυν ἡμῖν ἄρχειν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔξεστιν οὔτε  
σὺ τοῦ θνιῶν ἐξουσίαν ἔχεις, βασιλεῦ.  
—[Hosii Epist., *ibid.*, § 44. p. 371, A, B.]

<sup>z</sup> [There are only two "books" of the work pro S. Athanasio here referred to; they are addressed to Constantius, as are the other treatises of Lucifer of

Cagliari; but his epistles are not.]

<sup>a</sup> Fateri te Christianum; execrare nobiscum catervam commento diaboli quesitam Arianorum; crede sicuti credimus nos, qui ex beatorum apostolorum successione sumus episcopi: confitere unicum Dei filium, sicuti illi confessi sunt et nos confitemur, et veniam consequeris tantorum scelerum. . . . Non mirandum quandoquidem scriptum teneamus, 'sanctus autem immundus est apud malos,' vobis malignis displicet is, qui Deo placeat, tibi præsertim temerario et superbo, qui teme-



since we remember it is written: 'He that is holy is vile among the wicked;' he that pleases God displeaseth all you that are impious, and you especially who are rash and proud, and are hence known to be rash and proud, because you have stretched out your hands against the ordinance of God; because you thought that the apostolic tradition was to be destroyed; and because you determined to reduce the bishops under your jurisdiction, under whose care you ought to demean yourself."

See with what an infinite cloud of most undeniable witnesses we are encompassed on all sides. Whether we consider the holy fathers in their private works, or appeal to councils both general and provincial, or regard the testimonies of the emperors themselves, or lastly, have respect to those various and unhappy contests which arose between the Arian emperors and the orthodox bishops, from all these particulars it is most clearly demonstrated that the Christian society, from the times of Constantine, did never incorporate with the civil government, but always remained entire and distinct.

## DISSERTATION IV.

THE RIGHT OF EXCOMMUNICATION BELONGS TO THE CHRISTIAN  
CHURCH BY DIVINE RIGHT.

<sup>1</sup> ["the,"  
ed. 3.]

In the former Dissertations I have, I hope, fully and copiously proved that the Christian Church is a<sup>1</sup> true and proper society, distinct and separate from the civil society, and administered by governors of her own; and from those premises it always appeared to me to follow that the right of excommunication belongs to her; for we must either deny that the Church of Christ is a society, which the followers of Erastus are for the most part used to deny, or if we grant this, we must also acknowledge that this society comprises in it a power of excommunicating. Nothing can be imagined more clear and evident than this; and yet such is the

rarius hinc intelligeris ac superbus, quod contra Dei ordinationem tetenderis manus; quod apostolicam traditionem putaveris destruendam; quod episcopos, sub quorum te sollicitudine agere oport-

tuat, sub tuam ditionem censueris redigendos.—[Luciferi Caralitani pro S. Athan., lib. i. c. 33. ap. Biblioth. Patrum, Galland., tom. vi. pp. 169, B, 170, B.]

wicked perverseness of mankind, that there are not wanting such as do not only deny this power to the Church, but also maintain with great vehemence that it is both ridiculous and absurd. And indeed they have endeavoured with the greatest zeal and earnestness to shew that this tyrannical opinion, as they are pleased to call it, cannot be defended either by reason, or by the holy Scriptures, or by the example and authority of the primitive Church. For this reason I might seem to be very much wanting to my purpose if I should pass by a controversy of so great moment and importance without taking notice of it. It shall therefore be my province to shew clearly and distinctly, and yet in a few words, how much support this cause of ours receives both from reason, and from holy Scripture, and lastly from the examples of the purest ages; and I cannot but entertain the strongest hopes that all these do make very much for us and our case.

I affirm, therefore, that the right of excommunication belongs to the Church by divine right, and this I shall endeavour to prove from these following arguments.

I. My first argument shall be drawn from the very nature of society. That the Christian religion is a true and proper, although it be a spiritual society, is so clear and evident that nothing can be more. For it is not by any means sufficient for our salvation to give credit to the Gospel, and conform our lives according to the moral precepts contained therein: it is also necessary for us to join ourselves to the Church of Christ, that we may partake of the Sacraments which Christ instituted for that end that they may be conveyances of grace to us, without which we cannot please God. To say all in one word: Jesus Christ, God-man, by the merits of His passion, has obtained for us reconciliation and forgiveness of sins; but He has so annexed this forgiveness of sins to His Sacraments instituted in His Church, that we must not so much as hope for this forgiveness without the participation of those Sacraments. And this sufficiently demonstrates the Christian religion to be a true and proper society.

It cannot be denied that every society whatsoever has all those things which are necessarily required to preserve the society safe and entire; but for preserving a society safe and entire it is in the first place required that it have a power of

receiving worthy and fit persons into the society, and of turning out such as are refractory and unworthy. All men must necessarily grant me this. Without this power it is not possible for any, even the least society, to subsist.

The Christian Church is a true and proper society; therefore it is necessary that the Christian Church have the same power of admitting worthy and fit persons, and of ejecting, that is, of excommunicating such as are obstinate.

Hence, likewise, we may collect that this power of excommunication appertains to the Church by divine right. For since the Christian Church is a true and proper society, founded by God Himself, it most evidently follows that God has granted to this society all those privileges which are necessary to preserve it as a society. Therefore it was very well observed by the learned Grotius<sup>b</sup>, that for the asserting of this power to the Church of Christ it is not necessary to descend to particular passages of holy Scripture. This is abundantly demonstrated from the very nature of society. And indeed this right of excommunicating appears so necessary, I will not say to the Christian Church, but to every religion whatsoever, that you will hardly find one sect or way of worship, even among the heathen, that does not enjoy the like privilege. We are informed by Julius Cæsar<sup>c</sup> that the Druids were wont to exclude those from their sacrifices who did not observe their decrees. In Philip of Macedon's Epistle to the Athenians we read, "that the people were so exasperated against the Megarenses, because they had killed Anthemocritus, as to exclude them from their mysteries<sup>d</sup>." And the scholiast of Aristophanes observes, "that it was the custom that murderers should not partake of the sacrifices<sup>e</sup>." Nicolaus Damascenus says of the Cerceti, a people of India, "that they shut out from their holy rites such as had any way injured them<sup>f</sup>." It is a thing most notorious, that before the sacrifices were slain a crier made proclamation with

<sup>b</sup> [The Editor has not been able to find the statement here attributed to Grotius.]

<sup>c</sup> [Cæsar de Bell. Gall., lib. v. c. 13.]

<sup>d</sup> εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθεν ὁ δῆμος, ὥστε μυστηρίων μὲν εἶργειν αὐτούς.—[Epist. Philippi, ap. Demosth., p. 159, 21.]

<sup>e</sup> κατὰ τὸ ἔθος οἱ ἀνδροφόνοι μὴ με-

ταλαμβάνουσι τῶν θυσιῶν.—[Schol. in Aristoph. This passage the Editor has not succeeded in finding.]

<sup>f</sup> τοὺς ἀδικήσαντας ὅτι οὐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπέργουσι.—[Nicolai Damasceni Fragmenta, περὶ ἑθῶν συναγωγῆς, ad calc. Æliani Hist. Var. p. 310. Lips. 1819; et ap. Stobæum, tit. xlv. 41.]

a loud voice, "Away, far away ye profane<sup>g</sup>," "Shut the doors upon the profane<sup>h</sup>." From all which it most evidently appears that all sects of men whatever have enjoyed this power, viz., "of excluding from the sacrifices the profane, the impure, the unholy," and of ejecting them out of their society. Such instances do by no means prove what this vile factor of the atheists would prove from them, that the Christian Church borrowed this tyrannical custom, as he calls it, from the heathen; but they manifestly prove that excommunication is so necessary to all sorts of religion, that the heathen themselves did by the light of nature both find out and exercise that power. Indeed it appears to me very hard and unjust to deny the Christian religion (which was constituted by Christ Himself) that very power which the wiser heathens most freely allowed even to the foolishlest religions in the world.

Supposing, therefore, that the Christian religion is a true society, no man that has not finally bid adieu to all modesty can deny that the right of excommunication belongs to it by divine right.

And here, peradventure, those various instances mentioned in sacred writ might not be improperly alleged, by which it appears that the Apostles themselves exercised this power for which we contend. I will content myself with only one of them, that of the incestuous Corinthian. St. Paul reproves the Corinthians<sup>i</sup>, that they had not mourned for that wicked person who was just going to be removed from the Church, for the holy Apostle had resolved to take away this most grievous sinner from among them, to cast him out of the Church, and "to deliver him unto Satan." But for what purpose was this? To what end does the Apostle do it? To wit, that the incestuous person being broken and softened by this severe discipline might return to a better life; that the Church might suffer no damage; that the sounder part might not be infected with this corrupt example, for rotten fruit is apt to affect that which is sound, and

<sup>g</sup> [ἐκάς, ἐκάς, ὅστις ἀλιτρός.—Callimachi Hymn. in Apollinem, lin. 2. Servius on Virg. *Æn.* vi. 258, quotes as from Callimachus, ἐκάς, ἐκάς ἔστε βέβηλοι, and the words are commonly so quoted.]

<sup>h</sup> [θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε βεβήλοις (al. βεβήλοι.)—Orphei Fragm. i. 1. ap. S. Just. M. Cohort. ad Græc., c. xv. Op., p. 18. ed. Ben. See the note there for the other places in which it is quoted.]

<sup>i</sup> 1 Cor. v. 2.



bad example does wonderfully weaken such as stagger and are infirm, and gives a tincture even to the best. "A little leaven," says the Apostle, "leaveneth the whole lump<sup>k</sup>." Let us now consider, if you please, the reason of the apostolic censure. The incestuous person is by the Apostle's command thrown out of the Church of Corinth, that is to say, is excommunicated. And he is excommunicated for these two reasons. 1st. That he might repent and return to the right way. 2ndly. That with his pollution he might not infect other Christians, particularly such as were weak. But these very reasons will always continue the same in the Christian Church; therefore this power of excommunicating will be always necessary in this Church.

I cannot here pass by in silence a famous objection first made by Erastus himself, and since stolen from him by all that have pleaded the same cause. The objection is this, that none ought to be excluded from the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, because no such command occurs in the holy Scriptures: nay, if they, good men, are not miserably mistaken, we find commands there which are directly contrary. "Let a man examine himself," says the Apostle, "and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup<sup>l</sup>." None must approach unworthily to the holy table; but it is in the power of each particular Christian to judge whether he be unworthy or no. The Church has no authority in this matter, say they; the bishops have none. This objection, as much as it may at first sight appear to favour the Erastians, has nothing solid in it, and is very easily confuted. For

I will take this for granted, which I have most fully proved, that the right of excommunication belongs to the Church: if, therefore, the Christian Church can exclude out of her society persons that are wicked and profligate, she can also reject them from the holy Eucharist. The participation of this blessed Sacrament is the greatest privilege of the Christian Church: but he that is for a just cause deprived of the holy society of the Church is also deservedly deprived of the participation of this Sacrament. Our adversaries, therefore, who make this objection, do nothing but

<sup>k</sup> μικρὰ ζύμη ὅλον τὸ φύραμα ζυμοῖ. 1 Cor. v. 6.<sup>l</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 28.

miserably trifle; for they must either prove that the Church of Christ cannot cut off her rotten members with the spiritual sword, or remain eternally silent, and at least with their silence confess themselves overcome.

II. My second argument I take from baptism: "Go ye, therefore," says our blessed Saviour to His Apostles, "and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you<sup>m</sup>." From these words it is plain that Jesus Christ gave His Apostles and their successors command, by this Sacrament of Baptism, to admit all persons whatsoever into the Church, with this condition and proviso, that they should promise most religiously to observe all things whatsoever Christ had commanded. For which reason the Apostles had, and their successors have not only power of administering baptism, but also power of judging who are worthy to be admitted into the spiritual society and who are incapable and unworthy. Those whom they judge worthy they do by baptism most willingly make partakers of the heavenly rewards; but such as they find to be unworthy they either wholly reject or subject them to farther discipline. And that the primitive Church always exercised this power is abundantly manifest from that severe and most wholesome discipline which was observed with regard to the catechumens, that is, such as were candidates for baptism. They were admitted into the Church very late: first exercised during a space of many years; macerated with continual fasting; instructed and confirmed by frequent exhortations; after all which they obtained the freedom of the Christian city. Now from this power I argue that the Church has right of excommunication; for it is one and the same power, but administered after a various manner, and by a different method. They who have power of denying admission by baptism to such as they shall judge to be unfit or incapable, have not they also power of expelling them that are admitted if they prove contumacious, if they violate and trample under their feet

<sup>m</sup> πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς, καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τοῦ

ἁγίου πνεύματος· διδάσκοντες αὐτοὺς τηρεῖν πάντα ὅσα ἐνετειλάμην ὑμῖν. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20.

the fundamental conditions of the society? If we allow them one of these powers the other will follow of course, and cannot be denied them. Since, therefore, it is agreed on all sides that Jesus Christ committed power to the clergy to admit all such persons into His Church as they should find to be fit and worthy, it cannot be doubted but He also gave them power to cut off from it such as should prove wicked and contumacious.

III. My third argument is borrowed from the holy Scripture. "And I will give unto thee" (says our blessed Saviour to St. Peter) "the keys of the kingdom of heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven<sup>n</sup>."

I assert, that in these words Jesus Christ committed to His Church a full power of excommunicating.

It is, if I am not mistaken, sufficiently agreed among Protestants, that the power which is comprehended in these words, whatsoever that power be, was not delivered to St. Peter alone, as the Papists maintain; but did likewise belong to all the rest of the Apostles without exception.

It will also be granted me, that this power did not expire with the Apostles; but is to continue to the end of the world. Having premised this, I shall now apply myself to explain the words themselves. But for the more clear understanding of our Saviour's meaning, we must remember that these words, which He made use of in this place, were taken from Isaiah's prophecy<sup>o</sup>, where there is this passage:

"And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder: so he shall open and none shall shut; and he shall shut and none shall open." The prophet speaks of Eliakim the son of Hilkiah, who the Lord foretold should come to the kingdom of Israel. Isaiah describes to us the kingdom, or the right of governing, by the key of the house of David, and the power of opening and shutting. It is very manifest, that these expressions denote the highest exercise of royal authority. And therefore what man in his senses can doubt,

<sup>n</sup> καὶ δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς· καὶ ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται

λελυμένον ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. Matt. xvi. 19.

<sup>o</sup> Isa. xxii. 22.

but these very words used by our blessed Saviour, since they are so apparently taken from this passage of Isaiah, do signify a certain royal authority in that spiritual kingdom, the foundation of which He was going to lay in His own blood?

What, I beseech you, can be understood by the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and by the power of opening and shutting, but the highest exercise of government? If the passage be taken in this sense, there is nothing in it, but what is clear and perspicuous: but if the words are wrested to any other meaning, they will appear harsh, foolish, and ridiculous.

But the followers of Erastus object, that the expressions of loosing and binding do signify nothing else but the explication of what is lawful or not lawful. And this is explained by preaching the gospel of Christ. Such expressions occur very frequently in the Mishnah and Talmud, and in the Rabbinical writers, as Dr. Lightfoot, an author of very great knowledge in that kind of learning, has by a long induction of examples shewn upon this very text<sup>p</sup>. I own that this is the common subterfuge, to which all our adversaries have recourse. This objection is made by Erastus, and Selden, and all the other writers against the Christian priesthood. But as plausible as it may appear, I make no doubt of utterly overthrowing it.

I acknowledge that the expressions of binding and loosing are used by the Talmudists in this sense: but I positively deny that these words, as they are used by our Saviour, are to be interpreted the same way: for

1st. It is to no purpose to produce so many examples of this kind out of the Rabbins, as Dr. Lightfoot has done, even till one is sick of them, though otherwise a man of great learning, yet too much addicted to the dreams of the Gemara: for (as the learned Mr. Dodwell observes) “ever since the use of the sacerdotal power has been lost among the Jews, they have also lost the very knowledge of that power.” Therefore it is of little importance in this controversy, what these expressions signify in the Talmudists. Who does not know, that the Rabbins have ever since the destruction of the temple been groping in more than Egyptian darkness; and have

<sup>p</sup> [Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr. in Matt. xvi. 19.* Works, vol. ii. pp. 206, 207.]



invented I know not what monstrous fictions, with which their writings do every where abound ?

Such declarations as these are derived from the 630 precepts, and from that power which the Jewish priests had of explaining and determining all things, which the law of Moses<sup>q</sup> had not determined, as may be seen in Deuteronomy. But since these 630 precepts are abolished by the gospel of Christ, and that power which was exercised by the Jewish priests does nowhere appear, it is not any way possible that we should thus interpret this passage. Nay it is necessary that we find out another interpretation of it, and that altogether different from this.

2ndly. Besides it ought to be observed (for it is certainly most observable) that this power of binding or loosing is the power of the keys. As often as the priest either binds or looses a sinner, he uses the keys of the kingdom of heaven, he shuts and opens. I desire therefore that we may be allowed to explain the expressions of binding and loosing, which may seem obscure, by that of the keys of the kingdom of heaven, which is most clear and perspicuous. And then nothing can be more evident, than that by the keys of the kingdom of heaven is meant the government and power of the Christian Church : for which reason I must insist upon it, that the expressions of binding and loosing be so understood as to agree with this power of the keys. This is farther confirmed by that passage of St. John, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost : whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained<sup>r</sup>." To bind therefore and to loose is the same as to remit sins and to retain them. And indeed in all the New Testament "to remit or forgive sins<sup>s</sup>" signifies nothing else but to wipe out sins, to abolish both the punishment and guilt of them, and that authoritatively. "Son be of good cheer," says our blessed Saviour to the man sick of the palsy, "thy sins be forgiven thee<sup>t</sup>."

3rdly. I am thoroughly persuaded, that the explication which I have given of this place is true ; because it is con-

<sup>q</sup> Deut. xvii. 12.

<sup>r</sup> λάβετε πνεῦμα ἅγιον· ἂν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ἀφιένται αὐτοῖς· ἂν τινων κρατῆτε, κεκράτηνται. John xx.

22, 23.

<sup>s</sup> ἀφιέναι ἁμαρτίας.

<sup>t</sup> θάρσει, τέκνον, ἀφέωνται σοι αἱ ἁμαρτίαι σου. Matt. ix. 2.

firmed both by the opinion and by the practice of the primitive Church. The Catholic Church has always claimed this authority from the times of the Apostles down to ours; and as often as occasion required has exercised it.

The primitive Church always laid claim to this power of excommunication; and claimed it as committed to the Church by Jesus Christ in this very passage: and which is yet more, did not only always exercise this power, but accused all those of heresy who attempted either to take it away or to weaken it. This is most evidently attested both by the Montanists and by the Novatians.

That the primitive Church claimed this authority will appear, 1st. From the most express testimonies of the fathers. 2ndly. From the penitential canons, which almost all councils, as well general as provincial, have made. 3rdly. From the schisms which in the most ancient times were formed upon this occasion, viz., those of Montanus and Novatian.

1st. Let us look into the most express testimonies of the holy fathers. Tertullian in the Apology<sup>u</sup> which he drew up for the Christian faith, describes the Church of Christ after this manner: "We are a body from the agreement of our religion, and the unity of our discipline, and the covenant of hope. There," that is in the sacred assembly, "there are exhortations, reproofs, and a divine censure: for judgment is passed with great solemnity, as among persons persuaded of God's presence at the sentence; and it is a very great prejudice, or ruled case against the future judgment, if any one have so offended as to be banished from the communication of prayers, from the public assembly, and from all sacred commerce." From this one passage, which is so very full and express, these three particulars may, I think, be very easily deduced. 1st. That the power of excommunicating such as were contumacious prevailed in the age of Tertullian. 2ndly. That this was a primary part of the Christian discipline, which they did not institute by any compact among themselves, but received as delivered down to them from the very

<sup>u</sup> Corpus sumus de conscientia religionis, et disciplinæ unitate, et spei fœdere. . . . Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu, summum-

que futuri iudicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut a communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegatur.—[Tertull. Apol. c. 28. (al. 39.) Op., p. 31, A.]

Apostles. 3rdly. That the effect of excommunication was, that it excluded from the kingdom of heaven: for it was the highest predetermination of the future judgment, if any one did so offend, as to be banished from all sacred commerce.

Next to Tertullian let us hear his scholar St. Cyprian, in whom we meet with so many and such excellent passages in proof of the authority of the Church, that it is difficult to determine which we ought chiefly to make choice of. This most holy martyr wrote a whole book concerning the lapsed, in which he rebukes them with great severity for daring to receive the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper so hastily and rashly, before they had performed their penance. The whole argument of this book supposes, that the Church has power to shut out from the holy communion such as are unworthy, and have the stains of grievous sins upon them, until they have cleansed themselves by due penance, and made themselves worthy of the most holy mysteries. He inveighs most severely against the lapsed; and asserts, that they "had offered violence to the body and blood of Christ<sup>s</sup>, in that they had communicated before their crimes were expiated; before they had made confession of their sin; before their conscience was purged with the sacrifice and absolution of the bishop." And almost at the end of the book, he earnestly exhorts them<sup>y</sup>, "every one to confess his sin, while he is still in this life; while his confession may be admitted; and while the satisfaction and remission administered by priests is acceptable to God." In his tenth Epistle he treats upon the same subject, and has these words<sup>z</sup>: "For seeing the sinners do for less sins perform penance for a certain time, and according to the order of discipline come to confession, and by imposition of hands from the bishop and clergy receive right of communicating," &c.

<sup>x</sup> Ante expiata delicta, ante exomologesin factam criminis, ante purgatam conscientiam sacrificio et manu sacerdotis (ante offensam placatam indignantis Domini et minantis) vis inferitur corpori ejus et sanguini.—[S. Cypr. de Lapsis. Op., p. 186.]

<sup>y</sup> Confiteantur singuli (quæso vos fratres dilecti) . . . delictum suum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in seculo est; dum admitti confessio ejus potest; dum

satisfactio et remissio facta per sacerdotes apud Dominum grata est.—[Id., ibid., pp. 190, 191.]

<sup>z</sup> Nam cum in minoribus peccatis agant peccatores pœnitentiam justo tempore, et secundum disciplinæ ordinem ad exomologesin veniant, et per manus impositionem episcopi et cleri jus communicationis accipiant, &c.—[Id. Epist. ix. (x. ed. Pamel.) ad Presbyteros, 18.]

From these two passages it manifestly appears that it was the practice of the Church in the age of St. Cyprian to debar sinners from the Eucharist; to lay them under ecclesiastical censures till they had performed the penance imposed upon them; and after that by imposition of hands, from either the bishop or presbyter, to admit them to the participation of the holy Communion.

Having thus shewn from most clear passages both of Tertullian and St. Cyprian that this power of excommunication was administered in the third century, let us go farther back to the fathers of the second, and even of the first century, who all acknowledge the same discipline.

St. Irenæus relates<sup>a</sup> that the wife of a certain deacon having been corrupted and defiled by Marcion the heretic (and magician), did at last, by the great labour of her friends, return to a good life, and “spent all her time in confessing, and lamenting, and bewailing the defilement which she had suffered from the magician.” The word *ἐξομολόγησις*, as Morinus learnedly observes, sometimes denotes only that part of penance which we commonly call confession: but sometimes it signifies the whole course of penance, finished and perfect in all its parts; and in my opinion confession is to be taken in this latter sense, and then Irenæus’s meaning will be that this unhappy woman was never reconciled to the Church, but spent all the remaining part of her life in penance, prayers, tears, and fasting. And indeed this agrees perfectly well with the discipline of the primitive Church, which never admitted the more grievous sinners (such as idolaters and the like) to her communion till the very moment before their death. No man of learning, and conversant in the sacred monuments of the Church, can doubt but this passage of St. Irenæus does abundantly prove that the power of excommunication obtained at that time. It will not be foreign to my purpose to write down what Feuarentius has observed upon the place. “The Greek and Latin fathers,” says he<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> αὐτὴ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἐξομολογουμένη διετέλεσε, πενθοῦσα καὶ θρηνοῦσα, ἐφ’ ἣ ἐπαθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ μάγου διαφθορᾶ. — [S. Iren. adv. Hær., lib. i. c. 13. § 5. p. 63.]

<sup>b</sup> Magno consensu Græci et Latini patres confessionem illam, qua quis

post baptismum se multorum peccatorum reum ingenue agnoscit, non solum coram Deo, aut generali facta confessione; sed et coram eis qui ecclesiæ præsumt, et quæ apertam distinctamque continet delictorum enumerationem, exhomologesin vocarunt. Hanc



“have very unanimously called that exomologesis or confession by which any one does after baptism ingenuously own himself to be guilty of many sins, not only before God, or by making a general confession, but also before the governors of the Church, so as to comprise an open and distinct enumeration of all his offences. And that this is by Christ’s prescription, and the practice of the Apostles, and the consent of all the Churches throughout the world, a necessary means to wash away sins, and the second plank as it were after shipwreck, is evident from this chapter.” Besides he cites St. Augustine’s forty-ninth homily<sup>c</sup>, Tertullian *de Pœnitentia*<sup>d</sup>, and St. Cyprian *de Lapsis*<sup>e</sup>. “From all which,” as the very learned Dr. Grabe has judiciously observed, “the most ancient practice and the usefulness of that kind of confession may be gathered, but not the absolute necessity of it to wash off the stain of sin<sup>f</sup>.”

But let us go up a little higher. If I be not mistaken, St. Hermas in his Pastor will discover to us very clear footsteps of this discipline. In his second book, in that section where he speaks of putting away an adulteress, there is this passage: “What if the woman that is put away should repent, and have a mind to return to her husband, shall not she be received by her husband? And he said to me, Yes, if her husband shall not receive her he sins, and commits a great crime; for he ought to receive a sinner that has repented, but not often, for there is but one repentance to the servants of God<sup>g</sup>.” Without all controversy this most ancient writer must be understood concerning the public repentance, by which a sinner is reconciled to the Church, for he says that

vero Christi præscripto, apostolorum usu, et universarum per orbem ecclesiarum consensu, ad eluenda peccata necessariam remedium esse, et secundam a naufragio tabulam, ex hoc capite apertum est.—[Feuardent. not. in S. Iren., *ibid.*, p. 70. ed. Grab.]

<sup>c</sup> [S. Aug. Sermo ccxcii. ad conjugatos (al. Quinq. Homil. xlix.) § 8. Op., tom. v. col. 150t, E.]

<sup>d</sup> [Tantum relevat, &c.—Tertull. de Pœnit., c. 8, 9. Op., pp. 126, D. 127, A.]

<sup>e</sup> [Videt ille corda, &c.—S. Cyprian. de Lapsis. Op., p. 190.]

<sup>f</sup> Ex his usus antiquissimus, atque

utilitas ejusmodi confessionis, non autem absoluta ad eluendam peccatorum maculam necessitas colligi potest.—[Grab. Annot. in S. Iren., *ibid.*, ed. Oxon. 1702.]

