THE

THEOLOGICAL WORKS

OF

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III.
### THE

### CONTENTS OF THE CHAPTERS.

### OF THE PRIMITIVE GOVERNMENT OF CHURCHES.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epistle dedicatory.</th>
<th>The Author to the Reader.</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>xvi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CHAPTER I.

The Apostles eye-witnesses of our Lord, and ear-witnesses of His doctrine. St. Paul an Apostle. Many personal qualities in them. They were governors of Churches.

#### CHAPTER II.

The Church of Jerusalem under the charge of James and his presbyters. This was James, son of Alpheus. How he was brother of our Lord. Cleophas and Alpheus both one.

#### CHAPTER III.

The Apostles planted mother-Churches in mother-cities. The government of them estate upon presbyteries. St. Paul at the beginning made no Bishops over those presbyteries. The reason. Himself had the oversight of the Churches of his planting for the time. The like in the Churches of St. Peter’s charge.

#### CHAPTER IV.

As the Apostles withdrew, so Bishops came over the presbyteries in their stead. Timothy and Titus had not their charge till St. Paul left those parts. His journey from Ephesus, through Macedonia, into Greece. By the way he left Titus in Crete. Why he wintered at Nicopolis. At spring he returned by land into Macedonia. There and then Timothy undertaketh the Church of Ephesus. Timothy an evangelist. The prophecies that went before of him, and the grace he received. Titus and he over many presbyteries. Bishops over each afterwards. The angels of the seven Churches.
CONTENTS.

CHAPTER V.
The presbytery at Antioch. St. Peter and St. Paul heads of the Church there; likewise of that at Rome. The difference about their next successors. Epiphanius's conjecture upon it. Another. Clemens succeeded St. Peter, and Linus St. Paul. The succession of the Apostles there is unquestionable. 21

CHAPTER VI.
Dionysius the Areopagite Bishop of Athens. St. Mark of Alexandria. No Bishop at Corinth when Clemens wrote his epistle. How they were propagated, and by what rule. 26

CHAPTER VII.
Presbyters govern with the Apostles in Scriptures. Nothing done in the Church without their advice. Why both ranks are called "sacerdotes," "presbyteri," "antistites," and the like. 30

CHAPTER VIII.
What pattern this government might have in the synagogue. Aaron and his sons. Correspondence of the Sanhedrin with the Bishop and presbyters. 36

CHAPTER IX.
Presbyteries composed of no lay persons, as the Sanhedrin. What is brought out of the Scripture to that purpose. The labour of presbyters in the word and doctrine. Preaching went by gifts under the Apostles. Those gifts make no different ministries. Teaching and ruling belong to the same presbyters. No colour for lay elders in the primitive Church. Preaching, how rightly esteemed. 39

CHAPTER X.
Offices of Divine service performed in chief by the Bishop; after him, by the presbyters. Order of Christian assemblies appointed by Bishop and presbyters. Maintenance of the Church and poor disposed of likewise. 50

CHAPTER XI.
Of the discipline of penance. Those that have the keys remit sins by prescribing penance. The intercession of the Church. Particular persons excommunicated among the Jews. Our Lord prohibiteth their course among His disciples. Two degrees of excommunication, as well in the Church as in the synagogue. The keys are given to Bishop and presbyters. The interest of the people, and what is required at the hands of the commonwealth. 55
CONTENTS.

CHAPTER XII. Of ordinations what is remembered in Scripture. The course held in the primitive Church. The election and constitution of Bishops upon what ground. Presbyters had their part in ordinations: Xευδορωία was not election by holding up hands. Ordination of deacons for common business of Churches. The interest of the people is satisfied in the course now practised. What the primitive form requireth in the constitution of Bishops. 70

CHAPTER XIII. The rule of censuring persons ordained directed to Timothy alone. The office exercised according to the other parts of it. 89

CHAPTER XIV. Retaining the primitive form, Bishops cannot be abolished. How Aerus is counted an heretic. All displeasure against Bishops occasioned by defect of presbyteries. To what purpose they might be restored. 90

THE SERVICE OF GOD AT RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES.

CHAPTER I. The public service of God the most eminent work of Christians. How the form of it may be derived from the Scriptures. The subject, and the proceeding of this discourse. 103

CHAPTER II. Days of assemblies appointed by the law. The moral service of God not specified in it, but collected from it. How the Jews are taxed for spending the Sabbath in pastime. Places of such assemblies not provided in it. The priests charged to teach the law by deciding controversies of it. The chair of Moses, the chair of prophets. High places, to what purpose. Beginning of synagogues. Disciples of prophets studied to be prophets. They ministered the moral service of God in high places and synagogues. 106

CHAPTER III. The profession of scribes that succeeded the prophets. Wise men of the Jews were the learned sort of scribes. Scribes of all the three sects. They taught in synagogues. Who were lawyers. Who sat in their courts, and of their disciples. The manner of their sitting in schools and synagogues. How they sat in feasting. Of the elders of synagogues. Who among them received imposition of hands. 129
CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IV.
Presbyteries of Churches, with their Bishops, answerable to the Jews' consistories, made with imposition of hands. They sat in the Church as the other in the synagogue: that argueth their office of governing the Church. And the difference of them from the people. The elders of the people in the African Churches were not of this rank. What is the double honour of presbyters in St. Paul. The Apostle's rule in discerning spiritual graces. The proceeding and extent of his discourse. His catalogue of graces and ministries. How divers of them may meet in the same man. Doctors are those of the presbyters that preached. Helps were deacons. 145

CHAPTER V.
Prophets in most of the Churches remembered by the Apostles. The gift of languages, the purpose and nature of it. The limbs and branches of both these graces in St. Paul. Of praying, and praising God by the Spirit. Those that spake strange tongues understood what they said. Interpretation concerneth all that was spoken in strange languages. They prayed and studied for spiritual graces. Prophesying in St. Paul signifieth singing psalms. Prayers of the Church conceived by immediate inspiration. The nearness of the graces of prophesying and languages. The ground and meaning of the Apostle's rule. It proceedeth of none but prophets. What is to be judged in that which prophets spake. The custom in the primitive Church of many preaching at the same assembly came from hence. 182

CHAPTER VI.
The parts of that work of God's service for which Christians assemble. Psalms of God's praises part of the substance of it. The ground and efficacy of common prayers. Reading the Scriptures a substantial part of public service. The necessity and excellence of preaching, for expounding the Scriptures. The Eucharist the chief part of public service. The Apostle's rule, of order and comeliness. The force of custom in preserving order, and of reason in judging of comeliness. All practice of the primitive Church prescribeth not to us. Correspondence with it necessary. The practice of it, in the point in hand, of what advantage. Order of public service, a law of Christian kingdoms. Direction of ministers of the Church requisite. The obligation of it. The agreement of the chief reformers. 208

CHAPTER VII.
The prohibition of quenching the Spirit concerneth immediate inspirations. Prescript form of prayers as well as of other parts of the service is for the edification of the Church. Order not to be maintained without it. Three parts of the service of the temple. The praises of God, the con-
CONTENTS.

fession of sins, the priests' blessings. The service of the synagogue prescribed. Of the eighteen benedictions. Of the service of their fast of seven days. The deacon ministered their service. Justin Martyr and Tertullian misunderstood. Sum of the Church service. All prescript. Of canons that prescribe the service to be ordered by councils. Alterations in liturgies. Agreement of reformed Churches. 286

CHAPTER VIII.

Of times of Assemblies. Daily morning and evening service is for the edification of the Church. Human institution of festivals lawful. Public service upon them, and upon weekly and yearly times of fasting, is for increase of godliness. Of frequent celebration of the Eucharist. Hours of prayer among the Apostles and primitive Christians, from the synagogue. Festivals of the law for gladness, and those of human institution in the synagogue. Of fasting days in the synagogue and primitive Church. How the Eucharist was frequented in the primitive Church. The order of this Church agreeable with the judgment of chief reformers. 269

CHAPTER IX.

The reasons why it is for the edification of the Church to use ceremonies in public service. It is avowed by the chief reformers. Of the respect of times and places. Of the difference of vestures and gestures. Caution in matter of ceremonies. The obligation of rules whereby they are determined. 300

CHAPTER X.

What is to be considered touching our Service. The service of hearers and believers. Confession of sins whether of old the beginning of Service. The ancient order of psalms and lessons. The Mass containeth an abridgment of it. Several manners of singing psalms. Purpose of lessons. The place of the sermon. Dismission of hearers. Original of litanies. Prayer indicted by the deacon. The thanksgiving from whence the Sacrament is called the Eucharist. Prayer which it was celebrated with. Prayer for all the Church at celebrating the Eucharist. The residue of that service. The charge of the Mass on our service. Extent of the power of the keys, and wherein it consisteth. Of confession of sins and absolution at the beginning. Our order of psalms and lessons. The sermon part of our service. Of the Creed and Collects. Of the Communion service and appurtenances of it. 313

CHAPTER XI.

How the form of public service is ordered. Dependence of Churches is from the Apostles, for that and other purposes. How the preaching of laymen imports schism. The good of the order of public service. 384
## CONTENTS

THE RIGHT OF THE CHURCH IN A CHRISTIAN STATE.

### CHAPTER I.

The Church hath no temporal power, but stands by God's privilege of holding assemblies. The ground of the secular power's interest in Church matters. The power of the keys what it is, and that it cannot be taken from the Church. 399

### CHAPTER II.

That the whole bodies of Christians, contained in several cities and the territories of them, make several Churches, depending upon the Churches of greater cities; therefore the people is not endowed with the chief power in any Church. 430

### CHAPTER III.

That the chief power of every Church resteth in the Bishop and presbyters, attended by the deacons. That only the power of the keys is convertible with the office of consecrating the Eucharist. And therefore, that there are no lay elders. The right of the Bishop, presbyters, and people, in Church matters. 459

### CHAPTER IV.

Secular persons, as such, have no ecclesiastical power, but may have sovereign power in ecclesiastical matters. The right of giving laws to the Church; and the right of tithes, oblations, and all consecrations, how original, how accessory to the Church. The interest of secular powers in all parts of the power of the Church. 513

### CHAPTER V.

How the Church may be reformed without violating Divine right. What privileges and penalties a Christian state may enforce Christianity with. The consent of the Church is the only mark to discern what is the subject of reformation, and what not. All war made upon the title of Christianity is unjust, and destructive to it; therefore religion cannot be reformed by force. Of the present state of Christianity among us, and the means that is left us to recover the unity of the Church. 572
TO THE MOST GRACIOUS

JAMES,

DUKE OF LENNOX, EARL OF MARCH, &c.,

LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS, KNIGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, HIS VERY GOOD LORD.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE:

The advantage this slight worthless piece aimeth at in this address is of great consequence, but of a civil and moderate nature; it is no marvel if it desire to go forth under so great a name, that is not like to appear considerable to the world otherwise. But the countenance it demandeth is according as the cause may deserve: more it must not expect from your justice; less it cannot expect from your goodness. If it fail of the truth, it is a child rebellious to the father's intentions; and according to the law of Moses, here he bringeth him forth to receive his doom. If it have any thing considerable, in a cause wherein the world is so well informed long since, my suit is, that from your Grace's hands it may be derived to the public. The Lord of Heaven and earth bless your Grace with happiness of this life, and of that which is to come. So prays

Your Grace's
most humble Chaplain,

HERBERT THORNDIKE.
To the Lovers of Peace and Truth.

That style must serve me for a preface to this short discourse. The love of peace and truth, my hope is, hath made some impression in the reasons whereupon it proceedeth: and it were a wrong to the world to think that those marks can be offensive. My purpose was to contribute towards the true meaning of the Scripture in these matters: if I have failed of it, the attempt will deserve your excuse. But my heart telleth me not that I have set any text on the rack to make it confess more than it means. Ecclesiastical writers I have for the most part stripped of the authority which their years and merits in the Church have won, and produced them as witnesses at the bar of common sense, to make evidence from the historical truth of their sayings. The meaning of them is here translated and left to every man's apprehension to value; for when all is done, men must and will be judges for themselves.

H. T.

[In the first edition the latter part of this preface read thus; The meaning of them is for the most part either translated by their words or expressed in the current of my discourse. Sometimes it is left to every man's apprehension, &c.]
CHAPTER I.

THE APOSTLES EYE-WITNESSES OF OUR LORD, AND EAR-WITNESSES OF HIS DOCTRINE. ST. PAUL AN APOSTLE. MANY PERSONAL QUALITIES IN THEM. THEY WERE GOVERNORS OF CHURCHES.

He that desireth to espy light at a narrow hole, must lay his eye near, if he mean to discover at large. So must he be curious in considering the Scriptures, that meaneth to discern those things that are not declared there at large, but are collected by circumstance, or consequence; especially in matters which we view at this distance of time, which representeth to us things done then through a mist of succeeding custom. Those that seek for mines have their virgula divina, a rod, which they hold even-balanced over the place where they hope for a vein, which if it hit right, the rod of itself bendeth towards the earth. Our Lord in the Gospel commandeth us to search the Scriptures, as men would seek for mines or treasure: let us keep an even balance of judgment, not bowing but as the vein of truth swayeth it; for if we put the grains of affection and prejudice into the gold scales which we weigh nice truths with, no marvel if the lighter go down.

§ 2. Now because the question concerneth the Apostles' time and the next to it, and the purpose is, to represent the form pointed at in Scripture, by comparing it with such passages of historical truth and primitive practice as shall seem best to express it, let us, in the first place, consider the nature of their charge, that it may appear how far the Church retaineth a succession of it. For true it is, divers personal qualities are requisite in an Apostle, because they were to preach the Gospel to all nations. They must be men to witness those things they had seen our Lord do, those words they had heard Him speak, upon their own knowledge; and therefore men that had conversed with Him from the beginning of His doctrine. It is that St. Peter required at the choice of Matthias, Acts i. 21, "Of these men, that have companied with..."
us all the while that the Lord Jesus went in and out among us, . . . must one be ordained for a witness of His resurrection with us.” It is that the same Apostle challengeth, 1 Pet. v. 1; “The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder, and a witness of the sufferings of Christ.” He condescendeth to the rank of presbyters, when he saith, “who am also an elder;” but he voucheth the privilege of an Apostle, when he addeth, “and a witness of the sufferings of Christ.”

And his fellow-Apostle of the Gentiles to the same purpose, 1 Cor. ix. 1, “Am I not an Apostle? am I not free? have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord?” As if to be an Apostle required one that had seen the Lord, which was supplied to him by his raptures and visions; as the hearing His doctrine was supplied unto him by that revelation by which he avoucheth to have received His Gospel, in the beginning of his epistle to the Galatians. This is that God had provided for satisfaction of common sense,—men that could witness, upon the credit of their eyes and ears, what they published.

§ 3. But it required greater matters to convince the world of those things which reason could not evidence: the gifts of the Holy Ghost, for knowledge, for language, for miracles, for all the like were requisite in a marvellous nature for those that undertook to preach the Gospel to all nations. This was the Apostles’ charge; and the power this charge importeth, the endowments it requireth, are personal, wherein no man pretendeth to succeed the Apostles. But the execution of this charge, reason telleth us, must needs proceed—and experience of that which is written telleth us it did proceed—according to the exigence of their several opportunities, concerted by consent among themselves; for so we find the chief Apostles, Gal. ii. 9, dividing their care between the Jews and the Gentiles.

§ 4. If it appear, then, that the Apostles, for their time, took upon them the oversight of Churches of their own planting; if it appear, that an Apostle fixed his abode, and care both, upon some Church in several, though all the world were their diocese in common; well may we proceed, upon these terms, to make the Apostles Bishops of such and such Churches, and Bishops successors of the Apostles; though neither for the extent of their charge, nor for their abilities to perform it, yet

St. Paul an Apostle.

Many personal qualities in them.

They were governors of Churches.
OF CHURCHES.

because they are trusted with that oversight of one Church, which the Apostles for their time afforded to all within their quarters.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM UNDER THE CHARGE OF JAMES AND HIS PRESBYTERS. THIS WAS JAMES SON OF ALFEUS. HOW HE WAS BROTHER OF OUR LORD. CLEOPHAS AND ALFEUS BOTH ONE.

This is that we must stand upon in the first place, to aver the first pattern of the form, after which it shall appear that Churches were governed from the beginning by Bishops and their presbyters. It is to be seen in the first Church—the Church of Jerusalem, mother of all Churches,—which we shall find under the charge of James of Jerusalem, one of the Apostles, and his presbyters; no doubt by consent and appointment of the Apostles, providing for the Church there before their departure from it. Wherein we shall not need to set up our rest upon the credit of Ignatius, or Clemens Alexanderinus—though either of them of age sufficient to witness as great a matter as this—having so many pregnant passages of Scripture to aver it. The Apostle, relating his going up to Jerusalem to see Peter, Gal. i. 18, prosecuteth it thus in the next words, "But other of the Apostles saw I none, but James, the brother of the Lord." How cometh he to meet James at Jerusalem, when he went to see Peter there, more than the rest of the Apostles, but because he abode there at his charge? And again, Gal. ii. 9, "And when James, Peter, and John, who seemed to be pillars, saw the grace of God that was given to me," &c., we shall not need to think James is put in the first place for nothing, when we have so fit a reason to give for it,—because they were then all at the place of his charge. For so you shall find it again in that most considerable action of the council at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 7, 13.

* "For to succeed them (the Apostles) is after them to have that episcopal kind of power which was first given to them. 'All Bishops are,' saith St. Jerome, 'the Apostles' successors;' in like sort Cyprian doth term Bishops, Prepositus qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt. From hence it may haply seem to have grown, that they whom we now call Bishops were usually termed at the first Apostles, and so did carry their very names in whose rooms of spiritual authority they succeeded."—Hooker, Book vii. iv. 3. pp. 186, 7. ed. Keble, 1836.
The decree of the council, as it is resolved upon St. Peter's reasons, so is it framed and drawn up in St. James' terms, ver. 7, 13; the one, as first of the Apostles, the other, as having the charge of the Church there; which still further appeareth by that which is read, Gal. ii. 12, that "before some came from St. James, St. Peter ate with the Gentiles; but when they came, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing those of the circumcision." We see St. Peter taketh advice of St. James; as likewise afterwards St. Paul, at his last coming to Jerusalem, Acts xxii. 20, went in to James, where all the elders were present, to advise with him that had the care of that Church about the great business in hand,—how to behave himself towards those of the circumcision that believed. Now of the college of presbyters at Jerusalem, and of their concurrence and assistance with this James in the government of the Church there, we have three unrebprovable arguments in the Acts of the Apostles. The first, in disposing the maintenance of the poor; whereof we read, Acts xi. 30, that the benevolence of the Church of Antioch was sent to the elders at Jerusalem by the hands of Saul and Barnabas, to be disposed of by them, but ministered and laid out by the deacons, as shall be shewn afterwards. The second is found in the passage of the council at Jerusalem, wherein their concurrence appeareth in that which is resolved, Acts xv. 2, 10 that "Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem to the Apostles and elders about that question." And ver. 4, "being come to Jerusalem, they are received of the Apostles and elders." Again, ver. 6, "the Apostles and elders came together to consider of this matter." And, ver. 22, "it pleased the Apostles and elders, with the whole Church, to send chosen men of their own company to Antioch, with Paul and Barnabas." And the letter in the next verse runneth in the name of the Apostles and elders. All to argue the concurrence and assistance of the presbyters with the Apostles, which were then present there, besides James, which had the particular charge. The third is, that which hath been remembered at St. Paul's last going to Jerusalem, where we find the elders assembled with James, as his assistants, in advising with St. Paul about the matter on foot; for it is plain, that the advice whereupon he proceedeth in a matter of that
weight, is given him by James and the presbyters both, as we read there\(^b\), verse 20. "And they said unto him," that is, James and the elders. This James of Jerusalem I make no scruple to reckon among the Apostles, because St. Paul hath done it aforesaid. For it is plain that he speaketh of no other but the twelve, so called by our Lord from the beginning, Luke vi. 13. Because of them the question might have been made, whether he had received his doctrine from them or not, which he there denieth. And therefore it is plain, this James can be no other than James son of Alpheus, reckoned in the Gospels among the twelve,—James the son of Zebedee, brother of John, being put to death by Herod before, Acts xii. 2.

12 § 2. On the other side, when St. Paul calleth him "brother of our Lord," without doubt he meaneth no other but him that is called in the Gospels "James the less," brother of Joses and son of Mary, Matt. xxvii. 56, Mark xv. 40; the same Mary, no doubt, that is called, John xix. 25, "Mary of Cleophas," sister to the blessed Virgin. First, because these Gospels speak of the same women that stood by our Saviour's cross; and again, because the brethren of our Lord are reckoned, Mark vi. 3, James, and Joses, and Judas, and Simon. So that all the difference that hath been about the several Jameses and Mariæ remembered in the Gospel, is extinguished by making Alpheus and Cleophas both one in the language then in use, though divers ways written in the Greek. A thing nothing strained: for though Cleophas be otherwise written in the Syriac—because it is translated out of the Greek—yet the Syriac name Chalpái may be expressed either by Alpheus or Cleophas, which is also written Clopas in some copies, John xix. 25, and in Hegesippus, quoted by Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. iii. 11.

§ 3. This I perceive, since the writing hereof, to be the opinion of Lud. Capellus, who hath alleged St. Hierome against Helvidius\(^d\), to strengthen it, where he maketh Mary of

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\(^b\) Acts xxi.
\(^c\) Gal. i. 19.
\(^d\) Restat conclusio, ut Maria ista, quae Jacobi minoris scribitur mater, fuerit uxor Alphæi, et soror Marie matris Domini, quam Mariam Cleophas.
C H A P. II.

Cleophas, sister of the blessed Virgin, the wife of Alpheus, and mother of James the less. Whereaswith agreeth Clemens Alexandrinus in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. ii. 1, where he acknowledgeth but two Jameses,—the son of Zebedee, and this James of Jerusalem mentioned by the Apostle. And here-with agreeth St. Chrysostom*, upon that text of the Apostle, where he observeth, that for St. James' honour, St. Paul calleth him "brother of our Lord," whereas he might as well have called him "son of Cleophas," as the evangelist had done. Here it is plain, that James the brother of our Lord, and son of Cleophas, is the Apostle, son of Alpheus, according to St. Chrysostom. As for that which followeth—that nevertheless he was not of kin to our Lord according to the flesh, but according to the opinion of the world—it seemeth to depend upon Hegesippus in Eusebius, iii. 11, where he maketh Cleophas brother to Joseph, supposed father of our Lord; which is possible to be true, that Joseph and Cleophas brothers should take to wife the two Mariæ, sisters or cousins. But otherwise there is so much appearance in the Gospel, that Mary mother of James and Joses is Mary of Cleophas, sister to the blessed Virgin, that it must needs be an inconvenience to deny this James to be kin to our Lord by her side†.

§ 4. As for other relations and conjectures of Church-writers$ 15

* ἀλλ' ἔχει καὶ τοῦτον μὲθ' δοσιν ημᾶς ἱάκωβον ἄλλα καὶ τὸ σημαίνοντο μοι προσέθηκεν... εἰ γὰρ σήμανεν δυναχεῖν ἠθελεν ἐνήν καὶ εἰ ἐτέρων γνώρισατο τοῦτο ποιήσαι δίπλον, καὶ εἰπεν τὸν τὸν Κλαπην, ἠκριβεσσα ἐπεξειρέσσα τοὺς... ἀλλ' ἐκάλεσαν αὑτῶν αὐτῶς, ὡς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὸς... τόν ἄδελφον τοῦ Κυρίου... Κατοικεῖ ὄνλας κατὰ σάφρα ἀδελφός ἕν τοῦ Κυρίου ἄλλα ἔστως ἐμφύτευτι. —In Gal. i. 19. tom. iii. p. 724. ed. Savil.
‡ Christophorus de Castro, in the place mentioned in the last note, enum-erates many writers who have con-sidered that James the son of Alpheus was a different person from James the brother of our Lord; and the first Bishop of Jerusalem. Francis Combeis,
—the variety whereof is endless and unreconcilable—it is not reason to draw them into consequence to the prejudice of a conjecture which maketh so clear an agreement of this whole difference. It was my desire to shew the true meaning of the Apostle’s words; but it is not my purpose to build upon uncertainties. Whosoever this James of Jerusalem was, we find the Church of Jerusalem under his charge, almost as soon as there was a Church there; at least, if we believe Ignatius, *Epist. ad Trall.* where he saith St. Stephen was deacon to this James of Jerusalem, which must be betimes after our Lord’s death. And therefore thus we see whom the Bishops of Jerusalem succeed.

CHAPTER III.


Let us now go abroad with the Apostles, and see how they followed this pattern in the Churches which they converted to the faith. Tertullian *Lib. de Prescript.* [adversus Häreticos], c. 20, speaketh thus of them: *Ac proinde Ecclesias apud unamquamque civitatem considerunt.* This slight circumstance, which he but pointeth at,—that the Apostles founded Churches in cities,—is very considerable in our business. For it is plain, they could not bestow their pains on all places: reason required they should labour most to plant the faith in the most populous. And common sense,

in a very elaborate and learned note upon the tract of S. Hippolytus, De duodecim Apostolii, considers them distinct persons. S. Hippol. Opera, ed. Fabric. Hamburg, 1716. p. 34—39. See on the other side the Commentaries of Estius upon 1 Corinth. xv. 7. and Gal. i. 19.

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The Apostles plant-ed mother Churches in mother cities.

The genuine Epistles of S. Ignatius had not been discovered when Thorndike wrote this book. He did not, however, look upon them as he found them, without suspicion; and whatever exceptions may be made to his use of the interpolated writings in controversy, he has fairly answered in the 3rd chapter of the Rights of the Church in a Christian State.
and the least knowledge of times, will serve to shew, that from
thence it was propagated through the countries that lay to
those cities, which therefore in time became and were called
the territories, parishes, or dioceses of such or such Churches.

§ 2. Now the form of government estated by St. Paul over
these Churches is pointed out to us, Acts xiv. 23, where we
read, in the end of their first journey, that Paul and Barnabas,
"having ordained them presbyters in every Church," returned
to Antiochia. But unto Titus the Apostle writeth thus, Tit.
i. 5: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou mightest
set in order the things that are wanting, and constitute elders
in every city, as I had appointed thee:" "elders in every
Church" in the one place, and "elders in every city" in
the other; both to the same effect: not meaning one in a 18
place, but presbyteries, that is, colleges, bodies, companies
of presbyters, with common advice to order the Churches
planted in these cities. Such a college of presbyters it was
that we spoke of in the last chapter, instituted by the Apostles
in the Church of Jerusalem; the pattern whereof St. Paul
followeth in the Churches which he converted out of the
Gentiles. And thus in the Church of Ephesus, you shall see
St. Paul, Acts xx. 17, sending for the bench of elders there
to Miletus. Thus in the Church of Philippi, you shall find
that the Apostle directeth his epistle to the Bishops and
deacons there, which must be to the college of presbyters,
next above the order of deacons. Thus when the Apostle
writeth to the Thessalonians, 1 Thess. v. 12, "And we
beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among
you, and are over you in the Lord," the multitude, whereof 19
he speaketh, is to be understood of the like company of presby-
ters. Thus in Ignatius' epistles, you shall find him, up and
down, reckoning next after the Bishops the presbyteries of all
the Churches to which he writeth. The like in St. Cyprian's
epistles, for the presbyteries of Rome and Carthage. To
spare more words, in all Church-writers you shall find con-
tinual remembrance of these presbyteries, whencesoever there is
speech of mother-Churches in mother-cities. And therefore
those we are to understand, when we read that Paul and
Barnabas ordained presbyters "in every Church," and Titus
"in every city." And such bodies, or colleges of presbyters,
they were, to whom the Apostle committed the Churches
which he had planted.

§ 3. But this being granted, the question will be in the next
place, where are the Bishops, the chief and heads of these
presbyteries? For had the Apostle, from the beginning of
his planting these Churches, placed that rank over these
presbyters, it is like we should have found some remembrance
of it. Now these presbyters are styled by the name of
"Bishops," as hath been observed ever since St. Hierome;
and which is more—to aver the observation for this purpose
—neither in the relation of his planting and ordering the
Churches, nor in the style of his epistles, nor in his instruc-
tions concerning ministers of these Churches, is there any
remembrance or respect to be found but of presbyters and
dacons; which in so much eminence of place, so much
difference of Bishops' office, if any then had been, could
scarce have come to pass; and maketh me conclude, that the
Apostle ordained none such from the beginning over the
presbyteries. No Bishop the Apostle had yet settled at
Ephesus when he used these words to the presbyters there,
Acts xx. 28, "Take heed to yourselves, and to the whole
flock over whom the Holy Ghost hath made you Episcopos,
Bishops or Overseers;" for as he giveth the name to the
presbyters, so he addresseth his instructions to none besides.
None at Philippi, when he directed his epistle to the "Bishops
and deacons" there, neither the custom of the Church bearing
more than one Bishop in one Church at once, nor being a
thing reasonable to think, if any such had been, that the
Apostle would not have found a room for him in the style of
his epistle. None in the Churches within the charge of
Timothy and Titus—set aside their own persons, whereof we
shall give account afterwards—in whose instructions the
Apostle is large in qualifying Bishops and deacons; such
Bishops as we read of, Tit. i. 7, where, having said that "he
left him in Crete, to make presbyters in every city," the
Apostle addeth, "for a Bishop must be blameless;" but of
any other rank, not a syllable. None in the Church of
Corinth. The Commentaries under St. Ambrose's\(^1\) name

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\(^1\) These Commentaries have been attributed to different persons; the more probable opinion is that they are, if of
one, the work of Hilary of Sardis, a Roman deacon under Pope Damascus. The Questions upon the Old and New
yield this reason of the disorders the Apostle taxeth there, 1 Cor. xi. 21, because there was no Bishop there. The words are not of ordinary mark: *Hos notat qui sic in ecclesi:am conveniebat, ut munera sua offerentes advenientibus presbyteris,—quia adhuc rectores ecclesiis non omnibus locis fuerant constituti,—totum sibi qui obtulerant, vindicarent schismatis causâ.* "He taxeth those who assemble so unto the Church, that offering their gifts to the presbyters that came—because governors of the Churches were not yet established in all places—those that had offered challenged all to themselves in the way of schism.” So whereas that, whereof the Eucharist was consecrated, should be spent by the assembly in the common feast of love, some made good cheer; others, that had not offered, went away without their share. Therefore saith the Apostle, ver. 22, "Have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the Church of God?" coming thither for dissension’s sake and belly-cheer, not for the Sacrament and for peace? and "shame them that have not," sending them away without entertainment? Therefore, ver. 33, he exhorteth to "stay for one another" at their meetings. Thus far out of those Commentaries. Which reason, as it giveth a clear meaning to the whole passage of the Apostle, so it groweth still more probable, because we shall find afterwards that it continued still in force at the time of writing Clemens’ epistle, published not long since¹. And men of learning have argued, that this reason might better be yielded for their dissensions,—"saying, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, I am of Cephas;” which the Apostle reproveth in the beginning of the epistle, to wit,—because there was then no Bishop there, and in the Apostle’s absence.

§ 4. And indeed, if we reckon not amiss, what reason have ² we to think that this Apostle should ordain in the Churches of his planting a higher rank of Bishops to govern the Churches, above and with the presbyters? Do we not see that he chargeth himself with the oversight of these Churches wherein he had planted the colleges of presbyters aforesaid, 2 Cor. xi. 28, "Besides those things which are without, that which

cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches?" To
what purpose else is the journey he taketh, Acts xv. 36, to
visit the Churches, wherein he had ordained presbyters afore?
"Let us return," saith he to Barnabas, "and visit our brethren
in all cities where we preached the word of the Lord, and see
how they do." We see he taketh care to exercise discipline
upon the incestuous person at Corinth—which it seemeth the
25 rulers of the Church there had neglected to do—1 Cor. v. 4,
pronouncing sentence of excommunication, and requiring the
Church to see it ratified and executed. And for a thing re-
markable, observe in what terms he proceedeth, 1 Cor. v. 4,
"When ye are gathered together, and my spirit," saith he;
his "spirit," which ruled there in chief for the time. So
that it is not for nothing that Tertullian, Lib. de Præscript.
[adv. Hæretic.], cap. 36, reckoneth Corinth, Philippi, Thess-
salonica, Ephesus, and the rest of the same rank, all apo-
stolical Churches, from this one Apostle, because he planted
and ruled them all for his time. Apud quas, saith he, ipsea
adhec cathedrae Apostolorum suis locis præsident; which is,
in good English, neither more nor less than here is affirmed.
The Apostle's chair rested in them all till Tertullian's time;
therefore the Apostle for his time sat in it. And to my
apprehension, all his epistles are nothing else but so many
28 acts of this government spiritual in chief, which the Apostle
reserved himself in the Churches of his own planting.

§ 5. The like to be said of St. Peter's epistles, and hath been
observed in part by Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. lib. iii. cap. 4.m;
that the title of his former epistle, addressed to "the strangers
dispersed through Pontus, Asia, Galatia, Cappadocia, and
Bithynia;" that is, to the Jews sojourning in those provinces,
argueth it to be a work of his care, in preaching the Gospel
to the charge he had undertaken, according to the division
alleged before, Gal. ii. 9. And therefore, as hath been
hitherto argued of the other Apostle, so when we see St.
Peter, 1 Pet. v. 1, direct his exhortation to "feed the flock"
to none but presbyters, we have cause to conceive that those

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m Καὶ ἐκ τῶν Πέτρου δὲ Ἀλέξων, ἐν ὁπόσαι καὶ ὅσοι ἐπαρχίαι τοῖς ἐκ
Περσιμαχῆς τῶν Χριστὸν εὐσυγγελίζομεν τῶν τῆς καυχήσεις διαθήκης παρεδώκας λόγον,
σαφῆ ἐν εἰς, ἀφ' ἥς εἰφηκαμὲν ὁμολο-
γομένης αὐτοῦ ἑυστοληθής ἦν τοῦ ἐξ
Εβραίων οἴκων ἐν διαστοράς Πάντου καὶ
Γαλατίας, Καππαδοκίας τε καὶ Ἁσιας, καὶ
Βιθυνίας γράφει. p. 73. ed. Vales. Paris,
1659.
Churches to whom he writeth—and whom we shall hear Epi-
phanius say anon that he went sometimes from Rome to visit 27
—had as yet no Bishops over their presbyters. The same
that St. Hierome hath argued long since out of Hebrews xiii.
17", where the Apostle writeth in the plural number, "Obey
them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves."

CHAPTER IV.

As the Apostles withdrew, so Bishops came over the pres-
byteries in their stead. Timothy and Titus had not their charge till
St. Paul left those parts. His journey from Ephesus, through
Macedonia, into Greece. By the way he left Titus in Crete.
Why he wintered at Nicopolis. At spring, he returned by land
into Macedonia. There and then Timothy undertaketh the
Church of Ephesus. Timothy an Evangelist. The prophecies
that went before of him, and the grace he received. Titus and
he over many presbyteries. Bishops over each afterwards. The
angels of the seven churches.

But as the Apostles began to wear out—or otherwise as their
occasions gave them not to leave in person upon the
Churches of their care—reason required—if but in corre-
spondence to the state of government that had hitherto rested
in some Apostle and the presbyteries of particular Churches—
there should be instituted some heads of these companies of
presbyters, to whom the name of Bishops hath been appro-
piated ever since; and certain it is, that during the time of
the Apostles instituted they were. This agreeth extreme
well with the charge and instructions of the Apostle to his
disciples Timothy and Titus, over the Churches of Asia and
Crete; whom as all ecclesiastical writers after Eusebius ac-
knowledge to be made Bishops of Ephesus and Crete, so must
we not fail to observe here, that this was not done till it was
revealed to the Apostle that from thenceforth the Lord would
employ him in the western parts of the world.

§ 2. The business is most an end agreed upon on all hands; 30

* Et hee diligientius observate quo-
modo unius Civitatis Ephesi Presby-
teros vocans, postea eosdem Episcopos
dixerit. Si quis vult recipere eam Epis-
tolam, que sub nomine Pauli ad He-
bracos scripta est; et ibi æqualiter inter
plures Ecclesiae cura dividitur. Si-
quidem ad plebem scribit: Parete
principibus vestris, &c.—Comment. in
Ep. ad Titum, cap. i. 5. col. 413. tom.
yet, because the observation is so effectual to this purpose, let me take leave to enlarge it by clearing the whole passage of the Apostle's last voyage from Ephesus, through Greece, and back again. Acts xix. 21, we read at that time, "Paul resolved, by the Spirit, having passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, When I have been there, I must also see Rome." In 2 Cor. i. 15—17, he writeth to them, that he had formerly purposed to go first to Corinth, thence into Macedonia, from Macedonia to Corinth again, and of the Corinthians to be brought on the way for Judea. "When I then purposed this," saith he, "did I use lightness? or what I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay?" signifying, that, not taking up his resolutions upon human considerations, it was no lightness in him to balk his intended purpose, to follow the direction of the Holy Ghost, in going first through Macedonia, God having so ordered it, it seemeth, for the reason that followeth. The first epistle to the Corinthians was sent from Ephesus about this time. From Ephesus it is plain it was sent, though subscribed from Philippi—for those subscriptions, it is well known, are of no credit—by the salutations he sendeth, 1 Cor. xvi. 19, from the Churches of Asia, from Aquila and Priscilla, which dwelt there, Acts xviii. 19; and after his first resolution was changed, because he saith, 1 Cor. xvi. 5, that he meant to "pass through Macedonia." In 2 Cor. ii. 12, the Apostle, relating one passage of that voyage not mentioned in the Acts, "When I came to Troas," saith he, "to preach the Gospel of Christ, a door being opened me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but, taking leave of them, I departed thence into Macedonia." Titus he desired to meet with, because he desired to hear from Corinth by him, that was coming from thence, 2 Cor. vii. 6. For, as he protesteth, 2 Cor. i. 23, it was to "spare them that he came not yet to Corinth;" "not yet," as being directed by the Spirit to go first through Macedonia, and to spare them, that is, not to be engaged to proceed rigorously against them, in case they gave not due respect to his former epistle. From Macedonia he despatcheth Titus to Corinth again, about the business specified, 2 Cor. viii. 6, 16; and it is most like, upon these circumstances, that both those
§ 3. To go on with the Apostle in this voyage, Acts xx. 2, 3, we read, that having gone over the parts of Macedonia, and "given them much exhortation, he came into Greece, and there abode three months." In this journey, let me be bold to affirm, it was that the Apostle put in at Crete, to preach the Gospel there: the relation agreeth so well from point to point, that I will use no other words to persuade it is true, but the coherence of it. From Ephesus, then, the Apostle parteth at Pentecost, 1 Cor. xvi. 8. By the way at Troas he stayed not, but came straight into Macedonia, 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13. From thence, having despatched Titus for Corinth, 2 Cor. viii. 6, 16, 17, going by sea for Greece, he putteth in at Crete, to preach the Gospel there; and meeting with Titus—returned from Corinth—in this journey, leaveth him in Crete, to constitute presbyters in every city, and to finish those things which he, for the strait of time, was fain to leave undone. And thus his three months being spent in Greece, he found winter at Corinth.

§ 4. There he had once thought to have wintered, 1 Cor. xvi. 6, and that the Corinthians should bring him on his journey; which there he expresseth not, but, 2 Cor. i. 16, it is for Judea. But understanding the Jews laid wait for him as he returned into Syria by sea, Acts xx. 3, he taketh a resolution to winter at Nicopolis, whereof he certifieth Titus, appointing him to meet him there at spring, Tit. iii. 12. This was a convenient rendezvous for the Apostle, in the meanwhile, to preach the Gospel in the parts of Epirus, as far as Illyricum; which he purposed to do when he wrote to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. x. 15, 16, that when his spirit was in quiet in regard of them, he had hope "to preach the Gospel in the parts beyond them;" and which he affirmeth to have done, Rom. xv. 19, where he writeth, that from Jerusalem to Illyricum he had "fully preached the Gospel of Christ." And therefore, 35 with leave, I suppose the epistle to the Romans is rather to be dated from hence than from Corinth, as the subscription goeth: for before this, it could not be sent; after this, we find not that he returned to Corinth. From whence being new come, he might send commendations from Gaius, his
host at Corinth, Rom. xvi. 23, 1 Cor. i. 14; and by Phebe he might write, seeing him in passing by the coast of Epirus, from Corinth to Rome.

§ 5. When winter was spent, from Dyrachium, the confines of Epirus—where he had wintered at Nicopolis—and Illyricum—whither his doctrine was got—the journey by land was short and good to Thessalonica in Macedonia, by the great road in Strabo called “via Egnatia”; so that in good time, after the days of unleavened bread, he might sail from Philippi, as we read he did, Acts xx. 6. This for Titus.

§ 6. As for Timothy’s case, thus we read, 1 Tim. i. 3, “I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus, when I went into Macedonia.” The sound of these words maketh Baronius to believe that Timothy was left with his charge at Ephesus upon the beginning of this voyage of the Apostle through Greece. And he had Theodoret to go before him in the conceit; for in his preface to St. Paul’s epistles, he concludeth, that the first epistle to Timothy was sent from Macedonia when the Apostle passed through it. But it is easy to perceive that this cannot stand with the Scriptures. He that sent Timotheus, and Erastus before him, into Macedonia, Acts xix. 22, how could he leave him Bishop at Ephesus? Besides, in the first epistle to the Corinthians, iv. 17, xvi. 10, it is plain that he was then sending Timothy to Corinth, though he overtook him before he got thither, in Macedonia; for afterwards Timothy was with him in Macedonia, at the sending of his second epistle to the Corinthians, as appeareth by the beginning of it, and with him he was at his return into Asia through Macedonia, Acts xx. 4. It remaineth, then, that the Apostle, coming through Macedonia to go into Asia, began then to move Timothy to stay at Ephesus, 1 Tim. i. 3, and to take

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* Ac illud in primis quod venturus in Macedoniam, rationem habens Ecclesiam Ephesinam, ne penitus Pastore desistatur reliqueret ut ejus necessitati prospiceret, Timotheum discipulum omnium amansissimum inibi remansisse voluit, Id enim Paulus, e Macedonia primam ad eundem scribens Epistolam, testatur his verbis “Rogavi te” &c. ad annum 57, n. 186. (189. ed. Mansi.)

upon him the charge of the Churches of Asia. Which being accordingly agreed and done, he sendeth him before with the rest of his company into Asia, as we read Acts xx. 4, 5, not knowing then how soon himself should follow them. For thus he writeth, 1 Tim. iii. 14, 15, "These things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly; but if I stay, that thou mayest know how to behave thyself in the house of God." Therefore it is plain, that he sendeth him this epistle of instructions after their parting from Macedonia, but before his coming to Ephesus; it seemeth while he stayed for him at Troas, as we read Acts xx. 5. And thus we may well understand the words of Athanasius in Synopei—though Baronius* allege him for his purpose—because he saith no more but this, that the first to Timothy was sent from Macedonia*. But the Apostle having resolved, if it were possible, to be at Jerusalem the day of Pentecost, Acts xx. 16, maketh haste, and overtaketh his company at Troas, Acts xx. 6. And thus we see the reason why there is no respect of Timothy in his instructions to the elders of Ephesus, Acts xx. 18, because that then he began to enter upon his charge there, and because of the instructions he had received from the Apostle by his first epistle, besides word of mouth. So the upshot of all this discourse is thus much, that within compass of the time of this voyage—at the beginning whereof the Apostle said in the Spirit, that "when he had been at Jerusalem, he must also see Rome," Acts xix. 21—at the midst whereof he writeth to the Romans, chap. xv. 23, that "he had no more place in those parts"—and at the end whereof he saith to the elders of Ephesus, Acts xx. 25, "And now behold, I know that all you, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more;" knowing by revelation that he was to serve God no more in those parts—he appointeth his two disciples Timothy and Titus to be in his stead over the Churches of Asia and Crete.

§ 7. Now that the charge of Timothy and Titus giveth them a power as great as that of Bishops was from the beginning, no question is made: if they prove not more than so, the business is clear. For true it is, something not ordinary in 40

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OF CHURCHES.

Bishops we must acknowledge in Timothy’s person when he is called an “evangelist,” 2 Tim. iv. 5, “do the work of an “evangelist.” To which we must refer that grace whereof the Apostle speaketh, 1 Tim. iv. 14, “Neglect not the gift that is in thee, that was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.” Whereof again, 2 Tim. i. 6, “I put thee in mind that thou stir up the gift that is in thee, by the putting on of my hands.” And, 1 Tim. i. 18, “This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy, according to the prophecies that went afore of thee.”

§ 8. In this the disciple’s case is somewhat like the Apostle’s, as you shall see it anon, Acts xiii. 2, where the prophets in the Church of Antiochia, having foretold through the Holy Ghost what God would do in the planting of His Gospel by his hands and Barnabas, and declared His will for setting them apart for that purpose; hereupon they receive imposition of hands. So, likewise, we must conceive that these prophecies went afore of Timothy, to inform the Church of the will of God concerning him, and the work He had appointed him to perform. As for the grace he receiveth by imposition of hands, what other can any man imagine it to be than that which is designed in the name of an evangelist, which the Apostle meant when he said, Ephes. iv. 11, that our Lord hath given to His Church, “some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists?” Or how can we further distinguish it otherwise from the gifts of Apostles and prophets, than [by] placing it in the extraordinary temporary endowments of the Holy Ghost, enabling such persons, according to the exigence of that time, to publish the Gospel, and to persuade it? which, nevertheless, cometh short of the personal quality of witnesses of our Lord and His doctrine, and of the measure and kind of those graces of miracles, languages, and the like, that make an Apostle.

§ 9. But he that would draw this into consequence, and argue that Timothy was no Bishop, because an evangelist, may, with more reason, conclude that Philip was no deacon because he was an evangelist, and contradict the Scripture that saith,

"And to any man that will but understand and consider what the office of an evangelist was; and wherein it differed from the office of a presbyter or Bishop, it will be manifest that Timothy and Titus were evangelists and no Bishops.”—Smectymnuus, sect. xiii. p. 48.
Acts xxii. 8, "we entered into the house of Philip the evangelist, which was one of the seven." For if an Apostle, in that eminence of graces and privileges—nevertheless abiding upon a certain charge, and taking care of it—is to be counted Bishop of a particular place, as was argued afore*, much more may an evangelist for his extraordinary gift be a Bishop for his several charge: which is to say thus much in English, that the gift of an evangelist may fall upon any rank of ordinary ministers; as we see Philip, for his place in the Church, one of the seven deacons at Jerusalem, Acts vi. 5, is nevertheless an evangelist, for the graces God had bestowed upon him, by his means to convert Samaria to the faith, Acts viii. 5. Nay, further, if the gift of an evangelist be compatible with a deacon's place, it must be granted that Timothy, as an evangelist, is no governor of Churches.

§ 10. And whereas it is argued, that it was but a commission for the time, which Timothy and Titus are trusted with from the Apostle, because it appeareth they were other-whiles employed otherwhere by the Apostle, 2 Tim. iv. 9, 10—as any Bishop in case of public necessities of the Church must be without the Apostle—let me be bold to affirm, that the rules of continued settled government, directed to them by the Apostle to be executed by them in their persons, are sufficient evidence that they were appointed by him for perpetual governors, and not for temporary commissaries. Indeed, as there is something more than ordinary in Timothy's person, so is there something more than ordinary in Titus' charge, in that he was "left in Crete, to ordain presbyters in every city," Tit. i. 5; by which, as appeareth in the sequel of the epistle, the Churches of those cities were to be governed under Titus, as was observed afore. The like to be said of Timothy, whose instructions, qualifying presbyters and deacons alone, leave him alone superior to all the presbyters he should institute according to his instructions.

* Chap. ii. sect. 1.

† "All these journeys to and fro did Titus make at the desigment of the Apostle, even after he was left in Crete, nor do we find that after his first removal from Crete, he did ever return thither: we read indeed, 2 Tim. iv. 10, he was with Paul at Rome, and from thence returned not to Crete, but into Dalmatia. All which doth more than probably show, it never was the intend-ment of the Apostle to fix Titus in Crete as a Bishop, but only to leave him there for a season, for the good of that Church, and to call him from thence, and send him abroad to other Churches for their good, as their necessities might require."—Smelectymnuus, sect. xiii. p. 61.
§ 11. Now, if we observed the custom of the Apostles, hitherto set forth, of instituting presbyteries in populous cities, and observe the custom of the Church after their time, wherein a Bishop was always head of one of these presbyteries—Quid est enim Episcopus, nisi primus presbyter, hoc est, summus sacerdos? saith St. Augustine, "for what is a Bishop but the chief of the presbyters?"—it will not be hard to espy a difference between the place of a Bishop and the extent of their charge. For it will not serve the turn to say, as some do, that Titus was Archbishop of Crete, and so entrusted with divers Churches; for an Archbishop is a chief among Bishops, not a person to govern divers Churches, seats of bishoprics. And therefore Titus was not Bishop of all the Churches in Crete by being Bishop of the chief city of it. But, in the meantime, let me use Epiphanius' words: "The Apostles could not settle all things uniformly at once." Is it a reasonable thing to argue, that because St. Paul taketh no order for the heads of these presbyteries which were not yet made, therefore he did not intend there should be any such in the Church? Rather let me argue, that because St. Paul left two of his principal disciples in two principal places, with charge to plant presbyteries as there was means to propagate Churches, therefore he gave a pattern of that which these disciples, and all the Church was to do afterwards, in settling the government of those Churches, in the presbyteries of them, and in their heads, which themselves were for the time.

§ 12. And this we shall find was done in good time in the Churches of Timothy's charge, if we take but a short consideration of the beloved disciple John the Apostle and Evangelist, what we find concerning him in Scriptures, or otherwise received and credible in this nature. He lived...
longest of all the disciples, as is said: and he will easily shew
us Bishops over the Churches of Timothy's charge; for such,
without doubt, were the seven Churches of Asia, unto whom
the Apostle, sending from our Lord seven epistles—ii. and
iii. chapt. of his Revelation—directeth them to the "Angels"
of those Churches; a style not compatible to a person of
common rank,—and the act of directing epistles to one in the
name and behalf of the whole Church arguing the eminence
of the head, fit to answer for the body he representeth.

§ 13. Herewith agree the words of Clemens Alexandrinus, in
Eusebius iii. 23, concerning this Apostle, that being returned
from Patmos to Ephesus, he used, upon request, to go among
the neighbour nations, ἐπού μὲν Ἑπισκόπως καταστήσων,
ἐπού δὲ ἐλας Ἐκκλησίας ἀρμόσων, ὑπὸ δὲ κλήρῳ ἐνα γέ τιμα
κληρώσων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος σημαινομένων,—that is, 48
"in some places to constitute Bishops"—to wit, where there
were presbyteries afore that yet had none—"in some to found
whole Churches, in others to ordain a clergy* out of such as
were signified by the Spirit," as we read of St. Paul and
Timotheus. For will you have these to be Bishops accord-
ing to the use of† the word in St. Paul, where it is all one
with "presbyters?" Sure we must needs think of such as his
own writings make Angels of Churches. Ignatius, that was
his disciple according to some, in all his epistles specifyed,
and sometimes by name, the Bishops of some the same
Churches, and some of others, together with their presby-
teries; and in particular Onesimus§, Timothy's successor at
Ephesus. Tertullianh and Irenæusi, the most ancient we
can allege, have named Polycarpus in particular, made Bishop
of Smyrna by this Apostle. It is not possible to say more in 49
this case.

§ 14. So often as we find mention of government in particular
Churches in Scripture, so often we meet with presbyteries, or

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* "In others to ordain a clergyman,
some one of those that were signified
† These words, "the use of," are
omitted in the second edition.
§ Epist. ad Ephes. cap. i.
h Hoe enim modo Ecclesie Apo-
stolice census suos deferunt; sicut
Smyrmæorum ecclesia habens Poly-
carpum ab Joanne conlocatum refert.—
De Prescript. adv. Haeretic. cap. xxxii.
p. 337. ed. Pam.
i Os μένῳ ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς
. . . ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀποστόλων κατα-
σταθεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἁσιαν ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ
ἐκκλησία ἐφικείον. — Adversus Hæ-
the heads of presbyteries, Apostles themselves, or deriving their charge from the Apostles. Nay, it is very much—not pretending that Bishops came on otherwise than to be instead of the Apostles over particular Churches—that there is so much to be said for their office out of Scriptures all written during their time.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESBYTERY AT ANTIOCHIA. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL HEADS OF THE CHURCH THERE; LIKewise OF THAT AT ROME. THE DIFFERENCE ABOUT THEIR NEXT SUCCESSORS. EPIPHANIUS’ CONJECTURE UPON IT. ANOTHER. CLEMENS SUCCEEDED ST. PETER, AND LINUS ST. PAUL. THE SUCCESSION OF THE APOSTLES THERE IS UNQUESTIONABLE.

The Church of Antiochia is remembered next to that of Jerusalem in the Acts of the Apostles, but of the government thereof we have nothing so distinct or express in Scripture. Yet this we read, Acts xiii. 1—3, “Now there were in the Church at Antiochia certain prophets and teachers. . . . . . . . And as they ministered unto the Lord and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.” That these prophets and teachers were all of them presbyters of that Church, is more than can be affirmed, because it is no where set down. But when we read that they “ministered unto the Lord”—which must be understood of the service of God in their assemblies, especially in celebrating the Eucharist—and gave “imposition of hands,” which cannot signify the ordination of Paul and Barnabas to the work there specified, being appointed by the Holy Ghost, but the benediction of them, which was the solemnity of putting them into the office.

§ 2. Now, as concerning the heads of this Church, we must have recourse to Ignatius’ epistle ad Magnesianos, where

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21 The presbytery at Antiochia.

k "We find among the number of them the works of ordinary ministers, when there was no higher rank than that of presbyters able to do the like." These words in the first edition were in the place of those beginning with "which cannot," ending with "office."

1 See Cornelius a Lapide on the place, who quotes Arias, Cajetanus, and Suarez for the statement in the text, though he dissents from it himself.

2 Πεταλωντα πρώτης εν Συρία εν Ἀντίοχεσα γάρ ἐκχρημάτισαν οἱ μαθηταί
he useth these words, "For at Antiochia the disciples were first called Christians, Paul and Peter founding the Church." And in the epistle ad Antiochenos, if it be his, as the other unquestionably is, - Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου γεγοναυς μαθηταί 52 . . . . μημονεύσατε Ευωδίου, . . . . δὲ πρῶτος ἐνεχειρίσθη πάρα τῶν Ἀποστόλων τὴν ὑμετέραν προστασίαν, - that is, "Ye are Paul's and Peter's disciples. Remember Euodius, that first had the rule of you put into his hands by the Apostles." Be he what he will be that wrote this—let me be bold to say—it agreeth marvellous well with what hath been said, and with the Scripture. In which it is plain, there were at the beginning two congregations of Christians at Antiochia; one of the circumcision, the other converted from the Gentiles; because St. Peter, Gal. ii. 12, "fearing those of the circumcision, withdrew himself, and ate no more with the Gentiles." In regard of the care of which two congregations, performed by St. Peter and St. Paul, according to the division agreed upon, Gal. ii. 9, the words of Ignatius are to be verified, where he maketh both Apostles founders of the Church at Antiochia; who, finding themselves employed in other parts of the world, took the same course with this Church which St. Paul did with those he commended to Timothy and Titus, and put both congregations—by that time united and concordate in one—under the charge of Euodius, predecessor to Ignatius.

§ 3. These two Apostles are usually counted founders of the Church at Rome, as well as of that of Antiochia. Irenæus, iii. 3: "Fundantes igitur et instruentes beati Apostoli Ecclesiam, Lino episcopatum administrandae Ecclesiae tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his quæ sunt ad Timotheum epistolis meminit. Succedit autem ei Anacletus: post eum tertio loco ab Apostolis episcopatum sortitur Clemens. "Therefore the blessed Apostles, founding and constituting the Church, delivered to Linus the
bishops for governing it. Of this Linus St. Paul maketh mention in the epistles to Timothy. Him succeedeth Anacletus. After him in the third place from the Apostles the lot of the bishopric falls to Clemens.” Where you see he referreth the foundation of that Church to both the Apostles, as doth Dionysius also of Corinth, some hundred and twenty years after their death, in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. ii. 25, and others of later stamp sans number. Whereupon Epiphanius*, Hær. 27, reckoning the succession of the Bishops of Rome, putteth Peter and Paul in the first place.

§ 4. But yet observe further the difference between the words of Irenæus—which put Linus after the Apostles—and the Latin Church, which, according to St. Hierome¹, Catal. Script. in Clem., reckoneth Clemens in that place; which Tertullian, the most ancient of that language, lib. De Præscript.², averreth. To which difference we may ascribe the confusion that Baronius⁷ hath observed in the pontifical book under the name of Pope Damasus⁸, an ancient piece, but pieced indeed out of several writings, and cross to one another divers times. As for the purpose: when it maketh Linus to succeed the Apostles and suffer martyrdom the same year—who nevertheless sitteth twelve years according to Eusebius⁹—whereas Cletus, next in order unto him, beginneth seven years after in time; but Clemens, third in rank, one year after Linus, suffering in the third year of Trajan, long after both their deaths.

§ 5. Epiphanius⁵, in the place afore named, stumbling, as it seemeth, at the credit of those that put Clemens first, propoundeth this conjecture: Eit oðn ēti periôntων [tōn 'Apoô̂stolōn] ὅπο Πέτρου λαμβάνει τὴν χειροθείαν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς, καὶ, παραιτησάμενος ἤργει: λέγει γὰρ ἐν μᾶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν The difference about their next successors.

¹ Κορίνθιων Ἐπίσκοποι Διονύσιος ἐγγράφοι Ῥωμαιὸν ὁμολόγησιν, ᾧ καὶ παραστησιν. Ταύτα καὶ ὅμειρα διὰ τὴν τοσοντιν κοινωνίαν, τὴν ἀνή Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυσικὰ γεννηθέν τῶν Ῥωμαίων το καὶ Κορίνθιων συνεκπαίδευσεν.—p. 68. ed. Vales.
⁷ Ann. 69. n. 35—38. et ad ann. 384. n. 16 et 17.
⁸ Printed in the collections of the Councils.
C H A P. aιτοῦ, Ἀναχωρῷ, ἀπεμί εὐσταθεῖτω ὁ λαὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τις οὐτὸ συμβουλεύων (εὐρομεν γὰρ ἐν τοις ὑπομηματισμοῖς οὐτὸ ἐγκείμενον.) "Whither then during the time of the Apostles, he was ordained Bishop by Peter, and declining it, sat still, for he saith in one of his Epistles, I withdraw, I depart, let the people of God be in quiet, advising some so, (for this we find couched in some records)." These words of Clemens, quoted by Epiphanius, are yet extant in his epistle to the Church of Corinth, published not long since; wherein he telleth him, that was the occasion of the schism he writeth against there, that a generous man and so forth, would say in that case, "I depart; I withdraw: let the people of God be in quiet." Epiphanius, it seemeth, meeting them at the second hand, alleged for Clemens' advice to some man mentioned in the epistle—as they are indeed—conceived nevertheless they might have reference to his own case, advising to withdraw, and give way to Linus and Cletus, for the quiet of the Church; which now, by reading the epistle, proveth otherwise. Besides, he sticketh not to digest the inconvenience of admitting more than one Bishop in the same Church at once. For because, according to his conjecture, Linus and Cletus, as well as Clemens—that gave way to them—must be made Bishops by the Apostles, he addeth, that Bishops might be made there during the time of the Apostles, because they travelled sometimes from Rome—St. Paul into Spain, as indeed he purposeth, Rom. xv. 24; St. Peter into Pontus and Bithynia, whither he directeth his first epistle—and must not leave the Church unprovided there.

§ 6. But if it be worth the while to vent a conjecture that shall avoid this inconvenience, and make all good that is reported by these ancient Fathers, that matters of circumstance, wherein they are at difference, destroy not their credit in the main, wherein they are at agreement,—let this be mine, that there were at Rome from the beginning, as at Antiochia, two

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* Eὐσταθεῖτω, Junius: ἐνσταθήτω, Petavius.

b By Junius, in 1633.


d Πλὴν ἄλλα καὶ οὕτως ἤδηστο ἢτι περίστοις τῶν Ἀποστόλων, φημὶ δὲ τῶν περὶ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου ἐπισκόπων ἐλούς καθίστασθαι, δη τοῦ τοῦ Ἀποστόλων πολλακις ἐκι τὰς ἄλλας πατρίδας τὴν περίλαθων ὑπολείποντα, διὰ τὸ κήρυγμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, μὴ δύνασθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν Ερωμάων τάλιν ἄνεν ἐπισκόπου εἶναι. Ο�� μὴ γὰρ Παύλου καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἱστοιαν ἄφθονονα, Πέτρος δὲ πολλακὰς Πόστον τε καὶ Βιθυνίαν ἐπισκέψετο.—Epiph. ut supr.
congregations of Christians, one of the circumcision, the other of the Gentiles; that St. Peter was head of the one, St. Paul of the other, according to the division aforesaid; that after their death, Linus, who was deacon to St. Paul—if we believe Ignatius in the epistle to the Trallians—succeeded him over the one; Clemens, who was deacon to St. Peter—according to the same author there—succeeded him over the other; till both congregations,—being concorporate and united in one,—came to be governed by Clemens that survived.

§ 7. And if any man be so disfavourable, as upon these differences of the by to discredit the main, let him know, that though he allow not the pillars of the Church in their time the credit of discreet men, to have reason for what they report, yet must he allow Irenæus and Tertullian to be men of common sense, when they allege the succession of Bishops in the Churches of that time—wherein that of Rome is always one—for an evidence of the faith which had been preserved in them ever since the Apostles; the force of the reason lying in that which Calvin hath exceeding well observed,—that it was a thing known and received at that time, that *de facto* the faith which the Churches professed came by succession from the Apostles, from which succession the heretics were fain to separate, and make congregations apart, wherein to profess the belief which themselves had devised.

§ 8. Be all the world judges now, whether a man in his right senses would appeal to the succession of Bishops, if it had been a thing questionable whether any such were or not. The like is to be said of Optatus, and St. Augustine, when...
CHAPTER VI.

DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE BISHOP OF ATHENS. ST. MARK OF ALEXANDRIA. NO BISHOP AT CORINTH WHEN CLEMENS WROTE HIS EPISTLE.

HOW THEY WERE PROPAGATED, AND BY WHAT RULE.

Thus we are out of the Scripture; but because we are not yet out of the time of the Apostles, I will name further Dionysius the Areopagite, St. Paul's convert, Acts xvii. 34, because there is so ancient a witness to depose for him, Dionysius of Corinth, some hundred and twenty years after that, averring, in Eusebius\textsuperscript{*}, that he was the first bishop of Athens.

§ 2. And so the last I will name shall be the Church of Alexandria, and that for St. Hierome's sake, and in his words, because he it is that is persuaded, and persuadeth men to think, that the order of Bishops came in by mere custom of\textsuperscript{61} the Church, to avoid schisms that arise for want of heads. In his epistle to Evangelus\textsuperscript{1} thus we read: Nam et Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclam et Dionysium Episcopos, presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant. "For at Alexandria also, from Mark the Evangelist till Dionysius and Heraclas were Bishops, the Presbyters were wont to choose one of their number, whom they placed in a higher seat, calling him Bishop." How that can be said to come in by custom for avoiding of schism, which was practised at Alexandria from

succeedentium considerandus est, quanto certius et vere salubriter ab ipso Petro numerarum, cui totius Ecclesiae figuram gerenti Dominus ait Super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam et porta inferorum non vincent eam, Petro enim successit Linus, Lino Clemens, Clementi Anacletus, &c. In hoc ordine successionis nullus Donatista Episcopus inventur.—Epist. 53. ad Generosum coll. 120, 121. tom. ii. Again Numerate Sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede, Et in ordine illo Patrum, quis cui successit, videte.

\textsuperscript{*} Cont. part. Don. Ps. t. ix. col. 7, ed. Ben. \textsuperscript{1} Ep. 101. ad Evangelum, tom. iv. col. 802 ed. Bened. This letter is generally cited "ad Evagrium;" the Benedictine editors discovered the mistake, and made the correction, which is now inserted in Thorndike's text.
Mark the Evangelist, let St. Hierome devise; it shall serve our turn, that so it was there from the Apostle's time.

§ 3. Otherwise it is reasonable enough to believe that, upon such occasions, Bishops came in over some Churches, in particular, the Church of Corinth, in which we find a schism, but can find no Bishop at the time of writing Clemens' epistle, some few years after the death of the Apostles; because the reason produced afore⁷, to argue that there was no Bishop at Corinth when St. Paul wrote his epistles, continueth still in force at the time of writing Clemens' epistle. For, p. 52⁸, he is very earnest with them to keep due order and decorum in bringing their oblations, and celebrating the Eucharist; for when he nameth there τὰς προσφορὰς καὶ λειτουργίας, by the one, we must understand the species of fruits of the earth, and meats, which the people offered, out of which the Eucharist being celebrated, the rest was spent in the Agapa, or feast of love, to which the words of the Apostle are to be referred; by the other, the Eucharist, for celebration whereof he is so earnest with them to keep due order in their assemblies; alleging that those things which the Lord had commanded to be done, those He had not commanded to be done disorderly and at random, but at set times and seasons, when and by whom they should be done. Where God hath appointed an order, when and where, and by whom Christians should celebrate their assemblies, is not to be found in Scripture further than the Apostle's rule, 1 Cor. xiv. 40, "Let all things be done decently and in order." It seemeth he argueth from the pattern of the Levitical priesthood; for so it followeth, p. 53, Τῷ γὰρ ἀρχιερεῖ ἰδιαὶ λειτουργίαι δεδομέναι εἰσί, &c.—"To the high-priest," saith he, "are assigned his proper services." Which further appeareth when he urgeth the example of their sacrifices, that were offered before the temple, being first visited διὰ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῶν προειρημένων λειτουργῶν, p. 54,—"by the high-priest and the foresaid ministers." But the presbyters of that Christian Church he exhorteth with these words: "Εκαστος ἰμὼν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εἰχαριστεῖτο Θεῷ, ἐν ὕπαθῇ συνειδῆσει ὑπάρχου, μὴ παρεκβαίνων τῶν ὁρισμένων τῆς λει-

⁷ In chap. iii. sect. 3 and 4.

CHAP. VI.
CHAP. τουργίας αυτοῦ κανόνα.—"Brethren," saith he, "let every one of you give thanks to God"—that is, "celebrate the Eucharist," in his language,—"in his own order, being in a good conscience, not stepping out of the set rule of his ministry." Perhaps his meaning is, that they should celebrate by turns.

§ 4. Howsoever, here is my reason, that there was then no Bishop there, because then there could not have been so much debate about the order in celebrating the assemblies of Christians; which, as shall be shewed afterwards, were not to be held but upon appointment of the Bishop, with advice of the presbyters, being a mark of schism to assemble otherwise. And if this be not enough, there is another to second it. Whatsoever may be argued from the dissensions at Corinth, one saying, "I am of Paul," another, "I am of Cephas," to shew that there was no Bishop there when the Apostle wrote this, and in his absence, still continueth in force at the time of writing Clemens' epistle; the whole subject whereof is to quell such another dissension as this, but only that it was not under such colourable names of Paul, and Cephas, and Apollos, as he complaineth, but—which is remarkable to prove my intent—was, as he saith, p. 62, a mere faction, for the love of one or two persons, against the presbyters, no Bishop bearing any part either at one end or other of it. Neither is it marvel that this Church should be still without a Bishop for some ten or twenty years, perhaps, after the death of the Apostle, so many companions of the Apostles being then alive—Clemens at Rome, Titus in Crete, Timothy at Ephesus, Dionysius at Athens, others elsewhere—to furnish whatsoever assistance they had received from the Apostle during his time, no otherwise than did Timothy and Titus to those Churches, wherein they had planted presbyteries before they had Bishops.

§ 5. And therefore, if any man ask the question how Bishops came to be propagated through all Churches: the answer must be, they were made in due time by the heads of neighbouring Churches; which we shall discern anon, when we come to speak of the course held from the beginning in the

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6 In chap. x.

74. ed. Coteler.

Δ' ἐν ᾧ δόθη πρόσωπα σταυρίζειν πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους.—Cap. xlvii. p.

9 In chap. xii.
choice and constitution of Bishops. And by the practice of
the Church, it should seem the aim was afar off to propagate
Bishops according to the first practice of the Apostles. For
as they planted presbyteries to govern mother-Churches in
mother-cities, so, when it became questionable which Churches
should have Bishops and which not, the matter was regulated
according to the greatness of cities, or the multitude of pres-
byters which the service of the Churches in them required,
whereof the Bishops were to be heads'. And therefore, in
the council of Sardica*, can. vi. it is provided, that there
should be no Bishop in towns or small cities where one pres-
byter might serve; but in those places where Bishops were
of old time, or if a place became so populous that it might
deserve to have a Bishop; that is, either in cities that had
been so populous of old time as to have Bishops, or which
should afterwards become so populous. But the seventeenth
canon of the Chalcedon council¹, providing against innova-
tion in dioceses, taketh order nevertheless, that when a place
is promoted by the emperor to be a city, the form of the
Church shall go along with the form of the commonwealth;
that is, it shall have a Bishop, and his diocese the territory of
that city. There is here a difference in the particular, and
yet the same general ground of both canons,—the practice of
68 the Apostles, ordaining presbyteries to govern the Churches
which they had planted in cities, the heads whereof were
Bishops after their departure". And this seemeth to be the
reason why the seats of cathedral churches are wont to be
cities. And by this means Italy is so full of bishoprics, be-
because it is so full of cities.

¹ Vid. Thomassin. Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl. pt. i. lib. i. c. iii. See "The Epi-
logue," bk. iii. c. 18.

* Μὴ ἑξεῖναι δὲ ἀπλῶς καθιστῶν ἑπι-
σκόπων ἐν κάθε τιλ ἡ βραχιά τῶν, ἢ τις καὶ εἷς μόνος Πρεσβύτερος ἑπάρκει,
οὐ διακονιών γὰρ ἑσπερίδων ἑκείων καθιστάσθαι, ἵνα μὴ κατευθελήσηται τὸ
τῶν ἑσπερίδων θρόνα καὶ ἡ ἀδυνατία, ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς  ἑπαρχίας, ως ἰρικύων, ἑπικόλω
ἐν ταύται τῶν πόλεως καθιστῶν ἑπι-
σκόπων ὑπελεῖον, ἔνδο καὶ πρότερον ἑττηγμένοι γεγονότες ἑκείσπερα. δὲ ἐν
ὑπεράνων ὑπότως πληθύνοντο τε ἐν
πόλει δριμῶς λαοῦ τῆς, ως ἄλιμων αὐτήν
καὶ ἑπισκοπὴς νομίζεται, λαμβάνεται.—

¹ Εἰ δὲ τις ἐκ Βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκκα-
θητῆ ἐπόλις, ἢ αὐτῆς καταστασίας, τοῖς πολι-
τικοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις τύποις καὶ τῶν ἐκ-
κλησιαστικῶν παροικίων ἡ τάξις ἀκο-

* So the sixth council of Paris, A.D.
829: Sicut unicumque Civitati convenit
proprion habere Episcopum, ut et
unamquamque Basilicae Deo dictatam
decet et oportet proprium habere pres-
byterum.—Labbei, tom. ix. col. 740.
ed. Venet. And before this time, A.D.
755, Ut Episcopi debeat per singulas
Civitates esse.—Concil. Vernense, Lab-
bei, tom. viii. col. 417.
CHAPTER VII.

PRESBYTERS GOVERN WITH THE APOSTLES IN SCRIPTURES. NOTHING DONE IN THE CHURCH WITHOUT THEIR ADVICE. WHY BOTH RANKS ARE CALLED "SACERDOTES," "PRESBYTERI," "ANTISTITES," AND THE LIKE.


cap. vii.

Presbyters govern with the Apostles in Scriptures.

Having hitherto justified the ground whereupon we go, and shewed that Bishops came after the Apostles to be heads of presbyteries, in consequence hereunto it must now be averred, that the government of Churches passed in common by Bishops and presbyters, as from the beginning the presbyters governed with the Apostles themselves. If in that great action of the council at Jerusalem, the elders of that Church bore their part with the Apostles, what cause have we to think they did less when they were dispersed, St. James alone remaining there? If they concurred with St. James in his advice to St. Paul about a matter of greatest weight,—how to deal with those of the circumcision that believed,—shall we imagine they did not do the like with his successors? If St. Peter call the presbyters of the Churches to which he writeth his "fellow-elders," it is to the purpose to put them in mind of their share in that office which he chargeth himself with. If the Apostle of the Gentiles charge the elders of the Church of Ephesus, Acts xx. 28, with their part of that care of Christ's flock after his departure, which he for his time had performed over them, shall we think them eased of it because Timothy came to be Bishop there? Rather let me conceive this to be the cause why Timothy's instructions are addressed in the singular number to him alone, without mention of his presbyters,—because they were to receive their charge by themselves about the same time: so far is it from me to think, that his presbyters were not to concur in assisting that course of government, wherein he alone is directed by the Apostle to proceed. And if we can go no further in proving this point out of Scripture, the reason must be, because—as appeareth by that which hath been said—the Scriptures for the most part speak of that time when Bishops yet

* See ch. iv. sect. 6.
were not, but the Apostles themselves. To which purpose, the Scriptures, in the particulars which we shall survey.

§ 2. In the meantime, let us take notice of a few passages, among many more, out of ecclesiastical writers, to argue the general whereof we speak. Ignatius Epist. ad Trall. v, Ti δὲ πρεσβυτέρου, saith he, ἀλλ' ἡ σύντημα ierôn, σύμβουλον καὶ συνεδρευταὶ τοῦ 'Επισκόπου,—we cannot understand righter what the presbytery meaneth than out of these words, "What is the presbytery but a college or bench of assessors to the Bishop in sacred matters." The Commentaries under St. Ambrose's name, upon 1 Tim. v. 1, speak home to this purpose,—Nam apud omnes utique gentes honorabilis est senectus: unde et Synagoga, et postea Ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia. "For truly age is honourable among all nations; whereupon the Synagogue, and afterwards the Church had elders, without whose advice nothing was done in the Church." This is as much as can be demanded, when we hear that nothing was done in the Church—to wit, by the Bishop—without the advice of his presbyters. The same is affirmed by St. Hierome upon Titus i. 5: a Antequam, diaboli instinctu, studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis, Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephae, communi presbyterorum consilio Ecclesiae gubernabantur. "Before there came factions in religion by the instinct of the devil, and it was said among the people, I am of Paul, I of Apollos, I of Cephas, Churches were governed by common advice [of the presbyters]." In that St. Hierome thinketh there were no Bishops till Churches were forced to that course to avoid schisms, it hath been shewed he is not in the right b; but in that he affirmeth that at first Churches were governed by common advice, we may well hear him speak in so good company of witnesses. Last of all, St. Cyprian having said, once for all, epist. vi. c, Quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro [pres-

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9 St. Hieronymi Opp. tom. iv. col. 413. ed. Ben.

b Chap. vi. sect. 2.
C Ep. xiv. p. 33. ed. Oxon. 1682, in which the reading is, "Sine consensu plebis, mea privatim sententia gerere," that in the text being the common one.
CHAP. VII.  
byterorum et diaconorum], et sine consensu plebis mee, privata sententia gerere, "seeing I have resolved from the beginning of my bishopric to do nothing upon my private judgment, without the advice of you (the presbyters and deacons) and the consent of my people,"—how well he observed it, is yet to be seen in the passage of divers businesses related in his epistles. Out of which the like is to be conceived of the presbyters of Rome, by those things that are touched there.  

§ 3. And this is the true reason why many times—especially among the most ancient Church-writers—Bishop and presbyters both are comprised in the same styles and names, not because there were then no Bishops—as some men imagine—but because both states concurred in the same office. Clemens, in the epistle aforesaid, page 54⁴, speaking of the ministries instituted by the Apostles, saith thus, Καθέστατον τῶς ἀπαρχάς αὐτῶν, . . . εἰς Ἐπισκόπον καὶ διακόνοις τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν,—that is, "they made the first-fruits of believers overseers and ministers"—that is, Bishops and deacons—"of those that should believe." It seemeth, indeed, that Clemens calleth the presbyters Bishops, because as yet there was no other Bishop there, as was proved afore; for so the word is used in St. Paul's epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, for the same reasons, as hath been said. But in Ignatius' epistle to Hero*, his deacon at Antiochia, you have these words: Μηδὲν ἀνευ τῶν Ἐπισκόπων πράττε. Ιερεῖς γὰρ εἰσι, σὺ δὲ διάκονοι τῶν ἱερέων,—"do nothing without the Bishops," that is, without the presbyters, "for they are priests, thou a minister of priests," who were indeed Bishops in Ignatius' absence, when this is pretended to be written. And be he who he will be that writ it, I believe it will not often be found that presbyters are called Bishops in any monument of Church-writers after this time, unless it be in these words of Tertullian, De Presept. c. iii, Quid ergo, si Episcopus, si diaconus, si vidua, "What then if a Bishop, if a deacon, if a widow," &c., where putting the deacon next to the Bishop, he seemeth to comprise the presbyter with him in the same style. For afterwards the name of Bishops became appropriate to the heads of presbyteries; as we heard.  

¹ Chap. vi. sect. 2.
say of the presbyters at Alexandria, that the head whom they
chose themselves out of their own number, they named "Bishop" of Alexandria.

§ 4. Otherwise, as it is well known that the name of "sacer-
doe" is common to both estates, in regard of the offices of divine
service which were performed by boths, so in regard of the
government of the Church, common to both, are they many
times comprised together in the common style of "pres-
byters," the name of their age, or antistites, πρεσβύτερος, prae-
positi, and the like, the names of their charge. For as the
Apostle maketh himself an elder when he writeth to them in
this style, 1 Pet. v. 1, "The elders I exhort, who am also an
elder," so is the like to be observed in that well-known pas-
sage of Clemens Alexandrinus, related by Eusebius, Eccles.
Hist. iii. 23, concerning the youth which St. John the Apostle
commended to the Bishop of a certain place. Clemens, pro-
ceeding in the relation, addeth, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος—"but the
elder," saith he, "taking the youth home to his house;" &c.
calling him a "presbyter" whom he had named a "Bishop"
but just afore. So Tertullian, Apologet. c. 39, describing what
was wont to be done in the assemblies of Christians, addeth
Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed
testimonio adepti; "Elders all approved are presidents having
obtained the honour by testimony not by reward;" not meaning
to tell us that there was no Bishop to be seen at these meet-
ings—for in his book De Præscript., where he nameth Poly-
carpus, whom we alleged afore, cap. 32, Bishop of Smyrna, he
speaketh as much of Bishops that succeeded the Apostles in the
rest of the Churches of their planting,—but comprising both
ranks and estates in one name of "elders;" and that, upon the
reason specified in the commentaries under St. Ambrose's
name, upon 1 Tim. iii. 8, where he giveth the reason why the


‡ Chap. iv. sect. 13.

§ Post Episcopum tamen diocesanus ordinationem subjecit. Quare nisi quia Episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est? Uterque enim sacerdos est, sed Episcopus primus est, ut omnis

THORNDIKE.
Apostle passeth straight from Bishops to deacons; because, saith he, "every Bishop is a presbyter, though every presbyter is not a Bishop, who is the chief of presbyters." And the true St. Ambrose, Offic. i. 20. Viduarum ac virginum domos, nisi visitandi gratia, juniores adire non est opus: et hoc cum senioribus, hoc est, vel cum Episcopo, vel, si gravior est causa, cum presbyteris—"It is not expedient that the younger go to the widows' and virgins' houses unless it be to visit, and that with the elders," saith he; "that is, with the Bishop, or if need be with the presbyters." Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, relating the orders of Christians in their assemblies, having spoken of reading the Scriptures, "Then," saith he, "the reader having done, ὁ προεστός, the ruler, maketh a speech of instruction to the people, exhorting them to imitate what was read." And again, of the Eucharist: "Then," saith he, "bread and wine is offered to the ruler," τῷ προεστῶτι. Was it the Bishop alone, or the presbyters alone, that preached and celebrated the Eucharist? Sure both did it; and the name of προεστῶς was chosen on purpose by Justin to comprise both.

§ 5. The same is to be observed in the words of St. Augustine, Hom. ult. ex quinquaginta, cap. 11, Veniat [peccator] ad antistites, per quos illi in Ecclesia claves ministrantur, et...... a præpositis sacramentorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum." "Let the sinner come to the president by whom the keys are ministered to him in the Church and...... let him receive the measure of his satisfaction from those that are set over holy things." Antistites in Ecclesia is not the Bishop alone, but the Bishop and the presbyters. Hægesippus in Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. iii. 20, relateth how some of our Lord's kindred were brought afore Domitian upon suspicion of danger to the state, in regard of their title to the kingdom,
but dismissed by him upon notice of their profession of life in tilling their grounds with their own hands, tried by the hardness of them which it had wrought. "These," saith Hegesippus, "were hereupon chosen ἡγῆσασθαι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, 79 to be leaders of Churches, as both cousins of our Lord and His witnesses;" comprehending both Bishop and presbyters in one title. As in Ignatius', ad Trall., oi ἤγοιμενοι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, "the rulers of Churches" is put in one word to express Bishops and presbyters both, as the circumstance of the place will evidence. To this we must add the words of Irenæus, iv. 43: "Wherefore," saith he, "it behoveth us to obey the elders that are in the Church, which have received, according to the Father's pleasure, the certain grace of truth, with the succession of their bishopric." And again, iii. 2, he speaketh of the tradition "coming from the Apostles, which had been preserved in the Churches through the succession of presbyters." Irenæus, that is wont to appeal to the succession of Bishops, to evidence that which the Church then believed to have come from the Apostles, here referreth himself to the presbyters for the same purpose, affirming that they succeeded the Apostles; without doubt calling the Bishops by the name of "presbyters," in regard of the office common to both.

§ 6. Thus are both ranks comprised in one name of προσετότεσ in the first canon of the Council at Antiochia, where we read, Εἶ δὲ τῶν προσετῶτων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἑπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ἢ διάκονος. "If any of the presidents of the Church, Bishop, presbyter, or deacon:" where we are not to conceive that deacons are reckoned among the προσετότες, as hath been mistook; but the sense is to be directed by distinguishing the words thus: Εἶ τίς τῶν προσετῶτων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας (Ἑπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος) ἢ διάκονος, reckoning the προσετότες, as well presbyters as Bishops, neither more nor less

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1 Τοῦτο δὲ ἐπολυθέντας ἡγῆσασθαι τῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπ' ἀληθείας καὶ κατὰ τοὺς καὶ τὰς ἡγομένους τῶν Θεοῦ, διὸ οἱ ἡγομένοι με κατὰ τὰς θέσεις, σαρκὶ τε καὶ πνεύματι. — Epist. Interp. cap. xii. p. 71. ed. Coteler.


1 Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem, quae est ab Apostolis, quae per successiones presbyterorum in Ecclesia custoditur, provocamus eos. — Lib. iii. cap. ii. 2. p. 175.

than antistites in Latin, which we had in St. Augustine before. And thus you have both ranks comprised in the same style, of præpositi in St. Cyprian, and of præsidentes in Tertullian. The first, Epist. 62", Et cum omnes omnino disciplinam tenere oporteat, multo magis præpositos et diaconos curare hoc fas est. “And seeing all utterly are to observe discipline, much more is it just that the presidents look to this.” The other, De Cor. mil. c. iii. Eucharistiae sacramentum . . . nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus. “We receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist from no other hands but of the presidents’.”

CHAPTER VIII.

WHAT PATTERN THIS GOVERNMENT MIGHT HAVE IN THE SYNAGOGUE.

Aaron and his Sons. Correspondence of the Sanhedrin with the Bishop and Presbyters.