<sup>g</sup> Quid si mulier dimissa pœnitentiam egerit et voluerit ad virum suum reverti, nonne recipietur a viro suo? et dixit mihi, imo, si non receperit eam vir suus, peccat, et magnum peccatum sibi admittit: sed debet recipere peccatricem, quæ pœnitentiam egit; sed non sæpe; servis enim Dei pœnitentia una est.—S. Hermæ Pastor., lib. ii. mand. 4. [Patr. Apost., tom. i. pp. 87, sqq.]

there is but one repentance to the servants of God: now who ever affirmed that of private repentance, which regards God only? Nay, the Novatians themselves granted that in the infinite mercy of God there was hope placed for all men, even for the most grievous sinners; but they denied that after baptism any one guilty of very grievous sins ought to be received to the communion of the Church. Daillé, to the best of my remembrance, or Blondel, or one of that famous triumvirate who have waged a most deadly war against the holy fathers, accuses St. Ilermas of Novatianism for this one sentence, that “there is only one repentance to the servants of God.” But the learned man is under a wretched mistake, and seems not to have sufficiently comprehended in what chiefly the error of Novatian consisted. Both the Catholics and the Novatians acknowledge that all sins whatsoever are wholly washed away and abolished by the most wholesome laver of baptism; but the Novatians maintain that a man falling after baptism into a grievous and mortal sin has no hope left, that there is no returning for him into the Church; from which, therefore, they utterly cast him out, and think he is to be left to the mercy of God only. On the contrary, it was always asserted by the Catholic Church that repentance is not to be denied to any sinner, and that the gates of the Church ought always to lie open to all contrite hearts and truly humble souls. Yet we must own that many, very many of the most ancient fathers, were of opinion that it was not by any means safe to allow a second repentance to idolaters and such like grievous sinners. Of this number was St. Ilermas Pastor: but consider the vast difference between the Novatians and the Catholics. The Novatians allowed of no repentance after baptism: the Catholics permitted one repentance to all, even the most grievous sinners: and some that were of a milder disposition than ordinary, and more sensible of the weakness of human nature, indulged a frequent repetition of that repentance. But let us hear what Petavius, a man of very great learning, determines concerning the error of Novatian, in his notes upon Epiphanius, where he treats of that heresy. “We must know<sup>h</sup>,”

<sup>h</sup> Sciendum est non pro eo, quod lapsos ad communionem et ecclesiasticam pacem admittendos negarent, Novatum et Novatianum hæreticos habi-

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says he, "that Novatus and Novatian were accounted heretics, and banished from the Catholic Church, not because they denied that the lapsed were to be admitted to the communion and peace of the Church, but because they perfidiously and inhumanly asserted that the Church had no right to reconcile such and forgive them. The Novatians, I say, were condemned as heretics, because, to omit their other errors, they took the power of the keys, as it is called, away from the Church and clergy. Otherwise to banish for ever from the Church the lapsed, that is, such as were polluted with the contagion of idolatry, was not as yet known to be an heretical decree. Besides, that in those ancient and flourishing times of the Church some certain degrees of sinners were banished from communion, and that for ever, is declared by very many councils and testimonies of the holy fathers." Thus that great author Petavius, who as he was conversant in all sorts of learning, so there is none in which he did not excel.

Therefore there is no reason to accuse St. Hermas of Novatianism. For this certainly we are obliged to him, that he has so evidently proved public penance to have been both known and practised in the very times of the Apostles.

All this may be confirmed from the apostolical canons, as they are commonly called. That the Apostles themselves were the authors of these canons no man in his wits can so much as dream. But that they are very ancient, and contain the usages of the primitive Church in the second and third centuries, has been demonstrated by so many and such convincing arguments by the great Bishop Beveridge<sup>i</sup>, that there is not the least room left to doubt it. The twelfth canon is in these words<sup>k</sup>: "If any clergyman or laic that is

tos, atque ab ecclesia catholica proscrip-  
tos fuisse; sed quod nullum ad eos  
reconciliandos, condonandaque delicta  
jus in ecclesia esse perfidiose et cru-  
deliter asseverarent. Quod, inquam,  
clavium, ut vocant, potestatem ecclesie  
ac sacerdotibus detraherent, ut reliquos  
eorundem errores omittam, Novatiani  
hæretici damnati sunt. Alioquin lapsos,  
id est, idololatriæ contagione pol-  
lutos, in perpetuum ab ecclesia sum-  
movere, nondum pro hæretico decreto  
cognitum fuerat. Quinetiam præcis

illis florentis ecclesie temporibus, cer-  
tis peccatorum generibus communione  
interdictum, et quidem perpetuo fuisse,  
quamplurima concilia, et sanctorum  
patrum testimonia declarant.—[Dion.  
Petavii Animad. ad Hær. lix. Nova-  
tiani. ad calc. S. Epiph. Op., tom. ii.  
p. 227.]

<sup>i</sup> [Codex Canonum Ecclesie Primi-  
tivæ Vindicatus, Gul. Beveregio. Lond.  
1678; Oxford, 1848.]

<sup>k</sup> εἴ τις κληρικὸς ἢ λαϊκὸς ἀφωρισμέ-  
νος, ἦτοι ἄδεκτος, ἀπελθὼν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πό-

excommunicated, or not yet received into communion, shall go and be received in another city without communicatory letters, let both him that receives him be excommunicated and him that is received. But if he were excommunicated before let his excommunication be extended to a longer time." From this single canon may be drawn a new argument, grounded on those letters of form which the canon styles *γράμματα συστατικά*, "communicatory" or "recommendatory letters." By the use of these letters those venerable prelates did admirably consult the unity of the Church. He that communicated with any one Church had right to communicate with all the Churches dispersed and scattered over all the face of the whole earth. He that was cut off from any one Church could be received by no other. Now from whence was this? Whence came it that all the Churches throughout the world agreed in this point, to preserve so strict an unity among themselves? That they all exercised the same discipline, so that what was done by any one of them was ratified and confirmed by all the rest? From whence, I say, did this proceed? From a certain private contract made amongst the primitive Christians, says Mr. Selden, that most bitter enemy to the authority of the Church. But how does Mr. Selden prove this? With what testimonies does he defend this new conjecture of his? With none at all. At what time was this compact made? That he does not know. Which of the holy fathers and of the ecclesiastical historians make any mention of this famous compact? Not so much as one of them. Can there be any time assigned wherein the Christian Church did not maintain this unity and exercise this discipline? No such matter. Therefore, with good Mr. Selden's leave, I shall be of the same opinion with St. Augustine, that that whose original we cannot trace out, and which is owing to no decrees of councils, but has obtained all over the whole Christian world, I shall believe, I say, with St. Augustine, that "that was not instituted by man, but delivered down by the Apostles themselves<sup>1</sup>."

λει δεχθῆν ἀνεὺ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφοριζέσθω καὶ ὁ δεξιόμενος, καὶ ὁ δεχθείς. εἰ δὲ ἀφορισμένος εἴη [al. ἦ], ἐπιτείνεσθω αὐτῷ ὁ ἀφορισμός.—[Can.

Apost. xii. Concilia, tom. i. col. 28, B.]

<sup>1</sup> [Quod universa tenet ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum, sed semper retentum est, non nisi auctoritate apostolica



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Nor indeed are the Apostolic Constitutions to be passed by unmentioned in this controversy. Not that I think that they were either written by the Apostles, or collected into one body by St. Clement, as a certain crazed mathematician<sup>m</sup> is now undertaking to prove. But it was always the opinion of learned men that many most useful monuments of antiquity are preserved in these Constitutions, which explain and illustrate the rites and customs of the third and fourth centuries. It is indeed no contemptible consideration that all the second book of these Constitutions is employed wholly in this one argument. The whole purpose of it is to inform the bishops how they ought to behave themselves, both in condemning and punishing sins; from which it easily appears what was the opinion of the Church in those ages concerning this controversy.

2ndly. That the Christian Church had the right of excommunication is also most evident from the penitential canons, which the primitive Church established. The council of Eliberis, if we credit Baronius, was convened in the year of our Lord 305<sup>n</sup>, in the times of Constantius and Galerius. That which was chiefly done in this council was to appoint certain and stated times of penance for almost all the more grievous sins. It was there decreed "that idolaters were not to receive the communion<sup>o</sup>, even at the point of death; that he which should not come to church for three Sundays together should be suspended from communion so long time as that he might appear sufficiently rebuked; that if the faith-

traditum rectissime creditur.—S. Aug. de Bapt. cont. Donat., lib. iv. c. 24. § 31. Op., tom. ix. col. 140, C.]

<sup>m</sup> [Whiston is the person referred to; see his Directions for the study of Divinity, appended to his Sermons, p. 296. Lond., 1709, where he includes the Apostolical Constitutions in the canon of the New Testament; see Whiston's Memoirs, p. 131; and the Historical Preface prefixed to his Primitive Christianity revived, particularly A Letter to the Archbishop, Jan. 1708-9, p. lxxxii., and the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge, Feb. 22, 1709-10, *ibid.*, p. xi; and a form for the Baptism of Infants agreeable to the Constitutions of the Apostles, which he used in baptizing a child in June 1710. Hughes, the writer

of these Dissertations, was the chief promoter and witness in the proceeding against Whiston for publicly teaching Arian doctrine, Oct. 22, 1710, *ibid.*, p. cxxxvii., cxxxix.]

<sup>n</sup> [See above, vol. ii. p. 40, note p.]  
<sup>o</sup> (Idolatræ) nec in fine communionem accipere (judicabant).—[Conc. Eliberitanum, Can. i. Concilia, tom. i. col. 992, B.]

(Qui) [in civitate positus] (per) tres Dominicas [ad] ecclesiam non accesserit, tanto (al. paucio) tempore abstinere, ut correptus esse videatur.—[Canon xxi. *ibid.*, col. 994, E.]

Si fideles hæreticis vel Judæis filias suas in matrimonium dederint, per quinquennium abstinere debent.—[Canon xvi. *ibid.* B.]

ful give their daughters in marriage to heretics or Jews they shall be suspended from communion for five years." To this council may be added that of Ancyra<sup>p</sup>, and the first council of Arles<sup>q</sup>, assembled under the reign of Constantine, in both which there are many canons of this nature. Now from all this it is very easy to collect what was the constant opinion of the primitive Church concerning excommunication: for we are not to imagine that the Church of Christ did then first exercise this power, because we meet with no penitential canons before those times. I have already proved the contrary from St. Cyprian, St. Irenæus, and St. Hermas Pastor. Indeed it always seemed to me a very great argument that this power of the Church was made use of by the Apostles themselves, because the whole multitude of the faithful did so very willingly submit their necks to so heavy a yoke. Good God! how many, and how great and bitter mortifications did they endure, before they were permitted to return to the Church? They spent whole days and nights in fasting and lying upon the ground; nay, they employed all their wits to find out various methods of afflicting their souls and macerating their bodies. Nothing could be put upon them so hard, so grievous, and calamitous, but what they underwent in triumph, that they might atone for their sins, and obtain a right to communion. But is it credible or probable that the whole Christian world would have so cheerfully and willingly endured such severe mortifications if they had not been thoroughly persuaded that this was that very discipline which was instituted by Jesus Christ, the lover of souls, to be as it were a plank after shipwreck, the most ready and wholesome cure of sins committed after baptism? Besides I would ask, when did this unworthy and insupportable yoke begin to be first imposed on the necks of the primitive Christians? By whose contrivance was it that this ecclesiastical tyranny first invaded the Christian world? It is most certain that no man can be found that will be able to give a clear and distinct answer to this question. I may likewise add that it seems little less than a miracle that such

<sup>p</sup> [Conc. Ancyran. (A.D. 314.) Canones, Concilia, tom. i. col. 1485, sqq.]

<sup>q</sup> [Conc. Arelatensis (A.D. 314.) Canones, *ibid.*, 1451, sqq.]

a monstrous tyranny should have obtained so far and wide without any opposition whatsoever. With what madness was the laity possessed, with what timorousness of mind captivated, that they yielded so full and easy a victory to the ambition of the clergy? All this does most forcibly persuade us that this power of excommunication, which the Church always exercised, and without which it cannot subsist, was by no means invented and devised by ecclesiastical tyrants, but instituted by Jesus Christ Himself, and delivered down and confirmed by the Apostles.

Thus, if I am not mistaken, I have fully demonstrated that the Church has always claimed the power of excommunication. But,

3rdly. It will add to the force of this argument, if we call to mind that the primitive Church had so great an esteem for this power, that they marked all such as disowned it with the brand of heresy. No man that is not altogether a stranger to the holy fathers, can be ignorant what was the opinion of those of the third century concerning Montanus and Novatian; both those heretics did after the most friendly manner agree in this one point, to take away the power of the keys from the Church and clergy. But herein the Novatians do greatly disagree with the heretics of our time, that they most freely allowed the power of excommunicating, and denied only that of reconciling to the Church: whereas these do utterly root up all power of excommunication, and maintain that even the most profligate persons imaginable have a right both to the Church and to the Sacraments. So much both in subtilty and impiety have ours gone beyond the ancient heretics.

However, it will by no means be foreign to my purpose, to shew how, and with what arguments, the holy fathers disputed against those heretics. And I shall the rather do this, because the Erastians object nothing against this most wholesome authority, but what their famous predecessors of old objected against the primitive Church. Hence also we shall more clearly and fully understand what were the sentiments of the purest antiquity concerning this important question.

1. The first that raised any disturbance upon this occasion was Montanus, who in the reign of Commodus invented many new and pernicious opinions; and falling away from the Catholic Church, instituted a religion of his own. Among other things he peremptorily denied, that "mortal sins could be forgiven by the Church." This we are informed by Tertullian in his treatise *de Pudicitia*, which he composed after himself was become a Montanist; for what he wrote concerning the power of the keys in his tract entitled *Scorpiace*<sup>s</sup>, and in that *de Pœnitentia*<sup>t</sup>, is orthodox enough. "For who," says he<sup>u</sup>, "forgives sins but God alone? to wit, mortal sins, which have been committed against Him, and against His temple? . . . Therefore if it should appear that even the blessed Apostles themselves had pardoned any such sin, the pardoning of which belonged to God, and not to man, they must have done that, not by discipline, but by power: for they also raised the dead, which only God can do; and gave new strength to the weak, which none can do but Christ: nay and inflicted punishments, which Christ would not do." The father here maintains, according to the opinion of Montanus, that the Church never received power of forgiving mortal sins. He openly declares, that the arguments drawn from the examples of the Apostles are of no force with him. If the Apostles either bound or loosed a sinner, they did this, says he, not by discipline, which was to remain always in the Church, but by their apostolic power, which expired with their persons. Zephyrinus<sup>v</sup>, who at that time sat in the see of Rome, undertook the argument against Tertullian. This most holy father affirmed that this authority had always prevailed in the Catholic Church: and was founded in that most ample commission which our blessed Saviour gave to St. Peter<sup>x</sup>. Tertullian, to evade the force of this argu-

<sup>r</sup> Peccata mortalia ab ecclesia posse remitti.

<sup>s</sup> [See below, note z.]

<sup>t</sup> [Tertull. de Pœnit. Op., p. 120.]

<sup>u</sup> Quis enim dimittit delicta nisi solus Deus? et utique mortalia, quæ in ipsum fuerint admissa, et in templum ejus . . . itaque si et ipsos beatos apostolos tale aliquid indulsisse constaret, cujus venia a Deo, non ab homine com-

peteret; non ex disciplina, sed ex potestate fecisse. Nam et mortuos suscitaverunt, quod Deus solus, et debiles reintegraverunt, quod nemo nisi Christus: imo et plagas inflixerunt, quod noluit Christus.—Id. de Pudicit., cap. 21. [Op., p. 573, D.]

<sup>v</sup> [See *ibid.*, c. 1. p. 555, A. sqq.]

<sup>x</sup> Matt. xvi. 19.



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ment, asserts that this power was committed only to St. Peter, and could not be derived to others. Now this is apparently contrary both to reason and to the judgment of the whole Church. Nay our more modern Montanists and Novatians (for why should they not be adorned with the same names, since they vend the same opinions?) reject this subterfuge as trivial, and of no weight, and so expound this place as to make it denote no authority, distinct from that of preaching the gospel. But these things following we learn most clearly from Tertullian, viz., that the Catholic Church assumed to herself a power of excommunication; and further, that she believed this power was given to her in that text of St. Matthew<sup>y</sup>. Let the reader look into his book *de Pudicitia*, and that entitled *Scorpiace*; and he will easily find, that even Tertullian himself was altogether of another opinion, whilst he remained within the bosom of the Catholic Church; and that he was indebted for this error concerning excommunication to Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla. In his *Scorpiace* he writes thus<sup>z</sup>: “For if you think heaven is still shut, remember that the Lord has here left the keys to St. Peter, and by him to the Church; and that every one that is here examined and confesseth shall carry them with him.” Behold Tertullian in this passage strenuously contending for that very authority which he wrote against in his book *de Pudicitia*.

2. Montanus was followed by Novatian, whose opinion upon this subject I have explained from the learned Petavius<sup>a</sup>. Against him St. Pacianus and St. Ambrose disputed with very great vehemence. But let us see what forces they brought into the field, and with what art they were drawn up. St. Pacianus in his Epistle to Sempronianus, a follower of Novatian<sup>1</sup>, says these things, which are not unworthy to be observed. First he introduces Sempronianus cavilling after this manner: “You will say, none but God can do this<sup>b</sup> :” (he

<sup>1</sup> [Novatus, Hughes.]

<sup>y</sup> Matt. xvi. 19.

<sup>z</sup> Nam et si adhuc clausum putas cælum, memento claves ejus hic Dominum Petro, et per eum ecclesiæ reliquisse, quas hic unusquisque interrogatus atque confessus feret secum.—Tertull. Scorp., c. x. [Op., p. 496, A.]

<sup>a</sup> [See above, pp. 395, 396.]

<sup>b</sup> Solus hoc, inquires, Deus poterit: (scilicet peccata remittere) verum est . . . sed et quod per sacerdotes suos facit, ipsius potestas est. Nam quid est illud quod apostolis dicit? ‘Quæ ligaveritis in terris, ligata erunt et in

speaks of forgiving sins.) Sempronianus, good man, was it seems most exactly of the same opinion with the sagacious Maximilla. But St. Pacianus answers him very well: "It is true," says he, "but what God does by His priests, is also His power: for what is that which He says to the Apostles? 'Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven': why did He say this, if it was not lawful for men to bind and loose? Was this only lawful for the Apostles? Then to baptize also was lawful for none but them; they only had power to give the Holy Spirit; they only could cleanse the people from their sins: because all this was commanded only to the Apostles." In his third Epistle to Sempronianus he defends that text in St. Matthew<sup>d</sup> against his objections, and then explains the passage after this manner<sup>e</sup>: "He is loosed by pardon, because he was bound by sin. He is bound by excommunication, because he was loosed by faith, and made free by grace." From these words of St. Pacianus we are taught, that at that time none but such as were open heretics, and enemies to the Christian Church, did in the least doubt but that this passage in St. Matthew related to excommunication, and to the public discipline of the Church. There are in these Epistles very many things which make for this purpose: but these will suffice to shew the judgment of the primitive Church.

And now let us hear St. Ambrose disputing with the same adversary. In his first book concerning repentance, he has these words<sup>f</sup>: "But they say that they pay reverence to the Lord, to whom only they reserve the power of forgiving sins. On the contrary, they do a greater injury to none than to Him, whose commands they would rescind, and throw back

cœlis: et quæcunque solveritis in terris, soluta erunt et in cœlis.' Cur hoc, si ligare hominibus ac solvere non licebat? An tantum hoc solis apostolis licet? Ergo et baptizare solis licet, et Spiritum Sanctum dare solis, et solis gentium peccata purgare: quia totum hoc non aliis quam apostolis imperatum est.—[S. Pacian. (circ. A.D. 372.) Epist. i. ad Sympronianum, § 6. ap. Bibl. Patr. Galland., tom. vii. p. 259, B.]

<sup>c</sup> Matt. xviii. 18.

<sup>d</sup> Matt. xvi. 19.

<sup>e</sup> Solvitur venia, quia peccato tenebatur; ligatur anathemate, quia solutus erat fide, per gratiam liberatus.—[S. Pacian. Epist. iii. § 11. *ibid.*, p. 265, A.]

<sup>f</sup> Sed aiunt se Domino referre reverentiam, cui soli remittendorum criminum potestatem reservent. Immo nulli majorem injuriam faciunt, quam qui ejus (al. ei cujus) volunt mandata rescindere, commissum munus refundere. Nam cum ipse in evangelio suo dixerit Dominus Jesus: 'Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, quorum remisistis peccata,

the power He has committed to them: for seeing that the Lord Jesus Himself has said in His gospel, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained:' which of the two honours Him most? he that obeys His commands, or he that resists them? The Church doth in both respects preserve her obedience, as well in binding sin, as in loosing it: but (the Novatian) heretics, unmerciful in one regard, and disobedient in the other, desire to bind what they may not loose, and will not loose what they have bound. And herein their opinion is condemned by itself; for it was the intention of the Lord, that the power of loosing and that of binding should be equal, because He equally permitted both. He therefore that has not the power of loosing, has not the power of binding neither: for as according to the Lord's intention, he that has the power of binding has the power of loosing also, so their assertion destroys itself, insomuch that because they deny themselves the power of loosing, they ought also to deny themselves the power of binding. How therefore can the one be lawful and the other not lawful? For both are lawful to them to whom the power is given: and to them to whom it is not given both are unlawful: wherefore it is certain that both are lawful to the Church, and that both are unlawful to heretics. For this power is permitted only to priests; and therefore is rightly claimed by the Church, which hath true priests; and here-

remittuntur eis: et quorum detinueritis, detenta erunt.' Quis est ergo qui magis honorat; utrum qui mandatis obtemperat, an qui resistit? Ecclesia in utroque servat obedientiam ut peccatum et alliget et relaxet. Hæresis in altero immitis, in altero inobediens, vult ligare quod non resolvat, non vult solvere quod ligavit. In quo se suâ damnat sententiâ: Dominus enim par jus et solvendi esse voluit et ligandi, qui utrumque pari conditione permisit. Ergo qui solvendi jus non habet, nec ligandi habet. Sicut enim secundum dominicam sententiam, qui ligandi jus habet, et solvendi habet: ita istorum assertio seipsam strangulat, ut quia solvendi sibi jus negant, negare debeant et ligandi. Quomodo igitur potest alterum licere, alterum non licere? Quibus donatum utrum-

que est, aut utrumque licere manifestum est, aut utrumque non licere certum est. Ecclesiæ utrumque licet, hæresi utrumque non licet. (Quibus datum, utrumque est licere; at quibus non datum, utrumque non licere; certum est ecclesiæ utrumque licere, hæresi utrumque non licere. ed. Rom.) Jus enim hoc solis permissum sacerdotibus est. Recte igitur hoc ecclesia vindicat, quæ veros sacerdotes habet: hæresis vindicare non potest, quæ (veros ed. Rom.) sacerdotes Dei non habet. . . . Specta etiam illud, quoniam qui Spiritum Sanctum accepit, et solvendi peccati potestatem, et ligandi accepit, sic enim scriptum est: 'Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, &c.' Ergo qui solvere non potest peccatum, non habet Spiritum Sanctum. Munus Spiritus Sancti est officium sacerdotis; jus au-

tics, who have no true priests, can lay no claim to it." And after a few words: "Consider also this, that he who receives the Holy Ghost, receives power both of loosing and binding sin: for thus it is written, 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' &c. Therefore he that cannot loose sin, has not the Holy Ghost. The office of the priest is the gift of the Holy Ghost; and the property of the Holy Ghost is to loose and bind sins."

Nothing could be expected more clear and evident for our purpose than this, and you will find almost the same in the sixth chapter of this book<sup>s</sup>. Both St. Ambrose and St. Pacianus do most plainly attest, that the primitive Church always looked upon this power of binding and excommunicating as committed to her from God. But to sum up the whole argument in a few words.

It is manifest from the nature of society, that the right of excommunication belongs to the Christian Church: and since the Church of Christ was founded by God Himself, it is also manifest that this right of excommunication belongs to the Church by divine right. The power of binding and of loosing is committed by our Saviour Jesus Christ to St. Peter in most express words, and in him to the whole Church. That this power of binding and loosing consisted in reconciling penitents, was always the opinion of the Catholic Church, even in the purest ages. The Christian Church has always exercised this power, from the very times of the Apostles; and has exercised it as a power committed to her by Jesus Christ Himself. This is abundantly evident, both from the clearest testimonies of the holy fathers, and from those penitential canons which have in every age been established in all Churches. All persons whatsoever that have attempted either to take away or to diminish this sacred authority have been ever accounted heretics by the Church, and she has always banished them from her communion. And now after all this, let such as are impartial judges determine what is to be thought concerning the power of excommunication in the Christian Church. Does it imply any contradiction? Is a spiritual government distinct from the civil to be ac-

tem Spiritus Sancti in solvendis ligandisque criminibus est.—[S. Ambros. de Pœnit., lib. i. c. 2. § 6—8. Op., tom. ii. col. 391, E. 392, D.]  
<sup>s</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, c. vii. § 33. col. 399, C. ed. Ben.]



counted monstrous or ridiculous? Ought it to be looked upon as severe and cruel to shut out even the most wicked persons from the holy Eucharist? For my part I am thoroughly persuaded that this most wholesome discipline was not invented by the bishops, but instituted by Jesus Christ Himself, for the comfort and salvation of our souls. And indeed I clearly perceive that the Christian religion can never shine with her own native brightness, till by the pious severity of her clergy this sacred discipline be revived. I cannot conclude better than in the words of St. Gregory Nyssen<sup>h</sup>: “Do not think,” says he, “that excommunication is owing to the arrogance of bishops; it is a law of our fathers, an ancient canon of the Church, which had its rise from the law, and its confirmation from the gospel.”

But here I cannot forbear adding something concerning the proper effect of sacerdotal absolution; a thing which has a very great relation to the question before us. For there are a great many very good men to be found, and those not unlearned, who reject all absolution from the priest, at least as a thing indifferent, because they are not able to conceive in their mind what is the effect of such kind of absolution. They argue with themselves after this manner: the truly penitent and contrite sinner is in the court of conscience immediately absolved of God and justified. What therefore does the priest add to this divine absolution? Does God, the searcher of hearts, wait for the sentence of the priest? We cannot think that. In order to answer this objection I shall clearly and distinctly set down, what was the opinion of the ancients concerning the effect of absolution.

It is most certain that the primitive Church never accounted a sinner to be justified, however humble and contrite, till he had obtained sacerdotal absolution. Nor indeed does this seem to me in the least wonderful. All men allow the same thing in the Sacrament of Baptism. No person is worthy to come to Baptism, unless he be of a pure and clean heart; one that from his soul abominates all kind of sin, and is most stedfastly resolved to conform his life to the law

<sup>h</sup> μη επισκοπικῆς ἀσθαλείας εἶναι νομίσης τὸν ἀφορισμὸν πατρῶος ὁ νόμος, πολλαὶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἀρξάμενος, καὶ κραταιωθείς τῇ χά-

ριτι.—[S. Greg. Nyss. adv. eos qui castigationes ægre ferunt. Op., tom. iii. p. 315, B.]

of the gospel. And yet even all this does not justify him in the sight of God. Baptism is still wanting, without which remission of sins cannot be obtained in the ordinary way. If such a person should die before he had put off the old man by washing in this sacred water, he would by the principles of the gospel have no right to the kingdom of heaven. It is another question what the God of mercies would determine in his regard, through the meritorious blood of Jesus Christ, which was plentifully shed for the whole race of mankind. And why may we not judge the same concerning repentance? Hence it is that the ancient fathers were wont to call repentance a second baptism. But I shall give you the opinion of the most holy fathers upon this subject in the words of Morinus, a very learned man, to whom I most willingly acknowledge myself indebted in many things.

“God therefore,” says he<sup>i</sup>, “is the author of reconciliation, and the priest is the minister of it. What does the priest effect? That which God, by the assistance of His Holy Spirit, had begun in the penitent before reconciliation, the priest does by absolution ministerially finish, according to that ministerial power committed to him in those words, (‘Whatsoever ye shall bind,’ &c. :) and such as are worthy of divine absolution he does actually and visibly absolve.” Thus Morinus. And that this was the opinion of the primitive Church is most abundantly manifest from Tertullian, St. Cyprian, St. Pacianus, and St. Ambrose.

## DISSERTATION V.

THE LAITY NEVER RECEIVED THE HOLY SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S  
SUPPER WITHOUT HAVING IT FIRST CONSECRATED BY PRIESTS.

Now I am treating about the authority and dignity of the Christian clergy, I think it will not be foreign to my purpose

<sup>i</sup> Reconciliationis igitur primus auctor Deus, minister sacerdos. Quid operatur sacerdos? Quod Deus in pœnitente, per auxilia Spiritus Sancti, ante reconciliationem inchoaverat, sacerdos per absolutionem ministerialiter perficit, juxta potestatem ministerialem ei

concessam: ‘Quæcunque ligaveritis,’ &c., dignosque divina absolutione reapse et visibiliter absolvit.—[Is. Morinus de Administratione Sacramenti Pœnitentiæ, lib. viii. c. 5. § 5. p. 520. Par. 1651.]

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to say something here in short concerning that signal difference between the clergy and the laity. Rigaltius, a man indeed of indefatigable pains, and a very great critic, but not very accurate, and wonderfully fond of new observations, whatever they are, has in his remarks upon the second Epistle of St. Cyprian<sup>k</sup>, out of his innate fondness of producing something new and unheard of, asserted that in the apostolic times there was no such distinction, but that by the word clergy, *κλήρος*, the whole Christian Church was always denoted. Indeed he owns that in the age of Tertullian and St. Cyprian this word was wholly appropriated to ecclesiastical persons; but, good man, he is pleased to ascribe that to the pride and ambition of the priests. And in this he has been closely followed by all such as are no friends either to our sacred order or to the Christian religion. Hence it is that this objection against us which has been so often made and answered, is now with the greatest triumph revived by this most impudent scoffer, who has thrown upon us with great vehemence all the calumnies both of the atheists and Socinians: but there will be no difficulty in confuting the unlearned rashness of the great man from whom he copies. For,

1st. It is manifest that Jesus Christ appointed twelve Apostles to preach the gospel, to found and govern the Church, and to administer the Sacraments. It is also most evident from a thousand places of holy Scripture, and particularly from St. Paul's Epistles to Titus and Timothy, that these Apostles chose others, conspicuous for their faith, doctrine, and piety; and by imposition of hands consecrated them to perform the same offices, to declare salvation to all men through the blood of Christ, to gather Churches, to receive, and feed, and confirm them with the Sacraments; and (what is most worthy of our observation in this controversy) with the same ceremony, viz., imposition of hands, to ordain and consecrate others, as the necessity of the Church should require. What, I beseech you, can be more clear and evident than this? And therefore since the thing itself appears so plainly and fully from sacred writ, why should we cavil

<sup>k</sup> [See Annot. in S. Cypr., Epist. ii. ap. Annot. in eand. Epist. (viii. ed. ed. N. Rigalt. pp. 7, 8, Par. 1666. et Oxon.) p. 15. Oxon. 1682.]

about words and syllables? Grant that neither the word clergy nor laity can be found, either in the holy Scriptures, or in the most ancient monuments of the Church: what then? What can be argued from thence? Nothing at all. The word is wanting, but the thing for which we contend occurs very frequently.

2ndly. Let us proceed to the monuments of the primitive Church, and see whether no footsteps of this distinction are to be found among the most ancient writers.

The first I will produce shall be St. Clemens Romanus, a man truly apostolic, and mentioned with very great honour by St. Paul himself<sup>1</sup>. In this father's most excellent Epistle to the Corinthians we have these words<sup>m</sup>: "For to the high-priest are given proper functions, and a proper place is appointed for the priests, and proper ministries are incumbent upon the Levites. The layman is bound by lay precepts." In this passage laymen are most clearly distinguished from clergymen or ecclesiastical persons. But I know very well that there are great controversies made concerning the true and genuine sense of this passage. The advocates for episcopacy cite these words of St. Clement in proof of the three orders, and object them to our adversaries. Nor indeed is this opinion without foundation. But they who maintain a parity of orders, do strenuously contend that these words do by no means belong to the Christian Church, but that this writer had regard only to the Church of Jerusalem: nor indeed are they destitute of weighty reasons with which to support this opinion of theirs. To determine this controversy does not belong either to this place or to my present purpose. Whatever was St. Clement's meaning I shall easily shew what I wish<sup>1</sup>. Let us therefore suppose that in this passage the father speaks of the Jewish Church; it must of necessity be granted me that the similitude of which he makes use appertains to the Church of Christ: so that the same distinction which had been made between the Jewish clergy and laity, did also obtain between the clergy and laity among the Christians. Otherwise the reasoning of this apostolic writer would be lame

<sup>1</sup> [what is mine, ed. 3; quid velim, Orig.]

<sup>1</sup> Phil. iv. 3.  
<sup>m</sup> τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεὶ ἰδίαι λειτουργίαι δεδομέναί εἰσι, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδιος ὁ τόπος προστέτακται, καὶ λευίταις ἰδίαι

διακονίαι ἐπίκεινται· ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεται.—[S. Clem. R., Epist. i. c. 40. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 170.]



and imperfect, and of no force. Inflamed with a true Christian charity he exhorts the Corinthians to follow after peace, and to perform all things according to the divine appointment: and alleges this as a most forcible reason for their so doing, viz., that God Himself had instituted this very order of things; had distributed proper functions to the high-priest, appointed the priests their own station, and the Levites their proper ministries: and the laity were subject to lay-precepts which became them as laics. But if we obstinately deny that there was the same distinction in the Christian Church, which no man doubts there was among the Jews; of what force, I desire to know, will this reasoning be against the schismatical Corinthians? It remains therefore a certain and unshaken truth that this distinction between the clergy and the laity obtained in the times of St. Clement, who flourished in the year of our Lord 56.

Next to him I produce St. Clement of Alexandria, a most celebrated writer of the second century. He in a certain little treatise lately published at Oxford<sup>n</sup>, and entitled, *Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*; “What rich man can be saved?” gives a most ample testimony to this truth. Speaking of St. John, who was returned to Ephesus from his banishment, he has these words<sup>o</sup>: “Being desired also he went to the neighbouring provinces; both<sup>1</sup> to constitute bishops; and to form and regulate whole Churches; and likewise to set apart for the clergy<sup>2</sup> whomsoever the Holy Spirit should direct.” That is, he chose into the number of the clergy such, as by manifestations of the Spirit, very usual at that time, he understood to be fit for that office. It is certain therefore beyond all controversy, that Clemens Alexandrinus did most fully own this distinction between the laity and the clergy. It were superfluous to descend to Tertullian and St. Cyprian; for Rigaltius himself acknowledges that this distinction prevailed in the third century.

Having now proved that there obtained a true and proper

<sup>1</sup> [what, ed. 3.]

<sup>2</sup> [by lot, ed. 3.]

<sup>n</sup> [S. Clem. Alex., *Quis Dives, &c.*, cap. 42. p. 110. Oxon. 1683.]

ἂπλῆι παρακαλούμενος καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὅπου μὲν ἐπισκόπους καταστήσων, ὅπου δὲ ὕλας ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὅπου δὲ κλήρη (ita enim

legimus cum Eusebio, nam perperam κλήρον habet editio Oxoniensis) ἕνα γέ τινα κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ πνεύματος σημαινομένων.—Id., *ibid.*, ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. iii. cap. 23. [p. 113.]

distinction between the clergy and the laity, I shall come up closer to the question in dispute; and prove that the laity never received the holy Eucharist till it was first consecrated by priests. And this question consists of two parts: for it must be first proved, that consecration is necessary in order that the elements of bread and wine may become the body and blood of Christ to the faithful receiver: after which I shall shew that the right of consecrating the elements can belong to none but priests, regularly and lawfully ordained by a bishop.

I. Now to prove that consecration is necessarily required to the effectual administration of this holy Sacrament, I think it proper to begin from the very institution of it, which St. Luke gives us in these words<sup>p</sup>: “And He (our blessed Saviour) took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, This is My body which is given for you: do this in remembrance of Me.” I maintain, that this command of our Lord Jesus Christ has regard to the whole action, so as to comprehend the very words of consecration. Jesus Christ having taken bread, blessed it, that is, set it apart from common use, and consecrated it to a holy mystery. This must necessarily be granted me from the principles of the Jews, who always accounted that bread and wine were set apart and consecrated by such benedictions. Our blessed Saviour commands that the Apostles should do that, which they here saw done by Him. That they should do what? What was it which they saw Him do? They saw Him take bread into His hands, and consecrate this bread by a certain solemn form of benediction. For this very reason the cup is called by St. Paul, “the cup of blessing<sup>q</sup>.” And what is to be understood by the word “blessing,” will be easily learned from the holy fathers, who frequently used the words that we render “blessing,” “invocation<sup>r</sup>,” &c., to signify consecration.

But here the Socinians object, that all this is not clear and perspicuous; that these words may be understood in another sense, and admit of another interpretation. Grant

<sup>p</sup> και λαβών ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων, τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνά-

μνησιν. Luke xxii. 19.

<sup>q</sup> τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας. I Cor. x. 16.

<sup>r</sup> εὐλογία, εὐλόγησις, ἐπίκλησις.

they may: yet I may be allowed to affirm thus much; that this exposition of ours is very probable, and most agreeable to the principles of the apostolic age. Nay I maintain, that no other interpretation of these words can be invented, which shall either be more probable than this of ours, or more suitable to the purpose of our Saviour. And indeed that this is the true and only meaning of the text, I conclude from hence, that the primitive Church always taught and understood it in this sense. And this I will now make good by a cloud of most unquestionable witnesses.

And first let us hear St. Irenæus, St. Polycarp's contemporary, a most egregious asserter of apostolic tradition. In his fourth book, being to prove against the Marcionites, that Jesus Christ was the Son of the one true God, who made the world, and instituted the law of Moses for the Jews, he draws his argument from the oblation of the Eucharist: "And our opinion," says he<sup>s</sup>, "is agreeable to the Eucharist, and the Eucharist does reciprocally confirm our opinion: for we offer unto the Lord those things which are His, congruously declaring the communication and the unity both of the flesh and spirit." And then follow these words: "For as the bread which is from the earth, partaking of the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two things, an earthly and an heavenly: so also our bodies partaking of the Eucharist are no longer mere corruptible bodies, but have hope of a resurrection." In this passage the holy father does most expressly assert that the bread is made the Eucharist, that is, the body of Jesus Christ, by the invocation of God, to wit, by consecration, as will appear more fully in the sequel. In his fifth book the same holy father disputes against Valentinus, and maintains that Jesus Christ assumed the human nature truly and really, and not only "in appearance<sup>t</sup>," as some heretics dreamed. And to prove this also he applies the Sacrament of the Eucharist.

<sup>s</sup> Nostra autem consonans est sententia Eucharistiæ, et Eucharistia rursus confirmat sententiam nostram. Offerimus enim ei quæ sunt ejus, congruenter communicationem et unitatem prædicantes carnis et spiritus. Quemadmodum enim qui est a terra panis percipiens invocationem Dei, jam non

communis panis est, sed Eucharistia, ex duabus rebus constans, terrena et cælesti: sic et corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam, jam non sunt corruptibilia, spem resurrectionis habentia. —S. Iren. cont. Hær., lib. iv. [cap. 18. p. 251.]

<sup>t</sup> φανταστικῶς.

“And thus,” says he, “to wit, according to these things, neither has the Lord redeemed us with His blood; nor is the cup of the Eucharist the communication of His blood; nor the bread which we break the communication of His body.” And a little after he has these words: “When, therefore, both the bread broken and the cup mixed have partaken of the word of God, they become the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ, by which the substance of our flesh is increased, and of which it consists.” In the former passage the bread was made the Eucharist by “the invocation of God,” but here it is by “partaking of God’s word.” They mutually illustrate and confirm each other. And does not all this make very much for the necessity of consecration? Is not St. Irenæus to be looked upon as a better and a safer interpreter of the meaning of the Apostles than five hundred of our modern critics, who propose to themselves nothing more than with their most wise comments to raise mists about what is clear and perspicuous; when things are difficult and obscure, to make them more obscure on set purpose; and to weaken and undermine whatever the Catholic Church has always looked upon as firm and settled.

Origen, in his Commentary upon St. Matthew, calls the Eucharist “bread sanctified by the word of God and by prayer<sup>x</sup>.” A little after which he proceeds in this manner: “And the food sanctified by the word of God and by prayer, according to its material part indeed goes into the belly, and is cast out into the draught; but with regard to the prayer made over it, according to the analogy of faith it becomes profitable.” Hence we learn that the elements of bread and wine are not only consecrated by prayer, but (if we give

<sup>u</sup> Si autem non salvetur hæc (al. sic autem secundum hæc) videlicet, nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos, neque calix Eucharistiæ communicatio sanguinis ejus est, neque panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus est.—Id., *ibid.*, lib. v. c. 2. § 2. [p. 293.] Quando ergo et mixtus calix et factus (al. fractus) panis percipit verbum Dei, et fit Eucharistia sanguinis et corporis Christi, ex quibus augetur et consistit carnis nostræ substantia. [ὅποτε οὖν καὶ τὸ κεκραμένον ποτήριον, καὶ ὁ γεγωνῶς ἄρτος ἐπιδέχεται τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ

γίνεται ἡ εὐχαριστία σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ἐκ τούτων δὲ αὖξει καὶ συνίσταται ἡ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡμῶν ὑπόστασις.—Id., *ibid.*, § 3. p. 294.]

<sup>x</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγιασθέντος λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως ἄρτου . . . καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατὰ αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγενομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως ἀφέλιμον γίνεται.—[Origen. Comment. in Matt., tom. xi. § 14. Op., tom. iii. p. 499, D, E.]



any credit to so great a man as Origen) that all their spiritual efficacy is derived from their consecration; for the elements “with respect to the prayer made over them,” to wit, that by which they are changed into the body and blood of Christ, “become profitable,” and sanctify the worthy receivers of them. But Origen explains his meaning yet more fully in the words immediately following: “And,” says he<sup>y</sup>, “it is not the matter of the bread, but the word or prayer said over it which profits him that eats it not unworthily of the Lord.”

Next to Origen let us hear St. Cyprian, a wonderful man, and a most strenuous defender of the authority of the Church and of the apostolic traditions. This venerable prelate composed a whole, and that a very long Epistle, “concerning the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord<sup>z</sup>.” It is the sixty-third Epistle in the order of Pamelius. In that Epistle, among many other things useful to be observed, there occur these, which make for our purpose. “Yet,” says he, “because some either ignorantly, or in the simplicity of their hearts, do not do that in sanctifying the cup of the Lord, and in administering it to the people, which was done and taught by Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, the author and teacher of this sacrifice<sup>a</sup>, &c.” And again: “From whence it appears that the blood of Christ is not offered if there be no wine in the cup, and that the Lord’s sacrifice is not administered with a lawful sanctification (or consecration), unless our offering and our sacrifice answer to the passion.” And a little after: “And so in sanctifying the cup of the Lord water alone cannot be offered.” And again: “For if Jesus Christ, our Lord and God, is Himself the high-priest of God the Father, and He first offered Himself a sacrifice to His Father,

<sup>y</sup> καὶ οὐκ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀλλ’ ὁ ἐπ’ αὐτὸ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ κυρίου ἐσθίουσα αὐτὸν.—[Id., *ibid.*, p. 500, A, B.]

<sup>z</sup> De Sacramento Domini calicis.—[S. Cyprian. Epist. lxiii. ad Cæcili-um, pp. 104, sqq. ed. Ben.]

<sup>a</sup> Tamen quoniam quidam vel ignoranter vel simpliciter in calice Domini sanctificando et plebi ministrando non hoc faciunt, quod Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster, sacrificii

hujus auctor et doctor, fecit et docuit.—[Id., *ibid.*] Unde apparet sanguinem Christi non offerri, si desit vinum calici; nec sacrificium Dominicum legitima sanctificatione celebrari, nisi oblatio et sacrificium nostrum responderit passioni.—[*Ibid.*, p. 107.] Et, Sic autem in sanctificando calice Domini offerri aqua sola non potest.—[*Ibid.*, p. 108.] Et, Nam si Jesus Christus, Dominus et Deus noster, ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris; et sacrificium Patri se ip-

and commanded that this should be done in remembrance of Him, then that priest does truly act in Christ's stead who imitates that which Christ did; and he then offers in the Church a true and full sacrifice to God the Father if he undertake to offer after the same manner in which he sees Christ Himself to have offered." What in this passage the most holy father calls "sanctification," St. Basil and Theodoret style "invocation<sup>b</sup>;" which word does very well explain that which St. Irenæus means by the "invocation of God," and the "word of God." We see the Carthaginian prelate wonderfully agrees with St. Irenæus and Origen. One asserts that the bread and wine is made the body and blood of Christ by "invocation," the other by "sanctification," which two words do without all controversy mean the same thing. I cannot but observe from St. Cyprian that the Eucharist is called a "true and full sacrifice" which the priest "offers to God the Father," and while he is offering it "acts in the stead of Jesus Christ Himself, our great High-priest." And if the case be so, if the Eucharist is a true sacrifice, if as often as the priest offers this sacrifice he acts in the stead of Jesus Christ Himself, what can be more plain and manifest than that no man ought to offer up this venerable sacrifice but he who is called of God, but he who is ordained and consecrated after the lawful and ordinary manner?

The same doctrine concerning the holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is taught by St. Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Catecheses*. "For," says he<sup>c</sup>, "as the bread and the wine of the Eucharist, before the holy invocation of the adorable Trinity, were mere bread and wine; but after the invocation is made, the bread becomes the body of Christ, and the wine Christ's blood; so," &c.

Most like to this is what Theodoret teaches us in his second

sum primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem præcepit; utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur, qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur, et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Deo Patri, si sic incipiat offerre secundum quod ipsum Christum videat obtulisse.—[Ibid., p. 109.]

<sup>b</sup> ἐπικλήσις.—[S. Basil. De Spiritu Sancto, cap. 27. Op., tom. iii. p. 54,

E; quoted above, vol. ii. p. 93, note z. See Theodoret, quoted below, p. 416, note d.]

<sup>c</sup> ὡσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἄρτος, καὶ ὁ οἶνος τῆς εὐχαριστίας, πρὸ τῆς ἁγίας ἐπικλήσεως προσκυνητικῆς Τριάδος ἄρτος ἦν καὶ οἶνος λιτὸς, ἐπικλήσεως δὲ γενομένης, ὁ μὲν ἄρτος γίνεταί σῶμα Χριστοῦ, ὁ δὲ οἶνος αἷμα Χριστοῦ, κ. τ. λ.—S. Cyril. Hier. Catech. Myst. i. [§ 7. Op., p. 308, D.]

Dialogue, entitled *Ἀσύγχυτος*, “without confusion.” “As therefore,” says he<sup>d</sup>, “the symbols of the body and blood of our Lord are one thing before the priest’s invocation; but after that invocation, they are changed, and become another: so,” &c.

From all these testimonies it is abundantly manifest, that the fathers of the second, third, and fourth centuries taught that the consecration of the elements was necessary to their becoming to us the body and blood of Jesus Christ. It were endless to run through all the fathers of the fourth century. Who has not heard of that celebrated saying of St. Augustine<sup>e</sup>: “The word is added to the element, and it becomes a sacrament?” Akin to which is that in his treatise concerning the Trinity<sup>f</sup>: “We only call that the body and blood of Christ, which being taken from the fruits of the earth, and consecrated with mystical prayer, we duly receive to our spiritual health, in memory of the Lord’s suffering for us.”

Who does not know, that in all the ancient Liturgies, which appear to have been composed in the fourth, or perhaps in the third century, there are contained forms of consecration, which are very full? See also the Clementine Constitutions<sup>g</sup>, where there is extant a most accurate form of consecrating the elements; the same, I make no doubt, with that which was always used by the Eastern Church: for amongst these deformed ruins of antiquity, we find very many things which wonderfully illustrate the most ancient usages of the primitive Church. Let me only explain the ancient practice of the Church in the words of St. Justin Martyr, who flourished in the year of our Lord 140, and is a most unquestionable evidence of the apostolic traditions. In his second Apology<sup>h</sup> we have these words: “And, as I said before, we having done praying, the bread and wine and water

<sup>d</sup> ὡςπερ τοῖνον τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται, καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται. — [Theodoret. Dial. ii. Inconfusus. Op., tom. iv. p. 85, B.]

<sup>e</sup> Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit Sacramentum.—S. Aug. Tract. lxxx. in Joan. [§ 3. Op., tom. iii. col. 703, B.]

<sup>f</sup> Corpus et sanguinem Christi illud tantum dicimus, quod ex fructibus

terræ acceptum, et prece mystica consecratum rite sumimus ad salutem spiritalem, in memoriam pro nobis Dominicæ passionis.—Id., de Trinit., lib. iii. [cap. 4. § 10. Op., tom. viii. p. 798, B.]

<sup>g</sup> [Const. Apost. (al. Clementinæ,) lib. viii. cap. 12. Concilia, col. 473, sqq. See above, vol. ii. pp. 122, sqq.]

<sup>h</sup> καὶ, ὡς προέφημεν, πανσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ· καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς

is offered ; and he that presides” (that is, the bishop or presbyter : Tertullian explains it<sup>i</sup> by *antistes*, “ prelate,” a word of a very wide signification) “ offers up prayers, and likewise thanksgivings, with the utmost zeal and fervour, and by way of acclamation the people answer, Amen.” That which the most learned father means is: prayers being ended, which the whole assembly of Christians put up to God, the bishop, or in his absence the priest, receiving the elements, does with the greatest ardour and elevation of mind (not hastily and without meditation, as the Assembly of Divines have most ignorantly expounded this passage) offer up prayers and praises to God ; that is, does himself alone offer up the prayer of consecration to God the Father, which being ended, the people joyfully cry out, Amen ; plainly in the same manner which does now obtain in the Church of England : for that the form of consecration was pronounced by the priest alone, the people in the mean time with the greatest devotion looking upon him to see him consecrate, is what we have learned from all antiquity. And this does admirably illustrate that difficult passage in St. Paul’s first Epistle to the Corinthians<sup>k</sup>: “ Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest ?” I am of opinion with Mr. Thorndike<sup>l</sup>, an author most eminent for his learning, judgment, and piety, that this place is to be understood of the form of consecration. The Apostle shews in this Epistle how absurd a thing it is, to make use of an unknown tongue in offering up public prayers. “ For when thou shalt bless,” says he, “ with the Spirit,” that is, shalt consecrate the elements by inspiration, (for I have clearly proved that the words which we translate “ blessing, invocation, sanctification<sup>m</sup>,” &c., do all mean the same thing,) “ how shall he that occupieth the room of the

ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὕψη δύναμις αὐ-  
τῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ  
λέγων τὸ ἀμήν.—[S. Just. M., Apol. i.  
(al. ii.) cap. 67. Op., p. 83; quoted  
above, vol. ii. p. 105.]

<sup>i</sup> [Sub antistitis manu contestamur  
nos renunciare Diabolo, &c.—Tertull.  
De Corona, c. iii. Op., p. 102, A.]

<sup>k</sup> ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογήσῃς τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ  
ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς

ἔρει τὸ ἀμήν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστία.  
ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδε. 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

<sup>l</sup> [See The Service of God at Religious Assemblies, by H. Thorndike, chap. x. § 38. Works, vol. i. pp. 336, 337. Oxford, 1844. See above, vol. ii. p. 213, note y.]

<sup>m</sup> εὐλογία, εὐλόγησις, ἐπίκλησις, sanctification, &c. [See above, pp. 411, 415.]



unlearned," that is, the layman, "say Amen to thy giving of thanks;" that is, to thy benediction, or prayer of consecration, to wit, when he does not know what is contained in that form? For which reason the layman neither can nor ought to approve or confirm thy consecration with the accustomed acclamation. This seems to me to be the Apostle's meaning: however it is fit that every one should enjoy his own opinion. The fate of the cause does not depend upon this observation. I am very much mistaken if what I have said be not sufficient to persuade any learned and modest man, and good Christian, that the consecration of the elements is necessarily required in order to the bread and wine's becoming to us the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

II. I am now come to the second part of my question, which is, that the right of consecrating the elements belongs to no man but a priest duly and lawfully ordained by a bishop: and this I shall endeavour to prove, 1st, from reason; and 2ndly, shall confirm my reasons by the authority of the Church.

I lay down this for the foundation of my argument, that the right and power of administering Sacraments can be derived only from God: the truth of this proposition is demonstrated both from reason, and from the actual institution of Jesus Christ. For,

1. Let us consider with ourselves what is the nature, and virtue, and end of a Sacrament. Jesus Christ instituted Sacraments in His Church, to be the conveyances of spiritual benefits to us; to confer grace; and to procure forgiveness of sins to us miserable sinners. From whence it follows, that no man can consecrate these Sacraments, unless he has received power to consecrate them from Him, who alone is able to confer these spiritual benefits; but God alone is able to confer these spiritual benefits; therefore the power of consecrating the Sacraments can be derived only from Him. What, I would fain know, can be clearer than this argument? What can be more convincing?

2. This does likewise appear from the actual institution of Jesus Christ. I should be very troublesome to the reader if I should run through all the passages of Scripture, in which Jesus Christ has committed the government of His Church to a certain determinate order of men. I will con-

tent myself only to point out one or two of them : “ As My Father hath sent Me,” (says our blessed Saviour to His Apostles<sup>o</sup>), “ even so send I you.” Hence it is, that St. Paul affirms himself to be<sup>p</sup> “ an Apostle, not of men, neither by men, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised Him from the dead.” And we read in the Epistle to the Ephesians that<sup>q</sup> “ He” (that is, our blessed Saviour) “ gave some Apostles, and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers;” that is to say, both certain extraordinary ministers, only necessary for laying the foundation of the Church; and other ordinary ones, that were to continue to the end, without which the Church cannot subsist. But to what end and for what purpose are these several orders of ministers instituted? The Apostle does himself also evidently declare that: “ for the perfecting of the saints,” says he<sup>r</sup>, “ for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ,” that is, of the Church. And the Apostle subjoins a very good reason, why Christ appointed these orders of ministers: “ that,” says he<sup>s</sup>, “ we henceforth be no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness whereby they lie in wait to deceive;” lest being entangled in the various snares of schismatics and heretics, we should wander from the right way. Seeing therefore it appears so evidently, that Jesus Christ constituted divers orders of ministers in His Church for this very end, to feed the faithful with sound doctrine, to serve in the sacred offices, and to build the Christian Church; who, I beseech you, that is not forsaken of common sense, can make the least doubt but that the consecration of the Sacraments belonged to these very ministers, thus instituted by Jesus Christ? Who, I say, that is in his right mind, can ever dream that the right of administering these sacred mysteries could ever belong to the confused multitude of the faithful,

<sup>o</sup> καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ πατήρ, καὶ γὰρ πέμπω ὑμᾶς. John xx. 21.

<sup>p</sup> Παῦλος ἀπόστολος οὐκ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπων, οὐδὲ δι’ ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ Θεοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐργείραντος αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Gal. i. 2.

<sup>q</sup> καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκε τοὺς μὲν, ἀποστόλους· τοὺς δὲ, προφήτας· τοὺς δὲ, εὐαγγελιστάς· τοὺς δὲ, ποιμένας καὶ διδασκά-

λους. Eph. iv. 11.

<sup>r</sup> πρὸς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῶν ἁγίων, εἰς ἔργον διακονίας, εἰς οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Ibid. 12.

<sup>s</sup> ἵνα μηκέτι ᾖμεν νήπιοι, κλυδωνιζόμενοι, καὶ περιφερόμενοι παντὶ ἀνέμῳ τῆς διδασκαλίας, ἐν τῇ κυβείᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν πανουργίᾳ πρὸς τὴν μεθοδείαν τῆς πλάνης. Ibid. 14.

when even that very commission, or power by which the right of administering in things sacred is committed to the clergy, does most fully exclude from these sacred offices all other persons whatsoever, though they be never so pious, never so learned, or well deserving? What therefore do they mean, who make such a noise for the authority of laics in sacred offices? Whence did the laity receive this authority? From whom? At what time? and in what manner? In what part of the New Testament, in what archives of the primitive Church does this commission lie hid? Let them produce it. Why do they hesitate? In good truth the cause of the laity is quite hopeless, and has neither reason nor authority to defend it; and therefore, good men, they are forced to have recourse to jesting, railing and contumely, with which this new oracle of the laics does every where abound.

But to return from this digression. My first proposition therefore remains unshaken; viz., that the right of administering the Sacraments is derived only from God; hence it follows that this right can belong to none but him that is called and ordained of God. Miracles have been long ceased, and therefore we must proceed in the ordinary way; and from hence it likewise follows, that no man is called of God but he that is ordained according to the rites and customs of the Church; the Catholic Church neither does, nor ever did acknowledge any ordinations to be firm and valid, but such as are episcopal: this I have abundantly proved in my dissertation concerning episcopacy<sup>t</sup>: and from all these particulars taken together it is easy to collect, that the right of consecrating the Sacrament of the Eucharist belongs to none but priests duly ordained by a bishop.

Having laid this foundation, and confirmed it both by reason and Scripture, let us proceed to primitive antiquity, that by variety of arguments this great and fundamental truth may both be confirmed and illustrated.