Before we leave this point, it will not be amiss to take notice what pattern the Apostles might have for this form of government in the synagogue. For when our Lord in the Gospel, Matt. xviii. 17, giveth His disciples, in the case of private offences, the rule, Dic Ecclesiæ, it is to be supposed He reflecteth upon some bench to which that people were wont to resort with their causes—otherwise what could the hearers understand by these words?—intimating that His will was, the Church, which He was now founding, to be provided of the like. Nevertheless, in regard this Church was intended a mere spiritual state, to be cherished and nourished in the bosom and entrails, as it were, of all commonwealths, there must no comparison be made in that which concerneth the temporal state of that people.

§ 2. Let us see, then, Moses’ charge. Deut. xvii. 8, 9, thus we read: “If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea and plea, and between stroke and stroke, being matters of controversy within thy gates; then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come unto the priests and Levites, and to the judges that shall be

in those days, and enquire; and they shall shew thee the sentence of judgment.” He that readeth here on the one side two sorts of persons—the “priests and Levites” for one, and “the judge that shall be in those days;” on the other side, two sorts of causes—one concerning ceremonies of the religion in force, the other the civil laws of that people, hath cause to think that the meaning of this law is, that they should resort to several persons, according to the differences of their causes: especially, being indifferent in the words, to translate it thus: “Thou shalt come to the priests, the Levites, or to the judge that shall be in those days,” as after, verse 12, it is read. Had it been thus, the correspondence had been clear between the High-priest and his inferiors in the synagogue, and the Bishop and his presbyters in the Church.

§ 3. But the practice of the nation beareth it otherwise; in which we must believe their doctors, when they tell us that the whole passage—as well that of “the priests and Levites,” as that of “the judge that shall be in those days,”—is referred to the Sanhedrin, whereof R. Isaac Abarbanel giveth this reason in his commentaries upon that place: because that court for a great part consisted of priests and Levites, and therefore had the hearing of all sorts of causes. And though they were brought hither from lower courts—whereof there was one of three and twenty persons in every place which contained one hundred and twenty families, one of three in less places—by the judges themselves, as the Hebrew doctors will have it, arguing from the words, “thou shalt arise”—“thou that findest a matter too hard for thee in judgment shalt arise,” yet can we compare the consistory of the Church with no court but this; first, because all mother-Churches in mother-cities are absolute in their rule, as to those Churches or congregations that depend upon them, as members on the whole. But as to the Churches of more eminent cities, they are all—by the subordination wherein the unity of the Church con-

7 Hebrae hunc versum referunt ad concilium Sanhedrin quo erat sumnum, instar parliamenti, et judicat de lege, rege et propheta, ad illudque erat ultima appellatio. Porro Sanhedrin constabat 70 viris, qui tam ex Sacerdotibus quam ex primaris viris cuiusque tribus assumebantur, quasi illi hic intelligentur per rob judicem, id est judices, ut vertit Chaldeus. q. d. Venes ad Sacerdotes et ad judices, id est, ad concilium Sanhedrin in quo sunt Sacerdotes, et judices Seculares, quibus omnibus praest summus Pontifex.—Cornel. a Lapide in Deuterom. cap. xvii. 9.
sisteth—to depend upon the same. And again: because Jerusalem was the only seat of the whole state of religion and justice both, in that people,—sacrifices being done no where else,—and the chief causes in religion brought to no court but this.

§ 4. Well then, as Ignatius, in one of his epistles, distinguisheth two parts of the Bishop's office, τὸ ἀρχεῖν, καὶ τὸ ἱερατεύειν—“to rule the Church, and to perform divine service;” so must we enquire the correspondency of the Church with the synagogue in both respects; reflecting from the Bishop and presbyters, in regard of divine service to be performed by their hands, upon Aaron and his sons, or the High-priest and the rest; as St. Hierome hath done before us, writing in these terms, Epist. ad Evangel. Quod Aaron, et filii ejus, atque Levita in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi Episcopi, et presbyteri, et diaconi vendicent in Ecclesia. “What Aaron and his sons and the Levites were in the temple, that let the Bishop, presbyter, and deacons challenge to themselves in the Church.”

§ 5. But in respect of government and discipline,—whereof our Lord speaketh in the Gospel aforesaid—we must reflect upon the Sanhedrin as the same St. Hierome hath done in another place, upon the first to Titus, saying of Bishops in respect of their presbyters, Imitantes Moysen, qui, quum habet in potestate solus præses populo Israel, septuaginta elegit, cum quibus populum judicaret. “Imitating Moses, who having in his power to be over the people of Israel alone, chose...
seventy with whom he might judge the people.” So then, CHAP. VIII.
Moses’ spirit is taken and divided upon seventy elders, to help him to bear the charge of the people, Num. xi. 25. The same thing is done when the Apostles ordain presbyteries by imposition of hands. Therefore we see the spirit of prophecy rest upon the presbytery by which Timothy was ordained, as well as upon that of Antioch, no otherwise than it did upon Moses’ Sanhedrin, Num. xi. 26. To continue, and procure the continuance whereof upon their successors, it was, that this court sat in the temple; as the old Hebrew doctors observe, it is said, “thou shalt go up to the place which I shall choose;” signifying that the temple in which the Holy Ghost dwelt occasioned the influence of it upon the court that sat there. But when Moses was dead, a president was chosen, over and beside the seventy, whom they called the Nasi, to be in his stead from age to age, as R. Moses writeth in Hilcoth Sanhedrin, cap. i. Such is the Bishop, chief of the presbyters, after an Apostle. All the difference is this: the Sanhedrin is but one, as the nation to which God was known was but one; whereas the Apostle and his successors remaineth head of so many presbyteries as his office of preaching the Gospel to all nations adviseth him to institute, as hath been said.

CHAPTER IX.

Presbyteries composed of no lay persons, as the Sanhedrin. What is brought out of the Scripture to that purpose. The labour of presbyters in the word and doctrine. Preaching went by gifts under the Apostles. Those gifts make no different ministries. Teaching and ruling belong to the same presbyters. No colour for lay elders in the primitive church. Preaching, how rightly esteemed.

It is well enough known how this comparison, and the text that occasioneth it, is drawn into consequence, to prove that presbyteries were intended to consist part of elders of the people, part of ministers of the Church*; as the Sanhedrin.

* This alludes to the commentaries of Calvin upon St. Matth. xviii. 16—18, whose device of lay elders is supported by reference to the Sanhedrin, thus, Forro quum apud Judaeos penes seniores esset excommunicationis potestas,
of some priests and Levites, some of the people. And it is as well to be known what a forced presumption it is to require correspondence between the Church and the synagogue in that point, which the difference of a mere spiritual and temporal commonwealth bringeth to pass. The Sanhedrin consisted of the chief of that people, as well as of priests and Levites; because the chief causes of that commonwealth, as well as of religion, passed through their hands. The Church is subject to all commonweals, where it is maintained, in temporal matters; in those which concern the soul, whom shall we think our Lord leaveth her in charge with, but those whom He trusteth with the keys of His house? Who those are, we shall see anon. In the mean time, let this serve their turn that will needs presume that these presbyteries must consist part of lay persons, as the Sanhedrin, while we prove that, de facto, they did consist of none but ministers of the Church.

§ 2. For upon this occasion, it will not be amiss here to add the utmost of the rest whereupon that platform is grounded in Scripture; which is, in effect, no more than that text of the Apostle, 1 Tim. v. 17, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those that labour in the word and doctrine;" carrying, at the first sound, an appearance of two sorts of elders—some preachers, others nothing but rulers. It is seconded indeed, qui totius Ecclesiae personam gerebant, apposite Christus tune demum publice ad Ecclesiam traduci dicit, qui pecce-runt . . . . . Scimus ex quo reversi fuerunt ab exilio Babylonico Judaei, delecto concilio quod vocabant, Sinhedrin, Greci Synedron, mandatam suisse consuram morum et doctrinae . . . . . . . . . . . Quod autem sub lege servatum fuerat, Christus ad nos transmisiit, quia nobis communis est ratio cum antiquis Patribus. Neque enim consilium Christi fuit, suos discipulos ad Synagogam abie-gare . . . . . Sed admonuit in Ecclesiá sua tenendum esse ordinem qui prudem sub Lege sancte institutus fuerat.

1 Respublica non est in Ecclesia, est Ecclesiam non facere bella, non leges figere, non populos sub legibus coercere, non res civiles exercere, et similis: Ecclesiam autem esse in Respublica, Christianos sub legibus Imperatorum vivere protegi, quietam vitam sub eis et eorum protectione, ducere et similium.


2 Atqui legitimam Ecclesiam gubernationem presbyteris inunctam suisse constat, non tantum verbi ministeris sed qui ex plebe morum censores illis adjuncti erant.—Calvin, ibid.

3 Qui Ecclesiae regimini secundum Christi institutionem praebunt, saith Calvin, nominantur a Paulo primum Apostoli deinde Prophetae, tertio Evangelistae, quarto Pastores, postremo Doctores. Ex quibus duo tantum ultimo ordinarium in Ecclesia munus habent, alios tres initio regni sui Dominus excitavit, et suscitat etiam interdum, prout temporum necessitas postulat. He then proceeds to give his notions of the duties of Apostles, Prophets, and Evangelists, concluding thus: Sequuntur Pastores ac Doctores quibus
by those passages of the Apostles wherein they reckon the graces, for the edification of the Church distributed upon the members of it, upon the ascension of Christ, Ephes. iv. 11, "some Apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some pastors and doctors;" or else, both for edification and for other necessities, Rom. xii. 6, "prophesying, ministering, teaching, exhorting, communicating, ruling;" and, 1 Cor. xii. 28, "Apostles, prophets, teachers, miracles, gifts of healing, helps in government," tongues;" and afore, ver. 8, those gifts which are called "the manifestation of the Spirit, given to every man to profit withal," because of their use to the edification of the Church of that time, are reckoned as followeth: "the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, gifts of healing, miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, tongues, interpretation of tongues;" and, 1 Pet. iv. 11, "speaking, and ministering." But that which is gathered hence is but in consequence to the two sorts of elders, supposed out of the text aforesaid. For out of these passages are culled the gifts of "ruling," or "helps in government," and "ministering:" the offices of "pastors," of "doctors" or "teachers," upon presumption of the difference aforesaid, to argue that the ministries appointed to continue in the Church till our Lord's coming to judgment are that of pastors, to preach in the Church; that of "rulers," or "helps in the government"—elders of the people—to assist in ruling; and last of all, "doctors" or carere numquam potest Ecclesia, inter quos hoc discriminis esse puto, quod Doctoris nec Disciplinæ nec Sacramentorum administrationi, nec monitionibus, aut exhortationibus presunt, sed Scripturæ tantum interpretationem, ut sincera sanque doctrina inter fidcles retinatur. Pastoral autem munus haec omnia in se continet.—Institut. lib. iv. cap. iii. 4. Again, Colligere autem hinc licet, duo fuisse tunc presbyterorum genera; quia non omnes ad docendum ordinabantur. Nam aperte verba sonant, quosdam bene et honeste prefulisse, quibus tamen non erant commissae docendi partes. Et sane ex populo deligebantur graves et probati homines, qui una cum pastoribus communis consilio et authoritative Ecclesiae disciplinan administrarent, ac essent quasi censores moribus corrigendi. Hunc morem Ambrosius obsolevisse conqueritur doctorum ignavia, vel potius superbia, dum soli volunt eminere. —Comm. in 1 Ep. ad Tim. v. 17. He alludes to the Commentaries upon 1 Tim. v. 1, attributed to St. Ambrose, the true meaning of which Thordike explains, in chap. ix. sect. 9. Beza's note upon the same place is to the same effect; and Smectymnuus following their masters, write thus: "We will (to avoid prolixity) not urge those three known texts of Scripture (1 Tim. v. 17; 1 Cor. xii. 28; Rom. xii. 6) produced by some for the establishing of governing elders in the Church, not yet vindicated by the adversaries, nor will we urge that famous text of Ambrose in 1 Tim. v.―Sect. xv. p. 62.

1 The author's reading is that of the version then in use. See Discourse of Religious Assemblies, ch. iv.
“teachers,” to read lessons in point of religion, not meddling with government; besides deacons, to whom the gift of ministering belongeth.

§ 3. Here, it is plain, there is work cut out; and sure it is a fit place to take into consideration the first part of that office we pretend to prove common to Bishop and presbyters, consisting in labour “in the word and doctrine,” as it was in the primitive time, and is understood by the Apostle; which, withal, will make appear upon what sort of persons the rule of the Church was estated. Without doubt, when we have named the preservation of the true faith, by preventing the creeping in of heresies and errors—the instruction of those that are converted in the mysteries of the faith—diligence in propagating it, by converting more and more,—we have named a very great work of labour in the word and doctrine, and yet specified nothing but that which is contained in the presbyter’s office from the beginning. For when the Apostle, Acts xx. 29, foretelleth to the presbyters of Ephesus “the coming in of grievous wolves, that should not spare the flock,” and “the rising up of perverse teachers,” it is to the purpose to put them in mind, ver. 31, “to be watchful” of these things, as of their own charge; vouching withal his own example, ver. 20, “in preaching and teaching them, both in public and house by house, admonishing them with tears, every man in particular,” as it followeth, ver. 31, for them in their place and rank to follow. And the rule of the Apostle, Gal. vi. 6, “Let him that is catechized communicate to him that catechizeth in all good things,” without doubt aimeth at this private way of instruction whereof we speak. Be the same said of the other Apostle’s instructions to his elders, 1 Pet. v. 2, “Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre”—because it is said, “the elders that rule well are counted worthy of double honour,” that is, reward—“but of a ready mind, neither as being lords of God’s heritage, but being ensamples to the flock.” And

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again: the office of watching over the flock, by which the leaders of the Church are characterized, Heb. xiii. 7; the parts of a Bishop in the instructions of Timothy and Titus that concern teaching and instructing in the faith, as by the meaning of the words they may consist, so for my part they are undoubtedly taken to consist most an end, for the time of the Apostles, in that private diligence, those abilities, that watchfulness, that presbyters were to use in guiding and instructing particular persons of Christians; which in consequence must be understood of that "labour in the word and doctrine" specified in the leading text, 1 Tim. v. 17.

§ 4. And the reason shall be, because then, to the best of my judgment—which if it prove otherwise, then shall the spirits of the prophets be subject to the prophets—the work of preaching in the assemblies of Christians at that time—so far as we understand by the Apostle—went more by men's gifts than by their places in the Church. Read the fourteenth chapter of the first to the Corinthians throughout, and consider what great use there was of the gifts of prophesying and speaking strange languages in their assemblies, which the Apostle there regulateth; sure you will never imagine—for there is not a syllable to intitle it—that these were all presbyters, ordinary ministers in the Church. The like must be said of the gifts reckoned, ch. xii. 8, "the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, discerning spirits," and the like; of the gifts of "teaching" and "exhorting," Rom. xii. 7, 8; of "pastors" and "doctors" mentioned by the Apostle, Eph. iv. 11. The office of the presbyters at Thessalonica, the Apostle recommendeth to the brethren there in these terms, 1 Thes. v. 12: "We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love, for their work's sake." But we are not bound to think them all the same persons, whose graces he recommendeth when he addeth, ver. 19, 20, "Quench not the Spirit; despise not prophesying." Acts xiii. 1, there were in the Church of Antiochia "prophets" and "teachers;" and of them they were that gave Paul and Barnabas "imposition of hands." And, 1 Tim. iv. 14, these are those that "prophesied" of him; and presbyters they were, I suppose, that gave him
“imposition of hands” with the Apostle. And so it was argued from hence afore, that the spirit of prophecy rested upon those presbyteries. But that all such prophets were presbyters, or all presbyters such prophets, neither is it written in God’s book, nor of itself credible, in such variety of graces specified; which all being given for edification, and used in the assemblies to that purpose, must either rest in the rank of ordinary ministers, or be counted personal and miraculous graces, used for the edification of the Church, in supplement of their endeavours which have served the turn in after-ages.

§ 5. He that wrote the commentaries upon St. Paul’s epistles, under St. Ambrose’s name, upon Ephes. iv. 11, 12, having laboured to accommodate the gifts there specified to the ministries then in use in the Church, is at length driven to this point: Tamen postquam in omnibus locis Ecclesiae sunt constituta, et officia ordinata, aliter composita res est quam caeret. Primum enim omnes docebant, et omnes baptizabant, quibusque diebus vel temporibus fuissest occasio. “Notwithstanding after Churches were settled in all places, and offices ordained, the business was ordered otherwise than at the beginning. For at the first all taught, and all baptized, on what days or time soever there was occasion.” And after a while: Ut ergo cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et evangelizare, et baptizare, et Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare. “Therefore that the people might increase and multiply, at first it was granted to all to publish the Gospel, to baptize, and to expound the Scriptures in the Church.” That which he saith of all persons publishing the Gospel, is justified by that which we read Acts viii. 4: “Therefore they that were scattered abroad, went every where preaching the word.” And again, Acts xi. 19: “Now they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution that arose about Stephen, travelled as far as Phœnicie, and Cyprus, and Antiochia, preaching the word to none but unto the Jews only.” That which he saith of expounding the Scriptures, that is, “speaking in the Church,” will be justified no less, if it be referred to that variety of gifts specified out of

1 “Personal and miraculous graces:” the first edition reads thus, “or be counted personal graces, whether mirac-ulous or otherwise, used for” &c. = S. Ambros. Opp. tom. ii. col. 241. ed. Ben.
the Apostle, most an end miraculous, and concerning that
time, the use whereof was for edification in the assemblies.

And the reason that is to be given for this must needs appear
very considerable; because that among men chosen out of
those that were newly converted to the faith in their elder
years, for which they are called "presbyters," and that in
respect of other kind of abilities, tending to other parts of
their office, there should be found men fit to speak in public
assemblies upon human parts and endeavours, so as to pre-
serve the decorum and reverence of so great a work, is be-
yond the compass of common discretion to imagine; these
qualities being not often found but in those that are habituated
to them from their youth. Do but look on those of our
Lord's kindred that confessed Him before Domitian, and
therefore were made leaders of Churches, as was related be-
fore from Hegesippus, and think whether men, whose hands
were hardened with the plough, already struck in years, were
fit to make preachers when they were made rulers of Churches:
so far is it from us to think, that in the cradle of the Church
no presbyter was made but for his abilities in preaching.

§ 6. Let us now look back a little upon the platform
pretended, and ask what commission men have to turn
temporary endowments into perpetual places? or according
to personal gifts and graces to distinguish œcumenical offices?
—And yet it will not appear that ever pastors were distin-
guished from doctors by the Apostle; for he never said, that
Christ hath given "some pastors, some doctors;" but his words

a Quibus ergo docendi munus in-
junctum erat, eos omnes nominabant
presbyteros, . . . . . Habeabant ergo sin-
gulae civitates Presbyterorum Colle-
gium, qui Pastores erant ac Doctores.
Nam et apud populum munus docendi,
exhortandi et corrigendi, quod Paulus
Episcopis injungit, omnes obibant . . . .
tam Episcopum quam Presbyteros verbi
et Sacramentorum dispensationi incum-
bere oportuit . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
valuit ergo diu illud in Ecclesia, ut prima Episcopi partes
essest, populum verbo Dei pascere, seu
mediicare Ecclesiam publice ac privatim
sanam doctrinam.—Calvin. Institut. lib. iv.
cap. iv. 2, 3. He uses the words Episco-
pus and Presbyter for the same order.

o Chap. vii. sect. 5.

p "For to be able to teach, and not
to be a novice, are placed before as the
essential points required in every law-
ful pastor and doctor of the Church,
whereby he differeth from the rest of
the Church, which in every member of
it ought to have the other qualities
there required of a Bishop. And there-
fore we never read in Scripture of any
to whom the administration of Sacra-
ments was committed, which were not
trusted with the preaching of the word."
—Cartwright's Annotations on 1 Tim.
v. 17. p. 573. Again, "The want
of sufficient ministers ought to be no
cause for men to break the unchangeable
laws of God, which be that none may
be made minister of the Church, which
cannot teach; that none minister the
Sacraments which do not preach."—Cart-
wright's Reply to Whitgift, p. 104.
sect. 3.
are, Ephes. iv. 11, that He gave "some pastors and doctors," having said afore, that "He gave some Apostles, some evangelists, some prophets," distinguishing these, but comprising those. — If teaching and preaching must make two offices, as then they were two graces, why shall not exhorting come in for a share, and demand that there may be an office instituted for the purpose of it, as well as for teaching, which it standeth in equipage with Rom. xii. 7, 8? Why should not the word of wisdom and the word of knowledge do the like? for these, mentioned 1 Cor. xii. 8, are of perpetual use, although prophecies and strange languages were but for the time. 102 There is one good reason to be given and no more: because perpetual ministries are one thing, temporary gifts are another thing. Those we know, by the institution of them in Scripture,—by the office of them specified in the Acts and in the epistles,—by the practice of them in all ages of the Church; these we know were in the time of the Apostle, but not instituted for ministries, because not continued.

§ 7. The office of presbyters, we know, was both for government and teaching: both are found in St. Peter's exhortation to the presbyters of his charge, 1 Pet. v. 2, "feeding" the flock, and "overseeing" it; both in St. Paul's charge to the presbyters of Ephesus, Acts xx. 28, and afterwards; both in the qualities of Bishops—that is, as is acknowledged, of presbyters—wherein Timothy is instructed by the Apostle, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 5; both contained in that very passage that is alleged to bring in a difference of presbyters, 103 1 Tim. v. 17; for those elders that "rule well," are such as "labour in the word and doctrine." Why might not the Apostle then difference presbyters by the execution of their functions, as well as by the functions themselves? Why might not some presbyters shew more diligence in the most eminent point of the office—taking special pains in the word and doctrine, which special pains the word κοπιῶντες signifieth—and yet others be counted worthy of double honour, and good rulers, as well in respect of their diligence in the
prime point as of their performance in the rest? The personal gifts of the Holy Ghost were then distributed on several persons, as the Apostle sheweth, that all might be useful, and such endowments, in the time of spiritual graces, might be employed to the edification of assemblies, as well as the gifts of ruling, to assist the presbyters in their office of government. But he that would take order now, that who could pretend a gift in ruling should be helpers in government, or in the word of wisdom and knowledge should stand up to edify assemblies, might soon find more help in government, more words of wisdom and knowledge, and in time more prophesying, than himself would desire. Well may we turn the world into confusion, if we think to do what then was done; but shall never find any ministries of place and succession in the Church but presbyters and deacons—for of the coming-in of Bishops hath been said—to the parts of whose office, consisting in ruling, teaching, and ministering, all those other gifts of the Holy Ghost are to be referred as assistant at that time; and from whose office, and the ordinary blessing of God upon it, the effect of them all is to be expected at this time.

§ 8. For let me ask, what is become of those "doctors," distinguished from "pastors," in all succeeding ages? Where have those "ruling elders" bid themselves, that they were never seen since the time of the Apostles? Is it possible that the whole Church should conspire to suppress such an institution of our Lord and His Apostles, almost as soon as it was made? Or is it imaginable, had it not been suppressed, that all ecclesiastical writers, whereof there is such store, should conspire so far to suppress the remembrance of it, that among them all there is not one witness produced to depose for them, unless it be by those that bring the meaning with them which they desire to find in their writings? Were we alive in Churches be more famous now than in times past? Wherefore, either let us have some record of their names, lives and doings shewed, or else let the disciplinarians acknowledge that elders, though they have their name of age, are but new-born infants, and have no succession from the ancient fathers of the Church."—Sutcliffe. Treatise of Eccles. Discipl. ch. iv. sect. 3. p. 127. London, 1590.
CHAP. IX.

Tertullian’s time, we might go into the assemblies of Christians, and see with our eyes what now will not be believed, though it be told us in terms plain enough to them that will understand, when he saith as afore, *President probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti*. We might see them sitting in the head-room of the congregation by themselves apart from the people: whereupon they are called by him otherwhiles *ordo* and *consessus*. And were there occasion to see any of them censured to the loss of his office, we might see him for his punishment sit and communicate in the rank of the people.

§ 9. It hath not been my lot yet to meet with any thing in ecclesiastical writers, or out of them, to bear an appearance of this difference, but only those words of the commentaries under St. Ambrose’s name upon 1 Tim. v. 1: *Unde et Synagoga, et postea Ecclesia, seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia.* He speaketh in the time past, of that which had been in the Church, and was not; and without doubt giveth men of excellent abilities, men of incomparable merit in the Church, occasion to mistake his meaning, as if he had spoke of a sort of presbyters which had been in the Church, and now were not: whereas they should have taken the whole clause with them, when he saith, *Unde et . . . . . postea Ecclesia seniores habuit, quorum sine consilio nihil agebatur in Ecclesia*; and then his meaning had been plain, as in truth it is, that the Church once had presbyters that joined advice with the Bishop in all Church matters; which my desire is to prove was so from the beginning, and which he complaineth was now otherwise. For so St. Hierome, about the same time, manifestly declareth that he thought an alteration in this point was come to pass, when he saith, that at the first Churches were governed by common

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* Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit Ecclesias auctoritas, et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus a Deo. Ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis est consessus, et offert et tingtuit sacerdos qui est ibi solus.—Exhortat. ad Castit. cap. 7. p. 941. ed. Pam.
* Archibishop Whitgift in "The Answer to the Admonition," p. 162, who says, "Both the names and offices of Seniors was (were) extinguished before Ambrose’s time, as he himself doth testify, writing upon the first of the fifth to Timothy." And in "The Defense of the Answer to the Admonition," Tract 17, ch. 1. div. 2. p. 628. Also Hadrian Saravia "de diversis gradibus ministerorum Evangelii," c. xii. p. 13, and Justellus, in his notes upon the African Canons, p. 438. can. 100. ed. Paris 1661.
ad Titum, cap. i. 5. tom. iv. coll. 418, 416. ed. Bened.

The rule of the Eastern Church seems to have been in this respect different from that which prevailed in the Western. In the former, presbyters preached frequently; in the latter, St. Augustine was the first. Thomasinus, however, considers there was no such rule, or at least, that it was not observed.

"Then, as God gave utterance, they preached the word only, now they read homilies, articles, injunctions, &c." — Admonition to the Parliament, quoted

THORNDIKE
ordinary blessing upon human endeavours—that men and
abilities may be stored for the work before the work be cut 110
out for them, so as the honour and reverence thereof may be
preserved without offence. For as the Apostle saith b, that if
unbelievers should come into the assemblies of Christians, and
hear them nothing but speak languages which most under-
stood not, they would say they were mad; so, if the enemies
of our profession should hear in our churches a great deal of
tongue, but the meaning of the Scripture not in it, needs
must this bring an evil opinion upon it.

CHAPTER X.

OFFICES OF DIVINE SERVICE PERFORMED IN CHIEF BY THE BISHOP; AFTER
HIM, BY THE PRESBYTERS. ORDER OF CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLIES APPOINTED
BY BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS. MAINTENANCE OF THE CHURCH AND POOR
DISPOSED OF LIKEWISE.

Well, then, this particular of labour in the word and doc-
trine is out of doubt common to Bishop and presbyters both.
It is that which St. Peter most aimeth at, when he exhorteth
those whom he calleth his “fellow-elders” to the office of
feeding the flock; it is that which St. Paul for the most part
expresseth, when he exhorteth the presbyters of Ephesus to
“take heed to the flock, which they were to feed,” Acts
xx. 28, according to his example that “ceased not to warn
every one night and day with tears,” ver. 31; “teaching them 112
both in public, and from house to house,” as it is afore, ver. 20.
And we shall find this office of teaching and instructing the
Church to rest afterwards upon the Bishop in chief, and upon
the presbyters in consequence, whether in private—upon
particular occasions, whereof we find much argument of
practice in St. Cyprian’s epistles—or in public, in the assem-
blies of Christians. For thus the matter went afterwards, the
principal parts and offices of divine service—that is, the ser-
mon, and the celebration of the Eucharist—were wont to be
reserved to the Bishop, in honour of his place and the emi-
nence of it, unless he were absent, or it were disposed of

in Whitgift’s Answer to the Admoni-

b 1 Cor. xiv. 23.

c See Epp. viii. xiii. xv.
OF CHURCHES. 51

otherwise. Which I take to be the reason why Justin \textit{Chap. x.} Martyr, in the place alleged afore\textsuperscript{4}, related that the sermon was wont to be made, and the Eucharist celebrated, by the 113 \textit{προεστῶς}, which name compriseth Bishop and presbyters both, as hath been said; because the office belonged to the Bishop in the first place, to the presbyters in case of his absence, or the like.

§ 2. And you shall hear even now Ignatius'\textsuperscript{e} argument to persuade the Ephesians not to assemble for the Eucharist but with the Bishop; "For," saith he, "if the prayers of one or two have that force that Christ is in the midst of them, much more the prayers of the Bishop and Church:" therefore it was the Bishop whose prayers the Eucharist was celebrated with. And in the life of St. Augustine\textsuperscript{f} is related, that it was not the custom for presbyters to preach in the Churches of Africa—that is, not if the Bishop were present—whereupon the Bishop Valerius, being a Greek, and not so fit to speak to the people in Latin, brought that into use there which he had seen practised in the East, and assumed St. Augustine to assist him, by preaching in his presence.

§ 3. The commentary under St. Ambrose's name, so often alleged, having said, upon Ephes. iv. 11, as we had it afore\textsuperscript{g}, that at the first all sorts preached in the church, but afterwards it was otherwise settled, prosecuteth it with these words: \textit{Unde nunc neque diaconi in populo prædicant. "Wherefore now neither do deacons preach to the people." And of baptizing, Tertullian lib. de \textit{Baptismo}, cap. xvii. \textit{Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est Episcopus.}

\textsuperscript{4} Chap. vii. sect. 4.
\textsuperscript{e} \textit{Εἰ γὰρ ἐνοχ καὶ διενθέρα προσευχή τοσαῦτα ἡ λαξίν, ἥξει δαμε τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ γίνεται πάντων μᾶλλον ἤτο τῷ ἕπισκόπῳ καὶ πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσευχή, &c.—Ep. Interp. ad Ephes. cap. v. p. 47. ed. Coteler.}
\textsuperscript{f} Sanctus vero Valerius ordinator ejus . . . . Deo gratias agebat suas expressit a Domino suisse preces quas se frequentissime fudisse narrabat, ut sibi divinitus homo concederetur talis qui posset verbo Dei et doctrina Salubri Ecclesiam Domini adficiare: cui rei se homo naturā Graecus, minusque Latina linguæ et litteræ instructus, minus utilem pervidebat. Et eadem pre-
\textsuperscript{g} In chap. ix. sect. 5.
Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesiae honorem. Quo salvo, salva pax est. "The chief priest truly, that is, the Bishop, hath power to give it, then the presbyters and deacons, but not without the authority of the Bishop, for the honour of the Church, which when it is safe, then is peace safe." To shew us, that all services of the Church, even to baptize, belonged in chief to the Bishop, in respect to his place; that, for the same reason, the presbyters were silent in his presence, and the deacons not suffered at all to preach at that time.

§ 4. Now, as the office common to Bishop and presbyters was and is seen in the services of the Church, so was it also seen in appointing the assemblies of the Church for that purpose. This we have here to observe, out of Ignatius' epistles—in consequence to that which was produced afore out of St. Paul and Clemens, concerning the disorders of the assemblies at Corinth—that to correct them, and to prevent the like, the order of the people's oblations,—of the presbyters celebrating the Eucharist,—of the assemblies of the Church for that purpose,—was regulated by the appointment of the Bishop and presbyters. His words are these, Epist. ad Smyrn. 1: Ὄν γὰρ ἔστι χωρὶς τοῦ Ἑπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε προσφέρειν, οὔτε θυσίαν προσκομίζειν, οὔτε δοχήν ἐπιτελεῖν,—that "without the Bishop neither might any man baptize," nor the people "bring their offerings," nor presbyters "consecrate the Eucharist," nor both "celebrate the feasts of love" used at these assemblies.

§ 5. And for the purpose of this particular it is that he is so earnest and frequent, throughout his epistles, in exhorting to be subject to the Bishop and presbyters, Epist. ad Trall. 2: Ὁ ἐν τούτῳ θυσιαστηρίῳ ὄν, καθαρὸς ἐστιν διὸ καὶ ἰσπακούει τῷ Ἑπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις. ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς ὄν, οὔτος ἐστιν ὁ χωρὶς τοῦ Ἑπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ τῶν διακόνων τι πράσσειν,—"he that is within the altar," saith he, "is pure; wherefore he obeyeth the Bishop and presbyters: but he that is without is he that doth any thing without the Bishop and presbyters [and deacons]." He that is "without the altar"—

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2 Ch. iii. sect. 3, and ch. v. sect. 5.
in Ignatius' terms, “that doth things without the Bishop and presbyters”—is meant of those of the people that assembled, or those of the presbyters that celebrated the Eucharist without the Bishop and presbyters, or their appointment; which was called "erecting altar against altar" in the primitive time: for so Ignatius again, in the epistle to the Ephesians: “Let no man mistake,” saith he; “if a man be not within the altar, 117 he cometh short of the bread of God. For if the prayer of one or two be of such force that Christ standeth in the midst of them, how much more shall the prayer wherein the Bishop and Church agreeeth”—that is, at the Eucharist, which he spoke of when he mentioned “the bread of God” afore—“prevail?” And therefore, in the end of that epistle υπακόωντες τῷ Ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτερῷ, ἀπερωπᾶσθω διανοα, ἡνά ἄρτον κλώντες, δ ὅσι φάρμακον ἀθανασίας,—“obeying the Bishop and presbyters without distraction of mind, breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality.” A plain case. The intent of his exhortations is to persuade them to assemble without schism; because that to assemble and celebrate the Eucharist besides the Bishop’s appointment was then the due mark of a schismatic. And that the presbyters concurred with him in ordering these matters, appeareth by the obedience he requireth to both. 118 And so still in Ignatius the presbyters are assistant to the Bishop in all things. And this is the meaning of that sixth canon of the council at Gangra, whereof the tenour is, “if any man assemble in private beside the Church, and will perform ecclesiastical offices in contempt of the Church, no presbyter being there with assent of the Bishop, let him be

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CHAP. anathema; providing herein against schism, as the occasion of that council evidenceth. Wherewith agreeeth the thirtieth canon of the Apostles.

§ 6. And in the seventh and eighth canon next following of the same council, there is provision against bringing or receiving oblations otherwise than to the Church, beside the Bishop’s mind, or his that is trusted for these things, for the benefit of the poor, under pain of anathema; the heaviness of the sentence proceeding upon the mark of schism which the action forbidden importeth, though there is in it a respect to the maintenance of the Church and poor, arising for that time out of the oblations of Christian people; the dispensing whereof was then another particular of the office common to Bishop and presbyters. For as we read, Acts xi. 30, that the benevolence of the brethren of Antioch was directed to the elders at Jerusalem “by the hands of Barnabas and Saul,” though the seven deacons were made afore to attend upon the poor; so are we not to think that their office went so high as to dispose of their maintenance, but to execute the disposition of Bishop and presbyters. For when the Church of Antioch maintained three thousand poor, as is read in a passage of St. Chrysostom*, the Church of Rome one thousand and five hundred in Cornelius’ time, as is to be seen in his words related by Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. vi. 43; it is not reason to imagine that all this means was put in the power of the deacons; whose office St. Hierom well expresseth,

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† Eusebius of Sebaste in Armenia was condemned in this council, who to his other errors added this, that he despised the assemblies of the Church, and held private ones of his own.

‡ Si quis presbyter contemnens Episcopum suum seorsum collexerit, et altare aliuæ erexit . . . . . et caeteri clericii quicunque tali consentienti deponatur. In the Greek text this canon is the X.Xth.


u Nam quum Apostolus perspicue doceat eosdem esse presbyteros quoque Episcopos, quis patiatur mensarum et viduarum minister, ut supra eos se timidus effert, ad quorum precibus Christi corpus sanguinisque conficitur!
OF CHURCHES.

when he calleth them *mensarum et viduarum ministros*, as THO.

—Though perhaps the advantage of fingering money was it

made them take so much upon them in his time, whereof

he complaineth. Nay, it is plain this must rest in the power

of Bishop and presbyters by the portions and divisions there-

of, wherein each of them had interest, as his maintenance;

whereof we find remembrance in St. Cyprian’s epistles. In

the last canon of the council of Antiochia the Bishop shall not alienate the Church-goods—which, though immovable, were given for the same purpose—without consent of his presbyters. And in those which are called

21 the canons of the Apostles—which the world knoweth are

not theirs, but yet do express very ancient customs of the

Church—canons iii. and iv. having ordered what sorts of

first-fruits should be sent to the Church,—what home to the

Bishop and presbyters, it followeth, “now it is manifest that

they are to be divided by them among the deacons and

ercy:’’ to the deacons, for the maintenance of the poor;

to the clergy, for their own. Where you see the interest of

the presbyters in disposing of such oblations.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DISCIPLINE OF Penance. THOSE THAT HAVE THE KEYS REMIT
SINS BY PBRSGING PENCE. THE INTERCESSION OF THE CHURCH.

PARTICULAR PERSONS EXCOMMUNICATED AMONG THE JEWS. OUR LORD

PROHIBITETH THEIR COURSE AMONG HIS DISCIPLES. TWO DEGREES OF

EXCOMMUNICATION, AS WELL IN THE CHURCH AS IN THE SYNAGOGUE.

THE KEYS ARE GIVEN TO BISHOP AND PRESBYTERS. THE INTEREST OF

THE PEOPLE, AND WHAT IS REQUIRED AT THE HANDS OF THE COMMON-

WEALTH.

There remaineth now two particulars of the office common
to Bishop and presbyters, wherein the people also claim their


† ... εἰ δὲ μὴ τούτου ἄρειον, μετα-

βάλλοι τὰ πράγματα εἰς αὐτοῦ χρησίν,

καὶ τοὺς πάροις τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἢ τοὺς

τῶν ἁγίων καρποὺς, μὴ μετὰ γράμματος τῶν

πρεσβυτερών, ἢ τῶν διακόνων, χειρὶς

. . . . τούτων εὐθύνας παρέχειν τῇ συ-

ρόθυ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—Conc. Antioc. A.D.

341. can. 25. Labbeii, tom. ii. col. 695.

ed. Venet.

* Reliqua poma omnia ad domum

primitiae Episcopo et presbyteris diri-
gantur, non offerantur in altrii. Cer-
tum est autem, quod Episcopus et pre-

sbyteri dividant et diaconis et reliquis

clericis.—Can. v. Labbeii, tom. i. col. 47.
interest;—the one is, the discipline of penance,—the other, the making of ministers. The due course whereof, assigned by our Lord and His Apostles, will best be discovered, laying together, first, what we find of them in Scripture, and then comparing of it with the proceeding of the primitive time, which we shall perceive the right to go along with. The keys of the kingdom of heaven are given by our Lord to the first of His disciples, in these words, Matt. xvi. 19: “And I will give thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” If men’s minds were not possessed with prejudice, it would soon appear to be the same power that is given to all the Apostles, John xx. 23: “Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosoever sins ye retain, they are retained.” But Matt. xviii. 17, 18 to the same purpose, though more at large: “And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church; but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican. Verily, I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” To this must be added the proceeding of the Apostle, in delivering to Satan the incestuous person at Corinth, 1 Corinthians v. 3, 4, 5, which he also did to Hymenæus and Alexander, 1 Timothy i. 20.

§ 2. Now in the practice of the primitive Church, those that exercised this power were in part judges—censors you may call them, if you please—and in part physicians: both parts comprised in St. Cyprian’s words, Epist. li. *, Ubi lapsis, nec censura deest, quæ increpet; nec medicina, quæ sanet. “Where the lapsed want neither censure to reprove, nor medicine to cure.” Judges they are, in shutting God’s house upon offenders, and binding their sins upon their consciences; and the effect of this censure such—supposing the proceeding of it to be due—that as the disease of sin is not to be cured without the medicine of repentance, no more can this knot wherewith sins, notorious of themselves, or otherwise known, are tied to men’s consciences, be undone, without known

repentance. For since the worst of the soul's sickness consists in not acknowledging her disease, it pleased God to give His Church power and charge to constrain offenders to take their physic, which the grief of bodily diseases is able to do alone. Physicians they are, then, in prescribing the medicine of repentance; and in that respect alone are truly said to remit sins. God Himself saith not to the soul, "I absolve thee from thine offences," but upon supposition of the means—His own gift of repentance—that worketh the cure; so far it is from the power of His creature to pronounce forgiveness without knowledge of the effect which the medicine of repentance hath wrought. But if we say true, when a physician is said to cure a man's disease, though all the world know he doth no more than prescribe the medicine, or at the most see it applied, with as good right is it to be said that men's sins are cured by them that prescribe the course by which they are cured. Only, whereas he that is cured of a bodily disease is able to tell himself when he is well, he that is once sensible of the maladies of his soul is not easily satisfied when the cure is done. It hath therefore pleased the goodness of God to provide an office and charge in His Church, to assure men of forgiveness of sins upon due knowledge of repentance, by taking away that knot wherewith they remained tied upon their consciences. Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia, in his epistle to St. Cyprian, the seventy-fifth in number of his epistles, thus writeth: Lapsis quoque fratribus, et post lavacrum salutare a diabolo vulneratis, per paenitentiam medela quarratur. Non quasi a nobis remissionem peccatorum consequantur, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam delictorum suorum convertantur, et Domino plenius satisfacere cogantur. "And a cure may be sought for the brethren that are fallen, by penance. Not as though they get remission of sins from us, but that by us they may be converted to the knowledge of their sin, and constrained more fully to satisfy the Lord." And this [is] another difference between physicians and the power of the Church, that physi-

* So the constitution of Othobon, Tit. 28. de publica Absolutione: Sicut Ecclesiasticum censura vinculum ad medelam inventum est, ut sanum efficiat languidum quem coercet... The gloss upon which is, Est enim censura medicinalis, non mortalis; disciplinans non eradicans. See also the Decretum of Burchard, Bishop of Worms, lib. xix. cap. 29.
ians cannot constrain any man to take their medicines. The Church may and must put him from the Church that refuseth the medicine of penance. To this purpose was the time, and order, and fashion of penance regulated in the ancient Church, that the diseases of the soul might receive every one their competent cure; and therefore it is plain, that among them it was a favour to be admitted to penance, in opposition to Novatianus, qui nemini pænitentiam dandam putavit, "who thought that penance was to be granted to nobody," saith St. Ambrose, De Pænit. lib. i. cap. 2; "exhorting men to repentance indeed, but leaving them for pardon to God, Who had power to give it," as his disciple Socrates writeth, Eccles. Hist. iv. 28; that is, not employing the power of the keys, and the benefit of it, to the cure of their offences. Whereupon St. Ambrose, you see, calleth it dare pænitentiam; as on the offender's side it was then called petere pænitentiam, demanding and granting of penance.

§ 3. For this cause it was, that this medicine of repentance was wont to be joined with the prayers of the congregation, but in the chief place, of the Bishop and presbyters; which, if repentance be physic, is correspondent to that which is given to make physic work; and this is called in Tertullian, presbyteris advolvi, et caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis sue injungere; "to fall down to the presbyters, to kneel to those that are dear to God, to charge all the brethren with embassies of intercession for them;" and in St. Augustine, gemitus columbae, the "mourning of the turtle," procuring their release at God's hands. And to this purpose was the imposition of hands so often repeated in penance, because, as St. Augustine saith of it, in confirmation wherein he followeth Tertullian; the one in these words, videntur malorum petiisse pænitentiam, agere bonorum.—De Pænitentia, lib. ii. cap. ix. 86. col. 434. ed. Ben.


‡ Tamen si corrigantur et se pessimos ad baptismum accessisse fatacantur non re baptizantur sed inceptum ad colunbam pertinere, per cujus geminus pec cata solvuntur a culpa pace alienatis tenebantur.—De Baptism. contra Donatistas, lib. iii. cap. xviii. tom. ix. col. 118. ed. Ben.
OF CHURCHES.

59

Quid enim est impositio manuum, nisi oratio super hominem? "For what is imposition of hands but prayer over somebody?"

The other above him in these, Dehinc manus imponitur per benedictionem ad vocans et invitans Spiritum Sanctum; "Then is the hand imposed, calling and inviting by benediction the Holy Ghost;"—that it is but a ceremony of benediction, implanting the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, which it representeth.—So was it in penance nothing else but a form of benediction, interceding for their reconciliation.

§ 4. This may very well be thought to be the intent of the words of our Lord in the Gospel alleged, Matt. xviii. 19. For, having delivered to the Church the power of binding and loosing, in the words recited, it followeth straight: "Again, I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven: for where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." For as, in the words next going afore, He sheweth how men's sins are bound and loosed—to wit, by the power which He giveth His Church to that purpose,—so He may well seem, in the next words, to point at the course by which this power may become effectual to the loosing of sins, to wit, the intercession of the congregation of God's people.

At least, thus much hath been observed by men of excellent learning, that lamenting is a work on Maundy Thursday, according to the use of Sarum, the intercession of the Church is spoken of thus: the archdeacon presenting the penitents to the Bishop, says . . . . saunt filii tu, Pater, quos Deo per Spiritum Sanctum vera mater Ecclesia cum letitia peperit, sed iterum suadente Diabolo a sua integritate corruptus, autem miseros factos, exules, novis quotidie doloribus ingemiscit. Pro his quoque suppliciter orant, quincunque felices in sinu suo remanerunt, quiuque divina protegente se clementia stabiles fide perstiterunt . . . . Plorat cum ipsis, immo pro ipsis plorare et exorare non desistit sancta mater Ecclesia, et lachryme ejus in maxillis, quia venit tempus miserendi ejus. Moveat pietatem tuam, Pater, vox fidelis et fideliss, moveat gemitus et habitus ipse miserorum.
specified by the Apostle himself, in the business of reducing offenders by penance, 1 Cor. v. 2: "Ye have not lamented to put away such a transgression from you;" and again, 2 Cor. xii. 20, "I fear that when I come unto you, I shall not find you such as I desire . . . and shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleanness, and fornication, and lasciviousness, that they have committed;" meaning that he should put them to penance by consequence. This maketh the interest of the congregation in the work of discipline to be considerable, but entitleth it not to the keys of God's house.

§ 5. For to conceive our Lord's meaning aright, let us take notice that there was among the Jews much use of excommunicating by particular persons—as is to be seen in their writings: Maimoni, in Talmud Torah, c. vii.; Arba Turtim, or Shulchan Aruch, in Jore Deah, Hilcoth Niddui Ucherem—and that many times upon causes of their particular interest. For example, a rabbi, or rabbi's mate, was able to excommunicate his credit, when he found himself slighted. True it is, they count it commendable in a rabbi to pass over all disrespect to himself in private; but he that shall do it in public, they bind him to remember it, and watch his party like a serpent, till he seek favour and reconciliation, Maimoni, 132 n. ult. And true it is, that in some cases they void excommunication that is grounded upon particular interest, and not for the honour of God, Jore Deah, out of the Jerusalem Talmud, and R. Joseph Karo upon it, f. 364m: And gene-

1 This is the principle of the Brownists or Independents; Luther taught it before in divers of his writings, but, perhaps, without seeing the consequences of his own theory. Nos autem omnes, saith he, qui Christiani sumus, habemus commune hoc officium clavium, id quod libellis contra Papam totus probavi et monstravi. Stat enim verbum Christi Matth. xviii, non Apostolis tantum, sed omnibus proror us fratribus . . . . Christians hic dat jure et usum clavium collibet Christiano, dum dicit sit tibi sicut Ethnicus . . . quid enim est dicere, Sit tibi sicut Ethnicus, nisi tantum noli et conversari, communione illum neges. At hoc est vere excommunicare et ligare ac claudere coelum . . . . Claves sunt totius Ecclesiam, et cujuslibet membro ejus tam jure quam usu et omnibus modis.


"That the power of excommunication is in the body of the Church, whereof the parties that are to be cast out are members . . . because excommunication is the sentence and judgment of Christ by His Church concerning such as are within, 1 Cor. v. 4. 12 . . . because the power of excommunication is in them, upon whom it lieth to put out the wicked from among themselves, and so to purge out the old leaven."—An Apology or Defence of such True Christians as are commonly but unjustly called Brownists, p. 62. 1604.

2 See the fourth book of Morinus,
rally, he that excommunicateth without cause is to be excommunicated himself—it is the last of twenty-four causes for which they excommunicate";—but what disorders might come upon such practice is easy to imagine.

§ 6. And, therefore, there is great cause to think that our Lord’s words, whereof we speak, are aimed on purpose to abrogate this course among His followers, though covertly to avoid offence. For two things He prescribeth in opposition to it: first, to aim at a brother’s reformation and nothing else in all the proceeding, Matt. xviii. 15, “If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother.” The second is, that they shall proceed no further than contestation in private. The rest He prescribeth to be referred, in public, to the Church. So it followeth, “But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established. And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church.”

§ 7. Now this word ἔκκλησία, “the Church,” as also Συναγωγή, is first used in the Greek of the Old Testament, to signify the congregation of the people of Israel. The Jews that have lived since the prophets have espoused and appropriated this latter word, the “synagogue,” to signify sometimes the whole body of that nation, or rather of that faith—as among the Fathers “the synagogue” standeth for the Jews, in opposition to the Church of Christians—sometimes particular congregations of it, and, by consequence, the place of their assemblies, as in the Gospel, “He loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue.” And just so, in all respects, is the word Ecclesia, “the Church,” used in relation to Christians; our Lord, in the Gospel, having begun to appropriate it to the congregation which He now began to institute, Matt. xvi. 18, “Upon this rock will I build my Church;”

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tchaps xxiii.—xxviii., de Administracione Sacramenti Poenitentiae Commentarius. Bruxellis, 1685.
* St. Luke viii. 5.
and in the text in hand, Matt. xviii. 17, "tell it to the Church." So that it must not be denied it is not usual for "the Church," which signifieth the whole congregation of people, to signify the chief part of it.

§ 8. But it is as certain, on the other side, that looking backward to the synagogue, upon which our Lord reflecteth, as was said, such censures as these are whereof our Lord speaketh, proceeding from the public—private ones being excluded, as hath been said—issued all from the courts of justice mentioned afore, without respect to the congregation of the people. As thus: there were among them two degrees of excommunication, and no more; the less called דַּרְעָן, that is, "separation;" the greater מַטַּר, or "anathema;" and the effect of them, to cut a man off, more or less, from the congregation of the people;—as is to be seen in the late most learned work, De Jure Naturali et Gentium, juxta disciplinam Ebraorum, iv. 99. —The ordinary sentence of separation, which is that we spoke of afore, was for thirty days, unless the court thought fit to abridge or enlarge the term. For that time, no man must come within four cubits of him that stood excommunicate, besides those of his house;—he must not be reckoned among three, which is the number required at blessing of meat;—he must not be reckoned among ten, which is the number required to make a synagogue; under that, they go not to prayers in the synagogue. And how it is in the power of the court to aggravate this, is to be seen in Shulchan Aruch, as afore9, Num. x. At thirty days' end they iterated the sentence, and stayed thirty days more; if then he stood out, it was in their power to excommunicate him with curses, which is that which is called "anathema." With these the proceedings of the Christian Church keep some correspondence, according to Scripture. For when our Lord saith, "If he hear not the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican," He intimateth withal a course the Church had to take for his correction and amendment that should give ear to it: which, though it

9 Selden, in the place mentioned in the text, allows of only two degrees of excommunication, but Morinus allows of three, distinguishing Niddui from Schamata, which, he says, Maimonides seems to have confounded.—Selden, vol. i. col. 484. London, 1726. Morinus, lib. iv. cap. xxiii. 7. p. 226.

9 Chap. xi. sect. 5.
might perhaps end in a verbal admonition of the Church, and real amendment of the party, yet, those that were under the discipline of penance, we know, were in a sort excommunicate, because they were not admitted to the communion of the Eucharist; besides that—as those which were separated among the Jews—they put upon them the state, and fashion, and habit of mourners. And I shewed afore* what we find in Scripture to argue this course directed by our Lord, and practised by the Apostle.

§ 9. But here was a difference, that in that state we find not that a man was cut off from the conversation of Christians; those which were admitted to penance being always accounted in the way of salvation, supposing the performance of their enjoined penance. That was the effect of that grievous censure whereof our Lord speaketh, “Let him be unto thee as a heathen man and as a publican.” Not because He meaneth to forbid Christians to converse with heathen men and publicans, who, being to be converted from among them, must needs be compassed with them on every side; and therefore that case the Apostle hath resolved, 1 Cor. v. 9, 10, where he informeth them that, whereas he had “written to them not to converse with fornicators,” his meaning was, not to forbid them to converse with “the fornicators of this world”—that is, Gentiles—or with “the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then must ye go out of the world;” and as it followeth, ver. 12, “for what have I to do to judge those that are without? do not ye judge those that are within?” But our Lord’s meaning is, that Christians should shew that respect to a brother that should be refractory to the Church, as the Jews did then to Gentiles and publicans; which the Apostle secondeth there, ver. 11, “Now I write to you not to converse, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or amailer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one no not to eat;” which is to avoid them, as the Jews did Gentiles and publicans†. And the sentence whereupon this is to be practised is intimated in the next verse: “For what have I

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* In the beginning of this chapter. first edition “him that stood separate.”
† “Gentiles and publicans,” in the
to do to judge those that are without? do not ye judge those that are within?"

§ 10. And this censure it seemeth the Apostle presupposeth, when he writeth to Titus, iii. 10, "A man that is an heretic, after the first and second admonition reject." For his meaning is, not to instruct Titus alone what he in his person should do, but in the person of Titus to instruct all the Church to reject and avoid refractory heretics; and therefore, in the consequence of avoiding them, it seemeth he intimateth the censure whereupon they are to be avoided. The same censure against the incestuous person at Corinth he intimateth by the same consequence, when he saith, 1 Cor. v. 13, "Therefore put away from you that wicked person;" which he calleth "giving over to Satan" in the same case, ver. 5, afore, and in the case of Hymenæus and Alexander, 1 Tim. i. 20; and which he signifieth, 1 Cor. xvi. 22, "If any man love not the Lord Jesus, let him be anathema, maranatha;" where "anathema" is the term that cometh from the synagogue; and so doth the other, as some men think. So that this censure cutteth men off from the conversation of Christians, which forfeit the privileges to which they pretend, and so delivers them to Satan by consequence; as those that lodged without the camp of Israel were in danger to be licked up by the Amalekite. Which course, nevertheless, as it was preservative in regard of sound members, that they might not be tainted, as the Apostle signifieth when he saith, 1 Cor. v. 6, "Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump?" so was it medicinal in respect of the sick, shame and grief being a good way to the cure; which the Apostle seemeth to respect when he directeth, 1 Cor. v. 6, "to deliver him to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be safe in the day of the Lord Jesus;" and, 1 Tim. i. 20, "whom I have delivered to Satan, that they may learn not to blaspheme."

§ 11. This is the correspondence between the proceeding of the Church and synagogue. And therefore, as looking

"Remember what Amalek did unto thee by the way, when ye were come forth out of Egypt. How he met thee by the way, and smote the hindmost of thee, even all that were feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary."
—Deut. xxv. 17, 18.
backward to the synagogue—whereupon our Lord reflecteth when He saith, *Dic Ecclesiae*—we see to whom they had recourse; so shall we see, looking forwards upon the Church—which our Lord pointeth towards in the same words—to whom He directeth His followers to have recourse. The keys of God's house are given in the Gospel to St. Peter, with the effect of “binding and loosing;” and the same power to all the Apostles, in equivalent terms of “retaining” and “remitting” sins; for if there were advantage, it were an inconvenience that, in the third place, the power of “binding” and “loosing” should be given to the Church, which is pretended [to be] given to St. Peter for a privilege beyond the Apostles. Well then might St. Cyprian argue, *Epist. xxvii.* that because our Lord promised to St. Peter the keys of His Church, therefore the acts of government of it were to pass through the Bishop’s hands, and without him apostates could not be reconciled. And it is the same which St. Augustine affirmeth so oft as he teacheth—which many times he doth—that St. Peter in receiving the keys represented the Church; say, *Si hoc ergo in Ecclesia sit*—he speaketh of binding and loosing—*Petrus, quando claves accepit, Ecclesiam sanctam significavit.* “If this be done in the Church, then Peter, when he received the keys, represented the Church.” For what was promised to St. Peter was given the rest of the Apostles, but was to rest in the Church, to which it is also given in the same terms*; as St. Cyprian is willing to acknowledge, so oft as he calleth the presbyters his colleagues, and professeth to do nothing without their advice. So that it is not possible to give a more impartial meaning to the words of our Lord in the Gospel, than the practice of those times hath expressed, when that power was exercised in common by the Bishop and his presbyters.

§ 12. This it is Tertullian hath shewed us, *Apologet. cap.*

* Dominus noster . . . dicit Petro, 
  . . . *tibi dabo claves* . . . inde . . .
  et Ecclesiae ratio decurrat, ut Ecclesia
  super Episcopos constitutatur, et omnis
  actus Ecclesiae per eodem Praesepitos
7 Exposit. in Evangel. S. Johann.
  cap. xii. 12. Tractat. 50. tom. iii. p. 2.
* Dicitur beatissimo Petro, *Tibi dabo claves* . . . Transivit quidem etiam in
  alios Apostolos jus potestatis istius, et
  ad omnes Ecclesiae principes decreti
  hujus constitutio commesavit: sed non
  frustra uni commendatur, quod omni-
  bus intemetur. Petro enim ideo hoc
  singulariter creditur, quia cunctis Ec-
  clesiae rectoribus Petri forma praepo-
  nitur.—S. Leonis Magni Serm. iv. p.
  18. tom. i. Venet. 1753.
CHAP. xxxix., alleged afore*, where, having commended the gravity and integrity of ecclesiastical censures, to shew by whom they were done, he addeth as afore, Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio sed testimonio adepti. And St. Augustine's words are plain, which we had afore, Veniat [peccator] ad antistites, per quos illi in Ecclesia claves minis-144 tran tur, et . . . a prepositis sacramentorum accipiat satisfactionis sua modum. And in St. Cyprian there is so much mention of reconcilement by imposition of hands of the Bishop and clergy, that I will say no more of it, because this point, of all the rest, hath continued a chief employment of presbyters in the corrupt and pernicious opinions and customs of the Church of Rome d.

§ 13. Let not any man think now that the Apostle communicateth this power with the congregation* of the Church of Corinth, when he writeth to them, 1 Cor. v. 4, 5, “being assembled with his spirit, to deliver the incestuous person to Satan.” For it is plain that the sentence is given by the Apostle, ver. 3, where he writeth, “For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed.” And to cause this proceeding to be the better digested, he hath vouched his power in the end of the chapter afore, ver. 18: “Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come unto you; but I will come unto you shortly, if the Lord will, and will know not the speech of them that are puffed up, but

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* Ch. vii. sect. 4.
* Ch. vii. sect. 5.
* "The bringing in of a definitive sentence of absolution, instead of the prayers of the Church, which a man was admitted to by undertaking penance—the communion of the Eucharist being his actual and final reconcile ment—argues as much change in the inward Christianity, as in the outward form of the Church. But if the prayers of the Church, joined with the penance of the penitent, be a competent means to regain the state of grace, a prayer immediately upon confession, immediately before absolution, is not. How much less since the council of Trent, which makes the definitive sentence, the substance—the prayers that are used, but accessories of the means of regaining the state of grace by penance."—Epilogue, bk. iii. c. ix.

* "Seeing every particular congregation of Christ hath the power of our Lord Jesus Christ against all sin and transgression, to censure the sin, and to excommunicate the obstinate offenders."—A plain refutation of Mr. Giffard's book intituled A Short Treatise against the Donatists of England, p. 80. A.D. 1691. "That the power of excommunication is in the body of the Church, whereof the parties that are to be cast out are members."—An Apology or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists, p. 62. A.D. 1604.
the power. What will you? shall I come unto you with a rod, or with the spirit of meekness?" Which power other-
whiles he setteth before them, in case of their disobedience.

§ 14. And therefore it must be acknowledged that he writeth to them to see his sentence published, ratified, and
executed, which the presbyters there had either neglected to do, as was touched afore, or perhaps were not able to
bring the people under the discipline of Christ's kingdom; which must needs oblige the Apostle to interpose. And
therefore the Italian gloss of Diodati, which maketh the Apostle in this place speak of assembling the pastors and
guides of the Church, as in Matth. xviii. 17, though in effect
true—because, for certain, what is to be acted by the congre-
gation, therein the presbyters are to do their part, by the
meaning of the Apostle—yet must leave us room to think
that the words are to be understood of the public assemblies
of the Church there for divine service, seeing we find in
Tertullian, the place afore quoted, that these censures were
exercised at and in the assemblies of the Christian people:
Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina, saith
he, speaking of their assemblies. And St. Cyprian, in the
great case of those that fell away in persecution, writeth to
the presbyters, that he doth not think to do any thing in it
without their counsel, and the consent of the people.

§ 15. And this, without doubt, is the reason why the
Apostle writeth in these terms, 1 Cor. v. 12: "For what
have I to do to judge those that are without? do not ye
judge those that are within?" speaking to the Church in
general—though the sentence passed, as hath been said, by
Bishop and presbyters—because matters were censured in
the congregation, and executed by the people. And thus
the practice of that time giveth a reason, without straining,
why our Lord seemeth to refer these matters to the congre-
gation, when He saith "tell it to the Church;" because they
passed at their assemblies, though under censure of Bishop
and presbyters. And great reason there is why this regard
should be had by the Apostle, and by the Church afterwards,
to the people; because the Church, being a mere spiritual commonwealth, and not endued with temporal strength, so much as to execute those sentences which the power of the keys, given by Christ, obligeth it to inflict—always setting aside that power of working miracles which was in the Apostle, upon which some think he reflecteth in some passages of those epistles—requisite it was, then, the congregation should be satisfied of the course of those proceedings, which must come into execution and effect by their voluntary submission to the will of God, and the office of His ministers.

§ 16. And as the matter is now, that things of this nature proceed not upon men's private consciences and judgments in particulars, but upon general rules of common right, requisite it is that the commonwealth have satisfaction of those laws according to which the Church now must proceed in their censures; it being acknowledged that they cannot proceed with effect but by virtue of those laws that are put in force by the secular arm. But as it is now no longer time to leave matters to the conscience of men's places, which may be regulated by laws which experience maketh commendable, so is it no longer time to expect at the people's hands voluntary submission to the discipline of the Church, further than it is enabled by laws of the kingdom to exercise it. And therefore it is much to be wished that the laws by which the ministers of the Church are enabled, directed, constrained to exercise this prime part of their office, may prove so sufficient, and that the power of the keys given by our Lord in the Gospel may be so strengthened by the secular arm, and rules put in force by it, that it may be able to reduce all heinous and notorious offences under the discipline of penance, and to cut them off from the Church that refuse it. Is it to be believed that our Lord's intent was, in settling such a power as this is, that it should take hold of sins of incontinence, or the like, letting all others, of as deep a stain, and as well known, escape uncensured? Or could any man devise a more puissant means to discountenance malefactors in a Christian commonwealth than that which our Lord hath appointed, by making them know that, when they have satisfied the laws of the kingdom with loss of goods or fame, or have escaped with life by the gentleness of them, the fact being
proved, nevertheless they cannot communicate with the people of God till the Church be satisfied of their correction and amendment? Nay, shall we imagine that the institution of our Lord Christ is satisfied and in force in a Christian commonwealth, so long as the case of particular offences, upon occasion whereof it is settled by Him in the Gospel, is scarce understood among us, because it is so far from common practice by the laws of the kingdom 1? whereas it might easily appear what an excellent and charitable course our Saviour hath chalked out to us, if a good Christian heart, being desirous rather of his brother's amendment than of his own satisfaction, and able to make an appearance of such an offence, as our Lord intended, by witnesses,—the Church, enabled by rules of law established by the secular arm, should call the person offending to the acknowledgment of wrong on his side, cutting him off in case he refused amendment. Thus much for certain: if the zeal of well-affected Christians towards the state of this Church did not mistake the true mark, the discipline of penance must needs be thought one of the first points to be reformed in it. And then the rest of that satisfaction, which the people can demand of the Church, will consist in not releasing the correction inflicted until there be reasonable appearance of the effect wrought by it. For if, in St. Cyprian's discipline, the people rested so unsatisfied of some whom his gentleness had reconciled, that they were hardly persuaded to admit them to communicate, as he writeth, Epist. lv. 2,—just cause have good Christians to be scandalized when they see them admitted to communicate of whose offences they are sure, but have no cause to be sure of their amendment 3.

1 "If, after a person is excommunicated, there comes a general act of pardon, which pardons all contempts, &c., it seems that this offence is taken away without any formal absolution."—Bacon's Abridgment of the Laws, Tit. Excomm.


3 See the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth chapters of Thoreldo's Discourse of the Forbearance or Penalties which a due Reformation requires.
CHAPTER XII.

OF ORDINATIONS WHAT IS REMEMBERED IN SCRIPTURE. THE COURSE HELD IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH. THE ELECTION AND CONSTITUTION OF BISHOPS UPON WHAT GROUNDS. PRESBYTERS HAD THEIR PART IN ORDINATIONS: XERIPOTONIA WAS NOT ELECTION BY HOLDING UP HANDS. ORDINATION OF DEACONS FOR COMMON BUSINESS OF CHURCHES. THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE IS SATISFIED IN THE COURSE NOW PRACTISED. WHAT THE PRIMITIVE FORM REQUIRETH IN THE CONSTITUTION OF BISHOPS.

CHAP. XII.

Of ordinations, what is remembered in Scripture.

As for the constituting and ordaining of ministers, which is behind of my promise, these are the particulars remembered concerning it in Scripture, for the most part touched upon occasion heretofore: Acts xiii. 3, "And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away." Acts xiv. 23, Paul and Barnabas, "when they had ordained them elders in every Church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord, on whom they believed;" and 1 Tim. iv. 14, "Neglect not the gift that was given thee by prophecy, with the imposition of hands of the presbytery;" which is 2 Tim: i. 6, "by imposition of my hands;" and the charge of the Apostle unto him 1 Tim. v. 22, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins;" and the whole instructions of the Apostle to Timothy and Titus, by whom he had appointed them to be ordained. To which must be added the choice of Matthias, and the seven deacons, where is said, "that they"—the congregation—"put up two," Acts i. 23; "and the twelve said unto them, Acts vi. 3, Look ye out among you seven men of honest report;" and ver. 5, "and they chose Stephen," and the rest; and ver. 6, "they set them before the Apostles; and when they had prayed, they laid hands on them." Which are alleged by St. Cyprian for the interest of the people in this business.

§ 2. Wherein we shall discern the course of proceeding in the

primitive Church, by that which is read in a heathen who being an enemy to all, cannot be thought partial to any rank of Christians. It is in the life of Alexander Severus; where you have related how that excellent young prince, being to promote to the government of provinces, or the like charges, was wont to set up the persons’ names, inviting the people to come in against any of them, upon any crime whereof they could make evidence, upon pain of life if any failed in it. And then it follows, Dicebatque grave esse, quum id Christiani et Judaei facerent, in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, non fieri in provinciarum rectoribus, quibus et fortunæ hominum committeretur et capita. “And, he said it was a heavy case, when Christians and Jews did it in publishing those that were to be ordained priests, that it should not be done in the governors of provinces, to whom both the fortunes and persons of men were committed.” These words, in prædicandis sacerdotibus qui ordinandi sunt, the learned Casaubon understandeth to be meant of that publication of men’s merits and qualities which must needs fall out in discussing the competence of persons put up to the approbation of the people, to be ordained in any rank of ministers, at the assemblies of Christians, according to the custom then in practice. Which custom St. Cyprian commendeth upon the pattern of Eleazar, made and invested High-priest by Moses in sight of the people; whose interest he specifieth when he saith: Ordinationes sacerdotales non nisi sub populi assistentis conscientia fieri oportere, ut plebe præsente, vel detegantur malorum crimina, vel bonorum meritæ prædicitur; et sit ordinatio justa et legitima, qua omnium suffragio et judicio fuerit examinata. “That ordinations of priests be made under the privity of the people standing by, that either the crimes of the bad, or the merits of the good, may be published in presence of the people; and so a just and lawful ordination be made, being allowed by the suffrage and judgment of all.”

§ 3. But before men’s deserts and qualities could be scanned, it behoved that their persons should be nominated in the first place, the publication whereof is called in the sixth canon

of the Chalcedon council: where is provided,

Μηδένα δὲ ἀπολελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήτε διάκονον εἰς τῶν ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ τάγματι, εἰ μή ἰδικῶς ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πόλεως ἢ κόμης, ἢ μαρτυρίῳ ἢ μοναστηρίῳ, δὲ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικήρυττον,—"that no man be ordained presbyter, or deacon, or in any rank of the Church at large, unless he be published to be ordained in some particular church of a city or village." That which is called here ἐπικήρυττον, predicatio in Latin, meaning the publication of persons' names that were put up to be ordained, seems to come nearer that which the historian meaneth when he saith

in prædicandis sacerdotibus, because hereupon followed the examination of their competence which St. Cyprian declareth to be the interest of the people. For if we conceive that all men indifferently had the right to nominate, we must think a great deal of unsufferable confusion must needs follow at such assemblies. And the same St. Cyprian, when he writeth to his clergy, Ep. xxiv.¹, concerning the ordination of Saturus and Optatus, in these words, quos jampridem communi consilio clero proximos feceramus, "whom long since by common consent we had made next to the clergy," excusing himself to them that he had ordained them alone, upon this, that they had before promoted them to be next the clergy by common advice,—sufficiently sheweth that the course was to advise with the presbyters and rest of the clergy about the persons to be propounded to the people. We need then no more to shew us the course of that time.

[Order of proceeding.]

§ 4. There was first nomination of the person to the people; upon their knowledge and approbation of the persons, and agreement, there followed imposition of hands, wherein consisted the accomplishment of the work, from whence the whole was called in Greek χειροτονία, as ordinatio in Latin compriseth the whole work whereby they are promoted. In the ordination of Bishops there must needs be something particular. By the precedent which St. Hierome hath recorded us in the Church of Alexandria—where he said afore, that the presbyters were wont to choose a Bishop out of their own rank—it is plain their stroke was the greatest in nominating the person,
to be approved by the people, and ordained by the Bishops. And the commentaries, under St. Ambrose's name, upon Ephes. iv. 11, tell us, that at the first the next of the presbyters in rank was wont to be assumed—and so might it well be practised in some places—until it was tried that divers times they fell out to be unfit for the place. Then, saith he, 160 *immutata est ratio prospiciente Concilio, ut non ordo sed meritum crearet Episcopum, multorum sacerdotum judicio constitutum, [ne indignus temere usurparet, et esset multis scandalum,]—"the course was changed upon advice, which provided that a Bishop should not be made by rank, but by merit, to be esteemed by the judgment *multorum sacerdotum*," signifying by this term as well the presbyters of the one Church by whom he was desired, as the Bishops of other Churches by whom he was ordained.

§ 5. For because, according to that which we conceived afore 1 from the beginning, Bishops were propagated through all Churches by no other means but by the assistance of neighbour Churches that had Bishops afore, hereupon it proceeded to be a custom in the Church, that a Bishop was not made without approbation and consent of the neighbour Bishops, from whom he was to receive imposition of hands, and with whom he was to preserve the unity of the Church, which at that time was actuated by no means, but by the correspondence of Bishops in the name of their Churches. This is the ground of the custom, that under three Bishops it was not usual to ordain one 2. Novatianus was ordained by no less at Rome, in the way of schisin, against Cornelius, who was ordained by sixteen, as we read in St. Cyprian 3.

§ 6. But when the proceeding of this business came to be regulated by the canons of Nice and Antioch,—the Church by that time being incorporated in the state of the Roman empire,—then was it thought fit that a Bishop should be made by all the Bishops of the province, the Metropolitan, that is, the Bishop of the head city, in chief, without whom

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2 "one," "own" in the original text.
3 Chap. vi. sect. 5.
4 Vide Petri de Marca de Concord. Sacerdot. et Imper. lib. viii. 2. 3.
5 Where this subject is treated of more at large.
nothing to be done; so that if some few agreed not, the business nevertheless to proceed, and be executed by three at the least. The intent was indeed, so far as opportunity should serve, that these acts should be done at the provincial synods of Bishops, to be held twice a year by the fifth canon of Nice; as may be observed, among others, in that which St. Augustine mentioneth, contra Cresc. iii. 267: De vestris autem majoribus exstat Secundi Tsigitani concilium, cum paucissimis quidem factum, apud Curtam, post persecutionem codicum tradendorum, ut illic in locum defuncti ordinaretur Episcopus. "Of your predecessors there is extant a decree of Secundus, Bishop of Tigisis, made indeed with very few, at Curtia after the persecution, for the delivery of books, that there a bishop might be ordained in stead of the deceased." If no such fell out, it was provided that three might do it, the rest consenting under their hands, canon xix. Con. Antioch. Thus, without consent of the Bishops, all proceedings of clergy and people were quite disabled and becalmed, if any faction, any sinister practice appeared in them; and all this upon the charge of the Apostle to Timothy, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins." And by virtue of their ordination, a Bishop was established and invested; so that a Bishop with jurisdiction before ordination was an estate not yet come into the world, so long as the primitive custom and rule of the Church was in force, which it seemeth succeeding custom hath brought to pass since.

§ 7. Now of all parts of the office common to Bishop and presbyters, this of ordination is that which the Bishop first
began to exercise alone; so that with St. Chrysostom and St. Hierome it is taken in a manner for granted that it was to be done by him alone. The one, Hom. xi. in 1. ad Tim. \( \text{\text{b}} \): τῇ γὰρ χειροτονίᾳ μόνῃ ἐπερβεβήκασι, καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ δοκοῦσι πλεονεκτεῖν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων,—"only in ordination the Bishops go beyond the presbyters; that is it alone which they seem to have more than these." The other, Ep. ad Evangel. \( \text{\text{c}} \): Quid enim facit, excepta ordinatione, Episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat? "For what doth a Bishop that a presbyter doth not, excepting ordination, which a Bishop doth, a presbyter, as he granteth, doth not?"

§ 8. In which, nevertheless—setting aside the stroke the presbyters had in making their Bishops—if we take not our marks amiss, we shall find argument enough, at least at the beginning, for the concurrence of presbyters with him in making of presbyters and other inferior orders. In the first place, those general passages of the Fathers wherein is witnessed that the presbytery was a bench assistant to the Bishop, without advice whereof nothing of moment was done, must needs be drawn into consequence to argue that it had effect in a particular of this weight. Then the ordination of Timothy, by imposition of hands of the presbytery, will prove no less within compass of the Scripture.

§ 9. Indeed it is well known that the word πρεσβυτέρων in ecclesiastical writers signifieth divers times the office and rank of presbyters, which signification divers here embrace, expounding "imposition of hands of the presbytery" to mean that by which the rank of presbyter was conferred. But the Apostle's words, running as they do, μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, oblige a man to ask, when he is come as far as "the imposition of the hands," of whom or whose hands they were he speaketh of, which the next words satisfy. Had it been μετὰ χειροθεσίας τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, the sense might better have been diverted; but running as it doth with the article, μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου, "with imposition of the hands," it remaineth that it be specified in the next words whose hands were imposed, as

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\( \text{\text{c}} \) S. Hieron. Opp. tom. iv. p. 803.

\( \text{\text{d}} \) Vide Suiceri Theesaur. in voc. 1 Tim. iv. 14.
in the other place, 2 Tim. i. 6, μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου, "with imposition of my hands."

§ 10. Thus this word πρεσβυτέρων, in the Gospel, Luke xxii. 66, and in Ignatius’ epistles, signifies the college of presbyters, which hath the nature and respect of a person in law, and therefore is read in the singular for the whole bench; and being assembled and set is called συνέδριον in both places, and in Cornelius of Rome’s epistle to St. Cyprian, where he saith, placuit contrahi presbyterium. But to put the signification of the word out of doubt by the circumstance of the sense, call to mind the prophecies that went before concerning Timothy, and compare his case with the Apostle’s, and the prophecies that went before of him in like case, and the imposition of hands which thereupon both received; and sure it will prove an unrebukeable ground, to conclude that what is expressed in the Apostle is to be understood of the disciple, that these prophecies, declaring the purpose to which God hath ordained them in His service, occasioned that which they did about both in giving them imposition of hands; and that as St. Paul received imposition of hands from the Church of Antiochia, so did Timothy from St. Paul and the presbyters of that Church, which he speaks of, but names not.

§ 11. Neither are the arguments of this interest quite worn out of the practice of the Church, either in the point of nominating the persons, or that of imposing hands. For when St. Cyprian expresseth himself so oft in this particular, that it was not his purpose to do any thing without advice of his presbyters and consent of his people, it is not his meaning that the clergy should bear no other part in this work than did the multitude; but as they were distinct bodies, so, according to his own words, to expect advice from them as concerning the persons to be promoted, but consent from the people, if there were no fault to be found of moment with the persons designed. And on these terms

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2 "Declaring," "prophecies, coming from the ministers of the Church, concerning the purpose," &c. first edition.
3 "Church," "presbyters" first edition.
the matter stands in the twenty-second canon of that which is called the fourth council of Carthage, where is provided, ut Episcopus sine consilio clericorum suorum clericos non ordinet, ita ut civium assensum, et connivetiam et testimonium, quaret. "That a Bishop ordain no clergymen without the advice of his clergy, so that he seek the consent and testimony and connivence of the citizens." Because the rule was, as I said, that Bishops' sees should be planted in cities. And as for imposition of hands, we have, in the epistle aforesaid of Firmilianus, Bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia—if not rather of the whole act of ordination—Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia constituta sit, in qua præsident majores nati, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem. "All power and grace is settled in the Church in which the elders are president, having power both of baptizing and of imposing hands, in penance, and of ordaining." And in Ignatius' epistle to Hero, whosoever wrote it, it is ancient enough to speak to our purpose—speaking to his deacon of his presbyters, Ἐκεῖνοι βαπτιζόντως, ἱερουργοῦσι, χειροτονοῦσι, χειροθετοῦσι:: σὺ δὲ αὐτῶι διακονεῖς, ὥς Στέφανος ὁ ἅγιος ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις,—"they baptize, they celebrate the Eucharist, they impose hands in penance, they ordain: thou ministerest unto them, as holy Stephen at Jerusalem to James and the presbyters." And where it is provided, Conc. Carthag. iv. c. 3°, that the presbyters, when the Bishop giveth imposition of hands, shall likewise impose their hands by his, it behoveth us in their case also to call to mind that this is, and was, and ought to be, in sign of their consent to what is done; the Apostle having said to Timothy, "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins."

§ 12. But the interest of the people is enhanced beyond all measure or rule of primitive practice. It will not serve the turn, that the people had then satisfaction of the persons, and

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1 Concil. Carthag. iv. A.D. 398. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1439, where the reading is: citivm connivetiam et testimonium quaret. That in the text may be seen in the older editions.

k In chap. vi. sect. 5.


Adscript.

CHAP. XII.

their competence to the ministries to which they were ordained, unless we will believe that when it is said, Acts xiv. 170 23, χειροτονήσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς πρεσβυτέρους κατ' Ἐκκλησίαν, the meaning is, that they were made by most voices of the people, signified by holding up their hands—as we find in Demosthenes and others that custom to have been in Greekish communalties—Saul and Barnabas doing nothing but moderating the choice, that is, in effect, telling the voices. And to this purpose is alleged⁵ that of the Apostle, 2 Cor. viii. 19, "And not that only, but who was also chosen of the Churches to travel with us, with this grace that is administered by us;" where in the Greek is χειροτονθῆλες, signifying election, as they would have it, and not ordination, seeing the office of carrying alms requireth no imposition of hands. To which let me add, if they refuse not that help, the words of Ignatius, much in the same kind; for in his epistles ad Smyrn.⁴ et ad Polyc.⁵, out of his care and affection to his Church at Antioch, having received news of their good estate, and finding himself in the like, he desires the Church of Smyrna and Polycarpus to choose one to go with their letters to Antioch, whom he will have called θεοπρεσβεύτην—so it should be read, not θεοπρεσβύτην—or θεοδρόμον, a messenger in matters belonging to God, to certify them of his good estate, and to congratulate with them of their own. This

⁴ This is in allusion to Calvin, who writes thus: Refert enim Lucas constitutus esse per Ecclesias presbyteros a Paulo et Barnaba: sed rationem vel modum simul notat, quum dicit factum id esse suffragis. Χειροτονήσαντες, inquit, πρεσβυτέρους κατ' Ἐκκλησίαν. Creabant ergo ipsi duo; sed tota multitudo—ut mos Graecorum in electionibus erat—manibus sublatis declarat quem habere vellet. Nempe sic Romani historici non raro loquuntur, consulem qui comitia habuerit, creasset novos magistratus, non aliab causam nisi quia suffragia et populum moderatorum sit in eligendo. This is repeated by Cartwright in his Reply to Whitgift, p. 29, sect. 5, p. 44, second edition. "In another place I conclude, that St. Luke, Acts xiv, used that word, as the Grecians before him, for election by suffrages."—The Second Reply to Whitgift's Second Answer, p. 208. London, 1575.

⁵ In the Admonition to the Parliament, thus "then no (Acts xiv. 13, 2 Cor. viii. 19.) minister placed in any congregation but by the consent of the people, now that authority is given into the hands of the Bishop alone;" to which Whitgift replies, "To prove that no minister was placed in any congregation, but by consent of the people, you allege the fourteenth chapter of the Acts, and of the second to the Corinthians the eighth chapter."—The Answer to the Admonition, p. 72. London, 1573.

⁶ Πρέπει εἰς Θεοῦ τιμὴν χειροτονήσαν
tn Ἐκκλησίαν ὦμῶν θεοπρεσβύτην.—

⁷ Πρέπει, Πολύκαρπος θεομαρτυρό-
tate συμβούλιον ἑαυτῶν θεοπρεσβευ-
tov, καὶ χειροτονησάται τίμη, δι' ἀγάπης-
tov λαῶν ἔστιν καὶ δοκιμάζει, δι' ἐνθυμητοῦ
θεόδρομος καλεῖσθαι.—Cap. vii. p. 43.

⁸ Usher says that this reading is to be preferred.
office, it seemeth, requireth no imposition of hands; and therefore that χειροτονία, by which Ignatius desireth them to appoint it, signifieth, as it should seem, not ordination, but election, by the same reason as that of the Apostle.

§ 13. The rest that is brought to avouch this new conceit is the words of Zonaras, upon the first of the canons of the Apostles, where, in downright terms, he delivereth the use of this word χειροτονία to come from the fashion of giving voices by holding up hands, used in the Church at first, to discern on which side most voices were, from whence it came afterwards to be used for imposition of hands. But let them bethink themselves, that if these presbyters were made by Saul and Barnabas by holding up hands of the people, then were they not made by imposition of their own hands; for if we take that sense of the word χειροτονίων, the other must needs be excluded. And then let me ask, if it be a thing reasonable to measure the sense of the Apostle's language by what was done at Athens, rather than by that which, among the Jews, from whence the faith of Christ was transplanted, was known, and in use? or to imagine that the Apostle,—to follow the fashion of Greekish communalties, never heard of in after-ages of the Church,—should balk the ceremony which the people of God had received from Moses,—which was from old time frequent in creating their Sanhedrin-judges—which the Apostles in their own persons practised—which the Church hath always observed in promoting of ministers, signifying the overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, and praying to obtain it.

1 Legimus enim Paulum Apostolum et Barnabam, initio exorientis Ecclesiam presbyteras per singulas civitates seu Ecclesiæ χειροτονικ, hoc est, suffragio et consensu populi ordinasse. Id testatur D. Lucas Act. cap. xiv. 23, χειροτονήσατε πρεσβύτερους κατ' Ἐκκλησίαν. Unde et ipse Lucas dicitur χειροτονθεὶς οὐδὲ τῶν Ἐκκλησίων συνταξομένων, αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πλήθος, καὶ οἱ μὲν τόθε γρώντο, οἱ δὲ τόθε, ίνα οὖν τὰ τῶν πλείστων κρατοὶ ψήφου, λεγέται τεινέον παῖς τῶν χειρῶν τῆς ἐπιλογῆς παιομένους, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀριθμοῖς τοῦς ἐκατον ψηφιζομένους καὶ τῶν παρὰ τῶν πλείστων αὐτομένους εἰς τὴν ἀρχι-


2 Hunc ordinem sacerdotii figura-runt sacerdotés et Levitae, et Ithamar.
§ 14. To the words of the Apostle and Ignatius, seeing they have in them no appearance of resolute sense, let me answer two ways. First, though they were not ordained by imposition of hands, yet it is no inconvenience they should be called χειροτονηθέντες, using the word in a general sense, for those that are ordained or constituted in any form, because this form was so frequented on divers occasions: as, for the purpose, among the Jews all their rabbis are called חכם, which in the letter signifieth χειροτονηθέντες, or “ordained by imposition of hands,” because at the first so they were made, though they be not promoted after that form, but made, as since they are ordinarily made, by writing or word of mouth; as Rabbi Moses, in Sanhedrin, chap. iv. writeth. But, in the second place, observe the words which Ignatius, writing to Polycarpus about this matter, useth: Πρέπει . . . συμβούλιον ἣγαγεῖ θεοπρεπέστατον, καὶ χειροτονῆσαι, εἰ τινα ἀγαπητὸν λιῶν ἔχετε καὶ ἄκοινον, δε δινῆσται θεοδρόμος καλει- σθαι. Where, for the constituting of a person fit for this purpose, he adviseth him to convene one of these assemblies wherein they used to advise about ordinations, as hath been said. And therefore it seemeth no inconvenience to think that he desireth him to be ordained to that purpose. Whereupon it will not be amiss to enquire a little further, to what ministry in the Church such a person may be thought to be ordained; wherein if we fail not, perhaps it will make us able to give a fair conjecture at that of the Apostle by the correspondence of the cases.

§ 15. Ignatius, in the epistle to the Philadelphians, writeth to them for the same purpose, as here he doth to those of...
Smyrna, though the sense is hitherto disguised in the printed copies, in which the words run thus: Ἐπειδὰν ἀπηγγέλη μου ἑιρημεῦν τὴν Ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τῆς Συρίας, πρέπου ἔστιν ὑμῖν, ὡς Ἐκκλησία Θεοῦ, χειροτονήσαι Ἐπίσκοπον, εἰς τὸ πρεσβεύσαι ἐκεῖ Θεοῦ πρεσβείαν, εἰς τὸ συνχωρηθῆναι αὐτῶι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό γενομένοις, καὶ δοξάσαι τὸ δύομα τοῦ Θεοῦ: which words, it is plain, make no sense. But I have seen the written copy of an old translation of these epistles in barbarous Latin, in Caius College library here with us, in which these words are rendered thus: Quia annuntiatum est mihi, pacem habere Ecclesiam, qua est in Antiochia Syria; decens est vos, ut Ecclesiam Dei, ordinare diaconum ad intercessionem, in congaudere ipsis in idipsum factis, et glorificare nomen. “Whereas it is told me that the Church of Antioch in Syria is in peace, it becometh you as a Church of God, to ordain a deacon that may intercede there the intercession of God, in congratulating with their assembly and glorifying the name.” He that made this translation read here χειροτονήσαι διάκονον instead of Ἐπίσκοπον, and συνχάρων or συνχαρῆναι αὐτῶι, which now is read συνχωρηθῆναι, and maketh it no sense; and this is without question the true reading, for it followeth, μακάριος... δε κατηξιωθη της τοιατης διακονιας. And where he saith afterwards, ὡς καὶ ἀεὶ Εκκλησία ἐπεμψαν Ἐπισκόπου, αἱ δὲ πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους, “as always the next Churches were wont to send their Bishops, some, presbyters and deacons.” It is agreeable to the charitableness of those times to think that neighbour Churches sent some their Bishops, some their presbyters or deacons, to comfort, to advise, to congratulate with his Church of Antiochia in their Bishop’s absence; and reasonable it is that he should desire those of Smyrna and Philadelphia should ordain a deacon for that purpose: but that they should make a Bishop for it, as now we read it, is without the compass of common sense to imagine. Be it then resolved, that it is no other than a

b See an account of this MS. in Smith’s preface to his edition of St. Ignatius, Oxon. 1709.

c Thorndike conjectured rightly. Vossius published the genuine epistles, out of a MS. in the library at Florence, in the year 1646 at Amsterdam, having the reading suggested in the text.

deacon which Ignatius desires those of Smyrna, as well as those of Philadelphia, to ordain, to carry this message.

§ 16. And let me have leave to conjecture, that those whom the Apostle—in the place alleged, 2 Cor. viii. 23—calleth ἀπόστολοι Ἐκκλησίων, “messengers of the Churches,” were by their rank in the Church no other than deacons; which is, by like reason, to be said of Epaphroditus, whom St. Paul, Phil. ii. 25, calleth “the apostle of the Philippians, and minister of his necessities;” and perhaps of Andronicus and Junias—reading it for the name of a man, and not of a woman—Rom. xvi. 7, where they are called ἐπισκόποι ἐν τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις, “noted among the Apostles.” For the name Apostle is relative to him by whom he is sent. The Apostles of Christ are Christ’s messengers; the apostles of Churches are the messengers which they send on common business. Now ye shall often find, in the practice of the ancient Church, that deacons were sent to foreign Churches about the business of their own. And this practice beareth correspondence with the synagogue: for those that are called among them, ἡ άδελφος ἡ συναγωγῆς, of whom Epiphanius* speaketh in these terms, describing their office, καὶ ἠλπιστῶν τῶν παρ’ αὐτῶν διακόνων ἐρμηνεύομεν, ἦ ἐπιστέπτων, “that they are by interpretation deacons or ministers,” are by another name called יִשְׂרָאֵל, שְׂדֵי (Yisra'el, shevi), which is verbatim ἀπόστολοι τῆς συναγωγῆς, ἐκκλησίας, “messengers of the synagogue,” because it is like they were wont to be employed about business of the synagogue. And therefore, if the person of whom St. Paul speaketh be no other than St. Luke the Evangelist, as many think, and the subscription of that epistle beareth, when he sets him forth thus, 2 Cor. viii. 18, 19: “Now we have sent with him our brother, whose praise is in the Gospel”—or in preaching the Gospel—“through all the Churches; and not that alone, but was ordained by the Churches to travel with us, with this grace which is ministered by us,” I shall not stick to think of him—as of Philip the deacon and evangelist—that for his rank he was ordained a deacon by consent of many Churches; in some of them to dispense the alms they sent with St. Paul

of Churches.

83 to Jerusalem, though for his personal grace he was an evangelist. Nay, if the question be asked, to what rank Timothy was ordained by that imposition of hands of the presbytery mentioned by the Apostle? my answer must be—seeing presbyters are for the oversight of their Churches, and Bishop he was none till he undertook his charge at Ephesus—that he was ordained deacon by that Church, to give attendance on St. Paul in his travels, for which purpose his personal grace of evangelist was very opportune; for thus much Ignatius hath said, writing to the deacons at Trallis, "that the deacons were such as ministered a pure and blameless ministry; as holy Stephen to blessed James, and Timothy and Linus to Paul, and Anacletus and Clemens to Peter." § 17. Now, as for Zonaras—that had a mind to shew his reading in Demosthenes, or the like Greek authors, and improve it by expounding the canons according to it—it is but sending him to Balsamon for his answer, who, writing upon the same canon, hath met this impertinence of his with an unavoidable reason to convince his mistake; which is, that χειροτονία, in the canons, cannot mean election by most voices, because the choice of a Bishop is done by all the Bishops of the province, according to the canons of Nice and Antiochia, alleged afore; whereas the ordination, which is χειροτονία, is performed by two or three, by the tenor of that canon of the Apostles. And therefore Justellus, by the way, did not right to allege Balsamon for one that seconds Zonaras in this conceit, wherein it is plain he hath laid him

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1 See note e, chap. v. sect. 6.
2 Chap. xii. sect. 6.
3 ... οὗ μήν περι ψήφου, καθότες τινες εἶτων, ἀκολουθήσαντες τοῖς ἀγράφοις λεγομένοις, διὰ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἰκτίσεως, τῆς γενομένης διὰ παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν τόλμων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀρχιρέων χειροτονία . . . . . . . καὶ ἡ ἐν ἐκκλησίας χειροτονία διὰ μνησικόν εὐχάς τελείται, καὶ ἡ ἐν ἡκοσίας πολλῶν γίνεται. Ἀλλα θεοῦ καὶ καλοῦ τῆς ἐν Νικαιᾷ ἀγίας συνόδου, διαρροήμονον τὴν τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου ψήφων γίνοντα παρὰ πάσης τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπων ἡ τριῶν πράγματι ἐγγράφων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σημαντικῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς εἶπεν τίς τὸν κανόνα τοῦτον νοεῖται περὶ ψήφου χειροτονίας ἐπὶ Ἐπισκόπον δὲ τριῶν χειροτονίαις ἔπισκοπον.—Balsam. in Can. i. Apostol. apud Bevergii Synod. tom. i. p. 1.

1 See note t. It is not unlikely that Justellus alludes to the commentaries of Balsamon on the fifth canon of the council of Laodicea, for in the note upon canon cxxvi. he cites them for his purpose. His mistake therefore will be less than if he had alleged the commentaries upon the first of the Apostolic canons, though still great, for Balsamon says, καὶ τίνα αὐτοίς καὶ μόνον συνεργάζοντες ποιήσονται, excluding the people from the elections.—Bevergii Synod. tom. i. p. 455.
upon his back. To which let me add this: the fifth canon of Laodicea\textsuperscript{k} provideth \textit{μὴ δεῖν τὰς χειροτονίας ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ ἀκρωσμένον γίνεσθαι}, "that ordinations be not made in presence of the hearers or catechumeni," that is, "elections," saith Zonaras. For this canon he allegeth for his purpose, because at elections scandals were ripped up, and men's faults examined\textsuperscript{l}. And so say all those that allow the people interest of approving or excepting against those that stood to be ordained; but he that looketh as far as the thirteenth canon of that council will never allow the people right of electing by most voices according to that council, which provideth, \textit{περὶ τοῦ μὴ τοῖς ὀχλοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν, τὰς ἐκλογὰς ποι-\textsuperscript{182} εἰσθαί τῶν μελλόντων καθίστασθαι εἰς ἱερατείαν,—}"that the choice of such as are to be placed in the rank of presbyters must not be yielded to the people." Now it is well enough known, that many times at these assemblies for making of ministers, the votes of the people, desiring such or such persons for Bishops, or presbyters, or others, prevented the order in practice, nominating such beforehand as they desired to have made; as it is to be seen in the eminent examples of Augustine\textsuperscript{m} among presbyters, and St. Ambrose\textsuperscript{n} among Bishops. Neither was it an inconvenience, that those which ordained should balk the accustomed course to give satisfaction to the people's desire, when there was appearance that it was bred upon a due opinion of merit in the person recommended.

§ 18. And the case is in a manner the same, when the best Christian emperors did oftentimes of themselves nominate to the bishoprics of the chief seats of the empire\textsuperscript{o},

\textsuperscript{k} Conc. Laodic. circ. A.D. 364. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1531. ed. Venet.

\textsuperscript{l} \textit{Χειροτονίας δὲ τὰς ψήφους ἀνάμαχεν...} \textit{ἐν δὲ ταῖς ψήφοις διὰ τὸ εἰσέγη-\textsuperscript{203}σαται τινὰ αὐτίματα κατὰ τῶν ψηφο-\textsuperscript{203}μένων ἀνθρώπων, ἀπρόηρωτα τὸ πάρεινα λέγεις, καὶ ἄκρωσθαι τοίς...} Comm. in i. Can. Apostol. apud Bevergii ut supr.

\textsuperscript{m} \textit{.... jam scientes catholicī sanctī Augustīnī propositum et doctrīnam, manu injecta,....} eum ergo teneuerunt, et, ut in talibus consuetum est, episcopo ordinandum intulerunt, \textit{omnia id uno consenti et desiderio fieri perficiē petentibus, magnoque studio et clamore flagitantibus, ubertim et dente.}

\textsuperscript{n} ---perrexit (Ambrosius) ad Ecclesiæm, ibique cum alloqueetur plebem subito vox fertur infantia in populo sonisse Ambrosium episcopum... ita qui antea turbulentissime dissi-\textsuperscript{203}debant... repente in hunc unum mirabilī et incredibili concordia consenserunt.—Paulinus in Vita S. Ambrosii, cap. vi. coll. ii. iii. App. tom. ii. ed. Ben.

\textsuperscript{o} Theodosius the Great nominated Nectarius to the throne of Constantinople, and Arcadius St. Chrysostom, Theodosius the Younger, Nestorius.
the state was most interested in the condition of the person to be ordained. For in this they proceeded as those in whom rested all the right of the people in that commonwealth: the Bishops proceeding to do their office—upon due knowledge and approbation of the person—without examining the course of proceeding, as not so near concerning their charge. And thus it is plain that the Apostles did not leave the choice of Matthias or the seven deacons at large to the people; but qualifying the persons by their directions in whom those qualities were found—resting indifferent themselves—they referred to the knowledge of the people. For so we read of Matthias, Acts i. 21: "Of these men that have companied with us ever since the Lord Jesus went in and out among us . . . must one be chosen, to be a witness of His resurrection with us." And of the seven deacons, Acts vi. 3: "Wherefore, brethren, look you out among you seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But had the persons been found not qualified, no man will be so gross as to think the Apostles might not, or ought not, to control the choice. And though it were granted, which with truth cannot be granted, that the presbyters aforesaid were made by Saul and Barnabas upon most voices of the people, yet if we reserve to them the nomination of the persons, the interest of the people will be less—rather than more—than the people of this Church useth at the present, though not in themselves, yet in the patrons of churches, to whom the Church yieldeth it, in the name of the people, in respect to the merit of those that built or endowed churches; at least if the ancient canon were in use.

*Originally the Bishops—as successors of the Apostles founders of all Churches either in person or by their immediate representatives—collated to all benefits within their territorial jurisdiction. But the council of Orange, A.D. 441. Can. x, innovated, or sanctioned innovations in this matter, by making it lawful for a Bishop who should found a church in another's diocese to present a clerk to that Bishop for institution. It is doubtful whether his successor had the same privilege. The council of Agda, A.D. 506. can. xxi., allowed oratories to laymen, but the fourth council of Orleans, A.D. 541. can. vii., forbade them to introduce clerks without the approbation of the Bishop. At this time, if not in this year, Justinian published a law, Novell. 123. cap. xviii., by which he allowed the patronage to the heirs of the founders. The third Lateran council, A.D. 1179, de jure patronatus, sanctioned the passing of the patronage to other persons than the heirs of the founders—namely, to those who should acquire, by purchase or otherwise, the manor on which the church was built. The
§ 19. For though it be a little without the terms of my subject, yet let me say this word for the provision of pastors in rural congregations, that by the order thus far specified, it must needs come from the mother-Church, out of the gremials of it. In the first ages of the Church, there is little or no mention but of presbyteries in gross, for the common service of mother-Churches, whereof hitherto we speak. Afterwards, when the faith was planted, and congregations ordered, in the territories of those cities, or dioceses of those Churches, we find in the thirteenth canon of Neocæsarea 9 a difference made between the presbyters of them, whereof some are called there ἐπισκόποι, others οἱ κατὰ πόλιν—these of the mother-Church, those of rural congregations. And by the canon of 186 Chalcedon, mentioned afore 7, forbidding all ordinations at large but for the service of the city-Church, or other depending on it, it appeareth, that—by virtue of the ordination in the mother-Church, wherein the people concurred no otherwise than hath been said, whether presbyters or other,—ministers were invested in their charge of those Churches. Before that time it is to be observed that the Council of Nice, canon xv., forbidding ministers to pass from city to city—whether Bishops, presbyters, or deacons—that is, to leave their own mother-Church to serve in another mother-Church, proceedeth in these terms: —"Εδοξε παντάπασι περιαρχήναι τῇς συνεδρείαις τῆς παρὰ τῶν κανόνων εὐθέως ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν," —"it seemed good to put down the fashion that is come up in some parts beside the rule;" signifying that the rule of the Church from the beginning was, to ordain ministers in 187 mother-Churches, for the service of those mother-Churches. But in the sixteenth canon, next following, it is further pro-

9 Ἐπισκόποι πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τῷ Κυριακῷ τῆς πόλεως προσφέρειν οὐ δύναν-

7 Chap. xii. sect. 3.

8 The next words are, ὡσπερ ἀπὸ πό-
vided that they shall be constrained to return to their first charges, in these terms:—'Alla pásaun autōs àndaγkηn epá-
gesvai χρη, ànastreφem eis tás èautōn paroukias,'—"they must be constrained by all means to return into their own dioceses." For paroukia, in the canons, signifies the country lying to the city of the mother-Church, which we call the diocese. This canon, speaking of presbyters and deacons, and not of Bishops, besides the voiding of such attempts, which is done in the fifteenth canon afore, providing a course to constrain them to return, extendeth further than the other did—to presbyters and deacons in country cures, whereas that rested in the mother-Church. So the third canon 188 of Antiochia; so the fifteenth of the Apostles, providing that ministers should not leave tás èautōn paroukias, "their dioceses," as was said, speak plain to let us know how much the cures of the whole diocese, and the persons by whom they were exercised, were in the disposing of the mother-Church, when it appeareth that the ministers of them could not depart, to serve in or under other Churches, till they were dismissed their first charge, with letters of license from the mother-Church, which they called àpòluytikēs, or dimissorias.

§ 20. Wherein the condition of the Church is just that of the Greekish colonies: they were wont to have their priests sent them from the mother-cities, and reserved the first-fruits, which were the priests' due, for an honour to their founders; as Thucydides, lib. i. and his scholiast writeth, alleging this 189 for an occasion of that war, because those of Corcyra neglected their mother-city of Corinth in that accustomed right. So all rural congregations, being at first nothing but colonies

1 Εἰ τίς πρεσβύτερος ἢ δίδακτος ἢ διάκονος ἢ δλας τῶν τοῦ Ισραήλ τις καταλύσῃ τῇ èαυτῷ παροικία, εἰς ἐτέραν ἀνέλθω. The penalty is suspension. Εἰ δὲ ἐκ νυμέων ἐν ἄφαξι, ἀποφαγία, then the penalty is deposition from the holy ministry. Concil. Antioch. A.D. 341. Labbe, tom. ii. col. 588. ed. Venet.

Almost in the words of the canon of Antiochia in the preceding note; it is the fourteenth in the Greek copies. Labbe, tom. i. coll. 33. 48.

These were letters granted by the Bishop to those of his clergy whom he released from their service in the Church in which they had been ordained, and permitted to settle in another diocese. No clergyman could be received in another Church without them. Concil. in Trullo. can. xvii. Labbe, tom. vii. col. 1356. ed. Venet. According to modern custom they are letters granted by one Bishop to candidates for orders in his own diocese to be ordained by another Bishop.

7 "Εἴδοξαν ἄν αρχιερεῖς ἐν τῇ μητροπόλεως λαμβάνειν. cap. 28.
of the faith, planted from mother-Churches, founded in mother-cities, from the time of the Apostles, it was but reason they should receive their pastors from the head of the diocese, where the charge of overseeing as well as planting them belonged. The right of presenting, then, yielded by the Church—to the people or to the patron, it concerns not in her regard—if it were to orders as well as to cures, was more than the people should have, in choosing out of those which Saul and Barnabas might nominate. But he that would have the people both name the persons, and choose out of those themselves named, neglecting imposition of hands, or enjoining it upon the choice, must first put the epistles to Timothy and Titus out of the Bible, lest, at the first insight, that appear to belong to the office of men of their place, the account whereof lieth upon their charge. As for the constituting of Bishops, fit it is, in the first place, provision be made for the interest of the state, as well in ordering the choices, as in approving the persons chosen, that no man be established prejudicial to the commonwealth. But yet that course, in which the Christian emperors of ancient times interposed themselves to nominate the persons, being acknowledged to be beside the rule, did not destroy it in all, but balk it for the time.

§ 21. Now, if the people from the beginning had a due share of interest in giving consent to those which were to be ordained their presbyters, much more must we needs think that it was due and of right, that the votes of the presbyters and consent of the people should go before, in designing the persons under whom and with whom they were to guide and be guided in spiritual matters. As for imposition of hands of neighbour-Bishops, with whom the unity of the Church was to be preserved by the ordained, it was not then the formality of a thing done, but the substance of the act, resting upon the account of them that did it by virtue of the Apostle's charge. And therefore, though it is not easy for me to judge how far it concerneth the Church to retain the primitive form, yet it

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* Hæc synodus ex omnibus Episcopis provincie constare debebat vel saltem ex tribus presentibus... absentes consensum scripto dabant rebus gerendis, et tres illi cum Metropolitani inutoritate omnis aegabant, qua crescente, omnis fuerant irrita, ut docet canon Nicom. iv. et vi. et canon xix. Antiochenus.—Petri de Marca, de Concor. Sacer. et Imper. lib. viii. cap. iii. 5.*
OF CHURCHES.

is easy for indifferent persons to discern how much is required to the retaining of it.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RULE OF CENSURING PERSONS ORDAINED DIRECTED TO TIMOTHY ALONE. THE OFFICE EXERCISED ACCORDING TO THE OTHER PARTS OF IT.

Something would here be said, in the last place, of that which dependeth upon these two last particulars, of penance and ordination; that is, the censure of offences, whether in doctrine or manners of persons ordained; because the Apostle seemeth to refer this to Timothy, that is, to the Bishop alone, not mentioning any concurrence of his presbyters in it. For so we read, 1 Tim. v. 19, 20, “Against an elder receive not an accusation, but under two or three witnesses. Them that sin rebuke before all, that others also may have fear.” But having hitherto shewed that our Lord in the Gospel hath appointed matters of particular offence to come before the consistory of Bishop and presbyters; that the Apostles themselves, in divers matters belonging to the government of the Church, used their assistance; that in the primitive times of the Church, even under the Apostles, matters of censure and ordination both were wont to pass by the presbyters, but in the assemblies of Christian people; let me refer this to all indifferent persons to judge, whether the same course of proceeding were in likelihood observed in the censure of presbyters. The Apostle’s direction, regulating what information to admit, is directed to Timothy alone; for the meaning is not, that two or three should be present when it is put in, but that it should not be admitted, but—as the Syriac translateth it—“upon the mouth,” that is, the word, of two or three witnesses.

§ 2. But the censure of reproof is prescribed to pass in the congregation, when he saith, “them that sin,” that is, them that are found in fault, “rebuke before all, that others may have fear;” no otherwise than the censure of the Apostle did

* Chap. xi. sect. 6.  
* Chap. ii. sect. 2.  
* Chap. xi. sect. 3, 12, and chap. xii. sect. 4.
and was prescribed to do, 1 Cor. v. 4, 2 Cor. ii. 6; and therefore we are to think that the examination of such causes must pass, as others of like nature, by him, with the presbyters, to whom the Apostle had assigned a charge of governing the Church there, Acts xx. 28, 35. So the keys of the Church, given to St. Peter and to the Apostles, were nevertheless intended to be exercised by the Church, as hath been said. So the charge of excommunicating heretics is directed to Titus alone, Tit. iii. 10: but we have no reason therefore to imagine that Titus is directed to proceed otherwise in it than we know the Church was wont to proceed in censures of that nature, according to that which hath been said. And so it is in the case that followeth a little after, ver. 22: “Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men’s sins;” where the rule of ordinations is directed to Timothy alone; yet have we no cause to believe that it was practised by him otherwise than according to the form aforesaid, joining with him the presbyters in imposition of hands, as was practised by the Apostle. The eminence of their place is to be acknowledged, because the Apostle’s instructions for managing these matters are directed to them alone. But their course of proceeding must be measured by that which we know otherwise.

CHAPTER XIV.

RETAINDING THE PRIMITIVE FORM, BISHOPS CANNOT BE ABOLISHED. HOW AERIUS IS COUNTED A HERETIC. ALL DISPLEASURE AGAINST BISHOPS OCCASIONED BY DEFECT OF PRESBYTERIES. TO WHAT PURPOSE THEY MIGHT BE RESTORED.

That which hath been said, being intended to represent the form delivered in Scripture by the agreement of historical truth and primitive practice, concerneth no more, as every man sees, than the government of mother-Churches contained in mother cities; because that is all the Scripture hath expressed. But what influence and effect this ought to have in the present state of the Church, now that dioceses

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4 Chap. xi. sect. 11.  1 Tim. v.
5 Chap. xi. sect. 10.
are divided, churches built, and congregations assigned, is not for a private person to particularize, unless he meant 197 to build churches—as some men do castles—in the air. Let it be enough to say thus much in general—which every man must think that believeth what hath been said to be true—that he that aimeth at the primitive form, and that which cometh nearest the institution of our Lord and His Apostles, must not think of destroying Bishops, but of restoring their presbyteries.

§ 2. Were it but a human ordinance of yesterday, established by due course of right, let me be bold to say, that if Aërius withdraw his submission to it, he must come within Epiphanius' list of heretics; not understanding an heretic in St. Augustine's sense—wherein Tertullian in his book de Praescripto went afore him—to be none but he that will not believe some point of doctrine necessary, as the means of

* "For most certain truth it is that Churches cathedral, and the Bishops of them are as glasses wherein the face and very countenance of Apostolical antiquity remaineth even as yet to be seen, notwithstanding the alterations which tract of time and the course of the world hath brought. For defence and maintenance of them we are most earnestly bound to strive, even as the Jews were for their temple and the high-priest of God therein. The overthrow and ruin of the one, if ever the sacrilegious avarice of atheists should prevail so far, which God of His infinite mercy forbid, ought no otherwise to move us than the people of God were moved, when having beheld the sack and combustion of His sanctuary in most lamentable manner flaming before their eyes, they uttered from the bottom of their grieved spirits those voices of doleful supplication, Exsurge Domine et miserearis Sion: Servi tui diligunt lapides ejus, pulveris ejus miseret cos."—Hooker, bk. vii. ch. vii. p. 224-5. ed. Keble. 1836.

* "Are we to think that Aërius had wrong in being judged an heretic for holding this opinion? Surely if heresy be an error falsely fathered upon Scriptures, but indeed repugnant to the truth of the word of God, and by the consent of the Universal Church, in the councils, or in her contrary uniform practice throughout the whole world, declared to be such: and the opinion of Aërius in this point be a plain error of that nature, there is no remedy, but Aërius, so schismatically and stiffly maintaining it, must even stand where Epiphanius and Augustine have placed him. An error repugnant unto the truth of the word of God is held by them, whosoever they be, that stand in defence of any conclusion drawn erroneously out of Scripture, and untruly thereon fathered. The opinion of Aërius therefore being falsely collected out of Scripture, must needs be acknowledged an error repugnant unto the truth of the word of God. His opinion was that there ought not to be any difference between a Bishop and a presbyter. His grounds and reasons for this opinion were sentences of Scripture."—Hooker, bk. vii. ch. ix. 2. p. 247-8. vol. iii. ed. Keble. 1836.


salvation, to be believed; but, according to the latitude of
the word, taking all to be heretics that make sects, and assemble themselves apart beside the Church of God lawfully settled. This sense is used in can. vi. Conc. Constantinop. 1, where they are counted heretics that hold the sound faith, ἀποσχίζωντας δὲ καὶ ἀντισωμίζωντας τοὺς κανόνιν τῆς ἑμῶν Ἐπισκόπων, “but cut themselves off, and assemble in opposition to us the canonical Bishops.” And this latitude it seemeth Epiphanius comprised, because he reckoneth the Quartodecimani in the roll of heretics. These, when the position whereupon the separation is grounded is not of weight—setting their separation aside—to separate them from the invisible Church, are since, according to the authors named afore, by a proper term called schismatics, though heretics in the proper sense separate no less than they do. And of this crime my earnest desire is, that those which have separated themselves from this Church of England upon this quarrel of government by Bishops, or the like unjust or insufficient causes, may stand acquitted; though how they will acquit themselves of it, I cannot yet perceive.

§ 3. But if the rank of Bishops over their presbyters be not only a just human ordinance, but estated in possession of sixteen hundred years, without deceit or violence at the beginning, let me have leave to think it will be hard to shew a better title of human right for any estate upon the earth. How much more, when the possession is avouched to have been delivered from the hands and time of the Apostles, must it needs seem strange that the successors of their place should be destroyed by the sons of their faith? Be it pardonable for our neighbours and brethren of the reformed Churches a

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2 Ἀπετυγχαί δὲ λέγομεν... καὶ τῶν τῆς πληθυν μάν τὴν ἄνη προσπέρασαν· μάκρους διολογίων: then follow the words in the text.—Concil. Constantinopol. i. A.D. 381. Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1127.

3 These heretics agreed with the Catholic Church in all things, except that for which they are called heretics, namely, that they celebrated the feast of Easter not according to the rule of the Church, on Sunday, but according to the law of the Jews, on whatever day of the week the Passover might happen.—Epiph. Hær. 50. tom. i. p. 419. ed. Colon.

4 He uses the word in the popular sense of the day; in another place he speaks of these “Churches” thus...
OF CHURCHES.

abroad to have overseen the succession of the Apostles, because they could not discern it, as they found it blended with such abundance of accessories, especially in the persons of men that hated to be reformed; but among us there hath been time to plead the right to the quick; and though not without eagerness of debate, which interest breedeth, yet always with advantage to the true tenure. And among the multitude of speech that this time hath bred, we have heard little or nothing, as yet, of new reasons to quell the cause with. So that, before advancing new plea, the old right descending from such hands standeth now in as good terms as ever heretofore. As for the point of peace within ourselves, and correspondence with our neighbours, be it considered how large St. Hierome—of all Church-writers least favourable to the order, as he that found himself pinched with the Bishop of Jerusalem*—hath been nevertheless in acknowledging that the peace of particular Churches could not be preserved without it. To which we must add the remembrance of so many happy days as this Church, since the reformation, hath seen, without such ruptures as have fallen out in other parts, by the benefit of it, among a people always observed to be of all others most daring to innovate opinions, in matters of religion especially, as well as in those that concern other knowledge. But he that calleth to remembrance that correspondence which, in ancient times, was actuated between Churches of several nations and people—commercio formatarum, as Optatus speaketh, by traffic of those letters of correspondence which, under set forms, were wont to pass between Bishops in the name of their Churches—the true form of that unity which our Lord commended to His Church, after it was become catholic—must needs lament

* See note y. chap. ix. sect. 6.
* Quoted in note h. chap. v. sect. 8.

Lituræ, formatae, or canonicæ, comprehend the communicatoria, commendatio, dimissoria, and pacifica. Without these, according to their circumstances or condition, none travelled into strange countries, for without them they could not be received into communion. These letters were granted by the Bishops only.—73. dist.

to see that most beautiful peace of the Church, which was the effect of this government in ancient time, but since hath been defaced and lost, by the fault of them that hate to be reformed, in the dissensions of Christendom alleged to destroy it. The honour and esteem, which the learned of the reformed Churches abroad have professed of the state of our Churches, and our charity in excusing the necessities of theirs, and acknowledging the efficacy of the ministry which they use, will be sufficient, through God's goodness, to actuate the correspondence we desire to preserve with them, without those innovations which they never required at our hands to such purpose.

§ 4. But he that acknowledgeth, and is glad to see these heads stand in their right place, looking back upon their beginning, which was to succeed the Apostles over several presbyteries, in the place which they held over all for the time, must needs miss their relatives, the bodies of these presbyteries, in the government of Churches. And though that alteration cannot be charged upon any man, which is come to pass through time and insensible custom; especially seeing it cannot be counted an alteration in this Church of England, because we are to think it had prevailed in the Church before this nation received the faith; yet must it needs be remembered, by him that believeth all the evil consequences which this government is charged with, whether in opinion or truth, to have come from the discharge of presbyteries from their part of the office. One particular no man need to be nice in reckoning to be of that nature, though it is not in the

Bishop Hall, in his "Humble Remonstrance," p. 32, mentions two of them, Lectius, a civilian, and Frederic Spanheim, Reader in Divinity at Geneva.

"It is possible that some of our writers, and particular members of our Churches, may have been deceived in the question of fact, and esteemed the Lutherans and Calvinists more free from fault than they really were, but if so, it was a mistake as to fact only; there was no wish to countenance heresy or schism, which the Churches of Britain have always abhorred and condemned." —Palmer's Treatise on the Church, vol. i. p. 382. second edition.

The Puritans were desirous of a formal recognition of the Protestants, and would have Episcopacy set aside for the purpose. Thornike insists on the ancient way of intercommunion, which of course involves Episcopacy.—Smectymnuus, sect. xviii. Queries about Episcopacy, write thus: "Why should England, that is one of the chiefest kingdoms in Europe that separate from Antichrist, maintain and defend a discipline different from all other reformed Churches which stand in the like separation? And whether the continuance in this discipline will not at last bring us to communion with Rome from which we are separated, and to separation from the other reformed Churches unto which we are united?"
power of one man—were he as much in love as I am with
the primitive form—or scarce of one age, without a public
act to amend it. That is, the committing of jurisdiction at
large—even that which is proper and essential to the Church,
by the power of the keys, which our Lord hath given it, as
hath been said—in effect, to lay persons. Which jurisdic-
tion, though for the present it pass not upon present advice,
but upon laws of the Church for the purpose, yet so long as
laws are general and few, cases particular and numberless,
will always deserve to be exercised with mature and charita-
table advice of those to whose charge our Lord first com-
mitted it, if we mean to attain the ends of correction and
example. Though the profession by which it is ministered
deserve to retain the rank it holdeth, in regard of those other
points of jurisdiction in charitable causes, by the favour of
princes, and laws of commonwealths annexed to the Church,
passing, as it doth, by the laws whereof they profess know-
ledge. This inconvenience, if such it be counted, seemeth
to proceed from that insensible change whereof hath been
said: for had the presbyteries continued, as at the begin-
ing, upon the exercise of this discipline of penance, it is not to
be thought that power could have been so lightly alienated as
from one, wherein a number had their interest.

§ 5. But this and the like consequences seem to have
brought this undue opinion upon the Church-government,
that, as cathedral-churches long since, so now the state of
Bishops among indifferent men, is counted a matter of in-
difference, which, had they continued in the primitive charge,
must needs have been counted—as counted they ought to
be—inviolable. And therefore though, as the case standeth,
it is neither possible nor desired to call the whole presbytery
of a diocese to a share in the public government, yet let me
have leave to say, that the next course to retrieve the primi-

* The appointment of laymen into judicial places was made an argument
of by the Presbyterians in favour of lay-elders, and also against the whole
hierarchical discipline. "Was ever
such a thing as this heard of in the
best primitive times," saith Smeckym
nuus, sect. x, "that men that never re-
ceived imposition of hands, should not
only be received into assistance, but be
wholly entrusted with the power of spi-
rital jurisdiction, even then when it is
to be exercised over such persons as have
had hands laid upon them." See also
a pamphlet called "Christ on His
Throne," cases v. and xi, printed 1640.
* Causes testamentary and matri-
monial.
tive form, with the wholesome grounds and consequences of it, is to re-estate these presbyteries in cathedral churches, and perhaps, in other populous places, seats of jurisdictions, where the diocese is great, furnishing them with number of men of abilities, and joining them with and under the Bishops, for assistance in all parts of the office hitherto proved common to both. It seems the means that hath brought to pass that insensible change whereof we speak, was from the beginning no other than this: because the form of proceeding in particular Churches was never regulated by canons of the Church, but left to particular custom. And therefore it is past my apprehension how more right should be done than distributing the common charge into particular interest, by such rules as may best express those general terms which the purest primitive times were content with; that as without the Bishop nothing to be done, so the Bishop to do nothing without advice of his presbyters.

§ 6. The performance of divine service in the cathedral, common sense finds too slight a work for such persons: the cures of all Churches within such populous places, if they belonged to their titles, would be a work suitable to such prime abilities. Then the exercise of the power of the keys in the discipline of penance, trial and approvement of persons presented to cures, or assistance of cures, according to laws—excluding all ordinations without such title—censure

7 That deans and chapters may continue with these conditions:

1. That they may be annexed to the parish churches in the great towns where the cathedrals stand.

2. That they may be elected in those places by the king, with the approbation of the clergy and cum conscientia populi.

3. That they may be enjoined to preach ordinarily twice every Lord's Day at their parish.

4. That they may preach every Sunday once or twice in their courses at the cathedrals.

5. That they may be a consilio to the Bishops in all matters of ordination and jurisdiction, so that nothing shall be done without them.

So shall the exceptions of non-employment and non-residence be taken away.

The Bishops' absolute authority in ordination and jurisdiction shall be moderated.

The admission of unfit men unto these dignities shall be prevented.

And all those great cities shall be furnished with an able ministry, which as a fountain of knowledge may derive it unto the country with which they have such perpetual commerce.—Five motives with reasons concerning deans and chapters, printed at the end of a pamphlet, with the title of "To the Right Honourable the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, the Humble Petition of divers of the Clergy of the Church of England," A.D. 1641.
of offences in doctrine, or life of persons ordained, always under the Bishop, and for his assistance—are works that require mature advice, and pass best in common for satisfaction to the public; matters of religion being by nature more popular than the commonwealth. If this be not enough, such may be men's abilities, that all these presbyteries may become schools of the prophets, and seminaries of able preachers through the several jurisdictions or dioceses; a thing wished on all hands, but not to be expected without means to bring it to pass. This hath been always desired at the hands of cathedral-Churches, and some steps of it remain still in some of ours; and though the staple of this education, being long since drained from other places to the two Universities, the charge hath been sustained by them alone with unspeakable benefit to the Church, as well as to the commonwealth, yet the assistance of these places with them, for the service of the Church, is not to be counted their prejudice, leaving entire unto them the place they possess of seminaries of the commonwealth.
OF

RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES,

AND

THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF GOD.

A DISCOURSE

ACCORDING TO APOSTOLICAL RULE AND PRACTICE.
TO THE READERS.

There is no such light to the true meaning of the Scripture, as the practice of matters contained in it, under the synagogue first, and in the Church afterwards. This is the reason of the course held here, in inquiring what was done, or arguing what is to be done, for the public service of God. It is not to be expected that the particulars here observed or discoursed under the judgment of this Church, and the learned in it, should indifferently take place. It is enough if the main foundation, which I have given my thoughts a little freedom to dig for, prove not fleeting. Then may it serve for the edifying of it unto peace. However, you see wherefore writing in English, nevertheless I produce the passages of writers in their own formal words. You shall find them translated for the satisfaction of all sorts. The learned readers may please to excuse me, if walking for the most part an untrodden path, they find nothing but work cut out, to be made up at leisure. All may please to do so much right to themselves or me, as to refer themselves to such things as the delay of the press hath given occasion to add at the end,* before they begin to read. The heads of matters here intreated, are premised for the ease of such as make choice of what they think best to read.

* These additions are inserted in their proper place in the text of this edition.
CHAPTER I.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF GOD THE MOST EMINENT WORK OF CHRISTIANS. HOW THE FORM OF IT MAY BE DERIVED FROM THE SCRIPTURES. THE SUBJECT, AND THE PROCEEDING OF THIS DISCOURSE.

The most eminent work that men are able to tender to the honour of God, is His public service at the assemblies of Christians. That supernatural tincture which the faith of Christ and His grace infusedeth into the best of our actions, seemeth to consist in the obedience to God, out of which they are done; and the intention of His glory and worship, to which they are addressed;—That the reason of them is derived from the will and pleasure of God, and the intent of them directed to His honour and service. Whereas all the men of this world can do nothing but out of love to themselves, taking the rise and motive of their doings from that which concerneth their particulars, and aiming at nothing else in their intentions. All sorts of Christian men's actions, as they proceed from such considerations as these, are capable to be qualified "the service of God." But that which is called His public service professeth the exercise of nothing else, neither is capable to be accounted otherwise, unless it be counterfeit. For what consideration can common sense fasten upon that which we do, when we assemble ourselves for religious service, but the conscience of our subjection to God, the acknowledgment of our want of His direction and assistance, and our desire and affection to the good which we expect at His hands? Only to be public is still an addition of advantage to it, inasmuch as the honour, which it pleaseth God to accept at men's hands, becometh His greatness more when it proceedeth from more agreement of minds. And as the strength of men's bodies, joined to one purpose, removeth that, which, one by one, they could not do; so united devotions prevail with God to such effect, as severally they cannot bring to pass.
§ 2. The Prophet Esay, ii. 2—4, from the Prophet Micah, iv. 1, "In the last days it shall come to pass," saith he, "that the mountain of the house of the Lord shall be established in the top of the mountains, and it shall be exalted above the hills: and people shall flow unto it, and many nations shall come and say, Come, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, and to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths: for the law shall go forth of Sion, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." And a third Prophet, Sophon. iii. 9, "For then will I turn to the people a pure language," or, a pure lip, "that they may call upon the name of the Lord with one consent," or, with one shoulder. The meaning of these Prophets is, to tell us what the Gentiles should do when they applied themselves to the Church—the mountain of God, the hill of Sion—by two principal particulars: they should flow like the waters of a deluge to learn the will of God which the Church teacheth; they should crowd in like a multitude, with one shoulder, to serve God with that language which He had sanctified. Who can read this, and not think what God recommendeth to Christians? one current to the Church, to learn His will there—one shoulder, striving who shall crowd in first—one lip, one language that soundeth nothing but His praises. So that in the public service of God are fulfilled the words of the Gospel, Matt. v. 14, "A city cannot be hid that standeth upon an hill:"

be the profession what it will be that differenceth a true visible Church from a false, it must be the public service of God that must make that profession visible. And the Apostle—1 Tim. ii. 8, "I will therefore that men pray everywhere, lifting up pure hands without wrath or disputing"—when he saith, "every where," taketh away the difference which the temple at Jerusalem made; when he saith, "without wrath or disputing," signifieth that his speech is of public assemblies, the fruit whereof he would not have intercepted through their dissensions: and so expoundeth that one lip of the Prophet, signifying that unity of mind which God's people serve Him with.

§ 3. This is too much to be said here, but perhaps too little to persuade how much the frame of public worship
concerneth the honour of God and His service: how much it must needs be for the advantage of godliness, that it be formed without prejudice. Were all particulars of it ordered in Scripture—as the ceremonies of that figurative service under Moses are—there were no more to do, but to make all things according to the pattern shewed in the mountain, Heb. viii. 5, Exod. xxv. 40. And he that did it should be, for his part, faithful in all the house of God, as was Moses, Heb. iii. 2, Numb. xii. 7. But he that is there said to be faithful in all the house of God as Moses was, hath dis-5 charged his office in revealing and establishing the substance of the worship of God in spirit and truth: and what is further determined in Scripture, and what is not, my purpose is not to dispute here, because my discourse proceedeth from that which I can find expressed in Scripture, to that which remaineth questionable, according to it. For my part, I do not find so much delivered concerning the service of God at the assemblies of Christians, any where in Scripture, as in the first epistle to the Corinthians, where the Apostle discourseth the use of spiritual graces of that time in those assemblies.

§ 4. And therefore my first travel in this little work shall be, to inquire the true meaning of that whole discourse of the Apostle, the proceeding of it, and the grounds whereupon his rules are framed. Which to do with success, I shall first discover the office of prophets and scribes under the first and second temple—of the graces of prophesying and of languages under the first times of the Gospel, in ministering the moral and perpetual—not the ceremonial and figurative service of God—at their assemblies for that purpose. To the result of which inquiries, if we shall join the rules which the same Apostle debateth in the eleventh chapter of the same epistle, concerning men and women veiling or uncovering their heads in those assemblies, and concerning 6 celebrating the Eucharist, with the feasts of love used then at common meetings, with the grounds whereupon they proceed; adding to both such passages of Scripture as fall in with the meaning of these, speaking home to what was done, or prescribed to be done, at their religious assemblies: perhaps by this means we shall be furnished of such princi-
CHAP. I. ples, and such rules derived thence, as the Scriptures afford
the Church to proceed upon, as well in the substance of
that which is to be done in the public service of God, as in
the form, and course, and circumstances of it.

§ 5. And this, upon the by, will minister just occasion to
inquire further into the condition of those graces and minis-
tries, by which the several parts of this work were exercised
at that time according to the Apostle, or intended to be
exercised in after ages. To which point having said some-
thing of late in a little tract of the Primitive Government of
Churches*, and finding it too much slighted there—because
the particular discourse of it suited not with the model of
that treatise—my desire is to take it in hand upon this occa-
sion once more, and inquire what further satisfaction the
consideration of public service at their religious assemblies
will yield them that desire the truth, as concerning the
nature and condition of ministries first instituted for that
purpose.

CHAPTER II.

DAYS OF ASSEMBLIES APPOINTED BY THE LAW. THE MORAL SERVICE OF
GOD NOT SPECIFIED IN IT, BUT COLLECTED FROM IT. HOW THE JEWS ARE TAXED FOR SPENDING THE SABBATH IN PASTIME. PLACES OF SUCH ASSEMBLIES NOT PROVIDED IN IT. THE PRIESTS CHARGED TO TEACH
THE LAW BY DECIDING CONTROVERSIES OF IT. THE CHAIR OF MOSES,
THE CHAIR OF PROPHETS. HIGH PLACES, TO WHAT PURPOSE. BE-
BEGINNING OF SYNAGOGUES. DISCIPLES OF PROPHETS STUDIED TO BE
PROPHETS. THEY MINISTERED THE MORAL SERVICE OF GOD IN HIGH
PLACES AND SYNAGOGUES.

Of the figurative service proper to the law of Moses,—and
that people which received it,—of the kinds, and times, and
place for offering sacrifices,—there is particular appointment
in it: but of serving God by prayer, or hearing His word,
you have there so much the less remembrance b. In Leviticus
xxiii. we find the particular of all their solemnities that are
called holy assemblies: for thus the general is propounded,
ver. 2; "The assemblies of the Lord, which ye shall proclaim

* Chap. ix.  

b See the Epilogue, book i. chap. 13.
for holy convocations, these are My assemblies.” The first
of these is the Sabbath, then the Passover, Pentecost, the
beginning of the new year, the day of atonement, and the
feast of tabernacles. And, with leave, I rather use the word
assemblies than feasts in this place, because the name of
feasts is proper to those solemnities which are to be celebrated
with joy and cheerfulness: whereas in this number, the day
of atonement was to be observed with the greatest humiliation
that could be expressed. The original word ἡμέρα containing all assemblies, such as all these are commanded to be,
and, as I take it, none else. For that which is read Ps.
Ixxx. 3, “Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, in the
time appointed, against the day of our feasts,” dependeth
upon the law, Numb. x. 10, “Also in the day of your glad-
ness, and in your solemn feast days”—or rather days of
assemblies, for the word is the same that I translated so afore
—and in the beginning of your months, you shall blow
with your trumpets over the burnt-offerings, and over the
sacrifice of your peace-offerings, that they may be to you for
a memorial before your God.” Where we see three sorts
of solemnities distinguished: first, “the day of your glad-
ness,” containing solemnities to be celebrated with cheerfulness of heart, that is, feasts: then, “the solemn days of
assemblies,” as the word signifieth, containing besides those,
assemblies for humiliation, as the day of atonement: and
last, “the beginnings of your months,” wherein peculiar sacri-
fices are enjoined, Numb. xxviii. 11. And here it is provided,
that trumpets should be sounded over those sacrifices by the
priests in the tabernacle; but that no assembly is appointed
to be upon them, the difference here made between them and
their days of assemblies, is presumption enough.

§ 2. But in particular, the first and last days of the passover,
and feast of tabernacles—the one whereof was kept for seven
days, the other for eight—were to be solemn assemblies,
which the rest were not, and therefore in the Greek of the
Septuagint are called μεγάλαι ἡμέραι, or great days, to wit,
of those feasts, in comparison of the less. Essay i. 13. “The
new moons and Sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot
away with:” τὰς νομιμὰς ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ σάββατα, καὶ μεγάλην
ἡμέραν. The calling of assemblies is here translated “great
day,” as in the Gospel, John vii. 37, “In the last day, the great
day of that feast.” By which translation, that which is general
in the original, is restrained to the first and last days of those
two festivals. Now the Sabbath was the greatest of all solemn-
nities appointed for assemblies: for they were commanded so
to rest from bodily labour, as not to kindle fire, to dress the
meat they eat upon it: for as in Exod. xvi. 5, 22, 29, God
contesteth that He gave them a double measure of manna the
day before, that they might dress it against the Sabbath: so
we have again Exod. xxxv. 3, “You shall kindle no fire 10
throughout your habitations upon the Sabbath.” The same,
Levit. xxiii. 3, where Abenezra, “in all your habitations, that
is, in your land, and out of your land, at home, and upon the
way.” To teach us, that it was not for the time that they
lived upon manna in the wilderness, that they were forbidden
to kindle fire upon the Sabbath, but through all their habita-
tions, wheresoever they dwelt afterwards. And many have
observed, that in Levit. xxiii. it is not said of any other day
but of the Sabbath, and the day of atonement, “thou shalt do
no work upon it;” but of the other days of assemblies, “thou
shalt do no servile work upon them;” to shew us the difference
between them, that upon the Sabbath and day of atonement
it was prohibited to dress the meat of the day; but upon
other solemnities that was permitted, but to do any work that
men were wont to put their slaves to, was prohibited; which
is the received practice of the Jews, and hath a just ground
in the Scripture, Exod. xii. 16, where, of the first and last
day of the passover, is said, “no manner of work shall be
done in them, save that which every man must eat, that only
may be done,” or dressed, “of you.” Abenezra upon that
place, “/of none of the solemn assemblies, beside
the Sabbath and day of atonement, it is said, no manner 11
of work; only of the passover He saith it, and addeth an
exception of the meat of the soul;” that is, requisite for the
sustenance of nature 6. Here is a strict command of bodily
rest—especially upon the Sabbath, and that particularized—to
concern both Israelites themselves, and their slaves, and those
that sojourn within their gates.

§ 3. But that is very considerable which excellent divines

The moral
service of
God not

* See Epilogue, book iii. chap. 21.
have observed, that in the fourth Commandment, where is so large provision for bodily rest, there the purpose of that rest is only pointed at in general terms, when it is commanded to be "sanctified;" which is likewise done in all their solemnities, when they are called "assemblies;" but there is no mention made of any particular work of the moral service of God, wherewith the Sabbath is commanded to be sanctified, or for performance whereof they are commanded to assemble, unless it be the reading of the law upon the seventh year, commanded Deut. xxxi. 11. So that it seemeth the Jews have reason, when they observe that neither the form, nor time of prayer, is appointed them by the law of Moses, but by the constitutions of their elders, Maimoni of Prayer, cap. i. num. 1, 2. Indeed, that the spiritual service of God, of prayers, and His praises, of hearing the Word, and meditating upon His works, was the thing, for love whereof the Jews were commanded to keep the Sabbath, those miserable people, who in most things are blinded with the letter, and never look under the vail upon Moses' face, have been able always to perceive; as it is to be seen by the sayings of their late and ancient writers.

§ 4. Josephus adv. Appionem ii. a Κάλλιστον καὶ ἀναγκαστατον ἀπέδειξε παιδευμάτων τὸν νόμον, οὐκ εἰσάπαξ ἀκροσαμένους, οὐδὲ διὰ τὴν τρίς, ἀλλ' ἐκάστης ἐβδομάδος, τῶν ἐργῶν ἀφεμένους, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοῦ νόμου ἐκέλευσε συλλέγεσθαι, καὶ τούτων ἀκριβῶς ἐκμαθήσεσθαι. "Moses propounded to the Jews the most excellent and necessary learning of the law; not by hearing it once or twice, but every seventh day, laying aside their works, he commanded them to assemble for the hearing of the law, and thoroughly and exactly to learn it." Philo de vita Mosis iii. b relating the passage of him that gathered wood on the Sabbath, of whom it is said, Numb. xv. 33, "they brought him unto Moses and Aaron, and unto all the congregation;" συλλαβόντες δ' ἀγουσιν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἄρχοντα, ὃς συνήδρευν μὲν ἱερεῖς, παρειστήκει δὲ σύμπασα ἡ πληθὺς πρὸς ἀκρόασιν. "They take him," saith he, "and bring


him to the ruler, with whom sat the priests, all the multitude standing by to hear." He observeth that Moses was then expounding the law, as upon the assembly of the Sabbath; Aaron,—that is, as he expoundeth it,—the priests, sitting on the bench with him, the congregation standing by to hear. The observation he prosecuteth with his reason in these words: 13 Ἐθος γὰρ ἦν, δεὶ μὲν κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον, προηγονομένως δὲ ταῖς ἐβδόμαις, ὡς ἐδήλωσα καὶ πρόσθεν, φιλοσοφεῖν τοῦ μὲν ὅγεμόνον ὕφηγουμένου, καὶ διδάσκοντος αὐτῆς χρή πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, τῶν δὲ εἰς καλοκαιρίαν ἐπιδιδώσων, καὶ βελτιωμένων, τὰ τε ἔθη καὶ τῶν βίων. ἄφι καὶ εἰσέτε νῦν φιλοσοφοῦσι ταῖς ἐβδόμαις Ἰουδαίοι τὴν πάτριον φιλοσοφίαν, τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἀναθέτες ἐπιστήμην, καὶ θεωρεῖ τῶν περὶ φύσιν. τὰ γὰρ κατὰ πόλεως προσευχὴμα, τί ἐπερν ἐστών ἡ διδασκαλεῖα φρονήσεως; "For the custom was, always when occasion gave way, but principally on the seventh days, as I shewed afore, to be exercised in knowledge; the chief going afore and teaching, the rest increasing in goodness, and bettering in life and manners. From whence at this day the Jews study their country learning upon the seventh days, dedicating that time to knowledge, and the contemplation of nature. For the synagogues in cities, what are they but schools of wisdom?" And in his book de Decalogo, he deriveth the employment of the Sabbath in considering the works of God, and calling their own works to account, from that which God did in the beginning, when He saw all that He had made, and behold it was good.

§ 5. Abenezra upon the fourth commandment, Exod. xx. 8, § ἃναίγεται νῦν de. "We see that the year of remission is correspondent to the Sabbath, for it is likewise the seventh of years. And the Lord commanded that they should read the law in the beginning of it, before men, women, and children, expressing the reason, Deut. xxxi. 12, 'That they may hear, and learn, and observe:' and behold, the Sabbath was given to consider the works of God, and to meditate upon His law, as it is written, Ps. xcii. 4, 'For Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through Thy work, I will triumph in the works of Thy hands.'" R. Isaac Abarbinel upon Deut. v. 12, "הויה הנכון שהרגש היה, נקמתו שלמים יבריה, השכינה שבירה, שלמה, הלמה, השכינה ובקלת המโพสต์שה, והוה היה, עלเงינה יבריה, שהListItem שלמים, וכסמה, יבריה, וכתום, שלמים, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסמה, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה, יהוה, וכסmah, יבריה, והוה. 1 Philon. Opp. p. 758. Paris, 1640.
AT RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES.

Besides, part of the benefit of this hallowed day is to give to the blessed God the seventh of the week, to learn the Divine law, and the tradition of the words thereof, the expessions of it, and to mark well the 'niceties' of it: as they say—that is, their ancient Talmud doctors—in the Gemara of the Jerusalem Talmud, 'Sabbaths and feasts were not given, but to learn the law upon them.' And therefore they say in the great Midrash, or allegorical exposition of Exodus, sect. 26, and of Deuteronomy, 'that the Sabbath weigheth against all the Commandments:' as procuring them to be known and observed.

§ 6. A man may justly marvel, seeing the moral intent and purpose of this Commandment was so well known among the learned of this people, how it cometh to pass that the Fathers of the Church charge the Jews so deep for observing the Sabbath with bodily ease and luxurious pastimes. Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes. * "Εκαστός υμῶν σάββαταί δέντρα πνευματικά, μελέτη νόμου χαίρων, οὐ γάματος ἀνέσει, δημοφυγίαι Θεοῦ θαυμάζων, οὐ χώλα ἔσθίων, καὶ χλαρά πίνων, καὶ μεμετρημένα βαδίζων, καὶ ὀρχόσει καὶ κρότους νοῦν οὐκ ἔχουσι χαίρων.

I understand that there is cause to think these words to be none of Ignatius' own, and indeed the passage seemeth to have been crowded in hither out of Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho the Jew, though contrary to his meaning; for it appeared that the Jews of that time gave not leave to drink warmed drink on the Sabbath, by his words there, μη δὲ στὶ θερμῶν πίνουμεν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν δεινόν ἔχεισθε; which notwithstanding, they are ancient enough for this purpose, and in themselves remarkable; if first we observe that the Eastern Christians of ancient time observed the Sabbath in some measure for Divine service, as well as the Lord's day, from whence came afterwads the difference about fasting on the Saturday.

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1 The Eastern Church fasts on Wednesday and Friday, observing the Saturday as a festival. Albaquinus de veter. Eccles. rit. lib. i. obs. 13. p. 23. Paris, 1896, considers that the Western Church had once the same rule, and that when the Roman Church began to fast on Saturday, the Wednesday fast was neglected. The council of Elvira, A.D. 305, introduced the Roman observance into Spain. The British Church seems to have kept the Eastern rule longer, for marriages were forbidden on Wednesdays, excerpt. D. Egbert. Arch. Ebor. 108. A.D. 750.—
For immediately upon these words it followeth, καὶ μετὰ τὸ σαββατισμὸν, ἑορταζέων πᾶς φιλόχριστος τὴν κυριακὴν, "and after he hath kept the Sabbath, let every lover of Christ keep the Lord’s day festival." Thus, then, saith the supposed Ignatius: "Let every one of you keep the Sabbath spiritually, taking pleasure in meditation of the law, not in bodily rest, admiring the workmanship of God, not eating meat dressed the day afore, nor drinking lukewarm drinks, and walking by measure, and taking pleasure in dancing and senseless noises."

§ 7. St. Augustine in Joan. Tract. iii. — *Observa diem Sabbati, magis nobis precipitur, quia spiritualiter observandum praecipitur. Judei enim serviliter observant diem Sabbati, ad luxuriam, ad ebrietatum. Quantò meliùs fœminæ eorum lanam facerent, quàm illo die in Menianis saltarent?* "Keep the Sabbath, is commanded us more, because it is commanded us spiritually to be observed. For the Jews keep the Sabbath day slavishly, for luxury, for drunkenness; how much better had their women spin wool on that day, than dance in the porticoes!" And in Psalm xci.: *Ecce et hodiernus dies Sabbati est: hunc, in præsenti tempore, oti quodam corporaliter languido, et fluxo, et luxurioso, observant Judei: vacant enim ad nugas, et cùm Deus præceperit Sabbatum, illi, in his quæ Deus prohibet, exercent Sabbatum. Vacatio nostra à malis operibus, vacatio illorum à bonis operibus est: meliûs est enim arare quàm saltare. Illi ab opere bona vacant, ab opere nugatorio non vacant."

"Behold this is also a day of Sabbath, which the Jews at this present keep with a kind of bodily, languishing, dissolute, and luxurious ease: for they are at leisure for toys. And whereas God commandeth to keep the Sabbath, they spend the Sabbath in that which God forbiddeth. Our being at leisure is from bad works, theirs from good works; for it is better to plough than to dance. They are at leisure from doing good, from trifling business they are not at leisure."

§ 8. He that readeth this and the like that might be produced hath cause to marvel that the practice of that people should be so wide of the profession of their doctors: but that there

Wilkins, Concil. tom. i. p. 107. In the year 1078, a council at Rome under Gregory VII. enjoints the Saturday fast anew, and from the words of the canon salubriter admonemus, it seems that great neglect had prevailed, and that it was considered difficult to restore the rule. —Labbe, tom. xii. col. 621. ed. Venet. 


is great cause to think,—whereas bodily rest is expressly commanded, the spiritual and moral employment of it but intimated in the commandment, and by the learned collected from thence, and from other Scriptures, by consequence of discourse,—that the people apprehended that more, which was open, as being for their ease, neglecting that which was collected, as not so pleasant. And therefore unless we be wilful in refusing the truth, it cannot be denied that the dispensation of that time prevaileth in this, as well as in other particulars. For though no man doubteth that the ancient people of God were led by the promises of the kingdom of heaven, and life everlasting; yet are those promises, in the law of Moses, conveyed and recommended to them under the figure of paradise, of the land of promise, and the fruits of it. Mihi in evangelio promittuntur regna caelorum, quae instrumentum vetus omnino non nominat, saith St. Jerome, Epist. 129. "To me is the kingdom of heaven promised in the Gospel, which the Old Testament doth not so much as name." S. Augustine cont. Faustum, xix. 31. Testimonii vitae aeternae et resurrectionis mortuorum abundat illa Scriptura, sed hoc nomen, id est, 18 Regnum caelorum, de nullo inde loco mihi occurrat, hoc enim propriet pertinet ad revelationem Novi Testamenti. "The old Scriptures are full of testimonies of life everlasting, and the resurrection of the dead; but the name of the kingdom of heaven I meet with in no place of it, for it properly belongeth to the revealing of the New Testament. Again, Mortem innuit secundam, cum diceret 'Adam, ubi es?' sed de ea nihil dixisse credendum est, propter dispensationem Novi Testamenti, ubi mors secunda apertissimè declaratur: "God intimateth the second death," saith he, "when He saith, 'Adam, where art thou?' but it is to be thought that He expressed nothing of it, because of the dispensation of the New Testament, where the second death is most manifestly declared." Others might be produced to the same purpose.

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§ 9. The reason is the same in the matter of sacrifices—for which we know what particular order is taken in the law of Moses—and yet are not the prophets afraid to say that God gave no command for them. Psalm xl. 6, "Sacrifice and offering Thou didst not desire;" Jerem. vii. 22, "I spake not to your fathers, nor commanded them, in the day when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices." And all this according to the tenor of the law, which commanded a ceremonial service, as the figure of that worship which God requireth in spirit and truth. Thus standeth the matter in our present business: for if the Sabbath be a figure,—as the Scripture declareth, and the Jews themselves acknowledge,—then the observation of it commanded must needs be figurative. Which is no more than the Apostle proveth in the fourth to the Hebrews, that the rest which they observed the Sabbath with, was the figure of that rest which remaineth to the people of God. Therefore it pleased God, in this point also, to observe that dispensation of the Old Testament which He had set on foot in other particulars: taking order at large, that the Sabbath should be celebrated with bodily rest, but that service of God in spirit and truth, which is proper to the dispensation of the New Testament, as it is greatest in esteem, so is it least in appearance of the commandment which God gave for the purpose.

§ 10. To the same purpose, as hitherto it hath been observed, that the law hath specified no particular work of the moral service of God, with which it commandeth the Sabbath to be sanctified, or for which it appointeth assemblies: so must we further observe in this place, that it neither provideth for places, wherein it might be exercised by the body of that people, nor taketh order by whom it should be ministered in such places, but hath left us to collect by circumstance and the traces of their ancient practice remembered in the Scriptures, that it was administered by the prophets, as prophets, rather than by the priests and Levites, as priests and Levites, as well in synagogues as in the temple, or at the tabernacle. The command of assemblies, Levit. xxiii., might well be prescribed in the law of Moses, with a particular effect, in respect of that time that the whole congregation of that people lived together in the wilderness of Arabia. Then and there it is
easy to conceive how they were assembled to celebrate those solemnities, that is, at the tabernacle, or round about it, which the Jews call the camp of Levi. But when they were settled in the land of promise, we see what the law requireth: Deut. xvi. 16, "Three times in a year shall all thy males appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which He shall choose." This is the extent of the law, thrice a year to resort to the tabernacle, and that none but males; and therefore the question will remain, how the body of that people assembled themselves through the year—it being a thing manifest that the greatest part could not resort to the tabernacle,—and those houses of prayer which afterwards were called synagogues, whereof Philo speaketh in the words alleged, not yet erected through the country, as shall appear by the dark traces of the beginning of them, which we shall find by and by in the Scriptures, during the time of Solomon's temple. So that the words of Philo and Josephus alleged before, wherein they tell us that Moses commanded that people to assemble every seventh day, to learn the law, that it was their custom so to do, and that the chief taught at those assemblies, and the rest learned to live according to that which was taught, must be understood with these limitations, that it was collected from the letter of the law of Moses, and preserved in the practice of that people, at such times and places as afforded means of religious assemblies for such purpose. In fine, it will appear that the law of Moses, according to the dispensation of that time, intended to be most express in the figurative ceremonial service peculiar to that people, by the ministries of priests and Levites, so particularly appointed in it for that kind of service.

§ 11. And yet, so little provision as we find in the law for the office of prophets, and children of the prophets, that is, their disciples, these were the men nevertheless that ministered the moral service of God, of prayers, and the praises of God, and the exposition of the law, at their religious assemblies; a thing that may sound strange to them that find the charge of teaching the law laid upon the priests and Levites from the beginning, in divers passages of it. But if we view those passages at a near distance, it will appear that they speak not of 'teaching' the law at any religious assemblies for such
purpose, but of deciding cases emergent, or giving judgment in causes arising upon it. Deut. xxiv. 8, "Take heed in the plague of leprosy, that thou observe diligently, and do according to all that the priests the Levites shall teach you: as I commanded them, so shall ye observe to do." In Leviticus there is much provided concerning the priests proceeding in judging leprosies, but that the people should stand to their judgment provision is not made. Here is declared that in those cases they did not resort to the priests as to physicians, to follow their sentence so far as their own respect should advise, but that their sentence, called here 'teaching,' had the force of binding them to stand to it. 2 Chron. xvii. 7, Josaphat in the third year of his reign sent his princes "to teach in the cities of Judah, and with them he sent Levites and priests." R. Solomon Jarchi there: יָנ עַל הָוָה וּוּ נֶז, "For it lay upon the priests and Levites to teach and instruct, as it is written, Deut. xxiv. 8, 'According to all that the priests and Levites shall teach.' And the princes went with them, that none might disobey them, and to constrain them to hear them, and observe to do according to the command of the judges, like that Deut. xvi. 18, 'Judges and officers shalt 23 thou make thee: judges to judge the people, and officers to constrain them to do the command of the judges'"

§ 12. This teaching then consisted in declaring the obligation of the law by the judges of it, the priests and Levites, and the princes were officers with power to enforce the execution of it. Mal. ii. 7, "The priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and the law they should require at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts." In the Chaldee of Jonathan⁹, אַלּ וְלָכֵּם וָה וֹ וְלֹ, "because he ministereth before the Lord of Hosts." From which translation some of the Jews expound this reason thus: "You shall have recourse to the priest to determine matters doubtful in the law, for, standing to minister before the Lord in the temple, he is always ready for such purposes." R. Isaac Abarbanel upon Deut. xvii. 9. But however this prove, if we consider what followeth there, ver. 9, "You have been partial in the law," we shall find the gloss of David Kimchi to be most true,

AT RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES.

"You accept the persons of great men in matter of the law, which saith, Levit. xxii. 22, 'Ye shall not offer these unto the Lord:' and when they bring an offering with a stain, you are afraid to reprove them, and tell them, this offering is not allowable." So that the intent of this text also pointed at the deciding of difficulties emergent about the law of Moses. Levit. x. 9, where the priests are forbidden to drink wine, during the time of their service, there followeth a further reason, ver. 10, 11, "And that you may put difference between holy and unholy, and between unclean and clean: and that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses." To resolve where the law took hold or not in particular cases of that nature, is "to divide between unholy and holy, between clean and unclean;" therefore we have cause to think that the general which followeth, of 'teaching' all statutes, is commanded to the same purpose, in matters of other nature. And that of Deut. xxxiii. 10, "They shall teach Jacob Thy statutes, and Israel Thy law," Abarbinel expoundeth to the same effect. For he observeth that it goeth before thus, "Who saith unto his father and to his mother, I have not seen him; neither doth he acknowledge his brethren, nor know his own children:" as the reason of that which followeth, "They shall teach Jacob Thy statutes, and Israel Thy law." Because they take no notice of their dearest relations in judgment, therefore "they shall teach Jacob Thy statutes, and Israel Thy law," by deciding the controversies of it. And all this because the original word בָּשָׂר is proper to signify instruction by way of precept, from whence the law is called בָּשָׂר, and the declaration of the obligation or not obligation of it is, in the language of their doctors, called תַּאֲבֶרֶת. Neither is it material, though some of these Scriptures be otherwise understood. For my purpose is not to say that the people was not taught at all by the priests and Levites at religious assemblies, but not as such. It is for divers reasons to be believed, that the most part of prophets, and disciples of prophets, were priests and Levites. They were free from the care of estates and inheritances: they were the men that came nearest to God by their office in His ceremonial service, which an extraordinary degree of the
knowledge and fear of God best suited with: but it is as certain that the charge of teaching the people belonged as well to the prophets that were not priests and Levites.

§ 13. "The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair," saith our Lord in the Gospel; which is very well expounded in the words of Philo alleged afore; for he telleth us that it was the custom, from the time of Moses, for the chief to teach, and the people to learn to live as he taught. Then the chair of Moses is the chair of doctrine as well as of judgment, and Moses the chief of doctors as well as of judges. But it is well known what the Lord said unto Moses, Numb. xi. 16, 17, "Gather unto Me seventy men of the elders of Israel, whom thou knowest to be elders of the people, and officers over them, and I will take of the spirit that is upon thee, and put it upon them." These that were known to be elders of Israel in their several tribes, or their officers in Egypt, as we read, Exod. iv. 29, v. 19, are chosen to receive their share of Moses' spirit: whereupon it followeth, ver. 25, "And it came to pass that when the spirit rested upon them, they prophesied and ceased not." The Jews' doctors seem to apprehend the nature of the gift which these men received, not amiss. Moses Maimoni in More Nebuchim. ii. 45. Abarbinel upon the place. They tell us that the meanest degree of God's Spirit was that whereby men found themselves moved and enabled to those works of wisdom and courage which otherwise they thought not themselves fit to undertake, with assurance that all was from above. This is the grace, say they, which the Judges received, when it is said, "The Spirit of God invested Gideon," or "came upon Sampson," for example. The second is, when men are moved to speak of things belonging to the knowledge of God, and His praises, beyond their natural or habituated capacities, without seeing any figures, asleep or awake, but with assurance that it was from God. And this they make to be the grace of them which writ those parts of Scripture which the Jews call הנבואה, ecclesiastical writers ἀγγέλουπδα, that is, "written by the Holy Ghost," which nevertheless in a large sense are called Prophets: and in these two degrees, they say, consisted the condition of Saul, that was endued

* Page 316 of the Latin version of Buxtorf. Basil, 1629.
with the Holy Ghost, to enable him for government, so as sometimes he arrived at the rank of a prophet. And thus these elders received of the spirit of Moses, for the government of the people with him, in such measure, that they attained also to be prophets.

§ 14. It is the constant tradition of that people that the knowledge of the law was delivered by Moses, and this consistory of elders, to succeeding ages. Which if it go no further, is no more than reason for us to believe, though they have built all the fooleries of their unwritten law upon it. If Moses were the chief of doctors, those of Moses' bench must needs in their degree be the like. The Lord promiseth to His people a successor to Moses in this grace, Deut. xviii. 15, "A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you of your brethren like unto me, him shall you hear": which the New Testament veriseth in our Lord Christ, Acts vii. 37, and elsewhere. But if this promise be partly verified for the time, in those prophets which God raised up from age to age after Moses, for further knowledge of the law which He gave,—as the promise of a Saviour, was, for the time, in part verified in their judges and kings, by whom God delivered His people from their enemies, as some will have it,—then is the charge of hearing those prophets but the relative of their charge in teaching the people. In the time of Samuel we read of certain colleges of prophets, and disciples of prophets, such as was that 1 Sam. x. 5, where Saul and his servant met a company of prophets; and such as was that 1 Sam. xix. 18—20, at Nainoth in Ramah, where David abode with Samuel: and where Saul's messenger saw the "company of prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them." This Nainoth in Ramah is here translated by Jonathan the Chaldee paraphrast, דעיה אלפלסא הרמהנה, "the house of learning in Ramah:" and Samuel stood over them "as their master to teach them," as he rendereth it. It is the place where Samuel was born and dwelt, called in the beginning of that book, Ramathaim Zophim, in the Greek Ἀρμαθαίς, and is the same with Joseph's town of Arimathæa in the Gospel. By the word it should seem it was compounded of two towns, in the one whereof was

* The words are cited rather from Acts vii. 37, than from Deuteronomy.
High places to what purpose.

Chapter 11.

Naioth, the residence of those that studied the law there under Samuel: whereupon Jonathan translateth it there, "Ramah of the disciples of the prophets."

§ 15. It is here very much to be observed that they were forbidden by the law to offer sacrifice but before the ark, in the place which the Lord shall choose." Nevertheless, while this choice of God stood suspended, and while the house at Shiloh was desolate,—from the time that the ark was taken by the Philistines, till it was settled again at Jerusalem,—high places were licensed as the Jews speak, that is, it was lawful to offer sacrifices where the ark was not. Such are these whereof we now speak, 1 Sam. ix. 12, x. 5, where Jonathan translateth it הַחַגִּי, "the house of feasting," because having offered their peace-offerings, the use was, to feast upon the remains of them, as you find it there. In fine, the people assembling to such places to offer their sacrifices, and to celebrate their solemnities, and the prophets having their residence there, what doubt can be made but that all this must be for the purpose of preaching to the people, as they assembled there, or ministering what else may appear to belong to their office.

§ 16. And this is well apprehended by men of learning to be the beginning of synagogues and schools among that people. For when the ark was settled, and it was become unlawful to offer sacrifices in the high places, to assemble for public prayers, and the praises of God, and learning the law, was no inconvenience.

§ 17. The like is to be said of those abodes of prophets, at Bethel, and Jericho, 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, the like whereof were in other cities, saith D. Kimchi upon that place: and that in 2 Kings vi. 1, where we may observe Elisha to be master, as Samuel in that of Naioth afore. The like we may conceive of that, 2 Kings xxii. 14, where Huldah the prophetess is said to dwell, יִשָּׁנָה, which Jonathan translateth as afore, "the house of learning," our English, "the college." R. David Kimchi there, "Our doctors of blessed memory say that three prophesied in the days of Josiah, Jeremiah in the streets or villages, Zephaniah in the synagogues, and

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1 Deuteron. xii. 5—15.  
2 See Dodwell's Discourse of the one Priesthood and one Altar, chap. iii. sect. 3—6.
Huldah among the women." Solomon Jarchi upon Esay Chap. i. 21, "It was full of judgment, righteousness lodged in it," "And we find in Pesikta thus: 'R. Menahem son of R. Hosia saith there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem, according to the number of the word נן in Gematria,'" that is, counting the number which the letters of it make. As who should say, that it was irregular on purpose, to put them in mind how many synagogues were in Jerusalem when the prophet spake this. And that so many there were in it under the second temple, is oft reported among them, and may pass for historical truth: but to find this out of the prophet in his time, is one of the crotchets which these men's brains are always teeming with.

§ 18. In fine, if there be any express remembrance of synagogues, under Solomon's temple, in the Scripture, I suppose it must be that, Psalm lxxiv. 8, "They have burnt up all the synagogues of God in the land," and afore, ver. 4, "Thine enemies roar in the midst of Thy congregations," which is more than can be understood of the temple alone, or the several buildings of it. Only the doubt is, to what time the meaning of this Psalm is to be related, and when it might be penned, because Junius hath been bold to refer it to Antiochus Epiphanes' time. But the constant tradition of the Jews seemeth to have obtained the credit of historical truth that the Scripture was signed in Ezra's time: and the end of Malachi—whom the Jews will have to be Ezra—seemeth to speak no less, iv. 4, 5, sounding like the passage from the Old to the New Testament: reflecting upon the Old, when he biddeth them "remember the law of Moses," and pointing at the New, when he promiseth the "sending of Elias before the day of the Lord came." Besides, it is against the truth of history, that the temple was destroyed in Antiochus Epiphanes' time, which not only this Psalm, but divers of the same title import, lxxix. 1, "O God, the heathen are come into Thine inheritance, Thine holy temple

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* Videtur autem hanc odem Ecclesia Deo recti, quae tempore Antiochus Epiphanes populum Dei du-
have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones."

Upon the title of this Psalm, which is, "A Psalm of Asaph," the Chaldee descanteth thus: "A song, by the hands of Asaph, upon the desolation of the sanctuary, by the spirit of prophecy he said, lxxx. 13, 'The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast of the field doth devour it.'"

§ 19. Therefore I observe much, what we read after the seventy-second Psalm; "Here end the prayers of David the son of Jesse;" and yet you shall find not a few under David's name afterwards. Which seemeth to argue the first to have been a several collection of David's Psalms by themselves: besides which nevertheless were found others of his, which with the rest, belonging to other names, as Moses, Asaph, Heman, and others, make up the collection that followeth. The case is not much unlike in the book of Proverbs. Two titles of Solomon's Proverbs, chap. i. and x., argue two several collections. Chap. xxv. there beginneth a third collection of them, with this title, "These are also Proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah king of Judah copied out." But that this collection lasteth to the end of the book, meeting with a title so disputable, chap. xxx., who shall assure us? Since then after the seventy-second Psalm, where we read, "Here end the prayers of David son of Jesse," there follow a considerable number under the name of Asaph, why should we doubt him to be [the] writer of them, more than David of his? or that he, that was a prophet, as shall be said, foresaw in them the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar and the Chaldeans? If there can yet be question who penned the Psalm, it is quite extinguished by the text of 2 Chron. xxix. 30, where Hezekiah commandeth the Levites to praise God "in the words of David and Asaph:" and therefore the Scripture speaketh of synagogues during Solomon's temple: but with such obscure remembrance, that it cannot be thought they could afford the body of that people means to assemble for the service of God.

§ 20. One doubt there is yet behind, as concerning this grace: to what purpose the disciples of the prophets studied for that grace which was only in the power of the Holy Ghost to bestow, being far from us to believe, as some Mahometan philosophers are said to do, that it is to be
compassed with human endeavours: which if they aimed not towards that purpose, why then are they called sons, that is, disciples, of the prophets, as the Chaldee of Jonathan always translateth it? why do we see, that for the most part, in Scripture, those persons that were brought up to it, were indue with the grace? It was in the power of God, no doubt, to bestow it where He pleased: nevertheless, so it was found, that for the most part He did bestow it, where men's manners were suitable, where men's courses were applied to it:—to say nothing here of those dispositions of nature and fortune which the Hebrew doctors require. This is to be seen in the place alleged, 1 Sam. x. 11. And the proverb that did rise upon Saul's prophesying, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" For had it not been unusual that persons never bred to any such course, should be invested with the Spirit on the sudden, it had not been so great a marvel as to cause and occasion the proverb: on the other side, to shew how it cometh to pass, it followeth there, "And one of the same place answered and said, But who is their father?" to say, that seeing these children of the prophets, that is, disciples, had God to their father, to teach them by His Spirit, it was no marvel to see a man grown a prophet without help of other masters. Which is the case that Amos expresseth, vii. 14, 15, "I was no prophet, nor prophet's son, but an herdsman, and gatherer of sycamore fruit. And the Lord took me, as I followed the flock, and the Lord said unto me, Go, prophesy unto My people Israel."

§ 21. Now the study that disposed men to this grace was, without doubt, that of the law of Moses: in that all conversed, and spent their time, that pretended; though some attained the gift of God's grace, others stayed at that knowledge which by human endeavours they could compass: whereupon that which is called in the places of Samuel aforesaid "a company of prophets," is by Jonathan translated in the Chaldee תְמֻנָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל, "a pack of scribes." A difference remarkable in that translation, which it maketh in rendering the word "prophets:" for when he conceiveth the speech is of such as had the grace, he translateth it נביאים, "prophets:" when he extendeth it to those that did but pretend, he termeth it divers times, "scribes" and "doctors." Jer. xxvi. 16,
CHAP. II. "Then said the princes and all the people unto the priests, and to the prophets:" Jon. נַעֲלוֹת, "to the scribes." Jer. xxix. 1, "These are the words of the letter that Jeremiah the prophet sent from Jerusalem unto the priests, and to the prophets:" Jon. מְדוּרָי, "to the scribes." And again, ver. 15, "Because ye have said the Lord hath raised us up prophets in Babylon:" Jon. יִשְׁלְמָה, "doctors." When the Scripture speaketh plainly of false prophets, then he is wont to add in translating, "'false' prophets." This we shall see to be the beginning of those that are called "scribes" in the Gospel, which among the Jews are called "wise men" otherwise, when the grace of prophecy had ceased among that people.

§ 22. And to this purpose it is worth the noting which R. Moses Maimon, among others of their doctors, delivereth of Baruch the scribe, the son of Neriah, in More Nebochim ii. 32, that his complaint, specified Jer. xlv. 3, "Wo is me now, for the Lord hath added grief to my sorrow, I fainted in my mourning, and find no rest," was upon this occasion, that having run his best course, under Jeremy, for the purpose, the Lord in the end refused him the grace of a prophet, which he aimed at. For sure the answer the Lord giveth is very suitable: as it followeth, "Behold, that which I have built will I pull down, and that which I have planted will I pluck up, even this whole land, and seekest thou great things for thyself?" To say, that in the time of public wrath, it was more fit for him to seek deliverance than eminence; which is his reward, as it followeth, "Behold, I will bring evil upon all flesh, saith the Lord, but thy life will I give unto thee for a prey, in all places whither thou goest." Now it is to be observed, that the original word, which we translate "prophesying," is of so large a meaning, that it containeth whatsoever that grace enableth, or that office requireth a man to do. For, how is it said, Ecclus. xlviii. 13, that Elizeus's body "prophesied," because of the miracle wrought by his bones after his death, but because it was always expected at prophets' hands to do miracles? as our Lord is called "a prophet mighty in word and deed," Luke xxiv. 19. It is then no marvel that prophets should be inspired by the Holy Ghost to set forth the praises of God, or that their ministry should be required in that work. 1 Sam. x. 10, we read of
Saul and his servant; 1 Sam. xix. 20, we read of his messengers, thus; “And Saul sent messengers to take David: and when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the Spirit of the Lord was upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied.” In the Greek, that which is in the Hebrew, “a band of prophets,” or “a congregation of prophets,” is rendered χορὸς προφητῶν, and ἐκκλησία, and prophesying is by Jonathan turned μητριότης, that is, “praising or singing:” they found them singing the praises of God, under Samuel, master of the choir, and they, when it came to their turn, sung that which they were inspired with: as the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 26, “When you come together, every one of you hath a psalm.” Thus Exod. xv. 20, “Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel in her hand, and all the women went out after her with timbrels and dances, and she answered them saying:” in the Greek it is καὶ ἔξηρξεν αὐτῶν, “she led them the song, which she had composed,” as being a prophetess: or she sung that which Moses had composed by the Holy Ghost afore; for her beginning is, “Sing unto the Lord, for He hath triumphed gloriously, the horse and his rider hath He cast into the sea:” which is that of Moses. Again we read, 1 Chron. xxv. 1, “Moreover, David and the captains of the host, separated to the service of the sons of Asaph, and of Heman, and of Iduthun, who should prophesy, with harps, with psalteries, and with cymbals;” and ver. 5, “All these were the sons of Heman, the king’s seer, in the words of God, to lift up the horn.” In the first place, the Greek hath it ἀποφθεγμένου, “speaking,” that is, “the praise of God;” in the other, οἱ ἀνακρονώμενοι τῷ Κυρίῳ, “that struck up to the Lord.”