But before we produce the holy fathers it may not be foreign to my purpose to answer an objection brought from Scripture, which our sons of Corah frequently allege, and in which they are wont egregiously to boast, as an objection of very great force. The Eucharist, say they, is substituted in

<sup>t</sup> [See above, Dissertation ii.]

the room of the observance of the Passover, and for that reason we cannot better learn who are the ministers of this Sacrament than by well considering who were the ministers of that observance; for it cannot be doubted but that the laics among Christians have the same power and authority in things sacred, and especially in the administration of this Sacrament, which they had among the Jews in holy functions, particularly in the celebration of the Passover. But it appears, say they, most evidently from the very institution of the Passover mentioned in the Old Testament, that the celebration of the paschal supper did not belong to the priests, but to the whole multitude of the Israelites, to the fathers of families. From hence they argue most strenuously that the celebration also of the Lord's Supper (which succeeded in the room of the Passover) appertains to all the multitude of the faithful, and that all the laity have right both of consecrating the elements and of administering to themselves. I readily grant that the case is thus, and that the father of the family did at his own home sacrifice a lamb in the name of all the family<sup>u</sup>, and that in that regard he retained the ancient right of priesthood which belonged to the first-born or fathers of families. But unless I am very much mistaken, it is so far from following from hence that our laics have a right to administer the Lord's Supper, that the contrary will be very easily proved from it.

The fathers of families did at their own homes slay the paschal lamb, viz., because it was a private sacrifice, instituted of God for that end, that it should be eaten in every family. It was by no means of the number of those sacrifices which were brought to the temple, and offered up in a public manner. The paschal supper did not any way belong to the public worship of the temple, but was confined within the walls of private houses, and had all the appearance of a private commemoration. If, therefore, our most blessed Saviour had so instituted His Sacrament of the Eucharist as that it should not be celebrated in public assemblies, but that every one should in his own private house administer it

<sup>u</sup> That what is here asserted of the Passover, is to be confined to the times before the institution of the Levitical priesthood, see proved in the Advertisement concerning this and the fore-

going translation, at the end of this Appendix. [This note is added by the translator; the Advertisement is now placed at the end of this Number of the Appendix.]



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to himself and to his family, there would indeed be some weight in this argument. But since it evidently appears, both from sacred writ and from the constant practice of the Catholic Church, that the holy Eucharist is to be accounted among the chief offices of the public worship, the contrary, in my opinion, does manifestly follow from it. It was our blessed Saviour's will that the commemoration of His bloody passion should have the chief place in the public offices, and that it should have the nature of a commemorative sacrifice, far more noble than that typical and figurative one made use of among the Jews. It was His intent, therefore, without all doubt, that this public commemoration should be celebrated by the public ministers of His Church; that this commemorative sacrifice should be offered up by the public priests. It was necessary that the Jews should from their own principles understand our Saviour thus; for their public sacrifices were slain by their priests only; nothing was here claimed by the laity, nothing by the fathers of families; therefore the argument drawn from the paschal supper is trivial and of no force. For there is a very great difference between the paschal supper, which was a private sacrifice, and the Supper of the Lord, which is a public sacrifice, and claims the chief place among the public offices.

To this may be added, that it appears from most express passages of the Old Testament that the right of sacrificing the paschal lamb appertained to the fathers of families; whereas there is not the least word of any such power granted to the laics in the New Testament. This very great power was by our blessed Saviour committed to the Apostles, by the Apostles to the bishops, and by the bishops to the priests: but of any such power ever entrusted with the laity we have not so much as heard the least mention. Nay, the primitive Church looked upon the right of consecrating the Eucharist to be so appropriated to priests, that not only the laics, but even the deacons, could never arrogate it to themselves without the greatest impiety.

That all this is most true will appear by looking into the testimonies of the holy fathers concerning this matter.

And let St. Ignatius lead the way. In his Epistle to the Church of Smyrna he has this passage: "Let that Eucharist be accounted valid which is celebrated either under the

bishop, or under him to whom the bishop hath given his commission<sup>v</sup>." And in his Epistle to the Ephesians he says<sup>x</sup>: "Let no man be deceived; if any one be not within the altar," (that is, if any one do not communicate with the bishop,) "he is deprived of the bread of God: for if the prayer of one or two have so much force, how much more shall that of the bishop and whole Church have?" I shall content myself with these two passages, and from them it will be easy to make a judgment what was the opinion of that most holy martyr concerning the question before us. But that we may the better understand his meaning, it will be necessary to call to remembrance those principles which prevailed in the times of St. Ignatius. The blessed martyr takes it for granted<sup>y</sup> that the bishop administers upon earth in the place of Jesus Christ, and is the representative of the Divine Word<sup>z</sup>. He takes it also for granted that none are partakers of the spiritual benefits but such as are united to Jesus Christ our head; and that no man is united to Jesus Christ in heaven but he that joins himself to the communion of the bishop, who is Christ's representative upon earth. This is the reason that in all his Epistles he affirms over and over that these spiritual benefits depend upon our union with the bishop: that no baptism is valid, no prayer acceptable to God, no Eucharist beneficial, and lastly no matrimony good and valid, but what is performed within the communion of the bishop. From this principle he argues against schismatics, and maintains that they are dismembered from Jesus Christ because they have forsaken the communion of the bishop. And from hence he likewise concludes that their Sacraments are null and invalid.

Now from all this it appears,

1. That no Eucharist is true and valid but that which is celebrated within the communion of the bishop; from whence it follows that laics, as such, and of themselves, have no right to administer the Sacraments.

<sup>v</sup> ἐκέλευε βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἢ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὐσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ.—S. Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn., [c. 8. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 36.]

<sup>x</sup> μηδεὶς πλανάσθω ἐὰν μή τις ἢ ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ θεοῦ· εἰ γὰρ ἐνδὸς καὶ δευτέρου προ-

σευχή τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τε τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας.—Id., Epist. ad Ephes., [c. 5., ibid., p. 13.]

<sup>y</sup> [See above, pp. 300, 333; and Epist. ad Polycarp., c. 5. p. 41.]

<sup>z</sup> λόγος.

2. Whereas St. Ignatius uses this expression, “Or under him to whom the bishop hath given his permission,” some difficulty may seem to arise from these words; for if the bishop should permit a layman to administer the Sacrament, would it then be valid? Would it confer grace? This difficulty will immediately vanish if we consider the practice of the primitive Church. It was the custom for all the faithful dwelling in one city to receive the Sacrament from the bishop himself in the cathedral church, if that could be done, and the church was large enough to contain all the people. But when, as the multitude of the faithful increased, they began to be straitened, the bishop gave leave to one or other of the presbyters to celebrate the Eucharist in some oratory. By this means the unity of the Church was admirably consulted, and the meanest of the people by this method were very well apprized of how great moment it was to communicate with the bishop. It is sufficiently manifest, that by “him whom the bishop permits,” St. Ignatius means a priest; nay, I will undertake that there cannot be found so much as one instance of a bishop that ever permitted the power of consecrating the Sacrament, I do not say to a layman, but even to a deacon.

Thus we see very clearly what was judged concerning this great controversy by St. Ignatius, a man truly apostolic, and most familiarly acquainted with the Apostles themselves. Believe me, the least sentence of this holy martyr concerning controversies of this nature is deservedly to be preferred before whole volumes of the moderns, though never so much skilled in the art of criticism. For what does it signify, after a great deal of pains and much industry, at last to find out what Salmasius, Daillé, Calvin, Beza, and the rest of that sort of men thought concerning the point in dispute? For my part I must beg leave to follow venerable antiquity. To proceed, therefore, with the testimony of the ancients.

St. Justin Martyr is a most full evidence that in his time (viz., in the year of our Lord 140) the right of consecrating the Sacrament belonged to the president or bishop<sup>a</sup>: it appertained to him “to offer up prayers<sup>b</sup>,” &c., but he says not

<sup>a</sup> προεστώς.<sup>b</sup> εὐχὰς ἀναπέμπειν, κ.τ.λ.—S. Just.

M. Apol. i. c. 67. [Op., p. 83, E; quoted above, pp. 416, 417.]

one word of the consecration of laics. If we go on to St. Cyprian, the light and glory of the third century, how plainly, how fully, and how courageously does he declare for us? The most holy martyr maintains that<sup>c</sup> "the Eucharist is a full and true sacrifice, and that it is offered to God the Father by the priest, who administers upon earth in the stead of Jesus Christ." Is it possible that he who made use of such lofty and sublime expressions concerning the Sacrament, could so much as have the least suspicion of any consecration by laics? He must be a very great stranger to the writings of St. Cyprian that can suffer any such thing to enter into his mind.

The sum, therefore, of all this argument is this: Jesus Christ, when He instituted this holy Sacrament, consecrated the elements of bread and wine by a solemn form of benediction, as it was usual among the Jews; He commanded the Apostles to do the same which they saw Him do. That the Apostles did most religiously observe this command cannot be doubted without impiety: hence the cup is called by St. Paul<sup>d</sup> "the cup of blessing." That the primitive Church most strictly followed the example of the Apostles all the monuments of antiquity do in the fullest manner assure us. Wherever we meet with any mention of the holy Eucharist (and we meet with it very often) there we always read of consecration, and that performed by a priest; but not the least syllable of consecration by laics. From all which I argue, 1st. That consecration is necessarily required, in order that the elements of bread and wine may become to us the body and blood of Jesus Christ. 2ndly. That the right of consecration belongs to none but priests.

But here our adversary takes me up very smartly. Why, says he, do you boast so wonderfully of the holy fathers? Are not you ashamed of yourself? Are not you conscious that you impose upon the whole world? Have you so much forgot your Tertullian, whom you just now quoted, and endeavoured to force him against his will to give in evidence on your side of the cause? Let Tertullian, therefore, be called in again, whom alone of all the fathers of the Church

<sup>c</sup> S. Cypr. Ep. lxxiii. [ad Cæcilium. Op., p. 109; quoted above, p. 415.]

<sup>d</sup> 1 Cor. x. 16.



the laics think worthy to be read. I know very well that in this one author are contained all those objections which may any way seem to weaken our opinion. Under him they always shelter themselves, and think themselves safe enough against all the arguments brought from antiquity, wherewith they are pressed by the clergy. Let us then strictly examine this writer, and weighing his reasons on both sides, see what may be judged to make for us and what against us. In the first place, therefore, I will produce those passages which are frequently cited by our adversaries, and then seriously consider what force and weight we ought to ascribe to them.

In his treatise of Exhortation to Chastity, there is this passage<sup>e</sup>: “It is written, ‘And hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father:’ the difference between the sacred order and the people was made by the authority of the Church, and the honour sanctified by the assembly of the order; therefore where there is no assembly of the ecclesiastical order you offer and baptize, and are alone a priest to yourself.” And a little after: “Therefore if you have the right of a priest in yourself where it is necessary, you must needs also have the discipline of a priest where it is necessary to have the right of a priest.” And in his treatise concerning Baptism<sup>f</sup>: “The high-priest,” says he, “who is the bishop, has indeed the power of giving (baptism); and then the presbyters and the deacons, yet not without the authority of the bishop, for the sake of the Church’s honour; which being preserved her peace is safe. Otherwise the laics would also have right; for that which is received equally may be equally given.”

These are those passages of Tertullian so much talked of, which are urged with the greatest vehemence for the authority of the laics in sacred offices: but to these evidences

<sup>e</sup> Scriptum est, ‘Regnum quoque nos, et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo fecit: differentiam inter ordinemet plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas, et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus: adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos es tibi solus. . . . Igitur si habes jus sacerdotis in temetipso, ubi necesse est, habeas oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdotis, ubi necesse sit habere jus sa-

cerdotis.—Tertull. de Exhort. Castit., cap. vii. [Op., p. 522, A.]

<sup>f</sup> Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus: dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem, quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est, quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest.—Id. de Baptismo, cap. xvii. [Op., pp. 230, C. 231, A.]

from Tertullian, as much as they may appear to make against us, there are very many things which may be justly answered, viz.

1. Supposing that it evidently appeared from these passages that there was nothing in the Christian priesthood but what in the absence of the priest might be administered by a laic, what would follow from thence? To wit, that that was Tertullian's meaning, that there was no proper and real distinction between the clergy and the laity. But what, I desire to know, ought the opinion of Tertullian alone to avail against the most stedfast judgment of the whole Catholic Church? Will any impartial judge of things believe that the imagination of one private writer, and he uncorrect, of a fierce unruly temper, and of a most luxuriant style, is to be preferred before the practice and judgment of the whole Catholic Church?

In producing the testimonies of the holy fathers it is of very great moment to distinguish nicely between those things which they deliver to us as historians, as witnesses most worthy to be believed, and those which they collect by certain private reasonings, which are to be esteemed as their own judgments. In things of the first kind we cannot refuse to give them credit without the greatest both ignorance and obstinacy: but with regard to the private reasonings of the holy fathers, we ought no farther to subscribe to them than we find their reasons of weight enough to persuade us. This observation will be of the greatest use in reading all the fathers, but particularly Tertullian, who seems to give too much liberty to his luxuriant wit. Good God! how very often does he stray from the question! What light, trivial, and empty stuff does he put off for arguments! All that he writes indeed is elegant, copious, and delightful; but in his works you will find many, very many things, which want both force and weight. Do but just look over his treatise *de Corona*<sup>s</sup>, a beautiful piece indeed, and adorned with all the flowers of African eloquence; but if you look for arguments in it he will wonderfully deceive you. Nothing sound, nothing solid, nothing that looks like an argument does any where appear therein. Let us see, therefore, whether this

<sup>s</sup> [Tertull. *de Corona*, Op., pp. 100, sqq.]

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new, and till now altogether unheard of opinion concerning the Christian priesthood, did not spring from Tertullian's most fruitful brain, or was not wholly owing to his private reasonings. That indeed is what I affirm. He brings reasons in both places, by which he endeavours to confirm this opinion of his. I desire, therefore, that we may weigh his reasons: for Tertullian's authority in this controversy ought to be just of as much weight as his reasons are found to be of.

In his Exhortation to Chastity, our African writer argues from that famous passage of St. Peter<sup>1</sup>: "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people, that ye should shew forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light." From these words he collects that the whole Christian people are a royal priesthood, and consequently that all the ministries of the priesthood belong to them. Now if it can be clearly and evidently proved that no such thing can be justly concluded from those words of the Apostle, Tertullian's authority (in this particular<sup>1</sup>) will fall to the ground, and this new and ill-grounded conjecture will vanish into smoke. Let us try, therefore. These words of St. Peter are taken from a passage in Exodus, where God calls the Israelites<sup>1</sup> "a kingdom of priests and an holy nation." But if these words in Exodus do not by any means prove that there were no functions so appropriated to the Israelitical priests as that the laity could not usurp them without impiety, neither will these words in St. Peter prove that the Christian people have any right to administer the functions appropriated to the priesthood amongst them. The antecedent is manifest from all experience, and from all the monuments of antiquity; therefore nothing can be concluded from St. Peter concerning the authority of the laics in this matter. Tertullian therefore argues ill; he is mistaken; his reasoning here is of no force; his authority is of no power to persuade.

<sup>1</sup> [These words are added by the translator.]

<sup>1</sup> ἡ ὑμεῖς δὲ, γένος ἐκλεκτὸν, βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα, ἔθνος ἅγιον, λαὸς εἰς περιποίησιν ὕπως τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐξαγγείλητε τοῦ ἐκ σκότους ὑμᾶς καλέσαντος εἰς τὸ ἀμαστὸν αὐτοῦ φῶς. 1 Pet. ii. 9.—

[See Tertull. de Exhort. Cast., c. vii.; quoted above, p. 426, note e.]

<sup>1</sup> βασιλείον ἱεράτευμα, καὶ ἔθνος ἅγιον. Exod. xix. 6.

In the same chapter this ancient writer is not afraid to affirm<sup>k</sup> “that where there are three Christians met they are a Church, though they be all laics;” which is not only most false, but repugnant to the constant opinion of the primitive Church, especially of that age wherein Tertullian flourished. St. Ignatius had before that time taught quite otherwise: so afterwards did St. Cyprian, St. Jerome, and all the rest that were conversant in ecclesiastical traditions, who all with one consent instruct us that the Church cannot be understood without a bishop.

Let us proceed to the second reason alleged by Tertullian, which we meet in his treatise concerning Baptism, expressed in these words<sup>l</sup>: “For that which is equally received may be equally given.” But what is weaker and more absurd than this proposition? It is not worth while to dwell upon the answer to so trifling an objection. I will only produce one instance fetched from the Jewish commonwealth. The Israelitical priests received a power of sacrificing from God; but could they therefore equally give this power to others? No such matter. All this is nothing but mere trifling, and has not the least weight in it. Tertullian’s reasons neither do nor can prove any thing. I beg leave, therefore, to dissent from Tertullian in this particular, and rather to follow reason than the authority of a great man which has not the least reason to support it.

St. Cyprian, who is in age only forty years inferior to Tertullian, affords us a most noted instance of this matter. In his fifth Epistle, which after his departure he sent to his presbyters and deacons, he admonishes them to use the greatest both care and prudence in visiting the confessors. He judges that the safest way is, that few should go to them at one time, and those privately, lest doing otherwise should give offence. But let us hear St. Cyprian’s own words: “Consult therefore,” says he<sup>m</sup>, “and provide, that this may be done more safely and with caution, so that the presbyters

<sup>k</sup> Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici.  
—Tertull. de Exhort. Cast. [c. vii.  
These words follow those quoted above,  
p. 426, note e.]

<sup>l</sup> Tertull. de Baptism. ubi sup.;  
[quoted above, p. 426, note f.]

<sup>m</sup> Consulite ergo et providete, ut  
cum temperamento hoc agi tutius pos-

sit, ita ut presbyteri quoque qui illic  
apud confessores offerunt, singuli cum  
singulis diaconis per vices alternent:  
quia et mutatio personarum et vicissitudo  
convenientium minuit invidiam.—  
[S. Cypr. Epist. iv. (v. ed. Pamel.)  
Op., p. 9.]



also, who there administer to the confessors, may go every one by turns with each of the deacons, because the change of persons and vicissitude of comers gives less occasion of jealousy." From this passage of the holy martyr what I would prove is this, that in the age of St. Cyprian the consecration of laics was not so much as heard of, for if at that time this custom had obtained, is it not a matter of wonder that the confessors were not allowed to consecrate the Eucharist for themselves? What was the cause why the priests should with the greatest danger of their lives go to the prison, visit the faithful, and fortify and confirm them against the terrors of death, and the threats of their persecutors, with the most wholesome sacrifice of the Eucharist, if the laics also had a right to consecrate the Sacrament? Whence is it that St. Cyprian did nowhere exhort them that when necessity urged, and no priests were at hand, they should offer and consecrate for themselves? Whence is it that in all the history of the Church we never read that confessors, at the very approach of death, consecrated the Eucharist? But there are no instances or footsteps any where appear of such kind of consecrations, even in cases of the utmost exigence. Whatever occurs in the holy fathers concerning this sacrifice, excepting only one obscure and very difficult passage of Tertullian, persuades us of the contrary, and most evidently proves that this power did ever belong to priests only. Is it not very agreeable to reason to argue that the laity never had any such power, because it is sufficiently manifest that no such power was ever exercised by them?

The next argument by which I prove that in the opinion of the third century laics had never any right to consecrate the Sacrament, is taken from hence, that it appears that deacons, the third order of the holy ministry, were never endowed with that power. And this appears most evidently from the great Nicene council, whose authority was always of very great esteem in the Christian Church. The words of the canon are these: "The holy and great council was informed that in some places and cities the deacons gave the

<sup>n</sup> ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην  
σύνοδον, ὅτι ἐν τισὶ τόποις καὶ πόλεσι  
τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν εὐχαριστίαν οἱ  
διάκονοι διδόνασιν ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν,  
οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκεν, τοὺς ἐξου-

σίαν μὴ ἔχοντας προσφέρειν, τοῖς προσ-  
φέρουσι διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.  
—Conc. Nic. Can. xviii. [Concilia, tom.  
ii. col. 41, A.]

Eucharist to the presbyters, a thing which neither canon nor custom allowed, viz., that such as have not authority to offer should deliver the body of Christ to those that offer." The canon does in most express words deny that deacons ought so much as to deliver the elements to priests; and then alleges this reason, that according to the canons and custom of the Church it was unworthy of, and by no means became those, who had not the power of consecrating the Sacrament, to deliver the Eucharist to priests, who were endowed with this extraordinary power. From this one passage we understand that the fathers of the Nicene council, men venerable both for age, learning, and piety, and perfectly well acquainted with, and most tenacious of ecclesiastical traditions, had never so much as heard of consecrations by deacons, and much less by laics. It is indeed very wonderful that this most ancient and pure custom (as they loudly proclaim it) should in the best times, without any contest or the least noise, have so wholly vanished throughout all the Christian world that it was not only not made use of by any one, but that not so much as one of all those bishops, assembled from all the corners of the empire, had been able to learn even that there ever was any such custom in the Church. From this one testimony (it is so considerable and illustrious) we may not without reason conclude that the power of consecrating the elements in the holy Eucharist never belonged either to laics or to deacons.

## DISSERTATION VI.

### OF THE POWER OF THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE IN THE ELECTIONS OF THE CLERGY.

WHAT has been said in the foregoing dissertations is abundantly sufficient to persuade even the most obstinate that there is a very great difference between the clergy and the laity, and that the sacred functions are so appropriated to that order as that they cannot be usurped by laics without rashness and impiety. It remains now that I add something concerning the authority of the Christian people in the elec-

tions of the clergy, lest any thing should seem to be wanting to my purpose. Our adversaries do vehemently contend that the suffrages of the people are so necessarily required in the elections of bishops and presbyters, that if these suffrages be either taken away or diminished no such election ought to be accounted just and lawful. And this conjecture of theirs they imagine is wonderfully confirmed, not only from the nature of the Christian society, but also from divers examples in the New Testament.

I assert, therefore, that the people, or multitude of the faithful, had no proper suffrages in the elections of the clergy; but whatever power in this particular they arrogated to themselves in the third or fourth century, (and I do not deny that they arrogated very much,) that all that, whatever it was, was done by the indulgence and favour of the bishops, but by no manner of right. And I am not afraid of undertaking to demonstrate this with the greatest evidence and perspicuity. For,

1. It appears most clearly from the sacred oracles, that Jesus Christ committed the care and government of His Church to a certain determinate order of men. But concerning the authority or suffrages of the people, there does not appear the least shadow of a command. And indeed, as far as I can see, the very designation of a certain peculiar order for the government of the Church does manifestly exclude the laity from all authority in matters ecclesiastical. For pray consider: when any one delivers a commission to a particular person, is not he thereby supposed to have utterly excluded all other persons whatever from the power designed in that commission?

2. To whom the power of the keys is entrusted after a peculiar manner, to them also is committed the power of governing the Church *in solidum*, (to speak in St. Cyprian's phrase<sup>o</sup>;) that is, so to share the government among them, as that each had a right in the whole. This is manifest from thence, that the power of governing the Church is in the Scripture particularly designed by the power of the keys. It is a thing most evident, that the power of the keys was always committed to the Apostles apart from the people:

<sup>o</sup> [S. Cyprian. de Unitate Ecclesiæ, Op., p. 195, quoted above, p. 192.]

from whence this also follows, that it was likewise apart from the people that the power of governing the Church was committed to the Apostles, and the authority which the Apostles had received from Jesus Christ, they did also apart from the people entrust whole and entire to the bishops. Therefore the right and authority of governing the Church belongs to the bishops, without either the power or the suffrages of the people.

3. Though we look through the Epistles to Timothy and Titus never so often, we shall be able to find nothing therein, which can by any means seem to favour the authority of the people in things sacred. The Apostle does most fully instruct Timothy and all his successors how they ought to behave themselves, both in inflicting ecclesiastical censures and in consecrating ecclesiastical persons. But he says not the least word either of the authority or of the suffrages of the people: nay there are not a few things in these Epistles which persuade the contrary. In the former of those to Timothy the Apostle gives him this caution<sup>p</sup>: “Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins.” If these words are to be understood, as most allow, concerning the ordination of presbyters, it may be safely concluded from them that the full power of ordination is in the hands of bishops; for it were unjust that all the fault of a bad ordination should be wholly thrown upon the bishop, if in all ordinations the people had at least an equal authority with the bishop, or perhaps even a greater than he.

There is no precept therefore occurs in all the New Testament, by virtue of which the people can arrogate this power to themselves. Let us now see what authority accrues to the cause of the laics from the examples which are mentioned in holy Scripture. And believe me, we shall find that just as much as the other. For whereas,

1. It is said that in the Acts of the Apostles<sup>q</sup> St. Matthias was chosen into the Apostleship by the common suffrage of the Church: I answer; that St. Matthias was both nominated and elected, neither by the people, nor by the Apostles, but by God Himself, after an extraordinary manner.

<sup>p</sup> χείρας ταχέως μηδενὶ ἐπιτίθει, μηδὲ κοινώνει ἁμαρτίας ἀλλοτρίαις. 1 Tim. v. 22.

<sup>q</sup> Acts i.



So that nothing can be gathered from hence which makes for either side of the question.

2. It is confidently affirmed, that the making of deacons in the Acts<sup>r</sup> is by the Apostles themselves referred wholly to the people. On the contrary I reply, that only the nomination of deacons, but not by any means either the election or consecration of them, is in this place ascribed to the Christian people. And farther I urge, that the Apostles granted this to the people, not by any original or divine right, but by a certain peculiar indulgence which the necessity of the time required. Besides, I would ask those who make this objection, what their opinion is, whether the assembly of the Apostles could reject the persons nominated to them by the multitude, or could not. If they could not, there is an end of the authority of the Apostleship. But if it be granted that they could have rejected them, then it is in vain to contend that any right in elections of the clergy accrues to the people from this place.

3. As to that doughty and formidable argument taken from the word *χειροτονία*, (“ordination<sup>s</sup>,”) I shall only answer these few things: they who make use of such arguments, to wit, that are taken from the triflings and impertinences of grammarians, ought to be received only with laughter and contempt, and not vouchsafed any serious answer. Let these empty triflers go therefore, and either invent better reasons or give up their cause as desperate.

4. Well; but, say they, the primitive Church always granted this authority to the Christian people: all the holy fathers acknowledge this; and St. Cyprian (whom you will not deny to have been very well acquainted with the discipline of the Church) does more than once assert, that it depends upon a divine and apostolic right. Let us go therefore, if you please, to the holy fathers.

There are very ancient footsteps of ordination extant in St. Clement’s Epistle to the Corinthians; where there is also mention of the consent of the people. Let us hear his words: “Such therefore,” says he<sup>t</sup>, “as were appointed by them,” (he

<sup>r</sup> Acts vi.

<sup>s</sup> [This word is added by the translator; the argument turns on the word’s

meaning “election.” See Acts xiv. 24.]

<sup>t</sup> τοὺς οὖν κατασταθέντας ὑπ’ ἐκείνων, ἢ μεταξὺ ὑφ’ ἐτέρων ἐλλογιμῶν ἀνδρῶν,

means the Apostles,) "or afterwards by other eminent men, with the consent of the whole Church, and have administered blamelessly to the flock of Christ, with humility, peaceably, and without sordidness, and have testimonials of their good behaviour for a considerable time from all that know them, such men we think to be unjustly deprived of their ministry." In the primitive ordinations (as this apostolic writer teaches us) the consent<sup>u</sup> of the people was required. It is true: we do not deny it. But what, I beseech you, was this consent? By the word which we render thus, we cannot understand so much as nomination, much less election. St. Clement's meaning therefore was this: that the consent of the people was requisite in the ordinations of the clergy; viz., that they should give the persons to be ordained their testimony concerning their lives, their manners, and their piety, (as it is intimated in the words immediately following,) that the Church might suffer no damage; and that the bishops for want of such information might not promote unworthy or impious persons to so great dignity. That this power belongs to the people, I most readily acknowledge; and it is most fully owned by the Church of England. But if our adversaries imagine, that any thing farther can be extorted from this passage, in truth they are miserably mistaken. St. Clement is wholly on our side of the question.

In St. Ignatius' Epistles (as well as I remember) there is nothing concerning the consent of the people. And no man can ever believe that a greater power than this was allowed to the people by him, who ascribed so plenary an authority to bishops in all ecclesiastical offices.

St. Irenæus, that glory of the city of Lyons, yields the clearest testimonies to the divine original of episcopacy; but as far as I have been able to observe from a repeated perusal of the works of this most learned father, he says not one word concerning ordinations.

Let us come therefore to St. Cyprian, in whom, and almost in him only, our adversaries place the support of their cause.

συνευδοκησάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας πάσης,  
καὶ λειτουργήσαντας ἀμέμπως τῷ ποιμ-  
νίῳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ ταπεινοφροσύνης,  
ἡσύχως καὶ ἀβαναύσως, μεμαρτυρημένους  
τε πολλοῖς χρόνοις ὑπὸ πάντων, τούτους

οὐ δικαίως νομίζομεν ἀποβαλέσθαι τῆς  
λειτουργίας. — [S. Clem. R. Epist. i.  
cap. 44. Patr. Apost., tom. i. p. 173.]

<sup>u</sup> συνευδόκησις.

Having therefore with the greatest diligence and integrity examined into the works of this most holy prelate, I will clearly and ingenuously set down what was his opinion concerning the question before us.

And in order to this end I will do these three things.

1. I will describe the method of ordination practised in the times of St. Cyprian.

2. I will enquire what in the African style is to be understood by the word *suffragium*, "suffrage."

3. I will prove that St. Cyprian had power to ordain without the people.

1. I begin with the method of ordination, as it was practised in St. Cyprian's time; and I will give it you in his own words. In his sixty-eighth Epistle according to the Oxford edition, speaking of Novatian, he says<sup>x</sup>: "And when he had sent messengers to us into Africa, desiring to be admitted to our communion, here from a council of very many of us bishops, who were present, he received this sentence, that he had begun to exclude himself out of the Church, and that it was not lawful for any of us to receive him to communion, who, when Cornelius his bishop had been ordained in the Catholic Church by the judgment of God, and the suffrage of the clergy and of the people, attempted to erect a profane altar, and set up an adulterous see, and offer sacrilegious sacrifices in opposition to the true bishop."

And in the Epistle immediately foregoing<sup>1</sup>: "Nor," says he, "let the people flatter themselves, as if they could be free from the contagion of the sin, while they communicate with a bishop who is a sinner, and give their consent to the unjust and unlawful episcopacy of their prelate. . . . when they (the people) especially have the power either of choosing

<sup>1</sup> ['following,' in ed. Ben.]

<sup>x</sup> Et cum ad nos in Africam legatos misisset, optans ad communicationem nostram admitti, hic a concilio plurimorum sacerdotum qui præsentes eramus sententiam retulerit, se foris esse cœpisse, nec posse a quoquam nostrum sibi communicari, qui episcopo Cornelio in catholica ecclesia de Dei iudicio et cleri ac plebis suffragio ordinato, profanum altare erigere, et adulteram cathedram collocare, et sacrilega contra verum sacerdotem sacrificia offerre

tentaverit.—[S. Cypr. Epist. lxxvii. (lxxviii. ed. Oxon.) Op., p. 115. ed. Ben.]

<sup>y</sup> Nec sibi plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis esse a contagio delicti possit, cum sacerdote peccatore communicans, et ad injustum atque illicitum præpositi sui episcopatum consensum suum commodans. . . . Quando ipsa (plebs) maxime habeat potestatem vel eligendi dignos sacerdotes, vel indignos recusandi. Quod et ipsum videmus de

worthy bishops, or of refusing such as are unworthy. Which very thing we see also is derived from divine authority, that the bishop be chosen in the presence of the people before all their eyes, and by their public judgment and testimony be approved of, as worthy and fit (for that sacred office;) as in the book of Numbers the Lord commanded Moses, saying: 'Take Aaron thy brother and Eleazar his son, and bring them up unto mount Hor, in the sight of all the congregation, and strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son; and Aaron shall be gathered unto his people, and shall die there.' God commands a priest to be made in the sight of all the congregation; that is, He instructs and shews them that the ordinations of priests were not to be celebrated but with the knowledge of the people who were to be there; that in the presence of the people, either the crimes of the bad might be detected, or the merits of the good be proclaimed; and the ordination be just and lawful, which should be tried by the suffrage and judgment of all. . . . For which reason that is to be diligently kept and observed according to divine tradition and apostolic observation, which is also observed among us, and through almost all the provinces, that in order to the due celebration of ordinations, in the city for which a bishop is to be ordained all the nearest bishops of the same province meet, and a bishop be chosen in the presence of the people, who fully know the lives of all the candidates, and have experienced the behaviour of each of them by their conversation. Which also we see to be done among you in the ordination of our colleague Sabinus, that the dignity of bishop is conferred upon him, and he ordained in the place of Basilides, by the

divina auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos plebe præsentè sub omnium oculis deligatur, et dignus atque idoneus publico iudicio ac testimonio comprobetur; sicut in Numeris Dominus Moysi præcepit, dicens: 'Apprehende Aaron fratrem tuum, et Eleazarum filium ejus, et impones eos in montem coram omni synagoga, et exue Aaron stolam ejus, et indue Eleazarum filium ejus, et Aaron appositus moriatur illic.' Coram omni synagoga jubet Deus constitui sacerdotem, id est, instruit et ostendit ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere,

ut plebe præsentè vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel honorum merita prædicentur, et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et iudicio fuerit examinata.—[Id., Epist. lxxviii. (lxvii. ed. Oxon.) *ibid.*, pp. 118, sqq.] Propter quod diligenter de traditione divina et apostolica observatione servandum est et tenendum, quod apud nos quoque, et fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas, ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provincie proximi quique convenient, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsentè,





before all their eyes, that by the judgment and testimony of all he may be approved of, as worthy and fit for the sacred office." And Origen attests the same thing; for he says "that the presence of the people is therefore required in the ordination of a bishop, that they all may know and be assured, that one who is the most excellent among all the people, one who is the most learned, the most holy, and the most eminent in all virtue, is promoted to the episcopal dignity." And to this purpose he cites that precept of the Apostle<sup>a</sup>, "Moreover he must have a good report of them which are without." From whence it is sufficiently evident, that in the judgment of Origen, nothing else belongs to the people in this matter, but their testimony and consent.

But here it is wont to be urged by those who defend the other side of the question, that bishops were chosen by the "suffrages" of the people; and that in the age of St. Cyprian the suffrages of the people were always required to a just and lawful ordination: and that this suffrage of theirs must of necessity mean something more than either their testimony or their bare consent; therefore the whole controversy comes to this, what according to the African style is to be understood by the word *suffragium*, "suffrage," of which St. Cyprian makes such frequent use, where he mentions any thing concerning ordinations.

2. Let us see therefore what St. Cyprian meant by the word *suffragium*. And from hence, if I am not much mistaken, it will appear still more clearly and evidently, that the African people never had suffrages which were truly elective.

In his treatise Concerning the Vanity of Idols, he has this expression<sup>b</sup>: "They delivered Him to Pontius Pilate, with violent and obstinate suffrages, requiring His crucifixion and death." That is, the wicked Jews did with most importunate requests and united clamours beseech Pilate that Jesus Christ might be crucified. What, had the people of the Jews an equal authority with Pilate? could Pilate determine nothing, especially in capital causes, without the

<sup>a</sup> δεῖ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ μαρτυρίαν καλὴν ἔχειν ἀπὸ τῶν ἑξωθεν. 1 Tim. iii. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Pontio Pilato . . . tradiderunt; cru-

cem ejus et mortem suffragiis violentis ac pertinacibus flagitantes.—[S. Cypr. de Idolorum Vanitate, Op., p. 228.]

suffrages of the accusers? no such matter. It is very easy to understand what St. Cyprian means by suffrages in this place.

In his seventy-third Epistle are these words<sup>c</sup>: "For that which some say, as if what was said by the Apostle St. Paul belonged to the suffrage of heretics," &c. Suffrage of heretics! What suffrage, I beseech you, does he mean? No doubt he means their opinion, consent, and judgment.

It is rashly, therefore, and unlearnedly, or perhaps against their own knowledge, that the wretched disciples of Erastus contend that St. Cyprian, such and so great a man, is on their side of the question, as one who frequently asserts that bishops were elected by the suffrages of the people; for the word *suffragium* in St. Cyprian has a far different meaning from what they pretend. Nay, I shall not fear to affirm that this word in the African dialect denotes nothing else but a mere simple testimony. Let the reader consult these two passages following, and weigh and compare them well together, and I make no doubt but he will be of my opinion. "And Cornelius," says he<sup>d</sup>, "was made a bishop by the judgment of God, and of His Christ, and by the testimony of almost all the clergy, by the suffrage of the people who were then present, and by a college of ancient bishops and good men," &c. And again: "None," says he<sup>e</sup>, "would move any thing against the college of the bishops; no man after the divine judgment, after the suffrage of the people, after the consent of the fellow-bishops, would make himself a judge, not now of the bishop, but of God," &c.

3. It remains that I prove that St. Cyprian did without the people ordain ecclesiastical persons.

In his fortieth Epistle he recommends to the clergy and people of Carthage Numidicus, a most glorious confessor, who bore in his body the honourable marks of the Lord

<sup>c</sup> Quod enim quidam dicunt, quasi ad hæreticorum suffragium pertineat, quod dixerit Apostolus Paulus, &c.—Id., Epist. lxxiii. [ad Jubaianum de hæreticis baptizandis, Op., p. 133.]

<sup>d</sup> Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pene omnium testimonio, de plebis, que tunc affuit, suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et

bonorum virorum collegio, &c.—[Id., Epist. lii. ad Antonianum, Op., p. 68.]

<sup>e</sup> Nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quidquam moveret; nemo post divinum judicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum judicem se jam non episcopi, sed Dei faceret, &c.—[Id., Epist. Iv. ad Cornelium cont. hæreticos, Op., p. 82.]

Jesus Christ<sup>f</sup>, and was ordained by St. Cyprian; “for,” says he<sup>g</sup>, “I desire you may know that we were admonished and instructed by the divine condescension to add Numidicus, a presbyter, to the number of the presbyters of Carthage, that he may sit with us among the clergy, being rendered illustrious by the most splendid brightness of his confession, and sublime with the honour of virtue and faith,” &c.

In his thirty-ninth Epistle he acquaints the same clergy and people that Celerinus, an eminent confessor, was by him chosen into the lesser order of Reader in the Church. “Rejoice, therefore,” says he<sup>h</sup>, “and be exceeding glad, when you read our letter, wherein I, and my colleagues who were present, send you word that our brother Celerinus, equally glorious for his virtues and good life, is added to the number of our clergy, not by the suffrage of men, but by the favour of God.”

His thirty-eighth Epistle is also written to his clergy and people, and begins thus<sup>i</sup>: “In ordinations of the clergy, most dear brethren, we are wont first to consult you, and by common counsel to weigh the manners and merits of each person; but there is no need of waiting for human testimonies where we have already suffrages which are divine. Our brother Aurelius, an illustrious young man, already approved of the Lord,” &c.; and almost at the end of the Epistle: “Know therefore, most dearly beloved brethren, that this person is ordained by me, and my colleagues who were present.”

From this one Epistle these following particulars are very easily deduced:

<sup>f</sup> Gal. vi. 17.

<sup>g</sup> Nam admonitos nos et instructos sciatis dignatione divina, ut Numidicus presbyter adscribatur presbyterorum Carthaginiensium numero, et nobiscum sedeat in clero, luce clarissima confessionis illustris, et virtutis ac fidei honore sublimis.—[Id., Epist. xxxv. (xl. ed. Oxon.) ad Cler. et Pleb. de Numidico, pp. 48, 49.]

<sup>h</sup> Exultate itaque et gaudete nobiscum (lectis) literis nostris, quibus ego et collegæ mei, qui præsentés aderant, referimus ad vos, Celerinum fratrem nostrum, virtutibus pariter et moribus gloriosum, clero nostro non humana suffragatione, sed divina dignatione

conjunctum.—[Id., Epist. xxxv. (xxxix. ed. Oxon.) ad eosdem, de Celerino lectore ordinato. Ibid., p. 47.]

<sup>i</sup> In ordinationibus clericis, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare: sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum præcedunt divina suffragia. Aurelius frater noster, illustris adolescens, a Domino jam probatus, &c. . . . Hunc igitur, fratres dilectissimi, a me et a collegis, qui præsentés aderant, ordinatum sciatis.—[Id., Epist. xxxiii. (xxxviii. ed. Oxon.) ad eosdem, de Aurelio lectore ordinato. Ibid., p. 46.]



1. That in ordinations of the clergy St. Cyprian was always accustomed to consult the people, and to desire their judgment and testimony.

2. That the most holy martyr consulted the people in this case for no other end but to weigh the manners and merits of each person by common counsel, and by that means the better to know their course of life.

3. That St. Cyprian did not think even this so necessary as that without it no ordinations might be accounted legitimate ; but that when the necessity of the times required it, it is certain that without either the advice, or testimony, or suffrage of the people, he both nominated persons to be admitted into the clergy, and having nominated elected them, and consecrated those he had thus elected.

And now let us look back upon the most ancient method of ordination ; let us consider likewise in what a loose sense the word *suffragium* is used by St. Cyprian ; and lastly, let us reflect that sometimes St. Cyprian himself did both elect and consecrate readers, deacons, and presbyters, without the knowledge of the people. And after all this we shall very easily perceive that there is nothing to be found in the Epistles of that learned father which will either confirm the power of the people or lessen the just authority of bishops. From all which it is most evident that in St. Cyprian's time the people had no suffrages which were truly elective.

But here it may not be amiss to produce the words of the most learned Bishop Beveridge, which very fully express my sense of this matter. Having considered what St. Cyprian says on this occasion, he adds<sup>k</sup>, "It appears, therefore, that the right of election belongs to the bishops ; the testimony, consent, and approbation of the election to the people. Therefore the people sometimes proposed a person to be chosen to the bishops, but the bishops did not always choose the person proposed to them by the people ; and therefore the whole determination of the election was in the power of

<sup>k</sup> Jus igitur electionis ad episcopos præsentibus, testimonium autem consensus et electionis comprobatio, ad plebem pertinuit. . . . Plebs igitur episcopis eligendum nonnunquam proponebat ; sed episcopi a plebe propositum non semper eligebant, ac proinde totum electionis arbitrium penes epi-

scopos erat, usque adeo ut multas legere sit episcopales ordinationes et electiones etiam celebratas ab episcopis sine plebe ; a plebe autem sine episcopis nullas.—Beveregii Annot. in iv. Can. Con. Nic. [ad calc. tom. ii. Pandect. Canonum, pp. 47, 48.]

the bishops, insomuch that we may read of many ordinations and elections of bishops performed by bishops without the people, but of none by the people without bishops." Thus the whole matter is admirably comprised in a very few words by that great man, than whom no one was more conversant in ecclesiastical traditions.

And yet as clear and manifest as all this is, it may be still more fully illustrated and confirmed by a remarkable passage in Lampridius, in his Life of the Emperor Alexander Severus. "And because," says he<sup>1</sup>, "we have happened to mention the publishing of the emperor's orders, when he had a mind either to put governors over provinces, or to make presidents, or to appoint procurators, that is receivers, he proposed their names, exhorting the people that if any one had a crime to allege against any of them he should make evident proof of it, and if he did not prove it he should undergo capital punishment. And he said that it was hard when that was done by the Christians and Jews in proclaiming those who were to be ordained their priests, that the same should not be done with respect to the governors of provinces, to whose care were entrusted both the fortunes and lives of men."

On this passage the learned Casaubon has the following note<sup>m</sup>: "The writings of St. Cyprian are full of testimonies of this custom, as when in his forty-third Epistle he writes thus: 'In ordinations of the clergy, most dear brethren, we are wont first to consult you, and by common counsel to weigh the manners and merits of each person.' But out of many places of St. Cyprian which make for this purpose I

<sup>1</sup> Et quia de publicandis dispositionibus mentio contigit, ubi aliquos voluisset vel rectores provinciis dare, vel præpositos facere, vel procuratores, id est, rationales ordinare, nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum, ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret manifestis rebus; si non probasset, subiret pœnam capitis; dicebatque grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judæi facerent in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committerentur et capita. —Ælii Lampridii Alexander Severus, [cap. 45. ap. Historiæ Augustæ

Scriptores Sex; tom. i. p. 197. Lugd. Bat. 1671.]

<sup>m</sup> Plena sunt beati Cypriani scripta testimoniis hujus moris, ut cum Epistola xxxiv. [xxxiii. p. 46. ed. Ben.] scribit: 'in ordinationibus clericis, fratres charissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare.' Sed ex pluribus Cypriani locis qui huc faciunt, unum afferemus, ex quo potest intelligi, et prædicari sacerdotes quid sit, et quam bene Christiani et Judæi in observatione hujus moris ab Alexandro conjungantur. Sic igitur ille postquam retulit, quomodo Eleazarus Aaronis

will produce one, by which it may be understood both what is to be meant by ‘proclaiming such as are to be ordained priests,’ and how well the Christians and Jews are by the Emperor Alexander here joined together with respect to the observance of this custom. Thus, therefore, having related how Eleazar, the son of Aaron, was made priest, ‘God,’ says he, ‘commands a priest to be made in the sight of all the congregation, that is, He instructs and shews them that the ordinations of priests were not to be celebrated but with the knowledge of the people who were to be there; that in the presence of the people either the crimes of the bad might be detected, or the merits of the good be proclaimed, and the ordination be just and lawful, which should be tried by the judgment of all.’”

If, therefore, any credit may be given to Casaubon, a man of great skill in all kinds of learning, St. Cyprian means nothing else by “the suffrage of the people” but their consent, testimony, and approbation.

In the sixth canon of the council of Chalcedon this publication of names is called *ἐπικήρυξις*, “notification by a public crier.” The canon provides “That none be ordained absolutely, (or without a title to any particular Church,) either priest or deacon, or to any one whatsoever of the ecclesiastical orders, but that his intended ordination be first publicly notified in the church of the city or village, or in the chapel or monastery;” to wit, that all such may be recommended by the testimony of the people, and “either their crimes be detected or their merits proclaimed.” The laity had always this power, and the same power is allowed them by the Church of England. We really congratulate them on this authority in the elections of the clergy, and earnestly desire them to use the greatest integrity in a matter of such mighty importance. How magnificently would the

*filius sacerdos fuisset creatus: [Epist. lxxviii. p. 118. ed. Ben.] ‘Coram omni synagoga,’ inquit, ‘jubet Deus constitui sacerdotem: id est, instituit et ostendit ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsentis vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum merita prædicentur: et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, quæ omnium suffragio et ju-*

*dicio fuerit examinata.’—[Is. Casaubon. Annot. in loc., ibid.]*

*ἢ μηδένα ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε ὄλωσ τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι· εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κώμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ἢ μοναστηρίῳ ὃ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικηρύττοιο.—[Conc. Chalced. (A.D. 451.) Can. vi. Concilia, tom. iv. col. 1684, D, E.]*

Church of England triumph, if all of us, as well clergy as laity, would with united forces endeavour that no one distinguished for his impieties, no one defiled with the pollution of a vicious life, no one notorious for foul and infamous crimes, should profane the sacred dignity of the priesthood. Here is abundantly room enough for the zeal of the faithful to exert itself with the greatest advantage. But they who assume to themselves a greater power, who claim a right both of nominating and electing: all these, believe me, have no regard to piety and to the honour of the Church, and to the salvation of souls, but only sacrifice to ambition and a wicked desire of rule.

Thus, in my opinion, I have sufficiently proved that the laity had never any truly elective suffrages in the elections of the clergy during the second and third centuries, but that a plenary authority in all such elections appertained to the bishops. The people sometimes proposed a person to the choice of the bishop, but the bishop very often rejected the person they proposed. Therefore nothing can be gathered from the monuments of the primitive Church that makes for the cause of Erastianism, which the numerous spawn of Socinus do with so much industry endeavour to propagate.

Yet it ought not to be denied that at length in the fourth century the power of the people in the elections of bishops increased prodigiously, and exceeded all bounds. Of this licentious power of the people the most holy fathers do very frequently complain. St. Jerome, in his first book against Jovinian, has these words: "Sometimes the judgment of the common people is wrong, and in approving bishops every one favours his own manners, and seeks not so much for a good bishop as for one like himself." And this is abundantly confirmed from the second Apology of St. Athanasius<sup>p</sup>, and St. Gregory Nazianzen's nineteenth and twentieth Epistles<sup>q</sup>. Hence it very often came to pass that persons most unworthy, remarkable neither for learning nor

<sup>o</sup> Nonnunquam errat plebis vulgique judicium, et in sacerdotibus comprobandis unusquisque suis moribus paret, ut non tam bonum, quam sui similem quærat præpositum.—S. Hieron. adv. Jovinian., lib. i. [c. 34. Op., tom. ii. col. 292, A.]

<sup>p</sup> [S. Athanas. Apologia cont. Arianos. Op., tom. i. p. 123, sqq.]

<sup>q</sup> [S. Greg. Naz. Epist. xix. ad Basilium. Op., tom. ii. pp. 18, 19. et Epist. xiv. (al. xx.) ad Eusebium, ibid., pp. 16, 17.]



piety, did, what with the importunate clamours of the common people, and the too great indulgence of the bishops, both invade and miserably defile the sacred offices of the Church. And this great mischief daily spreading, there were various provisions made against it.

1. I shall never be persuaded to believe but that the fourth canon of the council of Nice has relation to this matter. The words of it are these<sup>r</sup>: “A bishop ought to be ordained especially indeed by all the bishops who are in the province. But if that be difficult, what through some urgent business, or the length of the journey hindering them, yet three bishops at least ought by all means to meet together, and first receiving by letter the consent and agreement of those that are absent, there to celebrate the ordination. But in every province the authority or confirmation of what is done shall belong to the metropolitan.” In this canon two things are provided. 1st. That all the bishops of the province, or three at least, in case of the utmost necessity, be present at the ordination of a bishop. 2ndly. That the confirmation of the ordination thus administered should belong only to the metropolitan of the province. But concerning the suffrages or judgment of the people there is not the least word mentioned; for all which the venerable fathers meant was, that the levity and insolence of the giddy multitude being suppressed, ecclesiastical matters might be managed only by ecclesiastics.

The Nicene council was succeeded by that of Laodicea; for that the synod of Laodicea was held after the general council of Nice is most manifest from hence, because it makes mention of the Photinian heretics, who arose after the times of the Nicene council<sup>s</sup>. This synod affords us two canons, which make for my purpose. They are the twelfth and thirteenth, in these words<sup>t</sup>: “That bishops ought to be appointed to the government of the Church by the judgment

<sup>r</sup> ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἢ διὰ κατεπεύγουσαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξ ἅπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμψήφων γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συστιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτολίαν ποιῆσθαι. τὸ

δὲ κῦρος τῶν γινομένων διδόνθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ.— [Conc. Nic. Canon iv. Concilia, tom. i. col. 34, E. 35, A.]

<sup>s</sup> [See Annot. 2. in Conc. Laod. ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 1529.]

<sup>t</sup> περὶ τοῦ τοὺς ἐπισκόπους κρίσει τῶν μητροπολιτῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ ἐπισκό-

of the metropolitans and of the neighbouring bishops; and that they ought to be such as have been long approved by the word of faith, and by the dispensation of right doctrine;” and canon thirteenth: “That the people are not to be allowed to make choice of those who are to be employed in the sacred function.” I am of opinion with the most illustrious Peter de Marca<sup>u</sup>, that this prohibition ought not to be extended to persons of honour and great men, but was made only for the common people. Yet from this canon we learn at least these following particulars: that the greatest disturbances were occasioned by the people’s authority in the elections of bishops, insomuch that the council found it necessary utterly to abolish this corrupt and unjust practice, and wholly to exclude the multitude from all both consent, and testimony, and approbation. From hence it may also with the greatest perspicuity be collected that the multitude of the faithful had not by divine right either suffrage or testimony in the elections of bishops; for if this power had belonged to the people by divine right it could never have been extinguished by a synod, and that especially by a particular synod. We are most clearly taught by this canon what was the opinion of the prelates even of the fourth century concerning the licentious power of the people.

3. But all this will be still farther confirmed by the council of Antioch, the eighteenth canon of which runs thus<sup>x</sup>: “If any one that is ordained a bishop do not come to the diocese for which he is chosen, not through his own fault, but either because the people refuse him, or for any other reason occasioned by no fault of his, he shall enjoy both the honour and the function, provided he give no disturbance to the affairs of the Church where he abides. And he shall

πῶν καθίστασθαι εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ἀρχὴν, ὅσας ἐκ πολλοῦ δεδοκιμασμένους τε τῷ λόγῳ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ τῇ τοῦ εὐθέους λόγου πολιτείᾳ.—Conc. Laod., Can. xii. [Concilia, tom. i. col. 1533, A.]

περὶ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ὄχλοις ἐπιτρέπειν τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποιεῖσθαι τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατεῖον.—Id., Can. xiii. [ibid.]

<sup>u</sup> [Pet. de Marca de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii, lib. vii. c. 2. § 6, 7. tom. ii. p. 307. ed. Par. 1669.]

<sup>x</sup> εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονηθεὶς εἰς παροικίαν μὴ ἀπέλθῃ εἰς ἣν ἐχειροτονήθη οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ αἰτίαν, ἀλλ’ ἦτοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ λαοῦ παραίτησιν, ἢ δι’ ἑτέραν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένην, τοῦτον μετέχειν τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς λειτουργίας, μόνον μὴδὲν παρενοχλοῦντα τοῖς πράγμασι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἔνθα ἂν συναγοίτο. ἐκδέχεσθαι δὲ τοῦτον, ὃ ἂν ἢ τῆς ἐπαρχίας τελεία σύνοδος κρίνασα τὸ παριστάμενον ὀρίσῃ.—[Conc. Antioch. Canon xviii. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 592, E. 593, A.]

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wait for the determination which a full synod of the province shall make upon the judgment of his case.”

What, I desire to know, are we to think of this canon? It makes little, in my opinion, for the power of the laics. Nay, it most evidently demonstrates that the Church of the fourth century did not so much as dream of this right of the laity, whether divine or original, or whatever other title they are pleased to honour it with. The council commands in express words that a bishop duly ordained by the bishops of the province, and confirmed by the metropolitan according to the ancient canons, ought to remain a bishop, and perform the episcopal functions, though the laity make never so much opposition. This was the method of the elections of the fourth century. But afterwards the metropolitans obtained a much larger power, not without a very great advantage to the Church. They appointed a synod of bishops in their own Churches; hither they summoned the bishops, and by their common counsel set pastors over the Churches. To this purpose is that of St. Gregory Nazianzen<sup>y</sup>: “Ye have called me to the metropolis, I suppose, to take some consultations about a bishop.” The people had even yet<sup>1</sup> power to propose a person to be ordained, and to desire the bishops to set him over them; but the nomination and election belonged only to the metropolitan in council with his provincial bishops. Nay, without the metropolitan’s leave they had not power to take to themselves so much as a vacant bishop (as the canonists speak.) This we are most plainly taught by the sixteenth canon of the council of Antioch, in these words<sup>z</sup>: “If any vacant bishop shall come into a vacant church, and by stealth invade the throne, without leave of a full synod, he ought to be ejected, though all the people whom he has invaded have chosen him for their bishop. Now that is called a full synod in which the metropolitan bishop is also present.” And this very canon is

<sup>1</sup> [hitherto also, ed. 3.]

<sup>y</sup> κεκλήκατε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν μητρόπολιν, ὡς οἴμαι, περὶ ἐπισκόπου τι βουλευσόμενοι.—Greg. Naz. Epist. xliii. [Op., tom. ii. p. 38. ed. Par. 1840.]

<sup>z</sup> εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος σχολάζων ἐπὶ σχολάζουσιν ἐκκλησίαν ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβρίψας, ὑφαρπάξῃ τὸν θρόνον δίχα συνόδου τε-

λείας, τοῦτον ἀπόβλητον εἶναι, καὶ εἰ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς, ὃν ὑφάρπασεν, ἔλοιτο αὐτὸν, τελείαν δὲ ἐκείνην εἶναι σίνωδον, ἣ συμπαρέσσι καὶ ὁ μητροπολίτης.—[Conc. Antioch. Canon xvi. Concilia, tom. ii. col. 592, D.]

quoted by the fathers of the council of Chalcedon in the eleventh session, in which the cause of Bassianus is pleaded<sup>a</sup>.

HUGHES  
DISSERT. VI.

This full power in elections remained in the metropolitans to the time of the Emperor Justinian, so that they elected bishops without the consent or testimony of the people. But it is beyond the limits of my purpose to follow it any farther. It is sufficient for me to have shewn the practice of the second and third and fourth centuries; that from thence we may clearly discern what power in elections of bishops was allowed to the Christian people, even in the purest ages of the Church; and for what reasons it was necessary, as that power increased daily, and became insolent, first to restrain it, and at last wholly to abolish it.

From all this history of the primitive Church these following particulars do most evidently appear:

1st. That in the most ancient times of the Church the people had no suffrages which were truly elective.