§ 23. But there must be a reason why the praises of God are called “prophesying,” and “seers,” that send them forth. And what is that but this, because the Spirit of God indited psalms to the heads mentioned here, with whom the rest joined in singing them to the Lord? R. David Kimchi there, וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וַעֲקַרְבָּן, “the sons of Asaph played upon instruments, and sang, and the Holy Spirit rested upon Asaph, and he sung with his

lish version, “the king’s seer in the words of God, to lift up the horn.”
CHAP. voice to the noise of the harps. So Heman and Iduthun were all prophets with instruments of song: for the book of Psalms was written by the Holy Ghost, and there are in it prophecies of the captivity and deliverance.” Here you see that Asaph and the rest were prophets inspired by the Holy Ghost, so that it can be no marvel to find prophecies under their name in the Psalms, as was said: besides, their children also and scholars are said to “prophesy” in singing the praises of God which they were inspired with. A thing to be observed towards that which shall follow.

§ 24. Further, that prophets instructed people in the law, at their assemblies for that purpose, in the temple or elsewhere, there is enough to argue out of Scripture. Abenezra upon Exod. xx. 8, וְהָגְדִיקָם, “And it was the fashion of the Israelites, close upon the Sabbath, to go unto the prophets: as it is said, 2 Kings iv. 23, ‘Wherefore wilt thou go to him to-day? It is neither new moon nor sabbath.’” R. Levi ben Gerson upon that place, וְהָגְדִיקָם, “It seemeth that in those days they used to go before the great (wise) men, and they instructed them in the way they should go, and the things they should do.” Neither is this exposition the apprehension of these later doctors: Menasseh ben Israel, the now Rabbi at Amsterdam, hath quoted it to us from the Talmudists: Gem. Succoth, cap. 2. Concil. in Exod. quæst. 35. To the same purpose belongeth that of the Talmudists alleged from David Kimchi, that Jeremiah prophesied in the villages, Zephaniah in the synagogues, and Huldah amongst the women. The same D. Kimchi upon 2 Kings ii. 3, telleth us that the reason and purpose of those colleges of prophets there remembered, was to reprove the Israelites through those cities. In Psalm lxxiii. 16, 17, “When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me; until I went into the sanctuary of God; then 40 understood I their end.” Abenezra there, וּלְמַהְסָרְשׁתָא לְאֵל וַי, “and the meaning of the sanctuary of God is, because there were the priests of account, and the wise men of Israel, and they revealed this secret.” And Eccles. v. 1, “Keep thy foot when thou goest to the house of God, and be more ready to hear, than to give the sacrifice of fools: for they consider not

* Menasseh Ben Israel, Conciliator, sive de convenientia locorum S. Scrip- ture seu confusione inter se videntur. p. 149. Amstelodam. 1633.
that they do evil.” The Chaldee paraphrase thus descanteth upon these words, וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּרֹעֶה יָדּוֹ, “Thou son of man, keep thy feet when thou goest into the sanctuary of God to pray, that thou goest not thither full of sins before thou dost repent; and apply thine ear to receive instruction of the law from the priests and wise men: and be not as fools that offer sacrifice upon their sins, and repent not of their evil works, that stick in their hands, and it is not accepted; neither know they how to do good or evil about them.”

§ 25. Here you have the meaning of these Scriptures expressed, by conjecture, taken from the practice of after times better known: but “wise men” joined here with priests, are they which Jonathan called “scribes” afore, as shall be said, and such priests they were that did this office. It is to be believed that it was no less the office of prophets to conceive prayers in behalf of the congregation at their assemblies, though we find no such express conjecture in Scriptures of the Old Testament. When people resorted to the prophets, when they taught them the law, as was said, shall we believe they had not public prayers at those assemblies? or shall we believe that it was not ministered by the prophet to whom they resorted? especially seeing that it appeareth many ways, that it was the office of prophets to pray for the necessities of the people, as men most familiar with God, and so most like to prevail. And the prophets of Baal, 1 Kings xviii. 26, “called upon the name of Baal from morning till noon,” which in ver. 29 is thus said: “And it came to pass when mid-day was past, and they prophesied till the offering of the evening sacrifice.” Here their prayers to their God are called “prophesying,” as a part of the prophet’s office, which Elias doth afterwards. And Samuel, 1 Sam. xii. 23, “As for me, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord in ceasing to pray for you: but I will teach you the good and the right way.” Joining together the parts of his office, teaching and praying. Last, the king of Israel, 2 Kings vi. 31, “God do so and more also to me, if the head of Elisha the son of Shaphat shall stand on him this day;” as he whose office it was to remove the wrath of God by his prayers, and did not. If these consequences seem not to speak home to the ministering of the service of God by prayer at their religious
assemblies, compare that which hath been said with that which followeth, concerning the prophets of the New Testament, and the things that have been said will no doubt appear unquestionable.

CHAPTER III.

THE PROFESSION OF SCRIBES, THAT SUCCEEDED THE PROPHETS. WISE MEN OF THE JEWS WERE THE LEARNED SORT OF SCRIBES. SCRIBES OF ALL THE THREE SECTS. THEY TAUGHT IN SYNAGOGUES. WHO WERE LAWYERS, WHO SAT IN THEIR COURTS. AND OF THEIR DISCIPLES. THE MANNER OF THEIR SITTING IN SCHOOLS AND SYNAGOGUES. HOW THEY SAT IN FEASTING. OF THE ELDERS OF SYNAGOGUES. WHO AMONG THEM RECEIVED IMPOSITION OF HANDS.

That the chief, if not the only knowledge, to which men of learning were bred among the people of God from the beginning, was that of the law, and afterwards of the other Scriptures, the name of “scribes” is evidence enough: whose profession Epiphanius thus describeth; Ὅλ τινες ἦσαν δευτεροταῖον τοῦ νόμου, ὡς γραμματικὸν των ἐπιστήμην ὑφηγούμενοι, τὰ ἄλλα πράττοντες τῶν Ἰουδαίων. “These,” saith he, “were men that repeated the law, teaching a kind of grammatical knowledge: in other things practising the fashions of the Jews.” And Abarbinel in the words alleged afore, hath expressed three particulars concerning the law, wherein the Jews were instructed upon the Sabbaths: מַשָּׁרְשִׁים וּרְבָּרוֹת וּבְרָחָה. The first concerneth no more than the very words, and the ordinary reading of them, as it was delivered, and as the people received it: and by this continual hearing the law, the people came to be so cunning in it, as Josephus professeth, in the place afore named: Ημῶν δὲ ὄντων εἰ τις ἔρωτο τοὺς νόμους, ἢ μον ἢ εἴπο ταῦτα, ἢ τούμορα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ, τοιγαροῦν ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης εὐθὺς αἰσθήσεως αὐτοῦ εἰκονιζόντες, ἔχομεν εὖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὁστέρον ἐγκεφαλάζωνον. “But if a man ask any of us concerning the laws, he will tell every thing reader than his own name: for learning them straight as soon as we come to knowledge, we keep them im-

a Lib. i. contra Scribas, p. 32. ed.  b Chap. ii. sect. 5.  c Chap. ii. sect. 4.
printed in our minds.” The third thing, which he calleth intent, concerneth the grammatical niceties in reading the words of the law, the knowledge whereof Epiphanius saith the scribes did profess.

§ 2. This is the reason that it is recorded for the commendation of Esdras, Esd. vii. 6, “that he was a ready scribe in the law of Moses.” As in the third book of Ezra, chap. viii. [19] for the same cause he is called ἀναγνώστης τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Θεοῦ, “a reader in the law of God,” who is called a “scribe of the law of God” elsewhere. And that is the reason of the language which our Lord useth to the scribe, “What is written in the law? How readest thou?” Luke x. 26. For as it is true that the vowels, which the letters must be sounded with, are not distinguished in the substance of that language, so it is most certain, that the way of reading was not at the first delivered to that people, in that method of general rules which since hath been invented, but was taught and received by particular tradition, and continued by remembrance and practice. Whereupon it is evident what difference of sounds may be fastened upon the same characters of letters, if it be but from that most ancient translation of the Bible in Greek, commonly ascribed to seventy elders of Israel. The substance whereof still remaining—whatsoever alterations may have been made—is sufficient to shew how much difference there was between the reading which they followed, and that which we now use.

And by consequence, how much it concerned the true meaning of the law to have learned the true reading of it, which the Jews, whose reading we follow, pretend to have received from Esdras, and the men of learning in his time, whom they call “the men of the grand synagogue.” But the endless niceties and curious observances wherewith the reading, which we now deservedly use, is delivered unto us, is sufficient to demonstrate that which I was saying afore, that from the beginning, the certain manner of reading was delivered by particular observance, and in time became reduced unto that general method which now we use with such unspeakable speed and advantage.

4 1 Esdras viii. 12, 21. See the two concluding chapters of Thorndike.

the first book of the Epilogue.
§ 3. Thus, all that made profession of book-learning among that people are called "scribes," though it seemeth some that enjoyed the style went no further than writing and reading. And such as these they were that taught little children afterwards among the Jews, of whose office we find rules in Maimoni, *Talmud Torah*, cap. ii. And the Jewish doctors imagine that Jacob prophesied that most of these should be of the tribe of Simeon, when he said, Gen. xlix. 7, "I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel." And the Commentaries under St. Ambrose's name expound the office of those doctors of whom St. Paul speaketh, 1 Cor. xii. 28, in these words, *Illos dicit doctores, qui in ecclesia litteris et lectionibus retinendis pueros imuebant, more synagogue, quia traditio illorum ad nos transitum fecit*: "He speaketh of those teachers in the Church which instructed children in reading and retaining their lessons, after the fashion of the synagogue, for their tradition hath passed over to us." How well he hath deciphered the office of doctors in the Apostle we shall see afterwards; but that which he saith of the fashion of teaching children to read, and say over lessons of the Scripture, which the Church learned from the synagogue, is that business of less learned scribes whereof we speak. For there was a further degree of knowledge, consisting in the exposition of the law, which is the third particular remaining, expressed in Abarbinel's words, in the second place; and those which came to this pitch, as they were still scribes, which is the name common to all men of learning among that people, so they were counted "wise men" besides, in regard of the knowledge of the law they professed, which was the wisdom of that people, according to Deut. iv. 6.

§ 4. Thus you shall find scribes and wise men joined together in the New Testament: Matt. xxiii. 34, "Behold I send unto you prophets, and wise men, and scribes:" and 1 Cor. i. 20, "Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputers of this world?" And for this cause it is that the disciples of the prophets are translated "scribes" in Jonathan, as was said afore: and the same are the "wise men" which

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taught the law of God in the temple: which we also read of
Ezra the scribe, vii. 10, "For Ezra had prepared his heart to
seek the law of the Lord, and to do, and to teach in Israel
statutes and judgments." Whether they were priests and
Levites, or whether they were others, that were bred from
their youth to the knowledge of the law and Scriptures, these
were the men, and no other but these, that were indifferently
assumed to sit in all courts of judgment of that people, and to
teach in their schools and synagogues. You heard afore
some slight remembrance of places of learning, where compa-
nies of prophets had their residence,—some suspicion of syna-
gogues, where that people assembled, not for that ceremonial
worship which was confined to the temple, but for the moral
and spiritual service of God, according to the light of that
time, during the time of Solomon's temple. But after the
return from Babylon, schools and synagogues, for certain,
were multiplied all over the country, and the effect of it was,
without doubt, of unspeakable benefit.

§ 5. Men of learning have thought it strange, and inquired
what the reason might be, that this people, before their cap-
tivity, when they had the prophets to teach and admonish
them, still from time to time should fall away from God to
the worship of idols: whereas after their return, though there
were no more prophets, nor miracles wrought, nevertheless
they continued constant in the service of one God, however
the service and knowledge of Him were corrupted. To my un-
derstanding this one reason goeth far in giving account of it;
because where assemblies were held,—where the law was read
and taught,—where the service of God was exercised, that is,
where there were synagogues, there was the most powerful
means to hold them constant to that which they professed.

§ 6. But on the other side, we see what a great evil sprung
among them instead of it, diversities of opinions, sects and
divisions, among them which held all constant to one law,
whereof the learned professed the knowledge. The chief
whereof were those of the Sadducees and Pharisees which the
Gospel remembereth; and which are remembered here, to
shew that they took not upon them the teaching of the law,
but as they were scribes, as well as Pharisees or Sadducees:

1 Chap. ii. sectt. 17, 18.
the name of "scribes" importing the learning of the law to
which they were bred, the name of "Pharisees" and "Saddu-
deees," the sect and manner of life they professed, according
to the opinions those orders maintained. So that as nothing
hindereth him that hath professed some monastical order to
proceed in the degrees of the schools, no more inconvenience
is it to take the same men both for scribes, and also for Pha-
risees and Sadducees. "The scribes and Pharisees sit in
Moses' chair," saith our Lord, Matt. xxiii. 2. The difference
is made because many were scribes that were not Pharisees,
as also many Pharisees that were no scribes: as in those
words which Sigonius\(^1\) hath produced out of the life of
James son of Zebedee, Josias unus è Scribis Pharisaorum, misit
funem in collum Apostoli: "Josias a scribe, one of the
Pharisees, put a rope upon the Apostle's neck."

§ 7. Gamaliel, of whom we read in the Scripture for St.
Paul's master, is called there a "Pharisee;" and that he was
a scribe for his learning there can be no doubt. And when it
is said, Acts xxiii. 9, "The scribes that were of the Pharisees'
part," it is plain that there were also scribes of the Sadducees:
which seem to have carried more credit after our Lord's
death, under another High Priest, than when He was alive.
For when it is said, Acts v. 17, "Then the High Priest rose
up, and all that were with him, which is the sect of the Sad-
ducees, and were filled with indignation," it may be observed
that afore, iv. 1, we read thus, "And as they spake unto the
people, the priests and captain of the temple, and the Saddu-
cees came upon them;" which same faction is thus specified,
ver. 5, 6, "And it came to pass on the morrow that their
rulers and elders, and scribes........ were gathered together
at Jerusalem;" out of which as it is to be presumed that the
faction of the Sadducees, cherished by the High Priest, had
then the stroke,—whereupon the Apostles, preaching then the
resurrection of our Lord, found some advantage in Gamaliel,
and St. Paul afterwards in the Pharisees,—so there is necessity
to think the same were scribes and Sadducees both which so
dealt in these matters. And for the third sect of the Essenæs,

\(^1\) Carol. Sigon. de Republ. Hebreworum, lib. v. cap. 10. Tunc ille Scriba
Pharisaorum qui funem ei in collum misit ....... Josias, id enim ei nomen
there is no doubt but the learned of them also were counted in the number of the scribes; seeing we know that they taught the law in their own synagogues, as shall be said.

§ 8. But of those that are called in the Gospel "lawyers," Who were lawyers.

there is question among men of learning what might be the difference between them and scribes, whose profession was the law of Moses, and the exposition of it. For when our Lord saith unto them, Luke xi. 46, "Wo unto you also lawyers," having said the like afore to the scribes, it is plain that He might speak to scribes and not to lawyers; and yet the profession of scribes being the law of Moses, and the exposition of it, it is strange there should be lawyers which were no scribes. And therefore my resolution must be, that they cease not to be scribes which are called lawyers, but as they own that style for their profession of learning, so is the other due for the privilege they have in it: which seemeth to have been among them, whatsoever was then conferred by imposition of hands, which made them rabbies or doctors of the law that had it: Maimoni, in Sanedrin. cap. iv. num. 2. And therefore when Gamaliel, Acts v. 34, is called νομοδιδάσκαλος, it is the same with νομικός or διδάσκαλος, or rabbi alone. For hereupon you shall observe the words that he useth, Luke xx. 45, "Then answered one of the lawyers and said unto Him, Master, in thus saying Thou reproachest us also:" to shew that they were still of a better rank than the rest, and should take it worse to be found fault with; which is here verified by the privilege which they, of all other scribes, were invested with.

§ 9. For to shew in how great esteem was this profession among that people, be it here observed that no man was capable, at least of sitting in their courts of judgment, but those that were bred to this kind of knowledge. I speak not here of the free times of that commonwealth under their own laws and governors: then it is reason to think that the princes of Israel and noblest persons were placed in the grand court of seventy-one at Jerusalem, with the chief priests and prophets, or their successors, the greatest of the scribes, to assist them in the knowledge of the law. It is

1 Maimonides de Synedriis et pænis, Latinè vers. ab Henric. Houtig.
observed of late, that Josephus maketh the middle court of twenty-three to consist but of seven, with two assistants to each of them, of the tribe of Levi, to wit, for the knowledge of the law; which came near the number of twenty-three. The description that followeth, derived from their ancient doctors, seemeth to concern the times when the freedom of the people was abated, and that great court reduced from governing the state, to judge the greatest of those matters wherein they were left to their own laws. Which fitteth the present purpose nevertheless. Because from it we shall perceive the employment of their scribes, together with the fashion of their consistories, and of their synagogues in consequence, whereupon that which is to follow dependeth.

§ 10. R. Moses in Sanedrin. cap. ii. num. 1, "They place not in any sanedrin, great or little, but wise men; men abounding in knowledge of the law, men of large knowledge in other sciences:" and straight afterwards, "They place not in the sanedrin but priests and Levites, and Israelites of birth, fit to be of alliance to the priesthood, as it is said, Numb. xi. 16, 'And they shall stand there with thee:' of men like thee, in wisdom, and godliness, and birth. And it is a precept, that there be priests and Levites of the great sanedrin, as it is said, Deut. xvii. 9, 'And thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites.' But if none be found, though there be none but Israelites, it is allowable." Israelites of birth were not assumed for their birth; for the priests and Levites, that were counted among them of best birth, sat not there, unless their learning were answerable: the High Priest himself, unless he were fit, for his wisdom, had no place in the sanedrin of seventy-one in Jerusalem, as it followeth straight afterwards. Now the manner of breeding here requisite is to be understood from the description of the second court of three-and-twenty, which he maketh in the first chapter there afore; num. 6, "The judge that is of greatest wisdom among them is head over them; the rest sit in a round, as it were a half circle, that the head may see them all." And again, num. 7, "Before every sanedrin they

place three ranks of disciples of wise men, three-and-twenty in every rank: the first near the judges; the second lower than that; the third lower than the second: and in every rank they sit according to their degree in wisdom." Out of these, as need requireth, they assume the next in rank to assist in judgment, when the bench is not complete, by imposition of hands, as it followeth there, because finable causes, that belonged to this middle court, were not judged but by masters made by imposition of hands.

§ 11. But the lowest of their courts was thus: cap. i. num. 6, "In cities of less than six score families they place three judges, as in no court less than three, that it may have more and less if they chance to be divided in a cause. When there are not in a city two great wise men, one fit to teach and decide in all the law, the other that can understand and dispute," ask and answer, "they place no sanedrin in it, though it have two thousand of Israel: where there are these two, one to understand, and one to speak, it is a sanedrin: where there are three, it is mean: wherefore, whereof three can speak, that is a sanedrin of wisdom:" for as you have it there three be a full court, it is commendable whensoever there are afterwards, cap. ii. num. ult. 11 י"ב by יק, "Though a court of more, and better that a cause be decided by eleven than by ten; and it is requisite that all that sit in the court be disciples of the wise, and fitting." So, though this court, reaching but to money matters, require not imposition of hands, yet you see what qualities it requireth, in two that are necessary, and in all that may sit in it. And thus it appeareth how that is verified in particular which was generally affirmed afore, that none could come to sit in any of their courts of justice but their scribes, but their wise, but the disciples of wise, but those that were bred to the knowledge of the law.

§ 12. But it concerneth my purpose to observe further, in that description of the middle court, the three ranks of disciples that sat beneath the judges by degrees, according to their knowledge, because the like order took place at their religious assemblies in the synagogues, the people sitting flat on the floors. St. Ambrose upon the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30, 31, "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge; if it be revealed to another as he sitteth, let the
first hold his peace." *Hac traditio synagogae est, quam nos vult sectari: ... ut sedentes disputent: seniores dignitate in cathedris, sequentes in subelliiis, novissimi in pavimento super mattas*. "It is a tradition or custom of the synagogue which he would have us to follow; to dispute sitting: the eldest in dignity in chairs, the next upon benches, the last upon matted floors."

To this purpose speak those words alleged to us from the Talmudists, *Gem. Horaioth. cap. iii. 13*, דר רד אן וּמוּש אַסַּא "Our masters say, when the prince cometh in—that is, the head of the high court of seventy-one—all the people stand up to him, and sit not down till he bid them: when the father of the court cometh in—that is, his mate—they make him two ranks, one on this side, another on that, and sit not down till he is set: when the wise man cometh in—that is, the next, that always sat on the left hand to the prince—one standeth up, and one sitteth still. Disciples of the wise, and their children, when the people want them, step over the heads of the people, though it is an imputation for a disciple of the wise to come in last. If he go out for his necessities, he cometh in, and sitteth down in his place. Sons of disciples of the wise that are deputed pastors of the synagogue, when they have understanding to learn, come in and sit before their fathers, with their backs to the people: while they have not, they come in and sit behind their fathers, with their faces to the people. R. Eleazar, son of R. Sadoc, said, at feasts also they set them each beside their fathers." Here you see how the elders sat in a round in the face of the people, sitting before them upon the floor. The manner whereof in the synagogue is thus further expressed in Maimoni, *Tephillah ubircath Cohenim*, cap. xi. 4: for having told us that in every synagogue, in the quarter towards which they pray, looking to the temple, they build a place, which they call therefore the "hecall," where they lay a copy of the law, and set the ark, out of which they take the book of the law which they read in the synagogue, with the back to this hecall, and the face to the people, he pursueth it thus: num. 4, "How sit the people in the synagogue? The elders sit with their faces towards the people, and their backs towards the hecall, and all the people sit rank before rank, the face of every rank toward

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the back of the rank before it; so the faces of all the people are towards the sanctuary, and towards the elders, and towards the ark, and when the minister of the synagogue standeth up to prayer he standeth on the ground before the ark, with his face to the sanctuary, as the rest of the people.” § 13. And for that which St. Ambrose saith of matted floors, it followeth there, num. 5, “They use respect in the synagogues and schools, and sweep them, and floor them; and the Israelites in Spain and the west, and in Shinar, and the land of comeliness, they use to set up lights in the synagogues, and floor them with mats, to sit upon, but in the land of Edom—the Roman empire—they sit upon seats.” Thus is the meaning of that in the Psalm cvii. 32, brought into their practice, when he saith, “Let them exalt Him also in the congregation of the people, and praise Him in the seat of the elders.” The Chaldee: “Exalt Him in the synagogue of the people of Israel, and praise Him in the sanedrin (or seat) of wise men.” R. Sol. Jarchi there, יז, ויהי, ויקיר, “And it is requisite to confess Him before ten, whereof two are the strength of our masters;” that is, such two as were requisite afore to make a sanedrin according to R. Moses. For their rule is, that those whom this Psalm mentioneth give public thanks, that is, in a synagogue, that is of ten, where there are two “wise men,” which therefore are counted a sanedrin, of which they expound the words of the Psalm, vii. 32, “the seat of the elders.” True it is, you shall find divers sayings of the Hebrew doctors wherein the disciples of the wise are described sitting on the floor at the feet of their masters, and not upon seats of a lower rank; and so was St. Paul, Acts xxii. 3, “brought up at the feet of Gamaliel.” But that, it should seem, is to be understood of masters sitting alone among their scholars, by that which we read of it in Mai-58 moni, Talmud Torah, cap. iv. num. 3, ויהי, ולפיון, ויהי, “How do they teach? the master sitteth in the head, and the scholars in a round afore him like a crown, that they may all see the master, and hear his words. The master sitteth not in a chair, and his disciples on the floor, but all on the floor or in chairs. Formerly the masters sat and the scholars stood, but before the destruction of the second temple all practised it, their disciples and themselves sitting.” Though in St. Paul
there is something particular, if we believe that which Aben-

III.

exra relateth out of the Talmudists, upon Nehem. viii. 5,

where we read, "And Ezra opened the book in the sight of

all the people—for he was above all the people—and when he

opened it, all the people stood up." "It may be," saith he,

"they stood up in their place. So say our masters of blessed

memory, from the days of Moses to our master Gamaliel they

learned standing." Good reason St. Paul should remember

the feet of Gamaliel, and good reason we should think his

scholars sat at his feet, if he were the first that brought up

the custom—which Maimon saith was received before the

temple was destroyed—for scholars to sit when their masters

read and discoursed: which I leave to the masters of the

Talmud to be verified.

§ 14. In the mean time, the fashion of these assemblies,

and the very posture of those that sat there to teach, maketh

that very clear which our Lord saith in the Gospel, Matt. 59

xxiii. 2, "The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair."

And the same are the seats whereof our Lord speaketh there,

ver. 6, "and love the uppermost rooms at feasts," πρωτοκλί-

σίαν, because they eat leaning, "and the chief seats in syna-

agogues," πρωτοκαθεδρίας, because they taught sitting in chairs,

as St. Ambrose said afore. For which purpose you have

seen hitherto that the doctors sat with their faces to the

people, that they might be ready to stand up when the law

was read, and from thence take the occasion and argument of

their speech to the people. Therefore saith the Apostle,

Acts xv. 21, "For Moses hath of old time in every city them

that preach him; being read in the synagogues every Sab-

bath." And Acts xiii. 14—16, "Paul and Barnabas went into

the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia on the Sabbath, and sat

down: and after the reading of the law and the prophets, the

rulers of the synagogue sent unto them, saying, Ye men and

brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation to the people,

say on. Then Paul stood up, and beckoning with his hand,

said." In like sort our Saviour, in the synagogue at Nazar-

eth, Luke iv. 16—20, having read the lesson of Esaiah the

prophet, proceedeth to expound it. And certain it is that

our Lord and His disciples were admitted and invited to

teach in the synagogue, upon no other respect but the opi-
tion which the world had of their wisdom and knowledge of
the Scripture, for which, they going so far beyond those that
professed it, no marvel if they were received for doctors of it. And
Philo of the Essenes, lib. Omnem probum liberum esse; 
Eis ieroiφ αφικνουμενοι τοτωσοι οι καλουμαι Συναγωγαι, καθ' 
ηλικιας ευ ταξιων υπο πρεσβυτερων νεοι καθεχομαι, μετα κοσ-
μου του προσηκοντος, έχουτες ακροατικως. ειθ' ο μεν τως βιβλως 
αναγνωσκει λαβων, έτερος δε των εμπειρωτων, δοα μη γνω-
ριμα, παρειδην αναγνωσκει. "Coming to their holy places
called synagogues, they sit down in ranks, according to years,
the young under the elders, with fit decorum, disposed to
hear: then one taketh the book and readeth, another of the
best practised cometh afterwards, and recogniseth that which
was least understood:" that is, expoundeth it. And it should
seem by the name the Jews give their sermons, that the cus-
tom was, for many of these doctors that sat in the head of
synagogues to speak to the same purpose, inquiring the truth
of the Scripture. For as they call the school מורה, so they
call preaching in the synagogue מורה and מורה, preachers both
for the reason, of inquiring at these meetings the meaning of
the Scriptures. For which reason St. Paul, 1 Cor. i. 20, Ποι
σοφως; ποι γραμματεως; ποι συζητησης του αιωνος τουτου;
calling the same persons "wise men" first, then "scribes,"
and last of all, "inquirers of this world;" that is, Jewish
doctors, that were still inquiring among themselves the truth
of the Scriptures at their meetings, and yet believed not;
that seemed to be the true meaning of the words. As our
Saviour, Luke ii. 46, was found "in the temple sitting in the
midst of the doctors, hearing them, and asking them ques-
tions," which was the school where they disputed.

§ 15. But this posture of sitting, in the court, in the school, in the synagogue, in judgment, in learning, in their service of
God, will be still better understood if we observe that it was
the fashion of that people to sit at meat no otherwise; as did
also the Greeks and Romans after them, eat lying, and lean-
ing on the elbow, in a half round, which they call "sigma,"
from the ancient figure of that letter, which was thus, C.

This is called in the Bible מְסָרָה, in the Chaldee it is translated מֵאָסַרָה, signifying the company that were met, for the reason of sitting in compass. Of which the words of the Talmud alleged out of Ḥoraioth, cap. 3, are to be understood, where, having said that the sons of disciples of the wise, before they be capable of learning, sit at their fathers' backs, in the round whereof we spoke, it followeth, "R. Eleazar son of R. Sadoc said, in feasts also they set them beside their fathers;" that is, behind their places in the round aforesaid. And of old time it may be observed, that the middle place, in this fashion of sitting, was most honourable among that people, by that of king Saul, 1 Sam. xx. 25, "And the king sat upon his seat as at other times, even upon a seat by the wall." Sol. Jarchi, הָרַאשׁ הַמִּסְרָה לָעִילָה שֶׁבֵּרוּ, "in the head of the couch next the wall." Supposing them to sit in a round or half circle, as was always the fashion to do, we must needs imagine that the back or middle of this half circle must be toward the wall for all convenience. And thereupon, by the way, we have cause to think that there is no mistake in the vulgar way of representing the last Supper of our Lord; which the learned Jesuit Sirmondus, Annot. in Sidon, 1 Epist. ii. thinketh the painters make, when they set our Lord in the midst at table. Whereas the right order he conceiveth to be that which he observed in the mosaical work at Capua—done by the Abbot of Cassino, that was afterward Victor II. Pope—where our Lord sitteth in the dexter point of the couch, St. John leaning his head in His bosom, who by that means might easily perceive St. Peter beckon to him, as he sat in the sinister point of it, as chief of the disciples. And indeed he hath reason to say, that among the
Romans the dexter point was most honourable, the sinister next to it: but among the Hebrews, as hath been said, it was in the middle, where St. John leaning in our Lord’s bosom, might easily enough perceive St. Peter beckon as he sat in the point.

§ 16. But in the words alleged out of Maimoni, we must now observe the condition of these elders of the synagogue which he said sat in the head of the assembly, with their faces to the people. It is the title of those chief of the tribes that had authority over the people in Egypt, out of whom were chosen the seventy assistants to Moses in the grand consistory, as was said †. It is in the Gospel the title of those in whom, together with the chief priests and scribes, the authority over that people rested, so far as they were suffered to use their own laws, the grand court of seventy being at that time either dissolved, or removed from Jerusalem, and abated, as the Talmudists, agreeing with Josephus, relate: for he telleth us that they were put to death by Herod, Antiq. xv. 1. * They tell us that they removed from Jerusalem forty years before the destruction of the temple, that is, a little before our Lord’s death, because they would not be used as a stale to give sentence of death beside their own judgment; the force of their sentence consisting in their residence at Jerusalem, as they will have it, [Gem. cod. Talmud.] Aboda zara, cap. i., † which it is probable is to be understood when they began to recover themselves of the blow received under Herod. Correspondently therefore, in the synagogues of their dispersion, under this name we must understand those by whose authority the common businesses of the congregation were transacted, so far as they had leave to use their own law among the nations; which it seemeth are therefore called, Acts xiii. 15, “rulers of the synagogue;” and were sometimes men of learning, scribes, wise men, rabbies, otherwhiles not.

§ 17. That their doctors in this respect were called “elders,” I will use no other proof but that which is ordered in their law concerning him that they call a “rebellious elder,” of whom Maimoni in Mamrim, cap. vii. n. 1, “A rebellious

† Chap. ii. sect. 13.
The Service of God

III.

Elder is not liable to death, till he be a wise man that hath attained to be fit to decide, next to a sanedrin." And in Talmud Torah, cap. viii. 1, a wise man, that is, an elder excellent in wisdom, is one of those that must not be excommunicated in public.

§ 18. On the other side, that some of these elders in synagogues were not rabbies, it shall appear by the description which the same rabbi maketh of their order, in holding the fast of seven days, whereof he writeth in Taanioth, cap. iv. 2, "After that they put up among them an elder that is a wise man, themselves sitting: if there be no elder that is a wise man, they put up a wise man; if neither, they set up such an one as will serve, ...... and he speaketh words of humiliation, הבש רוח, according to his ability, till he humble their hearts, and they repent with perfect repentance." By which it appeareth, that elders in their synagogues, whose place R. Moses described us, in the head of the people, were some of the profession of learning, some not. These are the elders of the synagogues remembered of Epiphanius, Her. xxx. n. 11, and in divers constitutions of the emperors, mentioning all public persons in synagogues. In particular we are to observe here, that some of these elders were wont to be deputed to make provision for the poor of the synagogue. Which some think are the men that are called Patres Synagogarum, in the constitution of Constantine the Great, L. iv. Cod. Theod. de Jud. et Caecilis. Of these, those words of the Talmud alleged out of Horaioth, cap. iii. are to be understood: "The sons of disciples of the wise, that are deputed pastors of the synagogue." For it is for no other cause but this that they are called רכמום, or

* Judæis et majoribus eorum et Patriarchis volumus intimari.—Leg. 1.

Quicquid invenerit tota Synagogis Judæorum Patriarchis vel Presbyteris se dederunt.—Leg. 2.

Judeorum quercis . . . reclamantium legis sum Primaibus.—Leg. 8.
. . . prater vos Proceres que vestros, —Leg. 10.
Also L.II. 11, 13, 14, 15.—xvi. Cod. Theodos. Tit. viii.
"pastors," as well at this day, as of old time*. Leo Modena, CHAP. III. the now rabbi at Venice, calleth those deputies that provide—
for the poor, in his own language, Memunnim, and Parnassim, in his little Italian tract, "Of the Rites and Customs of the Hebrews," p. i. c. xiv. And in divers places of R. Benjamin's Itinerary we read of divers rabbies, whom he calleth Parnassim, for this cause, not because they were preachers to the synagogue. Those that had that faculty, and undertook that charge, both he and others call Darshanim. To let us understand that all their rabbies preached not in the synagogues—for rabbies they are all that have that style—but those alone that had the talent of it, as the same Leo Modena writeth of them, p. ii. c. iii. 2. For the Jews are no flincher from old customs.

§ 19. We are to observe further here, what elders were made by imposition of hands. Maimoni in Sanedrin, cap. iv., וָנָדְרֵה, "And how is imposition of hands done? not that they stay their hands upon the head of the elder, but that they call him 'rabbì,' and say to him, Behold, thou art ordained, and hast licence to judge even finable causes. And they give not this imposition of hands, which is the ordination of elders to be judges, but by three." So that of the Misna Sanedrin, c. i. n. 2, "ordination of elders is done by three," may well be understood of such elders as are ordained judges in finable causes, because the name of elders is common to judges and other elders. True it is, there be other purposes reckoned by Maimoni (in the place aforesaid) afterwards, to which they might be ordained. But all of them concern controversies of the law, which their ordination licenseth them to decide. And seeing it is said that ordination is made by styling the person ordained, "rabbì," it seemeth it belonged to none but doctors. Indeed, in the Itinerary aforesaid, we read, that in his days, about the year of our

* "Who then is that faithful and wise steward, whom his lord shall make ruler over his household, to give them their portion of meat in due season?" St. Luke xii. 42.—See Vitringa de Synagoga Vetere, lib. iii. p. 1. cap. 2. p. 621. Franciæ, 1691.

b "Besides, the Parnassim or Memunnim—whose office it is to look after such things (alms)—take care to send them (the poor) something home to their houses every week."—Owen's Translation, p. 57. London, 1707.


"These, that is, the Cacam Rav, or Morenu, [Master or Doctor,] decide controversies . . . . and preach if they have any talent that way."—p. 77.
Lord 1173, all the rabbies and deacons of synagogues of that great resort, were appointed by him, whom they called “head of the exile,” at Bagdad, and came thither to him to get imposition of hands, p. 73 and 74. But according to the ancient custom of that people, those that were promoted rabbies by imposition of hands, were made only in the land of Israel, that is, in all that they possessed when they came out of Egypt. “Insomuch that unless he that promoted, and he that was promoted, were both in the land of promise, there was no imposition of hands: if both were within the compass of it, then might it be done by writing, if they were not present:” Maimoni in the same place.

Therefore, if we believe that all elders of synagogues and deacons—called among them ἀρχισυναγωγικοί, in Epiphanius, Ἀρχισυναγωγικοί—were made by imposition of hands, then must it be said that Maimoni, and others according to him, speak of no imposition of hands but that which made rabbies, because of the eminence of such persons.

§ 20. Last of all, it is to be observed here, that in these colleges or benches of elders, whereof my speech is, that governed great and populous synagogues, there was also one head, the chief in learning and authority, called in the Gospel, in the life of the Emperor Alexander Severus, and in divers constitutions of the emperors, “the ruler of the synagogue,” or “archisynagogue.” And as it hath been proved elsewhere that the Bishop and presbyters of Christian Churches are many times comprised in the common style of presbyters, πρεσβυτῆρες, praepositus, antistites, præsidentes, and the like, so it seemeth that both the archisynagogue and elders are signified under the same title, “rulers of the synagogue, at Antiochia in Pisidia,” Acts xiii. 15. And so was Jairus “one of the rulers of the synagogue,” Mark v. 22.


‡ xvi. Cod. Theodos. Tit. viii. 11. 4, 13, 14.

CHAPTER IV.

Presbyteries of Churches, with their Bishops, answerable to the Jews' consistories, made with imposition of hands. They sat in the church as the other in the synagogue: that argueth their office of governing the church, and the difference of them from the people. The elders of the people in the African churches were not of this rank. What is the double honour of presbyters in St. Paul. The apostle's rule in discerning spiritual graces. The proceeding and extent of his discourse.

His catalogue of graces and ministries. How divers of them may meet in the same man. Doctors are those of the presbyters that preached. Helps were deacons.

When the Gospel of Christ was to be published to the world, the nation of the Jews was now dispersed far and wide, and their synagogues and assemblies settled in the most eminent places of the Roman empire, as the Acts of the Apostles alone are enough to inform us. God's singular providence having procured their profession, and the writings that contain it, thus to come to the knowledge of the Gentiles, to make way for the Gospel which drew near. Now the Apostles being themselves Jews by birth, and pretending to call those congregations which they converted to the faith, whether from Jews or Gentiles, to a condition correspondent to that of the Jews in their banishment, that is, as the Apostle alludeth, 1 Pet. ii. 11, to live "strangers and pilgrims" from that Jerusalem which is above, as they were from Jerusalem upon earth, it is no marvel if the state of them which they ordained bear a great deal of correspondence with the synagogue.

§ 2. The chief point of which correspondence consisteth in those presbyteries upon which, as hath been proved elsewhere, they estated the government of those Churches which they converted to the faith. It is no marvel that the Apostles ordained these presbyteries of Churches with imposition of hands, though it be more than I can affirm of those presbyteries of synagogues. It was from the beginning a sensible
sign of God's hand stretched out to bestow the grace of the Holy Ghost, which was pretended to be procured by the benediction of him that gave it. Such graces of the Holy Ghost, the Apostles professed to go along with the truth which they preached, to convince all nations of it. And we see how it pleased God to make good what they professed, by that abundance of spiritual graces mentioned by the Apostle. Whereas the Jews may seem to have confined those graces to the land of promise, out of their opinion of that kingdom which they promise themselves there. In regard of this imposition of hands, the presbyteries of Churches may well be compared with those consistories of the Jews, which were so ordained, as well for deciding matters of judgment as for teaching the law, at such time as those same consistories were among them, as well schools of learning as courts of judicature. Those consistories, with their presidents, whereof you heard afore out of Moses Maimoni, answering these presbyteries, and the heads of them called Bishops, which came over them, as hath been shewed, in succession to the Apostles. Otherwise, setting aside imposition of hands, the very pattern of these presbyteries in Christian Churches, is to be seen in those presbyteries of great and populous synagogues under their rulers, or archisynagogues, whereof hath been said.

§ 3. To make this correspondence further to appear, that which hath been discoursed, of the manner in which these consistories or elders sat in the school or synagogue, shall now be declared to have held in the Church, for the sitting of the Bishop and his presbyters. The words of Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes, are hitherto ill read in our copies, by which means the true sense is diverted: I mean these where-in he saluteth them, Μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιοπρεπεστάτου ἐπισκόπου ὑμῶν, καὶ ἀξιονίκου καὶ πνευματικοῦ Στεφάνου τοῦ Πρεσβυτέρου ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν κατὰ Θεὸν διακόνων. "With your reverend Bishop, and the victorious spiritual Stephen their presbyter, and their deacons"—or ministers—"according to

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\[a\] See Primitive Government, chap. xi. sect. 3.
\[d\] Chap. iii. sect. 20.
God," which directeth this salutation to one Stephen a presbyter there: but in that old translation of these epistles remembered elsewhere, these words are rendered thus: *Cum
digne decentissimo Episcopo vestro, et digne complexâ spirituali coronâ Presbyteriâ vestri, et eorum qui secundum Deum diaconorum.* Whereby it appeareth that he that made that transla-
tion read, *Πνευματικὸς στέφανος τοῦ πρεσβυτεροῦ ὑμῶν*:
that is, "the spiritual crown of their presbytery;" because sitting in a half round, in the head place of the Church, they very well resembled the fashion of a crown, and are therefore called in the constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 28,¹ *Τῆς ἐκκλη-
σίας στέφανος, "The crown of the Church." There order is taken, that the presbyters, at the feasts of love then practised, shall receive a double share to that of the widows, in these words, *Τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις, ὡς ἀν κάμνοι περὶ τὸν τῆς
dιδασκαλίας λόγον, διπλὴ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀφοριζόμεθα ἡ μοίρα, εἰς
cάρων τῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀποστόλων, ὥν καὶ τῶν τόπων φυλάσσο-
σιν, ὡς σύμβουλοι τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στέφανος.
"As for the presbyters, that they may take pains about the word of doctrine, let there be a double part set aside for them also, for the Apostles of our Lord's sake, whose place they possess, as counsellors to the Bishop, and the crown of the Church." We are not to conceive that it must needs be a full round that is called a crown: that constellation of stars that is so called, wanteth a great deal of a circle. I suppose, because we must allow room to tie it behind the head, to avoid Tertullian's² objection, that the hinder parts of the head smell not. If then the Bishop and presbyters sat in that figure of a half round, which we saw practised in the Jews' consistories, and that in the head of the congregation, it is for no other reason that they are called the "crown of
the Church."

§ 4. Now, this fashion of their sitting is thus described in the same book, ii. 57: *Κείσθω δὲ μέσος ὁ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου θρόνος,
pαρ' ἐκάτερα δὲ αὐτοῦ καθέζομαι τὸ πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ οἱ διάκονοι
παρατάθωσαν εὐπαλαιῶς τῆς πλείονος ἐσθίτος, ἐοίκασι γὰρ ναῦ-
ταις καὶ τοιχάρχους προνολα δὲ τόπων εἰς τὸ ἐπερον μέρος οἱ λαί-

¹ Prin. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 15. ² Venet.
² So published by Vossius in 1646. ³ De Corona Militis, cap. v. p. 290,
THE SERVICE OF GOD

CHAP. καὶ καθεξῆθοσαν, μετὰ πάσης ἡσυχίας καὶ εὐταξίας καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες, κεχοροσμένως καὶ αὕτη καθεξῆθοσαν, σωπὴν ἄγουσαν. μέσος δὲ ἀναγνώστης ἔφυγε ὧν ἴππου τινος ἐστίν ἀναγιορθηκέω. . .

"Let the Bishop's chair stand in the midst, and let the presbytery sit on both sides of him, and the deacons stand by, lightened of too much apparel, for they are in the ship of the Church, like mariners, and rulers of sides; by their direction let the people sit on the other side, with all quietness and good order; and let the women also sit apart, keeping silence: then let the reader stand on high, and read." It is plain that he setteth here the Bishop's chair in the midst of the upper end of the Church, because he called them afore "the crown of the Church," and because, if the deacons order the sides, then is the Bishop master at the stern. In the mean time, he sitting in the midst, and the presbyters on both hands, the deacons must needs be conceived to stand beside them, behind the compass of that round in which they sat. And thus sitting they are said, in the Constitutions, as you had it even now, to possess the place of our Lord's Apostles. And in Ignatius, Epist. ad Magnes.: Προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων. 74

"The Bishop sitting highest in place of God," that is, of Christ, "and the presbyters in place of the bench of Apostles." And Gregory Nazianzen setting down the dream, wherein he saw himself sitting as he was wont to do in the Church, describeth himself sitting in the midst, and the presbyters in chairs on this hand and on that: to shew in what posture there they sat.

§ 5. This will be all still more clear if we compare it with the posture of the clergy at celebrating the Eucharist, described in the same Constitutions, and in him that calleth himself Dionysius the Areopagite, Eccles. Hierarch. cap. 3.: ὁ μὲν Ἱερώρχης ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ θείου θυσιαστηρίου καθίστασι, περιεστάσις δὲ μόνον, μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων, οἱ τῶν λειτουργῶν ἐκκριτοί.
“The Bishop standeth at the midst of the Divine Altar, and only the chief of the deacons stand about him with the priests.” Const. Apost. viii. 12. more in particular; Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐξ εὐκομίων στρικτῶσαι, ὡς ἂν μαθητὶ παρεστῶτες διδασκάλω, δόν δὲ διάκονοι ἐξ έκατέρων τῶν μερῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, κατεχέτωσαι ἐξ ὑμέων λεπτῶν ρυπίδων, ἡ πτερών τάσσων, ἡ θόντις, καὶ ἡ ἐμά ἀποσβείτωσαι τὰ μικρὰ τῶν ἵπταμένων ζώων, ὅπως ἂν μὴ ἑγχρίσωται εἰς τὰ κύπελλα. “And let the presbyters stand on his right hand and on his left, like scholars that stand beside their master; and let two deacons on either side the Altar, hold fans of thin skins, or peacock’s feathers, or linen, to drive away the little creatures that fly about, that they light not in the cups.” The posture of the presbyters on each hand [of] the Bishop, and of the two deacons, at the points of the communion-table, describeth that round whereof we speak, in which the Bishop and presbyters sat with their faces to the people—ready to rise and speak to them when time required—ready to celebrate the eucharist in the like posture behind the communion-table; which therefore seemeth to have been the most ancient custom of the Church, as, out of Jewell against Harding, is noted in the last chapter of the Holy Table, and is like to have been the original reason of all that is observed there of compassing the Altar in the Greek Liturgies.

§ 6. This is that which Tertullian called Ordinum et Consen-
sum Ecclesiae, Ignatius, συνέδριων, “the order, or the bench of the Church,” consisting of the Bishop and his presbyters, in allusion and correspondence to the commonalties of the Roman empire, governed by their annual magistrates, and a bench of their counsellors, called Ordo Reipublicae, “the order or the bench of such commonalties.” The consideration hereof is very forcible to convince common sense of the succession of Bishops from the Apostles, as the heads of these presbyteries,

* The ἐνθανθων mentioned in the Greek Liturgies is called in the Latin Church fabellum, and muscarium. The Benedictines in the Voyage Littéraire, tom. i. p. i. p. 231, describe one they saw at Tournus.

b The Holy Table, Name and Thing; a work of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, published A.D. 1637.


* See the notes of Justellus on the African Canons, p. 437. Ordines Civilitatum.
granting that which men of learning cannot refuse for historical truth. It is found in Tertullian's words, de Prescript. Hæret. cap. xxxvi. Age jam, qui voles curiositatem meliùs exercere in negotio salutis tuae, percurre Ecclesias Apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc cathedrae Apostolorum suis locis præsident, apud quas ipsæ authenticae litterae eorum recitantur, sonantes vocem et re-præsentantes faciem uniuscujusque. "Thou that shalt have a mind to exercise thy curiosity better, in the business of thy salvation, go to now, run over the Apostolic Churches, in which the very chairs of the Apostles govern in their places, in which their authentic writings are read, sounding the voice and representing the visage of each." He that should have denied the books kept and used by those Churches to have been the authenticities of the Apostles, would have been thought to disadvantage the faith. What shall we imagine of him that denieth the very chairs, wherein the Apostles sat in the head of those Churches, to be possessed by their successors as was pretended there, from whence Tertullian argueth? For when he saith that they sounded their voice and represented their visage, doth he not affirm that their epistles written to those Churches preached in their absence, as themselves did out of those chairs in presence? I have shewed out of the Scriptures, that the Apostles exercised the government in chief, of those Churches which they had planted presbyteries to govern, as occasion required. The chairs whereof Tertullian speaketh, were the seats of that government, as well as doctrine, when they were there.

§ 7. The Apostles had divers companions which were both their disciples in the doctrine, and their coadjutors in the work of the Gospel. Of these St. Paul speaketh, Phil. iv. 3, "with Clement also, and the rest of my work-fellows." These, or some of these—which sometimes gave personal attendance upon the Apostles, not moving in their office but at their disposing—became afterwards settled by them upon particular Churches, which they found they could not attend so well themselves, for the government of those which were converted, and the conversion of those which were not. Thus were Timotheus and Titus placed over the Churches of Asia and Crete, just upon the time when he made account to see them.

1 See Primitive Government of Churches, chap. iii.
no more. Thus was Mark attendant on Peter at writing his first epistle, v. 13, who was afterward, as all agree, seated by him at Alexandria, and did the office of an evangelist there. Clemens and Linus, companions of the Apostles, all antiquity agreeeth, were placed by them over the Church at Rome, though in what rank and condition, it agreeeth not. The words of Theodoret are remarkable, where he answereth the question, why St. Paul wrote epistles to Timotheus and Titus, none to Silas or the rest of his fellows: Καὶ φαμὲν, ὅτι τούτους ἤν ἐκκλησίας ἐγκεκριμένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλούς ἔτι ἔχει μεθ’ έαυτῶν. "And we say," saith he, "that he had already put Churches in the hands of these, the rest he had with him." What meaneth the Apostle's instructions concerning the perpetual government of those Churches, if they had nothing to do but to plant presbyteries there, and away? St. Paul sendeth for Timotheus to Rome, 2 Tim. iv. 9, as for Titus to Nicopolis, iii. 12, who was also with him at Rome, and went thence to Dalmatia, 2 Tim. iv. 10. But did he mean that his instructions should be void thenceforth, or be practised at Ephesus, and in Crete afterwards? We cannot discredit antiquity that maketh them Bishops there, without offering violence to the tenor of the Scriptures that enforceth it. But how is Titus counted Bishop of a Church, that is instructed to plant presbyteries through the cities of Crete, i. 5, all under his own government and oversight; or how is Timotheus Bishop of one Church of Ephesus, that is instructed to govern, as well as to plant all the presbyteries whereof the Apostle writeth, for all those presbyteries import episcopal Churches? No otherwise than the Apostle had his chair in all the Churches of his planting, according to Tertullian h.

§ 8. The Apostles could not settle all things in the intended form at the beginning. So far there is no fault in Epiphanius's words. Not because they knew not what to do, but for reasons best known to themselves; because perhaps they might find it more to the purpose, to put into the hands of their own disciples those Churches on which depended the planting and government of many more, than to set men untried over the

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* See Prim. Govern., chap. iii. sect. 4.
presbyteries of particular Churches. Is St. Mark, Bishop of Alexandria, the less, because he preached the Gospel through the country under it,—because he planted the government of Churches, perhaps under his own oversight for the time? Or what inconvenience is it, that St. James, an Apostle, should be deputed by consent of the Apostles, to exercise that office in the parts of Palestine and Arabia, always with resort to his residence at the Mother-Church of Jerusalem? or that he should therefore be counted Bishop of it? In due time, even during the age of the Apostles, several Churches had their several Bishops, as appeareth by the Angels of the seven Churches of Asia, which from the beginning were in the compass of Timothy’s charge. At first all presbyters were Angels of Churches, according to the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 10. “For this cause ought a woman to have power upon her head, because of the Angels.” That seemeth the most natural meaning of his words, for Tertullian in divers places of his book, De Velandis Virginibus, intimateth one reason of vailing women’s faces in the Church, from the scandal of their countenances. When Bishops came over them, no marvel if they alone were called the Angels of those Churches, for it is acknowledged, that all presbyters are called Bishops under the Apostles. But when several heads were set over several Churches, then heads of presbyteries were only Bishops thenceforth.

§ 9. Those that would have us take those Angels of Churches for the Churches of those Angels, rather than believe that epistles concerning those Churches were fit to be addressed to their Bishops, might have corrected their mistake out of the Scripture, that saith, Rev. i. 20, “The seven stars are the Angels of the seven Churches, and the seven candlesticks are the seven Churches.” St. Ambrose, or whosoever writ those Commentaries, upon 1 Cor. xii. 28, saith two things: first, the Apostles spoken of there are

\[And succeeded the Apostles.\]

\[Capp. iii, vii, ix, xiv.\]

1 "Angel in those epistles is put collectively not individually, as appears by the epistle to Thyatira... by Angel is meant not one singular person, but the whole company of presbyters... the very name Angel is sufficient to prove that it is not meant of one person alone... the epistles themselves are dedicated to all the Angels and ministers in every Church, and to the Churches themselves... not to be understood as meant of one individual person, but of the whole company of ministers, and also of the whole Church, because that the punishment threatened is to the whole Church."—Smecyemnus, sect. xiii.

Bishops; to wit, in the then state of the Church: then, hav-
ing compared the Apostles with prophets, he concluseth,  
Et quia ab uno Deo Patre sunt omnia, singulos Episcopos  
singulis Ecclesiis praexe decretit: "And because all things  
are from one Father, God, therefore He decreed that several  
Bishops should be over several Churches." In these two  
particulars he speaketh my whole meaning: the Apostles  
81 were Bishops, but not several ones of several Churches: but  
as there is one God over all, so He decreed, saith he, that  
afterwards several Bishops should be over several Churches.  
In the mean time, the rights reserved to great Churches over  
the less, which now we see a derived with so much learning  
from the times of the Apostles, is the print which remaineth  
of that government and oversight of them, which at the first  
rested in those great Churches, from which they were propa-
gated by the Apostles or by their companions. Walo Messa-
linus b standeth stiff upon St. Hierome's opinion, that there  
were no Bishops till they were appointed by the Church to  
extinguish the schisms of presbyteries. But Tertullian's  
words enforce more, that the Bishops of his time sat in those  
chairs which the Apostles possessed for theirs. And afore,  
cap. xxxii. Sic ut Smyrnæorum Ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab  
Joanne conlocatum refert. "As the Church at Smyrna relateth  
that John placed Polycarus," or installed him; to wit, in the  
Bishop's chair there. He thinketh that all this importeth,  
that Polycarus took place of the rest of the presbyters, and  
no more. But indifferent reason will require him to grant  
no more superiority of Bishops than the chair of the Apostles  
importeth. However St. Hierome reconcile his opinion with  
82 his own words concerning the presbyters of Alexandria, that  
from St. Mark's time were wont to take one of their number  
and place him on a higher step, and call him Bishop of Alex-
dria: common sense will enforce the high rank in which

a See Archbishop Ussher's "Origin- 
al of Bishops and Metropolitans,"  
among the "Certain brief treatises con-
cerning the ancient and modern go-
vernment of the Church." Oxford, 1641.  
b Nos ex Hieronymo . . . . . . . . . . . . . .  
hæc certo tenenda et pro definitis ha-
benda colligimus. Primum, Apostolo-
rum aetas nullum omnino discrimen,  
non ordinis, non gradus, non potestas-
tis, non honoris, presbyters inter et  
Episcopos intercessisse, sed unum eun-
demque re et nomine suisse Episco-
pum ac presbyterum.—Wal. Messa-
lin. (Salmus) de Episcopis et pres-
Batat. 1641.  
c De Prescript. adv. Hæret. cap. 36.  
See sect. 6.  
he sat to import the superiority and eminence of his office, even during the Apostles' time.

§ 10. The consideration of this order, or this bench of the Church, shall give me further occasion to resume and aver two particulars of good consequence in this business. The first, the extent of the office common to the Bishop and presbyters; as for preaching and celebrating the sacraments, so for the oversight and government of the Church, in those spiritual matters wherein, as members of the Church, men communicate, expressed in all places of the Scripture wherein there is any remembrance of their charge. Surveying those passages of the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles in which the office of presbyters is remembered, we find it every where described as well by the oversight, or government, or care, or whatsoever you please to call it, of the Church in spiritual matters, as by the charge of teaching the people. Both parts ascribed to them that bear the rank and style of presbyters. Acts xx. 28; 1 Pet. v. 2; 1 Tim. iii. 2, 5; Titus i. 7, 9; 1 Thess. v. 12. True it is that the Church is of itself a mere spiritual commonwealth, not endued with any temporal power to enforce, by way of constraint, the effect of those ministries which they stand trusted with. Before the temporal powers of the world were converted to the faith, they came to effect by the voluntary consent of Christians: the same good will that moved them to become such was enough to prevail with them to yield effect to those ministries which God had provided for the maintenance and propagation of it. It seemeth that the ground of the present separation is derived from hence; that hereupon ordinations and censures

* See chap. xviii. of the Epilogue, book i.

* "Be it here specially noted, that excommunication, and the absolution or reconciliation of the excommunicate, are actions common to the whole Church, and not of any private person or persons. For howsoever the elders . . . are to administer these ordinances, yet the whole Church must give their consent freely hereto. In the Apostles' time and after, till the year 250, every man that was a member of the Church had in the Church his voice in ecclesiastical causes and determinations of the Church. Christ doth not say, when there is cause of accusing or censuring any, 'tell the Bishop,' but 'tell the Church;' and accordingly in the times of the Apostles, and long after, as the epistles of Cyprian do manifest, they were judged by the word in an assembly of presbyters and brethren, as the incestuous Corinthian, which shews us that neither one man, nor the presbyters alone, were judges in such causes, but the Church, which by Scriptures, either cleared or censured any person accused, as by the word of God he appeared, either guilty or not guilty."—A Necessity of Separation, by John Canne, chap. iii. sect. i. pp. 134, 135. A.D. 1634.
are to pass by voices of the congregation according to the Scriptures. And true it is, that in the primitive Church, according to the practice of the Apostles’ times, these matters passed at their religious assemblies under the sight and conscience, as St. Cyprian speaketh; that is, under the notice of the people. Ordinations were allowed by them, as not having to except against the persons: reproofs and censures were their reproofs and censures; for they reproved, and cast out those whom the ecclesiastical order sentenced to it. 2 Cor. ii. 6, “Sufficient to such an one is the rebuke by the many.” The congregation must needs rebuke him whom they put from their body to give effect to the Apostle’s sentence, 1 Cor. v. 4, 5. To shew us the meaning and extent of his words there, ver. 12, “For what have I to do to judge those that are without? do not ye judge those that are within?” The Apostle censureth, and the people censureth. The difference of their right and charge is in the third verse expressed in the case, “I truly have judged or determined already, that he be delivered to Satan at one of your assemblies,” that is, solemnly put from the body of Christians. In regard of the faction then on foot among the presbyters, as hath been shewed elsewhere, it appeareth that the person in fault was borne out by a side of the people; especially if we believe St. Chrysostom that he was one of the pastors.

§ 11. The Apostles were so charitable to expect the people’s consent in ordinations and censures, that they meant not to betray their own right with God’s cause. Judge whether he proceedeth upon voices that enchargeth them to execute his sentence, and yet he saith, “I condemn and you condemn?” But how shall the government of the Church in general belong to the ecclesiastical order, if the particulars of it be in the hands of the people? 1 Pet. v. 2, 3, “Feed the flock of God, overseeing, not upon constraint, but willingly; not as

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1 See Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 2.
2 Prim. Govern., chap. vi. 3.
3 Prefat. in 1 Corinth. tom. iii. p. 244. ed. Savil.
Y “We on the contrary affirm, that the Apostle . . . revopeth the Church of Corinth . . . for suffering, as they did, that wicked man, uncast out, and that he now wills them to discharge that duty wherein they had formerly failed, in excommunicating him, to which he also gives his consent. . . . . . . and it is most untruly and unconscionably affirmed . . . . . . that all that can be gathered from this place is, that the censures are to be executed with the public knowledge of them that are gathered together.”—Robinson’s Justification of Separation from the Church of England, pp. 196, 197. A.D. 1639.
lording it over the heritage, but as ensamples to the flock.”

1 Thess. v. 12, “Know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord.” Titus i. 7, “A Bishop must be blameless, as the steward of God:” endued with those qualities that follow, not concerning preaching, but government. The like, 1 Tim. iii. 2, 4, and ver. 5, “If a man know not how to rule his own house, how shall he take care of the Church of God?” Rom. xii. 8, “He that ruleth with diligence.” Heb. xiii. 17, “Obey them that have the rule over you,” or guide you. Is all this obedience no more than to give them the hearing when they preach? Who shall be left to yield obedience according to this general charge, if the particulars of it, ordinances and censures, belong as well to the people? Of the right of the ecclesiastical order in these particulars, enough hath been said. And the primitive practice of them in the Church is enough to interpret the meaning of those Scriptures, to the common sense of men that will use it. Tertullian, Apologet. cap. xxxix., speaking of their assemblies; Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. . . . President probati quique Seniores. . . . . .

He telleth us that exhortations, reproofs, and spiritual censures passed at their assemblies, but under the presence of their presbyters. Firmilianus, Epist. lxxv. ad Cypr.; Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia constituta sit, ubi praeident majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem! “All power and favour is seated in the Church; in which the presbyters are presidents, which have power both to baptize, to impose hands” in penance, “and to ordain.” All my meaning is contained in these words.

1 “But by whom was this imposition of hands used at the choice of ministers? I answer, by those who gave their suffrages or votes to the election; and those were sometime the congregation itself, and sometime others at their request joining with them, as we read Acts vi. 5, 6.”—Christ on His Throne, case xi. p. 68. A.D. 1640.

2 “We deny not then, but the flock both severally and jointly is to obey them that have the oversight of them, Heb. xiii. 17; to know them and to have them in singular love, 1 Thess. v. 12, 13; but it must be in the Lord . . . . . . but what now if the officers will reign besides the Lord? . . . . must they still obey them? or hath the Church no remedy? . . . . . . If the congregation may choose and elect their governors, then they may reject and reprobate them. . . . . . . They are therefore to be cast out by the people. . . . . . . They that are without . . . . are exempted from the Church’s judgments, but they which are within the Church must judge, and therefore if the ministers be within . . . . they must undergo the judgments of the Church,” i.e. the multitude.—Robinson’s Justification, pp. 176, 177.
§ 12. Some of St. Cyprian's presbyters made a side of the people to admit the lapsed to communicate without penance, upon petition of the imprisoned towards martyrdom. St. Cyprian neither neglecteth the danger of schism nor sitteth down to tell voices, which, if that were the right, in conscience must carry it; but casteth about, with authority, to reduce the people and their leaders to acknowledge themselves. He complaineth that the people was debauched by some of his clergy, that ought to have kept them in discipline, and instructed them to desire no man's reconcilement before penance. Lib. iii. Ep. 14, 16. He writeth to those of the clergy that they shall give account of what they did to him and the clergy, to the confessors, and to the people. Ep. 14. To the people he writeth to advise and rule those that were so irregular in their demands. Ep. 16. But he resolveth, as a cause that concerned the rest of the Church, not to proceed without the advice of his fellow Bishops: Præsente et stantium plebe, quibus et ipsis pro fide et timore suo honor habendus est. Ep. 18. "In presence of those of the people that fell not, to whom respect was to be had, for the faith and fear they had shewn." He yieldeth respect unto his people to encourage their obedience: but in whom the keys of the Church rested he sheweth, Ep. 16. Cùm in minoribus delicetis, qua non in Dominum committuntur, paenitentia agatur justo tempore, et exomologesis fiat, inspecta vitæ ejus qui agit paenitentiam, nec ad communicacionem venire quis possit, nisi prius illi ab Episcopo et clero manus fuerit imposita. "Seeing in less faults that are not done against God men do penance their due time, and come to confession upon consideration of the life of him that doth penance, and no man can come to communicate unless first hands be laid on him by the Bishop and clergy."

§ 13. Shew me any share of the people in determining the measure of penance, or in releasing the persons, and let it be believed that the keys of God's house belong to the people. The words of St. Augustine, contra Epist. Parmen. iii. 2. Tunc etiam ille et timore percutitur, et pudore sanatur, cum ab universa

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*a* Ep. xvi. xvii. ed. Oxon. The reference in the text is to the edition of Erasmus.


Ecclesia se anathematizatum videns, sociam turbam cum qua in
delicto suo gaudeat, et bonis insultet, non potest invenire. "Then
also is he both struck with fear, and healed with shame, when
seeing himself anathematized by the whole congregation, he
can find no rout to bear him company, wherewith to exult in
his fault, and insult over the good." Shall I believe that in
St. Augustine's time the sentence of anathema came from the
congregation, which Tertullian so long before hath appro-
priated to the ecclesiastical order, when he saith, De Pudicitia,
cap. xiv. Hoc enim non a Deo postulare tur, quod erat in presiden-
tis officio. "For that would not be desired of God which was
part of the president's office"—speaking of delivering to
Satan the incestuous person at Corinth. Yet nevertheless
St. Augustine saith that a man is anathematized by the whole
congregation, in regard of the execution and effect which the
sentence of the Bishop, or ecclesiastical order, then found by
consent of the people when the law enforced it not, which is
the very case of the Apostle alleged before." And this is
their interest in the government of the Church. For they
that give them right of deciding controversies, because they
are mentioned in the council at Jerusalem, Acts xv. 12, 22,
23; may please to consider St. Cyprian's order, which allow-
eth their presence for their satisfaction, not their voices to
decide. As they are present at councils, but not called to give
sentence. But since kingdoms and commonwealths are become
Christian, the laws of those kingdoms and commonwealths,

* Chap. iii. sect. 4.
† "The brethren in the great coun-
cil at Jerusalem were not shut out
while the Apostles and elders came to-
together to consider of a great controversy
in divinity, and in making their decrees;
but when they were sent forth they
passed under their own name and the
name of the brethren also, Acts xv. 6,
22, 23 . . . . This monopoly was not
then learned among God's people, nor
among the holy Apostles in their days."
—A Short View of the Prelatical
‡ "By 'the whole Church' (in Acts
xv. 22) either the whole company of
elders, or the chief of the people, if not
the whole Christian congregation pre-
sent at Jerusalem, is understood; the
former cannot be. . . . . It follows
then that by 'the whole Church' others
be meant besides Bishops and elders.
It matters not whether they be
called lay-presbyters or not, as long as
the thing intended is granted, viz. that
the laic congregations may meddle in
Church affairs, and give counsel and
assistance to the pastors, and be, as
well as they, arbiters and censurers of
errors and disorders."—An Anti-remon-
strance to the late Humble Remon-
strance. 2nd ed. p. 10. A.D. 1641. See
also Robinson's Justification of Sepa-
ration from the Church of England,
p. 166. A.D. 1639.
§ Collatione consiliorum cum Epis-
copis, presbyteris, diaconis confessori-
bus pariter ac stantibus laicis facta, lapi-
sorum tractare rationem.—S. Cyprian,
Ep. xxx. p. 59. ed. Oxon. See Pame-
lius' note on the place.
as they enforce the ministers of the Church to execute their office according to such rules as they enforce, so they constrain the people to yield outward effect to the same. The good order and peace of the Church cannot be preserved otherwise.

§ 14. All this while the office of ministers continueth the same. No part of it accrueh to the secular powers. By becoming Christians they purchase themselves no more right than the charge of maintaining the ministers of the Church in doing their office containeth. Only, as all Christians have the judgment of particular discretion to discharge unto God, even in matters of religion, the account of what themselves do; so is this judgment of particular discretion by public persons, but most by the Sovereign, of right employed in all that in which they lend or refuse their assistance to the ministers of the Church in their office, always under the account due to God and to the Sovereign. What is then the meaning of that which we read in these days, that all jurisdiction of the Church, exercised by the ministers of it, even that of excommunicating—call it jurisdiction for the present, though the term be proper where there is power to constrain—is inherent and derived in and from the commonwealth, that is, in our particular from the Crown of this kingdom? From whence

But what is this, I ask, to our Bishops, who profess—notwithstanding the apostolical, that is, the divine right of their calling—to hold the places and exercise of their jurisdiction wholly from his Majesty?—Bishop Hall's Answer to the Vindication, paragr. iv. p. 12.

Whatsoever may be said of the function of Bishops it is one thing; but for their jurisdiction it is merely humana institutione, and they must thank the king for it.——Mr. Grimston's Speech in the High Court of Parliament, p. 9. London, 1641.

The Bishops were said by the Puritans to have "usurped upon his Majesty's prerogative royal, and to have proceeded in the high commission and other ecclesiastical courts contrary to the laws and statutes of the realm."——Wilkins, Concil., tom. iv. p. 554. The twelve judges however decided in favour of the Bishops—that their jurisdiction was not restrained by statute 1 Edw. VI. cap. 2, which derived it from the king. Bishop Hall instead of denying the proposition of Smeatymnuus, sect. xiv., "The laws of the land proclaim that not only bishoprics, but Bishops, and all the jurisdiction they have, is from the king," admitted and defended it. Archbishop Laud in the Star Chamber, June 14, 1637, says, "that though our office be from God and Christ immediately, yet we cannot exercise our office of order or jurisdiction but as God hath appointed us, that is, not in his Majesty's or any Christian king's kingdoms, but by and under the power of the king given us so to do."

The Archbishop's words, however, relate to a matter of fact—as to the then exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction—and not to the principle of the puritanical objection: "Suppose our calling," saith he, "as Bishops, could not be made good jure divino, yet jure ecclesiastico it cannot be denied. . . . we stand in as good condition as the laws of England can make us. . . . supposing we had no other argument but this, I say suppose this, but I grant it not."—See Hunley's "Breviate of the Prelates' Intolerable Usurpations," for the legal argument on the puritan side.
it will follow by just and due consequence, that the office charged upon the ministers of the Church by the Scriptures cannot be executed by them of right, so long as kingdoms and commonwealths are enemies of the faith. So that whatsoever the Church did under the empire, before it was converted to the faith, was an attempt upon the laws of it: and the Church must of necessity die, and come to nothing, for want of right to execute and propagate the ministries which it standeth encharged with by the Scripture.

§ 15. The canonists have done well to distinguish between order and jurisdiction in the ministries of the Church, provided that the ground be right understood upon which these terms are distinguishable according to the Scriptures. That will point the effect of it to a far other purpose: but we must not be beholden to the canonists for it, being indeed this. Because he that receiveth the order of presbyter in the Church, for example, is not of necessity by the same act deputed to the exercise of all that his order importeth and enableth to exercise, without receiving the order anew; I say, by the Scriptures he is not confined, when he receiveth the order, when, where, how, what part of those things he shall exercise which the order enableth to do. True it is, when the canon\(^1\) that prohibited ordinations without title of office was in force, to the true purpose of it, by receiving the order a man was deputed to the service of the Church in which he received it, as a Bishop is now when first he is ordained. And the nearer the course of law cometh to this canon, the better I conceive it is in that regard. But as this deputation was alterable, so was the execution of it of necessity limitable, in them that received it. What law of God, what command of Scripture, what rule or practice of the whole Church is there, to hinder him that is deputed to one service to undertake another for the good of the Church? or to enable all that have received the order of presbyter, for example, indifferently to exercise the power of the keys, and of ordaining, so far as it belongeth to that order of right? much less to exercise it according to their own sense, and not according to rules prescribed by the Church. Therefore, when the order

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is given, if you please to call the right and charge of exercising that which it importeth in such time, and place, and sort, as he that receiveth it is, or may be deputed to do, without receiving the order anew, the power of jurisdiction: this power of jurisdiction may be given or limited by other acts besides, though habitually, and afar of it be contained in the order of presbyters, and exercised without receiving the order anew, so soon as a man is deputed to the exercise of it. If further the question be made, from whom this power of jurisdiction,—that is, the right of exercising that which the order thus enableth to do—is derived, and in whom the power of jurisdiction—that is, the right of giving this right resideth—which the canonists derive from the Pope upon the whole Church;—the answer is plain, that it must rest in them and be derived from them upon whom the government of particular Churches, and that which falleth under them, is estated according to the Scriptures; inasmuch as no law of God enforceth the rest of Churches to be governed by one, further than the law of charity enforceth all to concur to the unity of the whole. The dependence, indeed, of particular congregations upon episcopal Churches\(^1\), is clearly derived from the institution of the Apostles related in the Scriptures, as must be observed afterwards; but it must also be said that the dependence of episcopal Churches is from human right\(^2\).

§ 16. In the outward jurisdiction of the Church in charitable causes, settled here upon Bishoprics, the matter is something otherwise, inasmuch as it is not so settled by express provision of Scripture. And yet not so strange from the Scripture, and that which is provided there, but that it may seem originally to have been derived from thence. The Apostle, 1 Cor. vi., reproving them for impleading one another in the courts of unbelievers, sheweth that the Church was disparaged in that course, as if it had none fit to decide their controversies: whereas it had been better to refer their causes to the meaneast of the Church, than to sue before infidels. That is the meaning of his words there, ver. 4, "If ye have causes concerning matters of this life, set them to judge who are

\(^1\) Episcopal Churches, i. e. those where the Bishop has his throne.

\(^2\) Upon others, as the Cathedrals

THORNDIKE.

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CHAP. IV. least esteemed in the Church:” not spoken by way of precept, commanding them to let the simplest of the brethren judge their causes,—that were a strange course where there were abler men to do it,—but by way of concession, that it were better so to do than as they did do. For the practice of the Church argueth that the custom grew, upon this order of the Apostle, to refer their causes to the chief of the Church as the Church, that is, to the Bishop and presbyters. In the Constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 47, ῥὰ δικαστήρια ὑμῶν ἱμνεσθο δευτέρα σαββάτων, ὅπως ἐὰν ἀντιλογία τῇ ἀποφάσει ὑμῶν γίνηται, ἔως σαββάτου ἔχοντες ἀδειαν, δυνήθητε εὐδύναι τὴν ἀντιλογίαν, καὶ εἰρήνευται εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν τοὺς διαφερομένους πρὸς ἅλλλοις: συμπαρέστωσαν δὲ τῷ δικαστήριῳ καὶ οἱ διάκονοι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ἀπροσωπολήτως κρίνωτε, ὡς Θεοῦ ἀνθρωποί. “Let your consistories be upon the Mondays, that if there arise opposition to your sentence, having leisure till the Sabbath, you may set the opposition straight, and make them friends that are at variance among themselves, against the Lord’s day. And let the deacons also and presbyters be present at the consistory, judging without respect of persons, as men of God.” Cap. 45 afore, Ἄλλα μὴ μηδὲ ἀνέχεσθε κοσμικοῖς ἀρχοντας κατὰ τῶν ἴμετέρων δικάζων. “But suffer not the magistrates of the world to give sentence on yours.” Not withdrawing obedience from the secular powers—he should be much mistaken that should so understand it—but taking up controversies within the Church after this course. And all to this purpose, that on the Lord’s day they might communicate—that they might give and receive the kiss of peace—that when the deacon pronounced, Μὴ τις τὰ κατὰ τινος, μὴ τίς ἐν ὑπονολα, “let no man have a quarrel or suspicion against any,” they might nevertheless draw near.

§ 17. Such was the beginning of the external jurisdiction of the Church, by which it may be judged whether it were first bestowed by the indulgence of Christian princes, or by them continued, upon the practice of the Church before the empire was Christian. But of this we speak not here, as not concerning the government of the Church in spiritual matters, wherein, as members of the Church, we communicate.

1 Apostol. Constit. viii. 12. μὴ τις κατὰ τινος. μὴ τίς ἐν ὑπονολα. It is possible that Thorndike may have quoted from memory.
That standeth indeed, and cometh to effect, by the free consent of members of it, so far as religion is not the law of that kingdom or commonwealth in which it flourisheth. Because our Lord endued not the ministers of His kingdom with that power to constrain obedience which Himself used not upon earth. But as the laws of kingdoms and commonwealths enforce the execution and outward effect of ministries instituted in the Scriptures; in this respect, not the power of excommunicating alone,—but of preaching, and ministering the Sacraments, and whatsoever else belongeth to the office,—is derived from the commonwealth, that is, in our particular, from the imperial crown of this kingdom, because it is exercised with effect outwardly—that is, of doing the work, though not of producing the inward end and purpose of converting the soul—by laws enforced by it.

§ 18. The like is to be said of all that is done in deputing those that receive any order in the Church, to the exercise of any part of that function which the order received importeth. The right and charge of it must rest upon those ministries that are encharged with the oversight and government of such matters, according to the Scriptures, and by whom it must be exercised, were the commonwealth not Christian. But the power that enforceth the effect of that which they do in this and all parts of their office, is derived from the secular arm of the commonwealth, that cherisheth the Church in the bosom of it. As for excommunication by judges delegate, or high-commissioners, that is, by men not of these orders; first, it proceedeth upon rules directed by the Church, and then the course of it is not so agreeable to the tenor of Scripture as to the necessities of the kingdom. For that is here to be averred again, that the presbyteries whereof we speak are differentiated from the rest of the people, as benches composed of none but persons ordained by imposition of hands for the purpose of teaching the people, and ordering and governing spiritual matters. So you have the office described in all places where there is remembrance of it in the Scriptures. Only in the words of the Apostle, 1 Tim. v. 17, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour: especially those that labour in the word and doctrine," it is imagined that two kinds of presbyters, as well as two parts of
their office, are expressed, one of ministers of the Church, another of the people; one perpetual, the other ambulatory for their time, both alike interested in the government of the Church, the office of preaching charged upon the one. How little of this is set down in the words of the Apostle, were the sense of them that which is pretended, let all the world judge: yet this is the state of that discipline which hath been pressed as one of the essential marks of a visible Church m.

§ 19. But the purpose is now to satisfy that which hath been alleged, from the collections of Justellus upon the African canons, to make good this pretended meaning of the Apostle, and that from the Apostle’s own words. He hath there produced, out of Church-writers of the age of St. Augustine and Optatus, or underneath, much remembrance of certain persons, styled in those writers, Seniores Ecclesiarcum, “Elders of Churches.” As in Actis Purgationis Caeciliani et Felicis: Clerici et seniores Cirithensium. In St. Augustine Contr. Crescon. iii. 56.Tempore presbyter et seniores Ecclesiae Mustitane regionis; and Ep. 137p, Clero senioribus et universae plebi Ecclesia Hipponensis. And to these persons are ascribed certain acts pertaining at least to the government of those Churches. As, “the church goods are deposited in their hands,” Optatus, lib. i.9 “They reprove a drunkard,” August. Serm. xix. De verbis Domini. “They are present at an ecclesiastical judgment,” Greg. I. xiii. Ep. 44.1 “The elders of the Church at Carthage solicit the sentencing of their Bishops’ cause,” Epist. Concil. Cabarsusitani apud August. in Psalm. xxxvi. 20. These and more particulars produced by Justellus. Out of Origen, iii. 51, Contr. Celsum;

— See “A Full and Plain Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline,” reprinted anno 1617: originally written in Latin by W. Travers, and printed, Rupelle, 1574.

1 Tom. iv. col. 277. ed. Bene
3 Par’ sēs eisai tēn tētaqmēnōn prōs to filopouseteîn tōn blous, kai tān ágyōs tōn proswōn.—Origen, tom. i. p. 481. ed. Ben. This passage was produced by Smeczyiinus, upon which Bp. Hall observes, “Your testimony from Origen cannot but shame you, if yet you can blush: you feared to cite the chapter, that in so long a book you might not be discovered.”—Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, sect. xv. p. 141.
that the Church had certain of the people to inform them of scandalous offences, whereupon they might proceed to reproof or censure. But observe first the style of the Apostle, Οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι, 1 Tim. v. 17; and Heb. xiii. 17, Οἱ ἄγονοι, agreeing with that of Tertullian, Apolog. cap. xxxix., Præsident probati quique seniores; and of Firmilianus, Ep. lxxv. ad Cypr., Ubi president majores natu; and Ignatius afores, Προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου... καὶ τῶν πρεσβύτερων. All expressing the first rank of the Church, in which, after the Bishop, they put the presbyters.

§ 20. Compare herewith the rank in which we see these elders of the people in the time of Optatus and St. Augustine placed in these writings from whence the remembrance of them is alleged. In Actis Purgat. Cæcil. et Felicia, Episcopi, presbyteri, diacones, seniores. August. Contr. Cresc. iii. 56, Presbyter et seniores Ecclesia, and then let common sense judge whether these, that stand in rank and style behind all degrees of the clergy, be the men that the Apostle placeth in the head of the Church, as rulers of it: or how those that governed the Church can come behind deacons, and inferior ranks whom they governed. The truth is, in that age, when the Latin tongue began to decay and corrupt, they are called seniores—in the authors alleged by Justellus—in the same sense as now in the vulgar languages, into which the Latin is changed, signori or seigneurs. And therefore there is remembrance of seniores locorum, et seniores regni Childeberti, out of Gregory of Tours, as well as seniores Ecclesia: signifying the “aldermen of commonalties,” and “lords of the kingdom,” as well as the chief persons of such or such a people, that acknowledged the Christian faith, at such time as all were not Christians, but Churches and commonalties in which they subsisted, made bodies distinct in persons as well as in rights. In that regard it seemeth they are called sometimes Viri ecclesiastici, “ecclesiastical persons,” that is, belonging to the Church, because there were others of like rank, which, being heathen, belonged not to it, rather than for any settled charge, in these offices, which we find them executing in behalf of

\[7\] Sect. 4.  
\[a\] Seniores loci,—lib. viii. cap. 31. col. 403, omnibus senioribus in regno Childeberti regia.—lib. vii. cap. 33. col. 358.  
CHAP. IV.

§ 21. There is yet another peremptory exception against this pretended meaning of the Apostle, published of late in the observation of Scultetus, which shall here be repeated to aver the truth of it. For when he saith, "Let the elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honour," the meaning is, for certain, of double maintenance, which must be in respect of single maintenance allowed somewhere else. Now let any man judge without prejudice, whether these elders of congregations, remembered in St. Augustine's time, being none of the clergy, received maintenance from the Church, out of the oblations of the people, or not. Whereas the Apostle in the beginning of the chapter having said, "Honour widows that are widows indeed," that is, allow them maintenance from the means of the Church, which the Bishop always dispensed; when he cometh to speak of elders unreprouvable in their charge, fitly ordereth that their maintenance be double to that of widows, which is also the Italian gloss of Diodati.

§ 22. The like practice we find in the Constitutions of the Apostles, where he ordereth the course of dividing portions, at the agape or feasts of love then used, abrogated afterwards by the twenty-eighth canon of Laodicea. The words are in the place alleged afore, ii. 28, ὁσον δὲ ἐκάστη τῶν

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b Haud secus ac illi, qui hodie apud nos templorum vel ecclesiarium gardiani vulgo vocitatur.—Cassaubon. not. in S. Óptat. lib. i. p. 225, London, 1631. So also Saravia, de divers, grad. Minist. cap. xii. p. 13. London, 1612. Thordike gives the following explanation of these Seniores: "Cum autem, ex instituto Apostolorum in Ecclesie conventibus expediebantur, quae ad Ecclesiam statum pertinent; . . . . . cum, multiplicatis postmodum caestibus Ecclesiarium, et causis proinde ecclesiasticis tractari omnes sub populi assistentis conscientia non possent, insti-


d Sopra quello che si desa residerne ad altre persone, che ne son degne nella chiesa, quali erano lesante vedove. vers. 17.

But whatsoever is given to the old women—that is, to the widows of whom the Apostle speaketh there—"let twice so much be given to the deacons, in honour of Christ." Then follow the words alleged afore, wherein it is ordered that the presbyters have as much as the deacons. I know that in another case, that is, in dividing the remains of oblations for the Eucharist, the proportion is otherwise, according to the same Constitutions, viii. 31, Τὰς περισσευότατα ἐν τοῖς μυστικοῖς εὐλογίας, κατὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἢ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἱ διάκονοι διανεμήσωσαν τῷ κλήρῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ μέρη τέσσαρα, πρεσβυτέρῳ μέρη τρια, διάκονῳ μέρη δύο, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις, ἱπποδιάκονοι, ἢ ἀναγνώσταις, ἢ φάλαι, ἢ διακονίσταις, μέρος ἐν. "Let the deacons distribute the remains of the blessings at the mysteries, according to the mind of the Bishop or presbyters, to the clergy; to the Bishop four parts; to a presbyter three; to a deacon two; to the rest, subdeacons, readers, singers, or deaconesses, one part." Nevertheless, from the particular remembered afore, we may well conclude the meaning of the Apostle, that his order is, the maintenance of presbyters to be double that of widows. And upon these considerations it shall not trouble me to repeat what I have affirmed elsewhere, that for this mistake of lay-elders there is neither appearance in Scripture, nor in ecclesiastical writers. For of the text, 1 Cor. xii. 28, I shall speak afterwards.

§ 23. Walo Messalinus deriveth the pedigree of these African elders, by conjecture, from those of the Apostle, whose employment consisted in governing the Church, rather than in teaching the people. But out of his excellent learning he acknowledgeth that though they are called "ecclesiastical persons," yet they were not of the ecclesiastical order, not of the bench of the Church, which those of the Apostle did constitute. And therefore the pretence of their

footnotes:

1 Sect. 3.
3 Ab antiquo porro institutione ac disciplina, qua presbyteri et Episcopi non in ordine ecclesiasticus sed in censu laicorum esse credabantur, manserunt et in Ecclesia Africana seniores illi sive presbyteri laici, qui Ecclesiae deserviebant. Quorum mentio extat in codice Africane Ecclesiae et apud Augustinum.
4 Postea vero quam, ad instar Aaronis familie sacerdotum, creditum est, institutos esse presbyteros Ecclesiae Christianae, aboliti sunt ubique locorum illi laici presbyteri, in sola Africana Ecclesia remanserunt.—De Episcopis et presbyteris, cap. v. pp. 396-398.
pedigree availeth not to make them inherit the charge which those of our time have been invested with, as much without precedent of the Churches of Africa, as without warrant from the Scriptures. The ground of the mistake was, because men would not believe that in the time of the Apostles, and among the presbyters of their ordaining, there was none that did not preach from time to time. Whereas the state and condition of their congregations required as well men’s wisdom and goodness, in the oversight of those spiritual matters, wherein the members of them did communicate, as their learning and eloquence in speaking, which was not always to be expected from such qualities of men as were promoted to that charge. Of our Lord’s kindred that confessed Him afore Domitian, promoted therefore afterwards to the government of Churches, I have made mention elsewhere. Tertull. de Idol. cap. vii., Parum sit, si ab aliis manibus accipiant quod contaminant, sed etiam ipsae tradunt aliis quod contaminaverunt. Adleguntur in ordinem Ecclesiasticum artifices idolorum. “Be it a small thing, if they receive of others that which they pollute, nay themselves deliver also to others that which they have polluted. Men whose craft is to make idols are chosen to the bench of the Church.” If presbyters, that delivered the Eucharist, were sometimes painters and carvers in those days, well may we imagine that all of them preached not always: it was enough that the Bishop or some of them did it.

§ 24. If this were the condition of the ecclesiastical order in that time, then must of necessity the office of teaching in the Church belong rather to the particular gifts and abilities of some, than to the general and perpetual charge of all presbyters. And this I still suppose to be part of the cause that it pleased God, in the time of the Apostles, to distribute such varieties of spiritual graces among those that believed, that there might be every where such as might furnish this office of preaching and teaching in their assemblies by the help of extraordinary graces, which, upon the ordinary means of men’s learning and studies—which now the Church is so well provided with—would then have proved defective. The use of these graces is that which the Apostle debateth at large, 1 Cor. xii. xiv., and the ex-

1 Prim. Gov., chap. vii. sect. 5.
position of his meaning there is the business which henceforth I charge myself with. The issue whereof will enable us to discern by what sorts of persons and graces the public service of God was ministered at those assemblies, which his purpose in that discourse is to regulate.

§ 25. This discourse the Apostle openeth in the beginning of the twelfth chapter, with a mark to discern such as spoke indeed by the Spirit of God, from such as pretended it, but were moved in truth by unclean spirits. For that I take to be the meaning of his words there, ver. 3, "Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God calleth Jesus accursed," or anathema: "and that no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." The words of St. Chrysostom upon this place: Διὸ καὶ ἄρχο-μενος πρῶτον τὸ μέσον μαντεῖας καὶ προφητείας τίθησιν διὰ τούτο καὶ διακρίσεις ἔλαβον πνευμάτων, ὡστε διακρίνειν, καὶ εἰδέναι, τὸς μὲν τὸ πνευμάτι φθεγγόμενος καθαρῷ, τὸς δὲ τὸ ἀκαθάρτῳ: that is, "Therefore at the first beginning he putteth down the difference between divining and prophesying, for which purpose they received the gift of discerning spirits,"—as it followeth ver. 10. afterwards—"that they might distinguish and know who spake by a clean spirit, and who by an unclean." And again, Καὶ γὰρ μισήσεις ἀπὸ τὸ διάβολον, ἐπειδή σοι προφητεύουσι, συνήγησας εἰσάγων, ὡς δὴ θεῖον τὰ μελλόντα προλέγοντας καὶ αὐτοίς. 1 "For the devil being naught, shuffled in among those that prophesieth, foisting in false prophets, forsooth such as themselves also foretold things to come." So that in his judgment, the words of the Apostle are not general, to affirm that no man could call Jesus Lord but by the Holy Ghost, but relate to the particular whereof he speaketh; to tell us, that such as pretended to speak by the Holy Ghost, if they glorified our Lord Christ, then were they what they pretended to be, otherwise not. As who should say, that it was not in them to persist in their counterfeiting, when it was required of them to confess Christ. For we know that in the primitive times, at the naming of Jesus, unclean spirits forsook the possessed. And thus St. Chrysostom 2 answereth, that she which had the unclean spirit, Acts

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1 Homil. xxix. in 1 Ep. ad Corinth.,
2 Ibid., p. 430.
3 tom. iii. p. 429. ed. Savil.
4 1b. p. 431.
CHAP. xvi. 16, confessed Christ indeed, but unwillingly, and so as she was discovered by it. For being a thing evident that men did and might counterfeit themselves Christians, and call Jesus Lord, with a tongue rather moved by the evil spirit, it seemeth an inconvenience to grant that all men, in confessing Christ, speak by the Holy Ghost, in regard of the truth which they confess.

§ 26. But it is reasonable to conceive that God suffered not those that pretended to spiritual graces—of whom the Apostle propoundeth there to speak in particular—being moved indeed by the evil spirit to persist in their counterfeiting. This sense I embrace, because the same mark is laid down so plainly by another Apostle, to the same purpose, 1 John iv. 1—3: "Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God, because many false prophets are gone out into the world: 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." "Spirits" the Apostle here calleth "inspirations," as in St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii. 10, "discerning of spirits," that is, "inspirations:" and 1 Cor. xiv. 12, "because ye are zealous of spirits," that is, "of spiritual graces." And the difference between his mark to try them by and St. Paul's, is but this: according to the one, "He that acknowledgeth Jesus the Messias to be come in the flesh:" according to the other, "He that acknowledgeth Jesus that is come in the flesh, to be the Lord, he it is that speaketh by the Holy Ghost." The same is the meaning of the Apostle, 1 Thess. v. 19, 20, according to the same St. Chrysostom: where having said, "Quench not the Spirit, despise not prophesying," he addeth immediately, "Try all things, hold fast that which is good:" instructing them in the particular in hand, to examine all that pretended to these spiritual graces, by the gift of discerning spirits, which God then allowed the Church for that purpose; and to make use of such as proved that which they professed.

§ 27. The proposition of this discourse of the Apostle then, concerneth those graces of the Holy Ghost that consisted in

speaking, whereof therefore there might be use in public assemblies, which his purpose is to order by such rules as we shall see him propound in the end of the fourteenth chapter of this epistle. But this to do, he fetcheth a compass about, and launcheth into a general discourse of all manner of graces—all manner of ministries—all manner of works that have relation to the public body of the Church—to shew that all were given and intended, not for the eminence of those persons on whom they were bestowed, but for the public benefit. This is the point to which he proceedeth, ver. 4, “Now there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God that worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given every man to profit withal.”

§ 28. It concerneth not the purpose of my discourse here, to be nice in inquiring the difference between graces, and ministries, and operations, remembered here by the Apostle. It is enough to observe that the name of ministries is sometimes particular for those that are called deacons, from the original word διακονία, because they ministered to the Apostles, to the Bishop, and presbyters, for discharge of their office: sometimes general, for all kind of service, in regard of him to whom it addresseth. For as concerning the force of the word, as the Apostle saith here, “There are differences of ministries, but the same Lord;” so generally that which is done in service to any person, that person is the Lord, and those services in his regard are ministries. Indeed, the Apostle, when he saith in the next words, “the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal,” manifestly proceedeth to speak of none but miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost, demonstrating the presence thereof in the Church. Though the word χάρισμα is general in its own nature, signifying all manner of gifts proceeding from favour and grace, as it is translated in the Syriac, מִפְרָשָׁה, signifying “gifts:” whereas ἐργασία, “operations,” seemeth particularly to relate to such graces as tended to miraculous works, and is therefore rendered in the Syriac מְפֹרֶשֶׂה, signifying “powerful operations.”

§ 29. Thus it is true which St. Chrysostom writeth upon this
chapter, in the beginning; because those that were converted from idols knew not the Old Testament, and the Holy Ghost is invisible. God gave in these graces a sensible evidence of the operation of it: Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φθειρομένῳ διὸ καὶ συνειλήκη λέγων, Ἐκάστῳ δὲ ἡ φανερώσεις τοῦ πνεύματος διὸ θαυμάζει πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, τὰ χαρίσματα φανέρωσιν τοῦ πνεύματος ὑμῶν. "And this," saith he, "manifested to those that were without the Church, that the Holy Ghost is in him that speaketh. Therefore so he calleth it, saying, 'But to every one is given the manifestation of the Spirit to profit with,' calling gifts the manifestation of the Spirit;" and Ócumenius according to him. Though this be true, yet the process of the Apostle's discourse from ver. 12, intendeth not only to comprise miraculous graces, but all ministries ordained for the public service of the Church, whether depending on miraculous graces or not; as appeareth both by the reason whereupon he proceedeth, and by the catalogue, wherein from ver. 28, he recapitulateth and reckoneth the particulars of all that can be reduced under those heads of graces, of ministries, of operations.

§ 30. For the reason wherewith the Apostle pursueth this point proposed, that all these are intended not to make the persons eminent in whom they are, but for public benefit, is the comparison of a natural body and the members of it, whereof there is none that envieth or despiseth another; to teach private persons not to grudge at them upon whom public graces or places are bestowed; and them not to despise private persons. This comparison the Apostle setteth on foot also in his epistle to the Romans, but slighteth it over more in brief there, because as St. Chrysostom thinketh, it seemeth, the abuse against which he writeth, as it was also there, so was it more rife among the Corinthians. This reason, it is plain, concerneth those that have public ministries no less than those that have miraculous graces; both being for the common benefit of the body, which is the Church. But the Apostle having enlarged this comparison

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0 Homil. xxix. in 1 Ep. ad Corin. 1631.
to the full in this place, to shew to whom he speaketh as members of public places, proceedeth ver. 28, to particularize all to whom his exhortation belongeth, Apostles, prophets, and the rest; among whom he reckoneth ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνή-
σεις, that is, “helps” and “governments”; which our English rendereth “helps in governments”;
which, whether they mean miraculous graces, such as the Apostle calleth “the mani-
festation of the Spirit,” or ministries of public service in the Church, I refer to further consideration afterwards.

§ 31. In the mean time observing that the Apostle, writing
to the Romans for the same purpose, hath reckoned more particular
s of the same nature not necessarily proceeding from
miraculous graces, though his discourse there, xii. 6, com-
priseth those also when he saith, “having several gifts accord-
ing to the grace that is given to us,” for the present, we
may see what this whole discourse of the Apostle aimeth at,
by the conclusion of the chapter, where he saith, “Covet
earnestly the best gifts: and yet shew I unto you a more ex-
cellent way.” For this exhortation it is that tith all that
hath passed with that which followeth. The Syriac readeth
it thus; “If ye be zealous of the best graces, I will yet shew
you a more excellent way.” Theodoret* and Æcumenius
make a question of it, thus; “Are ye zealous of the most
eminent graces? I will yet shew you a way beyond them
all.” But whether the meaning be to exhort them to pursue
the most useful graces, or to suppose that they did it, thus
much for certain his intent is, to give the ground and reason
why all members of public service in the Church are not to
seek the eminence of their persons, but the common benefit;
because there is a thing called “the common charity of
Christians,” more available towards the esteem of all men’s
persons, be they never so private in the Church, with God,
than all those gifts of the Holy Ghost, that appear so marvell-
ous to common sense.

§ 32. This is the occasion of that comparison which fol-
loweth throughout the thirteenth chapter, between the com-
mon charity of Christians, and their particular miraculous
graces; which being despatched there, in good time doth the

* Authorized version, A.D. 1611. κατ’ ἐρωτήσειν ἀνθρώπων. Æcume-
* Theodoret, in loco, τοῦτο τιμέω. Æcumenius cites Photius, p. 647.
Apostle proceed to resume that which he had proposed afore, and upon this occasion intermitted, concerning zeal and study for the most excellent graces, which he tieth up with that charity which hitherto he hath preferred to them all in that proposition which he openeth the fourteenth chapter with, "Follow after charity and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesy." For when he preferreth prophesying before other spiritual gifts, it is plain enough what he meant when he said before, "be zealous of the best graces:" a thing in which there can be no doubt, because it is the subject of what is behind in this discourse.

§ 33. Now let me lay down the words of the Apostle wherein he reckoneth in particular the graces and ministries of the Church, 1 Cor. xii. 28; "And God hath set some in the Church, first Apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps in governments, diversities of tongues," whereunto we may add out of ver. 10, "interpreting of tongues." And herewith compare the catalogue of the same, which he compriseth under the name of gifts and graces, Rom. xii. 6, 7, 8; "Having then gifts differing according to the grace that is given to us; whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith; or ministry, let us wait on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching; or he that exhorteth, on exhortation; he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with cheerfulness." That which followeth, concerning the particular virtues of Christians, and the works of them, as love, hope, patience, and the like; such as are also those that went afore, "of giving and shewing mercy," which the Apostle hath ranked among those graces which tend to the general good of the Church, it seemeth, because they also respect the benefit of others.

§ 34. Last of all, add unto these the ministries which the grace of Christ—upon His Ascension, poured out upon the Church—appointeth; according to the same Apostle, Eph. iv. 11, 12, "And He gave some Apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." By which words, as well as by the particulars which he putteth down, and which he
leaveth out of those which he reckoneth in the other places, it appeareth that he intended—according to the purpose of his speech there—to comprise none but those graces and minis-
tries which tend to the edification of the whole Church in
matter of doctrine. But writing to the Corinthians, his intent
was to set down all manner of graces and ministries tending
to the common benefit of the whole Church either in spiritual
or corporal necessities, in working miracles and the like;
none whereof he mentioneth to the Romans, neither the
graces of Apostles and Evangelists, it seemeth, because they
are graces and offices not confined to one Church in parti-
cular. These catalogues are here compared for the ease and
direction of them that desire to judge of such particulars as
seem not yet out of doubt in the ministries appointed by the
Apostles.

§ 35. To which purpose we must resume what hath been
elsewhere observed, that nothing hindereth divers of the
graces specified to meet in the same person. For though we
suppose, as the Apostle seemeth to suppose, all ministries to
be accompanied with the graces which the discharge of them
requireth; as the elders of Israel, Num. xi. 25, received part
of Moses’ spirit; and though all graces infer ministries,
as he that is endued with any of the graces specified to the
Corinthians, ministereth the effect of his grace to the benefit
of others; yet there is a difference between ministries of
public office in the Church, whether to cease or continue,
and graces which enable either a public person to a public,
or private persons to a particular work, as that of miracles.
Several ministries of public place in the Church must
belong to several persons; but public persons are capable as
well of the graces which private persons have, as of those that
belong to their public charge, including perhaps the graces of
inferior ministries.

§ 36. And the instance of the first in the catalogue shall
put this out of doubt, that is, of Apostles. For nothing
hindereth an Apostle to be a prophet, to speak strange lan-
guages, to work miracles, or the like. The commentaries
under St. Ambrose’s name, Quamvis sint et Apostoli pro-


* In Ep. 1 ad Corinth. xii. 28. tom.
PHIL. quia primus gradus omnia subjecta habet. "Though," saith he, "Apostles also are prophets, because the chief degree hath the rest subject to it." His meaning is, the grace of Apostles containeth the graces of inferior ministers, as their ministries are subject to that of the Apostles. Evangelists were no Apostles, but their ministers in using their graces to second the Apostles, therefore the grace of Apostles containeth that of evangelists. Prophets were no Apostles to preach the faith and plant Churches, but for the instruction of Churches planted in the knowledge of the Scriptures; but the grace of a prophet to all purposes might be in an Apostle. Doctors were no Apostles, but Apostles chief of doctors. Elders of Churches could not be Apostles, they were from the beginning ordained for the service of several Churches, but the Apostles make themselves their fellow elders in regard to the government of all Churches of their charge. If presbyters, much more Bishops, which as heads of presbyters, were that in one Church which the Apostles were in all of their own planting and charge.

§ 37. Those companions of the Apostles whereof you have heard, are some of them called in express terms evangelists, and the office may well be thought to belong to the rest. Titus, Clemens, Linus, Erastus, and others, may upon good presumption be called evangelists; as those are to whom their condition is so answerable, Mark, Luke, Timothy, that are so called in Scripture, or so reputed in ecclesiastical writers. My conjecture was, that they were sent by their several Churches—as Timothy from that of Lystra, Acts xvi. 3,—as deacons to minister unto the Apostles, heads of those Churches for the time that they continued in their attendance, and by them employed to preach the Gospel, at their appointment, in such places where themselves could not, in regard of the grace given them to do it. As Philip, deacon to the Apostles first, and afterwards to St. James, was also an evangelist to preach the Gospel to Samaria, Acts viii. 5; xxi. 8. And I see no cause to repent of this conjecture reading thus, Acts xix. 22, "So he sent before two of those that ministered unto him," Timotheus and Erastus. It is the word from whence deacons have their name. But when they received the charge of

* Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 16.
Churches, though Bishops of those Churches, yet ceased they not to be evangelists, for the charge of propagating the Gospel through the countries seated underneath the cities of those Churches. Thus was Mark at Alexandria, Timothy at Ephesus, Titus at Gortyna in Crete; the rest are to be seen in Walo Messalinus\textsuperscript{x}, p. 192. He supposeth that these companions of the Apostles are themselves also called Apostles of a second rank, as sent by the Apostles to preach the Gospel at their disposing, as the Apostles were by Christ to preach the Gospel every where without restraint\textsuperscript{v}. And there is appearance of this sense, 2 Pet. iii. 2; Rev. ii. 2,—not in Phil. ii. 25; 2 Cor. viii. 23; where Epaphroditus and others are called 'Apostles of Churches,' in a third sense, declared elsewhere\textsuperscript{1}, answerable to those Apostles of the synagogue, mentioned in the constitutions of the emperors that were sent through the synagogues to gather the dues of their Patriarch residing in Palestine.—And Theodoret\textsuperscript{x} conceived that when all presbyters were called Bishops, then Bishops were called Apostles in this sense. But we must not understand those to be the Apostles of whom this place speaketh, but the first Apostles of Christ; for those that are thus called Apostles, are the same that are called Evangelists here and Eph. iv. 11. Thus there is a difference between graces and ministries.

\section*{§ 38. But as concerning the office of doctors mentioned by the Apostle, it may be two ways understood. The disciples of prophets under the Old Testament, such as attained not to the grace of immediate inspiration,—but rested in that knowledge which the ordinary blessing of God upon their studies was able to compass,—in the Scripture are called "prophets," in the Chaldee paraprase are sometimes translated "scribes,"}

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Sed hae differentia extitit inter Episcopos Apostolos et Episcopos presbyteros Apostolici saculi, quod hi specialem certarum ecclesiarum episcopam habeant, illi generalem omnium.—\textit{id.} p. 191.
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Prim. Govern., chap. xii. sect. 16.
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\"Ecce autem quoque predestinato calvi\" Ammonis grece εἰκόνα κατ' εἰκόνα τὸν καὶ τὸν ἀνώματα.—Comm. in Philippens. i. 1. p. 323. \"Μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς ἑπισκόπους τὸν τοὺς τοὶ διακόνους πρεσβυτέρους γραφεῖ, τοὺς ἑπισκόπους καὶ τὸν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους παραλέγοντας \ldots \ldots τοὺς δὲ νῦν καλομένους ἑπισκόπους, ἀποστόλους ἀνωμάζων τοὺς δὲ χρόνου προϊσταστος, τὸ μὲν τῆς ἀποστολῆς δύναμα τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς ἀποστόλοις κατέλειψεν τὴν δὲ τῆς ἑπισκοπας προσεπαρατοσ τὸν πάθη καλομένους ἀποστόλους ἐνθίσθανεν...Comm. in 1 Tim. i. i. pp. 473, 474. Tom. iii. ed. Sirmond. Paris. 1642.
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sometimes "doctors," as hath been said. Some man may conceive the like of the prophets of the New Testament; that their disciples, that had no immediate inspirations, were admitted to teach in the Church, which, after this rank of prophets was ceased, came also to nothing. But because there is no mention of any such in ecclesiastical writers as of ministers of Churches,—it shall be observed indeed that sometimes laymen were licensed to teach the people in the primitive times, but those are never called or accounted doctors of Churches, that we should suppose them to be the remains of those ministers of Churches which the Apostle calleth "doctors,"—there is no reason to doubt that the men whom the Apostle here calleth "doctors," are those of the presbyters which had the abilities of preaching and teaching the people at their assemblies; that those of the presbyters that preached not, are called here by the Apostle "governments," and the deacons ἀντιλήψεως, that is, "helps," or "assistants" to the government of presbyters; so that it is not to be translated "helps in governments," but "helps," "governments." For we are not here to imagine that the Apostle reckoning one by one the list of all graces and ministries of the Church, should say never a word of presbyters and deacons, the only ministries of succession in the Church under Bishops.

§ 39. Now the office of deacons, though set up at the first upon occasion of ministering the oblations of the faithful to the necessities of the poor, yet if we regard the practice of it in the times next the Apostles, cannot be better expressed than [by] calling them "assistants" to the office of government resting in the presbyters, when there was no Bishop at Corinth. And we have here a particular reason why the Apostle would not call them by the usual name of "deacons" in this place, because he had used it before in a general sense, when he said, "There be divers ministries," διακονίας, "but one Lord," and therefore could not so well use it again here in this particular sense.

§ 40. And the Apostle's intent here being to distinguish all graces in his catalogue, and having shewed that there were

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* Chap. ii. sect. 21.
* It was so translated in the version authorized by King James, printed 1611.

The mistake was corrected in 1638.
two parts of the presbyter's office in teaching and governing, the one whereof some attained not, even in the Apostle's time: it is reasonable to imagine that the office and ministry of presbyters is specified here in the names of these two graces, in the exercise whereof it consisteth. No otherwise than in the other place to the Romans, in these words, "Ὁ διδάσκων, ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ . . . ὁ προϊστάμενος, ἐν σπουδῇ," are designed the same two graces, in the work whereof consisteth the office of presbyters: which he that acknowledgeth shall give reason enough why the Apostle reckoneth the gift of exhortation there, besides that of doctrine; being no incon-

venience to make several parts of this grace, tending to the edification of the Church, according to that which several men are most able to do, though all may be comprised under one name of "doctrine." Whereas those that, upon the mention of teaching, imagine a several ministry of doctors instituted by the Apostle for all ages of the Church, are tied in consequence to set up the like for exhortation, which is ridiculous. Again, hereby we give account what the Apostle to the Ephesians understandeth by "pastors and teachers," to wit, those that exercised also that part of the presbyter's office which concerned the edification of the Church in doctrine, whereof there he speaketh, and of nothing else: and thereupon conclude that pastors and doctors are both one there with the Apostle.

§ 41. For what reason else can be rendered, why there is no remembrance of pastors in either of those other places, wherein the Apostle maketh a more particular reckoning of the ministries of the Church, both to the Romans and to the Corinthians? What reason but this, because they are set down in both places under the name of "doctors?" Well may it seem that the office of them, whom the synagogue called "pastors," being referred in the Church to the inferior order of deacons, the name stuck upon those that ministered the food of the soul in the Church which is for the purpose of it. Clemens, Epist. ad Cor. p. 634: "Ἡττο τίς πιστός, ἢττο δικαίος ἡμῶν ἐξευτελών, ἢττο σοφός ἐν διακρίσει λόγων, ἢττο ἀγνός ἐν ἐργοῖς. "Be a man faithful, be a man able to utter knowledge, be he wise in discerning discourses, be he pure in

works." He seemeth to point at some of the presbyters there in whom these abilities were. Tertull. de praescript. cap. iii.; Quid ergo si Episcopus, si diaconus, si vidua, si virgo, si doctor, si etiam martyr lapsus à regula fuerit? "What then if a Bishop, if a deacon, if a widow, if a virgin, if a doctor, if even a martyr shall fall from the rule?" In this list of principal ranks in the Church, presbyters have no room, unless we understand them in the name of "doctors," the best part of their office.

§ 42. Theodoret, Epit. Hær. Fabul. lib. v. cap. penult.; Περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κόρινθῳ πεπορνευκότος, τι ἀν εἴποιεν, δὲ οὐ μόνον θείων μυστηρίων ὑξέστο, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδασκαλικοὶ ἐπετυχὲις χαρίσματος; "What can they say of the incestuous person at Corinth, who was not only vouchsafed the divine mysteries, but also had attained a doctor's grace?" He followeth St. Chrysostom's conjecture, which conceiveth that the Corinthians were "puffed up," as the Apostle blameth them, 1 Cor. v. 3, with the opinion of that man, because he was one of their doctors, that is, one of the presbyters of that Church that exercised the office of preaching, and by that means bore sway among the people. In fine, the Apostle 121 intendeth by "doctors" the same that are so called in all ecclesiastical writers, that is, the Bishops, or such of the presbyters as were seen in preaching.

§ 43. It is worth the observing, that Beza hath expounded those whom the Apostle calleth ἀντιλήψεις, κυβερνήσεις, no otherwise than "deacons" and "presbyters;" meaning indeed those elders of the people which he imagined. But having shewed that there never was any such in the Church, well may we take his judgment along with so much of the truth as he acknowledgeth; which deserveth still more credit from the president of synagogues, which had elders, some learned, some not, some that preached, and some that did not, as hath been said.

§ 44. Salmiasius of late, in his work De Fœnore Trapezit., hath shewn some evidence of two sorts of presbyters in the
first times of the Church. But according to his admirable knowledge, he saw withal that they were all of one rank in the Church—all of the ecclesiastical order—all made by imposition of hands; and by consequence, none of those elders of the people which have been set up to manage the keys of the Church, that is, the office of the ecclesiastical order, according to the Scriptures. Besides, it is to be observed that the office of Bishops—which name he thinketh most proper to those presbyters which preached not, but were exercised in ordering Church-matters—and presbyters is described almost in all places where there is mention of it in the Scriptures by both qualities, of teaching and governing the Church. Which is my argument to conclude, that howsoever some men’s abilities might be seen in the one rather than in the other,—howsoever some men, according to their abilities, might be applied to this rather than to that, yet both offices concerned the whole order, that of preaching in chief. To which, though some attained not, yet all are encouraged to labour towards it as the most excellent work of their place, as by St. Paul allowing them that double maintenance, especially in that respect: so by these Constitutions allowing them that double portion at their feasts of love for that purpose, “that they may take pains in the word of doctrine,” as the words go there 1.

§ 45. Be it then resolved, that the presbyters of the Church, at least part of them, were those doctors whereof the Apostle writeth; and from thence be it considered what dis tempers slight mistakes in the sound of the Scripture bring to pass, when we see the order of doctors, distinct from that of presbyters, pressed as a point of that discipline that maketh one of the essential marks of a visible Church 2. But whether the prophets of the primitive Church, which taught the people at their assemblies, were presbyters or not, is not so easy to determine. Some of them we have reason enough to think were, be it but for those prophets of Antioch, Acts xiii. 2, that “ministered unto the Lord and fasted,” when the Holy Ghost said unto them, “Separate Me Barnabas and Saul for

1 See chap. iv. sect. 3. Word of God, pp. 71—82; reprinted
2 See a Full and Plain Declaration 1617.
of Ecclesiastical Discipline out of the
the work to which I have appointed them;" and those other among whom Timothy received imposition of hands with prophesying, 1 Tim. iv. 14. But that all prophets were presbyters is more than I can resolve. By the Apostle's description, it should seem that they had their place with the bench of the Church. Walo Messalinus out of Ruffinus hath remembered to us Ordinem propheticum, "the rank or bench of prophets, as a ministry by themselves." Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and Tertullian, have left mention of the grace of prophets as extant in their time, but of the use of it, for the ordinary ministry of the Church in teaching the people, they have said nothing, to my knowledge. Of these prophets henceforth we are to entreat.

CHAPTER V.

PROPHETS IN MOST OF THE CHURCHES REMEMBERED BY THE APOSTLES.

The gift of languages, the purpose and nature of it. The limbs and branches of both these graces in St. Paul. Of praying, and praising God by the spirit. Those that spake strange tongues understood what they said. Interpretation concerneth all that was spoken in strange languages. They prayed and studied for spiritual graces. Propheying in St. Paul signifieth singing psalms. Prayers of the Church conceived by immediate inspiration. The nearness of the graces of prophesying and languages. The ground and meaning of the Apostles' rule. It proceedeth of none but prophets. What is to be judged in that which prophets spake. The custom in the primitive Church of many preaching at the same assembly came from hence.

In the beginning of the Christian faith it pleased God, for the propagation and maintenance of it, to revive the grace of prophesying, decayed and lost among His ancient people, in a large measure, in most of the Churches planted by the Apostles: though there be not found so much concerning their

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footnotes:


office any where as in this Church of Corinth. In the Church of Jerusalem, the mother of all Churches, Acts xi. 27, "And in those days came prophets from Jerusalem to Antiochia;" xv. 32, "And Judas and Silas being prophets also themselves." In the Church of Antiochia, Acts xiii. 1, "Now there were in the Church that was at Antiochia certain prophets and doctors." At Thessalonica, 1 Thess. v. 20, "Despise not prophesying." At Corinth, as we see at large. At Ephesus, Eph. iv. 11, "And He gave some Apostles, some evangelists, some prophets, some pastors and doctors." At Rome, Rom. xii. 6, "Whether prophesy, according to the proportion of faith." And setting these particulars aside, how general the grace was, is to be seen, because the Apostle, reckoning 1 Cor. xii. 28, all members of public use and service, Eph. iv. 11, all ministries of edification, nameth "prophets" among them whom God hath placed in the Church.

§ 2. Besides this grace, which was more for the edification of them that believed, instructing them in the mysteries of our faith at their religious assemblies, the grace of speaking strange languages was also bestowed upon the Churches, to make evidence to unbelievers that the Holy Ghost was present there, and by that means to draw them to believe, as the Apostle saith here, 1 Cor. xiv. 22, "Tongues are a sign not to them that believe, but to them that believe not: but prophesying serveth not for them that believe not, but for them that believe:" containing in it a preface to that which God now intended to do, in bringing all nations and languages to the acknowledgment of Him that was hitherto confined to one people, so that, when the Gospel was received, His praises should sound in all kind of languages. For it is not to be imagined as if the gift of languages, that maketh so much noise in this epistle, and in the Scriptures elsewhere, consisted merely in speaking in an unknown tongue, and not in the subject suggested to them by the Spirit to speak.

§ 3. It is plain besides, that it was the praises of God, and those mysteries of the knowledge of God, which those that had the gift could not reach to of themselves, that they were moved by the Holy Ghost to express in unknown languages. So it is said of the Apostles when first they received this grace, Acts ii. 4, "And they were all filled with the Holy
CHAP. V.

Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." And to shew further what matters they uttered, the company assembled say of them, ver. 11, "We do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God." As it is said of them which were with Cornelius, Acts x. 46, "They heard them speak with tongues, and magnify God." And upon this ground it is that St. Peter expoundeth the passage of the Prophet Joel, "And it shall come to pass in the last days, saith God, I will pour out of My Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams," of the Apostles when they spake in strange languages. To shew us that the matters uttered in strange languages were the like as the prophets revealed, the gift of unknown tongues over and above.

§ 4. From whence we may perceive the meaning of that which the Apostle hath set down here, ver. 2, "For he that speaketh in an unknown tongue speaketh not unto men, but unto God; for no man understandeth him, howbeit in the Spirit he speaketh mysteries." And again, ver. 4, "He that speaketh in an unknown tongue edifieth himself." Where you have in plain terms, that those things, which the Holy Ghost moved men to speak in strange languages, were for the instruction of those that had the grace in the mysteries of God's kingdom. For this reason the gift of languages is compared with that of prophesying throughout this whole fourteenth chapter of the first to the Corinthians, with intent to regulate the use of both at their religious assemblies. So that it seemeth all spiritual graces are by the Apostle referred to these two kinds, in that difference which he maketh from the beginning, "Be zealous of spiritual gifts, but rather of prophesying:" where I must allow Beza's translation to be more exact than that which we use. For where he saith, Ζηλοῦτε τὰ πνευματικὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἵνα προφητεύῃτε, it is plain that prophesying is of the number of spiritual graces, and therefore not to be excepted, in opposition to them, as if the Apostle exhorted to study prophesying rather than spiritual graces; but as it is translated there, to be zealous of spiritual

* Affectate spiritualia, maxime vero, ut prophetetia.
graces, but of all spiritual graces, especially of that of prophesying.

§ 5. Ecumenius thus glosseth the words, Οὐ δὲ δὲ, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελεῖν χαρισμάτων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ περὶ τὴν προφητείαν χαρισμάτως. "But we must not neglect other graces, and especially that of prophesying;" to the same sense, which is the true meaning of the words. Now the particulars in regard whereof the Apostle advanteth the gift of prophesying beyond that of languages, are thus set down, ver. 3; "He that prophesieth speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort." Τοὺς γὰρ ἀνθρώπους, φησίν, οἰκοδομεῖ, καὶ παρακαλεῖ ἐπὶ τὴν πίστιν, καὶ παραμυθεῖται ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐσομένους περισσοῦς. This is the gloss of Ecumenius: that is, "For, saith he, he edifieth men, and exhorteth them to the faith, and comforteth them upon the temptations that shall be." Here are then so many limbs of this grace, and of the work to which it did enable. And chap. xiii. 2, when he saith, "And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge," it should seem by these words, that the knowledge of all Divine mysteries is to be ranged under this grace. St. Chrysostom there, Οὐ τὴν προφητείαν τίθησι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην προφητείαν εἰπὼν γὰρ, Ἐὰν ἔχω προφητείαν, ἐπήγαγε, καὶ εἰδὼ τὸ μυστήρια πάντα, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γνώσιν. "He putteth not down prophesying alone, but the highest degree of it; for having said, ‘If I have prophecy,’ he addeth, ‘and know all mysteries, and all knowledge.’"

§ 6. And whether those particulars which the Apostle here expresseth xii. 8, when he saith, "For to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit;" whether these, I say, be of the same nature, limbs of this gift of prophesying, and of immediate inspiration or not, is resolved both by the terms which the Apostle useth when he saith, "To one is given the word of wisdom by the Spirit, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit:" for those things which are given by the Spirit are inspirations in this place. And by the consequence...
of his speech, having said afore, "The manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit with:" for the manifestation of the Spirit are those graces by which the presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church was made manifest. And we see in what particulars the Apostle further specifieth this grace, in opposition to that of languages, xiv. 6. "Now, brethren, if I come unto you with tongues, what shall I profit you, except I shall speak to you, either by revelation, or by knowledge, or by prophesying, or by doctrine?"

§ 7. These are all particulars comprised within the compass of that grace which the Apostle intendeth to advance beyond that of languages, and in ver. 1. and elsewhere goeth under the name of prophesying. And therefore I am apt to think that in this text the word prophesying standeth in a particular sense, to signify forverting of things to come: as it doth also chap. xii. 10. For the Apostle having said, ver. 8, 130 "To one is given the word of wisdom by the Spirit, to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit"—which are both members of the grace of prophesying in the latitude of it, as appeareth chap. xiii. 3; "And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge,"—addeth nevertheless, ver. 10, "To another is given the working of miracles, to another prophecy;" distinguishing the grace of forverting things to come from the wisdom and knowledge inspired by the Holy Ghost, which are all sometimes comprehended under one grace of prophesying.

§ 8. But that which the Apostle calleth revelation is without doubt the disclosing of secrets. That I take to be questionless, by what we find afterwards, ver. 24, 25; "But if all prophecy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all, and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest, and so falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is among you of a truth." St. Chrysostom here*, Οὐκ ἕστη δὲ ἵνα εἰσελθώντα τιμὴ ἰδεῖν, τὸν μὲν Περισσότερον τὸν δὲ Σωματί φθειρόμενον, καὶ εἰσελθώντα ἀκοῦσαι τὰ ἀπόρρητα τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ ἐτε περάζων, καὶ μετὰ πονηρὰς γνώμης, ἐτε ἴμοις εἰσελθώθησε, καὶ διὶ τὸ καὶ τὸ αὐτῷ πέπρακται, καὶ τὸ βεβούλευται, πολὺ γὰρ τοιῷ ἐκείνῳ φρουρώδεστον, καὶ χρησι-

* Homil. xxxvi. in cap. xiii. 25. p. 484. tom. iii. ed. Savil.
μόνερου. "It is not the same for a man to come in, and see
one speaking Persian, another Syriac, as it is to hear the
secrets of his own mind, and whether he came in to try with
an evil mind or with a sound one; and that he hath done
this or that, for this is much more terrible and useful than
that." To this purpose he allegeth Nebuchadnezzar's act,
falling down before Daniel upon the discovery of his dream,
ii. 46, 47. And that under the Old Testament revealing of
secrets was a thing required at their prophets' hands, by the
way, we may perceive by that which Saul and his father's
servants did, 1 Sam. ix. 6, repairing to Samuel to inquire of
his father's asses that were strayed.

§ 9. From whence we must conclude that this grace of
prophesying under the New Testament was of immediate
inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to all purposes as under the
Old. For you shall find, ver. 30, "If revelation be made to
another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace:" to shew
us that some were inspired upon the very point of time with
the truth of matters in debate at their assemblies, as was
Jahaziel son of Zachariah at the meeting which Josaphat had
assembled, 2 Chron. xx. 14. As were those by whom Paul
and Barnabas were sent, Acts xiii. 1—3. And those by whom
Timothy was ordained, 1 Tim. iv. 14. And as that maid at
least pretended to be, of whom Tertullian De Anima7, cap. ix.
Besides, we see how often these prophets of the New Testa-
ment are inspired to foretell things to come. And in reason,
the gift of languages being inspired both for the subject and
the tongue in which it is expressed, it is certain that the gift
of prophesying is not contained within human conceptions.
And indeed the offices specified out of the Apostle of edify-
ing, exhorting, comforting, of speaking words of wisdom and
knowledge of mysteries, may well be referred to that rank of
inspirations whereby a man is moved to speak that which the
use of his human reason enableth him not to conceive, with

7 Est hodie soror apud nos revela-
tionum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesiis, inter Dominica solemnna per ex-
tasinn spirito patitur, conversatur cum Angelis, aliquando etiam cum Domino,
et videt et audit Sacramenta, et quo-
rundam corda dignoscit, et medicinae de-
siderantibus submittit. Jam vero prout
Scripturae leguntur, aut psalmi canunt,
atur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut
petitiones delegantur, ita inde materiae
visionibus subministrantur, forte nescio
quid de anima disserueramus, cum ea
soror in spiritu esset. This sister was
Priscilla the Montanist. P. 480. ed. Pa-
mel. Rothomag. 1662.
assurance that the motion is from the Holy Ghost: which kind of inspirations are counted prophecies even among the Hebrew doctors, as hath been said.

§ 10. And in this kind the exposition of Scripture is not without cause understood under the gift of prophesying in this place. The Commentaries intituled to St. Ambrose, *Prophetas interpretes dicit Scripturarum. Sicut enim propheta futura prædictæ, qua nesciuntur; ita et hic, dum Scripturarum sensum, qui multis occultus est, manifestat, dicitur prophetæ.* "By prophets he meaneth expositors of the Scriptures. For as a prophet foretelleth things to come which are not known, so such an one, manifesting the meaning of the Scripture, which many perceive not, is said to prophesy." The same is to be found again in him and others divers times, not so much because the Apostle hath specified here any such part of prophets' office, as because the rules which he prescribeth in prophesying afterwards, from ver. 29, do plainly belong to those that had the Scripture in hand to expound, as shall appear afterwards. Therefore it is plain that these prophetical inspirations were seen in the exposition of Scripture, because it is that upon which the Apostle's rule proceedeth, ver. 30, "If revelation be made to another sitting by, let the first hold his peace:" meaning, that he that was expounding the Scripture should give way to him to whom the truth of it was revealed upon the instant of time.

§ 11. But there is something else besides this belonging to the gift of prophesying as well as of languages. For the Apostle from ver. 14 here, thus writeth: "If I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with my spirit, but I will pray with understanding also. I will sing with my spirit, and I will sing with understanding also. Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the place of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified." It is not so clear how the Apostle here saith, "My spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful," having said afore, "He

* 1 Ep. ad Corinth. xiv. 4. tom. ii.
that speaketh in a tongue edifieth himself." For if he that hath the gift profiteth in the understanding of the mysteries which the Spirit suggesteth to him in a strange language, how is his understanding unfruitful? Therefore St. Chrysostom b acknowledging this difficulty, yieldeth that some of them which had this grace understood what they said, others not; for thus he writeth upon these words, "He that speaketh in a strange language edifieth himself:" Kai πῶς εἰ μὴ οἶδεν ἄλλη τέως περὶ τῶν εἰδῶν καὶ λέγουσι, διαλέγεται. εἰδῶν μὲν αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἐπισταμένων δὲ εἰς ἑτέρους ἔξευγκεῖν. "And how if he know not what he saith? but thus far he speaketh of those that understand what they say, but know not how to express it to others." But the words of Theodoret are thus in the Greek of ÓEcumenius: Πνεύμα, τὸ πνευματικὸν χάρισμα λέγει, νοῦν δὲ, τὴν σαφῆνειαν καὶ ἐρμηνευμέναι τῶν λέγομένων. That is, "He meaneth by spirit the spiritual grace, but by understanding the declaration and interpretation of things that are spoken." By thus expounding the word νοῦ, to signify a meaning understood, he seemeth to reconcile the text with that afore, without acknowledging that they understood not what they spake in strange languages. According to which sense, δὲ νοῶν μου ἄκαρτος ἐστι beareth this interpretation, "my meaning is fruitless," to wit, to the hearers, not yielding them the fruit required of it: and again, προσεύχομαι τῷ νοῷ, is, "I will pray in a meaning understood." § 12. Whether the words will bear this meaning or not, let men of learning judge: the thing is probable enough, seeing the fault which the Apostle找准eth, ver. 17, is not that a man's self is not edified, but, saith he, "another is not edified." And if we follow the intent of the Apostle close, it will easily appear that the purpose of his speech requireth more than that a man himself should understand what he speaketh in an unknown tongue, to wit, that his audience also should understand it. And therefore let who will dispute the proper signification of his words—a thing not so seasonable in this place—so long as the drift and purpose of

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b Homil. xxxv. in cap. xiv. 5. tom. iii. p. 474. ed. Savil. 
C ÓEcumen. p. 560. B. Theodoret

Péirás. 1642. Πνευματικὸν and ἐρμηνευμέναι: not in the text of Theodoret.
the argument guideth and overruleth the sense; when he saith, "I will pray and sing with my spirit, I will pray also and sing with understanding," to be this, I will pray and sing by inspiration, but it shall be in a meaning understood, or understandable: according to the words of Theodoret alleged afore, Πνεῦμα, τὸ πνευματικὸν χάρισμα λέγει, νοῦν δὲ τὴν σαφήνειαν, καὶ ἐρμηνείαν τῶν λεγομένων. And it followeth thus: Λέγει δὲ ὁ προσηχεῖ τὸν ἐτέρα γλώσσα διαλεγόμενον, εἴτε ἐπὶ ψαλμοδίας, εἴτε ἐπὶ προσευχῆς, εἴτε ἐπὶ διδασκαλίας, ἢ αὐτῶν ἐρμηνεύειν (καὶ νοεῖν τὸ λέγει) εἰς ὑφέλειαν τῶν ἀκούόντων, ἢ ἔτερον τούτο ποιεῖν δυνάμενον συνεργὸν τῆς διδασκαλίας παραλαμβάνεσθαι. "Now he saith, it is fit that he that speaketh in another tongue, whether singing Psalms, or praying, or teaching, should either interpret himself (and understand what he saith) for the benefit of his hearers, or that another should do it, that is sufficient to be taken for an assistant to his doctrine." The words inclosed are added by ÒEcumenius, desiring to jumble St. Chrysostom's interpretation and Theodoret's into one, which proceed from contrary opinions: for all the rest besides those words is extant in the Latin of Theodoret\(^4\), who hath delivered the right of the Apostle's meaning, that it is requisite for him that speaketh tongues to interpret, supposing that he understandeth what he saith.

§ 13. The same sense is expounded by St. Basil\(^5\), Reg. Brev., Tract. 278, otherwise the nature of this branch of the gift of languages is truly set down by St. Chrysostom\(^6\) in these words: Καὶ γὰρ ἡσαν τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ χάρισμα εἰχῆς ἔχοντες πολλοὶ μετὰ γλώσσης. καὶ ἥχοντο μὲν, καὶ ἡ γλώσσα ἐφθάνη, ἢ τῇ Περσῷ, ἢ τῇ Ῥωμαίῳ φωνῇ εὐχομένῃ, οὐ δὲ σῶκ ἦδει τὸ λεγόμενον. "For of old there were many that had the grace of prayer, with that of language. And they prayed, and the tongue praying spake the Persian or Roman language, but the mind knew not what was said." In that he thinketh that he which had the gift understood not what he said, I have shewed for what cause I leave him afore; but in that he saith, "They had a grace of praying with that of lan-

\(^{4}\) The Greek text of the Commentaries of Theodoret was published for the first time by Sirmondi in 1642.


\(^{6}\) Hom. xxxv. in cap. xiv. 15. tom. iii. p. 477. ed. Salvi.
guages," as a branch of it, it shall further appear how right he is afterwards. The more I marvel that the learned Hein-
137 sius of late should so disguise the meaning of this whole passage, in expounding that appurtenance of this gift of lan-
guages, whereof the Apostle speaketh here, ver. 13: "Where-
fore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray, that he may interpret." The meaning whereof he maketh this:
when a man hath spoken in an unknown tongue, let him repeat the sum of it in his prayer afterwards, and so interpret
his meaning in a known language. These are some of his
words: Siquis ergo, inquit, lingua peregrinâ usus est, adjungat
preces, quibus ante dicta sic interpretetur. Peregrinâ enim lingua
preces si concipientur, frustrâ fit hoc certè, quia non intelliguntur.
"If a man have used a strange language, saith the Apostle,
let his prayers follow, wherein he may interpret what he said
afore. For if prayer be conceived in an unknown tongue,
sure it is to no purpose, being not understood." Thus do
men sometimes employ their wit and learning to make things
obscure that are plain enough when they are let alone. But
though, as he saith, it is now in use in divers Churches to
recapitulate the sermon in a prayer after it, yet it concerned
him to have shewed us some trace or step of like practice in
the writings of the Apostles, or primitive Christians, if he
would have us to believe this to be the meaning of the
Apostle.

§ 14. Now the Apostle, as he speaketh of praying, so he
138 speaketh of singing, of blessing, of giving thanks with the
spirit and with understanding: these are no dependences of
that which was preached afore, therefore neither that praying
whereof he speaketh here. For you heard what Theodoret
said afore: Ἐλθε ἐπὶ προσευχήν, εἴπε ἐπὶ ψαλμοδίας, εἴπε ἐπὶ
διδασκαλίας. "Whether in praying, or in singing psalms,
or in teaching." And you shall see what the Apostle saith
aforewards, ver. 26, 27: "When ye come together, every one
of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath an
interpretation. Let all things be done to edifying. If any
man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at

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* Exercitationes sacrae ad Nov. Test.,
* Cum unitatum videatur potius eo
tempore fuise, ut ea, quae in exhorta-
tione aut homilia ad populum dicta
essent, obiter repeterentur. Quod et in
plerisque Ecclesiis nunc tenet. Siquis
ergo—as in the text.
the most by three, and let one interpret.” Where, as Theodoret hath well expressed his meaning, that all things, as well singing of psalms as teaching matter of doctrine,—and Theodoret had cause to add praying, finding it afore, ver. 15,—might be done to the best purpose of edifying, his will is that whatsoever is spoken in any of those kinds in a strange language, be interpreted by one, whether the same that spoke already, or another that had the gift to do it.

§ 15. In fine, to make appear that the Apostle when he saith, ver. 13, “let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret,” intendeth that he should pray for the gift of interpreting that which he was inspired to speak in a strange language, it shall here be declared that the Apostle directeth them to labour after these graces by their prayers as well as by their studies, or what means else they could address to God for the attaining of them. That which we saw practised by the disciples of prophets under the Old Testament, that we shall see prescribed by the Apostle under the New, when he saith, 1 Cor. xii. 31, “But be zealous of the best gifts.” And 1 Cor. xiv. 1, “Be zealous of spiritual gifts.” And again, ver. 13, “Let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue pray that he may interpret.” Where St. Chrysostom¹: 'Ενταῦθα δείκνυεν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ λαβέω τῷ χάρισμα. προσευχήσον γὰρ, φησί, τοιῇτος, τὰ παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ εἰςαγέσθω, καὶ γὰρ ἐὰν σπουδάσω αὐτῆς, λήψῃ. “Here he sheweth that it is in them to receive the grace. For, ‘let him pray,’ saith he, that is, ‘let him contribute that which is required at his hands,’ for if thou ask studiously, thou shalt receive it.” When he expoundeth “let him pray” to be, ‘let him contribute what is required from him,’ he meaneth that zeal and study which is spoken of in the other places; of which you have again, ver. 39, “Be zealous,” or studious “of prophesying, and forbid not to speak with tongues:” and 1 Thess. v. 20, “Despise not prophesying.” The like you shall find in St. Chrysostom² upon 1 Cor. xii. 31, and the commentaries under St. Ambrose’s¹ name upon 1 Cor. xiv. 32, “The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.” Idcirco dixit ‘subjectus est prophetis,’ ut ingenia accenderet hoc ¹⁴⁰

¹ Homil. xxxv. in cap. xiv. 15. tom. ii. p. 476. ed. Savil.
¹ Tom. ii. col. 159. ed. Ben.
spe, quod Spiritus conatus adjuvet. "Therefore he saith 'is subject to the prophets,' to encourage wits with hope that the Spirit helpeth their endeavours:" and by and by he draweth to this purpose the words of the Apostle, "For they drank of the spiritual Rock that followed them," and addeth, Hoc est et subjectum esse, quod et sequi. . . . . . . Ita et Spiritus subjectus dicitur, ut conatus bonos adjuvet, cum suggerit. Subjectus enim videtur qui cæpta alterius perficit. "For to be subject, is the same as to follow. So the Spirit is said to be subject, because of His help to good endeavours, when He bringeth them to pass. For he that bringeth another's undertakings to effect, seemeth to be subject."

§ 16. This is not to allow this meaning of the Apostle's words, which I shall shew afterwards to be otherwise: but to take notice what impression of this truth they received from the places alleged. And you shall find the same authors, to let pass others, expounding the Apostle's words, Rom. xii. 3, 6, no otherwise. "According as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith . . . . and whether prophesying according to the proportion of faith." St. Ambrose, Hæc ergo datur pro modo accipientis, hoc est, quantum causa exigit, propter quam datur. "This, therefore," that is, prophecy, "is given according to the measure of him that receiveth; that is, as much as the cause requireth, in respect whereof it is bestowed." And St. Chrysostom, Ei γὰρ καὶ χάρις ἐστίν, ἀλλ' οἷς ἀπλῶς ἐκχειταί· ἀλλ' τὰ μέτρα παρὰ τῶν δεχομένων λαμβάνουσα, τοσοῦτον ἐπιρρέει, ὡσον ἀν εὑρῇ σκεῦος πιστεύως αὐτῇ προσέχειν. "For though it be a grace, it is not indifferently poured forth. But taking the measure from them which receive it, floweth upon them in measure as it findeth the vessel of faith offered," understanding that faith which moveth men to sue to God for such graces, as he saith, "pray that he may interpret." And this is it which the Apostle writeth to Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 13, 14, "Till I come give attendance to reading, to exhortation, to doctrine. Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." And 2 Tim. i. 6, "Wherefore I put thee in remembrance


Homil. xxi. in Rom. xii. 6. p. 179.

THORDIKE.
that thou stir up the gift of God that is in thee, by the putting on of my hands." For in calling it a "gift," he signifieth an extraordinary grace of that time: but in willing him "to stir it up," and not to neglect it, he sheweth that it was in him to procure it at God's hands, by reading, and teaching, and praying, and the like means which he nameth, or nameth not.

§ 17. The true meaning then of the Apostle when he saith, ver. 14—17, "For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, but I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, but I will sing with the understanding also: else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that possesseth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified:" I say the meaning of this whole passage supposeth that which we began to prove of the prophets under the Old Testament, that it was part of their office to compose the praises of God, and the prayers of their congregations. For if we take not our marks amiss, we shall see that the strength of our advantage upon these words against the Church of Rome lieth in this, because the Apostle argueth expressly against them that, to shew their gift of languages, took upon them not only to utter the mysteries of God in strange tongues, but also in them to conceive prayers and psalms of God's praises, in the name and behalf of the Church. This they are desirous to decline if the Apostle would give leave. For that which he saith, ver. 17, "another is not edified," is as much as we find, ver. 5 and ver. 12, "that the Church may be edified," and ver. 19, "In the Church I had rather speak five words to teach others," and the Apostle afterwards, ver. 26, "What is it then, my brethren? when you come together every one of you hath a psalm."

§ 18. And to this purpose it will be very effectual to observe, Old Testament Saul and his servant are said 143 the choir of prophets prophesying, and the sons of Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun, are said to prophesy in singing the praises of God which the spirits of prophets had
indited⁵; so in the New Testament, for the same cause, it CHAP.
seemeth that singing the praises of God is called “prophesy-
ing” by the Apostle. For let me ask what the Apostle mean-
eth when he saith, 1 Cor. xi. 5, “Every woman praying or
prophecying with her head uncovered:” his speech concern-
ing Christian assemblies, wherein he forbiddeth a woman to
speak, 1 Cor. xiv. 34? Is it that which the Italian gloss of
Diodati after Beza hath expounded? “It seemeth,” saith he,
“this word is to be taken here not only for handling or ex-
pounding the mysteries of the word of God, as Rom. xii. 6,
but also for hearing them, marking them, meditating upon
them while they are proposed of those that have the charge.”
This cannot be allowed. Praying is the party’s own act,
why not prophesying, that standeth in rank with it? The
commentaries under St. Ambrose’s⁶ name, Prophetare autem
est, adventum fore Domini voce symboli post orationem effari.
“To prophesy is to pronounce in the words of the Creed that
the Lord shall come.” The Creed was pronounced by the
whole congregation; this he thinketh was called “prophecy-
ing,” because it speaketh of the coming of Christ which shall
be. I bring not this because I allow it—for it is somewhat
strange to make all people prophets that say their Creed,
because one article of it speaketh of things to come: besides,
I do not find that the Creed was from the beginning any part
of the Church service⁷—but because he saw the true point
of the difficulty,—that hearing prophecies was no prophesying,
but it must be something that the congregation uttereth, as
well as in praying, which the Apostle calleth “prophecying:”
and what doth the whole congregation send forth but prayers
and psalms? In both these, as near as can be, the people
bear their part: the whole pack of prophets prophesied
together when Saul, and his servant, and his messengers
came, because they all joined in the praises of God, Samuel
guiding the choir⁸: when the Spirit of God came on them,
they uttered the praises of God which the Spirit of God
suggested, the rest bearing part in their sense.

⁵ 1 Sam. x. 5, 10; 1 Chron. xxv. 2—8.
⁶ In 1 Ep. ad Corinth. xi. 4. tom.
ii. col. 147. ed. Ben.
⁷ Gavantus is of opinion that the
Apostles’ Creed was sung in the ser-
vice, initio Ecclesiae, until it was changed
for the Nicene, or Constantinopolitan.
—Thesaur. Sacr. Rit. Par. i. tit. xi. de
⁸ 1 Sam. xix. 20—24.
§ 19. Isidore Pelusiota, lib. i. epist. 90†, Τὰς ἐν ἐκκλησίας φλυαρὰς καταπάσαι βουλόμενοι οἱ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόστολοι, καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν παιδευτα καταστάσεως, ψάλλειν ἐν αὐταῖς τὰς γνωὰκας συνετῶς συνεχόμεν. "The Apostles of our Lord, and teachers of our orders, desirous to suppress idle talking in churches, understandably permitted women to sing in them." I know there are other texts of the Apostle, where he speaketh in general to all persons to sing psalms; 14: Eph. v. 18, 19, "Be filled with the Spirit: speaking to yourselves in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs: singing and making melody in your hearts unto God." And Col. iii. 16, "Teaching and admonishing one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs: singing with grace in your hearts unto God;" yet with good right are these words referred to no place but this, because express mention of women singing in assemblies we find none but here. If any man thinketh that Isidore in those words reflecteth not upon any thing delivered in writing by the Apostles, but on the custom which the Church received at their hands, it must needs nevertheless seem the most probable sense of St. Paul's words, which maketh them agree with that custom, which, he saith, the Church received from the Apostles.

§ 20. Tertullian de Virg. Velandis, cap. xvii., Quantam autem castigationem merebuntur etiam iliae, quae inter psalmos, vel in quacunque Dei mentione, retectae perseverant? merito etiam in oratione ipsa facillimè simbriam, aut villum, aut quod-libet filamentum cerebro superponunt, et tectas se opinantur? "But what reproof shall even they deserve, that continue unveiled in singing psalms, or in any mention of God? have they reason in their very prayers, at their best ease to lay a fringe, or thrum, or any thread upon the brain, and think themselves veiled?" here you have the two particulars of psalms and prayers expressed, which the Apostle calleth "praying" and "prophesying," with the reason of reverence at the mention of God, to enforce his purpose, that they ought not to content themselves with no veil at psalms, or with a slight one at prayers. And afterwards, Oportet ergò omni tempore et omni loco memores Legis incidere, paratas et instructas ad omnem Dei mentionem, qui si fuerit in pectore, cognoscetur et in capite semini-

narum. "It behoves therefore to walk mindful of this law, at all times and in all places, ready and provided against all mention of God, Who if He be in women's hearts will be known on their heads;" expressing the Apostle's reason—reverence at the mention of God.

§ 21. And as for the prayers of the Church, we have a singular passage in the Apostle, Rom. viii. 26, to the best of my judgment to be understood to this purpose; "And the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities, for we know not what to pray for as we ought, but the Spirit maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered." For what is it that the Apostle calls "the first-fruits of the Spirit," ver. 23 there afore, but the flower and cream of those spiritual graces whereof the Apostle writeth all this while to the Corinthians? And when he saith, "we know not what we should pray for as we ought," true it is we are sufficiently informed what we are to pray for in the Scripture, but seeing the purpose of the Scripture in general is not so perfectly understood by all persons, much less the exigence of it duly pointed in particular, it is no marvel if we believe that the inspiration of the Holy Ghost is able far better to inform us what we are to pray for, even at our assemblies, when we see the Apostle himself pray for the goad in the flesh to be removed, which God thought not fit to be granted. But when he saith, "the Spirit maketh intercession for us," we know first that by the Spirit the Apostle in this subject continually understandeth the inspirations of it, as hath been observed afore*: we know again what endless debate and difficulties the sense of these words breedeth, and what better course have we to end them than by understanding in these words the intercessions which the Holy Ghost inspireth? and those "utterable groans of the Spirit," whose mind "He that searcheth the heart trieth," ver. 27, "and findeth that it maketh intercession for the saints, according to God," what are they else but those desires which the Spirit inspireth to them which have the first fruits of it, causing them to groan within themselves, "waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of the body," as it went afore, ver. 23.

§ 22. For as men inspired were not able to express the

* Sect. 6.
were they able to comprehend the meaning of them, the depth of things inspired being sounded by Him alone that indicted the same. This exposition is St. Chrysostom's, who hath delivered us the ground of it for historical truth, upon the place, telling us that there was no less peculiar an inspiration to pray, at that time, than there was to foretell things to come, to cure diseases, to do miracles, to speak strange languages. \( \text{Μετὰ δὲ τούτων ἀπάντων, ἦν καὶ εὐχὴς χάρισμα} \) καὶ αὐτὸ Πνεῦμα ἔλεγετο, καὶ ὁ τοῦτο ἔχων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλῆθους παιτὸς ἔχετο. ἕπειδὴ γὰρ πολλὰ τῶν συμφέρων ἤμαν ἀγνοοῦντες, τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα αἰτοῦμεν, ἥρχετο χάρισμα εὐχῆς εἰς ἔνα τωμά τῶν τότε, καὶ τὸ κοινὴ συμφέρον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅπασης, αἰτὸς τε ὑπὲρ ἄπαντων ἵστατο αἰτῶν, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπαιδεύε. "With all these," saith he, "there was also a grace of prayer, which was also called a spirit,"—as the spirit of knowledge, the spirit of wisdom, and the like, that is, the spiritual gift of it,—"and he that had this prayed for all the multitude. For because, not knowing many of those things that are good for us, we desire those that are not,"—as here it is said we know not what to ask for as we ought,—"the grace of prayer came upon some man then, and he stood up to desire in the name of all that which was good for the Church in common, and taught others to do it." And again, \( \text{ὅ γὰρ τοιαύτης καταξιωθεὶς χάριτος ἐστὶς μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς κατανίκεως, μετὰ πολλῶν τῶν στεναχμῶν, τῶν κατὰ δίανοιαν, τῷ Θεῷ προσπιπτὼν, τὰ συμφέροντα πάσιν αἰτεῖν καὶ καὶ νῦν σύμβολον ἐστὶν ὁ διάκονος, τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀναφέρων} \) εὐχῆς. "For he that was vouchsafed this grace, standing with much compunction, with many groans, such as prostrate a man in mind before God, asketh such things as are good for all. Correspondent whereto now is the deacon, when he offereth to God the prayers for the people."

§ 23. The opinion and relation of this most excellent man at expounding the Scripture, going so clear with the words of the Apostle, maketh this beyond question with me to be the meaning of the Apostle, which shall afterwards get still more credit by the proffer which shall be made, of designing the kind and nature of these prayers and thanksgivings,

7 Homil. xiv. in Rom. viii, 26. p. 120. tom. iii. ed. Savil.
whereof the Apostle speaketh here, to have been the same that the Church hath practised in all ages since. And, these things supposed, the meaning of the Apostle, in the passage which we are in hand with, sufficiently sheweth, that as these which were endowed with the grace of languages did not stick to do those things—to utter the praises of God, the prayers and thanksgiving of the people at their assemblies in unknown tongues—to make show of their gift which he forbiddeth: so those that had the grace of prophesying did and are directed to do the like for the benefit of the congregation in all particulars whereof he speaketh.

§ 24. These things thus cleared, give us full assurance of the kindred between these two kinds of graces, of languages and prophesying, by the limbs and branches of the offices expected from both: and that by consequence all these prophetical graces were of immediate inspiration, as much as that of languages, which the Apostle coming up to his first purpose in this whole discourse—which was to regulate the use of both kinds of these graces at their assemblies—further declareth in recapitulating those offices of both, ver. 27, which he thinketh fit to remember there. His words are these, ver. 26: "How is it then brethren? when ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation: let all things be done to edifying." Tongues and interpretations of them, it is plain, belong to none but those that have that grace; revelations are specified afore to be a kind of prophesying, but there is no reason to convince that they might not be suggested in strange languages: psalms it is plain by that which went afore, were uttered in strange languages, but the Apostle prescribeth to do it in the known tongue, as an office of prophesying. Of doctrines the like must be said as of revelations.

§ 25. In fine, the reason which moves the Apostle to allow speaking in strange tongues in the Church—provided there be one to interpret, because the matters so uttered are for the edifying of it—is enough to prove that the substance of things uttered by both graces was not unlike; and therefore those rules also, in which the Apostle concludeth, serve to aver the difference and agreement observed between the two
kinds of graces, speaking as they do to two heads, one of lan-
guages, the other of prophesying. The sum of them being the
same that was proposed in the beginning of the chapter: for
there we read, "desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may
prophesy;" and here in the conclusion we read, ver. 39, "covet
to prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues." Commend-
ing the one without limitation, permitting the other with a ca-
veat of one to interpret. The same is the meaning of his rule to
the Thessalonians, 1 Ep. v. 19, 20: "Quench not the Spirit, de-
spise not prophesying." The one part advising to maintain all
spiritual graces, by allowing the orderly use of them at their
assemblies; the other in particular to esteem aright of pro-
phesying above the rest, which the Apostle expresseth in
terms of abatement, charging not to despise it. Before I
take in hand the meaning of these rules in particular, be
it observed, that these things which were delivered at their
assemblies, in the use of both kinds of graces, were not
conceived upon the instant, but ready provided afore: for
within these terms the Apostle's words will conclude us,
when he saith, ver. 26, "When ye come together every one of
you hath a psalm," &c., which is, that they came provided
of what they intended there to declare, as appeareth by that
part of the rule that concerneth prophesying, ver. 29, 30:
"Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other
judge: if revelation be made to another that sitteth by, let
the first hold his peace." Where the difference is manifest
between that which was suggested at the instant, and that
which was conceived afore.

§ 26. Now whereas the principle upon which the Apostle
proceedeth is the edification of the people, as he saith, ver.
26, "Let all be done to edifying;" well are we assured that
it was for the edification of the Church to understand what
the Spirit suggested to them that spake in strange languages,
concerning the praises of God and the mysteries of His
kingdom. It was for their edification indeed, but not so
much as the knowledge of the Scripture, which consisteth
not of revelation for the time, but is intended for the per-
petual instruction of God's people. Therefore the Apostle's
will is, that two or three speak with tongues, and another
interpret, not to take up that time which the exposition of
Scripture required, ver. 27. St. Ambrose* upon those words: 

*Ideo ergo, 'ut multum, tres,' nè occuparent diem linguis loquentes, et interpretes illorum; et non haberent prophetae tempus Scripturae disserendi, qui sunt totius Ecclesiae illuminatores.* "Therefore, three at the most, and him that interpreteth them, that they should not spend the day in speaking languages, so that the prophets, which are the enlighteners of the whole Church, should not have time to expound the Scriptures." The Holy Ghost was dispensed among men that were converted to the faith, for their assistance in understanding the Scriptures, which always was their business. They began straight, as the use was under the Old Testament, to train others to the same knowledge. The Apostle's rule supposeth no less, ver. 29, 30: "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If revelation be made to one that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace." The whole words of St. Ambrose touched afore*:

*Hæc traditio synagogæ est quam nos vult sectari—quia Christianis quidem scribit, sed ex Gentibus factis, non ex Judæis—ut sedentes disputent, seniores dignitate in cathedris, sequentes in subselliiis, novissimi in pavimento super mattas: quibus si revelatum fuerit, dandum locum dicendi præcipit, nec despiciendos; quia membra corporis sunt. "It is a tradition of the synagogue which he would have us to follow,—for he writeth to Christians, but converted, not from the Jews, but from the Gentiles,—to dispute sitting, the eldest in dignity in chairs, the next on seats, the last on matted floors. To whom if revelation were made, he commandeth that room to speak be allowed, not despising them, as members of the body."

§ 27. The inspiration of the Holy Ghost was not always present with prophets; they spake in exposition of the Scripture, out of that which the Spirit formerly had suggested. Most like it is that the inspirations of the Holy Ghost should possess one or other of them which had the grace, in the time and place of Divine Service: for you saw afore, ver. 24, how the revelation of secrets was wont to be infused upon them at that time when unbelievers came into their assemblies. If any such thing came to pass, the Apostle's will is, though he were of a mean rank among the disciples of pro-

phets, he should be allowed to speak. For let no man think that the Apostle here alloweth all members of the Church to speak in public; in that the pretended St. Ambrose seemeth to mistake, admitting those whom he describeth sitting on the floor to speak. For he that was inspired without peradventure sat not upon the floor, but among the prophets.

§ 28. The words of the Apostle are general, when he saith, ver. 31, "For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted." But this speech all this while concerneth not the congregation, but those that have the gifts of prophesying and speaking with languages. And men of learning know that general words are to be confined to the particular argument of the speech. Besides, the Apostle hath made the difference himself, when he saith, ver. 16, "How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks?" 'Ο ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἱδώτου, he that sitteth in the place of a private person without learning, is so named in difference to those that professed themselves teachers; if he should stand up and teach, this difference which the Apostle maketh would be quite abolished. He forbiddeth a woman to speak in the Church whatsoever be her graces, were she one of Philip's daughters the prophetesses: he alloweth not all men to speak, but such whose graces were known and discerned, of whom all the discourse hitherto proceedeth.

§ 29. Now the matter in question is this: it is plain that the gift of languages came by immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost: and it is plain that many particulars of the gift of prophesying did likewise, as the foretelling of things to come called "prophesying," ver. 6, the knowledge of men's secrets, the understanding of the Scripture, and of matters debated upon it, ver. 25 and 30, the praises of God and the prayers of the congregation, which were inspired in strange languages, as it is said, ver. 14, "My spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful:" and therefore were no less in spirited to them of whom the Apostle, ver. 15, "I will pray and sing with the Spirit, and with understanding." In fine, there is no cause to make doubt that all the particulars through this whole chapter, ranged under the general grace

b Acts xxi. 9.
of prophesying, are by him understood to proceed from men endued with immediate inspirations. And therefore the ques-
tion will be, what is his meaning in that which followeth, ver. 32, "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets;" for on the one side, when he saith, "the spirits of the pro-
phets," the word "spirits" in this subject hath always signified inspirations, true or pretended: on the other side, the inspi-
rations of the Holy Ghost are not to be subject, are not to be judged as ver. 29, though it be by prophets. The meaning of these words give me leave thus to debate.

§ 30. St. Ambrose thinketh that when it is said, "The spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets;" a reason is given for the rule which commandeth to speak by turns, and to give way to him that is inspired upon the instant, ver. 29 and 30, to shew that this they might well do, because they were not so inspired by the Holy Ghost as to be trans-
ported to speak whether they would or not, but that it was in them to moderate, as it was in them to procure the influ-
ence of it, according to his words produced afore. In this sense the spirits of prophets are subject to the prophets them-
selves. But though we grant that men's particular endeav-
ours were means to attain the grace of immediate inspira-
tions, as was proved, yet we are not therefore bound to grant that it was in them to be inspired at their pleasure. In the Old Testament it is said, "that the Spirit of the Lord came upon Saul and his servants:" and Jer. xlii. 7, "After ten days the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah," having undertaken to pray for the revealing of the will of God to them before: from whence the Hebrew doctors collect, that he could not obtain the grace in the meantime: Maimoni Fundam. Legis, vii. 5, and the late Annotations there.

§ 31. Besides, this sense is impertinent to the Apostle's purpose; who when he saith, ver. 29, "Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the others judge," speaketh of things brought from home, and conceived afore the time of meeting, as you may see, ver. 26, "When you come to-

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Sect. 15.  
In chap. ii. sect. 20—23.  
1 Sam. xix. 20—24.  
Constitutiones de fundamentis Legis

CHAP. V. gether every one of you hath a psalm," and so forth. But when he saith, ver. 30, "If revelation be made to another as he sitteth, let the first hold his peace," he speaketh of that which is inspired at the instant of time. And therefore it seemeth more reasonable to conceive that the Apostle, when he saith, ver. 31, "ye may all prophesy one by one," rendereth a reason for what he had said in commanding them to speak by turns, that all might contribute to the edification of the Church, as it followeth there, "that all may learn, and all may be comforted:" but when he addeth, "And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets," he rendereth a reason for what he said in commanding the others to judge, because if some should not yield to the judgment of others, the confusion and unquietness ensuing hereupon might be imputed to the ordinance of God. Theodore, after St. Chrysostom: I tà Jesus subjiciatbat Mosi, i tà Elizaus Elia, i tà ipsi Elizaeo multitudo prophetarum, i tà ipsi Apostolo Timotheus, et Titus, et reliqui. "So was Joshua subject to Moses, so Eliseus to Elias, so a number of prophets to Eliseus, so Timothy, Titus, and the rest, to the Apostle." And this sense Calvin embraceth. According to which, the judgment whereof the Apostle speaketh—if we conceive it to concern immediate inspirations—must not be understood to call them to account, as for the truth of that which the Holy Ghost inditeth, but to consist in judging the meaning and consequence of things inspired, which even the persons from whom they came—though not ignorant throughout, as not bereft of their senses and understanding in prophesying—yet were not able themselves to sound to the bottom.

§ 32. Do we not see the Prophet Daniel, ix. 2, studying about the seventy years which the Prophet Jeremiah had foretold for the desolations of Jerusalem, whereupon he prayeth and obtaineth the revelation of the seventy weeks? and the Apostle, 1 Pet. i. 10, 11, expressly affirmeth that the ancient prophets, who prophesied of salvation by Christ, searched and inquired diligently about it, and the time of it, whereof the Spirit within them prophesied. And to shew that it was no otherwise with them that were endued with

like spiritual graces under the New Testament, it is to be observed with what earnest obtestations the Apostle dealeth with the Thessalonians, 2 Ep. ii. 2, not to be troubled as if the day of Christ were at hand, either by spirit, or by word, or by letter as from us. For if the Spirit spake it, how are they otherwise to be persuaded? Is it because the Apostle speaketh of pretended inspirations? so it is said indeed, but them he had instructed them to discern, 1 Thess. v. 21. How then shall we think that the Apostle beseecheth them not to be moved with that which the Spirit spake, but as it might be a meaning collected out of words spoken by some man that had such graces? and therefore in 1 Tim. iv. 1, the Apostle thus writeth, Τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἤρτος λέγει, “The Spirit speaketh expressly,” saith the Apostle, making that a different thing from the meaning apprehended, or collected from things which the Spirit spake.

§ 33. And to my apprehension we have an eminent instance hereof in the Apostle himself, who having had a revelation, Acts xix. 21, by which he “purposed in the Spirit, when he had passed through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, after I have been there, I must also see Rome;” under this resolution writeth to the Romans in that epistle dated not long afterwards, xv. 23, “that he had now no place in those parts:” and to the elders of Ephesus not long after that thus speaketh, Acts xx. 25, “I know that ye all among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no more.” All which nevertheless, being afterwards at Rome, he writeth to the Philippians from thence, ii. 24, “that he hopeth to come to them shortly.” And to Philemon, in the parts of Asia, about the same time, ver. 22, “to prepare him a lodging, as hoping to be granted to them through their prayers:” things which can noways stand with that which he had written afore, that he had no longer place in those parts; and that the Ephesians should see him no more: and all this no more inconvenience in the Apostle than this, that upon his revelation he conceived God had appointed that which afterwards, upon the success of his affairs, he was in hope would come to pass otherwise: nor

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1 Spiritus nomine fictas prophetias intelligit.—Calvin. Comm. in 2 Thesa.
more inconvenience that this should be related in Scripture, 161
than that the speeches of Job's friends should have a place
in it, of whom it is said, [chap. xlii. 7.] "They have not spoken
aright of Me as My servant Job hath done." If this please
not, or if it seem not general enough, to satisfy the meaning
of the Apostle's words, it may be said in larger terms, that
all that which the prophets by help of human discourse con-
ceived and uttered for and in their public assemblies, upon
the grounds of their particular revelations, is here called the
"spirits of the prophets." Which therefore must needs be sub-
ject to the judgment of other prophets.

§ 34. Thus then, when the Apostle willeth the others to
judge of that which two or three prophets shall say, as he
appointeth at their meetings, his meaning is, not only of that
which by the way of common reason and ordinary skill shall
be said in exposition of the Scripture; but even those things
which are spoken by inspiration, which he calleth "the spirits
of the prophets," he will have subject to the judgment of the
prophets, so far as concerneth the meaning and consequence
of them, to be measured by the rest of the Scriptures. And
to this purpose it seemeth he ordereth the use of those spi-
ritual graces which are poured upon this Church of Corinth
in such abundance, that it was hard to find a course for all
of them to employ their gifts so, that all might have oppor-
tunity by turns, if not at the same meeting, to use their grace
in prophesying, that the Church might be edified by it; and
that others might by the gift of discerning spirits judge the
meaning of those things that were spoken by the Spirit, so
that the Church might receive no such offence as that which
the Thessalonians did, in conceiving from things that were
spoken by the Spirit, that the day of the Lord was at hand 162
at that time. Though it is nevertheless to be thought that
this course, of speaking by many at the same assembly, was
practised in the synagogue, especially when divers scribes
and doctors were present; as also some traces of the same
custom have continued in the practice of the Church.

§ 35. Beza expounding the words of the Apostle, 1 Cor.
xi. 10, "Therefore ought a woman to have power over her
head because of the Angels," to be meant of the ministers of
Churches: *Utitur autem plurali numero, quòd in maxima dono-
rum Dei abundantia, non tantum apud Corinthios, ut apparet
infra, xiv. 39, sed etiam olim in alius Ecclesiis, non unus solus,
sed etiam bini et terni in caetibus sacris sermonem haberent, ut
de praclaris aliis plurimum donis taceam, de quibus noster Apo-
stolus infra, xiv. 26. Quod etiam liquet ex Tertulliani Apolo-
getic, et quibusdam in Antiochena Ecclesia Chrysostomi Homi-
lis. "Now he speaketh in the plural number, because for
the abundance of God's graces, not only amongst the Corinth-
ians, as appeareth beneath, xiv. 39, but also in other
Churches of old time, not one alone, but two or three spake
at religious assemblies. Which also appeareth by Tertullian's
Apologetic, and some Homilies of Chrysostom in the Church
of Antiochia." Tertull. Apolog. cap. xxxix.: Certé fidem sanctis
vocibus pascimus, spem erigimus, fiduciam figimus, disciplinam
praecipuum nihilominus inculcationibus densamus. Ibidem etiam
exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. "Certainly with
these holy words we nourish faith, we erect our hope, we
fasten our confidence; as much we compact our discipline,
repeating the rules of it. There also exhortations, reproofs,
and the censure of God:" speaking of reading and expounding
the Scriptures in their assemblies. Whether or no these
be the words which he meaneth, I know not; I find nothing
else in that book to the purpose.

§ 36. But it is clear which he saith of St. Chrysostom.
In Ferrarius De ritu Concionum, ii. 40, you shall find the
passages of his Homilies marked, in which he signifieth that
the Bishop was to preach when he had done. And in one
passage related out of him in Baronius, Ann. lvi. n. 160, he
testifieth in express terms that this custom of the Church
was but a figure and monument of those graces which had
flourished in the primitive. Adding further, that when the
preacher blessed, or, as they call it, saluted the people at his
beginning with these or the like words, "The Lord be with
you," the people answering—as the fashion was—which yet

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1 These and others are cited by Bing-
ham, Antiq. book xiv. c. 4, sect. 6.
162. ed. Lucæ. The passage of St. Chry-
sostom is as follows: Νῦν τὰ σύμβολα
κατέχομεν τῶν χαρισμάτων ἐκείνων μό-
νον· καὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν δῦο ἁ τρεῖς λέγομεν,
kαὶ ἅλα μερός, καὶ ἕτερον στεφάνος ἔτερος

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[Page 207]
remaineth in one place of our service—"And with thy spirit:"
the meaning of this answer had reference to the spiritual inspired grace out of which they were known to speak at the beginning. Gregory Nyssene, Eiς τὴν ἑαυτὸν χειροτο

vlav, Nē igitur longius vobis, frateres, sermonis exordium protra-164

hamus, cium mirificis eorum qui ante nos dixerunt orationibus

operam dederitis". "Therefore, brethren, not to draw you out the beginning of my speech too much in length, having taken pains to hear the admirable sermons of those that have spoken before me." But of all the rest the book called the Constitutions of the Apostles most in particular, ii. 57, Kal ἔξεσ παρακαλεῖτωσαν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τὸν λαόν, ὁ καθεῖς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄπαντες, καὶ τελευταῖος πάντων ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ὥσ ἔσκε

κυβερνήτης "Then," saith he—when the Gospel is read—"let the presbyters exhort the people one by one, not all at once, and after all the Bishop, as it is fitting for the master to do." For here you see how the order of the Apostle was sometimes practised in the Church when the Bishop preached in the last place, after one or more of the presbyters.

CHAPTER VI.


Thus far then have we travelled in the first part of our business propounded, inquiring the Apostle's meaning in this whole discourse, intended to regulate the use of spiritual

m Quoted from Ferrarius. Ὅκ ὁ ὑποκίνωμεν ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοί, τὸ προσόμοιον, ἐνασχολούμενοι ὑμῖν διδασκαλίας τῶν προλα-βώτων, ἥδη κεκορεσμένοι ἔστι, ἥδη


n δι, in the text of Cotelerius.
graces proper to that time in their assemblies, by comparing
the particulars of it with that which is found remembered
in the Scriptures to the like purpose. How wide soever
these things may be thought from my intent—as having
nothing to do with the particulars which the Apostle here
ordereth—to me it shall seem a great gain for the pains
bestowed here, that from hence we may collect the substance
of those things which are to be done at the religious assem-
blies of Christians—the particulars of that work for which we
assemble ourselves; which are no other, according to the
Apostle, than our common service expresseth in the en-
trance to it, “to set forth His most worthy praise, to hear
His most holy word”—which must be understood according
to the purpose and opportunities of several assemblies, either
read or expounded, as the meaning of it hath always been
declared by practice—“and to ask those things which be
requisite and necessary, as well for the body as the soul.”
The same hath Tertullian expressed to have been the busi-
ess of the primitive Christians at their assemblies, De Anim.
cap. ix.: o Jamvero, prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi canun-
tur, aut adlocutiones proferuntur, aut petitiones deleguntur, itâ
indè materiæ visionibus subministrantur. “Now, as the Scrip-
tures are read, or Psalms sung, or exhortations produced, or
prayers preferred, so is matter ministered to her visions.”
§ 2. In his Apologetic, chap. xxxix., and in Justin Mar-
tyr’s first Apology p—where they describe to the powers
of the empire what the Christians did at their assemblies—of
singing Psalms there is no remembrance, the rest are the
same particulars. There can be no question made that their
practice was derived from the Apostles, when we consider
how much this discourse of the Apostle inferreth, in which
we have seen the Psalms and the prayers which those, that
were endued with spiritual graces, composed and conceived on
the behalf of the Church, as hath been shewed q: where never-
theless he hath expressed the part that particular persons
bear, when he saith, “Every man or woman praying or pro-
phesying,” that is, singing of Psalms, as hath been declared
afore r. In like sort, whatsoever rules he giveth to order the

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* See note y, chap. v. sect. 9.
§ Chap. v. sect. 18.

THORNDIKE.
course of prophesying among them, proceed from supposition of reading the Scriptures afore, to the exposition whereof he willeth them to contribute the fruit of their graces. And this in the first place I make account to be gained without contradiction from this discourse of the Apostle, that all these are substantial parts of that work for which we go to church; all of them principals, none of them accessories, in it.

§ 3. The setting forth of God's praises in Psalms of thanksgiving you shall see to be that part of moral and perpetual service, the order whereof is most particularly remembered in the Old Testament in Solomon's temple. As the sacrifice was burning upon the Altar, and the wine-offering pouring out on it, and the priests blowing with the trumpets in the court of the sanctuary, which was their ceremonial and figurative service, in the mean time the Levites stood upon their pulpits in the outer courts where the men or women of Israel were licensed to come, singing the psalms of God's praises. Times of their assemblies were prescribed by the law of Moses, as you have seen*, but no order for any particular work of spiritual service to be performed at them is there remembered. Not to make a doubt that other offices were frequented, together with the exposition of the law, as the custom and opportunity served; but to shew that the psalms of God's praises, for the ordinary daily practice whereof such express order was taken and remembered, must by no means be reckoned of the by, but of the main of God's public service.