2dly. That all that power which they afterwards exercised was not derived from any divine or original right, but from the leave and indulgence and corrupt remissness of the bishops.

3dly. That the Church did for most just causes, and by a most just authority, abrogate this tumultuary method of ordaining, and restrain the mad rage of the people within its proper bounds.

#### THE CONCLUSION.

This is what I thought fit to say concerning these most important controversies. What judgment others will make of what I have said it is neither easy to conjecture nor safe to enquire. And yet I am not unwilling to believe, at least I am apt to flatter myself, that what has been here said will not displease such as are impartial judges, and true and orthodox sons of the Church of England. Upon a serious review of these Dissertations I have been able to find nothing in them which is not abundantly confirmed both by the holy Scriptures, and by the most ancient and uncorrupt judgment

<sup>a</sup> [Conc. Chalced. Actio xi. Concilia, tom. iv. col. 1609, D.]



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of the Catholic Church. For which reason I am willing to hope that the sound and entire part of the Christian world, who are addicted to no parties, and have Christ and His Church only at heart, will be of my opinion, and with their suffrages readily confirm all that I have said.

AN ADVERTISEMENT CONCERNING THE TWO PRECEDING TRANSLATIONS OF ISAAC CASAUBON DE LIBERTATE ECCLESIASTICA, AND OF MR. HUGHES' PRELIMINARY DISSERTATIONS <sup>a</sup>.

TRANSLATOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

I NEED say but very little concerning the former of these translations. Having undertaken it at the command of the Rev. Dr. Hickes, (for whatever he condescends to request, though in his usual obliging manner, will always have the authority of a command with me,) after I had almost finished it upon the late Amsterdam edition in folio, which is very uncorrect, especially in the Greek quotations, I had an opportunity of consulting the author's own edition, printed in the year 1607, in 8vo.<sup>b</sup>, and of verifying from thence many of the corrections I had already made, though neither is that impression without faults. As to the author's citations, those of them which I had convenience of examining, though not easily found for want of more particular references, yet appearing when found to be faithfully set down, I was the less concerned to enquire into the rest, and contented myself to give the English reader only a translation of most of them.

But as to Mr. Hughes' Preliminary Dissertations, (for the insertion of which into this Appendix I had no more than the permission of Dr. Hickes, having been engaged in that translation by another,) I found the errors of the press so many, and the negligence of those whom I suppose the author employed in transcribing the citations, so great, that I thought it necessary to take the pains of examining them all, excepting some few which I am not able to find, what for want of references in some places, and through the uncorrectness of them in others, and a few also for which I had not the convenience of books. And when I had taken this pains, I judged it would be both for the advantage of the book to put down all the citations in the margin as I had corrected them from the authors themselves, and also for the benefit of the reader to give him them sometimes more fully than the learned author thought it necessary to do, who wrote

<sup>a</sup> [This Advertisement is that of the Translator, Hilckiah Bedford, see above, vol. i. p. 33.]

<sup>b</sup> [For an account of the editions here referred to, see above, pp. 97, 253.]

only to such as are supposed to be well enough acquainted with the books he cites to be usually able from the least sentence of them to understand what they are alleged to prove ; whereas those who are strangers to these authors cannot so readily enter into the force of such arguments without also seeing some part of the context.

And because the learned author has actually divided this work into six dissertations, though for want of distinguishing them a little more in the impression the whole does rather seem no more than one, and the reader is for some time at a loss why the title is expressed in the plural, therefore I thought it convenient to make this division more conspicuous, and by adding the proper figures to his subdivisions, where they are often wanting, to render his method, which is very good, more apparent to the reader ; at the first sight : for whose farther benefit I also judged it not amiss to prefix, by way of plan to the whole work, the contents of each dissertation, as we see done by Casaubon himself before that piece of his which I have translated.

One passage in the fifth dissertation (p. 491<sup>c</sup>) may be liable to misconstruction, where the author, in answer to an argument for lay administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, brought from the first institution of the sacrifice of the Passover, in the room of which this sacrifice and Sacrament succeeds, may seem to own too much, when he grants that the Passover was appointed to be sacrificed in private houses, and by the fathers of families. But what he there asserts must be confined to the times before the institution of the Levitical priesthood, when the fathers of families were priests, and their own dwellings were all the temples they had : for after the Levitical priesthood was instituted the paschal lamb was sacrificed neither privately nor by the fathers of families, but the place of celebrating this feast was one where all the people could meet, which ever since King David's time was Jerusalem, and the ministers of this sacrifice were the priests and the Levites. Of both these facts we have this undoubted proof, viz. :

1st. With regard to the place. In the 16th of Deuteronomy (ver. 2 and 5) there is this command : "Thou shalt

<sup>c</sup> [See above, p. 421 of this edition.]

therefore sacrifice the passover unto the Lord thy God . . . in the place which the Lord shall choose to place His name there. . . . Thou mayest not sacrifice the passover within any of thy gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee." Accordingly we read in the 2nd book of the Chronicles (chap. xxx. 1) that "Hezekiah sent to all Israel and Judah, and wrote letters also to Ephraim and Manasseh, that they should come to the house of the Lord at Jerusalem, to keep the passover unto the Lord God of Israel." And (chap. xxxv. 1) that "Josiah kept a passover unto the Lord in Jerusalem." And to omit many instances of the like nature in Josephus, we find in St. Luke (chap. ii. 41, 42) that it was "the custom of this feast to go up to Jerusalem every year." And in compliance with this custom, that our blessed Saviour Himself, when but yet a child, was carried thither by His parents, who "went to Jerusalem every year at the feast of the passover." Thus much with regard to the place. And then,

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2ndly. With respect to the ministers of this sacrifice, we may observe in the passover of Hezekiah above mentioned that the priests and the Levites were chiefly concerned in the celebration of it. "The priest" (says the text, 2 Chron. xxx. 16) "sprinkled the blood, which they received of the hand of the Levites." And (ver. 17) "the Levites had the charge of the killing of the passovers." So also at Josiah's passover we read (2 Chron. xxxv. 10, 11) that "the priests stood in their place, and the Levites in their courses . . . and they killed the passover, and the priests sprinkled the blood from their hands, and the Levites flayed them." For the same reason probably which was given before, (chap. xxix. 34,) because "the priests were too few, so that they could not flay all the burnt-offerings, wherefore their brethren the Levites did help them." Of this latter passover Josephus says, (*Antiq. Jud.*, lib. x. cap. 5<sup>d</sup>), ἐκάστου τῶν ἱερέων ἐξηγουμένον τοῖς ὄχλοις, "that each of the priests administered to the people." Hence the learned Grotius observes<sup>c</sup>, "that when Cestius enquired what was the number of the Jews who as-

<sup>a</sup> [Joseph. *Ant. Jud.*, lib. x. c. 4. (al. 5.) Op., p. 440. ed. Hudson.]

<sup>c</sup> [Sacerdotes, Cestio quærenti quis numerus esset Judæorum Hierosolyma convenientium, exacte dixerunt quot fuissent in paschate agni aut hœdi

sacrificati . . . quod profecto exacte dicere non potuissent, nisi ipsi interfuissent mactationi.—Grotii Annot. in Matt. xxvi. 18. ap. Crit. Sacr., tom. vi. col. 894.]



sembled at Jerusalem, the priests resolved him in that matter by giving him the exact number of lambs and kids sacrificed there at the passover, which (says that excellent commentator) they could not have done with that exactness if themselves had not been present at the sacrifice.”

Though, therefore, what the learned author here asserts, that the passover was sacrificed by the fathers of families in their own houses, must be confined to the times before the institution of the Levitical priesthood; yet that is so far from diminishing, that it apparently augments the force of his argument. For while this sacrifice was thus administered by the fathers of families, those fathers of families were the priests; and ever since the institution of the Levitical priesthood only the Levitical priests were the ministers of it, so that there is not the least appearance of lay administration in the paschal sacrifice, nor consequently the least pretence for it in the eucharistical (which succeeds in the room of that) to be drawn from the paschal; but on the contrary, because the passover was always sacrificed by persons set apart for sacred offices, and by no others, it hence follows, according to our adversaries’ own argument, that the holy Eucharist, which was instituted in the place of the passover, ought also to be administered only by such as are appointed to that and other sacred functions of God’s worship, and not to be profaned by lay hands.

Before I conclude this advertisement, it may be expected I should give some account of the learned author of these excellent dissertations; but as the dissertations themselves do abundantly shew what a great loss the Church of Christ in general, as well as in particular the Church of England, has had in the too early death of one who at those green years was so able a champion for both<sup>f</sup>, so I am obliged, in justice as well to his memory as to all that have a due regard to it, to leave the performance of this work, which is not more necessary to be done than I am uncapable to do it as it ought, to a much abler hand, which to my great satisfaction I hear has already undertaken it<sup>g</sup>.

<sup>f</sup> [See above, vol. i. p. 32, note g.] any account such as is here referred  
<sup>g</sup> [The Editor cannot ascertain that to was ever published.]

# A P P E N D I X.

No. 9.

[TESTIMONIES FROM DR. THOMAS JACKSON TO THE DOCTRINES  
OF THE TWO TREATISES.]

DR. THOMAS JACKSON, IN HIS SECOND BOOK OF COMMENTS  
UPON THE APOSTLES' CREED, n. 5. cap. 4. p. 188. Edit. 1673<sup>a</sup>.

“Obey them that have the oversight of you,” &c. What JACKSON.  
manner of submission, or what kind of obedience doth he Heb. 13. 17.  
here exact? Only spiritual, will the carnal gosseller reply.  
But what manner of obedience is this spiritual? the least  
of all others? it is, doubtless, in their esteem, which fear no  
loss, but what is sensible for the present; or know not the  
virtue of any thing but what is palpable: unto all such to be  
spiritual is all one as to be invisible; and to be invisible  
is all one as not to be at all. This is the last resolution  
of most men's conceit of all spiritual authority in our times.  
But such as dread the majesty of that invisible God, and  
fear to grieve His Holy Spirit, will be most afraid of con-  
temning spiritual authority. Disobedience to it, though in  
a prince, is as hateful to the King of kings, as the sin of  
witchcraft: for no subject is more bound to obey his prince  
in civil actions, than his pastors in spiritual. He that said,  
“Touch not Mine anointed;” said also, “Do My prophets no Ps. 105. 15.  
harm.” Of princes it is said by the Apostle, “He that resisteth Rom. 13. 2.  
them, resisteth God;” to pastors it was said, (by the Wisdom  
of God, by whom princes reign,) “He that heareth you, hear- Luke 10. 16.  
eth Me; he that despiseth you, despiseth Me; and he that  
despiseth Me, despiseth Him that sent Me.” And elsewhere,  
“Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted: whose sins ye John 20. 23.  
retain, they are retained.” These are prerogatives of priests;  
and were not esteemed as words of course or formality in the  
ancient and primitive Church.

<sup>a</sup> [This passage occurs in vol. i. pp. 350, 351, of the collected Works of Thomas Jackson, D.D., sometime

President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and Dean of Peterborough; Oxford, 1844.]

Unless the flock, for their parts, had been bound to strict obedience, usurpation of lordship over them had not been so easy; especially when there was no power besides the pastoral staff to keep them under: nor could their pastors have had any such opportunity to attempt it, as might justly occasion these caveats from these two Apostles, (i. e. St. Peter and St. Paul,) which by their (own) moderate carriage had prescribed a contrary example to their successors . . . The first mischief which befel her (i. e. the Church) in her prime, was from the want of due reverence and awful regard of ecclesiastical injunctions and constitutions. Hence did heresies spring in such abundance; Satan had sown their seeds in proud hearts, and the civil magistrates' facility to countenance every prating discontent, or forth-putting vocalist, in preaching what he list, though contrary to his (spiritual) governors' constitutions, was as the spring-sun to cherish and bring them forth.

Book II. ch. viii. n. 5. p. 210<sup>c</sup>.

Nor do spiritual governors, in demanding obedience to such (injunctions or constitutions) as their inferiors suspect to be against God's law, oppose human authority to divine, or desire men to obey them rather than God, as some frivolously have objected. Indeed the least probability or suspicion of disobeying God should make us refuse to obey man, in case our disobedience unto man redounded only to man, and not to God. But inasmuch as Christ hath said, "he that heareth you, heareth Me," disobedience unto spiritual governors is disobedience unto Christ, yea unto God.

Luke 10.  
16.

PREFACE TO DR. JACKSON'S TENTH BOOK OF COMMENTS ON  
THE APOSTLES' CREED, § 9. Edit. 1654.

And here now, besides what is said above of the great excellency of Christ's priesthood, the entertainment of three or four meditations . . . doth render me wonder-struck at four sorts of men, most active in this busy age. 1. At such

<sup>b</sup> [Jackson's Works, *ibid.*, p. 352.]

<sup>c</sup> [*Ibid.*, p. 393.]

as think it a piece of their Christianity to loath and despite the name of priest, as of some pernicious vermin bred out of a putrid Jewish carcase; whereas it signifies neither less nor more than a person entrusted (and who is sufficient for that thing?) with some part or branch of Christ's priesthood, which is here on earth to be managed and executed for the benefit of mankind; even of him that so hates the name. 2. That the bishop of that ancient see apostolic should, by virtue of such a dim commission as cannot be read without spectacles of phantasy made at Rome, grasp at all in gross, as if all power, which Christ Himself doth not personally exercise in the heavenly sanctuary, was to pass and be derived by imposition, or under the signature of his hand, and to be shared and dispensed at his discretion. 3. That those our brethren in Christ (if yet they will allow us to call them brethren, which have well-nigh given over to say *Pater noster*) who so zealously hate innovations, should contrary to the Church practice of fifteen ages together, not only (1.) take upon them to ordain or commissionate men to execute part of Christ's priesthood, and (2.) to censure offenders, without consent of that order, which hath so fair a patent to shew, and so long prescription, some while for the sole power, always for the main stroke in both: but even (3.) to censure and excommunicate some persons of that order, and (4.) the very order itself . . . which hath in effect proved the cutting off that goodly bough, whereof themselves were branches, &c. 4. That the volunteers of the people, who have improved the former transgression of removing the ancient Church marks, which our fathers had set . . . to a total demolition; casting off the sons who had cast out their fathers, and the branches which had plucked up their own roots; and so succeeding both as augmenters and revengers of the sin: especially that any which among them pretend to the fear of God, and love our great High-Priest, should not scruple at all to execrate all consecration of persons to serve in Christ's stead, and yet dub themselves officers, when (as God knows) they be as far from abilities to discharge, as they are from authority to undertake the duty.



We His (Christ's) priests, or ministers, may upon confession made unto us, either in general or in particular, absolve His people from their sins; for this authority He hath given us, "Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted: whose sins," &c. Yet unless He by His Spirit, or sweet influence of grace, say unto the soul whom we absolve, as He sometimes did unto the man sick of the palsy, "Be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee," our absolution is but a compliment; although without our absolution He do not in this sort absolve His people oftentimes from their sins. We may consecrate the elements of bread and wine, &c.

BOOK XI. ch. xxxviii. n. 7. p. 690<sup>e</sup>.

The men that seek to be most contrary to the Romish Church, and are most forward to judge her for enlarging the prerogative of the priesthood beyond its ancient bounds, do the same things she doth by equivalency, and run to the same end by a quite contrary way. . . . He that robs God of His honour doth the very same thing and no other which an idolater doth. Now they are said in Scripture to rob God of His honour, and to commit an abomination more than heathenish, (for the heathen do not spoil their gods,) which defraud Him of His tithes and offerings which were due unto the priest for his ministration and service in God's house. But they rob God of His honour more immediately and more directly which despise or contemn His ambassadors, not in word only, but in taking that authority from them which He hath expressly given unto them; and which is worst of all, in seeking to alienate it unto them over whom He hath, in matter of salvation, appointed them guides and overseers.

<sup>d</sup> [Jackson's Works, vol. ix. pp. 609, 610.]<sup>e</sup> [Ibid., vol. xi. p. 175.]

# APPENDIX.

No. 10.

SANCTI PATRIS NOSTRI EPHREM SYRI, DIACONI ECCLESIE EDESSENÆ  
RELIGIOSISSIMI DE SACERDOTIO\*.

INTERPRETE ET SCHOLIASTE GERARDO VOSSIO TUNGRENSI. COLONIE 1616.

O MIRACULUM stupendum ! O potestas ineffabilis ! O tremendum sacerdotii mysterium, spiritale ac sanctum, venerandum et irreprehensibile, quod Christus in hunc mundum veniens, etiam indignis impertitus est : genu posito lacrymis atque suspiriis oro, ut hunc sacerdotii thesaurum inspiciamus, thesaurum inquam his, qui cum digne et sancte custodiunt. Scutum siquidem est refulgens et incomparabile, turris firma, murus indivisibilis, fundamentum solidum ac stabile, a terra ad axem usque cœli pertingens : quid dico fratres, excelsos illos axes contingi ? imo in ipsos cœlos cœlorum sine impedimento atque labore ascendit, et in medio angelorum simul cum spiritibus incorporeis facile versatur. Quid dico in medio supernarum virtutum ? quin et cum ipso angelorum Domino atque Creatore, datoreque luminum, familiariter agit ; et quantum vult, confestim quæ postulat, facile et suo jure quodammodo impetrat. Non desisto fratres laudare et glorificare illius dignitatis profunditatem, quam nobis, nobis inquam Adæ filiis sancta clargita

S. EPHREM.  
DE SACERD.

Matt. 26.  
26—28.  
Marc. 14.  
22—24.  
Luc. 22.  
19, 20.  
Joan. 13.  
1 Cor. 11.  
23—25.

Sublimitas  
sacerdotii.

\* [This number is added to the Appendix from the Supplement of 1715. No. 17. Some errors in that reprint have been corrected from the Latin of Vossius' edition.]

The Greek from which the version was made, is printed in the Works of St. Ephrem Syrus, tom. iii. pp. 1—6. ed. Romæ, 1746. It was found in a MS. of St. Ephrem's Opuscula, in the Library of the Fathers of the Oratory at Paris.—*ibid.*, tom. i. Prolegomena, p. lxxi. This Latin version was first printed in the edition of St. Ephrem's Works, by Ger. Vossius, tom. i. p. 1. Rom. 1589.

The Greek is also printed in the Benedictine edition of St. Chrysostom's Works, among the Spuria, tom. i.

p. 805, as a seventh book of his treatise de Sacerdotio, with the following Monitum ; (*ibid.*, p. 804.) " Liber septimus Chrysostomo adscriptus de sacerdotio extat in quibusdam manuscriptis, in Coisliniano cœxlv. undecimi sæculi, et in Taurinensi quodam, cujus ἀπόγραφον manu et dono V. C. D. que Pfaffii penes me habeo. Est vero inepti cujusdam Græculi commentum, ut nemo non videat. Hæsi aliquandiu, an publicum facerem necne ; quia vero in antiquis codicibus extat, et aliqui brevissimus est, inter spuria locum habeat." So far as appears neither the Editor of St. Chrysostom's nor of St. Ephrem's Works notices the fact that the tract has been printed or reckoned amongst the works of the other father.]

APPENDIX.  
NO. X.

Sacerdotalis dignitatis profunditas.

Esa. 42.  
11, 12.

Sacerdotii effectus multiplices.

1 Cor. 15.  
26, 55—57.  
Eph. 2.  
4, 5.  
Col. 1. 13.  
Heb. 2. 5,  
9, 10.

Rom. 11. 33.

In Vulg. non additur (incomprehensibilis.)

Nota pulcherrimam unionem in divino mysterio *ἀποvolav* atque conjunctionem.

Sacerdotii libertas atque sublimitas.

est Trinitas, per quam mundus salvatus est, et creatura illuminata, per quam montes et colles, rupes, et valles illustratae ac veneranda politia, sanctorum inquam monachorum, impleta sunt. Quemadmodum et Propheta Esaias sonora voce reboat, dicens: “Quoniam de vertice montium vocem suam daturi sunt homines in gloriam et laudem Dei altissimi.”

Hac quoque impietas e terra sublata est; hac, et continentia in terris commoratur. Hac et diabolus, e cœlo decidens subactus est. Lascivi vasa facti sunt sanctificata, et fornicatores casti et impolluti. Insipientes veritatis et justitiæ duces facti sunt, et improbi boni ac pii. Per hanc et mortis potentia destructa est, et inferni vires propalam deperditæ, ipsaque Adæ maledictio exterminata est atque soluta, et cœlestis thalamus apertus est et adornatus. Per hanc quoque humana natura licet humilis atque abjecta, cum virtutibus incorporeis adæquatur. Quid dicam? quid cloquar, aut quid laudibus effera? Excedit quippe intellectum et orationem, omnemque cogitationem, donum altitudinis dignitatis sacerdotalis. Et sicut arbitror, hoc est quod Paulus, quasi in stuporem mentis actus, innuit, exclamans: “O altitudo divitiarum sapientiæ et scientiæ Dei *incomprehensibilis!* quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles diviniæ viæ ejus?” Altivolans, e terra in cœlum nostra postulata Deo celerrime defert, et Dominum pro servis suis deprecat. Intendamus igitur mentem, fratres, clare ac liquido ad mysticam hanc formidabilemque narrationem; quoniam absque venerando et divino sacerdotio remissio peccatorum mortalibus non conceditur. Attendite, fratres; vos etenim pietatis amatores estis, qui lumen doctrinæ Christi contemplamini. Hæc sunt, quæ prius tenuiter de mysterio sacerdotii commemoravi. Palmes vitis, et granum frumenti, necnon sacerdotium unionem inter se obtinent. Palmes et frumentum sunt velut pedissequæ, at sacerdotium est natura liberum. Ceterum ubi tria hæc ut simul sint, inter sese concordiam inierint: tum supra thesauros offert Regi, unumquodque virtutem propriorum fructuum, in odorem suavitatis. Palmes præcedit sanguinem, similiterque frumentum, purum hunc panem. Sacerdotium vero audacter e terra sursum in cœlum volitans, ascendit ad Deum, donec ipsum contueatur invisibilem, procidensque ante excelsum thronum, instanter pro

servis orat Dominum, lacrymas et gemitus conservorum de-  
portans, proprioque similiter Domino ferventem deprecationem  
simul et pœnitentiam offerens, misericordiam et indulgentiam  
a Rege misericorde postulans, ut Spiritus Sanctus pariter de-  
scendat, sanctificetque dona in terris proposita; cumque  
oblata fuerint tremenda mysteria immortalitate plena, prævio  
sacerdote orationem pro cunctis faciente, tunc animæ acce-  
dentes, per illa tremenda mysteria macularum purificationem  
accipiunt. Cernitis, pii, quomodo hæc duo non operentur  
in terra, nisi cœleste advenerit suffragium, sanctificetque  
dona. Vides, homo, illustrem miraculi editionem, cernis  
sublime sacrificium, quam facile sordes animarum eluat.  
Benedicitur salvator, qui fecit in terris superillustre hoc et  
purgativum donum, in gratia sacerdotes illuminans, ut sicut  
luminaria in mundo luccant. Populus qui ante nos erat,  
cornu olei ferens, ad sacerdotium promovebatur: nos vero  
servi inutiles Dei benedicti, non cornu, non oleum sensibile  
sumimus; sed ipse qui est brachium excelsum atque tre-  
mendum, ex cœlo descendens, suum nobis per impositionem  
manuum donat Spiritum, qui ignis instar venit super apo-  
stolos. O potestas ineffabilis, quæ in nobis dignata est habi-  
tare per impositionem manuum sacrorum sacerdotum! O  
quam magnam in se continet profunditatem formidabile et  
admirabile sacerdotium! Felicem illum, qui in hac ipsa  
dignitate administrat pure et irreprehensibiliter. Petrus  
dictus Cephas, qui aliquando captus est ad littus maris,  
quique a magno testimonium accepit Pastore: quia "super  
hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam," per sacerdotium,  
et claves regni cœlorum accepit, tamquam dignus. Similiter  
autem et Paulus, qui prius quidem persecutor erat, hoc quo-  
que charismate habitus dignus, celer universum terrarum  
peragravit orbem, prædicans annuntiansque resurrectionem  
mortuorum. Ceterum revertamur ad justum Abel, qui in  
initio creationis sacerdos factus est, discamusque ex ipso,  
quando in principio victimam suam sacrificavit Deo, nonne  
ignis e cœlo descendens, ipsius sacrificium devoravit? Quando  
enim obtulit Deo de primogenitis gregis sui, ut inquit Scrip-  
tura, respexit ex cœlo Deus sanctus in oblationem Abel, in  
sacrificium vero Cain respicere non bene ei complacuit. Rur-  
sus autem et Noe, qui in arca salvatus est, quando cessavit

S. EPIREM.  
DE SACERD.

Matt. 26.  
26—28.  
Joan. 13.  
20. 1 Cor.  
11. 23—25.  
1 Reg. 16.  
13. [Vulg.]  
Esa. 5. 25.  
Ezech. 45.  
14; 46.  
14.

2 Tim. 1. 6.

Ibid.

Magna sa-  
cerdotii  
profunditas.

Joan. 1. 42.  
Matt. 4. 18.  
Marc. 1. 16.  
Luc. 5. 10.  
Matt. 16.  
18.

Act. 9. 13,  
17—20.  
Rom. 10. 18;  
15. 19.

Gen. 4. 4.  
Heb. 11. 4.  
1 Joan. 3.  
12.

Ibid.

Gen. 8. 4.  
In monte  
Ararat.



APPENDIX. aqua, seditque supra in monte Ararat, hujus quoque fuit  
 NO. X. — muneris particeps, obtulitque Deo sacrificium pure in odorem  
 Gen. 9. — suavitatis; unde et cum ipso pactum statuit Redemptor, de  
 11.—17. ac non amplius diluvio inducendo super terram, sanctam quoque  
 Esa. 54. 9. illi datus benedictionem crescendi et multiplicandi. Aspicias  
 mirabile sacerdotii opificium. Vides primum sacerdotem  
 Gen. 9. Abel, in priori creatione, quo pacto ignis cœlitus in terram  
 11—17. ac deciderit, propter irreprehensibile ejus sacrificium; cernis  
 Gen. 22. 2. iterum Noe sacerdotem venerandum, in secunda creatione,  
 quomodo pactum cum ipso statuerit Dominus. Hoc quoque  
 et Abraham reputatus est dignus, ut illius foret particeps,  
 Deoque offerret dilectum Isaac, et sacrificaret viscera propria.  
 Ibi ostendit ei Deus miraculum magnum, Christi scilicet  
 generationem in planta Sabec, in ictu incrementum, ipsam-  
 que benedictionem, qua ipse benedixit: “In semine enim  
 tuo,” inquit, “benedicentur tribus omnis terræ.” Quin et  
 Planta Sa- hoc ipso munere divinus Moyses habitus dignus, ascendit  
 bec. Gen. 22. 13, 18. in montem Sina ad Deum, accepitque legem; unde quoque  
 Gen. 26. 4. Ex. 19. 20; 24. 15; 33. 21—23; 34. 4, 35. in montem Sina ad Deum, accepitque legem; unde quoque  
 facies ejus glorificata est, ut videretur sole pulchrior. Simi-  
 literque Aaron hoc eodem dignatus, legatione pro peccatis  
 Ps. 98. 6. populi apud Deum functus est; “Moyses enim et Aaron  
 Ps. 105. 23. in sacerdotibus ejus.” Similiter etiam Phinees in hoc vere  
 Esa. 1. 2. in sacerdotibus ejus.” Similiter etiam Phinees in hoc vere  
 44. 46. honorabili sacerdotio, mortem a populo ejus prohibuit. He-  
 [? sic] et lias<sup>a</sup> quoque eodem amictus, in igne exauditus est, sacerdo-  
 Ps. 105. 30. tesque infamiae jugulavit gladius. Discamus igitur fratres,  
 [3 Reg. 18. 38—41. quoniam magna est et multa, immensa ac infinita ipsius  
 (Vulg.)] sacerdotii dignitas. Gloria unigenito, gloria et soli bono,  
 Matt. 26. illud suis præbenti discipulis, per sanctum suum Novum  
 26—28. Testamentum, ut et ipsi nobis per impositionem manuum  
 Joan. 13. suarum super dignos, exemplum demonstrent. Cuncti ergo  
 2 Tim. 1. 6. honoremus, cuncti hac venerandi sacerdotii sublimitate de-  
 coratos prædicemus beatos; certo scientes, quod si quis ami-  
 cum Regis amet, hunc ipsum multo amplius a Rege amari.  
 Quocirca amemus sacerdotes Dei, siquidem amici ipsius sunt  
 boni, et pro nobis ac mundo deprecantur. Honora sacer-  
 Sacerdotes Dei amandi et hono- randi. dotes, Christi mandatum exple, quod dicit: “Quoniam qui  
 prophetam cum gaudio recipit in nomine prophetæ, mer-  
 Matt. 10. cedem prophetæ accipiet.” Quod si de illo qui sacer-  
 41. do-  
 Marc. 9. 41.