§ 4. And if we should go further to shew that this was no personal service of the Levites alone, but of the whole congregation of God's people assembled there; and that it is so acceptable with God in this regard, because His praise appeareth more glorious when His people join together in setting it forth, we might produce a great part of the book of Psalms, wherein David and other persons, inspired by the Holy Ghost, have either expressed or stirred up the affections of the whole congregation to that work, and recommended the service of God which it yieldeth. Psalm xxxiv. 3, "O magnify the Lord with me, and let us exalt His name together." cxlix. 1; "O sing unto the Lord a new song, and His praise in the congregation of the saints." lxxxiv. 4, "Blessed

* Chap. ii. sect. 1.
are they that dwell in Thine house, they will be still praising Thee.” He commendeth the condition of priests and Levites, 
but he desireth as far as he can to make it his own. cxvii. 
when he singeth, “O praise God all ye people, praise Him 
all ye nations;” the Apostle sheweth us that this is accom-
plished when the Gentiles submit themselves to the Church, 
Rom. xv. 11; and so is all the rest of like nature, Psalm c. 4, 
“O go your way into His gates with thanksgiving, and into 
His courts with praise; be thankful unto Him, and bless His 
name.”

§ 5. But shall we believe that these things are accom-
plished in merely believing the Gospel, or in serving Him 
according to it, as they are required to do in the Scriptures 
that foresaw it? In fine, St. Augustine hath instructed us 
that the Psalms are to be understood in the person of David, 
or [of] him that composed them by the Holy Ghost, in the 
first place; but afterwards, they belong to the person of 
Christ first, and then to His mystical body the Church: so 
whatsoever is there read in the singular number hath the last 
resort of the meaning in the congregation of God’s people: 
but those things that are couched in the plural number there 
cannot properly be understood to proceed from particular 
persons; every “praise ye,” every “hallelujah,” is owned of 
one but assemblies. Besides, it expresseth to us the interest 
which the honour of God hath in every thing of this nature 
that is public. Could it be supposed that the same thing 
were done, the same praises yielded to God by each man in 
private which all men yield Him in common, there is no 
Christian that is sensible of the body of Christ, and the fel-
lowship of all members of it, could think these to be both one 
to God’s service, because the Spirit that maketh this body 
one requireth of each member of it a particular influence in 
the common office. Hearts endued with several graces to 
God are like several voices to the ear. But we are far from 
supposing this: many men may think that they need not go 
to Church for those offices which they do at home: but they 
ought to think what the common sort of Christians might do 
if assemblies were not held: as the matter is, the service 
which the best are able to yield unto God is much improved 
by joining with the rest of His members—but should we not
assemble for that purpose, the hearts of plain simple members, which now are most acceptable to God, would be able to move little in this work, the order of the congregation not guiding them in it. Last of all, be it considered that this is the employment of the other world: when men's desires are all satisfied, and all the subject of prayers possessed, the Angels, the elders about the throne of God, and all the people of Jews and Gentiles which encompass it, Rev. vii. 9, cease not to join in the praises of God, when the Church is become perfectly one.

§ 6. As for the prayers of Christian assemblies, we know upon what patent they stand. Matth. xviii. 19, 20, "Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven. For where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them." And we know that all service of God at that time had reference to the temple at Jerusalem, which reference our Lord abrogateth in His speech with the Samaritan, John iv. 21, 23, substituting the worship of God in spirit and truth, instead of the ceremonial worship of the temple, upon which all depended at that time. We must know further, that by the rules of the synagogue, under ten that are of years there is no congregation. Before that number of such as are come to years be present they go not to prayers; but our Lord, intending to free His Church of all rules that might abridge the privileges of it—knowing that occasions might fall out to diminish the number of His people that desired to assemble—assureth them of His presence in the midst of them, where the least number agree in the things which they desire at His hands. But if the reason of His presence among them be their agreement in their desires, then two or three that agree in their desires, with opposition to the rest of the congregation, shall not be heard; but if they agree with the congregation, then must they, and will they, assemble with it to obtain their desires at God's hands.

§ 7. The Apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 8, "I will therefore," saith he, "that men pray every where, lifting up pure hands without wrath or disputing." Beza there, His verbis tollitur Hierosolymitani templi circumstantia legalis: et ista respondent verbis
Mal. i. 11, Joan. iv. 21. Omnem tamen locum intellige sacrarum caetibus destinatum. Agit enim Paulus de publicis precibus in communi conuenitu, ut in toto orbe terrarum pura hae sacrificia Deo offerentur, de quibus apud Malachiam agitur. "These words," 'in every place,' "take away the legal circumstance of the temple at Jerusalem. And this agreeth with the words Mal. i. 11, John iv. 21. But understand 'every place' of such as are appointed for holy assemblies. For Paul speaketh of common prayers at public meetings, that those pure sacrifices of which the Prophet Malachi speaketh be offered to God all over the world." When the Apostle forbiddeth wrath and disputing in their prayers, it is plain enough his meaning is of their assemblies, the fruit whereof he would not have intercepted through their dissensions. A strange thing that men should so forget the communion of saints, as to think of the public prayers of the Church no otherwise than of those 173 which they know they can make at home: as who should say that the incense of the temple which the Psalm speaketh of, cxli. 2, "Let my prayer be directed before Thee as the incense," made no other perfume than the spices would do were they burnt one by one. Coimus in caetum et congregationem ut ad Deum quasi manu facta precatio inibus ambiamus orantes. Hae vis Deo grata est. Tertull. Apolog. cap. xxxix. "We come together into the assembly and congregation, that, as in a body, we may approach God in prayer. This violence is welcome to God." He that is earnestly desirous to obtain those things which the Church prayeth for at God's hands, will think his pains well bestowed to join so much strength to his suit as the favour of the congregation with God affords.

§ 8. The Jews have an opinion that the prayers of the congregation are always heard: not so the prayers of particular persons in private. Maimoni of Prayer, cap. viii. num. 1. They have deserved to void the truth of this opinion as for the favourable part of it, but the promise of our Lord hath enlarged it to us. Again, ינשה. "And always," saith he, "let a man go morning and evening to the synagogue, for his God's people; they may as well stay at home, and be edified by reading the book themselves." — Reasons for which the Service-book urged ought to be refused, p. 15. A.D. 1638.
prayer is not heard always but in the synagogue: and he that
dwelleth in a city where there is a synagogue and prayeth
not there with the congregation, this is he that is called a bad
neighbour." Well may he be called a bad neighbour that
will not lend his neighbour’s prayers the strength of his own; 174
but himself findeth the fruit of his own bad neighbourhood
when his own prayers want the assistance of his neighbour’s.
The Church is one in faith and one in love to this purpose,
that all that hold the unity of it may find the strength of the
whole in the effect of their own prayers. This is that “one
shoulder” and that “one lip” of the Prophet Zephaniah; one
shoulder to crowd into God’s service, one lip to praise Him
with. This is that “mountain of God” in the Prophet Isaiah
unto which he foretelleth that all nations should flow: where-
upon the rule of the Jews is, to run to the synagogue, but to
come easily from thence; Maimoni, cap. viii. num. 2, וּלֻּשָּׁר עָבְדָּה.
“And we are commanded to run to the synagogue. As it is
said, Hos. vi. 3, ‘And we shall know, we shall drive on to
know the Lord.’”

§ 9. Neither is it to be thought that the public service of
the Church can stand without reading the Scriptures, how
easy soever some men imagine it is to do it at home. First,
from the beginning of moral and not ceremonial service in
synagogues, it hath appeared that it was wont to be read
there as the subject for those speeches that followed for the
exposition of it: we know we have the law of Moses distin-
guished into divisions, answerable to the number of weeks in
the year, that it might begin and end with it: and you shall 175
find afterwards an order of reading the law in public as an-
cient as Nehemiah’s time. The lessons of the prophets cor-
respondent to these, how ancient soever they be—Elias the
Levite deriveth them from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes,
as if the Jews began to practise them when he had forbidden
them to read the law of Moses—we know our Lord Christ
took one of them for the subject of His sermon at Nazareth,
as His Apostle stood up at Antiochia “after the reading of
the law and the prophets.” Certain it is, that from hence

* See chap. i. sect. 2.
* This is in voce OCD, p. 167. In
nem in Algavia, 1541. Quoted by Vi-
triga de Synagogue Vetere, lib. iii. p. 2.
* See chap. i. sect. 2.
* St. Luke iv. 16; Acts xiii. 14, sq.
hath been continued the custom of Lessons of the Old and New Testament in the Church to the same purpose.

§ 10. Justin Martyr in his first Apology, 

Τῇ τοῦ Ἑλλού

λεγομένη ἣμέρᾳ, πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροῖς μενόντων ἐπὶ
tὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν
Ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκε-
tαι μέχρι έγχρωμείται πανσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ
προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τῆς νοπεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν
καλῶν τούτων μμῆσεσις ποιεῖται. "On the day called Sun-
day, all that abide in towns or the countries about meet in
one place, and the records of the Apostles, or the writings of
the Prophets are read, as far as occasion serveth. Then the
reader having done, the president in a speech instructeth,
and exhorteth to the imitation of such excellent things."

The words have a place here because the author is so an-
 cient: otherwise the matter is plain enough, were it but from
that we had in the Constitutions of the Apostles, for no ques-
tion the custom hath been very general to begin the sermon
when the lessons of the Epistles and Gospels were done.
And hereupon it is that preachers among the Latin Church
writers are called tractatores, and tractare, to preach, and St.
Augustine's exposition upon St. John is called tractatus,
because it was preached to the people. All this because they
handled the Scriptures which were read. And Optatus
charging the Donatists and Parmenianus, that their fashion
was to leave the exposition of their texts, the lessons read, to
fall on railing upon the Catholics, lib. iv. *: Nullus vestrum
[est qui non convitia nostra suis tractatibus misceat] qui non
aliud initiet, aliud explicet: lectiones Dominicas incipit, et
tractatus vestros ad nostras injurias explicatis: profertis evange-
lium, et facitis absint fratri convitium. "There is none of
you," saith he, "but [mingleth revilings of us in their trac-
tates, but] beginneth one thing and expoundeth another: ye
begin with the lessons of the Lord, but ye pursue your trac-
tates to our wrong: ye produce the Gospel, but ye revile
your brother in his absence." Hereupon the name of trac-
tatores standeth sometime in opposition to canonici and au-
thentici; to preserve the difference between the authority of

* Chap. v. sect. 36.

Scripture and whatsoever words it is expounded with. A difference not to be smothered between the Scripture and the best exposition of it that a man can imagine.

§ 11. There is one thing that hindereth the effect of the Scripture when it is read, that is, because it is not understood. Thereupon cometh the office of preaching in the Church, to expound the word of God; and that which is preached hath the force and virtue of the word of God, because the word of God is not the letters and syllables, but the sense and meaning of the Scriptures. But all men are capable more or less of understanding the Scriptures as they are read: and no man understandeth them so well but may improve by hearing them read in the Church. Let those that slight this part of the Church-service take order first, that all congregations shall be perfect in the knowledge of the Scriptures. And yet were that come to pass we must not give way to leave it out: the better they are acquainted with it the more shall they improve in the understanding of it, by hearing it repeated. But so far as it is understood it is a thing strange and admirable, that any man living should imagine that the effect thereof in enlightening the mind, or converting the heart, is less when it is read than when it is expounded out of the pulpit. The one the word of God as the Holy Ghost inspired it, the other no less, so far as it departeth not from that which is written, but always subject, so long as man is subject to error and mistake, to depart from it. And when this precious wine is once dashed with the water of human apprehensions it is no offence to me that it is still called the word of God; for so it should be, and so it is presumed to be, till it appear otherwise: but it will concern every man to look about him, that he pin not on God his own infirmities. As for the necessity and excellence of preaching, let all them that are most affected to it examine their reasons, and they shall not ascribe more to it than here shall be done.

b "The Epistles and Gospels read in their Churches is a practice taken wholly from Rome, and they use the very same which the others do. This chapping and hacking of the Scriptures—this rending of it a-pieces one from another, is contrary to the order which God hath ordained, and His Churches practised from time to time, and therefore the non-conformists have desired that it might be taken away as an evil thing."—Cane's Necess. of Separat., chap. ii. sect. 4, pp. 107, 108.
§ 12. Here, if any where, that difference hath place which divines make of things necessary to salvation: some as means, without which it cannot be had in any case; others as things commanded to be done, without which it is not to be had for those that are under that command and do them not. He that in his ripe years hath learned so much of the Christian faith as to be informed in the means of our reconcilement to God, and that condition of life which it requireth, believing the one, and submitting to the other, and desiring His baptism in consequence; as he that was baptized an infant, and when he cometh to years of knowledge doeth the like, as it concerneth his case to do, what wanteth such a man to set him in the state of salvation that can be counted necessary means of it? what should hinder him with old Simeon to sing his Nunc dimittis, should it please God to take him in that estate? But because that condition of life which Christians undertake professeth to do all things out of obedience to the will of God, and with intention of His honour and service, therefore those things which, in the latitude of their kind and nature, are necessary but as things commanded to be done, become necessary as means of salvation to those that are under that command. He that by his own fault is ignorant of that which it concerneth him to believe, or to do for the discharge of his profession to God,—he that suffereth himself to be abused, to be diverted and led aside by the deceits of the world and his corrupt inclinations, for want of that warning and advice whereof God appointeth him the means—he must needs fail of his profession to God, in fulfilling wherein the means of salvation consisteth: but he must take it upon his own account that he faileth of it.

§ 13. Upon these considerations we are to value the necessity of preaching in respect of particular persons. Upon these considerations we are to value how much it must needs concern all Christian commonwealths to furnish the means; all

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Christian Churches to take order that it may be done. As
the means to bring men to know, as the means to move men
to embrace those means, without which they cannot be saved: 180
as the means to instruct them more and more, to guide them
from time to time in a straight course both of their judgment
and doings. These considerations notwithstanding, if the ques-
tion be made which is the chief work for which Christians
assemble, to hear the Scriptures expounded by preaching, or
to serve God in their prayers; there is a visible advantage
due to this latter, because it is a means nearer the end of both.

§ 14. It cannot be denied that all preaching is to the pur-
pose of informing the mind, or moving the heart to desire
that which is good indeed: but prayer being the actual de-
sire of it, is the exercise of the means which God ordaineth
to procure it. But otherwise, if we compare the work of
ministering the prayers of the Church with that of minister-
ing the doctrine of the Scripture upon the considerations
premised, it must be affirmed that preaching is the chief work
which the ministers of the Church, from their office, are able
to contribute towards the public service of God. Because the
other part of it may be ministered to the same purpose by
men of common sense, whereas this requir eth those personal
abilities which all men have not. For one may be the mouth
of the congregation in prayer to as good purpose in all
regards in following a prescript form, as exercising his wit
and understanding about it—suppose this for the present
which shall be proved afterwards—and therefore we see in
the primitive Church most parts of the service were referred
to inferior ministers. They had such as read the lessons,
such as sung the Psalms, and a great part of the prayers were
done by deacons.

§ 15. And though many men are so eager to have all
ministers to be the mouth of the congregation in conceiving
prayers at the instant; yet no man shall persuade me that

4 "And whereas the minister by the
Scripture is the people's mouth to God,
this book prescribes responsions to be
said by the people, . . . . . . . The Homi-
lies . . . . are left free either to be read
or not by preaching ministers, and why
not then the Liturgy? especially con-
sidering that the ability to offer up the
people's wants to God in prayer is part
of the ministerial office as well as
preaching. And if it can be thought no
less than sacrilege to rob the people of
the ministers' gift in preaching and to
tie them to Homilies, it can be no less
to deprive them of their gift in prayer."
their meaning is to place the best of their performance either in the conceptions or in the language wherein they express the desires thereof to God, for these sure make no difference to Him, so there be no offence. The best they can contribute is the devotion of the heart which they pray with, wherein they are but one of the congregation: the meanest of it may bring as good as they are able to do. But in preaching, a man's knowledge in the Scriptures—his abilities to express his knowledge to the capacity of his audience—his discretion in addressing it to their particular without offence, will either be seen or missed. And therefore whosoever commendeth the price and value of the work, for due reasons must needs call to mind how difficult it is. For he that cometh to expound the Scripture to the people must understand it aright before he cometh to expound it, and that understanding cometh not in these days by the immediate inspiration of the Spirit, but is allotted to human endeavours, in those that in the fear of God take pains about the means which He hath provided for it. And in delivering no more than a man's knowledge, there fall out many times these failings, which, like Eli's sons, may make the offering of God to be loathed, and the ministry of God contemptible. And though all Scripture, as saith the Apostle, 1 Tim. iii. 15, "is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness," yet may all this be so unseasonably ministered that the effect may prove offence, though the end be amendment.

§ 16. It cannot be said with justice that this truth is acknowledged here to abate the esteem of this work, which tendeth indeed to enhance the diligence of them which do it. But this must be averred, that unless men and abilities be provided for the work, as well as the work for them, it may prove a sword in a blind man's hand, to wound the Church as well as the enemies of it. Though all that hitherto hath been said to the nature and use of these particulars of public service pretendeth to shew no more but this, that they are all principals and substantials, no accessories in it. That the praise of God in Psalms, the reading of the Scriptures, is not, by the nature of the work, and the primitive custom of the Church, to while out the time till the congregation be assem-
bled: that the prayers of the Church are not, in the main intent of them, to usher in the sermon, or to leave impression of it in men's minds afterwards, but for the procuring of all necessaries of the congregation, and each particular of it, so far as general order can comprise.

§ 17. Hitherto hath nothing been said of the chief part of public service among Christians, that is, of celebrating and receiving the Lord's Supper: the Eucharist, which from the beginning of the profession and name of Christians was frequented as the chief part of public service in most of their assemblies, now, because it is not of such continual use, is not mentioned among the rest at the beginning of our service. For the present I press no more but the words of the Apostle, as they seem to be expounded by a passage of Ignatius, to shew what effect the prayers of the congregation have in the consecration of that Sacrament, and the effect of it. For it is a fearful word of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xi. 20, 21, where having charged the divisions among them to be the cause that their assemblies were not for the better but for the worse, he proceedeth thus: "When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper: for in eating every one taketh before other his own supper: and one is hungry, and another is drunken." It is plain it was the Lord's Supper they intended to celebrate, therefore if they received it not through their own fault it must needs be sacrilege on their hands. The fault is plain enough, as well neglect of the congregation, out of the schisms that were among them, as their excess in particular.

§ 18. Take the words of Ignatius to expound the Apostle; they are the words of one that drank at his spring and spake to the same purpose; Epist. ad Ephes.: Μηδεὶς πλανάσθω· εὰν μὴ τις ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, ὑστερεῖται τοῦ ἄρτου τοῦ Θεοῦ. "Let no man be deceived, if a man be not within the Altar he cometh short of the bread of God." "He that is

* This will be explained by the following extract from Archbishop Laud's diary, Nov. 14, 1626—"I desired his Majesty King Charles, that he would please to be present at prayers as well as sermon every Sunday, and that at whatsoever part of the prayers he came, the priest then officiating might proceed to the end of the prayers. The most religious king not only assented to this request, but also gave me thanks for it. This had not before been done from the beginning of King James's reign to this day. Now thanks be to God it obtaineth."—p. 37. London, 1695. See also Cyprianus Anglicus, p. 223. London, 1671.

within the Altar," with Ignatius, is he that communicateth
with the Church: in imitation of those under the law that
feasted upon the relics of peace-offerings, to which the love-
feasts of Christians used with the Eucharist practised corre-
spondence. There was one Altar from whence all men com-
unicated of those sacrifices; which those that forsake, saith
Ignatius, may take upon them to celebrate the Eucharist, but
the bread they receive is not the Lord's, it is profane.

§ 19. To the same purpose, Ep. ad Smyrn.: Ἐκείνη βεβαία
εἰκαριοτία ἡγεῖσθω ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐπισκόπον οὖσα, ἢ δὲ ἄν αὐτὸς
ἐπιτρέψῃ. "Let that be counted a firm Eucharist which is
held under the Bishop, or him to whom he committeth it."

The celebration of the Eucharist is not sound nor effectual
but under the Bishop, that is, in the unity of the Church,
therefore sacrilege in them that attempt it. His reason is to
our purpose, "for if the prayer of one or two have that force,"
saith he, "that God standeth in the midst of them, how much
more shall the prayer wherein the Bishop and Church agree
prevail?" That prayer wherein they, agree prevaileth to
make the Sacrament the bread of God to them that agree in
it, therefore that wherein they agree not leaveth it as it was,
no bread of God, but the subject of their sacrilege. If this
be not enough to enforce the virtue of public prayers, nothing
will serve the turn. It is the agreement of the congregation
in their prayers that maketh the elements the Supper of the
Lord with St. Paul; the bread of God with Ignatius, to them
that agree: those that agree not fail of the grace, fail not of
committing sacrilege.

§ 20. Having thus far derived the substance of that which
is to be done at Christian assemblies from the practice of the
Apostles themselves, and after them of the primitive Chris-
tians, it will be requisite, before we go further, upon the pre-
cedent of their practice to consider the weight and extent of
the reasons, upon which the Apostle proceedeth in ordering
the manner of performing the particulars, whereof hitherto
hath been said among the Corinthians: the chief whereof is
the edification of God's people, upon which he pitcheth the
issue of his foregoing dispute [1 Cor. xiv.], ver. 26, which

\[\text{CHAP. VI.}\]

\[\text{185}\]

\[\text{a Cap. viii. p. 37. ed. Coteler.}\]

\[\text{b Cited before in Primitive Govern-}\]

\[\text{ment, chap. x. sect. 2.}\]
may seem to extend no further than the information of the
mind and understanding in matters of religion belonging to
knowledge; because the speech of the Apostle proceedeth
concerning the use of spiritual graces, which he directeth to
that purpose: as you see, ver. 3, it is expressly differenced
from matter of exhortation and comfort, when he saith, "He
that prophesieth speaketh to men to edification, and exhorta-
tion, and comfort." Nevertheless it must be something else
that he meaneth there, ver. 17, "For thou verily givest
thanks well, but the other is not edified:" that is, because he
understandeth not what thou sayest, he is not guided and
directed to go along with the thanksgiving wherein thou
goest afore in an unknown language. And in this epistle
afore, viii. 10, "Shall not the conscience of him that is weak
be edified to eat those things which be offered to idols?"
Where you see a man is said to be edified by whatsoever it is
that advanceth his intentions towards any work. And there-
fore, though the reason of edifying may sometimes tend to
the particular sense of teaching, yet it is not so to be confined,
but that whatsoever is a fit means to train and guide us in the
ways of godliness must be said to tend towards the edifi-
cation of God's people.

§ 21. And thus the rules which the Apostle afterwards
qualifieth all that is to be done in the Church with, when he
saith, "Let all things be done decently and in order," are
clearly subordinate to this main reason of the edification of
the Church, and derived from it. For without doubt there is
nothing so powerful to edification—that is, to guide and train
the body of the Church in the exercise of godliness—as a good
order for the particular practice of those offices thereof which
are generally commanded in the Scriptures. Well might the
Apostle say here, ver. 33, "God is not the author of confu-
sion but of order, as in all Churches of the Saints." Whoso-
ever withdraweth himself from the public order of the Church,
out of opinion that a better might be established, will hinder
the edification thereof more in that neglect of the course in
force which he procureth, than it is possible he should advance
it in the practice of those whom he thinketh to direct in a
better course. For on the one side, his own followers, out of
heat of contention, shall always spend their zeal upon matters
of small consequence, which ought to be conversant about the great things of the Gospel: on the other side, those that are not affected with his singularities are disquieted in their own course of God’s service.

§ 22. The other part of the Apostle’s rule seemeth to extend further than the term of “decency,” in which it is translated, containeth: πάντα εὐσχημόνως saith the Apostle, honestē saith the Old Latin, and in St. Paul’s epistles εὐσχημόνως περιπατεῖν, which is rendered there honestē ambulare, and εὐσχημονές γυναῖκες, in the Acts, honesta mulieres: all these express more than “decency.” For that is seen in the least matters, where all things are fit and suitable, but that which in Latin is called honestas, in none but those that carry an appearance that deserveth respect. Which if the property of the word will not enforce, as to them that relish it right without fail it will do, the nature and kind of that whereof the Apostle speaketh will constrain it to import no less than that which beareth an appearance of respect and account: because in matter of so high a nature as the exercise of religion nothing can be decent, nothing can become, but that which preserveth the respect which actions of that rank are to be performed with. So much, common sense telleth us; that the outward appearance of all kind of proceedings is a means to maintain the inward esteem which men ought to hold of those things that are done there.

§ 23. Let no man blame me that appeal to common sense to judge what becometh in matters of religion, which must neither stand nor fall by the judgment of common sense, being so far beyond it. The Apostle here hath done it afore me, ver. 23; “If the Church be met, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?” For what is this but to condemn that which they did in the exercise of religion by the verdict of common sense, which though unable to judge of the religion of Christians, nevertheless is able to discern what is suitable to the end which the assemblies of Christians profess? And do we not all see with what kind of reasons in another place, 1 Cor. xi. 13, he argueth another point of this nature, to settle a custom for men to be bare,

1 Rom. xiii. 13; 1 Thess. iv. 12.  
2 Chap. xiii. 50; xvii. 12.
women to be veiled at their assemblies? It is first to be
known that the women of those times, and of the Jews in
particular, as Tertullian in one place witnesseth, were care-
ful to keep their faces veiled from the sight of men when
they came in public; which was in them a profession of
bashfulness, and that modesty which they desired to preserve.
On the other side, in men it was a mark of confusion and dis-
grace to have the face covered: the custom was to go bare in
public, and that in token of the freedom and boldness which
they professed. And it is plain that the covering whereof
the Apostle speaketh was such an one as the face was veiled
with: for therefore he saith, ver. 4, the man dishonoureth
his head in covering it when he prayeth or prophesieth, dis-
claiming the freedom and dignity of his sex: the woman in dis-
covering her head, not professing the modesty and subjection
of her sex: therefore he saith afterwards that the woman’s hair
is given her for a veil, that is, to cover the face with, which if
it be not done she had as good be shaven, saith he, ver. 5.

§ 24. In Tertullian’s time those that professed virginity
took upon them to sit with their faces unveiled in the
Church, taking it for a privilege of their rank to disclaim the
subjection of the sex and profess freedom. This is the occa-
sion of his book De Virginibus velandis. What opinion it was
upon which the custom which the Apostle writeth against at
Corinth proceeded, is not known. How the Apostle argueth
we see, 1 Cor. xi. 13; “Judge in yourselves:” saith he; “is it
comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered? Doth not
even nature itself teach you,” &c. To shew us the reason
whereupon he proceedeth, that the custom then practised, for
men to go bare-head in sign of freedom and profession of
boldness and cheerfulness of heart, women veiled in sign of
modesty and bashfulness, as it was agreeable to revealed
truth, as the Apostle disputeth before, ver. 3, 7, which
teacheth that the woman was created of the man, and must not
forget the subjection she oweth him from whom she first
came; so is it to the light of nature, that teacheth women to
keep their hair to veil themselves with; if there be nothing
ever to do it with, men to part with theirs, that it hinder not

1 Apud Judeos tam solenne est for-
minis eorum velamen capitis, ut inde
noscantur.—De Corona Militis, cap. iv.

§ 25. By which it remaineth undeniable, how much the Apostle referreth to common reason, to judge of the fitness of those things that are practised at our religious assemblies, when he setteth aside his Apostolic authority to consult with their common sense about matters to be ordered. But when that is done—having alleged how agreeable the custom for which he pleaded was both to the light of nature and to revealed truth—because it is not possible that matters of this nature should be put past contradiction and dispute by constraining reasons issuing from the mere nature of things, and yet the quiet of the Church—on which the edification of it dependeth—requireth that they should be out of dispute: you shall see where the last resort of his plea endeth, when he saith, ver. 16, “But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God,” where he hath estated a general rule for the Church to follow, that in matters of this indifference the custom of the Church is to be preferred before our own reasons.

§ 26. The indifference, whereof here we speak, is not to be found in the action to be done or not to be done, as if, in things of this slight nature, our obligation to God had no influence, as if it were indifferent to a man to do or not to do, to do this or the other: but the indifference, whereof we speak, is to be understood in the latitude and kind of the thing prescribed to be done or not done, which indifference is taken away by custom accruing. For example, when St. Augustine saith, *Ep. cxviii.*, that to fast on Saturday or not, to celebrate the Eucharist, or to communicate every day or not, were things of free observance; his meaning was not that it was free for particular persons to do what they would,

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\* . . . Alii jejunant Sabbato, alii non: alii quotidie communicant corpori et sanguini Domini, alii certis diebus accipiant: alibi nullus dies pretermittitur, quo non offeratur, alibi Sabbato tantum et Dominico, alibi tantum Dominico: et si quid aliud hujusmodi animadverti potest, totum hoc genus rerum liberas habet observati-
without respect to the custom in which they lived; that is quite against the purpose of his epistle, which is for the observation of present customs: but that of their own nature and kind they were free to be determined by the practice of several Churches, which he that regardeth not in his particular is the cause of an offence. It is no more than the Apostle teacheth when he saith, "If any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the Churches of God." Where he acknowledgeth that in things of this nature even his own reasons for the custom in force must needs be subject to contradiction of contrary reasons, much more other men's reasons for customs of like nature might be opposed with such as might move men to think the contrary custom better, for which they plead: and yet concluding that they ought to submit their reasons to the custom in force, hath given us authority to conclude that men are bound in matter of that nature to balk their private judgment to proceed upon public custom. The reason being that which was argued afore, because custom containeth order, and upon order the edification of the Church dependeth: neither can private innovations, in the advantage which they yield beyond that which is received, countervail the disadvantage of public confusion and unquietness which they cause.

§ 27. There are besides these which have been discoursed two considerations of singular moment to recommend and to enforce the orders of public service. For as the Church universal is but one in regard of times, as well as of places and countries, those orders must needs appear most commendable which are derived from the universal practice of the ancient Church, especially next the Apostles: and as the Church is at this time incorporate into the state of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is the secular arm that establisheth it with a power that is able to constrain, but when that is done there must needs accrue a second obligation of obedience for conscience, which the Apostle requireth to be yielded to secular powers.

§ 28. It is not my purpose to oblige the Church of this time to reduce into practice all things which a man may find to have been practised even in the time of the Apostles, much less afterwards: we have divers remarkable instances of
matters allowed and appointed by the Apostles in Scripture which are come to disuse, upon appearance that the reason is ceased whereupon they were prescribed. Such is that whereof I spake even now for women to be veiled on their faces in the time of public service, which the Apostle enforceth with so many reasons, and yet among us doth not take place, neither in the rest of countries where it was never the custom for women to go abroad with their faces covered, in sign of the modesty and subjection which they profess. Such is that ancient custom of Agapē, or Feasts of Love, the original whereof St. Chrysostom truly deriveth from the manner of living of those primitive Christians that made all things common in the Acts of the Apostles. There were those in other places that went not so far, yet intended to preserve some impression of their practice: these, upon set days of assemblies, furnished a common entertainment both for rich and poor, so that service being done, after the communion of the mysteries they went all to feast together, the rich providing and inviting the poor, and all together making good cheer. This is his discourse in 1 ad Cor. Hom. xxvii.⁹; neither was it any part of the Apostle’s mind to forbid this course, but rather to allow it, so far as he regulateth and orderrth the course of it. Which nevertheless we see it is so lost as if there had never been remembrance of any such thing in Scripture, because it appeareth to common reason that it cannot be practised to the same purpose, now that all the world is Christian, as it was when they were tied so straight together by the profession that differenced them from the Gentiles.

§ 29. And such is that order of the Apostle concerning Gentiles converted to the faith, Acts xv. 29, “To abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled:” the reason whereof being nothing but this, when it is examined to the bottom, that the Jews converted to the faith might find less offence in matters of daily practice which their orders imposed upon them, but the Gentiles made no scruple at, and so might the better piece into one household of the Church; it is no marvel if the observance of it came afterward to disuse when the reason had ceased. And there-


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fore it is remarkable even in St. Augustine’s time, as we find, *Contr. Faust.* lib. xxxii. 13⁹, that divers Christians then scru-
pled at the violation of this observance, in eating of a hare 
killed by breaking the neck, or small fowl without letting 
bleed, which he that doth, saith he, is now laughed at for his 
pains of the rest; because it would not appear to one so soon 
as the rest that the ground of this injunction was ceased.

§ 30. If then such ordinances and customs as are allowed 
and enjoined by the Apostles themselves are with right 
abolished because the reason of them is ceased, much more those 
which were taken up at the beginning upon human appoint-
ment of the Church may cease when the reason of that good 
appeareth not, and must cease when evil consequences which 
they draw into the Church at their heels begin to appear. 
This is that which justifieth the reformation which we pro-
fess⁹, wherein some observances in the Church—as ancient as 
there is remembrance in it of things used since the time of 
the Apostles—are perhaps abolished by law, or disused by 
custom; the remembrance of the dead at the celebration of 
the Eucharist, for example⁵. The reason of edification of the 
Church, by the comfort which it receiveth at the communion ¹⁹⁷ 
professed with the deceased, not being now required in partic-
ular by them which presume of it in all that die in the faith; 
and the abuses which it hath trained in after it appearing 
unsufferable.

§ 31. But all this being granted, the consideration of the 
primitive Church and the precedent of it, to my understand-
ing, prescribeth two things: the first is general: as it is 
a Church, and all Churches make one Church by acknowled-
ging and maintaining union and communion with the 
Churches that have been in other ages, as well as with the

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⁹ Quia jam hoc Christianus observat, ut turdos vel minutores aviculas non attingat, nisi quorum sanguis effusus est, aut leporem non edat, si manu a cervice percussus, nullo cruento vulnere occisus est! Et qui forte pauci adhuc tangere ista formidant, a ceteris irridentur.—S. Aug., tom. viii. col. 457. ed. Ben.

⁵ Thorndike perhaps alludes to the preface to the Book of Common Prayer; “Of ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained;” where we read, “And in these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor pre-
scribe any thing but to our own people only.”

* When Thorndike wrote, the “Prayer for the Church Militant” was without these words. “And we also bless Thy holy name for all Thy servants de-
parted this life in Thy faith and fear, beseeching Thee to give us grace so to 
follow their good examples, that with 
them we may be partakers of Thy heav-
enly kingdom.”
Churches that are in other countries, we are obliged not to disclaim, not to renounce it, but to maintain ourselves always of communion with it, without substantial difference of belief or practice. The Donatists in old time, as St. Augustine\(^*\) chargeth, fell foul upon the Article of the Catholic Church because they acknowledged no Church but their own, but thought it had failed in all other countries by communicating with the Church of Africa, from which they had separated themselves: much more foul must he needs fall upon that Article that thinketh the Church perished almost as soon as it was instituted, and proceedeth in his practice as obliged to renounce that which was in the first ages. To maintain this communion it is not requisite we commend, but it is necessary we tolerate, all that was then in practice: though we believe some things may be mended at this time, we must not believe any thing was pernicious at that time.

§ 32. This indeed, in the height, concerneth them which separate from this Church: let them advise upon what terms they renounce that Church which communicateth with the primitive Church, with which all Churches are bound to hold correspondence; but in a lower degree concerneth all those that think they cannot detest the corruptions of the Church of Rome enough, till they involve the primitive Church, and whatsoever is done upon the precedent of it, in the same imputations which stick upon it: which is, out of indiscreet zeal to our own cause, to prevaricate against it, and for the blindness of the love we bear it, to oversee the advantages of it. For what greater pleasure can we, do the Church of Rome, than to quit them the ancient Church as their clear advantage? Or what greater scandal can we fasten upon the Reformation which we love, than to make every thing we like not a mark of Antichrist, for which we hold ourselves bound to separate\(^t\) which if we should do upon no other

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\(^t\) "... Service Book, which is an extract out of Rome's Latin Service, Missal or Mass-book—as it is confessed in the Book of Martyrs—the Roman Latin being turned into English: if there were no more in it than this, that it is the form of Rome's worship, and so (as King James once called it) an ill-said mass; it might a little startle such Christians as hold that Christianity to be the purest which hath least conformity with Antichrist and his superstitions. For if we be commanded to come out of Rome, and
matters than those, which some men will have to be such, then were we as true schismatics as they of the Church of Rome would have us.

§ 33. The second is an advantage more particular to the point we are in hand with. As it was the Church primitive, near the fountain, and resented that fire the Holy Ghost had inspired so late, that which discourse of reason concludes to be for the edification of the Church in the service of God, must needs appear more reasonable if it were then in practice. Were the question about matters difficult and obscure in the meaning of the Scriptures, knowledge goeth along with grey hairs, and it is to be believed that the Church may improve in it, as in time: but whereas it was said afore, that we are to use our common reason in judging what is for the edification of the Church in the order of public service, it is not to be thought that these are matters that require so much depth of understanding as they do uprightness of disposition, to give sentence without inclination or prejudice. I say then, that when the coast was clear of partialities, the matters in hand not controverted on any side, the Church bent more to act in the service of God than to dispute about it, the practice of that time may be a way too steep for us to tread, but sure it is straight to direct us.

§ 34. We must not slight those orders which directed them to make the service of God their earnest business, because the Church of Rome hath made it a formal employment to pass the time over with. If in weeding this garden of God’s Church we pluck up wholesome ordinances with the abuses which have been pinned to them, well may men devise laws for a good sense but not to much purpose, when religion is not suffered to grow within the pale. That noble and learned Du Plessis* thought it a great advantage to the cause he undertook against the mass if he could demonstrate the form of

to have no communion with her idolatrous service; let it then be well considered, whether Christians may with a good conscience be present at the English Liturgy, which is for the main, the mass turned into English."—Christ on His Throne, case vi. pp. 23, 24.

* Sect. 25.

* Philip Mornay, Lord of Plessis-Marly, was born in 1549. After the death of his father in 1560 he publicly professed Calvinism, which his mother, sister of the Bishop of Nantes, had taught him in secret. He published in 1598 his book "Traité de l’institution de la Sainte Eucharistie." It appeared afterwards in Latin, with the title "De Sacra Eucharistia in quatuor libros distinctum opus." Hanoviae, 1605.
service used in the reformed Churches of France to be more agreeable to that of the primitive Church than that of the mass-book of Rome. This he thought worth his pains to undertake, and if we regard the substance of public service, may well be thought to have performed it. I am yet in a more general point concerning the order of public service, but I shall think it advantage enough, to the cause in which I deal, to shew the points questioned in this order to be of more ancient practice in the Church than the corruptions of the Church of Rome, for which we leave it. And when I come anon to survey the particular form of service which this Church useth, let men of learning judge what is nearer to the primitive than both; but thereupon I must take leave to conclude, that this Church is not to forsake the primitive to conform to other reformed Churches, where the order in force hath both the precedent of so ancient practice, and the reason of edification to commend it.

§ 35. Now the difference between this state of the Church—incorporate into the bodies of kingdoms and commonwealths—and the primitive—when it was either tolerated or persecuted under the Roman empire—is to be seen in the Apostles fishing after the resurrection of Christ, John xx. 11: “Though there were taken one hundred and fifty-three great fishes, yet the net brake not.” “For the multitude of believers were of one heart, and one soul,” Acts iv. 32. They came out of good-will into the net of the Apostles, and out of good-will they applied themselves to the orders, wherein they were directed by them and their successors, not able to constrain obedience; so the net was not strong enough to hold them, and yet brake not. But when the world came into the Church, then was the parable of our Lord more clearly fulfilled, which resembleth the Gospel to a net, which drew to the land both good and bad fish, and when the net is not strengthened by the secular arm, no marvel to see it break in pieces. It is therefore requisite that the orders of public service have the force of temporal

7 “There is such a vast difference between it (the English Liturgy) and the Liturgies of all other reformed Churches as that it keeps them at a distance from us, and us from full communion with them.”—Smeetymuuus, sect. ii. quere i. 6.
laws, by act of kingdoms and commonwealths; but it is nevertheless requisite that it should be directed by the office of ministers of the Church, no otherwise than it was before the empire or any commonwealth received the faith. The charge of directing belongeth to the one which cannot be dispossessed of it, the power of constraining belongeth to the other which must give account how they use it or not. Heb. xiii. 17: "Obey them that have the rule over you," or guide you, "and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls as they that must give account." 1 Thess. v. 12, 13: "And we beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord; and to esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake."

§ 36. What can these exhortations and injunctions of the Apostle concern, if—in matters so proper to their charge, as the public service of God and the order of it—those of whom the Apostle speaketh are not to direct but to execute? and when those disorders fell among the Corinthians in their feasts of love, and receiving the mysteries, in praying, praising God, and preaching in unknown languages—no doubt through those partialities of the presbyters, the ordinary guides of the Church there, whereof hath been spoken elsewhere—the Apostle indeed himself taketh order in his time, but in case the like fall out afterwards, hath he not authorized the ordinary ministries of the Church, by his example, to take order in like matters? and when he writeth to Timothy, 1 Tim. ii. 1—"I will therefore that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men:" wherein without peradventure he taketh order for the substance of public prayer for their assemblies, as shall appear—is it his purpose to refer the ordering of it to the congregation there, or to his office whom he enchargeth with it? it is to be seen indeed how much King David did in ordering the public course of Divine Service in his time: but it is to be considered how he proceeded in it, by that which we read, 1 Chron. xv. 16, 17: "And David spake to the chief of the Levites, to appoint their brethren singers with instruments of music, psalteries, and harps, and cymbals, sounding by lifting up the voice with joy. And the Levites appointed

* Primitive Government, chap. vi. sect. 4. chap. iii. sect. 3.
Heman and the rest:” which is the very course by which we pretend such things are to pass.

§ 37. But in the Church of Christ, as from the beginning things came to be practised in the service of God, by order of the ministers and consent of the people; so when emperors, kingdoms, and commonwealths received the faith, they purchased themselves no right of disposing in such matters, as by the Scriptures belong to the minister’s charge, but they impose upon themselves the charge of enforcing these orders which shall seem to be for the advancement of godliness.

And therefore upon the judgment of discretion, common to all Christians, they are to proceed in denying or enforcing the execution of that which is directed by them whose charge it concerneth. If they proceed further, they are to answer for the good as well as for the wrong which they do; so far as that which is done for the better, as it advanceth the public good in the particular substance of that which is done, so it may prejudice it more in the consequence of the example.

§ 38. Let us then recollect from the first to the last what hath been said of the reasons and grounds whereupon the Apostle proceedeth in regulating matters concerning the public service of God, and we shall find that the Church in all ages is to proceed no otherwise. First, the edification of the Church, that is, the instruction of God’s people in the knowledge of Him, and the training of them in the exercise of godliness, is the aim proposed. This is procured by observing order and comeliness in all things to be done of that nature. The best and most impartial reason is to be employed in judging what best becometh in matters of this weight: and because it is not possible to put these ordinances past contradiction of opposite reasons, the custom directed by the ministers of the Church—upon advice of common reason, and most primitive and universal precedent of the Church, and enforced by the secular arm—is to take place for order sake.

§ 39. If after all this a question be made whether matters, established with a tolerable respect to the fiducial line of this rule, oblige men in conscience to observe them or not, he shall leave the Church obnoxious to perpetual confusion,
by necessary consequence, seeing it is not possible that all
men should agree of their free accord to observe any course
as fittest to be observed, unless they think themselves tied
in conscience to observe that rule, which for the latitude and
kind of it is not sinful for themselves to observe, and that if
they fail they may be constrained to it because it is es-
established. Possible it is that men, proceeding in the form of
this rule, should so far mistake themselves as to enjoin the
Church to violate some of God's laws in obeying theirs;
in such, a man is bound with his blood to maintain his
disobedience.

§ 40. But our speech concerneth matters of indifference—
where the perpetual law of God and nature forbiddeth not
the whole kind and latitude of the thing commanded—where
no perpetual law of God or nature—no positive constitution
of God or man that ought to take place afore this, cometh
between; if the laws of the Church, strengthened by the
secular arm, bind not a man in conscience by virtue of that
law of God, that enforceth obedience to their authors, to do 206
according to them, then must all men be at their freedom
to dissolve or preserve order in the service of God as they
please. Where nothing but custom of the Church, upon
probable reason, directeth our practice, we must not proceed
according to our private reasons, which persuade the con-
trary; but according to public custom, if we will be ruled by
the Apostle: but where there is law to constrain us, we may
perhaps have reason to think that the authors of laws might
have done better in ordering matters otherwise, and yet be
bound ourselves to follow the course which they prescribe.
They are to answer for the things they enjoin; we for our
performance; when was any human law made that could
not be faulted? if our obedience be delayed till it find such
laws as no fault can be found with, the world must end in
confusion before we practise that virtue. It is never lawful
to do any thing that is evil; but it is not evil, but necessary,
in the sphere of things indifferent, to follow the law that
standeth, though a better might stand instead of it.

§ 41. Herewith agreeth the judgment of the principal re-
formed Divines, themselves chief Reformers, which my desire
is to repeat here, though it hath been produced more at
large, not as pretending to stand or fall by plurality of voices, but desiring to make it appear that nothing is said here to cross the principles of the Reformation and chief Reformers. Philip, loco de Cærem. in Ecclesia, p. 651: In Ecclesiis emendatis reliqui sunt ritus aliqui adiaphori, quia hujus vitæ actiones ordine aliquo distribuendæ sunt. Hominum natura intelliget et amat ordinem, qui quidem maximè decet Ecclesiam et congressus publicos. "In reformed Churches there remain some indifferent rites," rites concerning indifferent things, "because the actions of this life are to be disposed in some order. Man by nature apprehendeth and loveth order, which especially becometh the Church and public assemblies." Calvin. 4. Instit. x. 27: Neque enim haberi potest quod Paulus exigit, ut decenter omnia et ordine flant, nisi additis observationibus, tanquam vinculis quibusdam, ordo ipsæ et decorum consistat. "That which Paul requireth, that all things be done decently and in order, is not to be obtained unless that order and comeliness stand upon some observances, added as bonds, to wit, to enforce it." To the same purpose a little afore: Si in rebus agendis vigere semper aliquæm ritum, quem non respui publicæ honestatis interest, atque adeò humanitatis ipsius: id in Ecclesiis præsertim observandum esse, quæ cum bene composita rerum omnium constititione optimè sustinentur, tum verò sine concordia nulla sunt prorsus. And a little after he toucheth 208 the reason here discoverted to the quick. At quum in hominum moribus tanta insit diversitas, tanta in animis varietas, tanta in judicis ingeniosœque pugna, neque politia utilitas firma est, nisi certis legibus constituata, nec sine statà quadam forma servari ritus quispiam potest. "But there being so much difference in men's manners, so much diversity of minds, so much contrariety of judgments and dispositions, neither is any commonwealth firm as it should be, till it be settled with certain laws, neither can any rite be observed without some settled form."

§ 42. Rites prescribed by God cannot be observed but according to forms prescribed by man. Philip. ubi supra: Rursus autem munitur publica tranquillitas hâc doctrinâ, quod...
CHAPTER VII.


The prohibition of quenching the Spirit concerneth immediate inspirations.

This is the substance of those things that are to be done for the public service of God at the assemblies of Christians: and these are the grounds of those rules by which the form, in which they are done, is to be directed. Before we come to touch that particular form of service which we use, with these rules, let us make trial of them in some particulars,
which in the general point of public service are or may be questionable. And that by the method, already set on foot, of reasons drawn from the grounds and rules of the Apostle, seconded by the practice of the primitive, the judgment and agreement of reformed Churches. Among which there is none of more account than this, whether there ought to be a set form of prayer prescribed for our assemblies.

§ 2. For it is not denied that there ought to be an order prescribed for public service in the whole: but public prayers, and the form of them, it is pretended, are to be referred to the discretion of the person by whom they are ministered, by virtue of that charge of the Apostle, wherein he forbiddeth to "quench the Spirit." 1 Thess. v. 19, which is conceived to be done when the conceptions of men's minds, or the expressions of their tongues, are stunted to prescribed forms, and men by that means so confined, that they cannot make demonstration of those graces which the Spirit of God hath endued them with. This is, to my understanding, the best of that argument, that casteth so much and so dangerous

"If by liturgy this Remonstrant understand an order observed in Church assemblies of praying, reading, and expounding the Scriptures, administering Sacraments, &c., such a liturgy we know, and do acknowledge both Jews and Christians have used."—Smectymnuus, sect. ii. p. 6.

"It (the liturgy) abridgeth the office of the Holy Ghost, which teacheth us how to pray as we ought; and keepeth out of the Church the gifts and graces of God; and quencheth the spirit of the ministers and people in the service of God, &c. Rom. viii. 26, 27; Eph. iv. 8; vi. 18; 1 Thess. v. 19; Jude 20."—Apoloigy of Brownists, p. 67. A.D. 1604.

"Now though dumb priests have need of such a liturgy, yet it doth not follow that therefore able godly ministers, that know how to fit their prayers to all such several occasions as do continually present themselves—which a set prayer in a book cannot do—should be tied to any such precise set form, for otherwise this were to quench the spirit of prayer, 1 Thess. v. 19, and to muzzle the mouth of prayer, and to stop the course of God's Spirit, which doth wonderfully improve itself in all those—both ministers and people on whom God hath poured the spirit of grace and supplication," &c.—Christ on His Throne, case vii. pp. 29, 30. A.D. 1640.

"And that these stunted and devised forms do quench the spirit of prayer, appears in that they deprive the Church and minister of that liberty of the spirit of prayer, which God would have them use: stinting the minister, yea all the ministers in the kingdom, to the same measure of the Spirit, not only one with another, but all of them with him that is dead and rotten, and so stinting the Spirit which the Lord gives His ministers, for His Church: and that so strictly as till the stint be out, it may not suggest one thought or word otherwise, or when it is out, one more than is prescribed. 'The manifestation of the Spirit,' saith the Apostle, 1 Cor. xii. 7, 'is given to every man to profit withal,' But in the reading of a prescript form of prayer, there is not the manifestation of the spirit of the minister given him to profit the Church withal, but the manifestation of the spirit of him that devised and penned the service book."—Robinson's Justification of Separation, p. 345. A.D. 1639.
scruple in a clear business; and at a distance carrieth an appearance of the Word of God, and the meaning of Scripture, but surveyed near hand may be a warning to all men how they trouble the Church with misapprehension, received upon the superficial sound of the words of it.

§ 3. For when the Apostle forbiddeth to "quench the Spirit," he speaketh of immediate inspirations of the Holy Ghost, such as they were by which men were enabled to discern the secrets of other men's hearts, as in 1 Cor. xiv. 24—by which the prophets of Antioch were informed of the will of God, for the sending of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii. 2: and those others for the ordination of Timothy, 1 Tim. iv. 14—by which the truth was revealed unto them, as concerning matters in hand at their assemblies, 1 Cor. xiv. 30. And the rule of the Apostle, "If revelation be made to another as he sitteth, let the first be silent," is to the same purpose of not quenching these inspirations. Which, as it hath been shewed* that they were maintained by the exercise of them, so it is no marvel if the Apostle be earnest to have them by all means maintained, because in them consisted the edification of the Church at that time. Therefore he commandeth that when immediate revelation is made to one, he that spake afore be silent: not to demonstrate what the Spirit of God was able to do, in the person by whom it speaketh, that is a mistake which overthroweth the whole dispute of the Apostle, in the twelfth chapter afore—for it tendeth to the admiration of those persons which are endued with such graces; the thing the Apostle laboureth against through that whole discourse—but because by them the presence of the Holy Ghost in the Church was evidenced to unbelievers, and confirmed to believers: and because by such inspirations, when it pleased God to send them, the Church was informed of all things contained in them, in the particulars of the true sense of the Scriptures, debated in their congregations.

§ 4. In fine, "Quench not the Spirit," in regard of the Church, is the same with the proposition of this fourteenth chapter, "Be zealous of spiritual graces, especially of prophesying:" which is also the conclusion of the same, ver. 39,
“Be zealous of prophesying, but forbid not to speak with tongues.” He that hath the grace quencheth it when he pursueth it not by those means which were effectual towards it at that time: and the Church quencheth it if they allow not the publishing of such inspirations at their assemblies. For my part, I am confident that the words of the Apostle, 213 “Quench not the Spirit,” relate as well to the gift of languages, as his words in this fourteenth chapter, ver. 1, “Be zealous of spiritual graces, especially of prophesying.” For prophesying being excepted, the rest of spiritual graces is the gift of languages, and it concerned the Thessalonians, as it did the Corinthians, that this gift of languages should be maintained among them, as well to evidence the presence of the Holy Ghost, as because the things inspired in strange languages, being expounded, served for the inestimable edification of the people.

§ 5. If then these that stand upon this prohibition of the Apostle, will come into our assemblies, and speak the mysteries of God’s kingdom in languages unknown to them afore, if they will take upon them to reveal the secrets of men’s hearts—to design ministers of the Church—to decide matters in debate through the Church, by immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and to make proof of these graces, as prophets are to do, we will acknowledge that the office of composing the praises of God, and conceiving prayers in behalf of the Church, is to be referred to them upon the same terms as it was to those of whom we read in the Apostle: nothing composed by human reason shall be thought so acceptable to God, so much for the edification of His people as that which His own Spirit inditeth. But if they dare not pretend to any such grace, let them consider upon what consequences they pretend to the privileges of it. For they that pretend that the Church is bound to use their conceptions and expressions for the direction of the people, in public

Now I may conclude as I began, that only God’s holy word and the lively graces of His Holy Spirit are to be heard and offered up unto Him in the public assemblies.”—Greenwood’s Answer to George Gifford’s pretended defence of read prayers, p. 11. A.D. 1690.
prayers, upon this ground, because they are the inspirations of the Holy Ghost, may by as good right pretend to decide all matters controverted in point of faith—to order all matters of dispute in the government of the Church—to root out and plant both kingdoms and Churches. For that which the Holy Ghost inspireth for ordering of Church or commonwealth, is as much to be executed as that which it inspireth for directing the prayers of congregations.

§ 6. But if they disclaim all pretence of immediate inspiration, as there is no doubt but they do, and profess no confidence but of the blessing of God’s Spirit upon human endeavours, perhaps complaining that these consequences are drawn upon them, which belong to those opinions which they renounce; first, it will be reason that they be free in acknowledging and professing their meaning in a matter of this consequence, because it is certain that the sound of God’s Spirit, and the fashion of extemporary conceptions, in praying and preaching, insinuateth, and needs must insinuate to the people, the pretence of immediate inspirations, which to men of judgment they are constrained to disavow. Then, this being done, our question will be upon the right hinges, and the point to be decided will be this, whether it be more for the edification of the people, in the direction of their public prayers, to use those forms, which upon mature advice have been framed by the ablest of those the Church had to entrust with that business, or these, which particular persons, out of their readiness in conceiving and expressing those things which they think fit to be said, shall use in their congregations.

§ 7. It hath been well observed already in this point, that the spirits of the people are stinted as much to the form which the minister conceiveth, as his spirit to the form which the Church hath prescribed. So that if the Church quench the Spirit in them, when it confineth them to the forms

—Abbot’s Trial of our Church Forsakers, sect. 15. p. 211. London, 1639.
which it hath advised, they do no less to the people in con-
fining them to the form which they from time to time con-
ceive. The precept of the Apostle cometh to one effect in 
both courses, the question that remaineth is, which is more 
for the edification of the people. Which, because the Apo-
Stle in matters of this nature hath referred us to the com-
mon reason of men not possessed with prejudice, my desire 
is that the common sense of Christians may sentence; de-
spairing to carry any thing by dispute of reason, at the 
hands of such men as can make any question in a matter so 
clear.

§ 8. But because with reason it may be alleged that men’s 
particular conceptions are more apt to address themselves to 
the particular occasions of congregations, fit to be represented 
to God in their prayers than a general form is able to do, it will 
be requisite further to represent what advantages this conve-
nience is outweighed with on the other side. First, in regard 
of abilities of persons by whom it must be performed, let me 
congratulate with those that are so sensible of their own, that 
they would have other men, for a punishment of their negli-
gence, to shame themselves afore the people in doing it as it 
should not be done. But let me wish them more love to 
our common profession than to desire to draw so just a scan-
dal upon it. Is it like to grow commendable with the ene-
mies of it in this respect, because the ministry of public 
prayers is ridiculous to our own people? Or what is the way 
to make religion and the sacrifice of God stink in men’s nos-
trils, if this do not?

§ 9. Those of the ablest of this opinion think themselves 
ill dealt with, when the stops and hums of their extemporary 
prayers are drawn, in consequence, to the prejudice of that

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\[a\] “But a godly minister that is best 
acquainted with the state of his flock, 
and of the Church of God, can accord-
ingly so enlarge and apply his prayer, 
by the supply of God’s Spirit, as may 
be most useful to the congregation, as 
being most accommodate to their spi-
rirs, when they find the matter of the 
prayer to be that, the want whereof 
they are most sensible of, so as there is 
here a concurrence of the spirits both 
of the minister and people, which causeth 
a prayer to be so much the more effec-
tual, lively, powerful, and operative; 
and that not only with God, but in the 
hearts of all those whose joint prayer it 
is.”—Christ on His Throne, case vii.

\[b\] pp. 31, 32.

\[c\] “If... it should appear that 
any minister should prove insufficient 
to discharge the duty of prayer, in a 
conceived way, it may be imposed on him, 
as a punishment, to use set forms and no 
other.”—Smectymnuus, sect. ii. quere 
way which they desire to render commendable:\footnote{Bishop Hall, in the Humble Remonstrance, glanced at the “stops and hums” of the Presbyterians in their prayer, yet as if afraid of provoking their resentment; upon which it is observed by Smectymnuus as follows: “In his rhetorical encomium of conceived prayer we shall more willingly bear a part with him than they whose cause he pleads, for had that been in their hearts which is in this book, ‘to hate to be guilty of pouring water upon the Spirit, and gladly to add oil rather,’ so many learned, able, conscientious preachers had not been molested and suspended, for ‘letting the constant flames of their fixed conceptions mount up from the altar of their zealous heart unto the throne of grace;’ nor had there been so many advantages watched from some stops and seeming solemnities in some men’s prayers, to blaspheme the spirit of prayer, which though now confessed to be ‘so far from being offensive, that they are as pleasing music in the ears of the Almighty: yet time hath been when they have sounded as mere batologies—nay, no better than mere blasphemies in the ears of some Bishops.”—Sect. ii.} but when we hear these flying pretences pass up and down, by which those 217 demurs of human imperfection are entitled to those unutterable groans which the Spirit of God inditeth, according to the Apostle\footnote{Rom. viii. 26.}, we have reason not to admire the occasion of such unsufferable profaneness. What shall we say then of the meanest rank of persons, by whom extemporary conceptions and expressions in such high offices must be ministered, but this, that the ill order by which they are vented to the world must needs bring religion to be contemptible?

§ 10. Again, in regard of men’s opinions and inclinations—in regard of several discretions and judgments, in point of what is fit to be recommended to God in public prayers, which way shall we attain that order, that reverence, which this office requireth according to the Apostle? If men be left to themselves—whatever opinion in religion—whatever debate between neighbours—whatever public matter of Church or commonwealth a man shall please to make his interest, upon like reason he may make the subject of his prayers and of the congregation; which if it be not well directed—as what man is free from mistake, where men may be, and always are, of divers opinions—must either pursue his interest for the will of God in their desires, or, as they are bound to be, must be scandalized at that which is done. I 218 had rather belie mine own senses than charge any man with that which appeareth not; but if experience tell us not that such things have been done, that men’s prayers in the Church have smoked with their choler in private and public matters, yet reason will tell us how easily it may be done, and such
ordinance pointed in time against them that least deserve it in Church or commonwealth. As the matter is among us, we see how far men's minds are from being agreed when we are to pray for fair weather and when for rain. Make particular persons infallible judges, not of a thing of that consequence, but of whatsoever may be the subject of our prayers, and we make them all popes in their congregations: make them not infallible, and we multiply scandals in the service of God to the world's end, to which no man should come till all were ended.

§ 11. Last of all, it is not the ingenious conceptions of men's minds—it is not the eloquent expressions of their tongues that God is affected with: the minister's devotion will prove more free towards God, when his mind is less at work in framing terms to express what he conceiveth to be for the purpose. But if we have regard unto the meanest rank in knowledge as well as in estate—which are always the greatest part, and therefore in whom charity hath the most share—it will appear a great advantage to their devotions to run smooth upon the forms to which they are practised, which must needs be intercepted with studying the meaning of new ones which they are directed with. This is that which my reason is able to inform in this point, whether a prescript form of prayers be for the edification of the Church, in maintaining order and reverence in the public service of God, or not. Let us see which way the practice of the Church inclineth or hath inclined: though the manner be great as concerning the meaning of the Apostle's charge and the form of serving God, a man shall have no cause to suspect his own reason, when the reason of the Church and the guides of it go before.

§ 12. But I must begin with the public service of God in the temple so far as it was moral, and consisted not in offering sacrifices: that carrieth more prejudice with it than man's reason can enforce: that which was done there is precedent enough to presume that the like is not against the law of God and the Scripture. Of this we read thus, 1 Chron. xxiii. 30; "And to stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord, and likewise at evening: and at all offering burnt-offerings to the Lord, on the sabbaths, the new moons, and the solemn
assemblies." For without doubt the purpose is here to specify at what times the Levites sung the psalms of God's praises to the sacrifices that were offering in the court of the temple, whereof we read afore, 1 Chron. xvi. 4; "And he appointed of the Levites to minister before the ark of the Lord: and to record, and thank, and praise the Lord God of Israel." And again, ver. 37, the same is repeated. But afterwards, having spoken of the priests whom David left to sacrifice upon the Altar at Gibeah, it followeth, ver. 41; "And with them Heman, and Jeduthun, and the rest that were chosen, that were expressed by name to give thanks to the Lord, because His mercy endureth for ever." Here you shall perceive the time and the place of this service expressed in Scripture. Part of them with Asaph were to minister before the ark, part with Heman and Jeduthun to give thanks unto the Lord, where the priests offered the burnt-offering morning and evening, ver. 40, for the time that the Altar was at Gibeah, the ark in the city of David.

§ 13. But for a perpetual course, as you have it, xxiii. 30; "To stand every morning to thank and praise the Lord, and likewise at evening: and at all offering of burnt-offerings to the Lord, in the sabbaths, in the new moons, and on the assemblies." For thus it must here be translated, as R. David Kimchi hath glossed it, that they should also be ready to praise when the burnt-sacrifice is offered on the sabbaths, and new moons, and days of assemblies; and also to help the priests on these days when there are many offerings. For by this exposition is signified both the help which the priests had from the Levites in sacrificing, and also the kinds of sacrifices at which the Levites sung psalms of praise and thanksgiving. Maimonius Cele hammikdash, cap. iii. דניחו, "And when do they sing? Over all the burnt-offerings of the congregation which were due, and over the peace-offerings of an assembly, at the pouring of the wine: but the voluntary burnt-offerings of the congregation, over these they sung not the song." A rule without doubt raised from the Scripture alleged; and the place here signified where they stood to sing, that is, before the ark, is the same that is signi-

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Cap. iii. 2. apud Ugelini Thesaur. An-
fied at Solomon's sacrifice, 2 Chron. v. 12, where they stood "east from the Altar," as it must be translated, that is, at the east gate of the temple, either before the men's court or before the women's court. For at both these gates there was a pulpit for the Levites, where, at all these times, stood twelve at the least for this purpose, Maimoni as before. And before the latter were those fifteen steps from which the fifteen Psalms of degrees are named, because they were sung there, as the Talmudists will have it, Mass. Middoth, cap. ii. num. 2225, 6o, and the annotations upon it. To this must be added that memorable passage of the Samaritan Chronicle, published not long since, the tenor whereof is this, "The High-Priest living at that time," that is, the year of the world 4513, by their account, "took away that most excellent book which was in their hands ever since the calm and peaceable time of the Israelites, which contained those songs and prayers which were ever used before their sacrifices. For before every of their several sacrifices they had their several songs, still used in those times of peace, all which, accurately written, were transmitted to the subsequent generations, from the time of the legate" Moses "unto this day, by the ministry of the High-Priest." For this whole passage speaketh clearly of the service of God in the temple, shewing us that besides the book of Psalms there were other songs used at the sacrifices of their several solemnities, which were, according to the course of their service, put together in one book for the purpose.

§ 14. There was besides another part of the service done in the temple, which men of learning have hit upon by conjecture, out of Rev. viii. 3; "And another angel came and stood at the Altar, having a golden censer, and there was..."

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\textit{Surenhusii, Mischna, tom. v. pp. 342–344. Amstelodam. 1698.}

\textit{By Bishop Hall in his Defence of the Humble Remonstrance, pp. 17, 18. He prefaces the extract thus; "In the Samaritan Chronicle, now in the hands of the incomparable Primate of Ireland, the Lord Archbishop of Armagh [Usher], by him procured out of the library of the famously learned Joseph Scaliger, thus they find, after relation of the death of Adrian the Emperor—who these Jews curse with a Deus conterat ejus osa—which in their computation falls upon the year 4513 from Adam; Quo tempore abstulit, etc., At which time, say they, he took away, &c." "The High-Priest then living," in the margin, Thorndike has varied into "the High-Priest living at that time." In the Bishop's Short Answer to the tedious Vindication of Smeatynus, p. 38, is printed a Latin translation, of which the extract in the text is a more correct version than that given by Bishop Hall.}
given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints, upon the golden Altar which was before the throne:" joined with Luke i. 10, "And the whole multitude of the people were praying without at the time of incense." From which text Lud. Cappellus\(^7\) collected, that while the priest offered his incense in the tabernacle the people were at their prayers abroad, and that St. John's vision alludeth to nothing else. Whereupon our Meda\(^8\) of Christ's College very ingeniously conceived that where it is said there, ver. 1, "When he had opened the seventh seal there was silence in heaven about the space of half an hour," all this was represented in resemblance of the service of the temple, where first the praises of God are sung, as it is before, vii. 9, then there is silence for half an hour, while the priest within offereth the incense, and the people without pray for remission of sins every one by themselves. For so I find this conjecture verified in Pirke Aboth. cap. v. 5\(^9\), where one of the ten miracles which the Jews relate fell out continually in the service of God in the temple, is this,عمل שלמה והן מתים in the midst of the people, that is, "they stood crowded, but they worshipped at large," which R. Obadiah Bartenora proceedeth thus to expound upon the meaning of the wordאַלֶּחַ מַעְטֵה, "It hath the sense," saith he, "from swimming upon the face of the waters: for because of the crowd every one pressed his fellow, so that they stood swimming as it were, with their feet lifted up from the ground, in the air. At the time of worshipping, the miracle happened to them that they worshipped at large every man four cubits from the next, that he might not hear him when he confessed and remembered his sins." Wherefore they stood while the Levites sang at pouring the wine upon the burnt-offering, but when the priest went to offer the incense, then fell every man down to make confession of his sins in private. Which being done, the holy priest, coming out into the court, pro-

\(^7\) Apud Critic. Sacr., tom. vii. col. 4771, in Apoc. viii. 3.


nounced the benediction appointed in the law over the people, which was the end of service.

§ 15. Of this, Maimoni of Prayer, and the Priests' Blessing, xiv. 9. "In the temple, after the morning service was done, the priests went up into the pulpit to bless:" which maketh me presume that the order of service in the temple was no otherwise than hath been declared. Which Ecclesiasticus seemeth punctually to describe in Onias, chap. l. 15—17. "He stretched out his hand to the cup, and poured of the blood of the grape; he poured out at the foot of the Altar a sweet-smelling savour unto the most high King of all. Then shouted the sons of Aaron, and sounded the silver trumpets, and made a great noise to be heard for a remembrance before the Most High. Then all the people together hasted, and fell down to the earth upon their faces, to worship their Lord God Almighty, the Most High." When the wine was poured forth, and the priests blew the trumpets within, at festivals, it is to be understood that the Levites sang the praises of God without at the same time, as we saw afore*: and so it followeth in the next words, wherein this description is repeated, ver. 18, 19. "The singers also sang praises with their voices, with great variety of sounds was there made sweet melody. And the people besought the Lord the Most High, by prayer before Him that is merciful, till the solemnity of the Lord was ended, and they had finished His service." After all followeth the priest's blessing, as Maimoni said, ver. 20, 21; "Then he went down, and lifted up his hands over the whole congregation of the children of Israel, to give the blessing of the Lord with his lips, and to rejoice in His name. And they bowed themselves down to worship the second time, that they might receive a blessing from the Most High." I make no doubt but there was time for reading and expounding the law in the temple, as it hath been touched; but because I find no remembrance of it in this service, and because it concerneth not the point in hand, I let it alone.

§ 16. In this course of service then the prayer, wherewith each of them confessed their sins, was private and at pleasure, the rest was all by prescript form. The priest's blessing expressed in Scripture, the praises of God out of the book

* Sect. 12.
of Psalms, and others for the purpose. And this is the strength of that argument that is drawn from the titles of the 226 Psalms, shewing that they were indited for the purpose of praising God, and praying to Him, as the tenor of them is. Two or three of these titles it shall not be amiss to produce here. Psalm iv. and all the rest where the title is "To the chief Musician," the Chaldee translateth לְנַבְע, "to sing," or "to praise:" to tell us that they were Psalms composed for the master of music, to be used in the service of the temple. xcii. "A Psalm, a Song for the Sabbath day:" it is a pleasant thing to read the vagaries of the Jews upon this title, from whence they conceive this Psalm to be made by Adam, after his fall on the Friday, to serve God with on the Sabbath; whereas the meaning in our observation is plain, that it was composed to be sung in the service of the temple on the Sabbath, which the very tenor of the Psalm enforceth when it saith, ver. 4, "For Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through Thy works: I will triumph in the works of Thy hands:" pointing at the meditation of the creation upon the Sabbath, as the Jews expound it. Last, the title of those fifteen Psalms after the hundred and twentieth, called "Psalms of degrees," expounded as afore, from the fifteen steps between the men's court and that of the priests, is assurance enough that they were made to serve God with there. By which it appeareth that the prophets of God and their disciples—that 227 the great wise men of the Jews—that the Apostles of our Lord, when they frequented this service, as shall be said, thought not their spirits stinted by the prescript form of it.

§ 17. The service of God in the synagogues depended much upon this in the temple; neither is it in me to imagine what reason can be alleged why a prescript form used in the temple should not fit the synagogue. The way to put this past peradventure had been to describe the particulars of that service, and to trace the antiquity of them, from their best writings; but a discourse too long and obscure for this place. I shall be content to produce two or three passages of the substance or circumstance of it, by which shall appear whatsoever alterations it hath received, as at the present in the substance of their service all agree, though for the particulars

there is not more difference among the Jews of several coun-
tries in any thing than in this, saith Leo Modena in the piece named afore," p. 1. chap. xi. 6, that a prescript form was used among them under the second temple, while they continued the people of God.

§ 18. The order whereof, for my part, I must needs refer to the ancient scribes that succeeded the prophets; as mine author R. Moses Maimoni hath expressed in the first parti-
cular which I intend to allege, that is, the eighteen benedictions, wherein, praising God, they beg at His hands the supply of His daily blessings. These, in his treatise of Prayer and Benedic-
tion of the Priests, cap. i. 2\textsuperscript{x}, he referreth to Ezra as the author of them, when being returned from the captivity it was found that the people was not able to praise and serve God in a continued speech, their language being mixed with that of strangers. I confess I should have thought it a more probable reason to have said that they were composed as a direction for the service of God, both in public and private, as still their use is: but for this author's credit it is very well known that all his stuff cometh from the best writings which that people have. And the agreement of the Jews of all countries in these and the other benedictions, whereof they are bound to say every day an hundred, and that of old, sufficiently sheweth how ancient they are, when other ingredients of their service are subject to change with times and places: as their hymns for example, whereof is to be seen at large, in Abenezra upon Ecclesiastes, v. 1, where he disputeth against those of R. Eliezer Hakkalir, preferring before them those which R. Saadiah Hagggon had made.

§ 19. The second particular that I will produce is the ser-
vices of the seven days' fast, described in the same Maimoni, Tuannieth, cap. iv. 15\textsuperscript{y}, how it was performed in Jerusalem. His words are to this effect; \( \text{הַנְּבִיאָם יִשְׂרָאֵלָם} \) "When they prayed after this order in Jerusalem, they went into the mountain of the temple against the east gate, and when the Apostle of the congregation was come to, 'He that heard Abraham,' the prayer that ended thus, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord God, our

\textsuperscript{x} Chap. iii. sect. 18. See Owen's translation, p. 42.

\textsuperscript{y} De Jejun. Hebr., p. 29. ed. Carp-

\textsuperscript{z} See Vitringa de Synagoga veter., Lips., 1662.
God, the God of Israel, from generation to generation. 

Blessed be Thou, O Lord, the Redeemer of Israel. The people answer, Blessed be the glorious and dreadful name of God, whose kingdom is to all generations and evermore. And the officer of the synagogue saith to the priests that blow the trumpets,” according to the law, Num. x. 9, “Sound ye sons of Aaron, sound : and again he prayeth.” This is a form then which was in use during the temple upon that occasion, and giveth presumption enough that there was the like for all other ordinary and extraordinary ones.

§ 20. And at this occasion in particular is the rule verified which saith “that the people did not answer Amen within the mountain of the temple ;” Gem. Hierosol. Taanith, cap. ii., a Babylon Beracoth, cap. ix. a; which rule is enough to prove my intent, because it sheweth that there were certain forms among them—the same that still are extant—which when they were used in the synagogue the people answered Amen in the end; but when they were used in the mountain of the temple, that is, within the outmost compass of it, the people’s answer was, as afore, “Blessed be the name of His glorious kingdom to all generations and evermore.” And the case is related in the Mischna Taanith, cap. ii. 5 b, that whereas once this answer was used in the synagogue, the matter came before the wise—and, as I remember, it was before the great sanedrin at Sippore, during the time that it sat there, being removed from Jerusalem, whereof afore c—and their resolution was, that it was not so practised but only at the east gate and in the mountain of the temple; that is, as Maimoni and Bartenora both expound it d, at the east gate of the temple and at the eastern gate of the mountain of the temple. To make the meaning of their resolution to be this, that the answer of the people aforesaid, instead of Amen, which they used to answer in the synagogue, was only practised after the benediction of the priests which they gave at the east gate of the temple, as was said, and at this service of the fast of seven days in Jerusalem, where it was done at the

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* Chap. iii. sect. 16.
* Surenhus. ut supr.
east gate of the mountain of the temple, the outmost close of it. But seeing the same service was done throughout their synagogues as the cause required, of necessity the same form was used upon those occasions, and the like upon others.

§ 21. The last particular I shall produce is a circumstance observable at all their services, that whereas the reading of the law and other Scriptures and the exposition of it was done by principal persons, the chief of the synagogue, with their faces turned to the people as they sat, as our Lord in the synagogue of Nazareth, Luke iv. 16—20; on the other side the prayers were read by him whom they call apparitor of the synagogue—correspondent to the deacon in the Christian Church—with his back to the people, and his face to the ark and to the elders. This office, though of good account in the synagogue, as we see in Maimoni of Prayer, chap. viii. num. 11, being yet inferior to the scribes and wise, it is plain to my common sense that it was not entrusted to direct the prayers of their betters in qualities proper to that work upon other ground than this, because the prayers had been composed by those wise and learned afore, and were therefore ministered by their inferiors, the deacons of synagogues.

§ 22. Such is he of whom Luke iv. 20; “And he closed the book and gave it again to the minister, and sat down.” Such is he that is called “apostle of the congregation” in Maimoni, the place aforesaid, that pronounceth the service prescribed there, and to shew that it was no late practice among them which he prescribeth, is called in the Mischna, Beracoth, cap. v. 3, 4, Taanith, cap. ii. 2, י"ע זכרה יבש ויבית, “he that cometh down before the ark:” the reason, if my conjecture mistake not, being this, because the place where he sat among the elders was higher than that of the people by some steps, so that he must come down those steps to stand before them, with his back to the people, in doing service: as R. Benjamin in his Itinerary, p. 75, describeth the chief synagogue at Bagdad, that before the ark there were ten stairs of marble, in the top whereof sat the head of the captivity, of the lineage of David.

§ 23. Now it is to be known that things related in the

* Surenhus. Mischna, tom. i. pp. 18, 19.
Mischna, written in the days of Antoninus Pius, are not to be
understood as if they were of no greater standing than that
time, but are the most ancient orders of that people, practised
and delivered long afore from hand to hand, as things not
lawful to be committed to writing, and then first written, for
fear that their manifold dispersions might bring their rules
and orders into oblivion, as themselves profess. And from
that first title of the Mischna we have enough to convince this
whole point, if Scaliger’s judgment may take place. For
there we have divers cases of those prayers which still they
use, resolved by doctors that lived not long after our Lord’s
time. And Scaliger’s judgment is, vi. de Emend. Temp., that
there is no more question to be made, whether those resolutions
be the resolutions of those doctors to whom they are
entitled there, than whether the resolutions of the old Roman
sages, preserved in the digestes of the civil law, be their own
or not. Thus must needs those prayers be far more ancient
than the time of our Lord, concerning the formal terms
whereof—cases never disputed at that time—see the Mischna
Beracoth, cap. iv. 3, cap. v. 2. 

§ 24. As for the practice of the Church next to the Apo-
lestes, let me use the advantage which is due to the truth, and
prescribe one thing, in their way, that intend to prove it to
be against the Scripture, and the Apostle, forbidding to stint
the Spirit, to use prescript forms in praying,—which is this;
that it is not enough for their purpose to shew out of some
Church-writers that some Churches might refer themselves,
in the direction of their devotions, to their Bishops or to their presbyters; but it behoveth them to shew that they did it
as acknowledging that sense of the Apostle, alleging their
reason, and forbearing it as against Scripture. For there
is a great deal of reason why that course might be tolerable
and sufficient in the beginning, while the Church was oppre-
sessed by the secular powers of the empire, and the fear of

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8 Hic fuit vetus ritus celebrationis Pascha temporibus Messiae, quod ve-
tustissimi canones in Digestis Talmu-
dicis manifesto probant, nisi quis eos neget antiquos esse, quod idem ac si
quis capita Papiniani, Pauli, Ulpiani, et
aliorum jurisconsulti um in Digestis
Justiniani producta, neget esse eorum
jurisconsulti um quorum nomine ci-
tantur.—De Emendat. Temp., lib. vi.
in capite Residua Passionis Dominicae,
9 Surenhus. Mishna, tom. i. pp. 14
—17.
1 Smeettynuus, sect. ii. p. 7.
persecution contained the people in respect to the orders of their pastors, and them in respect to their office, which afterwards, when the world was come into the Church, and the empire become Christian, would not serve the turn. Then as it was requisite that all rules of the Church should receive force from the secular arm, so might it prove requisite that the order of public service should be settled in a prescript form, though it had been left to the discretion of particular persons afore, in regard of that good and bad fish that was come into the net, and might take the occasions pointed at to make rents in it.

§ 25. But I allege this exception to put them in mind that no ecclesiastical writer hath yet been alleged to use their reasons, which giveth just evidence of the novelty of the opinion grounded on it: not because I do think the cause need eth it, or that any time of the Church can be shewed, after the Apostles, and the time of extraordinary graces, wherein a prescript form of public service hath not been used; much less that any such thing is proved by the words of Justin Martyr and Tertullian, produced out of their Apologies for the Christians, wherein they inform the powers of the empire what the Christians did at their assemblies; which had they been but turned right into English, would have made it appear that they enforce either another sense, or quite contrary to that which they are produced to prove. The words of Justin, the place afore-named, Apol. i.\(^k\): Καὶ ὁσ προφῆτην, πανσαμικὲν ἡμὼν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προστάς, εὐχῶς ὁμολογοῖ καὶ εὐχαριστίας, δόσῃ δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ, λέγων τὸ ἀμήν, which they translate “Then he who instructed the people prayed according to his ability.” \(^i\) ὁ προστάς they translate “he that instructed the people;” signifying “him that governed the people,” to wit, in ecclesiastical matters. True it is the same person did both, but the same word signifieth not both: this by the way.

§ 26. But δόσῃ δύναμις they translate “according to his ability,” as if κατὰ δύναμιν and δόσῃ δύναμις were both one. You shall see a difference by the Hebrew. Their ancient


\(^i\) “In that famous place of Justin Martyr, Apol. i. He who instructed the people prayed according to his ability.”

doctors have this saying, "Whosoever saith Amen with all his might, the gate of the garden of Eden is opened to him," Musar, cap. iv. And in the same manner of speech Maimoni describing their morning service, chap. ix. 1, "And the people answer, 'Amen: be His great name blessed for ever, and to all everlastings,' with all their might." Whereas the same Rabbi in another place, Taanioth, cap. iv. 2, describing the speech of him that preached humiliation to the people at the fast of seven days, whereof afore, addeth; "and proceedeth in such like discourses, according to his ability, until he humble their hearts and they repent perfectly." In the Hebrew it is here ברכו ה', בראות חיות; in the other places ברכו וברכתו ובברכתו; the first is in Greek κατὰ δύναμιν, the other διὰ δύναμιν; in English that signifieth "according to his ability," this "with all his might," so much difference there is, and the mistake it causeth no less than thus: they will needs make Justin dream as much as themselves do of making show of men's faculties in conceiving prayers, who speaketh of nothing but that earnestness of devotion with which he saith the Bishop or presbyter came to consecrate the Eucharist, more proper, without doubt, to that prime point of God's service; which he thus expresseth, "That he sendeth forth prayers and thanksgivings with all his might." In fine, when Justin, speaking of the thanksgiving which the Eucharist was consecrated with, saith that he made it διὰ δύναμιν, "with all his might," he meaneth neither more nor less than afore, speaking of the common prayers of the people, which he saith they made εὐτόνως, or "earnestly," as shall be said.

§ 27. The words of Tertullian, Apolog. cap. xxx. Illuc suspiciences Christiani manibus expansis, quia innocuis; capite nudo, quia non erubescimus; denique sine monitore, quia de pectore oramus, precantes sumus semper pro omnibus Imperatoribus. It is justly excepted that these words are not to the purpose, as

† "Pray, being ended they went to the Sacrament, in the beginning whereof the president of the assembly poured out prayers and thanksgiving according to his ability, and the people said Amen."—A Vindication of the Answer, &c. by Smectymnuus, sect. ii. p. 15.

‡ "Prove first that Tertullian speaks of public assemblies; secondly, know that if he did the place is to your disadvantage; for— as a late learned author well urges—would ye have it imagined that the assembled Christians did betake themselves publicly to their private devotions each man by himself, as his own heart dictated?"—Answer to the Vindication, &c. sect. ii. p. 24.
containing the private devotions of Christians compared with those of the Pagans. Nevertheless, the subject of these prayers, which he prosecuteth afterwards, is the same with the prayers of their assemblies, whereof he speaketh cap. xxxix. and giveth just cause to think that he speaketh of private forms of devotion borrowed from the public. He saith there that Christians prayed with hands stretched out, to protest their innocency; bare-headed, to profess that they were not ashamed touching the Gentiles, that covered hands and faces in praying, which he interpreteth a confession of guilt in the hands, an acknowledgment of shame in the face, which that habit signified, as hath been said: and in the same strain he goeth on to tell them that whereas they had their remembrancers to suggest the devotions they addressed to their several deities, which he called monitors,—the Christians prayed without monitors, because they prayed by heart. There is a reason why the heathens had prompters to suggest unto them the devotions which they addressed to several deities, because they counted several deities properly able to bestow several blessings, and accordingly held several rites proper for their service, which it was sacrilege to perform otherwise. Arnobius contra Gentes, iii. Usque adeo res exigit propriatim Deos scire, nec ambigere, nec dubitare de uniuscujusque vi, nomine, ne si alienis ritibus et appellationibus fuerint invocati, et aures habeat structas, et piaculis nos teneant inexpiables obligatos. “So far it concerns, particularly to know the gods, without ambiguity or doubt of the virtue and name of each; lest when they are called upon by the rites and names of others they both have their ears stopped, and hold us ensnared with inexpiable sacrileges.” See there afore. So Tertullian, according to this sense, makes a very pertinent apposition between the heathen that prayed as they were prompted and the heathen that prayed by heart.

§ 28. For the words, sine monitore, quia de pectore, of Tertullian, affected always to imitate and express the Greek, are to my best apprehension the translation of that which is called in Greek, ὁπωτετῆθεν, in English, “to say by heart:” and

* See chap. vi. sect. 7.
* Chap. vi. sect. 24.
* Apud Gallandii Bibliotheci, tom.
so they could not have shewed a passage more pregnant with the sense they intended to destroy, that they prayed by pre-
script forms.

§ 29. The fairest proof we can make that the Church, after the Apostles’ time, and the use of extraordinary graces, betook themselves to prescript forms of prayer, as well as other parts of God’s service, will be from the parts of it. The Psalms of David, in the first place, do mix prayers with the praises of God, and are no extemporary conceptions, yet were always one of the first parts of public service, as shall appear in due time. As for other hymns of private composure, Conc. Laod., Canon xv.†: Περὶ τοῦ μη δεῖν πλεον τῶν κανονικῶν ψαλτῶν, τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμβώνα ἀναβαινόντων, καὶ ἀπὸ διψθέας ψαλλόν-
tων, ἔτερως τως ψάλλων ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ. “That besides enrolled singers that go up into the desk, and sing out of the parchmined, others ought not to sing in the church.” Canon lix.*: Ὅτι οὐ δεῖ ἰδιωτικοὺς ψαλμοὺς λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. “That psalms of private persons must not be said in the church.” These canons seem to make opposition between those that came from private persons, and those that were entered in the church books. These only to be sung out of those books by clergy chanters, enrolled in the list of the church, that other persons might take no occasion to bring any into use, besides those that were prescribed and received.

§ 30. I find that to meet with the poison of Arius, Sicut in principio was added to Gloria Patri in the church service. And I have heard, that to meet with the poison of Pelagius they took up the custom to put Dei Gratia in titles and inscriptions of letters†. But that the custom of using such set forms was taken up first, because the Arian and Pelagian heresies conveyed and spread themselves by that means, is

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† Ib., col. 1540.

strange news to hear. It might have been said with more reason of the hymns of Valentinus, so long afore, which Tertullian taxeth, De carne Christi, cap. xvii. And let impartial reason answer the question, whether it be more like if any such thing were, that they should make that advantage, because set forms were then in practice, or whether the Church should fall to use that course, because it was first taken up by these heresies.

§ 31. In reading and expounding the Scriptures, the question is not made. But that is the particular wherein I must yield something of private conception to have been used in the primitive Church service. It is believed that in the flourishing times of the Church, preachers were wont, in the beginning of their sermons, to commend themselves and their labours to God's blessing; the form is extant which St. Ambrose used; neither do we find that it was not at their own choice. But after the sermon, the catechumeni or hearers—those that were under penance—those that were vexed with unclean spirits, were dismissed with the several prayers of the congregation and benedictions of the Bishop or presbyter, on their several behalfs. When that was done, the prayers which were used at the Eucharist, by the congregation that was admitted to it, were of two sorts, as shall be shewed afterwards, when I come to compare the service which this Church useth with that of the primitive.

§ 32. The first was of those which the Apostle calleth "supplications" and "intercessions," not only for the general and particular necessities both of the congregation and the members of it, but of all members of Church and commonwealth, together or in particular, which are the same for substance which have since been called "litanies." The second was that "thanksgiving," from which that Sacrament is still called the Eucharist, because it was always consecrated with

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"Nor was this liberty in prayer taken away, and set and imposed forms introduced, until the time that the Arian and Pelagian heresies did invade the Church; and then, because those heretics did convey and spread their poison in their forms of prayer and hymns, the Church thought it convenient to restrain the liberty of making and using public forms."—Smeectymnuus, sect. ii. p. 7.


it; wherein remembrance was made of all the blessings of God's providence, in particular, that of our Lord Christ, which it pretendeth to commemorate with prayer that His ordinance may be effectual to the present. I know there followed thanksgiving after the communion, beside other pieces of that service, as shall be said: which I regard not so much now, because they seem not to have been of such consideration in the frame of their service.

§ 33. My intent is to shew in due time that these were the prayers practised upon the Apostle's order, 1 Tim. ii. 1: "I exhort therefore, before all, that prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men: for kings and all that are in eminence:" that they are the same which the Apostle intimateth, and specifieth to have been practised at that time, when he saith, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 16, "I will pray with the Spirit, but I will pray also with the understanding: I will sing with the Spirit, but I will sing also with the understanding: else when thou blessest with the Spirit, how shall he that filleth the place of the ignorant say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest?" in fine, that these intercessions whereof the Apostle speaketh, Rom. viii. 26, when he saith, "The Spirit itself intercedeth for us with groans not to be uttered," are the same which in the primitive Church were solemn and perpetual before celebrating the Eucharist according to St. Chrysostom's exposition averred afore*. This must be done after we have shewed what reason there is to think that the Eucharist was celebrated at these assemblies whereof the Apostle writeth to the Corinthians, chap. xiv. In the mean time, as concerning the prayers for hearers, penitents, and possessed persons, as well as the said supplications and intercessions, that they were all done by prescript form, let me argue as I did afore*, of the prayers of the synagogue, because they were ministered by the deacon, as St. Chrysostom said, and as it shall appear afterwards, by the remembrance we shall find of the custom of the Church. For I suppose no reason will yield that the Church referred themselves to be directed in their public service by that rank of ministers.

[Both at the Eucharist.]

§ 34. As for the thanksgiving which the Sacrament was

* Chap. v. sect. 21, 22.

* Sect. 21. chap. v. sect. 22.
consecrated with, I will here use no more than the words of St. Cyprian, de Lapsis\textsuperscript{b}, Serm. xiv. Ubi verò solennibus adimpletis calicem diaconus offerre praesentibus capit, &c., and in another place where he calleth it Calix benedictione solenni sacratus\textsuperscript{c}, and ask whether the Eucharist were consecrated with an extempore prayer, in Justin or Tertullian’s time, the form whereof by St. Cyprian’s time was become solemn. Which question perhaps need not be asked, if we consider that St. Cyprian spake in his master’s terms, who, when he nameth Dominica solemnia, and again, post transacta solemnia, de Anima, cap. ix.\textsuperscript{d}, must needs be understood to mean the same, to wit, the solemn prayers which the Eucharist was celebrated with. For indeed the latter of these two passages of St. Cyprian, I think is out of a work intitled to him, but none of his own. Of the preface Sursum Corda, remembered by the same St. Cyprian, de oratione Dominica—\textsuperscript{e} and yet extant in all ancient liturgies as well as ours—\textsuperscript{f} as well as of other particulars, there will be occasion to speak afterwards.

§ 35. From that which hath been said of a prescript form of prayer at celebrating the Eucharist, I will take upon me to presume no less of other services at other assemblies. Conc. Laod. can. xviii.\textsuperscript{f} taketh order, Περὶ τοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν εὐχῶν πάντοτε καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐννάταις, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἑσπερίαις ὁφείλειν γλυνθαι: “that the same service of prayers ought to be performed both at ninth hours,” at three afternoon, “and evenings.” It hath been said of late\textsuperscript{g}, that this canon first confined the prayers of the Church to a set form, commanding to use always the same, but such an one as every one composed for his own turn. This is argued\textsuperscript{h} from the

\textsuperscript{b} P. 132. ed. Oxon. 1682.
\textsuperscript{c} De Cena Domini, p. 39. ed. Oxon.
\textsuperscript{d} See note y, chap. v. sect. 9.
\textsuperscript{e} P. 152. ed. Oxon.
\textsuperscript{f} Circ. A.D. 364. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1533. ed. Venet.
\textsuperscript{g} “The Laodicean council did forbid men’s varying their prayers as they did, and did enjoin all men to use the same prayers περὶ τοῦ, κ. τ. λ. This, Remonstrant saith, we said was a form of man’s own prescribing. No, we said of a man’s own composing, and how will the Remonstrant disprove it from the words of the canon? To prove our assertion, we brought the words of the council of Carthage, which our Remonstrant derides as a gross absurdity, to explicate the council of Laodicæa by that of Carthage, which is yet no more than Zonaras did before us.”—Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, p. 20.
\textsuperscript{h} “It appears, first, that this canon was made for poor ignorant priests, &c. ..... Secondly, that when this canon was made there was no set form in use in the Church, &c. ..... Thirdly, that the limiting or circumscribing the liberty in prayer was such as did not
third council of Carthage —after this of Laodicea—can. xxxiii., where it is said, *Et quicunque sibi preces aliiunde describit, non eis utatur, nisi prius eas cum instructioribus fratribus contulerit.*

"And whosoever copieth out prayers for his use, from any where, let him not use them till he have debated them with his more learned brethren." Afterwards, that the forms to be used be first allowed in the synod, we are told was first ordered in the second council of Milevis, some few years after this. The words are these: *Placuit etiam et illud, ut preces, vel orationes, seu missae, quae probata fuerint in concilio, sive prefationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones ab omnibus celebrentur.* Nec alia omnino dicantur in Ecclesia, nisi quae à prudentioribus tractata, vel comprobata in synodo fuerint, nè fortè aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum. "It seemed good also that those prayers, or masses, which have been allowed in the council, whether prefaces, or commendations, or impositions of hands, be frequented of all; so that none at all be said in the Church, but such as have been treated by the more discreet, or allowed in the synod, lest perhaps something against the faith be composed, either through ignorance or too little heed."

§ 36. With what judgment these bold conjectures are imposed upon the world for truth, is now to be considered. First, it is acknowledged on all sides, among men of learning, that there is a great deal of confusion in these African canons, as they have been published in the collection of councils. In particular, by Justellus' preface and edition of those canons, it appeareth that the council which is there called the third of Carthage, *Cæsario et Attico Coss.* A.D. 397, did make canons, which are yet extant in the code published by Justellus, in number twenty-three; the rest of the fifty fathered upon it are packed together, most of them, out of the council
of Carthage in which that code was enacted, Post Cons. Honorii xii. et Theod. viii. A.D. 419, whereof nevertheless this is none. But this second council of Milevis, Theod. vii. et Palladio Coss. A.D. 416, decreed indeed against Pelagius and Celestius, but made no canons whereof we have just remembrance: the twenty-seven fathered upon it are packed out of divers African councils, one whereof is that of Carthage, Honorio vii. et Theod. ii. Coss. A.D. 407, among the canons whereof there is one, which, in the copy published first in Greek by Du Tillet, since with the original Latin by Justellus, is in number one hundred and three, in these terms: Placuit etiam hoc, ut preces qua probata fuerint in concilio, sive praEFationes, sive commendationes, seu manus imposiciones, ab omnibus celebrentur: nec aliae omnino contra fudem praEFantur—in the collection called the African council, praEFantur—sed quaeunque a prudentioribus fuerint collectae, dicantur. "This also seemed good, that these prayers which have been allowed in the council, whether prefaces, or commendations, or impositions of hands, be frequented of all: so that by no means others against the faith be preferred," or "said," "but these that have been composed by the more discreet be said." Balsamon upon this canon, Ος έσωκε, τωι ενηκοτοι επεχειρουν ιενειν εισχα ιαυναθενς. "It seemeth some Bishops took upon them to say prayers not customized."
§ 37. It seemeth indeed inconvenience was perceived, by the inconformity of particular episcopal Churches, upon alterations made by the ministers of them in their form of service. Therefore it is provided that the service to be used be first approved in the usual synod of the African Churches, that all episcopal Churches of those provinces might be conformable. But this supposeth a form which those Churches had, how should else provision be made against alteration in it? and this being without doubt the authentic canon from which both those recited have been jumbled into the councils specified, neither can we allow them more credit than can be thought due to him that pleased to make that jumble; nor can we admit any other sense of the words of them, than the words of this canon enforce. Which sense, being of no more consequence, will not be worth the while further to dispute.

§ 38. And it is to be observed that some Western canons have provided to the same purpose, that all the Churches of the same province be conformable in point of service. Conc. Venet.\(^a\) can. xv.: Rectum quoque duximus, ut vel intra provinciam nostram sacrorum ordo et psallendi una sit consuetudo. “We have also thought it right, that in sacred offices, and the order of singing, the same custom hold through our province.” Conc. Epaon. can. xxvii.\(^x\): Ad celebranda divina officia, ordinem, quem metropolitani tenent, provinciales eorum observare debemunt. “For celebrating divine offices, those of provinces shall be bound to observe the order which the metropolitanians hold.” To the same purpose Conc. Gerund. can. i.\(^x\) By which appeareth the point aimed at in all these canons, to make the whole province conformable in Divine Service. Which was without doubt the intent of that of Laodicea, expounded by Zonaras\(^x\), by that hundred-and-third of the African canons, Τὸῦτο οὖν ἔσωκε καὶ ο παρὼν καὶνὸν διατάττεσθαι. “The same thing,” saith he, “doth this present canon also seem to ordain.”

§ 39. Thus it is easy to perceive that this canon of Lao-

\(^a\) A.D. 465. Labbei, tom. v. col. 82. ed. Venet.
dicea—providing that the order of prayer be always the same—intended not to appoint the same minister always to use the same order of prayers, as is imagined, but that there should be one form unalterable, with respect to the diocese of Asia, for which it was originally made: as that of Carthage for the diocese of Africa, and others for their several provinces. And because they allow* by this canon every man to compose his own service, so it be always the same, let them take notice how this agreeth with Zonaras, Τὸῦτο οὐν ἔοικε, &c. "Therefore," saith he, "this canon seemeth to order the same, that whosoever would shall not compose prayers and say them at assemblies."

§ 40. And now judge whether he, or these new masters, [Meaning of the canons cited.] is best at expounding the canons. Only observe that this eighteenth canon of Laodicea concerneth not the service of those assemblies at which the Eucharist was celebrated, of which alone that hundred-and-third African canon proceedeth: the title whereof is, De precibus ad altare dicendis, "Of Prayers to be said at the Altar." Whereupon it might perhaps be conceived, that the said pretended Milevitan canon, where it ordereth the prayers of the Eucharist, requireth them to be allowed by the synod; where it requireth them either to be allowed by the synod, or else treated by the more discreet, speaketh of other services, such as that canon of Laodicea concerneth: but being of no more credit, it deserveth not to be sifted so near. Add to all this the tradition in the lives of the popes—what this or that pope added to the prayers that the Eucharist was celebrated with—where there is no reason to discredit for the whole, and it will appear both that there was a set form from the beginning, and that it was subject to continual alterations, the true reason why the primitive forms cannot now be exhibited.

§ 41. I am not so credulous as to entitle the liturgies [Or the liturgies instructionibus, with the more learned of his brethren. Conc. Carth. iii. can. xxiii.].—Smechymnus, sect. ii. p. 7.

a "And first it ordained that none should pray pro arbitrio sed semper eadem process, that none should use liberty to vary in prayer, but use always the same form. Concil. Laod. can. xviii. Yet this was a form of his own composing, as appears by another canon, wherein it was ordered thus: None should use any form unless he had first conferred eum fratibus."

b As for instance, Sixtus I. added the hymn Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth; Telesphorus the Angelical hymn Gloria in Excelsis; Celestius the Psalms.—See the second book of Cardinal Bona's Rerum Liturgicarum.
fathered upon St. James, St. Mark, St. Peter, no, nor St. Basil, or St. Chrysostom, as now we have them, to the persons whose names they wear. But I am confident they are the services frequented in the Churches of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, and the parts of the East that followed St. Basil in celebrating the Eucharist, from the time that they were put in this frame, and that to this frame they are reduced, through those changes which several ages have brought to pass, from a prescript form at the beginning, though not this. For example, that which is called St. Peter's is word for word the canon of the Roman missal, with some parts of the Eastern liturgies, which I find not yet to have been frequented in the Western. From hence we have ground enough to imagine, why it hath been called St. Peter's. That of St. James we may discern to be the service of the Church of Jerusalem, by the particulars of it related in the catecheses attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem,

*Catech.* v. That of St. Mark may be discerned for the service of the Church of Alexandria, by the great agreement it carrieth with that of St. Cyril sometime patriarch, and with the Ethiopic received from thence, as from their mother Church, both in *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

§ 42. But as for the alterations to which it is to be believed these liturgies have been subject from time to time, we have this confession of Victorius Scialach, the Maronite at Rome, in his preface to Velserus of Augsburg, before the three liturgies, which, at the request of his friends, he turned for him out of the Arabic copy sent him by Scaliger. *Nam ut Latini ipsi et Graci pontifices, multa deinceps in suis liturgiis, quas*

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*“What censure the learned critics, both protestants and papists, have passed upon these liturgies, we hope the Remonstrant knows; we only mind him of what the learned Rivetus speaks of the liturgies of James, Peter, Matthew, Mark, *Hae omnes profectas esse ab inimico homine qui bona sementi Domini nocte supersemnavit zizania, solidias rationibus probavit nobilis et illustres Philip. Morinus, lib. i. de Missa et partibus ejus;* which, because the Remonstrant so often finds fault with our mis-Englishing, we leave to him to see if he can construe these zizania to be any other than these liturgies, and this inimicus homo to be any other than the devil.”—Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, sect. ii. p. 28.


AT RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES. 265

jam indè ab Apostolis acceperant, pro re nata, vel addiderunt, vel immutaret: ita etiam ab Alexandrinis et Aegyptis, par est credere, pro temperum opportunitate factitatum. “For as the Latin and Greek prelates either added or changed, upon occasion, divers things afterwards, in the liturgies which they received even from the Apostles: so is it meet to think was done, according to the occasion of times, by those of Alexandria and Egypt.” Of the alterations made in the Roman service by the popes Gelasius and Gregory the Great, beside others, the remembrance is quick and fresh in divers writers. The like it is reasonable to conceive of other active prelates. This he very pertinently argueth afterwards from the copy which he translated, in which the liturgy called St. Basil’s was couched at large. Of the two that remain, intitled to Gregory the Divine and St. Cyril, nothing was set down but the passages of difference from that of St. Basil. Though being subject to such continual alterations, we cannot be bound to believe them, as they are, to have been composed by those persons whose names they bear.

§ 43. And this truth we must take notice to be of great advantage to the cause of that reformation which we profess. For presuming, as we do, that an alteration in matter of religion hath come to pass, what better account can we

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The liturgy of Gelasius was superseded by that of St. Gregory. It was discovered by Thomasian, and published at Rome in 1680. That of St. Gregory.—Liber Sacramentorum— is published with Menard’s notes in the 3rd vol. of the Benedictine edition of St. Gregory’s works. St. Gregory’s alteration is remarkable: viz., the insertion in the canon of the words Diesque nostras in pace tua disponas, &c. —Bona Rer. Liturgic. lib. ii. cap. 12. § 4. p. 564. Antverp. 1672.

Nam vel ex hoc ipso codice apparet, in secunda liturgia, que S. Gregorio, et in tertia que S. Cyrillo tribuitur, ea duntaxat esse descripta, quae essent primae Basilii liturgiae ab his duobus adjuncta; quam reliqua ex ejusdem Basilii liturgiae significentur esse repentina; ut non tam simplex esse liturgiam quam una ex tribus confiata videatur.—Prefat. Victor. Scialach. These liturgies are in Renaudot’s Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio, who in the first volume, p. 171, quotes the following from Abulbircat: “Statutum est in Ecclesia Coptica tres liturgias usurpari. Una est que per omnes jejunii dies, et alios extra jejunium usurpatur, silicet liturgia S. Basilii Episcopi Cesarior Cappadociæ. Secunda, quam Egypti consueverunt usurpari tantum per quadragesimam jejunium, et memem Cohiac, est liturgia Marci quam perfect Cyrus. Tertia propria est diebus festorum divinorum, et lectionum, que est liturgia S. Gregorii.”

But these many years past, this godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers, hath been so altered, broken, and neglected . . . . Whereas St. Paul would have such language spoken to the people in the Church as they might understand . . . . The service in this Church of England these many years hath been read in Latin . . . . These inconveniences therefore considered, here is set forth such an order whereby the same shall be redressed. . . . .”—Book of Common Prayer, Concerning the Service of the Church.
give how it should be effected,—what more reasonable way can we assign, of conveying it into the minds of the people, than by insensible alterations in the form of public service? which so long as we know in general to have been done, there is just cause otherwise to presume that it hath been to that purpose which we oppose. And if the traces hereof were well hunted in particular, perhaps it might be made to appear to common sense in the main particulars which we profess to reform.

§ 44. So when demand is made to exhibit the copies of primitive liturgies*, the case is much as it was of old at Athens, in the dispute about Theseus’s ship in Plutarch, whether this which had been so changed that no man could tell what part of it remained, were the same or not. Suppose we leave the problem to those keen wits of Greece that started it, I suppose it could not be questioned on any side that there had been once such a ship of Theseus. In our case I shall hope to produce some ribs or limbs of the service practised and prescribed by the Apostle for the substance of it. And therefore, though I presume not with that Maronite, that the Apostles themselves prescribed the form, and delivered to those which succeeded them, having shewed afore that for that time the parts of it were ministered by immediate inspiration of God’s Spirit: yet this I will take upon me to conclude out of the premises, that as it had been in the synagogue afore, so in the Church afterwards, when those inspirations were ceased they betook themselves on all hands to prescribe forms**, which, at the first derived from the primitive practice, retained that agreement in several places which in the substance of them still appeareth, and being propagated from the greatest Churches at the first, have at length all yielded in a manner to the principal. By Balsamon in can. xxxii. Sex. Syn.a and his answer to Markb, patriarch of

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k * We desire and expect that those forms which, he saith, are yet extant and ready to be produced might once appear."—Smeftymnuus, p. 6.


m See note k. chap. v. sect. 36.


Alexandria, it appeareth how desirous the service of St. Chrysostom, that is, of Constantinople, was to put down these of Jerusalem and Alexandria. And it is well enough known how the Roman mass, which was once the Gregorian service, hath abolished the Spanish, Gaulish, and German orders, and confined that which is intitled to St. Ambrose to his own Church of Milan.

§ 45. That this perpetual practice of the Church of prescribed forms of service is not against the principles of the reformation, or the judgment of chief reformers, a few words shall serve to conclude. In particular in this of England, for which I plead; that the principal of the clergy should be employed to advise the whole kingdom assembled to enact a form of service, to the purpose that those which could make no prayers of their own head might use it as cork to help them to swim with—not for any of these considerations expressed afore, especially the practice of it once enacted having been without interruption ever since—is a thing so far from common reason to conceive that it is hard to believe that those which speak it believe themselves in it. In Luther's reformation the question is not made, though there is no reason to be shewed why their example should not be drawn into consequence here. As for the other, according to Cal-

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9 "Our second query is not so weak as this Remonstrant supposeth; it is this, whether the first reformers of religion did ever intend the use of a liturgy, further than to be a help in the want, and to the weakness of the ministers? In [the] way of answer he asketh, whether we can think that our reformers had any other intentions than all other the founders of liturgies. No, indeed, we think, no other. And howsoever the Remonstrant, according to his confidence, tells us that the least part of their care was the help of the minister's weakness, yet their words tell us it was the main drift of those that first brought prescribed forms of prayer into the Church,—and therefore we conceived it might possibly be the intention of our reformers also,—witness the 23rd canon of the fourth Council of Carthage, &c."—Vindication of the Answer to the Humble Remonstrance, sect. ii. p. 39.

7 The Presbyterians did not regard the Lutheran system with any great favour, e. g. "As for the Lutheran Churches, though we bless God for that truth that is in them for that glorious instrument of their reformation, yet we think the Remonstrant will not say that the Lutheran Churches came out so perfectly in the first edition, but that desiderantur nonnulla; nor can he be ignorant that in the ordinary phrase of writing they are called the Protestant Churches, the other the reformed. And what if the reformed Churches be as the Remonstrant calls them, out of his respect he bears them, but a poor hand-
CHAP. vii. so far as my lot hath been to know the practice of it, I confess it is a thing which hath made me much marvel to see them so punctual in practising their form prescribed, that scarce any thing came from the ministers themselves but that very short prayer afore the sermon, wherein they recommend themselves and their performance to the blessing of God, as you saw the fashion was in the ancient Church. Because it is found that the opinions which this Church hath been disquieted with were taken up upon unreasonable affectation to be conformable with them, those that pretend their example are bound to shew us among them the principle whereupon this point is condemned, that a prescript form is that which the Apostle forbiddeth in "quenching the Spirit."

§ 46. Therefore it will not be enough to say that divers Churches of that reformation used to neglect the order appointed them, and use the voluntary conceptions of their ministers in public prayers; for that might be thought of all of us, and for the reasons premised must be thought an example of ill consequence, and not for this Church to imitate. But it is requisite to allege the same reason from their doctors, and to shew that they disallow set prayers, as "quenching the Spirit." To which purpose I have not yet heard any thing produced either from the Fathers of the Church or from the reformed doctors. And therefore till that be done I am bold to send home that principle to them that have most right to own it, that is, to those of the separation from ful? Yet is this handful in respect of purity, of truth, and worship among them, to be preferred before all the Christian world besides."—Vindication, &c. sect. ii. pp. 42, 43.

* See Precum ecclesiasticarum formula in the 7th vol. of Calvin's works, Geneva, 1617. The directions for its use begin thus:—Diebus quidem profestis minister populum ad precandum quibus ei visum fuerit verbi adhorratur. On Sunday morning a form is required to be used. After the singing of a Psalm, Minister revertitur ad preces, quibus a Domino gratiam sancti Spiritus petít. . . . precationis autem formulam ad id aptam minister sibi pro arbitrio deligit. After the sermon there follows a long prayer, and then the Apostles' Creed. See "The Form of Common Prayer used by the English at Geneva," printed in the Phoenix, vol. ii. p. 204.

** See sect. 31. "All other reformed Churches, though they use liturgies, yet do not bind their ministers to the use of them."—Smectymnuus, sect. ii. quer. 2. p. 13. "But it may be objected that the reformed Protestant Churches beyond the seas have their set forms of public prayer and sacraments. It is true, but I take it that the ministers are not tied to those forms, further than they will themselves. As we see the ministers of the Kirk of Scotland now in England use no set forms of prayer, but do discharge the duty of prayer with an excellent freedom of spirit."—Christ on His Throne, case vii. pp. 35, 36. A.D. 1640.
this Church of England, or rather to those German sectaries that dreamed of enthusiasms and immediate inspirations.

CHAPTER VIII.


The next point, concerning in general the order of public service, is the difference of times, and days, and hours, in respect of frequenting our assemblies for the purpose of it: and first, the order of daily morning and evening service, how much it concerneth the edification of the Church, that is, the training of it in the exercise of godliness. A point otherwise to be pleaded than the rest. For in other matters we have reason, or at least the shadow of reason, to deal with: in this, it is not for Christians to allege that it is not for the honour and glory of God to be served in public, or that it is not for the benefit of His people to join together in addressing their petitions in procuring their daily wants at His hands. Nevertheless, as if these considerations were to give way to the occasions of the world, those that deny them not to be valuable are content to let them, and the order of daily service grounded upon them, be ineffectual and to no purpose. This is not the place to dispute how much the consideration of God's service is to outweigh the world and the occasions of it. Only because it may be said how many idle bellies are maintained in the Church of Rome, to patter over their mat-

* Non obligatur nec obligari debet populus interesse ordinariae recitationis lectionum in matutino et vespertino officio per hebdomadam. Ordinaria igitur lectionis reservanda est publicis conventibus, vel saltem suum legendi ordinem et perlegendi habere debent, si propter populum hic ordo institutus. Ideo Judei singulis Sabbatis legebant.—Diodoclaevi (Calderwood) Altare Dismissi cenum, p. 633. Anno 1623.
ins and even-songs, in a manner not regarded by themselves, and a language not understood by the people: let it be considered what greater advantage the devil could wish to make of this abuse among them, than upon occasion of it to bring the service of God into disuse among us; or how he could have improved this scandal to more purpose for the hindering of goodness, than rooting out the substance of God's service, rather than reforming the abuses of the manner of it.

§ 2. In the next place, the difference of festival and fasting-days from the ordinary, in respect to the service of God upon them, is an order much concerning the edification of the Church in the exercise of godliness. Here indeed some pretence of reason hath been made to shew that it is not in the power of the Church to appoint festival-days, as a thing contrary to the tenor of the law, which saith, "Six days thou shalt labour and do all that thou hast to do." I know not whether men by this time be ware of the mistakes which this reason involveth, because it maketh not so much noise in these days: but without doubt, it was always a gross inconvenience to imagine an office of the second table—of labouring in ordinary work—to be commanded by a law of the first table: but without doubt, it was always a gross inconvenience to imagine God to give a command here which we must sup-

"Because the worshipp of God by read prayer is a part of the worship of Antichrist, used and enjoined in the popacy, maintaining superstition and a dumb and idol ministry, nourishing the people in ignorance of the nature and right use of prayer."—Apology of Brownists, p. 67. A.D. 1604. "First I say, that if it were praying, and that there were never an ill word nor sentence in all the prayers, yet to appoint it to be used, or so to use it as Papists did their matins and even-song, for a set service to God, though the words be good, the use is naught."—Second Admon. to the Parliament, p. 55. reprinted A.D. 1617.

"Seeing therefore that the Lord hath left it to all men at liberty that they might labour, if they think good, six days; I say the Church nor no man can take this liberty away from them, and drive them to a necessary rest of the body. And if it be lawful to abridge the liberty of the Church in this point, and instead that the Lord saith Six days thou mayest labour if thou wilt, to say, Thou shalt not labour six days, I do not see why the Church may not as well, whereas the Lord saith, Thou shalt rest the seventh day, command that thou shalt not rest the seventh day. For if the Church may restrain the liberty that God hath given them, it may take away the yoke also that God hath put upon them."—Cartwright's Reply to Whigift, p. 152. Primum argumentum contra observantiam festorum petitur e verbis quattuor praecepti in Decalogo, sex diebus operaeratis. Hec verba continent vel praeciputum vel permissionem. Si praeceptum operandi sex diebus, ergo nullus potest cessationem ab omni opere imperare: si per missionem, ergo, nullus potest hanc libertatem populo cripare, et simpliciter cessationem ab omni opere imperare vel etiam ob cultum divinium. —Didoeclavii Altare Damascenum, pp. 670, 671.
pose Him to cross afterwards in the law of Moses, when He cometh to appoint new moons and other solemnities to be observed on these six days. Therefore when the commandment saith, "Six days thou shalt labour," the meaning is, "Six days thou mayest labour:" thou art licensed and not forbidden to do thy daily work on them, by this commandment. So it is translated in our last English, Exod. xxxi. 15, "Six days may work be done:" and in the Hebrew the same word standeth for both senses.

§ 3. Last of all, whereas it is known that there were in the Jews' calendar, at the time when our Lord Christ lived upon earth, divers solemnities besides those that were appointed by the law of Moses, of which something must be said afterwards; and we know by the Gospel that our Lord Himself kept the Feast of the Dedication instituted by Judas Maccabeus; by that particular we are assured, both that He observed the rest, and that by observing He allowed and commended the institution in general for the purpose whereof we speak. For the blessings of God, whereof these solemnities renew the remembrance, are of that esteem to the Church, that we are not able to express too much thankfulness in taking that occasion of solemnizing His service. And the greatest part of Christians are such as will receive much improvement in the principal mysteries of our faith, by the sensible instruction which the observation of such solemnities yieldeth. The remembrance of the birth, the sufferings, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, the coming of the Holy Ghost, the conversion of the Gentiles by sending the Apostles, the way made before His coming by the annunciation of

"And whereas you say... the Jews had certain other feasts which they observed; indeed the Lord which gave this general law might make as many exceptions as He thought good. But it followeth not because the Lord did it that therefore the Church may do it, &c."—Cartwright's Reply to Whitgift, p. 152.

"And as for all the commodities which we receive by them—whereby Mr. Doctor goeth about to prove the goodness and lawfulness of their institution—as that the Scriptures are there read and expounded, the patience of those Saints in their persecution and martyrdom is, to the edifying of the Church, remembered and yearly renewed; I say that we might have all those commodities without all those dangers which I have spoken of, and without any keeping of yearly memory of those Saints, and, as it followeth out, in better and more profitable sort."—Cartwright's Reply to Whitgift, p. 153. "The holy days follow... If they were so indifferent as they are made, yet being kept of the Papists, which are the enemies of God, they ought to be abolished."—ib., p. 151.
the Angel, and the coming of the Baptist, as it is a powerful
mean to train the more ignorant sort in the understand-
ing of such great mysteries, so it is a just occasion for all
sorts to make that a particular time of serving God upon
which we solemnize those great works of His. For the pur-
pose is not to hinder the occasions of the world by setting
aside men's ordinary work, but to prefer the service of God
before it. 4  
§ 4. If the public service of God be of better esteem than
the business of this world, well may the Church own all the
means by which she laboureth to procure the exercise of it:
but if the business of this world, so far as it hindereth not the
service of God, be good and commendable, she shall not need
to own the restraint of it further than it tendeth to that pur-
pose. Therefore provided, as it is among us, that the whole-
some effect of this ordinance vanish not in the excessive
multitude of festivals—ordinary occasions crowding out the
remembrance of those that deserve it—it will not serve the
turn to say that the Papists have made these solemnities the
occasion of worshipping the Saints that own the days: to
that must the same be answered as afore, that it is the use
and improvement that the devil would choose to make of

4 "And if that it be thought so
good and profitable a thing that this
remembrance of them should be upon
those days wherein they are supposed
to have died, yet it followeth not
therefore that after this remembrance
is celebrated by hearing the Scriptures
concerning them, and prayers made to
follow their constancy, that all the rest
of the day should be kept holy, in such
sort as men should be debarred of their
bodily labours, and of exercising their
daily vocations."—Cartwright's Reply,
p. 154.

5 "For although I confess as much
as you say—that the Church of Eng-
land doth not mean by this keeping of
holy days that the Saints should be
honoured, or as you allege... that with
us the Saints are not prayed unto, or
that it doth propound them as merito-
rious, yet that is not enough.... For be-
sides that the corrupt custom of popery
hath carried their minds to another in-
terpretation: the very name and ap-
pellation of the day teacheth otherwise.
For seeing that the days dedicated to
the Trinity, and those that are conse-
crate to our Saviour Christ are, in
that they be called Trinity day, or the
Nativity day of our Saviour Christ, by
and by taken to be instituted to the
honour of our Saviour Christ and of
the Trinity; so likewise the people,
when it is called St. Paul's day, or the
blessed Virgin Mary's day, can under-
stand nothing thereby but that they
are instituted to the honour of St. Paul
or of the Virgin Mary, unless they be
otherwise taught."—Cartwright's Re-
ply, p. 153. Calderwood speaks more
positively thus: Nam si dies ipsa sit
in honorem eorum sacrarum et liturgi-
... canetur, coluntur ipsi sancti cultu
religiioso... at dices non in cultum
sed in memoriam martyrum dies istos
observare, Deum autem colere in sanct-
tis aut propter sanctos. Non possunt
ista duo, celebrare diem in memoriam,
et celebrare in cultum, separari.....
honor sanctorum celebris et cum so-
lemnitate diei festi qui Deo soli debe-
tur, est cultus religiosus.—Altare Da-
such scandals, to prevent the abuse of God’s service, by rooting out the exercise of it.

§ 5. As for particular solemnities of fasting, by the week, or by the year, we are to consider that abstinence is not only the cure of that sensuality which surfeit breedeth, but the most powerful means to represent unto a man the whole condition of his soul towards God. Would a man desire to humble himself in the consideration of his offences? Let common sense be judge whether he shall do it full or fasting to better purpose. Wherefore, being subject to run into offence from time to time, what more wholesome ordinance can the Church have than to assemble from week to week to humble ourselves in the presence of God, and to labour to divert His due wrath, that it light not upon us in general or in particular? And being subject nevertheless to heap wrath against ourselves, by slighting our continual humiliation and repentance, what more solemn ordinance could reason devise than fasting before festivals—than, before the most solemn yearly festival, the most solemn yearly fast; by humiliation going before, to estate us in the right of those blessings which then we celebrate?

§ 6. Our Lord in the Gospel hath said of His disciples, “When the bridegroom shall be taken from among them, then shall they fast in those days.” Should Christians never fast but when public calamities, or extraordinary occasions of the commonwealth call for it, well may it be asked, Where

"The Book of Common Prayer containeth in it sundry things that are contrary to the word of God. . . . . It appointeth Saints’ eyes to be kept as fasting days, and commandeth the minister to bid them so. It appointeth the time of Lent to be kept as a religious fast, and perverteth both the example of Christ’s fast, and sundry other places of Scripture to the justifying thereof."—The Abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 6. reprinted A.D. 1641. "In this book days are ascribed unto Saints and kept holy with fasts on their eyes, and prescript service appointed for them, which beside that they are of many superstitiously kept and observed, are also contrary to the commandment of God, ‘Six days shalt thou labour,’ and therefore we, for the superstition that is put in them, dare not subscribe to allow them."—An Admonition to the Parliament, p. 11. A.D. 1617.

is the effect of these words? I speak not now of any difference of meats for conscience sake, in that abstinence is not seen in the consideration now in hand: but I speak of the service of God upon these occasions, which being appointed for humbling of our souls in consideration of our offences, common sense will not refuse that abstinence is necessary for the purpose. If it be said in this point as afore, that the Papists have abused this ordinance to a sacrilegious opinion of satisfaction and merit, and the worship of God—having declared a just and true reason and ground of the ordinance, according to which it is no worship of God, but the opportunity and means of His due and requisite service—the answer must be as afore, that it is the advantage which the devil would wish to make of such abuses, to make them the pretence to root out the service of God, and so to save the pains of reforming it.

§ 7. The last consideration which I refer to this head concerneth the frequent celebration and communion of the Eucharist, which is indeed the crown of public service, and the most solemn and chief work of Christian assemblies. And though for the particular time of communicating, it is rather commended than enjoined, yet the remembrance it importeth is so proper—so particular to the profession we make—that our assemblies are never so like the assemblies of Christians as when it is celebrated. And though it is not in men so to command the occasions of the world as to be always disposed to communicate, yet that in the general of the Church there should not always be persons disposed to communicate—that it should not be celebrated for those which are disposed to communicate—is an inconvenience for which nothing but too much love of the world—too much back-

h "Lent fast, they say, was ordained by Pope Telesphorus, in the year 138, and they keep it in England for the same end that the Papists do. Justly therefore is it named a Romish error, a superstitious fast. . . . For their other fasts, they are said to be monuments of idolatry, devised of Antichrist, in all the rights and orders of them superstitious, and directly against God's commandments."—Canne's Necess. of Separation, chap. ii. sect. 4. p. 106. A.D. 1634. "Because he dare not answer, and cannot approve his Embers, Saints' Eves and Lent Fastes by Scripture, he seeketh to turn away, and to cavil about other doctrines, as the putting holiness, merit, &c. in the abstinence and the restraint of meats, wherewith he was not charged by us, yet whereof haply—if he were narrowly sought and followed—he could not so well clear his Church as he supposeth." A Plain Refutation of M. Giffard's book, p. 30. A.D. 1591.
wardness from spiritual duties—can be alleged. For if it be said that the Church of Rome, by retaining the custom of celebrating day by day, hath turned the communion into a sacrifice for the quick and dead, the answer must be as afore, that it is the use which the enemy of mankind would choose to make of their abuses, to persuade men that, so long as private masses are abolished, they are at freedom to be secure of the frequent celebration and communion of the Eucharist.

§ 8. If any man think that under this which hath been said, there is an intent to shoulder out preaching by commending other causes of religious assemblies, he shall both wrong my meaning, and mistake the truth of the cause. He that will have men to preach more than they learn, and to void those crudities in the Church which were never digested in their studies, perhaps may have reason to think that where the stuff is light there the larger measure is due: but besides the scandals such raw doctrine must needs breed, he shall be sure to bring a slight esteem upon that profession wherein God is served no otherwise. But he that will provide abilities of men for so great a work, shall find that these assemblies, on festival and fasting-days, the occasions whereof are here commended, shall minister opportunities of continual preaching, even beyond those of hearing, always for the edification of the Church, where men are able to support the respect and esteem of so great a work.

§ 9. It is now time to put together the primitive practice of the Church in the particulars here touched, deriving it as near as can be from the time of the Apostles. It is thus written of the first disciples, Acts ii. 42; “And they continued steadfastly in the Apostles’ doctrine, and communion, and in breaking bread, and prayers.” And ver. 46; “And day by day continuing with one mind in the temple, and breaking

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1 “Four times in the year we think sufficient to the administration of the Lord’s table, which we desire to be distinguished that the superstition of times may be avoided so far as may be; for your honours are not ignorant how superstitiously the people run to that action at Pasche, even as if the time gave virtue to the Sacrament, and how the rest of the whole year they are careless and negligent, as if it appertained not unto them but at that time only.”—The Doctrine and Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, book i. p. 63. A.D. 1641.

k The liturgy “is so much idolized, as that it is accounted the only worship of God in England, and is now made the usher of a non-preaching ministry,” &c.—Smectymnuus, sect. ii. p. 12.
bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart." Again, iii. 1; "Now Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour:" that is, three after noon. The synagogues were instituted for the moral and perpetual service of God, by prayer, and praising Him, and expounding His word, leaving the figurative worship of sacrifices to the temple: upon which nevertheless the circumstances of that moral service depended, as hath been observed out of R. Moses Maimoni, _Tephillah Ubircath Cohenim_, cap. i. num. 7, and must be repeated here. Thus he delivereth; that correspondent to the daily sacrifice morning and evening, there was ordered among them and practised one service for the morning, another for the evening: that therefore called רביון ו القرار, this morning and evening. And on solemn days, when there was a sacrifice more than ordinary offered by the law, a third called מוקמ, that is, over and above. Further, num. 8: that as the limbs of the evening sacrifice were burning all night upon the Altar, so, in correspondence, there was ordered a prayer at night, which, though not obligatory, he saith was practised by all Israel.

§ 10. Of the service appointed for fasting-days, at closing in the evening, called therefore by them הימים, I need say nothing here. Cap. iii. num. 2, he declareth, that because when the eve of the passover fell upon the Friday, the evening sacrifice was killed half an hour after noon; therefore the time from which the evening sacrifice became due was from thence to half an hour after three; which was called מעמה ומירם, the great evening service, the less being from thence to sunset. So that he who prayeth this service from half an hour after twelve is disoblige of the debt of it: and upon what terms it is said, either at both these hours or at the one, according to their orders, it followeth there, num. 3. Of these three services, the Hebrew doctors—Maimoni as afore, Abenezra upon Psalm lv. 17, R. Saadia upon Dan. vi. 10—constantly expound the words of the Psalmist there; "Evening, and morning, and at noon will I pray, and cry aloud, and He shall hear my voice." And of Daniel, "He kneeled upon his knees three times a-day, and prayed, and gave thanks before God, as aforetime."

§ 11. Whence it should seem that when St. Peter went up
to pray upon the house-top about the sixth hour, Acts x. 9, his meaning was to observe the lawful hour of the evening service half an hour after noon: though, being at Jerusalem, he went up into the temple with John at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour, when this service was performed there in the assembly of the people. The same which Judith observed, as we read Judith ix. 1; "About the time that the incense of that evening was offered in Jerusalem, in the house of the Lord, Judith cried with a loud voice and said." According to that of the Psalm, "Let my prayer be set forth in Thy sight as the incense, and let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice," as you heard afore, that their prayers in the temple were offered at the time of incense. Thus the order of the synagogue aimed at the sacrifices which by the law were offered in the temple. In the Church it was received of very ancient time to pray at nine, at twelve, and at three afternoon, aiming, it should seem, at the practice of the synagogue and of the Apostles according to it, but with the difference you see, that they prayed thrice in the day-time, whereas the Jews' third service was at going to bed, as you have it in Maimoni as afore.

§ 12. Tertullian, De Jejun. adv. Psychicos, cap. x. m, sheweth that the hours of nine, and twelve, and three, were customed for prayer by the Christians of that time, by proving it from the example of the disciples assembled, as St. Peter saith, Acts ii. 15, upon the third hour of the day; of St. Peter, that went up to pray at the sixth hour; and of Peter and John, that went up to the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour. And then it followeth, Quod etiam suadet Danielis quoque argumentum, ter die orantis, utique per aliquarum horarum exceptionem, non aliarum autem quâm insigniorum exinde Apostolicum, tertiae, sextae, nonæ. Hinc itaque et Petrum dicam ex vetere potius usu nonam observasse, tertio orantem supremae orationis munere. "Which also Daniel's


praying thrice a-day argueth, forsooth, excepting some hours, and those no other than these of the Apostles, which thence were more notable, the third, sixth, and ninth. Hereupon I would say, that Peter rather observed the ninth by ancient custom, praying the third time, as the last offering." Here lieth the difference. It is the third prayer of the day, according to Tertullian, which Peter and John offered at the time of evening sacrifice, which these Hebrew doctors make but the second. Whatsoever become of this difference, as concerning the hours of men's private prayers, the public hours of the temple observed by the Apostles became a precedent to the Church for the public service of God at their assemblies.

§ 13. In the Constitutions of the Apostles, they are exhorted to pray the Lord's Prayer thrice a-day—according to Tertullian—vii. 24. They are again exhorted to pray at other hours besides, viii. 34. But as concerning their assemblies, thus he instructeth the Bishop to teach the people—just according to the practice of the synagogue, alleged out of Maimon—ii. 59r: Αἰδάσκους δὲ, ὥ εἴποκοτα, κέλευε καὶ πα- ραίνει τῷ λαῷ, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐνδεδειγμένα, ὄρθρου καὶ ἑσπέ- ρας ἐκάστης ἡμέρας, καὶ μὴ ἀπολειπέσθαι τῷ σύνολου. “But in teaching, O Bishop, charge and instruct the people to be continually at Church, morning and evening every day, and not absent at all.” Whereas upon Lord's days, in the same place he remembereth three services, which seem to be those whereof the canon of Laodicea speaketh, where it appointeth the same service of prayers to be used, both at three and at evenings, meaning upon Lord's days, according to these Constitutions.

§ 14. It is not then this author's judgment, upon which I stand not, but it is the example of the Apostles, and primitive disciples, resorting to the temple to serve God with the Jews, in the service there practised, and that according to

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24 "Οὗτος προσεύχεσθαι. Πάτερ ἡμῶν κ. τ. λ. Τρεῖς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύ- χεσθαι.—Labbei, tom. i. col. 428.
34 "Εὐχὰς ἐπιτελεῖτε ὄρθρου καὶ τρίτη ἀρρα, καὶ ἑσπέρα καὶ ἑσπέρα, καὶ ἐκεῖνη καὶ ἑσπέρα καὶ ἐκεῖνη.—Ib., col. 500.
39 "Ἐν δὲ καὶ τρεῖς εὐχὰς ἐστὶν εἰκο- ατέλειον, μνήμης χάρις τοῦ διὰ τριῶν ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρων, εἰ προφητῶν ἀνα- γνωσις, καὶ εὐαγγελίου κηρύκεια, καὶ θυ- σίας ἀναφορά καὶ τροφῆς ἱερῶς δωρεά.—Ib., col. 301.
35 "See chap. vii. sect. 35.
the custom of the synagogue; but it is the custom of the Church by him remembered, and derived from their example, that must needs recommend with great weight unto us the order of this Church, as concerning daily morning and evening service. And to the same purpose, in the Reforma-

tion, Calvin upon Acts iii. 1: *Instituerat Dominus ut sacrifici-
cium vesperti et mane Judæi offerent. Hoc exercitio docebantur
ab invocatione et cultu Dei incipere diem et claudere. “God
hath appointed the Jews to offer sacrifice morning and even-
ing. By this exercise they were taught to begin and close the day with calling upon God and His service.” A
little after: *Primum, quod statas horas Deus veleri populo esse
voluit, indè colligimus Ecclesiam non posse carere certa disci-
plinà. Ac hodie, nisi obstaret nimius torpor, utile esset quotidi-
haberi tales conventus. “First, whereas God appointed His
ancient people set hours, thence we gather that the Church
cannot be without a certain discipline. And at this day, if too
much dulness hindered not, it were useful every day to hold
such assemblies.”

§ 15. Of festivals appointed by the guides of the syna-
gogue, not by the law of Moses, we have four, to my remem-
brance, expressed in the Scriptures. The first is that of
Purim, Esther ix. 20—32. The second the festival of the law,
upon Tisri xxiiii.—observed still among the Jews for making
an end of reading the law, which they begin to read over
again the next Sabbath—pointed at Nehem. viii. 9; ix. 1,
as Scaliger, De Emend. Temp. vii., Not. in Comp. Jud.*, hath
excellently observed. It is first to be known that the
festivals of the law were appointed to be solemnized with
mirth and gladness of heart: wherefore they are called,
Num. x. 10, “The days of your gladness.” And in the
Psalm for the Sabbath, xcii. 4, “For Thou, Lord, hast made
me glad through Thy works,” saith he, “I will triumph in
the works of Thy hands:” expressing the subject of that
gladness, the remembrance of the creation, upon that day
celebrated. Though the observance of rest upon the Sabbath
was strict, yet when our Saviour went into the house of one

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* Celebratur autem 23 Tisri nona
vestigia Nehem. ix. statim initio.—P.
die Ἐοροτιας, cujus cultus institutio
die Ἐοροτιας, cujus cultus institutio
vetustissima. Nam ejus clara extant
of the chief Pharisees to eat bread on the Sabbath, Luke xiv. 1, this invitation and entertainment is argument enough that it was festival, for the manner of observance. Hereupon it is, that the people falling to weep upon hearing the law read, the first day of the feast of tabernacles, Nehem. viii. 9, are forbidden to violate the law of the feast, and commanded to observe the day in the right nature of it. Whereas the people then, being forbidden to mourn on the festival, are said, ix. 1, to have fasted on the twenty-fourth of that month, we have cause to presume with him, that the fast—whereof they acknowledged the cause, upon the first day of that feast—was deferred till the usual solemnities of it were past; which by the law ending upon the twenty-second, and the fast not kept till the twenty-fourth, it is plain that the reason was the festival of the law falling then, and observed upon the twenty-third, as now, not by the law, but by the constitution of their elders.

§ 16. The third is the feast of the wood-offering, of which Nehem. x. 34: "And we cast lots among the priests, the Levites, and the people for the wood-offering, to bring it into the house of our God, after the houses of our fathers, at times appointed year by year, to burn upon the Altar of the Lord our God, as it is written in the law." And xiii. 31: "And for the wood-offering at times appointed." The same Scaliger conceiveth out of Josephus\textsuperscript{1}, that this festival fell upon the twenty-second of the month Ab, to which sense he referreth the words of Orach Hajim, *Ab est rer, quod in eo cederent ligna in sacrificium*: "Ab is a king," among months, "because upon it they cut wood for the sacrifice." But the truth is that which the Mischna relateth, *Mass. Taanioth*, cap. iv. num. 5\textsuperscript{x}, that it was held for nine days of several months, whereof a great part fell in that month. For this is that which the Scripture saith, "At times appointed year by year."

§ 17. The last is the dedication of the temple by Judas Maccabæus, which our Lord observed, John x. 22; neither is it within the compass of common sense to imagine that He did otherwise in the rest of the solemnities which were then

\textsuperscript{1} De hello Judaico, lib. ii. cap. xvii. 6. p. 1092. ed. Hudson. 
\textsuperscript{x} Scaliger, *ib.*, p. 649. 
\textsuperscript{x} Surenhus., tom. ii. p. 381.
for certain in the Jews’ calendar. As for their times of fasting, the day of atonement stood by the law of Moses, and the rest appointed for it, as strict as that of the Sabbath; but the nature of the observance quite otherwise, with humiliation and afflicting the soul.

§ 18. There were divers other fasts which that people took upon them to observe—not upon the law, but upon public order and custom—upon set days of several months, as in their calendar is yet to be seen; whereof some are remembered in the Scriptures. Zach. vii. 5, and viii. 19, we read of the fasts of the fourth, and fifth, and seventh, and tenth months, in remembrance of those calamities which God had punished the sins of that people with upon those days, most of them still remembered in their writings. Besides, that which is read in the law of Moses, Num. x. 9, “And if you go to war in your land with your enemies that distress you, then you shall blow an alarm with the trumpets,” hath been from old time understood, in the practice of that people, of all distresses that came upon them for their sins, and of proclaiming fasts for strict repentance, and diverting God’s wrath, Maimoni, Taanioth, cap. i. num. 1.

§ 19. The order of which fasts was grounded upon that which the words of the Pharisee point at, Luke xviii. 12, “I fast twice in the week.” For without doubt the second and fifth day of the week, Mondays and Thursdays, were observed many ages afore that, for the purposes which the same Rabbi specifieth, Tephillah Ubircath Cohenim, cap. xii. 271 num. 1, ישת יברנן ונז, “Our lord Moses appointed Israel to read the law at morning prayer upon the Sabbath, and the second and the fifth, that they might not rest three days from hearing the law: and Ezra appointed to read it at evening prayer upon the Sabbath, because of idle persons. And he ordered that three men should read upon the second and fifth, and not less than ten verses.” And in Megillah, cap. i. num. 6, ובני הבמיס וו, “those that dwell in villages, that assemble not in the synagogues but upon the second and the fifth.” These are his words, by which it appeareth that these days were more solemn for assemblies than the rest of the week, seeing that in villages they assembled upon them in
the synagogues, which upon every day they did not. The words of the Pharisee bear further, that they were observed with fasting: and, beside Epiphanius, their own writers have delivered no less. But the observance, without doubt, was not so strict upon them, else could not the Pharisee have alleged it for his own praise.

§ 20. And the order of proclaimed fasts, whereof I began to speak, argueth no less. It was at the least for three days, beginning at the Monday, and so on the Thursday, and Monday next, Maimoni, Taanioth, cap. i. num. 5. But if seven days of fasting were appointed, then they went on interchangeably from the first Monday, cap. iii. num. 5. So the congregation fasted not on Sabbaths or festivals, neither did they begin fasting on new moons, or the dedication, or Purim, or the working-day of a feast—that is, the days that come between the first and last of the Passover and tabernacles—but if they had begun afore, they went on upon those days, cap. i. num. 6, 7. If these days then had been fasted ordinarily with such strict observance, then could not the extraordinary fasts, which were purposely cast upon the same days, have been perceived.

§ 21. The institution and observation of these solemnities in the synagogue—as it regarded no ceremonial service, which figured things to come, but the service of God by public prayers, and the praises of God with hearing His word upon the remembrance of His blessings, or of our misdeeds—was a true precedent for the Church to follow, according to the chief occasions ministered by the principles of our faith. The Resurrection of our Lord in the first place. Who can doubt that the proper day of it was solemnized from the beginning, acknowledging, as we do, that it was the ground of determining the day which we celebrate through the year, instead of the Jews' Sabbaths: and seeing the Apostles assembled the next Pentecost after it, Acts ii. 1? We know there was from the beginning a great deal of difference and debate about the time, those ancient Christians of Asia solemnizing it according to the moon, by a custom pretended to come from St. John:

See sect. 26.
whereof we read in Policrates' epistle related in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 24—the rest upon the first day of the week, upon which our Lord rose again. These that differed so much about the time, agreed always in observing the festival. So they did in observing the fast before it, that were at much difference as well about the number of days, as the measure of abstinence.

§ 22. Irenæus in his epistle to Victor of Rome, in Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. v. 24: Οὐ δὲ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἔστιν ἡ ἁμαρτίατησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ εἰδοὺς αὐτοῦ τῆς νηστείας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἴονται μιαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοῦς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας· οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὄρας ἡμερων καὶ νυκτερινῶν συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. “For the difference is not about the day alone, but about the very kind of fasting: for some think they are to fast one day, some two, some more; some measure their day forty hours of the day and night.” The Passion-day was commonly kept of all with public fasting, as Tertullian acknowledgeth, De Oratione, cap. xiv., that is, the one day whereof Irenæus speaketh. But besides, De Jejuniis, cap. ii., relating the opinion and practice of the Church, against which he writeth there for the discipline of Montanus, Certè in Evangelio illos dies jejunio determinatos putant in quibus ablatus est sponsus. “For certain they think,” saith he, “those days to be appointed for fasting in the Gospel, on which the bridegroom was taken away.”

That is, the Passion-day and the Saturday after it, according to Tertullian, De Jejuniis, cap. xiv, where the Sabbath or Saturday is qualified, Nunquam nisi in Pascha jejunandum: “Never but at Easter to be fasted.” And the appointment of the Gospel, whereof he speaketh, is that, Mark ii. 20, “The days shall come in which the bridegroom shall be taken from you, and then shall ye fast in those days:” or, on those days, as then it seemeth they understood it.

§ 23. But in that which remaineth of Irenæus’ words, there is—and seemeth to have been for divers hundred years—a slight difference of reading in the copies of Eusebius, which inferreth a main difference in the sense: that reading which

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* Sic et die Pascha quo communis et quasi publica jejunii religio est.—

P. 183. See Pamelius' note, wherein he shews that Pascha is Good-Friday.
Christophorson translated in Latin, acknowledged of late by Petitus, Var. Lect. iii. 4—though it is unknown to me from what copies—hath them thus: Ὅι μὲν γὰρ οἶονται μεν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτῶν νποτεύεσ, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ πλέοντες, οἱ δὲ τεσσάρακοντα δώρας τε ἡμερινὰς καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. That is, "For some think they are to fast one day, some two, some more, some forty: and they measure their day by the hours of the day and night." Meaning that when they fast, they fast from evening to evening. Which is more, Ruffinus read it no otherwise: for thus he translateth those last words: Nonnulli etiam quadragesinta: ita ut horas diurnas nocturnas computantes, diem statuant. Meaning, that some 275 fasted forty days, but that those which fasted forty days computed every day four-and-twenty hours of the day and night. By this reading, those some, of whom Irenæus speaketh, kept Lent forty days, even afore his time: though as Petitus fairly conjectureth, not upon all, but upon some days of each week, as it hath been shewed that the Jews kept their long fasts but on Mondays and Thursdays; and as he duly proveth, that in St. Augustine's and Leo the Great's time they fasted the Lent at Rome but three days in a week.⁶

§ 24. The other reading related afore, is from Robert Stevens' Greek, which Nicephorus followeth, for so he is translated in Latin⁷: Nonnulli autem quadragesinta horis diurnis et nocturnis diem metiuntur: to say, "that some measured that one day which they fasted, by forty hours of the day and night." To make good which reading, Beatus Rheinan⁸ in his preface to Ruffinus, complaining of the want

⁵ Samuelis Petiti Variarum Lectio-


⁷ Qui quadragesinta dierum interval-
lum definuerunt, non singulis illis die-
bus jejunandum esse indixerunt, omnis
quetem, sed quibusdam intra illos quad-
raginta tantum. Quemadmodum enim
Judæi, ubi pluribus diebus erat jeju-
nandum, duos dies singulis hebdoma-
dibus jejunio destinabant, nempe feriam
secundam et feriam quintam.—Petit. Var. Lect. iii. 4. p. 90.

⁸ Romani vero tres tantum ferias
singulis illis sex septimannis jejunabant
nempe feriam quartam et sextam, item-
que Sabbatum.—Petit. p. 92. Quesnell,
Dissertat. vi. § 19. de jejunio Sabbati,
consideres that it was the custom to fast
the forty days of Lent in Rome, and that
the passage in St. Leo's homily, which
seems to confine the fast to three days
in the week, is spurious.—S. Leon.

⁹ By Langus, printed at Antwerp
1560.


¹ Nuncupatoria ad Stanislaum Tur-
which he found of the Greek of Eusebius, out of which much
might have been mended in that Latin, instanceth in this
passage thus: *Incidi nuperrimè in sùnoy fù quandam tis evang-
γελικής istoriâ, Graecam, quam cum evolverem, occurrerunt
forte fortuna Irenæi verba quæ Eusebius, cap. xxiii. l. v. citat,
de jejuniurn diversitate, sic Grece habentia; Οἱ μὲν γὰρ μίαν
μόνην ἡμέραν ἐνηστενοῦν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ πλειονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσα-
276 ράκοντα δόρας μόνας ἡμερινâ καὶ νυκτερινâς, ὃραν ἀντὶ ἡμέρας
ηστενοῦτες. “Very lately,” saith he, “I lighted upon a
certain abridgment of evangelical history in Greek, which
turning over, I met by mere chance with the words of
Irenæus, which Eusebius citeth, v. 23, concerning differ-
ence in fasting, which in Greek run thus; For some fastest
one day, some two, some more, some forty hours of the day
and night, fasting an hour for a day:” that is, forty hours for
the forty days of Lent afterwards.

§ 25. This reading maketh the conjecture probable that
it was first called τεσσαρακοστή, or quadragesima, for the
number of forty hours, which they fasted at the beginning
for the time of our Lord’s being under the power of death,
from twelve on Friday till the Sunday morning. For in the
Constitutions of the Apostles, v. 14\(^1\), the fast is not to be
ended till then at cock’s crowing, which afterwards was
enlarged to forty days, as the author alleged by Rhenanus saith,
“That it was, at the first, of forty hours, an hour for a day,”
to wit, of those days, that were observed afterwards. The
issue of this dispute—whether forty days were observed in
the Church before Irenæus’ time, or not—must rest upon the
true reading of his words in Eusebius: for though there is
mention of τεσσαρακοστή or quadragesima in Ignatius\(^2\), and
perhaps elsewhere, yet it is not said to be called so from
277 forty days in the writings of those times, to my knowledge.
In the mean time it is manifest that there is no time of the
Church to be assigned when the festival of the Resurrection,
and the fast afore it, were not solemnized.

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\(^{1}\) Αποστολικαὶ δὲ προστάτας τῆς Ἰη-
δίων ἡμέρα, ἀλεξήρως φωτισμότος.—
Col. 361. Τῷ δὲ Ἑβραίῳ μέχρις ἀ-
λεκτοφόρωνιας κατατέθειτε, ἀπεφ-
στῆσθε ἐπιφανεῖοντες μᾶς Ἑβραί-
ων, ἡς κυριακη, ἀπὸ ἐπωκᾶς ἡς ἀλεκτοφόρωνιας ἀγρυπνοῦτε.—Carp.

\(^{2}\) Τὴν τεσσαρακοστὴν μὴ ἐξοικεῖτε,
μένους γὰρ περικεῖ ἥν τού τινων
πολλοῖα.—Ep. ad Philippenses., cap.
xiii. p. 124. ed. Coteler. The epistle
is spurious.
§ 26. The fast upon Wednesdays and Fridays is referred to the like reason in the Constitutions of the Apostles, v. 15, vii. 23: "The Wednesday is to be fasted," saith he, "because on it our Lord was betrayed, and the bargain made between Judas and the priests. The Friday, because he suffered upon it." Epiphanius alleging the like reason, referreth the order to the Apostles, Expos. Fidei Cathol. num. 22: Συνάξεις δὲ ἐπιτελοῦμενα ταχθεῖσαι εἰςω ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, τετράδι καὶ προσαββάτῳ, καὶ κυριακῇ, τετράδι δὲ καὶ ἐν προσαββάτῳ τοῦ μνηστεία τῷ ὄρα ἐννάτης. "But the assemblies we hold are appointed by the Apostles upon the Wednesday and Friday, and upon the Lord's day; upon those in fasting until the ninth hour." I marvel not to hear him refer those customs, whereof they knew no beginning, to the order of the Apostles. But the terms on which the Catholic Christians stand against Montanus and his sect, in Tertullian, de Jejuniis, cap. ii., may help to lead us to the true ground of it:

Itaque de cetero indifferenter jejunandum, ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ discipline, pro temporibus et causis uniuscujusque. Sic et Apostolos observassem, nullum aliud imponentes jugum certorum et in commune omnibus obeundorum jejuniorum; proinde nec stationum, qua et ipsæ suos quidem dies habeant, quarta 273 feriae et sextæ, passivè tamen currant, neque sub lege precepti.

"Therefore otherwise," beside the days on which the bridegroom was taken away, "they say we are to fast indifferently, arbitrarily, not upon command of the new discipline, according to each man's times and occasions. And that so the Apostles observed, imposing no other yoke, of certain fasts to be performed of all; neither by the same reason of stations, which, they say, have also their days of Wednesday and Friday, but of ordinary course, under the law of no precept.” For which cause he calleth these stations semijejunia, or, "half-fasts," cap. xiii. of that book.
§ 27. The Wednesday and Friday assemblies of the primitive Christians, with fasting, were not of such strict and solemn observance. No more were those of Mondays and Thursdays in the synagogue, and therefore taken up in imitation of the synagogue, and upon the like reasons. The general whereof is well laid down by St. Hierome upon Gal. iv. 10°. His question is, how the Church, appointing festivals and set times of fastings, is clear of the Apostle’s charge upon the Galatians there, “Ye observe days, and months, and years; I fear lest I have laboured upon you in vain.” His answer is, first, Et nè inordinata congregatio populi fidelis minueret in Christo, propter eaa dies aliqui constituti sunt, ut in unum 279 omnes pariter veniremus. Non quò celebror sit dies illa quò convenimus, sed quò, quacumque die conveniendum sit, ex conspectu mutuo letitia major oriatur. “And lest the disorderly assembling of the people should abate faith in Christ, therefore certain days are appointed for all to assemble at once: not because the day on which we assemble is more notable than others, but because on what day soever we assemble, by seeing one another, more gladness ariseth.” Meaning that gladness wherewith they celebrated their festivals. So his mind is, that all difference of days among Christians, is in respect to the order of their assemblies, and that in respect to the work of those assemblies.

§ 28. Again, Qui . . . acutius respondere conatur, illud affirmat: omnes dies æquales esse . . . . Jejunia autem et congregationes, inter dies, propter eos, à viris prudentibus constitutos, qui magis seculo vacant quàm Deo, nec possunt, imò nolunt, totò in ecclesia vitae sua tempore congregari, et ante humanos actus, Deo orationum suarum offerre sacrificium. “One that endeavours to make a more subtle answer saith that all days are equal, but that fasts and assemblies are appointed among other days by discreet men, for those that spend more time in the world than on God, and cannot, nay, will not, assemble, all days of their life, in the Church, to offer unto God the sacrifice of their prayers before human actions.” Adding, that whereas the Jews’ service was confined to certain times, 280 that of Christians is always seasonable. The primitive Chris-
tians were always assembled, always in posture for the service of God, as we read in the Acts: when the number increased there was no expectation of human reason that they could continue so unanimous in frequenting their assemblies for that purpose. The neglect of them must needs prove an abatement; the disorder of them, a scandal to the faith. Here the wisdom and the authority of the Church-guides behoved to take place, by customing certain times, whereof the occasion was justest, to confine men from secular employments to better purposes. And how this course prevailed in matter of festivals I refer to those well-known words of St. Augustine, Ep. cxviii.4, where being to instance in some universal custom of the whole Church, Sicuti, saith he, quod Domini passio, et resurrectio, et ascensio in caelum, et adventus de caelo Spiritus Sancti, anniversarid solemnitate celebrantur, et sicquid aliud tale occurrerit quod servatur ab universa, quacunque se diffundit, Ecclesia. "As, that the passion, the resurrection, and ascension of our Lord into heaven, and the coming of the Holy Ghost from heaven, is celebrated with yearly solemnity, and if there be any thing else which all the Church, wheresoever dispersed, observeth."

§ 29. As for times of fasting, the answer of our Lord importeth two things: first, that His purpose was, that the outward freedom which He allowed His disciples for the time should symbolize with the inward comfort which the Gospel professeth, and conduct and train them—as trained they were by His doctrine, in divers particulars, by corporal to spiritual things—to understand it. The second, the reason of this purpose, because they were old vessels for the present, which a strict discipline for the present might cause to fly in pieces: but when the new wine of the Holy Ghost should make the vessels new, into which it was put on the day of Pentecost, then should they fast—then should they be willing to undertake the discipline which their profession suited with. Accordingly we may find them serving God with prayer and fasting, Acts xiii. 3, 4; xiv. 23. But because disorder or coldness in this voluntary performance might disadvantage the faith, it soon proved time to bring those voluntary observances to set rules of practice. These causes thus disposing

the Church, and the precedent of the synagogue directing not to do less, what course should it observe, but, instead of Mondays and Thursdays used in the synagogue, to practise Wednesdays and Fridays for this purpose? holding in them a convenient distance from the Lord's day, as those other did from the Sabbath.  

§ 30. Their writers tell us—beside the reason specified out of Maimoni afore *, that they might not rest three days from hearing the law—that they made choice of Mondays and Thursdays in regard of some great calamities that befell their nation upon those days: what marvel is it if the Church had regard to those things which befell our Lord on the Wednesday and Friday, the other moral reason of assembling once in three days for God's service concurring? Those ancient Christians of Tertullian's time conceived that the fast afore Easter is appointed in the Scripture which saith, "The days will come that the bridegroom shall be taken from among you, and then shall ye fast in those days," and Tertullian is content to have it believed, because Montanus required that and more.  

§ 31. But St. Augustine found that there is a command in Scripture to fast, but no time commanded when it shall be done, Ep. lxxxvi." So he would have accepted their reason, as an allusion handsomely symbolizing with the nature of fasting, but the appointment he must needs refer to the custom of the Church and the ordinance of the guides of it. It is not much otherwise with those other days wherewith some enlarged the fast afore Easter, even afore Irenæus' time: it is not much otherwise with the Wednesday and Friday assemblies, though Tertullian is willing to have them both counted innovations in the Church, on purpose to bring them into rank with Montanus' discipline, for which he pleadeth, recharging the Catholic Christians, Et prater Pascha jejunantes, citra illas dies, quibus ablatus est sponsus, et stationum semijunio interponentes; De Jejuniiis, cap. xiii. "Both as fasting besides the passover, over and above those days on which

* Sect. 19.  
the bridegroom was taken away, and interposing the half
fests of stations."

§ 32. But the betraying of Christ and His death is a reason
that may take place to move them, that have resolved to ap-
point set days of fasting every week, to choose the days on
which those things fell out afore others, especially being in
a convenient distance from the Lord’s day, the assemblies
whereof were most solemn; otherwise, to think that there
was no more reason than that for an appointment of such
consequence, is to make them as childish as they would have
them, that had rather despise than either observe or under-
stand their ordinances, though the purpose be no more than
to bring the precepts of fasting and of the public service of
God into the ordinary and uniform practice of His Church,
which being commanded but in general, without such parti-
cular appointment are not like to be exercised to great pur-
pose. Whereas the discipline of Montanus set up in downright
terms a schism in the Church, by assembling apart for the 284
exercise of their own particular and voluntary observations,
whosoever heresies besides it may have been embarked with.

§ 33. How ancient the observation of Wednesday and
Friday assemblies was in the Church is to be valued by the
recommendation of them in Ignatius, Ep. ad Philip.¹, and
Clemens Alexandrinus, Strom. vii.º How uniform the observa-
tion of them was in the ancient Church is to be known
from Epiphanius’ words, Har. lvi.: Τίνα δὲ οὐ συμπεριφέρονται,
ἐν πᾶσι κληματίᾳ τῆς οἰκουμένης, δι’ τετράδας, καὶ προσάββατον,
μνηστεία ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὀρισμένη; “Who agreeth not,”
saith he, “in all climates of the world, that the Wednesday
and the Friday are fasts appointed in the Church?” And
when Tertullian saith in the same cap. xiii. ⁷ afterwards, that

¹ Metà τὴν τοῦ τάδει ἤθος ἐρυθμάδα, μὴ
παραχθεῖν τετράδα καὶ παρασκευή,
μνηστείας, πάντων ἄτιμορφων ἐν ἡρῴας
περισσελασίαν. Cap. xiii. p. 124. ed. Cote-
lar. See note k, sect. 25.

² Οἶδαν αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς ἡμερᾶς τὰ
ἀνήγματα τῶν ημερῶν τότεν, τῆς
tετράδος, καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς λέγει. ἐν-
φημιζομένη γὰρ, ὡς μὲν, ‘Ερμοῖς, ὡς δὲ,
‘Αραχνίδης. αὐτόκεν ἡμερεῖς κατὰ τὸν
βίον φιλαργυρίας τὸ ἡμερον καὶ φιλαρ-
γυρίας ἐὰν τὸν πάσας ἐκφάνην κακαί.
—S. Clement. Stromat. lib. vii. cap. xii.

³ St. Clement gives moral reasons for the observation of
these days, concealing the mystical, ac-
cording to the principle of the treatise.


⁶ Bene autem, quod et Episcopi
universi plebi mandare jejunia asso-
lent, non dico de industria stipium con-
ferendarum, ut vestrae capturae esse, sed
interdum et ex aliqua sollicitudinis ec-
clesiasticum causa.—De Jejuniis, cap.
the Bishops were wont to appoint extraordinary fasts upon occasions which made the Church solicitous; there can no question be made but they were wont to choose the Wednesdays and Fridays to be observed with more strictness upon these occasions: because we saw afore that all fasts that were indicted in the synagogue were by order to fall upon the Mondays and Thursdays, which in a lower degree they observed otherwise.

§ 34. And therefore the order of this Church of England instituting festivals for the public service of God, in remembrance of His most remarkable blessings, instituting times of humiliation and fasting for diverting His wrath, which our sins contract from time to time, standeth recommended to us by the practice of the most ancient times of the Church. Setting aside difference of meats for conscience sake, whereof we speak not here, as was said*; opinion of merit, of satisfaction, of the worship of God, being abolished, by the reason of the institution here professed, the form of service appointed by the Church recommendeth the difference of days to our devotions. And though we come not near the strictness of abstinence wherewith in the primitive Church they were wont to afflict themselves—and perhaps for very good reasons we come not near it—yet to assemble for the public service of God—even in those places where there is not opportunity to assemble every day, as you saw it was practised in the synagogue—to abstain till these assemblies be over, setting aside the favour we lend our own ease, must needs appear most commendable.

§ 35. I cannot say that this institution in respect of set days for fasting hath found so good respect for the particular in the reformed Churches: the general reason is thus set down by Melancthon among chief reformers, *Apologia Confessionis de Trad.* p. 171b; *Cæterum ritus humanos observabant,—*

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* Sect. 20.
* Sect. 15.
* Cæterum ritus humanos observabant propter utilitatem corporalem; ut sciret populus quo tempore conveniendum esset; ut ordine et graviter, in templo, exempli causa, fient omnia; denique ut vulgus etiam haberet quandam πανταγερίαν. Nam discrimina temporum, et varietas rituum valet ad admonendum vulgus.—p. 76. Dicit probandas esse traditiones factas διὰ τῆς ἐγκατάστασιν, ἡ δὲ τῆς παλαιᾶν, hoc est, aut ad coercendam carnem, propter disciplinam rudium, aut propter politicum ordinem. Et nos propter has causas recte servari posse traditiones judicamus. Ut populus sobrius intereat sacris; sicut Josaphat, et rex Ninive jejunia indexerunt. Item

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“Otherwise the Fathers observed human rites for outward benefit, that the people might know what time to assemble, that all things might be done in Churches orderly, and gravely, and exemplarily; last of all, that the common sort might have some paedagogy or discipline. For the difference of times and varieties of rites serve to put in mind the common sort.” And by and by afterwards, *Dicit probandas esse traditiones*,—“Epiphanius disputing against the Enccratites saith that traditions are to be allowed that are made, διὰ τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, ἃ διὰ τὴν πολτελαν, that is, either to restrain the flesh for discipline of the vulgar, or for order and government’s sake. And we think that traditions may well be retained for these causes: that the people be at service sober”—that is, fasting, as it followeth—“as Josaphat and the king of Nineveh proclaimed fasts: likewise that the order and practice of the Church may teach the Church what was done, at what time. Hence come the festivals of the Nativity, Easter, Pentecost, and the like. This is that which Epiphanius saith, that traditions were ordained for policy’s sake, that is, for order’s sake, and that such order might put men in mind of the story and benefits of Christ. For marks of things painted as it were in rites and customs are much more effectual to put the vulgar in mind than writings.”

§ 36. Now the difference of ancient [times] between several Churches in the point of public service upon festival and fasting-days is that which Epiphanius remembered afore, that the assemblies upon Wednesdays and Fridays were held all fasting till three after noon: and Tertullian, so long afore him, *De Jejuniiis*, cap. ii.⁴, acknowledge the stations of the Christians were wont to be kept on Wednesdays and Fridays till three after noon; which he out of the leaven of Montanus is not content with. But of the Lord’s day Epiphanius⁵ in the same place, *Tas δὲ Κυριακῆς ἀπάσας τριεφέρας ἥγειται ἢ*


⁴ Cited in sect. 26.
* Expos. fidei Catholic. num. 22. p. 1105.*
But all Lord's days this holy Catholic Church counteth glad days—προφεράζειν serveth to express that of the Prophet Esa. lviii. 13, 'And call the Sabbath delight,' which the Jews call ηεσεν γιο, 'the delight of the Sabbath'—and holdeth assemblies from morning, fasteth not: for it is consequent to fast on the Lord's day.' So to assemble in the morning was the mark of a festival; to depart at three after noon, of a fast.

§ 37. Further, Socrates v. 22', ᾿Αθηνὶς δὲ ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρείᾳ, τῇ τετράδι καὶ τῇ λεγομένῃ παρασκευῇ γραφαί τε ἀναγινώσκονται, καὶ οἱ διδάσκαι ταῦτα ἔρμηνεύοντον πάντα τε τὰ συνάξεως γίνεται, διὸ γὰρ τίς τῶν μυστηρίων τελετής· καὶ τούτο ἐστίν ἐν ᾿Αλεξανδρείᾳ ἑδοὺ ἄρχαιον, καὶ γὰρ ᾿Ορνέγνης πάλιν ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις φαίνεται ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσας.

"Again, at Alexandria on Wednesdays and Fridays, both the Scriptures are read and the doctors expound them, and all that belongeth to an assembly is done, beside celebrating the mysteries. And this is an ancient custom at Alexandria: for it appeareth that Origen taught most of his writings on these days in the Church." Because they took the Eucharist to be a piece of festival observance, therefore they thought it not suitable when they fasted. Therefore it is ordered, Conc. Laod., can. xlix. ὧν ὅτι ὅσοι τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ ἁρτου προσφέρεντες ἐμὴν ἐν σαββάτῳ, καὶ Κυριακῆ μῶνον. The meaning is that the Eucharist must not be celebrated in Lent, but upon the Sabbath and Lord's day, on neither whereof they fasted. Nevertheless in other places this reason prevailed not. By Tertullian it appeareth, De Oratione, cap. xiv. 1, that in his time

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3 Quadragesinta et octo dies ante Pascha singulis diebus hebdomadis, exceptis Sabbato et Dominico, sicca comeditur, ut de monachis diximus. Sabbato et Dominico oleum et vinum permittitur, et bina comestio . . . . De hoc jejunio illud quoque addam, plures ex saecularibus, et quod magis mirère ex virgunculis, tres primos, tres medios et tres postremos Quadragesime dies nullo victu potuque peragere. Quod si si-
and the parts where he lived, the Eucharist was celebrated on days of fasting. And in the same place he disputed against those that forbore the kiss of peace—used in some places afore receiving the Eucharist, in some places after it, *Conc. Laod.*, can. xix.\(^1\) Innocent. I. *ad Decentium*\(^2\)—upon days of fasting: which was an observance of fasting-days derived from the synagogue, where their fashion was not to salute one another when they fasted. Maimoni, *Taanioth*, cap. iii. num. 8, cap. v. num. 11.\(^a\) And St. Basil, *Epist. ccxviii*.\(^b\), \(\'H\)μείς μὲν ουτοις τέταρτος καθ' έκάστην έβδομάδα κοινονούμεν, \(\epsilonν \ τή \ Κυριακῇ, \ en \ τή \ τετάρτη, καλ \ en \ τή \ παρασκευή, καλ \ τό \ σαββάτο, \ kal \ en \ ta\'s \ δλα\'s \ ήμερας, \(\epsilon\)αν \ ς \ μνήμη \ μάρτυρος \ τινος. "Yet we communicate four times a week, Lord's days, 289 Wednesdays, Fridays, and Sabbaths, and on other days if the memory of a martyr fall out.

§ 38. In fine, certain it is which St. Augustine delivereth in this point, *Epist. cxviii*.\(^p\), *Alia vero quae per loca terrarum regionesque variantur, sicuti est quod aliique jejunant Sabbato, aliique: aliique quotidian communicant corpori et sanguini Domini, aliique certis diebys accipiant: aliique nullus dies prætermittitur, quo non offeratur, aliique Sabbato tantum et Dominico, aliique tantum Domino: et sicuti alii hujusmodi animadverterunt, totum hoc genus rerum liberas habet observationes. "Other things, which change according to places and countries of the world—as that some fast on Saturday, some not: some parti-

\(\text{ Ergo devotum Deo obsequium Eucharistiæ resolvit, an magis Deo obligat? Nominne solemnior erit statio tua, si et ad aram Dei steteris? Accepi corpopere Domini et reservato utrumque salvm est, et participatio sacrificii, et execu-

tio officii.—P. 183. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1662. }

\(\text{\(a\)}\) Alia jam consuetudo invaluit, je-

\(\text{\(b\)}\) Kal metà το \προσβιέροις δυνα\'t\]
cipate every day of the Lord's Body and Blood, some receive on certain days: in some places no day is intermitted, but it is celebrated: otherwhere only on the Sabbath and Lord's day, otherwhere on the Lord's day alone: and if any thing else of this sort can be observed—all matters of this kind, I say, are of free observance.” This indifference, or this difference, notwithstanding, we shall perceive the whole custom of the ancient Church was to celebrate the Eucharist, if not every day, yet upon all Lord's days, if not rather by consequence upon all festivals, or all days of more solemn assemblies, as the crown of the service for which they assembled: both upon example of the primitive time.

§ 39. The practice of them that celebrated and received the Eucharist every day, standeth upon the example of the primitive Christians at Jerusalem. Of whom when it is said 9 that “they continued constant in the doctrine of the Apostles, and communion, and in breaking bread, and prayers;” and that “continuing with one mind in the temple, and from house to house, they did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart:” to what purpose shall we imagine that breaking bread and communion is mentioned, beside the service of the temple, but to signify the service of the Eucharist, proper to the faith of Christians, in which they communicated among themselves, as with the Jews in the service of the temple? knowing that at the first it was used at meals—as it was instituted—among Christians.

§ 40. This notwithstanding, in other places, it seemeth the Eucharist was celebrated but upon Lord's days, as well in the times of the Apostles, as in the Church that succeeded. Acts xx. 7: “On the first day of the week, the disciples being assembled to break bread;” that is, “to celebrate the Eucharist,” as the Syriac translateth it. Here the first day of the week seemeth to stand against the rest, in terms of difference, as if upon other days they did it not. And that is the day which St. Paul appointeth the Church of Corinth, as he had done the Churches of Galatia, to make their collections for the poor, which Tertullian sheweth was done at their assemblies, 1 Cor. xvi. 2, Tertull. Apolog., cap. xxxix.1, and in

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1 Acts ii. 42—46. strata die, vel cum velit; et si modo velit, 
* Modicum unusquisque stipem men- et si modo possit? apponit: nam nemo
Pliny’s epistle concerning the Christians of his government,

Quōd essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire. “That they were wont on a set day to assemble before light.” What day but the Lord’s day can we think might be set for this purpose? Justin Martyr, for certain, mentioneth no other assemblies of Christians, but on the Lord’s day, in the place afore named According to the Constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 59, where he exhorteth to assemble every day morning and evening, as was said afore, the Eucharist is mentioned to be celebrated but upon Lord’s days, as it followeth afterwards. Pliny’s words in that place are these at large, Epist. lib. x. xcvii.: Quōd essent soliti stato die ante lucem convenire, carmenque Christo quasi Deo dicere secum invicem; sequa Sacramento, non in scele aliquid obstringere, sed nē furtu, nē latrocinia, nē adulteria committerent, nē fidem fallerent, nē depositum appellati abnegaret, quibus peractis morem sibi discendendi suisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscaum tamen et innixium. The Christians confessed “that they were wont to assemble on a set day before light, and to sing praise among themselves to Christ as to God; and to tie themselves upon a Sacrament, not to any wickedness, but not to commit thefts, robberies, or adulteries, not to falsify their trust, or deny a thing deposited, being demanded. This done, that their custom was to depart, and meet again to eat together, but in a vulgar and innocent sort.”