<sup>a</sup> In Vossius' translation *Isaias* is by mistake put for *Elias*, as appears from the Greek, (Op., S. Ephr., tom. iii. p. 4. C. Rom. 1746.)]

dos est, ignoras, dignusne an indignus sit tanta sublimitate, tu ob præceptum ipsius Christi, cave despexeris. Etenim sicut fulgidissimum aurum licet luto contaminatum, non percipit detrimentum, neque speciosissima margarita ex contactu quarumdam immundarum specierum: ad eundem modum, nec sacerdotium ab ullo sordidum red- dicitur, quantumvis etiam indignus sit is, qui illud susce- pit. Porro si quis ad hanc dignitatem velut dignus reper- tus sit, in eaque sancte et irreprehensibiliter ambularit, vitam et coronam immarcessibilem sibi ipse conciliat. Sed si indigne quis hanc ipsam sibi usurpare sit ausus, tene- bras is sibi exteriores, iudiciumque absque misericordia con- sciscit. En aliud tibi exemplum, ô homo, ne tu indigne audeas et arroganter obrepere ad sublimitatem sacerdotii, cum non bene sibi placeat Deus purus in arroganter ordinatis. Nosce quid miseri illi sint passi, qui olim resti- terunt Moysi et Aaron, suaque temeritate ausi sunt impu- denter atque præfracte sacrificare Deo; nonne ignis e cælo devoravit omnes, adversum quos in profundum supra se sunt ausi? Rursus autem et Maria prophetissa Dei, quod brevi quodam sermone Moysi de sacerdotio impropere- ret, talem ei reprehensionis notam statuit altissimus, ut tota leprosa septem diebus eijceretur extra castra. Idcirco hæc nunc, ô fratres, pure administrate, imitantes Moysen et Aaron, atque Eleazar. Considera pios sacerdotes, quomodo in ipso sacerdotio sacrilega hostium castra sint ul- ti: hoc possidens Moyses, manus ad Deum sustulit, vulneravitque Amalec plaga incurabili. Hoc quoque circumamictus Abraham re- ges in fugam vertit. Hoc ornatus Melchisedech, Abrahæ benedixit electo, benedictione eximia. Dignatus es, frater, sublimitate sacerdotii; stude complacere illi qui te elegit, ut sis ipsi miles puritate et justitia, ac sapientia divina, illus- trique virginitate. Esto fervens æmulator, ut temperans Joseph, et castus ut Jesus Nave, hospitalis ut Abraham, paupertatis amator ut Job, indulgens ut David, et mitis ut Moyses. Errantem reducito, claudum confirma, erige ca- dentem, succurre infirmis, et alia his similia. Ego vero obstupesco, fratres dilecti, ad ea quæ soliti sunt quidam in- sipientum audere, qui impudenter ac temere sese conantur ingerere ad munus sacerdotii assumendum, licet non asciti

S. EPIREM.  
DE SACERD.  
Similitudo  
pulcher-  
rima.

Bonorum  
sacerdotum  
præmia.  
Malorum  
sacerdotum  
pœnæ.

Aliud ex-  
emplum.

Lev. 10. 2.  
[Num. 16.]

Aliud ex-  
emplum.  
Exod. 15.  
20.  
Num. 12.  
1, 2, 10.  
Ps. 105. 16.

Exod. 17.  
11—13.  
Judith 4.  
14.  
Gen. 14.  
14—16.  
Heb. 7. 6.

Gen. 39.  
7—13.

Job c. 1. 2.  
2 Reg. 2. 5.  
[Vulg.] et  
Num. 12. 3.

Contra in-  
gerentes se  
temere ad  
sacerdotale  
munus, at-

APPENDIX.  
NO. X.  
— que indignos.

2 Reg. 6.  
6, 7. [Vulg.]  
1 Paralip.  
13. 10.  
Num. 4.  
15.  
Esa. 66. 2.

1 Tim. 2. 8.  
1 Pet. 2. 5.  
et 5. 4.

a gratia Christi, ignorantibus miseri, quod ignem et mortem sibi accumularent. Non dico tibi homo, non solum non sacerdotium temerarie assumendum: sed neque cæterorum quidpiam, ex vasis vere venerandi cultûs divini, contingendum. Siquidem legisti quid passus sit Oza, eo quod arcam Dei tetigisset. Hujus tu semper memineris, dilecte frater, horribilis verbi Dei excelsi, ore Esaïæ prophetæ pronuntiati: "Super quem requiescam ego nisi super mansuetum, humilem, tranquillum, et trementem sermones meos?" Hujus inquam semper memineris vocis, et attende ut possideas thesaurum, animum tranquillum, quo possis spiritualiter in metropolim Hierusalem supernam ascendere, spiritaliaque sacrificia Regi Deo inaccessibili offerre, ubi texuntur coronæ immarcessibiles et incorruptibiles, ibique tu coram angelis a Christo coroneris corona immortalitatis, ipseque cum supernis illis choris hymnum victoriæ decantes sanctissimæ Trinitati, in secula seculorum. Amen.

SCHOLIA ET VARIE LECTIONES G. VOSSII TUNGRENSIS<sup>b</sup>.

De dignitate atque præstantia sacerdotii, si alios adhuc graves auctores requiris, plura apud S. Joan. Chrysost. reperies, qui libros sex de Sacerdotio conscripsit, lectu in hac materia dignissimos: extant inter ejus Opera<sup>c</sup>, tom. 5, post illas 80 ad pop. Antioch. homilias. De quo argumento, idem Chrysost. licet non ita ex professo, agit Hom. de verbis Esaïæ<sup>d</sup>, ac 14 in 2 Cor.<sup>e</sup> moral. ibi; "Nam et si equum," &c. et Hom. 10 in primam ad Thessal.<sup>f</sup> ac tertia in Act.<sup>g</sup> et ad Hebr. ult. in hunc locum<sup>h</sup>: "Ipsi pervigilant, quasi pro vobis rationem reddituri," &c. De cujus etiam dignitate, vide apud eundem Chrysost. in Psal. 117<sup>i</sup> et in Psal. 131<sup>k</sup>, ubi in quanto honore ac reverentia sit habenda sacerdotalis dignitas, quantamque reprehensionem ac pœnam mereantur in-

<sup>b</sup> [Op. S. Ephræm. Syr., tom. i. p. 4. Rom. 1589.]

<sup>c</sup> [S. Chrys. de Sacerdot., Op., tom. i. p. 362. ed. Ben.]

<sup>d</sup> [See S. Chrys. Homil. in Oziam iv. § 4. Op., tom. vi. pp. 127, B—129, C. and Hom. v. § 1. *ibid.*, pp. 131, C—133, B. See above, vol. ii. pp. 313, 322.]

<sup>e</sup> [Id. in Epist. ii. ad Cor., Hom. xiv. § 3. Op., tom. x. pp. 541, E—542, C.]

<sup>f</sup> [Id. in Epist. i. ad Thessal., Hom. x. § 1. Op., tom. xi. pp. 494, E—496, D.]

<sup>g</sup> [Id. in Acta Apost., Hom. iii. § 4. Op., tom. ix. pp. 28, D—31, C.]

<sup>h</sup> [Id. in Epist. ad Hebr., Hom. xxxiv. § 1. Op., tom. xii. pp. 311, A—313, D.]

<sup>i</sup> [Id. in Psal. cxvii. § 1. Op., tom. v. p. 318, A, B.]

<sup>k</sup> [Id. in Psal. cxxxi. § 1. *ibid.*, p. 375, C.]

honorantes illam abunde elucescit omnibus. Quibus ista non suffecerint videre quoque poterunt aliud insigne Graecorum lumen Gregor. Nazianzenum cognomento Theologum, praesertim in Apologet. Oratione prima<sup>1</sup>, quæ incipit in Bilibiana translatione: 'Victus sum, idque agnosco et fateor, subditus sum domino, &c.' ubi inter alia, quanta sacerdotii dignitas, quæque sacerdotis professio sit, docet; et qualem episcopum quoque esse oporteat, &c. Oratio proluxa est, sed digna quæ legatur; post quam, ejusdem etiam Carmen vide, tom. ii. quod incipit<sup>m</sup>: 'O qui sacra Deo offertis, non tincta cruore, &c.' Hujusque dignitatem ac præcellentiam inter alios, ab Ignatio celebratam habes, in Epist. ad Smyrnenses<sup>n</sup> potissimum, ac ad Heronem<sup>o</sup>, nec non a Cypriano, lib. i. Epist. 3<sup>p</sup>. et lib. 3. Epist. 9<sup>q</sup>. ac Leone Mag. praesertim in Epist. 87 ad Episc. Africanos<sup>r</sup>, &c.

In monte Ararat.] Ita Septuaginta Interp. Gen. 8. Cæterum in Vulg. Latin. quiescisse arca super montes Armeniae legitur. Verum quomodo hic legamus, parum referre videtur: nam Armenia hebraice dicitur Ararat, quod maledictionem tremoris sonat. Quanquam tamen hic Ephræm potius Ararat videatur velle esse nomen montis illius, super quem arca Noe in Armenia quiescebat. Quod etiam confirmat S. Chrysost. Hom. 26 in Genesim<sup>s</sup>.

In planta Sabec.] Ita habent Septuag. Gen. 22<sup>t</sup>. quod in Latin. Vulg. non ponitur. Interpretatur autem hoc vocabulum τὸ σαβέκ ἐπηρμένος, id est, elatus, sive erectus: unde quidam etiam pro eo ὄρθιος, hoc est, altus vel rectus, ediderunt, ut per arietem in planta rectum sive erectum cornibus, ut est Gen. 22. intelligatur ibi typus seu figura crucis Christi, &c. De quo vide Scholia Græca in allegatum caput Gen. in nova Rom. editione Græc. veteris Testamenti juxta Septuaginta Interp.<sup>u</sup> Cæterum Syrus hic noster Ephræm in Serm.

<sup>1</sup> [S. Greg. Naz., Orat. ii. (al. i.) Op., tom. i. p. 11. See above, vol. i. pp. 90—92.]

<sup>m</sup> [S. Greg. Naz. Poemata, lib. ii. sect. 1. Carm. 13. (al. 12.) Op., p. 824. See above, vol. i. p. 93.]

<sup>n</sup> [S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn., capp. viii, ix. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. pp. 36, 37.]

<sup>o</sup> [S. Ignat. adscr. Epist. ad Heronem, cap. iii. ibid., p. 109.]

<sup>p</sup> [S. Cypr. Epist. lv. ad Comelium,

Op., p. 79. ed. Ben.]

<sup>q</sup> [Id., Epist. lxxv. ad Rogatianum, Op., p. 112.]

<sup>r</sup> [See S. Leo. M. Epist. xii. (al. lxxxvii.) ad Episcopos Africanos, capp. i.—v. col. 658—664; c. x. col. 667.]

<sup>s</sup> [See S. Chrys. in Gen. Hom. xxvi. § 4. Op., tom. iv. pp. 248, E. 249, A.]

<sup>t</sup> [καὶ ἰδοὺ κριδὶς εἰς κατεχόμενος ἐν φυτῷ σαβέκ.—Gen. 22. 13. vers. LXX.]

<sup>u</sup> [ἐν φυτῷ σαβέκ. Schol. τὸ σαβέκ, ἄφρουν τινὲς ἐκδεδάκασιν· οἱ δὲ ὄρθιος,



APPENDIX.  
NO. X.

in Abraam et Isaac<sup>x</sup>, per τὸ φυτόν τὸ τοῦ σαβέκ, ἄφεςιν ἐρμηνεύει, id est, remissionem seu liberationem, per plantam Sabec, interpretatur; ut eo denotetur crux Christi, quæ mundum a peccatis liberavit, vitamque præbuit. Nam sicut aries ille cornibus hærens in planta Sabec, mystica liberavit Isaac; sic Agnus Dei manibus in cruce distensis, suspensusque, non solum hominem, sed universum mundum a morte et inferno liberavit. Sic in Abraam et Isaac, ibi Ephræm, unde plura in hunc locum require. Et huc fere alludit Elias Cretensis Metropolit. nomen Sabec interpretaans, in suo Comment. in priorem invectivam in Julianum Apostat. in illa verba Nazianzeni: ‘Abraam, dum vocaretur, ac filio præter ætatem donaretur<sup>y</sup>,’ &c.

In semine tuo benedicentur tribus omnis terræ.] Sic legitur hic apud Ephræm. at Gen. 26. est: “Et benedicentur in semine tuo omnes gentes terræ.” Et Gen. 28. “Et benedicentur in te et semine tuo cunctæ tribus terræ.” Gen. autem 12. “In te benedicentur universæ cognationes terræ.” Et Act. 3. cap. “In semine tuo benedicentur omnes familiæ terræ.” In quibus lectionis varietatem observa et concilia.

κ.τ.λ. . . . πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πυνθανομένους  
δεῖ ἀποκρίνεσθαι καὶ λέγειν, ὅτι τὸ σα-  
βέκ ἐπὴρμένος ἐρμηνεύει.—Scholia in  
Gen. 22. ε. ap. Vet. Test. juxta LXX.  
Int. p. 15. Rom. 1587.]

<sup>x</sup> [See S. Ephr. Sermon. in Abraham

et Isaac. Op., tom. ii. p. 318, E. F.]

<sup>y</sup> [See Eliæ Cretens. Comment. in  
S. Greg. Naz. Orat. iii. (ed. Ben. iv.)  
§ 29. Op., tom. ii. col. 270, D. Par.  
1630.]

# A P P E N D I X.

No. 11.

A LETTER FROM THE REVEREND MR. J. M——N TO DR. GEORGE HICKES,  
CONCERNING SOME PASSAGES IN HIS CHRISTIAN PRIESTHOOD; WITH DR.  
HICKES' ANSWER <sup>a</sup>.

*Decemb. 22, 1713.*

REVEREND SIR,

HAVING had the happiness to see and with great pleasure and satisfaction to peruse your judicious and learned work of *The Christian Priesthood*, I hope you will not think it a presumption that I entreat you will be so kind as to give me satisfaction in what I entertain a doubt about, contained in that piece. If you will condescend to gratify me herein it will be resented as a great favour by,

LETTER  
TO  
HICKES.

---

Sir, your humble servant,

J. M——N.<sup>b</sup>

What I then desire to be informed in is, what reason induces you to interpret in p. 255<sup>c</sup>, Jews and synagogue of Satan, in Rev. ii. 9, and iii. 9, of Christians and false heretical Christians and their Churches. The reason I ask you is, because the learned Mr. Dodwell, (a master in every argument he undertakes, by the acknowledgment even of the learned bishop of Salisbury,) p. 96 of his *Occasional Communion*<sup>d</sup>, says, after quoting these two places, "These can hardly be the Ebionites, but the unbelieving Jews: the *βλασφημία*, Apoc. ii. 9 . . . . . and their persecutions, v. 9, 10, are rather notes of those Jews who did not own the name of Christ, than of the Christian Ebionites." And point-blank elsewhere says, p. 129, "The Jews themselves (how much zeal

<sup>a</sup> [These letters are added from the Supplement of 1715. No. 18.]

<sup>b</sup> [The Editor has not been able to ascertain the name of the writer of this letter.]

<sup>c</sup> [See above, vol. ii. p. 258, of this

edition.]

<sup>d</sup> [Occasional Communion fundamentally destructive of the Discipline of the Primitive Catholic Church, &c., by Henry Dodwell, M.A. London, 1705.]

soever they pretended for the law of God) yet are taken by St. John for the synagogue of Satan." And for confirmation of his assertion quotes these same places, and then gives his reason in the same page and the following, p. 130, why they must be really, as he says p. 131, Jews by extraction, or as he varies it again p. 133, were indeed Jews by extraction. His words are, "There could hardly be any at this time who could find in their hearts to pretend to be Jews if they were not, but they who gloried in that name. Nor were any likely to glory in that name but they who were Jews by extraction, when the very name exposed them to a tax to the temple of Peace at Rome, the same which had formerly been paid to their own temple at Jerusalem, which tax was exacted with great rigour in this reign of Domitian<sup>e</sup>, under whom St. John received his Revelations in his exile at Patmos, when withal they had not only incensed their Roman protectors against them by that rebellion, which God was pleased to make the occasion of inflicting the vengeance themselves had imprecated upon their own heads, but thereby exposed themselves defenceless to the old rancours and resentments of their neighbouring nations, who took this occasion, as Josephus shews, under pretence (no doubt) of gratifying the Romans, to wreak the utmost of their own malice against them. At such a time, I say, as this was, they could have been no other but Jews by extraction that could shew themselves so zealously ambitious of so hateful a name, which had nothing to recommend it but the glory of their ancestors." And indeed how can we think that any Christians at that time of day should be fond of that name, when they abstained from applying it to themselves at the time when Tertullian wrote his Apology, which was a name then so hateful and abhorred that he tells us they did not communicate with them so much as in name. His own words chap. 21<sup>f</sup> are, *Neque de consortio nominis cum Judæis agimus*. And I think I may say from the Can. Apost. ζ and ξθ<sup>g</sup>, whenever they commence their date, they were a

<sup>e</sup> [Judaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est. Sueton. Domitian. cap. xii.]

<sup>f</sup> [Tert. Apol., c. 21. Op., p. 19, A.]

<sup>g</sup> [εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος τὴν ἅγιαν τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέραν

πρὸ τῆς ἐαρινῆς ἰσημερίας μετὰ Ἰουδαίων ἐπιτελέσει, καθαιρεῖσθω.—Can. Apost. vii. ap. Concilia, tom. i. col. 25, D.

εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος, ἢ ὕλως τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν

detestable people; and were in no better grace with the Christians at the council of Nice, as I gather from these words in Constantine's Epistle to the Churches<sup>h</sup>, wherein he informs them that all there assembled consented that the most sacred solemnity and feast of Easter should by all men, in all places, be celebrated on the self-same day. I give you the words of Dr. Hamner's translation of the Eccles. Hist. of Socrat. Scholast<sup>i</sup>, because I have not the historian's own<sup>k</sup>. "Your minds should in no wise participate, neither in any thing have fellowship with the wicked ways of lewd persons. . . . We have nothing common with murderers of fathers, and such as have put their Lord and Master to death." So that I think is very probable which Mr. Dodwell says, and we may conclude with him and assert as he does p. 134. "Plainly, therefore, they were Jews by extraction," who are called by St. John the synagogue of Satan, and said by him to lie when they pretended to be Jews; and not Christians, and false heretical Christians and their Churches, as you make them to be. For as he adds, which has its weight with what went before to establish his opinion, "The name of a synagogue supposes them so, when they had now no other public worship but in their synagogues, after the desolation of their temple. So also do their mentioned blasphemies against the Christians, of which we have so many instances, even in the Scripture History."

I designed, when I first set pen to paper, to have troubled you no farther at present; but a few particulars more, which I also desire to be satisfied in, occurring to my memory, I will be bold to ask you,

Why you reckon<sup>l</sup> "saying prayers at putting on every vestment in robing of the priest, and making the sign of the cross upon the *δῶρα*," among the instances of the bad addi-

κληρικῶν, νηστεύει μετὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἢ συνεορτάζου μετ' αὐτῶν, ἢ δέχοιτο παρ' αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς ἐορτῆς ξένια, οἷον ἄζυμα, ἢ τι τοιοῦτον, καθαιρεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ λαϊκὸς, ἀφορίζεσθαι.—Can. Apost. lxix. Ibid., col. 40, C.]

<sup>h</sup> [Constant. Epist. ap. Socr. Hist. Eccles., lib. i. c. 9. tom. ii. pp. 32—34.]

<sup>i</sup> [The ancient Ecclesiastical Histories of the first six hundred years after Christ, &c., translated by Meredith

Hamner, p. 228. London, 1636.]

<sup>k</sup> [τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγγίνοισιν ἐχρῆν καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς καὶ δι' εὐχῆς ἐχειν πάντοτε, ἐν μηδενὸς ὁμοιότητι τὸ καθαρὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας ψυχῆς κοινωνεῖν, ἢ δοκεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἔθεσι παγκάκων. . . ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο οὕτως ἐπανορθοῦσθαι προσήκειν, ὡς μηδὲν μετὰ τοῦ τῶν πατροκτόνων τὲ καὶ κυριοκτόνων ἐκείνων ἔθνους εἶναι κοινόν.—Socrat. Hist. Eccles., *ibid.*, p. 33.]

<sup>l</sup> [See above, vol. ii. p. 153.]



tions which have crept into the ancient liturgies, as you do p. 145. Pray wherein consists the naughtiness and corruption of a short prayer, made by the priest at the putting on of every garment? Do not even Protestant divines advise persons to spiritualize the actions and occurrences of human life, even the most common? So in the second volume of the *New-Year's Gift*, under the title of "Ejaculations for the Day<sup>m</sup>," "at apparelling, when apparelled, at washing the hands, the mouth and eyes, at beholding the face in the glass, at going forth of the house or chamber, as one travels or walks by the way, when the clock strikes, or we see the hour of the day, as one ascends an high place, or goes to church, when on an high hill, at going to read or meditate, when one hungers or thirsts, &c.," there are proper ejaculations composed for devout souls on these occasions. Do you condemn them as bad? If not, why do you count the prayers of the priest at robing so? If at any time fit to pray when apparelling, sure then when the holy garments are put on in order to celebrate the tremendous sacrifice, it cannot be reckoned in itself a bad thing at every vestment to say a pious short prayer or ejaculation: he that allows the former ejaculations sure cannot consistently disallow of the latter, I should think, as such. And if you approve of this custom, which has crept in to be added to our private daily prayers, I do not see how you can condemn the other, which has crept in to be added to the public in the liturgies. And,

As for making the sign of the cross upon the  $\delta\hat{\omega}\rho\alpha$ , if it be lawful and fit to make it at all, as I believe nobody who has any veneration for antiquity can deny but it is, what other time more proper than that wherein the priest blesses, consecrates and offers them? For if the virtue of what the priest does with respect to them be in any sort owing to the cross, as sure it is, (it being the instrument designed by Providence for Christ to die on, by whose blood shed there alone we have access to the Father with them,) by what token can we better signify that than by this sign? And what more fitting time? Especially can there present itself any fitter season for it than when the priest makes the representative sacrifice of Christ's body broke and blood shed on the cross?

<sup>m</sup> [The *New Year's Gift*, vol. ii. pp. 94, sqq. London, 1693.]

If ever it be fitting sure then, this salutary action having its foundation entirely from what was done on it, and a sign so well expressing it. Why a bad addition *per se* to make the sign of the cross upon the δῶρα, when our whole religion is specified by the Holy Ghost by that name, and when to dedicate a child to God at baptism (as our Church does) by the same is not thought to be so? Signs are altogether as significant as words: and if we offer an infant to God by this sign why not the δῶρα? I desire and should be glad to have your reasons why you count these things bad and corrupt additions.

I have now done when I have asked you why in recommending the Education of a Daughter to the Duchess of Ormond<sup>n</sup>, you (to enhance the value of it) shewing her that it was free from some Romish superstitions, particularly tell her to this purpose as I best remember, for I have not the book by me, she will find there no direction to pray for the dead. Do you reckon prayers for the dead a corruption in the Roman Church? By this it appears to me you do. But I must confess that I took you to be of a quite different opinion, and that your sentiments about them were the same with Mr. Thorndike's, viz., "that the reformation of the Church will never be according to the rule which it ought to follow, till it cleave to the Catholic Church of Christ in this particular." From this passage, p. 22<sup>o</sup>, of the Appendix, annexed to the Dignity of the Episcopal Order, I thought (I say) you gave in to him, or otherwise you would not have quoted it: but by what you say to this religious lady it should seem to be that you are of another mind. Pray be pleased to reconcile me this seeming contrariety to yourself; for you do not, to the best of my remembrance, speak of the author's not directing to pray for them after a corrupt way, but of not directing to pray for them at all, which, I think, fairly supposes you are against praying for them any way.

<sup>n</sup> [Instructions for the Education of a Daughter, by the author of *Telemachus*, &c. Done into English, and revised by Dr. George Hickes. London,

1707. The dedication to the duchess of Ormond is by Hickes; his words are quoted below, p. 483.]

<sup>o</sup> [See above, p. 17, note x.]

## DR. HICKES' ANSWER.

*London, Ormond Street,  
April 19th, 1714.*

REVEREND SIR,

I am very glad that you read my books of the Christian Priesthood with so much pleasure and satisfaction, and I thank you for communicating your observations and doubts to me.

In the first place you asked me, what induced me to interpret Jews and the synagogue (or assembly) of Satan, in Rev. ii. 9 and iii. 9, of Christians and false heretical Christians? And the reason you give is, because Mr. Dodwell, in the 96th page of his Occasional Communion, thinks that those places are not to be understood of Christians, but of Jews by extraction. I never read Mr. Dodwell's book of Occasional Communion; but if I had, I see no reason why I should have gone against the common opinion of learned interpreters, and preferred that of Mr. Dodwell. I knew him very well, and have as much veneration for his memory, upon the account of his great piety and learning, as any man who survives him<sup>a</sup>. But, Sir, he had two human infirmities, which are too often incident to great men. One of them, which was very prejudicial to himself, consisted in an eagerness to speak all in social discourse, and a sort of impatience to give others their turns to interpose and reply in conversation upon subjects of learning with him: but this infirmity of not giving time to other learned men of speaking what was requisite for him to hear, did not proceed from any arrogance of temper or conceited opinion of himself, but from a fecundity of conceptions, from a vast and long-continued reading upon all subjects, which made it natural to him to ease his mind of that multitude of notions, of which it was big, and with which it always seemed to be overcharged as with a mighty great weight. The other was an unhappy love and affection of nostrums, by which I mean singular notions and opinions, both of his own and of

<sup>a</sup> [Dodwell died June 7, A.D. 1711.]

ancient Church writers, which were not the doctrines of the ages in which they lived. This is evident from his notion of the Jerusalem supremacy, in his book *de Nupero Schismate Anglicano*<sup>r</sup>; from his discourse upon St. Cyprian *de Paucitate Martyrum*<sup>s</sup>, since fully answered by the learned Benedictine Ruinartus<sup>t</sup>, and from his opinion of the Sethites or posterity of Seth, (whose souls he saith were angels, in a discourse upon a sermon printed by Mr. Leslie of marriage within the communion<sup>u</sup>;) and from others, which might be named in his book of the natural mortality of the soul<sup>x</sup>. Wherefore, Sir, you need no longer be surprised that I did not follow Mr. Dodwell's interpretation, had I read it, as you suppose I did; because I know he was apt to have singular opinions with his great learning, and because for that reason I never embraced any of his opinions purely as his, but as they appeared to me probably or certainly true. And though the bishop of Sarum, as you observe, did with great justice acknowledge him to be a master in every argument he undertook; yet that same bishop differed as much from him in his opinions as any man whatsoever, even in his opinions which had not the least tincture of singularity, but such as were generally taught and received: but this opinion of his, for not following of which you ask me to give you a reason, looks a little like one of his singularities, and seems to me not sufficiently supported with his arguments; which if they were such as made his interpretation more probable than mine, I would willingly retract it for his.

But, Sir, before I consider them, let me ask you why you think it so strange that Jews in the Revelations, which is a prophetic book, should signify Christians, and the synagogues of Satan Christian heretics, or false Christians and

<sup>r</sup> [See *De nupero schismate Anglicano Parænesis ad Exteros*, ab Henrico Dodwello, § 9, sqq. pp. 24, sqq. Lond. 1704.]

<sup>s</sup> [Dissertationes Cyprianicæ. Dissertatio xi. de Paucitate Martyrum, pp. 221, sqq. Oxon. 1684.]

<sup>t</sup> [Acta primorum Martyrum, &c. Opera et studio Th. Ruinart., &c. Præfatio Generalis in qua refellitur Dissertatio undecima Cyprianica Henrici Dodwelli, § ii. 12. pp. xiv. sqq., ed.

2. Amst. 1713.]

<sup>u</sup> [The discourse referred to was a letter which was printed with the first edition of Mr. Leslie's sermon, in 8vo. Lond. 1702. See Leslie's Theological Works, vol. i. p. 737. The Editor has not seen this letter, but an abstract of it will be found in Brokesby's Life of Dodwell, c. 32. p. 391. Lond. 1715.]

<sup>x</sup> [An Epistolary Discourse, proving that the Soul is naturally mortal, by Henry Dodwell. Lond. 1706.]



their Churches? Mr. Dodwell himself, in his discourse of the One Altar<sup>y</sup>, owns the Christians to be the mystical Israel, and Christianity the mystical Judaism; and therefore I can see no reason why Jews, and the synagogue of Satan, should not signify Christians, and Christian heretics and their Churches, in a prophetic book, which is full of similitudes, and figures, and allusions to the Jewish constitution and the books of the Old Testament, proper to the prophetic style. Why should not Jews allegorically signify Christians, as well as the seven golden candlesticks be a symbol of the seven Churches; or Balaam be a prophetic figure of those who tempted the mystical Israel to eat things offered to idols, and to commit (spiritual) fornication? So the woman Jezebel in the prophetic style denotes the same wicked Christians. And what think you of the other like prophetic phrases and expressions, as of the new Jerusalem; a sea of glass; lion of the tribe of Judah; the smoke of the incense for the prayers of the saints; of temple, altar, and censer; of sealing the twelve tribes; of silence in heaven for the space of half an hour; of angels for priests; of Michael for Christ; of the trumpets; of Babylon the great; not to mention others? It is as reasonable, I think, to understand Jews in the allegorical sense, as the other words and expressions for what they are used to signify in the prophetic style.

Rev. 1. 20.

Rev. 2. 14.

Rev. 2. 20.

Rev. 3. 12;

4. 6; 5. 5;

5. 8; 7. 3—

8; 7. 15; 8.

1—4; 12. 7;

17. 5.

These things being premised, I now proceed to consider the learned Mr. Dodwell's arguments for the literal against the mystical sense of Jews and the synagogue of Satan in Rev. ii. 9 and iii. 9. Those arguments I perceive by you are two. First, the name of synagogue, which supposes them to be Jews by extraction. And secondly, their blasphemies.

First, as to the word synagogue, it was commonly used in the apostolic age for Christian assemblies. St. James ii. 2 : *ἐὰν γὰρ εἰσέλθῃ εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν ὑμῶν*. So St. Ignatius, who was St. John's disciple, in his Epistle to St. Polycarp<sup>z</sup>, *πυκνότερον συναγωγὰς γινέσθωσαν*. And so Clemens Alexandrinus, who wrote in the second century, *Stromat.*, lib. vi.

<sup>y</sup> [See a Discourse concerning the one Priesthood and one Altar, by Henry Dodwell, c. 2. § 3. pp. 31, sqq. Lond.

1683.]

<sup>z</sup> [S. Ignat. Epist. ad Polycarpum, § 4. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 41.]

p. 633<sup>a</sup>: ἡ τοῦ λόγου δύναμις, ῥῆμα Κυρίου φωτεινὸν, ἀλήθεια οὐρανόθεν ἄνωθεν ἐπὶ τὴν συναγωγὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀφιγμένη, διὰ φωτεινῆς τῆς προσεχούσας διακονίας ἐνήργει. But afterwards the Christians in detestation of Jews and Jewish synagogue, turned συναγωγὴ into συνάξις, as learned men have observed; though it continued some time longer to be used, as in the interpolated Epistle of St. Ignatius *ad Trallianos*<sup>b</sup>: χωρὶς πρεσβυτέρων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ συνάθροισμα ἅγιον, οὐ συναγωγὴ ὁσίω. So he paraphrased the words of the genuine Epistle<sup>c</sup>, χωρὶς τούτων (bishops, priests, and deacons,) ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. So it was used in the compound παρασυναγωγὴ<sup>d</sup> against the Montanists and Novatians for the meeting of heretics and schismatics, to signify that they were not true Christian assemblies but the synagogues of Satan.

Then as for the argument taken from the word blasphemy, to prove that by Jews must be understood Jews by extraction, it is far from being conclusive, because in the Apostles' time there were so many sorts of Simonian afterwards called Gnostic heretics, who taught blasphemous doctrines, of whom you have an account in Irenæus<sup>e</sup>, and from him in Eusebius<sup>f</sup>, and in St. Austin *de Hæresibus ad Quodvultdeum*<sup>g</sup>, and of which heretics St. John, 1 Ep. ch. ii. 18, is to be understood in the following words: "As you have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now there are many Antichrists." Likewise in ch. iv. 1: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God; for many false prophets are gone out into the world." But more especially there were two blasphemous heresies taught by the λεγόμενοι Χριστιανοί<sup>h</sup>, as Justin Martyr calls those Antichristian spirits, who called themselves Christians, but in truth and reality were not Christians, but caused both the name of Christ and Christians to be blasphemed. These two heresies much in-

<sup>a</sup> [S. Clem. Alex. Strom., lib. vi. § 3. sub fin. Op., tom. ii. p. 756. ed. Potter.]

<sup>b</sup> [Χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ἐκλεκτὴ οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐ συνάθροισμα ἅγιον, (al. ἅγιον) οὐ συναγωγὴ ὁσίω.—S. Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Trallianos, § 3; *ibid.*, p. 61.]

<sup>c</sup> [Id., Epist. ad Trallianos, § 3; *ibid.*, p. 22.]

<sup>d</sup> [See instances in Suicer's *The-saurus* in voc., tom. ii. col. 590.]

<sup>e</sup> [See S. Iren. adv. Hæres., lib. i. capp. 23—26. pp. 99—105.]

<sup>f</sup> [See Euseb. Hist. Eccles., lib. i. c. 13. pp. 61—63, and also lib. iii. capp. 26—29, and lib. iv. c. 7. pp. 147—149.]

<sup>g</sup> [See S. Augustin. de Hæres. ad Quodvultdeum, capp. i.—vi. Op., tom. viii. col. 5, 6.]

<sup>h</sup> [See S. Justin. M. Dialog. cum Tryph. § 80. Op., p. 178, A.]

fested the Church in St. John's time. The first were the Docetæ, who denied the humanity of Christ, teaching that He was a man only in show and appearance, but not in reality; and to them it was that St. John alludes 1 Ep. ch. i. 1—3. And in ch. iv. after the first verse before cited, he says, "Hereby know ye the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God. And every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of Antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come, and even now already is it in the world." Was it any wonder then, that our Lord should say to the apostolical prophet, "Write these things to the Church in Smyrna, I know the blasphemy of them who say they are Jews" (that is, in the prophetic style, Christians) "and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan?" The synagogue of Satan, because it is plain from the Apostle, that they were Christians who kept separate meetings from the Church: for after he had said in the verse cited before, there are many Antichrists, he says, "They went out from us, but they were not of us: for if they had been of us, they would no doubt have continued with us: but they went out, that they might be made manifest that they were not all of us." I believe you will not deny but that the assemblies of those Antichrists and false prophets among Christians were deservedly called by our Lord the synagogues of Satan, as well as with great propriety of speech. And the whole Epistle of St. Ignatius (who was contemporary with St. John) to the Smyrneans wholly relates to these antichristian and blasphemous heretics; as where he says<sup>i</sup>, ἐγὼ γὰρ καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐν σαρκὶ αὐτὸν οἶδα, καὶ πιστεύω ὄντα, κ.τ.λ. In that Epistle he calls those heretics "wild beasts in men's shape," because they devoured the flock<sup>k</sup>: προφυλάισσω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων. And as he thus warned his people against them, so he charges them with blasphemy in these words<sup>l</sup>: τί γάρ με ὠφελεῖ τις, εἰ ἐμὲ ἐπαινεῖ, τὸν δὲ Κύριόν μου βλασφημεῖ, μὴ ὁμολογῶν αὐτὸν σαρκοφόρον; he likewise tells them, that "they abstained from the holy

<sup>i</sup> [S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. § 3.  
Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 34.]

<sup>k</sup> [Id., ibid., § 4. p. 35.]  
<sup>l</sup> [Id., ibid., § 5. p. 36.]

Eucharist, and the prayers used at it, because they did not confess it to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins;" which surely was blasphemy in practice as well as in principle<sup>m</sup>: *εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, κ.τ.λ.* In his Epistle to the Ephesians he calls them<sup>n</sup> *οἰκοφθόρους*, "corrupters of families;" and says "they shall not inherit the kingdom of God." He calls their doctrine<sup>o</sup> *διαβόλου βοτάνην*, the "salad of the devil," and therefore their assemblies must needs have been the "synagogues of Satan;" and says<sup>p</sup>, that both "those who taught it, and those who heard it, were to go into everlasting fire." And because they called themselves Christians, and in truth were not, he says in his Epistle to the Magnesians<sup>q</sup>, *πρέπον οὖν ἔστιν μὴ μόνον καλεῖσθαι χριστιανούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶναι*, "It is fitting for men not only to be called Christians, but to be so indeed." In his Epistle to the Philadelphians<sup>r</sup> he compares their doctrines to poisonous plants, of which Jesus Christ had no care, because they were not the plantation of His Father; and in his Epistle to the Trallians<sup>s</sup> he compares their doctrines to "exotic plants and deadly poison mixed with honey," and says they caused "the people of God to be blasphemed" or evil spoken of<sup>t</sup>; *ἵνα μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἄφρονας τὸ ἐν Θεῷ πλήθος βλασφημηῆται*. And that they kept separate meetings, which were the synagogues of Satan, is plain in all those Epistles from the charges he gives the flock to stick to their bishops and presbyters, particularly in his Epistle to the Philadelphians<sup>u</sup>: *φεύγετε τὸν μερισμὸν, καὶ τὰς κακοδιασκαλίας· ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμὴν ἔστιν, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε*. Then he adds<sup>v</sup>, "For there are many plausible wolves

<sup>m</sup> [*εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν παθοῦσαν.*—Id., *ibid.*, § 7. p. 36.]

<sup>n</sup> [*οἱ οἰκοφθόροι βασιλείαν Θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν.*—Id., *Epist. ad Ephes.*, § 16; *ibid.*, p. 15.]

<sup>o</sup> [*ἵνα μὴ τοῦ διαβόλου βοτάνη τις εὐρεθῆ ἐν ὑμῖν.*—Id., *ibid.*, § 10. p. 14.]

<sup>p</sup> [*ὁ τοιοῦτος ῥυπαρὸς γενόμενος, εἰς τὸ πῦρ τὸ ἄσβεστον χωρήσει, ὁμοίως καὶ ἀκούων αὐτοῦ.*—Id., *ibid.*, § 16. p. 15.]

<sup>q</sup> [*Id. Epist. ad Magnes.*, § 4; *ibid.*, p. 18.]

<sup>r</sup> [*ἀπέχεσθε τῶν κακῶν βοτανῶν, ἄστυας οὐ γεωργεῖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι αὐτοὺς φυτὴν πατρὸς.*—Id., *Epist. ad Phil.*, § 3; *ibid.*, p. 31.]

<sup>s</sup> [*ἄλλοτριὰς δὲ βοτάνης ἀπέχεσθαι . . . ὥσπερ θανάσιμον φάρμακον διδόντες μετὰ οἰνομέλιτος.*—Id., *Epist. ad Trall.*, § 6; *ibid.*, p. 23.]

<sup>t</sup> [*Id.*, *ibid.*, § 8. p. 23.]

<sup>u</sup> [*Id.*, *Epist. ad Phil.*, § 2; *ibid.*, p. 31.]

<sup>v</sup> [*πολλοὶ γὰρ λύκοι ἀξίπιστοι ἡδονῇ κακῇ αἰχμαλωτίζουσι τοὺς θεοδρόμους· ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐνότῃ ὑμῶν οὐχ ἔξουσιν τὸσον.*—Id., *ibid.*]



which captivate the comers unto God with deadly pleasure, but they have no place in your unity.” And in his Epistle to the Trallians<sup>x</sup>: φυλάττεσθε οὖν τοῖς τοιούτοις· τοῦτο δὲ ἔσται ὑμῖν μὴ φυσιοῦμένοις, καὶ οὖσιν ἀχωρίστοις Θεοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν διαταγμάτων τῶν ἀποστόλων· ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὢν, καθαρὸς ἐστίν· (ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς ὢν, οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστίν·) τοῦτ’ ἔστιν, ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνου πρίσσων τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρὸς ἐστίν τῇ συνειδήσει.

The other heresy that infested the Church in the time of St. John, was that of the Ebionites<sup>y</sup>, who denied the divinity of Christ, asserting Him to be λιτὸν, κοινὸν, καὶ μόνον ἄνθρωπον, “a pure, common man, and only man,” which you will grant to be a very blasphemous doctrine against our Saviour. Most of them also held, that He was begotten by ordinary generation; and all of them agreed in rejecting the Epistles of St. Paul, whom they called a deserter of the law and all the Mosaical rites and ceremonies, which they taught were to be observed as necessary to salvation: and therefore it is no wonder, that our Saviour speaking of them in the vision to St. John, said, “I know the blasphemy of them who say they are Jews” (that is, Christians) “and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan.” I suppose it was to these heretics that St. John alluded in his first Epistle, where he expressly asserts Christ to be God, as in ch. iii. 16, where he says, “Hereby perceive we the love of God, in that He laid down His life for us:” and in ch. v. 20, where he says, “We know that the Son of God is come, and . . . in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life:” and also ch. ii. 23, where he says, “Whosoever denieth the Son, the same hath not the Father;” to which we may add the following words, which are in the Vulgar Latin and many ancient Greek copies, and which in our Bibles are printed in a different character, “But he that acknowledgeth the Son, hath the Father also.” St. Ignatius also in many places points at these blasphemous heretics; as in his Epistle to the Smyrneans<sup>z</sup>, where he calls Christ τὸν Θεόν, and has

<sup>x</sup> [Id., Epist. ad. Trall., § 7; *ibid.*, p. 23.]

<sup>y</sup> [See Euseb. Hist. Eccles., lib. iii. c. 27. tom. i. p. 121. His account is

given in substance in the following passage.]

<sup>z</sup> [S. Ignat., Epist. ad Smyrn., § 1. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 33.]

this expression<sup>a</sup>, *δωρεᾶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*. In his Epistle to Polycarp he calls the deacons<sup>b</sup> *διακόνους τοῦ Θεοῦ*: in his Epistle to the Ephesians<sup>c</sup>, *ἐν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς<sup>d</sup> ᾧ ἐν ἡμῖν Θεὸς ἡμῶν*, and<sup>e</sup> *λαβόντες Θεοῦ γινώσιν, ὃ ἐστὶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*: and in his Epistle to the Romans<sup>f</sup>, *κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*. He also alludes to them in his Epistle to the Magnesians<sup>g</sup>, where he warns his flock not to live *κατὰ Ἰουδαϊσμόν*, which he tells them was to deny the Gospel and Jesus Christ His eternal Word; for, as Eusebius observes<sup>h</sup> Eccles. Hist., lib. iii. c. 22, they did not acknowledge the pre-existence of Christ, nor that He was *Θεὸς λόγος καὶ σοφία*, “God the Word.” St. Ignatius in the same Epistle says<sup>i</sup>, “It is absurd to own Jesus Christ and to judaize:” and in his Epistle to the Philadelphians he tells them<sup>k</sup> that “if any body would teach them Judaism, they should not hear him, because it was better to be taught Christianity by a Jew, than Judaism by a Christian; but if either Jews or Christians spoke not aright of Christ, they were in his account but as statues and sepulchres of the dead: and so proceeds to exhort them not to dispute with those judaizing heretics, but to do all things *κατὰ χριστομαθίαν*, according to the doctrine of Christ.” Wherefore, Sir, since the Ebionites held such blasphemous doctrines, as in truth and reality were to deny Jesus Christ and the Gospel, our blessed Lord had great reason to bid the apostolical prophet say to the bishop of Smyrna, Rev. ii. 9, “I know

<sup>a</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, § 7. p. 36.]

<sup>b</sup> [S. Polycarpi Epist. ad Philip., § 5; *ibid.*, p. 188, is the passage referred to. See above, vol. ii. p. 36, note s.]

<sup>c</sup> [The words *ἐν Θεῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ*, occur not in St. Ignatius' Epistle to the Ephesians, but in that to St. Polycarp, § 8. Patr. Apost., *ibid.*, p. 42.]

<sup>d</sup> [Id., Epist. ad Ephes., § 15. p. 15.]

<sup>e</sup> [Id., *ibid.*, § 17. p. 15.]

<sup>f</sup> [*κατὰ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν*.—Id., Epist. ad Rom.; *init.* p. 25.]

*κατὰ πίστιν καὶ ἀγάπην Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν*.—Id., Interp. Epist. ad Rom.; *init.* p. 69.]

<sup>g</sup> [εἰ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν κατὰ νόμον Ἰουδαϊσμόν (f. Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ, vel νόμον est glossema) ζῶμεν, ὁμολογοῦμεν χάριν μὴ εἰληφέναι . . . ὅτι εἰς Θεὸς ἐστὶν ὁ

φανερῶσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος αἰδῖος.—Id., Epist. ad Magn., § 8; *ibid.*, p. 19.]

<sup>h</sup> [οὐ μὴν . . . οἱ προὔπαρχειν αὐτὸν, Θεὸν λόγον ὄντα καὶ σοφίαν ὁμολογούντες, κ.τ.λ.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl., lib. iii. cap. 27. tom. i. p. 121.]

<sup>i</sup> [ἄτοπόν ἐστι Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν καλεῖν, καὶ Ἰουδαΐζειν.—S. Ignat. Epist. ad Magn., § 10; *ibid.*, p. 20.]

<sup>k</sup> [ἐὰν δέ τις Ἰουδαϊσμόν ἐρμηνεύῃ ὑμῖν, μὴ ἀκούετε αὐτοῦ· ἀμεινον γὰρ ἐστὶν παρὰ ἀνδρὸς περιτομῆν ἔχοντος Χριστιανισμὸν ἀκούειν, ἢ παρὰ ἀκροβύστου Ἰουδαϊσμόν· ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότεροι περὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μὴ λαλώσιν, οὗτοι ἐμοὶ στήλαί εἰσιν καὶ τάφοι νεκρῶν . . . παρκαλῶ δὲ ὑμᾶς μηδὲν κατ' ἐπιθειαν πρᾶσσειν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ χριστομαθίαν.—Id., Epist. ad Phil., §§ 6, 8; *ibid.*, pp. 31, 32.]

APPENDIX.  
NO. XL

the blasphemy," &c., and in like manner to say to the bishop of Philadelphia (where these heretics also infested the Church) Rev. iii. 9, "Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan, who say they are Jews and are not, but do lie: I will make them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved thee."

But, Sir, to conclude my reply, to *blaspheme* (you know) signifies to speak evil against another, or to speak or assert such things as are reproachful or injurious to any person, or what diminishes or derogates from the fame, worth, honour or dignity of any person. So St. Paul was said to blaspheme the high-priest, because he called him "whited wall;" and so Naboth was accused of blaspheming God and the king; and our Saviour was several times charged with blasphemy by the Jews, for saying He was the Son of God, and by consequence God. So St. Paul says, that he compelled the Christians to blaspheme, that is, to deny Christ, and curse Him as an impostor. And as we read in the Acts of St. Polycarp, when the proconsul bid him reproach Christ, the holy martyr answered<sup>1</sup>, "I have served Him eighty-six years, and He never did me any wrong, and how then can I blaspheme my King, who is my Saviour?" And Justin Martyr in one of his Apologies tells us<sup>m</sup>, that Barchochebas the Jew commanded the Christians to be tormented, who would not deny and blaspheme Christ. So those Christians who led ill lives or taught false opinions, are said to cause the name of God and Christ to be blasphemed, as the Apostle told the Christian Jews, Rom. ii. 24, where he says, "For the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you;" that is, through you who make your boast of the law and rest in it. So St. Paul, 1 Tim. vi. 1, says, "Let as many servants as are under the yoke, count their own masters worthy of all honour, that the name of God and His doctrine be not blasphemed:" and so in his Epistle to Titus, he commands the younger wives to be exhorted "to be sober, chaste, obedient to their own hus-

Acts 23. 3,  
4.  
1 Kings  
21. 10.  
John 10.  
83; Matt.  
26. 65.  
Acts 26. 11.

Tit. 2. 4,  
5.

<sup>1</sup> [ὀγδοηκόντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτη ἔχω δουλεύων αὐτῷ, καὶ οὐδέν με ἠδίκησεν· καὶ πῶς δύναμαι βλασφημῆσαι τὸν βασιλέα μου, τὸν σώσαντά με;—Eccles. Smyrn. Epist. de Martyr. S. Polyc., § 9. ap. Patr. Apost., tom. ii. p. 198.]

<sup>m</sup> [Βαρχοχέβας ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίων ἀποστάσεως ἀρχηγέτης, Χριστιανοὺς μόνους εἰς τιμωρίας δεινὰς, εἰ μὴ ἀρνοῦντο Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ βλασφημοῦν, ἐκέλευεν ἀπάγεσθαι.—S. Justin. M. Apol. i. § 31. Op., p. 62, C.]



bands, that the word of God be not blasphemed." And so St. Paul tells Timothy that he had delivered Hymeneus and Alexander, who had made shipwreck of the faith, unto Satan, "that they might learn not to blaspheme." Hence damnable doctrines and heresies came to be called blasphemy in the Christian writers, and such as taught them were said to blaspheme; and therefore no conclusive argument can be taken from the word blasphemy in the fore-cited text, to prove that by Jews were meant Jews by extraction, since so many Christian heretics in the time of St. John, and in particular the Docetæ and Ebionites, held such doctrines as were blasphemy and a reproach to God and Christ.

HICKES' ANSWER.  
1 Tim. 1. 20.

You also ask me, why I reckon saying of prayers at putting on every vestment in robing of the priest, and making the sign of the cross upon the *δῶρα*, among the bad additions which have crept into ancient liturgies, as I do, p. 145<sup>n</sup>. In answer to the former, I desire you, Sir, to consider, that there are many things which are simply good and lawful in themselves, but are inconvenient; and as far as they are inconvenient and inexpedient, so far they are to be condemned, and esteemed bad. Such I accounted saying of prayers at putting on every one of the priest's vestments in the Greek Church, because I thought the observation of that rite savoured too much of formality and superstition, of which in latter ages that Church hath been very guilty. For there may be excess as well as defect in devotion, and too many as well as too few observances, and even too many as well as too few prayers: and therefore to speak to you after your own manner, supposing we were not to wear our gowns and cassocks but in the church, would you be for prescribing our priests so many several forms of short prayers at putting on our cassocks, girdles, gowns, surplices, and distinguishing habits of our degrees? and would you not think that man superstitious, who would bind himself to say a several prayer at the putting on of his shirt, doublet, breeches, stockings, shoes, night-gown or other gown, hat, gloves, band or cravat, and at looking

<sup>n</sup> [This reference is to the third edition, the passage is in vol. ii. p. 153 of the present edition.]



on his face in the glass while he dressed himself, and at washing his hands, mouth and eyes, before he went to his solemn morning prayer, and then at going out of his chamber? And what would you think of a man, whose common practice was, instead of saying grace once, to say grace at laying the table-cloth, at setting on the bread and salt, and so severally at every dish that was served at his table? For my part, I should condemn that practice as superstitious and burdensome, and looking too like the *opus operatum*, though I could not deny but considered simply in itself it was lawful, though very inconvenient, and by consequence to be disapproved. Or lastly, what would you think of a man that should be so superstitious as to say a prayer at the paring of his nails, or at every time he trimmed or combed his head? And because you instance in praying when the clock strikes, would you encourage a man to say an ejaculatory prayer at every time he heard the clock strike twelve, in walking from the Tower to Westminster Abbey, as I have often heard it, walking between them, strike in churches and private houses about ten times? And for my part, I should not have given directions for that sort of practice, which are in the second volume of the New-Year's Gift<sup>o</sup>, for the reasons I have already mentioned. And I pray you to consider, whether a man who obliged himself to say so many ejaculatory prayers at rising, and dressing, and going out of his chamber, and afterwards out of his house, and at getting on horse-back in order to a journey, and at every time he heard the clock strike by the way, or going up a high mountain, or passing over a river, and at his meals and refreshments, as afore-mentioned; I say consider whether such a man might not be justly charged with superstition; and by consequence, though the saying so many prayers simply considered may be said to be good in itself, yet I think as a superstitious usage it is to be condemned.

As for making the sign of the cross upon the *δῶρα*, I freely confess that I have given you just occasion for the observation you have made upon that expression. For instead of *δῶρα* I should have put in "bread," and instead of "making" I should have said "impressing," and then the

<sup>o</sup> [See above, p. 470.]

expression would have been, "impressing the sign of the cross upon the bread;" or as I intend to alter it, "impressing so many signs of the cross upon the bread, as there are to be pieces for distribution among the communicants<sup>p</sup>." It was that custom of the Greek priests<sup>q</sup>, which I had in my eye, which occasioned me to say, making the sign of the cross upon and not over the  $\delta\omega\rho\alpha$ : for as I utterly dislike the use of any material crosses made of wood, stone, or metal, &c., in religious worship, or any permanent signs of the cross of Christ; such as are embossed, inlaid, impressed, or painted upon or in any matter: so I disapprove the impressing of crosses upon the eucharistical bread, as being very superstitious, and not to be found in ancient practice. But as for the transient, aerial, and vanishing signs of the cross, which in the pure ancient times were used in religious worship; I very much approve of the use of them, as we do in Baptism, and as I would have done in anointing the sick with oil, and persons confirmed with chrism, were we so happy as to have those primitive religious rites and usages restored.

In answer to your last question, I do assure you, that I am heartily of Mr. Thorndike's opinion, and as truly zealous as you may imagine he was, for praying for the dead who depart in the faith and fear of God, and in the peace of the Church; and if you consult my dedication of the "Advice for the Education of a Daughter," you will find from the whole passage that my observing there was no direction in the book to pray for the dead, cannot with any ingenuity be understood but for praying for the dead in the popish sense, according to the practice of the Church of Rome.

The whole passage is as follows: "He no where directs them to pray before images, or to call upon saints or angels, or to pray for the dead, or to get indulgences, or wear relics, or use beads." I believe very few readers will think that in this passage by "praying for the dead" I meant praying or offering in the primitive sense, and according to the practice of the ancient Church, as we read in Tertullian<sup>r</sup>, and

<sup>p</sup> [These alterations were made in the supplement of 1715, and have been adopted in this edition. See vol. ii. p. 153.]

<sup>q</sup> [See Goar's Euchologium, pp. 60, 61.]

<sup>r</sup> [See Tertull. de Corona, c. iii. Op., p. 102, A.]

St. Cyprian<sup>s</sup>, and Eusebius<sup>t</sup>, who tells us they prayed for Constantine the Great after his death. Therefore, Sir, I assure you I have not changed my mind as to praying for the dead, but have lately given a public testimony of my opinion for it, in a preface to a book entitled<sup>u</sup>, “Some Primitive Doctrines restored, or the Intermediate or Middle State,” &c.

Before I conclude I cannot but tell you that I am glad my labours are so acceptable to you and that most worthy gentleman Mr. W —; and that I think myself very much obliged to you for reading my books with such a critical and discerning eye. I thank you heartily for it, and wish all my readers would do me the same favour and honour; and had I the conversation of more such learned and ingenious gentlemen as you and Mr. W —, it would be a mighty benefit and satisfaction to,

Your most affectionate

and faithful Servant,

GEORGE HICKES.

<sup>s</sup> [See S. Cypr. Epist. xxxiv. Op., p. 47; Epist. xxxvii. p. 50; Epist. lxxvi. p. 114.]

<sup>t</sup> [See Euseb. de Vita Constant., lib. iv. c. 71. Hist. Eccl., tom. i. p. 668.]

<sup>u</sup> [The title of the work referred to is, “Some Primitive Doctrines revived: or The Intermediate or Middle State of departed Souls (as to happiness or misery) before the day of Judgement, plainly proved from the Holy Scrip-

tures and concurrent testimony of the Fathers of the Church. To which is prefixed the Judgement of the Reverend Dr. George Hickes concerning this book, and the subject thereof. 8vo. London, 1713.” The work was published anonymously, but in a second edition in folio with some additions in 1721 the name of the author the Hon. Archibald Campbell is given.]

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