§ 41. Grotius of late, upon Matth. xxvi. 25, seemeth to conceive that at the beginning the Eucharist was not celebrated but at meals, as it was instituted by our Lord. And that so it was celebrated, not only under the Apostles, as Acts xx. 11, 1 Cor. xi., or under Ignatius, but in Justin Martyr and Tertullian’s time, appeareth by their words. Justin,

compellitur, sed sponte confert. Hac quasi deposita pietatis sunt, nam inde non epulis, nec potaculis, nec ingratia voratrini dispensatur, sed genis alendis humanisque et pueris ac puellis ac parentibus destitutis, jamque domesticis senibus, item nauphris, et si qui in metallis, et si qui in insulis, vel in custoditis, duntaxat ex causa Dei sectae, alumni confessionis suae fluent.—P. 68. ed. Pam. Rothom. 1692.

* Chap. vi. sect. 10.

† Chap. viii. sect. 13.

* See note q. chap. viii. sect. 13.

Dial. cum Tryph. y: "Οτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαίλι καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄξιων γινόμεναι, τέλεια μόνα καὶ εὐάρεστον εἰσὶ τῷ Θεῷ θυνία, καὶ αὐτὸς φημί· ταῦτα γὰρ μόνα καὶ χριστιανοί παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηράς τε καὶ ἱγρᾶς, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῦ πάθους, δὲ πέπονθε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ Θεός τοῦ Θεοῦ, μέμνηται. "Therefore that prayers and thanksgivings made by the worthy are the only complete sacrifices and acceptable to God, I also affirm: for these alone Christians also have received order to perform, and that upon remembrance both of their dry and moist nourishment: at which there is also remembrance of the Passion which God of God Himself suffered." The like, Apol. i., the words shall follow afterwards. Tertullian, de Corona Militis, cap. iii.: Eucharistiae Sacramentum, et in tempore victūs, et omnibus mandatum à Domino, etiam antelucanis coētibus, nec de aliis manu quām præsidentium sumimus. “The Sacrament of the Eucharist, commanded by our Lord, both to all, and at meat time, we receive also at our assemblies afore day, but at no man’s hands but our presidents.” They are the words where-upon he groundeth: for Tertullian reckoneth it among traditions, that is, customs of the Church not commanded in Scripture. Which notwithstanding nothing hindereth, but the same might be practised in the Apostles’ time, and remembered in the Scriptures.

§ 42. To which opinion I rather incline. Otherwise, whence should the custom rise, in Justin and Tertullian’s time, to celebrate the Eucharist at their morning assemblies, when it was still in use at supper time, in their feasts of love? that is it which Ignatius calleth δοχην ἐπετελεῖν, in the ancient translation alleged elsewhere, translated agapen facere, in that which is extant, missam facere, which he saith must not be held without the Bishop, and that must be in respect of the Eucharist. And when Justin and Tertullian affirm that it was frequented at meals, we must needs understand it, in the first place, of those meals to which they

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8 In chap. x. sect. 3.
9 Harum et aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expositus scripturarum nullam invenies: traditio tibi pretendentur auctrix, consuetudo con-
assembled for the exercise of Christian charity and the praises of God, as we see in Tertullian, *Apol.* cap. xxxix. 4, where if we find nothing of celebrating the Eucharist, it is to be attributed to Cassander’s reason, because it was not his purpose to make known the fashion of the Eucharist to unbelievers, which might bring it into contempt among them.

§ 43. Pliny’s words alleged seem to import that the Christians of his time assembled twice on Lord’s days, before day, and at night. Before day, to praise Christ as God, and to tie themselves upon a Sacrament, or oath, to make good what they professed. I have not yet found that they were wont to make any such formal oath to themselves, and must think it strange that they should renew it at all solemn assemblies; and therefore do believe that his meaning concerneth the Sacrament of the Eucharist, which of its own nature, we know, is an obligation to such purpose. At night, when they met to eat together, it hath been shewed that the Eucharist was celebrated. And so Pliny’s words import the same that Justin’s [do], in which he describeth to us the celebration of the Eucharist at solemn morning service, and elsewhere at meals, among which the feasts of love had the first place; and both of them the same that the Apostle [doth] in this place. His meaning in the eleventh chapter is not to abrogate those feasts of love, but to take a course that they might be held in common for the exercise of Christian charity, and the public service of God. Therefore if any man pretended the necessities of nature, he giveth him leave to eat at home, xi. 34, because it hath appeared that these assemblies were held towards night, and that—when the custom of the world was to entertain themselves—then they assembled to this sober and Christian refreshment. But in this fourteenth chapter he hath touched all the parts of public service at solemn assemblies, prayers, the praises of God, the reading and expounding of the Scriptures: and therefore when he saith, ver. 16, “Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving

* Quoted in chap. vi. sect. 7.
of thanks?” my purpose is to shew that he referreth to the celebration of the Eucharist in particular, and that thanksgiving which from the beginning it was consecrated with: to which purpose I have premised these probabilities, that the Eucharist was then celebrated at their morning assemblies.

§ 44. In the mean time, it is plain by the rubric of our service, which saith, “Upon the holy-days, if there be no communion, shall be said,”—with that which followeth; and more plain by the rubric of the first edition of Edward VL, after the exhortation, which saith, “In cathedral churches, or other places, where there is daily communion,”—and again, “And if upon the Sunday or holy-day the people be negligent to come to the communion,”—that our reformers affected the frequentation of this service, according to the primitive practice, so far as they thought it attainable. And according to them, Calvin, iv. Instit. xvii. 43. 46, roundly professeth that it behoveth that the Eucharist be celebrated at least once a-week. Where let me have leave to say, that it had been much more for the edification of the Church to have laboured in reducing this pious intention of our reformers into practice, than to contend about saying that part of the service—which nevertheless, as shall appear, never properly belonged to the celebration of that Sacrament—at the place appointed for the ministering of it.

\footnote{ Changed at the Restoration into “Upon the Sundays and other holy-days.”}
CHAPTER IX.

The Reasons Why it is for the Edification of the Church to Use Ceremonies in Public Service. It is avowed by the chief Reformers, of the respect of times and places, of the difference of vestures and gestures. Caution in Matter of Ceremonies. The Obligation of Rules Whereby They are Determined.

Of the rites, and circumstances, and ceremonies of God's service in public, it concerneth to say something here, where we are about the general order of it: and yet so much hath been said of it, and to so good purpose, that he that would come down to the particulars of it, shall be enforced to say 297 over what hath been said again. My purpose is to discourse in few words the reason and ground upon which in general it is expedient that the form of public service should be solemn and ceremonious, according to the method hitherto used. And that is this which I touched afore: because the rule of the Apostle commandeth these things to be done both in order and with comeliness; and nothing can become the service of God but that which serveth to stir up, and to exercise the inward reverence of the heart in ourselves, and to procure it in others. What that is, common reason must be judge, according to the Apostle.

§ 2. Here therefore lieth an appeal to the common reason of all the world, not to the particular reasons of persons interested in prejudice, whether that inward reverence and devotion of the heart, wherein the service of God consisteth, the exercise and maintenance of it do not require that it be in the circumstances and rites of it solemn and ceremonious? ask the world to what purpose the chief actions of it are transacted with so much observance in circumstances, but to procure and maintain that respect which the public good requireth they should possess in men's minds. In the state of princes, in the courts of judgment, in military matters, in the passage of all public matters of any consequence, common sense is able to tell us what respect and observance is used,

b See chap. vi. sect. 22.  
1 See chap. vi. sect. 25.
and all reason alloweth the necessity of it: for by this means is conveyed into the minds of the greatest part of people that reverence, in which the public good requireth all men to hold those powers, by which these great matters are managed; which it is not possible should make impressions upon gross minds, by conviction of reason, were they not managed by their senses.

§ 3. God hath made Christians, though governed by the Spirit of His grace, as gross in their bodily senses and faculties of their minds, as other men of like education are: and it is a debt which the guides of the Church owe to the wise and unwise of God's people, to conduct them in the way of godliness by means proportionable to their faculties. The outward form of public service availeth much, even with them whose minds are best in tune, to corroborate their reverence and devotion at the service of God, by the exercise of it: but speaking of them whose minds are less withdrawn from their senses, how great impression shall the example of the world, practising the service of God in an orderly and reverent form, make in the minds of men that cannot receive it from their reason, but from their senses? this effect in things of slight consequence in particular, which nevertheless altogether amount to a considerable sum, is better seen by the gross in practice, than convinced by retail in dispute: yet since the importunities of men have caused false reasons to prevail with weak people, it is requisite the true reasons be pleaded, lest it be thought there are none such, because not so fit to be pleaded.

§ 4. The circumstances and ceremonies of public service is indeed a kind of discipline and paedagogy, whereby men subject to sense are guided in the exercise of godliness: it is, as it were, the apparel of religion at the heart; which some think, like the sun, most beautiful when it is most naked; and so it were indeed, did men consist of minds alone without bodies, but as long as our bodily senses are manageable to our soul's advantage, the heat within will starve without this apparel without. And therefore, under better judgment, I hold it requisite that the observance of rites and ceremonies in the public service of God, should increase and become more solemn after the world was come into the Church, than
under the persecuting times of it. Persecution was like anti-
peristasis in nature, in preserving order and reverence in
the public offices of the Church, with the respect of those guides
that ruled it.

§ 5. But since the net of the gospel hath been cast in the 300
ocean, and caught good and bad, it is more requisite that all
should pass, as under rule and observance, so in the most
reverent form, that the coldness and indifference of the worser
part appear not to daub the good disposition of others.
Though from the beginning, as early as the records of the
Church are able to inform us, we are sure it was never with-
out such outward observances as, according to the state of the
time, tended to maintain, to witness the disposition of the
heart answerable.

§ 6. The Apostle's ordinance of praying and singing psalms,
men with heads bare, women with heads covered, the saluta-
tion of peace so long practised in the primitive Church, from
the time of the Apostles, imposition of hands in divers acts
of public service, signifying the over-shadowing of the Holy
Ghost, and God's hand stretched out to give the blessing for
which prayer was made, and without question derived from
the times of the Apostles, are of this nature. And it is
thought that when the Apostles speak of putting off the old
man, and putting on the new, Col. iii. 9, 10, ii. 11,—of burying
in Baptism, Col. ii. 12, Rom. vi. 4,—of the unction of grace,
1 John ii. 20, 27, 1 Cor. ii. 12, allusion is made to some rites
of ecclesiastical offices, used even at that time.

§ 7. As for ecclesiastical writers, it will be hard to name any
of them so ancient, in whom are not to be found divers
particulars of this nature. But the general reason hitherto
declared, hath been better sifted by the chief reformers.
Philip, loco de Caerem. in Eccl., p. 651 m: Paulus gravissimè
dixit, 1 Cor. xiv., πάντα εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω.
Non ordinem tantùm, sed etiam singularem curam ornandi ordi-
nis requirit: quare addidit εὐσχημόνως, ut videamus, quid per-
sonas, loca, temporae deceat. "Paul saith with much gravity,
Let all things be done with decency, and in order.

k See Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 3.
1 1. The white robes worn by the newly baptized, instead of their former
garments. 2. Immersion in Baptism.
3. Anointing in Confirmation.
= Melaneth. Opp., tom. i. fol. 296.
Witteberger, 1562.
requireth not order alone, but a singular care of setting that order forth; therefore he addeth decently, that we consider what becometh persons, times, and places." This is it that I am now about, that the order of things done at public service be such as may set forth and insinuate the respect which those times, those places, those persons require. Which Calvin still setteth down in fuller terms, iv. Instit. x. 28: *Ut in sacro fidelium caetu deceter peragantur omnia, et quid convenit dignitate.* "That in the holy assembly of the faithful all things be done decently, and in that worth and respect as befittheth." Afterwards he setteth down as much as I have done, when he saith, *Ac decori quidem finis est, partim, ut dum adhibentur ritus qui venerationem rebus sacris concilient, talibus adminiculis ad pietatem excitemur: partim etiam, ut modestia, gravitas, quae in omnibus honestis actionibus spectari debet, illic maxime elucet.* "And indeed the end of comeliness is, partly, that using such rites as procure reverence to sacred things, we may be by such helps excited to godliness: partly, that the modesty and gravity, which in all actions of respect ought to be attended, may there especially appear." Again, num. 29: *Sed illud nobis decorum erit, quod ita erit ad sacram mysteriorum reverentiam aptum, ut sit idoneum ad pietatem exercitium, vel saltem quod ad ornatum faciet actioni congruentem: neque idipsum sine fructu, sed ut fideles admoneat, quantum modestiam, religionem, observantiam sacrae tractare debeant.* "But that shall be counted decent with us, that shall so fit the reverence of holy mysteries, as may be a competent exercise unto godliness; or which at least may conduce to ornament suitable to the action: and that not without benefit, but to put the faithful in mind with how much modesty and religious observance they ought to be conversant in sacred actions." What this in general importeth, is that which I desire in the particular heads.

§ 8. Times and places are no way sanctified otherwise than as they are deputed to the service of God. The words of our Lord in the Gospel, Matth. xxiii. 19, "Which is the greater, the sacrifice, or the Altar that sanctifieth it?" point out to us a difference betwixt the law and the gospel in this particular. For as St. Hierome said afore, that the service of

"Chap. viii. sectt. 27, 28."
CHAP. IX. God in spirit and truth, proper to the dispensation of the
gospel, is acceptable to God at all times, that all days are
equal of themselves, no difference between them, but in re-
spect to the assemblies of Christians upon them, and the
work of those assemblies: so is it to be said with truth con-
cerning places, to make it a general observation and a true
one, that under the law the time and the place sanctified
the service confined to it; but under the gospel the service re-
quired sanctifieth the time and place of it.

§ 9. For example, the passover on the due time was holy,
on another time had been abominable: dwelling in taber-
nacles, commanded on such a day of such a month, used
otherwise, no part of God's service, but sacrilege in usurping
it: the sacrifices whereof our Lord speaketh, holy upon the
Altar, otherwhere abominable. On the other side, the service
of Christians being good by nature, and acceptable to God
at all times and in all places, hath a special promise of God
from the unity of the Church, and the assemblies in it.
Which because they cannot be held without public order,
confining them to times and places, thereupon those times
and places, which are capable of no holiness in themselves,
are nevertheless truly qualified holy, as an attribute derived
from the holiness of those actions to which they are designed. 304
Which may well be called a relative or metonymical holiness.
Thus are times and places consecrated, by being appointed
to the service of God: places, as more subject to sense, by
the execution of that appointment; that is, by the prayers of
the Church, ministered by the guides of it.

§ 10. But inasmuch as it behoveth that the service which
shall be acceptable to God, be done in the unity of His
Church, and that which is so done must be according to
public order, confining the times and places of assemblies:
hereupon those times and places which are capable of no
holiness but that which is ascribed to them, in relation to
that work whereunto they are assigned, give holiness to that
work again, inasmuch as if it be done in opposition to that
public order in which the unity of the Church consisteth, it
is abominable afore God. He that hath promised to be
present where we are assembled, by the same reason hath
promised to be absent where we are divided: let them look
to themselves that cause it, those that do not have no cause to doubt of God's presence. This is the ground of that respect which is due to the times and places of God's service, and which, if it go not beyond the consideration here expressed, cannot prove superstitious. The holiness of that work which differenceth them, requireth they be so used as may conduce most to stir and maintain the right apprehension of that work in our own minds, and to convey it to others. If the days of our assemblies be employed upon ordinary business, no marvel if the mind prove not at leisure to attend the work for which they are designed. Churches are still more subject to sense than days are, and the common use of them common reason and experience will prove to breed a common esteem of the work of God's service, and in consequence of the Majesty that owneth it. If we remember that God is there present to accept the service of our assemblies, we cannot refuse to acknowledge respect due there in general, though we refer ourselves to law or commendable custom for the particular of it.

§ 11. That which is to be said for the difference of vesture, in solemnizing the service of God, is much to this purpose. The meaning of it is, to procure inward reverence to that work which it maketh outwardly solemn; to represent to our own apprehensions, and to convey to other men's, the due

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* "Whereas the Church is the house of God, dedicated to His holy worship, and therefore ought to mind us both of the greatness and goodness of His Divine Majesty; certain it is that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others. We therefore think it very meet and beautiful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affectèd people, members of this Church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obedience, both at their coming in and going out of the said churches, chancels, or chapels, according to the most ancient custom of the primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth."—Canons of 1640. Wilkins' Concili, tom. iv. p. 560.

P "As for the apparel, .... there is no order in it, but confusion: no comeliness, but deformity; no obedience, but disobedience, both against God and the prince. We marvel that they could espy in their last synod, that a grey amice, which is but a garment of dignity, should be a garment, as they say, defiled with superstition, and yet that copes, caps, surplices, tippets, and such like baggage, the preaching signs of popish priesthood, the pope's creatures, kept in the same form to this end, to bring dignity and reverence to the ministers and Sacraments, should be retained still and not abolished. But they are as the garments of the idol, to which we should say, Away, and get thee hence. They are as the garments of Balaamites, of popish priests, enemies to God and all Christians."—Admonition to the Parliament, pp. 17, 18; reprinted 1617.
respect and esteem which it ought to bear in our hearts. And common reason and all experience justifieth this intent, for all the actions of esteem in the world are set forth with the like solemnities, to no other purpose but to convey by the senses to the mind that respect which they ought to bear. 306 And the world hath tried enough, that those which have made it part of their religion to stick scorn upon such slight circumstances, have made it no less to deface and disgrace the substance of God's public service.

§ 12. As for the difference of bodily gestures at the service of God, that is still a more considerable mean to procure and preserve that esteem and respect of it, for which I plead. The words of St. Augustine of the gestures of prayer are remarkable, De Cura gerenda pro Mortuis, cap. v. 9, which, he saith, are not used so much to lay the mind open to God, to whom the most invisible inclinations of the heart are best known, as to stir up a man's own mind to pray with more humble and fervent groans. And then it followeth, Et nescio quomodo, cùm hi motus corporis fieri nisi motu animi præcedente non possint, eisdem rursus exterius visibiliter factis, ille interior invisibilis qui eos fecit, augetur: ac per hoc cordis affectus, qui ut flerent ista præcessit, quia facta sunt, crescit. "And I know not how, though these bodily motions are not done without the motion of the mind going afore, yet again, by the outward visible doing of them, that inward and invisible one which causeth them increaseth: and so the affection of the heart, antecedent to the doing of these, by the doing of them gathereth strength." Christians have bodies as other men have, and though the service of God consist in the inward 307 intention of the mind, and the devotion of spirit which performeth it, yet this brute part of us is able to contribute so far towards it, as it refresheth in ourselves, and expresseth to others the inward motions wherein it consisteth.

§ 13. It is an impression of nature that teacheth all people thus to actuate, thus to animate the service they tender to God: and experience shall tell them that observe it, that where it is passed over with indifference, there men behave themselves more as hearers than actors in it; there, as the natural heat of the heart, so the inward heat of devotion,

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which ought to dwell there, stifLEth and choketh for want of this airing and exercise. Thus that which maintaineth the intention of the mind in private, multiplieth it in public, and propagateth in others that which it cherisheth in ourselves. Beside that, it contributeth towards the comeliness of such assemblies, if it be uniform. To good purpose it was a deacon's office in the primitive Church to put the people in mind of these observances, at least in great congregations.

§ 14. But in this whole matter of rites and ceremonies in common service, there is caution to be used, with which—though in the latitude of their nature indifferent—they will prove an advantage to it; and without which they may prove an offence in it. For the nature and kind of that which is done, respect is to be had to the end proposed. If the particular observed be not, according to reason, a circumstance apt to procure, to maintain in ourselves, to express and convey to others, that intention and reverence which the service of God requireth, for what cause shall we say it is observed? shall it be thought acceptable to God alone of itself, without reference to the due end and purpose? then must it needs turn to a voluntary observance, wherein we discharge ourselves to God, instead of the service He requireth. Besides, those that are not offensive for their kind, for their number may prove no less. For as the suckers that grow under great stocks, where there are too many, intercept that sap that should nourish the trees to bear fruit: so where the circumstances and ceremonies of public service are multiplied beyond measure, there the mind, distracted into a number of outward observations, cannot allow that intention to the substance which it spendeth upon the circumstance. And so it falleth out as afore, they are intended for their own sake, as acceptable to God of themselves, without respect of advancing that service which He requireth.

§ 15. Last, because it hath been shewed that order as well as comeliness is the rule to direct the form of God's public service; and because, without order, nothing cometh it, though with order apt to become it, that which hath been said is to be understood of those rites and ceremonies which public order enforceth, that is, which are either enjoined

\[ \text{Caution in matters of ceremonies.} \]

\[ \text{Chap. vi. sect. 18.} \]
by law, or practised by custom which it alloweth: as for the voluntary observations of particular persons, they are by their nature subject to abuse, as is to be seen in the superstitions of the Church of Rome, which all reason sheweth had their beginning from the well-meant devotions of private persons. And therefore it is plain that they may prove a just subject of that offence to the weak, which the Apostle forbiddeth; which those that are practised upon public orders, declaring the due meaning of them, cannot, as my purpose is now to declare: because it is an objection, which if it take place, as some think, must needs overthow the most part of that which hath been said to the order and circumstances of public service.

§ 16. It is to be known that there were two sorts of Jewish Christians under the Apostles*, according to the difference of whom, both their doctrine and practice, especially of St. Paul, is to be valued. For, on the one side, the Apostles, in the council at Jerusalem, ordered, Acts xv. 20, that those which were converted from the Gentiles should abstain from things dying in the blood and sacrificed to idols. St. Paul circumcised Timotheus, xvi. 3, purified himself according to the law, xxi. 26. In respect to the same sort, he is bold to say, Rom. xiv. 6, "He that regardeth a day, regardeth it to the Lord: and he that regardeth not a day, regardeth it not to the Lord: he that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks." And that, it seemeth, upon the consideration that followeth in the next words, because though not without blame for the ignorance of their freedom, yet living and dying to the Lord they had a pious intention in general to excuse their defect in particular.

§ 17. But in regard to the other sort, it is the same Apostle that saith, Gal. iv. 10, 11, "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain." And Coloss. ii. 16, "Let no man therefore judge you in meat or drink, or in respect of a feast, or new moon, or Sabbath:" expressing further what he meaneth, when he saith, "Let no man judge you:"

* See Prim. Govern., chap. v. sectt. 2. 6.
ver. 8, "Beware lest any man spoil you:" and ver. 20, "Why as living in the world are you subject to ordinances, touch not, taste not, handle not?" and to Titus, i. 10, "There are many unruly and vain talkers, and deceivers, especially they of the circumcision, whose mouths must be stopped."

And wherein he expresseth, ver. 15, "Unto the clean all things are clean:" shewing that they were not to be tolerated but opposed in that which they taught, of differences of times and meats according to the law of Moses. According to his practice in Titus, whereof Gal. ii. 3, 4: "But neither Titus who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised; and that because of false brethren slyly foisting in, that came in privily to spy out our freedom which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage."

§ 18. This difference in the Apostles' practice and doctrine must needs proceed from the difference of persons they had to do with. The one, like men that were new come out of the dark, could not look right upon the light of that freedom which the Gospel estateth, and not satisfied of the right of Christians for their particular practice, made a conscience of days and meats according to the law. The other, renouncing their freedom, and in love with their own servitude, took upon them to dogmatize and maintain the necessity of such observations, upon those desperate consequences which the Apostle expresseth. Those are the weak, and these the strong, according to the Apostle; because though for reason weakest—for a false opinion is a further weakness than a doubt of the truth—yet for will most resolute to stand in it. Those in action doubtful, these in opinion erroneous.

§ 19. These are the men whom the Apostle chargeth by the law of love not to scandalize; shewing that in two things it might be done: first, Rom. xiv. 15, "If thy brother be grieved with thy meat, then walkest thou not charitably: destroy not him with thy meat for whom Christ died." Which Origen conceiveth1 to point at such as took distaste

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1 Hoc statuitne per observantium ciborum offensiones fratribus vel scandalu generetia. De offensione vel scandalu jam supra diximus quod scandalum sit cum in qua inciditur ali- quid inventur objectum, in quo off- fendant scandentium vel incendentium pedes. Hoc est ergo quod patiuntur hi qui viam fidei nuper ingressi, prori- rum vel contentionibus, vel negligen-
at the profession of Christ, so as to forsake it upon occasion of such slight offences. And the vehemence of those terms which the Apostle useth seemeth to import no less. But by the words of the Apostle, ver. 15, "If thy brother be grieved with thy mea," and ver. 10, "Why judgest thou thy brother? why settest thou thy brother at nought?" it appeareth, that all discouragement of these weak ones is, in the sense of the Apostle, a degree of this offence. But there is another expressed, ver. 22, 23. That whereas it behoveth all men to be resolved of what they do, that it is acceptable to God, ver. 5, by the indiscreet example of one that understood his own freedom, he that did not might be moved to use it with a doubtful conscience, which the Apostle declareth to be sin. By the way, that offence whereof the Apostle writeth, 1 Cor. viii. 9, x. 27, is of another nature, not pertinent to this purpose; for here the offence is an example that moveth a man to do that which is lawful with a doubtful conscience: there it is an example which moveth a man to do that which is unlawful with an erroneous conscience, that is to say, when the example of him that hath knowledge, eating that which was sacrificed unto idols, without difference, moveth the simple to participate in the worship of idols by feasting on their sacrifices.

§ 20. Thus it is supposed that offence is given to the weak by the orders of this Church*, when those that are not satisfied in the things ordered either take distaste thereupon at the Church and the communion of it, or are moved by example to do that which is ordered with a doubtful conscience. Where it must be excepted that no man can use this argument of scandal to the weak, but he must acknowledge the things ordered to be lawful. For the weak, whom the Apostle forbiddeth to offend, is he that is not persuaded of the lawfulness of that which is lawful indeed. Therefore in that they require that public order be not exacted in respect to the weak, they acknowledge the thing lawful, by acknowledging him weak that doubts of it; though in truth it concerneth them rather to inform the weak of the lawfulness of those

\[The argument of offence to the weak implies that the matters ordered are lawful.\]

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* See Didoev. Altare Damascenum, pp. 550—560.
things which public order requireth at their hands, than to continue them in their weakness, and thereupon pretend that public order ought not to be exacted at their hands. Besides, he that pretendeth the scandal of the weak, by example moving to proceed upon a doubtful conscience, is not subject to that kind of offence. For in that he complaineth he sheweth he is aware enough of the danger: and it is without the compass of common sense to imagine that a man should stumble in following the example against which he professeth.

§ 21. In fine, the opposition made to public order, and that which it enjoineth, is evidence enough that they are not the weak but the strong, not the doubtful but the erroneous—weak in reason but strong in will, or, as it was once well said, headstrong, in refusing without reason what order prescribeth—not those whom the Apostle chargeth to forbear, but those whom he forbeareth not a moment, Gal. ii. 5, whom he chargeth the Colossians and Titus not to forbear, that we have to deal with. The matters were light wherein their offence stuck, but the consequence which opposition drew involved the substance of the Gospel. So are the things slight which we stick at, but public order, which dependeth upon the right of prescribing, and the edification of the Church, intended in the particulars, deserve not to be abandoned for an unjust offence. True it is that a private person that will be charitable must forbear the use of his freedom, which no rule confineth, when he seeth it will be offence to the weak; if he forbear it not, he giveth just offence according to the Apostle. And it is to be thought, that under the countenance and wing of the erroneous and strong, there walk divers of those doubtful and weak to whom respect is to be had according to the Apostle.

* "Many things contained therein are stumbling blocks to the feet of many, such as these, the clogging it with ceremonies."—Smeetymnuus, sect. ii. quer. i. p. 12.

"That which makes many refuse to be present at our Church service is not only the liturgy itself, but the imposing of it upon ministers."—Ib., quer. ii. p. 13.

"That ill teaching to which he imputes this general distaste, if there be any such, we for our own parts are innocent: our care for our part hath been to inform our people that such stumbling blocks as these are not sufficient cause of separation. But we think, nay we know, that some few prelates, by their over rigorous pressing of the service book and ceremonies, have made more separatists than all the preachers disaffected to the ceremonies in England."—Vindication of the Answer, p. 38.
§ 22. But if the question thereupon be made, whether it be expedient for the Church to order such things as shall seem to advantage the form, the order, the rites of Divine Service,—whether it be expedient for those whom it concerneth to observe and exact the same, in case there may be doubtful consciences that may take offence? the answer will be yes, even according to the Apostle: because otherwise the public order which he recommendeth can by no means be preserved in the Church, since it is not possible so to order things of this nature as to leave no possible doubt in any conscience. Might not those of the Gentiles whom the Apostles enjoined to forbear things dying in their blood and offered to idols, have taken offence because they were confined in the just use of their freedom? Or the Corinthians, that St. Paul suffered not their women to sit with bare faces at public service? as the virgins of Tertullian’s time professed themselves scandalized at those of their rank that practised it? Suppose the Church cannot say as the Apostles, “It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us?” St. Paul in the other case proceedeth upon no other reasons than such as the Church must now use in like cases. And I suppose the precedent inspired by the Holy Ghost authorizeth the Church to proceed in like matters, though not pretending immediate inspirations.

§ 23. Last of all, who can doubt, but among the erroneous of them that did judaize under the Apostles, there were also divers] of the doubtful and weak led away with their pretenices? And yet we see the Apostle “forbearareth them not a moment” in respect to the weak. All this containing no more inconvenience than this, that whereas all men are bound to endeavour themselves to satisfy and overcome such doubts of their conscience, the Apostle’s opposition redoubleth a new obligation to do it, lest they offend this ministry if they do it not. So doth the constitution of the Church add a new obligation of resolving doubtful consciences, for fear of offending the public order which it settleth. And in all this I suppose there is no just offence. For as there is always means in the Church with satisfaction to overcome doubts of consciences,

\* Acts xv. 28.
so is there no means to procure that there shall be no doubts of conscience in the Church so long as there are imperfect Christians in it. But he whom it concerneth to observe or exact public order must not give just offence to public order and all that go by it, by neglecting it for fear of giving unjust offence to private persons by observing or exacting it.

CHAPTER X.

What is to be considered touching our service. The service of hearers and believers. Confession of sins whether of old the beginning of service. The ancient order of psalms and lessons. The mass containeth an abridgment of it. Several manners of singing psalms. Purpose of lessons. The place of the sermon. Dismission of hearers. Original of litanies. Prayer indicted by the deacon. The thanksgiving from whence the sacrament is called the eucharist. Prayer which it was always celebrated with. Prayer for all the church at celebrating the eucharist. The residue of that service. The charge of the mass on our service. Extent of the power of the keys, and wherein it consisteth. Of confession of sins and absolution at the beginning. Our order of psalms and lessons. The sermon part of our service. Of the creed and collects. Of the communion-service and appurtenances of it.

Being now to compare the form of service which we use with that of the primitive Church, and to derive both from the practice pointed out to us in those particulars which are remembered in the Scriptures, I am to profess at the beginning that my purpose is not to be extended to the particulars of words or conceptions wherein it is couched: it will be enough to reduce the main substance and order of it to that which we find practised under the Apostles. My business therefore is to describe the most ancient and general form of that solemn service, which was used when the Eucharist was celebrated, not out of the liturgies extant alone, but out of the testimonies of the eldest ecclesiastical writers concurring. For it shall appear that from hence is derived, and herein is contained, first, the order of daily morning and evening service, then the litanies, appointed besides for Lord's days,
Chapter X

The service of hearers and believers.

§ 2. In the first place it is to be known that from the first times of the Church there were always two parts of public service: at the one all persons might be present, though not Christians; till the sermon was done the church-doors were open and free: but when they went to celebrate the Eucharist, then all hearers or catechumeni—that is, those that were willing to be instructed in the faith, but were not as yet admitted to baptism—all that were under penance—all possessed with unclean spirits—were dismissed and shut out; none suffered to be present but those that were admitted to communicate.

§ 3. Of these two parts we have sufficient remembrance in Justin Martyr, the most ancient of Church-writers that remain unquestionable. His words are these, Apol. i.*: "Οσοι ἐν πεισθῶν καὶ πιστεύουσιν ἄληθεν τά τά ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λειψάμενα εἴλαι, καὶ βιων οὕτως δύνασθαι ἑπισκούνται, εὐχεσθαί τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηπιεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν προημαρτημένων ἁφεσιν διδάσκονται, ἡμῶν συνεκχομένων καὶ συνεπεκτυντων αὐτοῖς. "As many as are persuaded and believe those things to be true which are taught and said of us, and undertake to be able so to live, are taught to pray and desire of God with fasting, forgiveness of foregoing sins, we also praying and fasting with them." For what prayers were these whereof he speaketh but those which we shall shew afterwards were wont to be made as a part of their service on behalf of the hearers—as also of penitents and persons beset with evil spirits—by themselves and the congregation both, immediately afore their departure? Afterwards b, Ἦμεις δὲ, μετὰ τῷ οὕτως λαῦσαι τοῦ πεπεισμένου καὶ συγκατατεθειμένου, ἐπὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἄδελφοις ἄγομεν, ἐνθα συνημμένοι εἰαὶ, κοινὰς εὐχὰς ποιοῦμενοι, ὑπὲρ τε ἐαυτῶν καὶ τοῦ φωτισθέντος, καὶ ἄλλων πανταχοῦ πάντων εὐτόνως. "But we, having thus washed him that is persuaded and agreed, bring him to those that are called brethren, where they are assembled to make common prayers, both for themselves, and for him that is baptized, and all men else every where, earnestly."


b Ib., cap. lxv. p. 82. ed. Ben.
§ 4. It shall appear in due time that the prayers of the Church for all states of persons in the Church followed after the hearers were dismissed, before celebrating the Eucharist. Therefore at them only the brethren are present, whereas the hearers were at those which were made for the forgiveness of their sins. That unbelievers were admitted to be present at preaching or expounding the Scriptures in the time of the Apostles it appeareth by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. 24, "But if all prophesy and there come in one that believeth not:" that they were excluded at that time as afterwards, when the Eucharist came to be celebrated, I have not the like evidence, but in reason I must needs presume it. Hereupon riseth the difference between these which once were called the first and second service: the ground whereof being taken away in this state of the Church, in which all are baptized infants, and public penance for the greatest part is unknown; nevertheless that service must needs remain the chief part of God's public service which the Eucharist is celebrated with; howsoever it come to pass that the Eucharist is not celebrated at the greatest part of solemn assemblies.

§ 5. This is remembered here upon occasion of that confession of sins which our service beginneth with, as also the service of almost all reformed Churches, in which it may be counted a general order to begin with confession of sins. Which order Du Plessis\(^c\) laboureth to derive from the ancient practice of the synagogue first, and consequently of the Church primitive, alleging to that purpose those forms of confession over the sacrifices which Paulus Fagius\(^d\) hath produced from the Hebrew doctors upon Lev. xvi. 21, where the law saith, "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions in their sins:" together with the words of Liranus upon that place, *Sicut facimus in confessione facta in principio missae*: as we

\(^c\) In ipsis Judaorum libris verba tamquam concepta extant, quae Sacerdos pronunciare solitus. *O Domine peccaverunt, inique egerunt praevaricati sunt coram te populus tuis, Domus Israel, &c.*, etc. vocabatur autem confessionis verbalis. etc. Primi igitur Christiani huius officio seu cultui Divino sese accommodarunt.—Mornat, lib. i. de Missa et partibus, cap. iii. p. 49. Hanov. 1605.

\(^d\) Thargum, hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkelii Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia ex Chaldeo in Latinum fidelissime versa, autore Paulo Fagio, Argentorati, 1546.

\(^e\) Nicolai de Lyra, Postilla in Biblia Sacra.
do, saith he, in the confession which is made at the beginning of the Mass, as also the author de Cardinalibus Christi Operibus, among St. Cyprian’s works. Hierarcha pius, quem Spiritus Sanctus compungit, excitat, inhabitat, et sanctificat, [elevatione manuum crucis mysterium representans] confidenter orat pro sua et populi ignorantia, recolens pudibundi et contriti animi confessione, quod aliquando, prævalente adversum se peccato, fuerit derelictus. “The pious Bishop, whom the Holy Ghost pricketh, stirreth, inhabiteth, and sanctifieth, [representing the mystery of the cross in the uplifting of his hands,] praying confidently, for his own and the people’s ignorance, recalling in the confession of a mind ashamed and contrite, that sometime he hath been forsaken, sin prevailing against him.”

§ 6. It is manifest indeed that this confession of sins is used in the Breviary, in servial officio ad primam, as well as at the beginning of the Mass, in these words, Confiteor Deo omnipotenti—the people answering, Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, et dimissis peccatis tuis, perducat te ad vitam æternam. Which done, the people also make the like confession for their parts, the minister answering the same.

§ 7. And this is the confession of sins which is meant in the words of Liranus, and the author de Cardinalibus Christi Operibus, though it is not probable that it passed in those scandalous terms that follow, in his time. And this, in the rubrics of the Maronites’ missal, as it is printed at Rome, is called absolving the priest by the people. But since sacrifices are no part of the moral service of God, and it hath been declared how confession of sins was used in the temple at that moral service, it seemeth impertinent here to consider that which was done at offering sacrifices.

§ 8. As for the service of the primitive Church, at which unbelievers, and such as only pretended to baptism, with those that were under penance, and the like, were present, this will be a constraining reason to prove that no confession of sins—no prayer for forgiveness was made in common for

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1 In the division de Cena Domini, p. 43. Oxon. 1682. The author is Arnold, abbot of Bonneval, in the diocese of Chartres: he flourished in the 12th century. The words enclosed in brackets were left out by Du Plessis. Thorn-dike did not quote them, but marked the omission.

2 Missale Chaldaicum, juxta ritum Ecclesie nationis Maronitarum. Rome, 1594.

them and all believers at the beginning of service, because of the great distance of their estates and conditions in the Church, and because this was the subject of those prayers which hearers and penitents were dismissed with at the end of the first service, the congregation joining with them, and the Bishop or priest blessing them to that purpose, as must be said afterwards. Therefore in Justin Martyr and Tertullian—where they describe what was done at those solemn assemblies,—in the Constitutions of the Apostles, lib. viii.—which seems to be the most ancient form extant,—and in most of the Greek liturgies there is no confession of sins at the beginning. And therefore it may justly seem to have been put there—after that the difference of first and second service came to be observed, rather for fashion’s sake, and remembrance of the ancient custom, than for the original reason—when the world was become Christian, and the difference between hearers and the rest abolished.

§ 9. In the beginning of the copy which they give us of the ancient Spanish course, called the Mozarabic or Mustarabe, there is this rubric—Facta prius confessione, uti sit in missis Latinis, juxta usum Toletanum antiquum, dicitur introitus eo qui sequitur modo. “Confession first being made, as in Latin masses, according to the ancient use of Toledo, the introit is said in manner following.” As if this confession were proper to the Latin service, in opposition to the Greek. Which notwithstanding, in that which is intitled to St. James, he that celebrateth maketh confession of his sins, praying for pardon, to the purpose that his service in celebrating the Eucharist may be accepted: which originally,—when no mention was made of the Eucharist at the beginning, being kept private from the unbelievers—could not have been.

§ 10. That which is now at the beginning of the Mass by the stuff is discovered to be of later date, being as scandalous as any in all the Mass besides, when he says, Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti, Beata Mariae semper Virgini, Beato Michaeli Archangelo, Beato Joanni Baptistae, Sanctis Apostolis Petro et Paulo, Omnibus Sanctis et vobis Fratres, quia pecavi nimis, cogitatione, verbo, et opere. This is not to say that

confession of sins is not fit for the beginning of service—I mean nothing less, as shall be said afterwards—but that it is not derived from the general and original form of public service in the Church, for reasons proper to that time. The example of St. Basil’s monks and their morning service, described by him Ep. lxiii., seemeth more pertinent to be made the precedent of ours. His words are these: ‘Εκ νυκτός γὰρ ὁρθοί παρ’ ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, καὶ ἐν πόνῳ, καὶ θλίψει, καὶ συνέχῃ δακρύων ἑξομολογοῦμεν τῷ Θεῷ, τελευταίον ἐξαναστάτες τῶν προσευχῶν, εἰς τὴν ψαλμοδίαν καθιστανται. “For the people with us riseth betimes after night to the house of prayer, and making confession to God with pains, and tribulation, and distress of tears, at length rising from prayer fall to singing psalms.” For here he speaketh of confession at morning service. As also that confession of sins which we speake of in the Breviary, howsoever scandalous for the stuff, seemeth to have been used to the same purpose with ours and that of other reformed Churches, for a preparation and entrance to morning service.

§ 11. Now because it hath been shewed afore that this solemn service of God consisted of psalms of God’s praises—of reading the Scripture and expounding it—of common prayers, and the celebration of the Eucharist—that which remaineth here to be declared is this, in what form and order these materials were practised according to the eldest and most general custom of the Church which we shall be able to discern. The order of reading the Scriptures is this, according to the Constitutions of the Apostles, ii. 57, having reckoned the Scriptures of the Old Testament to be read in Churches: ‘Ανὰ δύο δὲ γενομένων ἀναγνωσμάτων, ἐτέρως τῶν τοῦ Δαβίδ ψαλλέων ὑμνοὺς, καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὰ ἀκροστίχια ὑποψαλλέων μετὰ τούτο αἱ Πράξεις αἱ ἡμέρεις ἀναγινωσκέοις. καὶ ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου τοῦ συνεργοῦ ἡμῶν, διὰ ἐπεστειλα τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις, καθ’ ὑφήγησιν τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος, καὶ μετὰ ταύτα διάκονος ἔπρεσθε τοὺς ἀναγινωσκόντως τὰ εὐαγγέλια. “And two lessons be read” out of the Old Testament, 325 “let some other sing the Psalms of David: and let the people answer the acrostics: after that let our Acts be read: and

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the epistles of Paul our workfellow, which he sent to the Churches, by suggestion of the Holy Ghost: and after all this let a deacon or a presbyter read the gospels." The seventeenth canon of Laodicea\textsuperscript{m} is, Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ἐπισωπά-
πτειν ἐν ταῖς συνάξεις τῶν ψαλμῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσον καθ' ἐκαστὸν ψαλμὸν γίνεσθαι ἀνάγνωσιν. "That the psalms should not be continued in assemblies, but a lesson to be interposed in the midst, after every psalm." This is ordered, saith Bal-
samon\textsuperscript{n}, to take off the weariness of the people at these offices by this mixture.

§ 12. He calls himself Dionysius the Areopagite, Eccles. Hierar., cap. iii.\textsuperscript{o}, 'Ἀναλύοντι δὲ πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θείον θυ-
σιαστήριον, ἀπάρχει τῆς ιερᾶς τῶν ψαλμῶν μελωδίας, συμφ-
δούσης αὐτῷ τὴν ψαλμικὴν ἱερολογίαν πάσης τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διακοσμήσεως'. ἐξής δὲ, διὰ τῶν λειτουργῶν, ἢ τῶν ἀγιογράφων δελτῶν ἀνάγνωσις ἀκολουθῶς γίνεται. "Being returned back to the Divine Altar, he beginneth the holy melody of the psalms, all ranks of the Church singing with him those holy psalms: after, follows in consequence, the reading of the Holy Scriptures by the ministers." In this form which he describes there is no interlacing of psalms and lessons, but the psalms first, and afterwards the reading of the Scriptures.

Of the Churches of Africa and their custom we may presume from St. Augustine.\textsuperscript{p} His sermons make divers times mention of a lesson first out of the Prophets, then out of the Epistles and Gospels, with a psalm or psalms between them: and in his sermons he expounds them all sometimes.

\textsuperscript{m} Circen, A.D. 384. Labbei, tom. i. col. 1533. ed. Venet.

\textsuperscript{o} 'Τῶν ψαλμῶν ἀναλύοντος διὰ μᾶς ὑπὸν κατὰ παλαιῶν παράθυρον, καὶ ἐπισωπα不舒服 ἀνάγνωσιν ἐπὶ τὸ κόσμον, καὶ ἐξερχομένου ἑκα.

\textsuperscript{n} διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, δύο εἰς τὸ πατρίς μή συναστὸς ἐν ταῖς συνάξεις ἐκκομίσθη τῶν ψαλμῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ μέσον γίνεσθαι καὶ ἀνάγνωσιν, ἔτι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ τῶν λαῶν τρίς μι-

\textsuperscript{p} κρῶν, καὶ πάλιν ψάλλει. διὰ γὰρ τούτω καὶ εἰς καθισματα διάφορα τὸ θείον κα-

τεκνοπληθυνθεῖ θυσίαν.---Balsam. in Can. xvii. Conc. Laod. apud Beveregil Sym-
delic, tom. i. p. 460, Oxon. 1672.


\textsuperscript{r} Usus psallendi vel aliquot psalmi versiculos, vel integrum psallum, inter Epistolam et Evangelium, multo anti-
quiorem Gregorio fuisse, saltem in Africa, ex Augustino clare ostenditur. Nam

\textsuperscript{s} initio Serm. xxxiii. de verbi Domini [Serm. 112. tom. v. col. 564. ed. Beu.]

\textsuperscript{t} recenset, quid in lectione Apostolica, quid in psalmo, quid in Evangelio lec-

\textsuperscript{u} 'Apostolom, audivimus, psal-

\textsuperscript{v} mum audivimus, Evangelium audi-

\textsuperscript{w} virum, consonant omnes divine lectiones.---Et infra, Serm. x. [Serm. 176. tom. v.

\textsuperscript{x} col. 839. ] 'Primam lectionem audivi-

\textsuperscript{y} mus Apostoli, . . . deinde cantavimus psalnum . . . , post hanc evangelica lec-
tio decem leprosos mundatos nobis os-
§ 13. In the Mass itself there remains something of this custom, as brief and short as they have made it. To compare it with the form described afore in part out of the Constitutions, and for the rest to be described, it is strange to see to what a small model they have reduced it. Whether it were because it was framed for those times and places where morning service was used besides, for which reason they thought good to abridge it, retaining nevertheless the substantial parts of public service: or whether out of a desire of multiplying private masses, it was so made on purpose for speed; or whether so it were always in the Latin Church, and we are to believe those copies which they give us of the Ambrosian service, and that of the Mozarabic or Spanish to be of any great time: indeed the order of lessons said to be composed by St. Hierome⁹, and of antiphones by St. Gregory⁷, and other forms of the Latin Church, are all very short. This notwithstanding, in the introit⁸ we see the trace of that singing of psalms in the beginning, of which Dionysius [speaks]: and the gradual⁴, as they call it, which is the shred of a psalm between the Epistle and the Gospel, is in the same place with that psalm between those lessons whereof St. Augustine speaks. In the pattern of the Ambrosian service for Christmas-day, which we have out of the missal of the Church of Milan, there is first a lesson out of the Prophets, a second out of the Epistles, and the last out of the Gospels, with versicles of psalms, or hymns, or antiphones between each⁵.

⁹ Liber Comitis, sive Lectionarium, in Balauriae Capitularia Regum Francorum, tom. ii. p. 1309, and in Pamelius’ Liturgica, tom. ii.
⁷ Liber responsalis sive Antiphonarius, in the 3rd vol. of the Benedictine edition of St. Gregory’s works.
⁴ Dum perfecta Epistola preparatur se diaconus ad legendum Evangelium, Chorus Responsorium concinit, quod Graduale nuncupatur, non a gradibus Altaris, ut quidam recentiores scribunt; sed a gradibus ambonis sive pulpiti.—Bona, Ren. Liturgic., lib. ii. cap. vi. § 4. p. 526.
§ 14. Here, as concerning the psalms in the Church, let me have leave to resume that which was proved afore out of St. Paul, that the custom was, from the times of the Apostles, so to sing them that the whole congregation might bear a part in the praises of God, which the book of Psalms from time to time inviteth them to do. Accordingly in the pretended Dionysius, the Bishop begins the psalms, but all the ranks proceed to join in the same. But in the Constitutions of the Apostles the people are to answer only the acrostics. What those were I cannot better conjecture than by the words of Philo, de vita Contemplativa, where he relates the fashion of those hymns which the Essenes by Alexandria in Egypt used at their common feasts, which he saith were sung first by the chief, afterwards by the rest in their order, ΠάντωΝ κατά πολλὰν ἡμερίαν ἄκροστίχων, πλὴν ὅποτε τὰ ἄκροστιχία καὶ ἐφύμιμα δειν δεοὶ, τότε γὰρ ἐξηράντων πάντες τε καὶ πᾶσαι. "All hearing with much silence, but when the ends and burdens of the hymns are to be sung, for then all the men and women sing out."

§ 15. Some such thing I suppose it was, which in the Constitutions there is called ἄκροστίχια, or "end-verses" of the psalms, as the Gloria Patri among us, known to the people at those times when for some inconvenience found of indecorum in performing this office, the whole congregation joined no more in the psalms. For though in the custom of those Churches which Dionysius describeth, the people joined in them, at those times whereof he speaketh, and though I doubt not but those Constitutions, and the canons of the council of Laodicea be more ancient than the pretended Dionysius, yet by them it appeareth that when the Constitutions direct the people to join in the closes, and when that council ordereth, can. xv., that no more than the canonical singers—that is, enrolled in the list of the church—that went up into the desk, and sung out of the parchmune, Quien endeavours to shew that they are the work of a Monophysite heretic. See his second dissertation, chap. xii., in his edition of S. John Damascenus. The Constitutions of the Apostles are as early as the third century.

* Chap. v. sectt. 18, 19.
* The writings that go under the name of Dionysius are considered to have been written in the fourth century, about the middle of which the council of Laodicea was held. Le Thorndike.
CHAP. X.

should sing in the church, there was by that time, and in those places of the Church, inconvenience found in the congregations joining in it, for which cause it was referred to the church singers.

§ 16. Another course there was much used in divers parts of the Church, of singing the psalms by antiphones: of which it shall not be requisite here to repeat what is delivered of the first use of it, in the East under Ignatius—two—there came into the West under St. Ambrose—the relation of St. Basil, and the practice of his monks, Epist. Lxiii.—the order of Pope Celestine, for the psalms to be sung before the Eucharist by way of antiphones: it shall suffice to take notice here, that this was one of the ways that were put in use, to the purpose that the congregation might join in the praises of God with most comeliness, according to the custom of the Apostles' time.

§ 17. Of the lessons of the Scripture it must further be observed here, that the ancient and primitive order of the Church seemeth to have intended them so large, that by hearing them read in the church, they might become familiar even to the unlearned of the people, as Josephus said afore that the Jews, by hearing Moses read in the synagogues, became as perfect in their laws as a man is in telling his own name, whereas among other nations, the simple never attain to know their own laws. For you see how many lessons are directed to be read in the Constitu-

b Hanc igitur consuetudinem alternatim psallendi habet ab antiquissimis seculis orthodoxa Ecclesia, ab Ignatio nimirum, qui post Euodium Antiochense Ecclesiam Antistes pontificatus gratiam, ut ait Theodoretus lib. i. haec reticarum fabularum, per magni Petri dexteram accetit. Hic in excessu mentis suæ vidit Angelos alternis hymnis sanctissimam Trinitatem collaudantes, unde psallendi formam in ea visione expressam Ecclesiae tradidit Antiochenae, quæ deinde in varias Ecclesias plorium Episcoporum studio insinuata, ab omnibus demum Catholicis recepta est.—Bona, Divina. Psalmod. cap. xvi. § x. 1. p. 841.

c Sane in Latina et Occidentali Ecclesia, quotquot scribunt de sacris ritibus, beatam aiunt Ambrosium Mediolanensem Episcopum primumuisse, qui Graecorum imitatus exemplum hunc canendi modum per antiphonæ tradiderit, quem postea Damasus P. pontifici auctoritate confirmavit.—ib. He then proceeds to cite out of St. Augustine's Confessions, book ix. chapp. 6. and 7, the account of St. Ambrose watching with the people in church, when Justina persecuted the orthodox.

d Quoted in sect. 10.

e Celestinus . . . . constituit ut Psalmi David 150 ante sacrificium psallentur, antiphonatim ex omnibus, quod antea non ficebat, sed tantum epistolae beati Pauli recitabant, et sanctum evangelium.—Vita Celestini apud Labbe, tom. iii. col. 467. ed. Venet.

f Chap. iii. sect. 1.

g See sect. 11.
tions of the Apostles, two out of the Old Testament, out of CHAP. the Acts, out of the Epistles, out of the Gospels. Last of all, accordingly he reckoneth in particular the books of the Old Testament to be read in the Church; as doth also the said council of Laodicea, in the last canon, upon this occasion repeat the list of Holy Scriptures to be read in the Church: and Dionysius expounding the order of the Church described by him afore, reckoneth the subject of all the particular books in the Scriptures, which he saith are read after the psalms, to enlarge with more ample declarations and examples those things which in the psalms are but darkly and in brief pointed at.

§ 18. All which, I suppose, intimates a great deal more than those short lessons picked out of some parts of the Scriptures, as well for the Roman missal, as other liturgies extant. In that which is intitled to St. James, there is a remarkable rubric after the angelical hymn, and the prayer that follows it, which says thus: Εἴτε ἀναγινώσκεται διεξοδικάται τὰ ἱερὰ λόγια τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης, καὶ τῶν προφητῶν, καὶ ἄποδεκνυται ἢ τοῦ νεότος τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐνανθρώπωςις. “After is read very largely the holy oracles of the Old Testament, and the prophets, and the incarnation of the Son of God is declared”—that is, the gospels are read. For hereby he gives us suspicion enough to presume that the reading of the Scriptures was wont to be larger at the first than afterwards it became, when in the declining and degenerating times of the Church, the increase of sensible ceremonies and observances began to crowd out the substantial parts of the reasonable service of God.

§ 19. For so there is cause to conceive by that of the sermon, whereof it follows immediately there, Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἀναγινώσκεται καὶ διεξόδικαται λέγει ὁ διάκονος, that is, “After the lessons are read, and the sermon is done.” For in Justin Martyr's description of the service in his time, after the
reading of the Scriptures, follows immediately the sermon to expound them, and to exhort the people to follow the doctrine. Tertullian speaks not of the order or place which the sermon had in the service, but remembereth it as a principal part of it. In the Constitutions of the Apostles the place was produced aforesaid, wherein mention is made, after the reading of the Scriptures, of the presbyters speaking to the people one after another, and the Bishop after them, according to the custom derived from the Apostles' time. The nineteenth canon of Laodicea is, *Περὶ τοῦ δεῖν ἡδίᾳ πρῶτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμολαγίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχῆν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*, "That after the sermons of the Bishops, first the prayer for the hearers must be made apart."

§ 20. In fine, it is manifest by the order of all liturgies extant—in which is described the order of the solemn service of the Church, that is, when the Eucharist was celebrated—first, that of all lessons of the Scriptures, those out of the gospels were read in the last place, as it is expressed in St. Augustine alleged before, in the Constitutions of the Apostles, and in divers others, that might be produced were it questionable: then that after the reading of the gospel, followed the sermon for the exposition of it, or some other

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m See chap. vi. sect. 1.
a Chap. v. sect. 36.
ɔ Labbei, tom. i. col 1534. ed. Venet.
fp See note p, sect. 34.

This order seems to have been disagreeable to the Puritans. In a pamphlet by R. B. K., i.e. Robert Baillie, published in London, 1641, with this title, A Parallel or Briefe Comparison of the Liturgie with the Masse Book, the Breviarie, the Ceremoniall, and other Romish Rituals, we read, chap. iii. p. 19, "The second part of the mass... is subdivided into eight portions... the first is the epistle, the putting of this piece in the mass is ascribed to Pope Alexander and Damascus... but whoever have put the epistle in the mass, it seems incredible that the abuses of the epistle, which this day are in the mass, and in our book from it, can have any very ancient or very judicious author. Why against the order of the New Testament are the epistles set before the gos-
of the lessons. And yet in Dionysius' there is no mention at all of the sermon, either in the description he makes of the service, or in the exposition wherein he renders a reason of it, but immediately after the reading of the gospel, the last in order of the New Testament, the hearers and penitent and the like are dismissed, and then follows the creed. Which to me is an argument of the author's time, and that when he wrote, the sermon in some places began to be disused, and also because he mentions the creed in the order of public service, of which in Justin, Tertullian, the Constitutions of the Apostles, the canons of Laodicea, wherein almost all the particulars of public service are ordered, in fine, whereof in the most ancient descriptions of the service, there is no remembrance.

§ 21. It appeared afore by the words of St. Ambrose*, and so it doth by Dionysius, that it was pronounced from the beginning of the use of it, by the whole congregation: for the first expounded the words of the Apostle, "Every woman praying or prophesying," of saying or singing the creed; and the second saith thus†: προομολογήσως ὑπὸ πάντος τοῦ τῆς Ἑκκλησίας πληρώματος τῆς καθολικῆς ὑμνολόγιας. "The Catholic hymn being acknowledged before by all the congregation of the church." This then the order of that former part of public service which from the beginning the hearers and penitents were to be present at, to learn the doctrine of the Church, and to profit in it, so as to be thought fit for baptism and for the communion of the Eucharist. For the Latin Mass, as well as other liturgies extant—though reduced to so small a model as was observed, by the shortness of the psalms and lessons, and leaving out the sermon, always principal ingredients of it—representeth nevertheless the order and course of that solemn service which the Eucharist was celebrated with.

§ 22. This difference of the first and second service in the liturgies extant, is rather retained for fashion's sake, and in Dismission of hearers.

* After the words recited in sect. 12, it follows thus: Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐξο ζήγρυφνος τῆς ἱερᾶς περιοχῆς οἱ καθηχομένοι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῖς οἱ ἑπερασμένοι, καὶ οἱ ἐν μετανοή διότι, μόνον δὲ οἱ τῆς τῶν θείων ἄνθρωπος καὶ κοινωνίας ἡξύω.—De Eccles. Hierarch., cap. iii. p. 284.
‡ See chap. v. sect. 18.
† In the place cited in note r of the preceding section.
remembrance of the ancient order, than according to the original purpose of it: for it shall appear that some part of the prayers which at the first were for believers alone, and such as communicated, not to come till the hearers and penitents were gone forth, in all the Greek and Eastern liturgies are now put into the first part of the service. But the end of the first service, and the beginning of that which only believers were present at, is manifest enough in it—as it is in downright terms expressed in all the Greek and Eastern liturgies when the hearers were to go forth—not in the place where Durandus would have it, iv. 1", after the offering; but as it is in the Constitutions of the Apostles, in the nineteenth canon of Laodicea, in Dionysius, in others, after the prayers for the hearers and penitents, which followed as soon as the sermon was done, immediately before the creed. Howsoever, from hence it appeareth, that the lessons of the epistles and gospels are originally belonging to the former part of this service. The nineteenth canon of Laodicea* of these prayers for the hearers and penitents, speaketh thus: Ἐπὶ τοῦ δείν ἴδια πρώτον μετὰ τὰς ὁμιλίας τῶν ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῶν κατηχουμένων εὐχὴν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἔξηλθεν τῶν κατηχουμένων, τῶν ἐν μεταφορᾷ τῆς εὐχής γίνεσθαι, καὶ τούτῳ προσελθόντων ἵνα κεῖρα, καὶ ὑποχωρησάντων, οὕτως τῶν πιστῶν τὰς εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι τρεῖς, "That first after the sermons of the Bishops, the prayer be made for the hearers, and after the hearers are departed, the prayer for the penitents be made, and when they are come under hand and departed, that then the prayers of the believers be made [three in number.]"

§ 23. The subject and fashion of these prayers both, are very plainly described in the Constitutions of the Apostles, to have been this: 'Ἀναστάντων ἀπάντων ὁ διάκονος ἐφ' ὑψωθείς τινος ἀνέλθων κηρυττέω, μῆτις τῶν ἀκροομένων, μῆτις τῶν ἀπιστῶν, καὶ ἡσυχίας γενομένης λεγέω.' εὔξασθε οἱ κατηχούμενοι, καὶ


πώντες οἱ πιστοὶ κατὰ διάνοιαν ἵππερ αὐτῶν προσευχήθωσαν, λέγοντες, Κύριε ἐλέησον, διακονεῖτο δὲ ἵππερ αὐτῶν, λέγων, ἵππερ τῶν κατηχουμένων πώντες τὸν Θεὸν παρακαλέσαμεν, ἣν—viii. 5, 6. "All rising up, let the deacon get up on some high place, and pronounce, 'None of the hearers, none of the unbelievers,' and silence being made, let him say, 'Pray ye hearers.' And let all the believers pray for them in their mind, saying, 'Lord, have mercy.' and let him minister for them, saying, 'Let us all beseech the Lord for the hearers, that'"—ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ δὲ τούτων ὡς ὁ διάκονος προσφωνεῖ, ὡς προειπωμέν, λεγέτω ὁ λαὸς, Κύριε ἐλέησον. "And at every of these particulars which the deacon speaks to them of, let the people say, 'Lord, have mercy.'" The particulars whereof he speaks are there at large, that God would hear them, that He would enlighten them, and make them wise, that He would teach them the knowledge of God, and the rest: of these the deacon speaks to the people, when he bids them pray that God would do so and so for them; which kind of prayers, ministered by the deacon, as he said afore, are called therefore προσφωνήσεις, or "allocutions": and the people answer at every point—as at litanies, the people still have their answer, called sometime the suffrage—"Lord, have mercy." And this is the reason that was used to prove that the form of these prayers was prescript, because it was ministered by deacons*.

§ 24. Afterwards it follows, κλινὼν τῷ σε κεφαλῶν, εὐλογεῖτο αὐτοὺς ἡ χειροτονθείς ἐπισκόπος, εὐλογῶν τολμᾶν, "They bending down their heads, let the Bishop ordained"—for the service which is here described is at the ordination of a Bishop,—"bless them," saying as it follows there. In the same manner was prayer made for the beset with unclean spirits, and for the penitents, but that in these the canon of Ῥαδικεὰ expresseth that they were to come and kneel, the Bishop holding his hands over their heads, and so pronouncing the like prayer of blessing over them; which is therefore there called προσελθεῖν ἀπὸ χειρα, "to come

* Chap. vii. sect. 33; chap. v. sect. 22.
under hand," and from whence, in this condition, they are called *ὑποπλήκτοις*, "those that fall under," to wit, the Bishop's hands. These forms are here described, both to declare the ancient practice, and also for a help toward the understanding of that which follows.

§ 25. After the departure of the hearers and penitents, there followed principally two sorts of prayers, as may be gathered from the words of Justin in his first Apology, where that most ancient martyr, that flourished some thirty or forty years after St. John's death, that is, after the age of the Apostles, relates the course of public service at the assemblies of Christians. After the sermon, he thus describes what followed: "Ἐπετεύχθαι ἀναστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εἰσχάζει πέμπομεν, καὶ όσο προέβηγον, πανασάμενοι ἡμῶν τῆς εἰκῆς, ἀρτος προσφέρεται, καὶ οἶνος, καὶ ὄνοπος, καὶ ἄπειρος ἀνοίκησις εἰρημένος καὶ εἰχαρίστας, δοθῇ δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀνανέωσιν. "After, we all rise and send forth prayers, and, as we said afore, when we have done praying, bread and wine and water are offered: and the ruler likewise sendeth forth prayers and thanksgivings with all his might." Here you have the prayers of the whole congregation in the first place, which therefore are called in the words related in the beginning of this chapter, κοιναὶ εἰςχάλη, "common prayers," or prayers of the whole congregation, to distinguish them from those prayers and thanksgivings which he saith were made afterwards, for consecrating of the Eucharist by the Bishop or presbyter alone, though in behalf of the people. Where, by the way, you may see further that Justin means by those words, δοθῇ δυνάμεις αὐτῷ, to express nothing but that earnest devotion which those prayers were offered with, by that which he addeth,

b *Osae πρὶν εἰκοσάτεις γενέσθαι, ἢμαρτον, πέντε καὶ δέκα ἡκεῖν ὑπετε- σόντες, κοινωνίας τυχανότων τῆς εἰς τὰ προσευχὰς.... *Ἐξετάζοντο δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ δ ἐν τῇ ὑπετάσει βίος, καὶ αὕτως τυχανότως τῆς φιλαθρωπίας.
.§ 26. The most ancient description that we have next to this, of the form of this solemn service, seems to be that which is found in the Constitutions of the Apostles. For by many things we may find that that book meant to express the customs of the Church in the times afore Constantine. You may have observed before, how it forbiddeth the faithful to plead before the powers of this world, that is, before heathen magistrates. And that course of dividing portions at their feasts of love, which is there prescribed, was afore observed to be abolished by the council of Laodicea, which was before Constantine. And in the form of prayer for all states of the Church after the consecration—whereof afterwards—set down there viii. 12, it is to be observed that prayer is made for the emperor and powers of the world, ἵνα εἰρήνευκονται τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, “that they may keep peace with us,” that is, not persecute the Church.

.§ 27. In this work then, lib. viii. cap. 10, 11, is described at large, first, the prayer for the whole state of the Church, and the particular members and conditions of it, and after that, cap. 12, the prayer of thanksgiving which the Eucharist was consecrated with. And to shew evident distinction of these two parts of the service, the kiss of peace comes between both, which being a received custom from the time of the Apostles, gives cause to presume that the prayers between which it is interposed, are no less derived from the primitive practice of the Apostles’ time; though true it is, that according to the custom of the Western Churches, it followed after the consecration of the Eucharist, before the receiving of it. There follows besides in the same

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*Sect. 3.*

*See chap. iv. sect. 16.*

*Chap. iv. sect. 22.*

*Thorndike is deceived in supposing that the council of Laodicea was before Constantine. Constantine died in A.D. 337, while the earliest date assignable to the council is A.D. 342.*

*Ante communionem tres orationes Romano ritu præmittit solent . . . .
place, a new admonition of the deacon to all that had not right to communicate, to depart before the celebration of the Eucharist, among the rest οἱ τὴν πρῶτην εὐχήν εἰσχώμενοι 
πρόελθετε, ‘you that pray the first prayer, depart.’ Which 
I take to be this, that such of the believers as were present 
indeed at the prayers of the congregation for all states of the 
Church, but did not intend to communicate, should also 
depart: to shew the difference of those two prayers whereof 
we now speak, the subject whereof deserves to be further 
declared, out of the most ancient of ecclesiastical writers.

§ 28. Justin Martyr, after the words alleged in the be-
ginning of this chapter, thus describeth the prayers of the 
faithful, to which he saith the new-baptized were brought: 
"Οποίος καταξιωθῶμεν, τὰ ἄλλα μαθόντες καὶ δι’ ἐργῶν ἄγαθοι 
pολιτευταῖ, καὶ φύλακες τῶν ἐντεταλμένων εὐρεθήματι, ὅπος τὴν 
αἰώνιοι σωτηρίαν σωθῶμεν. "That we may be thought meet, 
having learned the truth, to be also found good livers in 
works, and keepers of things commanded, so as to be ever-
lastingly saved." He specified the chief point of those 
prayers, for otherwise you shall find in the words afore 
quoted that they prayed in them for themselves, for the new 
baptized, and for all men else, every where.

§ 29. Tertullian, Apolog., cap. xxxix., where he describes 
what was done at their assemblies. Coimus in caetum et con-
gregationem, ut ad Deum quasi manu facta precatiohis am-
biamus orantes. Haec vis Deo grata est. Oramus etiam pro 
imperatoribus, pro ministris eorum et potestatibus, pro statu 
seculi, pro rerum quiete, pro mora finis. "We meet and 
assemble in a congregation, that making as it were a strength 
against God, we may sue to Him in our prayers. This 
vigilie is welcome to God. We pray also for emperors and 
their ministers and powers, for the state of the world, for the

primae est, qua sacerdos pacem precatur 
Ecclesia, post quam sequitur osculum 
pacis . . . . et Romani quidem atque 
Ambrosiani hoc loco, Graeci vero et 
ali Oriniales, itemque Mozarabe, ante 
precatiorem dant osculum pacis, 
di-vero ritu, sed eadem fide et religione 
. . . . In liturgia Jacobi, post symboli 
recitationem porrigitur osculum, pra-
monente diacono, Osculemur nos in os-
culo sancto. In liturgia Chrysostomi 
ante symbolum sit diaconus, Ditigamus 

nos invocem, ut in concordia confiteamur 
Patrem, Filium, et Spiritum Sanctum. 
Apud Maronitas sacerdos ante prea-
tationem dat pacem Altari et mysteriis 
dicens: Pax tecum Altare Dei, et pac 
mysterioria sanctis positis super te.—Bona, 
p. 584. Antwerp, 1677.

1 S. Justin. Apol. i. cap. lxv. p. 82. 
ed. Ben.

k Sect. 3.
peaceable condition of affairs, for the delay of the end." The particulars of the prayers they made for the emperors are enlarged, cap. xxx., upon the occasion of comparing the devotions of Christians and pagans. Vitam illis proxiam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, quaecunque hominis et Caesaris vota sunt. "Wishing them long life, secure rule, the court safe, the armies valiant, the senate faithful, the people good, the world quiet, whatsoever a man and Caesar may desire."

§ 30. Tertullian, as Cassander observed before⁴, intended not to declare to the heathen the manner of celebrating the Eucharist, as the custom was to keep it private, lest it might incur the scorn of those that understood not what it meant: those which Justin calls the common prayers of the congregation, which went next afore it, are here described by those passages that deserved most favour at the world’s hands. In the nineteenth canon of Laodicea, after the departure of the hearers and penitents, Τός ευχάς τῶν πιστῶν γένομαι τρεῖς, μιαν μὲν τὴν πρώτην, διὰ σωτηρίας, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην, διὰ προσφωνήσεως πληροῖσθαι εἰθ’ οὗτος τὴν εἰρήνην διδοῦσαι . . . . καὶ οὕτω τὴν ἁγίαν προσφορὰν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι. "That the prayers of the faithful be made, in number three, one, that is the first, in silence; the second and third to be accomplished by allocution: and so then the peace to be given," that is, the kiss of peace, . . . . "and so the holy offering to be made." What the purpose of that prayer might be, which here in the first place is prescribed to be made by all the people in silence, I find not elsewhere.

§ 31. As for those which follow, to be made διὰ προσφωνήσεως, or "by way of speaking to the people," the matter is plain out of that which was declared afore⁵ concerning the form of the prayers for the hearers and penitents, in which the deacons spake to the people, from point to point directing them what to desire of God on their behalf; the people answering to every point, "Lord, have mercy;" which prayers were therefore called προσφωνήσεως, or "allocutions," in the Constitutions of the Apostles". In like sort were these

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¹ Chap. viii. sect. 42.  
² Sect. 23.  
³ See note z, sect. 23.
prayers for all states of the Church directed by the deacon, speaking to the people, in the particulars expressed in the said Constitutions, viii. 10°, “Let us pray for the peace and firm state of the world, that it may please God—For the holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, that it may please God—For the diocese . . . . for all Bishops, that God would give—For the deacons and inferior ministers, for the married . . . . . and continent . . . . for those that give alms and oblations, that God would—For the sick and imprisoned, for travellers by land and sea,” and the rest.

§ 32. In fine, whosoever shall take notice of the particulars there related, shall perceive a very ancient, if not the original, pattern and use of those prayers, which have since been called litanies or supplications. I speak not now of the use of them in processions, for diverting the wrath of God in public calamities and the like occasions, or of what was put in practice therein by Claudianus Mamertus, Gregory the Great, and others. I speak of the original and universal use of them in that solemn service of the Church which the Euchrist was celebrated with; for in all litanies extant—which, though they be not so ancient as the titles of them pretend, nevertheless retain the traces of ancient forms in all parts—it is easily to be perceived—both by the form of those prayers which are ministered by the deacon, the people answering, and also by the subject of them concerning all estates of the Church, and the prosperous condition of it—that they are

* Τὰ καὶ τὰς εἰρήνης καὶ τὰς εὐσταθεῖας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τῶν ἄγιων ἐκκλησιῶν δεηθῶμεν· διὸς . . . . . υπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας . . . . καὶ υπὲρ τῆς ἐνθάδε ἁγίας παροικίας . . . . υπὲρ πατείας ἀνισχυρίας τῆς ἀνεπειγόμενης τῶν ἀδικίων . . . . . υπὲρ πατείας τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ διακονίας καὶ ἐντροφίας δεηθῶμεν . . . . . υπὲρ τῶν ἐν συγκέκριμαι . . . . . υπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἔγχειρεις . . . . . . . υπὲρ τῶν . . . . . ποιεῖν τοῖς λαύσομαι δεηθῶμεν, καὶ υπὲρ τῶν τὰς ζωικὰς καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας προσφέροντοι . . . . . υπὲρ τῶν ἐν ἀδικίας ἐξαιτομομένων . . . . . υπὲρ πλεονημίων καὶ διοικοφόρων δεηθῶμεν· υπὲρ τῶν ἐν μετάκλησι καὶ ἐνσόφοις καὶ φυλακισμένοις καὶ δεσμοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ διόμα τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν. —Labbeii, tom. i. col. 470. ed. Venet.

† Cum dicant institutas a Sancto Gregorio, sic intelligas, non ut ipsas majores litanias Sanctus Gregorius primus invenerit, sed quod ad Sanctum Petrum eas indixit . . . . . A quo autem litanias primum fuerint institutae, adhuc mihi est inexploratum; vetustissimum sane morem fuisse in Ecclesia litanias peragere, certissimum est . . . . Porro percelerbes et ab universa pene Ecclesia receptae sunt illae, quas S. Mamertus Episcopus Vienensis restituit in Gallias, temporebus Valentiniiani iii. Imperatoris anno c. 452 . . . . . apparebat S. Mamertum Episcopum non tam instituisse quam restituisse et in meliorem formam reduxisse sacras Rogationes.—Baron. in Martyrol. Rom. Apr. 25. pp. 174, 175. Antverp. 1613.
nothing else but those common prayers whereof Justin \textit{Chap. X.} of so ancient time speaketh, according to the forms practised at several times and in several places. True it is that in those ancient liturgies they come not after the departure of the hearers, as in Justin, and the canon of Laodicea, and the Constitutions of the Apostles. But when the departure of the hearers was retained in a manner for fashion’s sake, in remembrance of the ancient custom—the reason of it being ceased when the world was become Christian—it is reasonable to think that the order of the service depending upon it might change, the substance nevertheless remaining, as descending originally from the Apostles.

§ 33. And though it be not easy for me to give account why the canon of Laodicea prescribeth two of these prayers to be made, dividing it into two, or repeating it twice, yet it is easy for any man to observe, especially in the liturgies intitled to St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, that these prayers are divers times repeated, whether in brief or at large; that fashion so far complying with the prescript of the canon, as to shew us that those are the prayers whereof it speaketh. The subject of them is thus comprised in another place of the Constitutions, ii. 57: Προσευχέσθω ὁ διάκονος ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπάσης, καὶ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου, καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μετῶν, καὶ ἐκφορμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἠχητέου, καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ τῆς καθολικῆς εἰρήνης, “Let the deacon pray for the whole Church, and all the world, and the parts of it, for fruitful seasons, for the priests and rulers, for the Bishop and King, and the general peace.” This is the reason that it is called in the Greek liturgies, τὰ εἰρημικά, or “prayers for peace,” because the beginning of it is in the Constitutions of the Apostles, ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ εὐσταθείας τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, that is, “for the peaceable and quiet state of the whole world.” It is also in some of them called συναπτή καθολική, or “the general collect.” From whence it appeareth that this is the prayer whereof Tertullian speaketh, the subject whereof he expresseth, \textit{pro statu seculi, pro rerum quiete}: “for the settled and quiet state of the world.”

* See the liturgy of St. Chrysostom.  
* As in the liturgy of St. James.  
* Lib. viii. cap. 10.
§ 34. That which hath been said of the manner and order of this prayer is to be understood of the liturgies of the Eastern Churches now extant. Not only in those Greek ones under the names of St. James, St. Mark, St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, but in the Ethiopic, in that of the Christians of St. Thomas in India, in that of the Maronites printed at Rome, it taketh place according to the manner described. Of the service of the Latin Church the like cannot be said. The litanies, whereof this prayer is the source, are used upon several particular occasions in the Mass as it is now, but have no place in the ordinary course of it, unless we suppose the Kyrie eleison, which the Rationalists call the litanies, to be that which remains of them, the model of the Latin service being so abridged as was observed afore. And by St. Ambrose, or whosoever wrote those books de Sacramentis, it appeareth that prayer was made to that effect before the consecration of the Eucharist: his words are, iv. 4, Oratio praemittitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro ceteris: "Prayer is premised," saith he, to the consecration of the Eucharist, "for the people, for the emperors, for the rest." But in those words he speaketh of prayers that were made at the Lord's board by him that celebrated the Eucharist, of which afterwards; not of those that were ministered by the deacon speaking to the people in the manner aforesaid: which nevertheless St. Augustine of the Latin Church remembereth, when he saith, Epist. cxviii. Cum . . . communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur, "when common prayer is indited by the deacon's voice:" for this is that which Justin Martyr called "common prayer" afore.

§ 35. Rhenanus in Tertull. de Corona, Et arbitrantur quidem illi missam incepisse, dicente sacerdote, Dominus vobiscum: et mox, Sursum corda. Deinde, Gratias agamus Domino Deo


⁴ S. Ambros. Opp., tom. ii. col. 368. ed. Ben. The Benedictine editors consider it to have been written by St. Ambrose. Dupin, however, thinks them deceived.
nostro: "And they truly"—that is, those that studied the ancient form of service out of the eldest and best Church-writers—"think that the Mass begins when the priest says, 'The Lord be with you,' and by and by, 'Lift up your hearts,' afterwards, 'Let us give thanks to our Lord God.'" If his meaning be that the celebration of the Eucharist began always with the preface Sursum corda, well and good. But if he mean this, that the second service, or the prayers at which believers alone were present, began then, it is an oversight: the testimonies produced are beyond exception to shew that according to the most ancient custom of the Church, prayer was made for all states of men, and of the Church first, in the manner aforesaid.

§ 36. In fine, the great agreement of all the liturgies specified, coming from those most ancient Eastern Churches—Prayer indicted by the deacon.

with the eldest of Church-writers, together with other pregnant circumstances that concur—makes me bold to conclude that the practice of these prayers is derived from the Apostles and the custom of their time, and are the same whereof St. Paul writes, Rom. viii. 26, 27, "Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us, with groanings which cannot be uttered. And He that searcheth the hearts knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, that it maketh intercession for the saints according to God." For according to the exposition of St. Chrysostom, proved good afore,* these prayers, which in the primitive times were made by men endued with prophetic graces, called here "the Spirit," were afterwards ministered by the deacon, going afore the people: which holds good of these, not only according to all the liturgies and authorities alleged, but according to Justin in chief and in the oldest place, who, when he relates that he, which ministered the Eucharist, began not but with the thanksgiving, after these which he calls the common prayers were ended, gives presumption enough that the said common prayers were ministered by the deacon with him, as with St. Chrysostom.

§ 37. Then the terms in which the Apostle expresses the nature of these prayers, calling them "intercessions for

* Chap. v. sect. 21, 22.
saints,” seem to specify the subject whereof we speak, for all states of the Church. And last, when the Apostle saith, "maketh intercession for us with groanings not to be uttered:” and afore, ver. 23, “Ourselves also which have the first-fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves:” St. Chrysostom testifieth that the correspondent hereof was done by the deacon in his time: with whom agree the words of Justin, καὶ εἰσὶ τοὺς ποιησάμενον εἰσίν αὐτῷς. 349 Wherein he witnesseth the earnest vehemence which these prayers were made with. And in the prayers quoted in the Constitutions of the Apostles for the hearers and penitents*, which, as hath been shewed, were made after the same sort: ἢ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐκπέμπετε ἐκπέμπετε ἐκκλησίας, “Let us beseech the Lord for them still more vehemently:” and in that for the faithful, at the end of it, ἢ εἰσίν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐκπέμπετε ἐκπέμπετε ἐκκλησίας, “Let us stand up, having vehemently prayed.” And to the penitents in the beginning, εἴλατε οἱ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐκπέμπετε ἐκπέμπετε ἐκκλησίας, “Pray ye that are under penance vehemently.” And the Kyrie eleison, or, “Lord, have mercy,” the foot and burden of this prayer, as you have seen in the liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom, is called ἢ ἐκκλησία ἱεραία, and in that of St. Peter*, ἢ αἰ. τῆς ἐκκλησίας, understanding ἱεραίας, “the prayer of vehement and earnest supplication to God.”

§ 38. All arguments of that vehemence and earnest devotion which the fashion and manner of the litanies, if it were relished aright, still breatheth, derived from those groans and tears with which men endued with primitive graces made then intercession to God for the Church, and states of it. And perhaps the Apostle, when he said, 1 Cor. xiv. 15, “I will pray with the spirit, but I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, but I will sing with the understanding also:” meant no other prayers but those 350 whereof he writes to the Romans, those first sort of prayers whereof here we speak at the service of believers. For in that which follows, ver. 16, “Else when thou shalt bless with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the un-

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* Lib. viii. cap. vi. col. 665; cap. viii. col. 668; Labbe, tom. i. ed. Venet.
  * Ib., col. 472.
  * Ib., col. 668.
learned say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he unders-
standeth not what thou sayest? for thou verily givest thanks
well, but the other is not edified:” many things induce me to
think that the Apostle speaks of nothing else but of that thank-
giving which from the beginning the Eucharist was conse-
crated with, and from which it hath the name, and is the
next point in the order of this service. For so the Apostle’s
directions will appear complete, reaching to all parts of the
service which proceed from men’s particulars.

§ 39. For the reading of the Scriptures we must here ex-
cept, presupposed as the subject and employment of present
graces. For the psalms of God’s praises, which the Spirit
then indicted, he provideth when he saith, “I will sing with
the spirit, but I will sing with the understanding also.” For
the exposition of the Scriptures more at large, in the rules
that follow, from ver. 26. For the prayers which by the sug-
gestion of the Holy Ghost were made for the Church and all
states of it, when he saith, “I will pray with the spirit, but I
will pray with the understanding also.” For the prayers
which the Eucharist was celebrated with, in the words now in
hand, ver. 16, 17. The Commentaries under St. Ambrose’s
name∗: Hi ex Hebraes erant, qui aliquando Syra lingua, ple-
rumque Hebraea in tractatibus aut oblationibus utebantur ad
commendationem. Gloriaabuntur enim se dici Hebraeos, propter
meritum Abrahæ: “These”—that would needs speak in
strange languages in the Church—“were of the Hebrews,
which for their commendation used sometimes the Syriac,
most an end the Hebrew, in their sermons or oblations.
For they took pride to be called Hebrews for the merit of
Abraham.” The offering is the whole action of prayers and
thanksgiving which the Eucharist was celebrated with, as
shall appear. So saying in express terms that they did it in
Syriac and Hebrew, he directeth us to the Apostle’s meaning
in that which he calls “blessing and thanksgiving;” which in
the Scriptures and eldest of Church-writers stand sometimes
absolutely and without addition to signify, by way of emi-
rence, the celebration of the Eucharist.

§ 40. Otherwise why is it called, 1 Cor. x. 16, “the cup of [Thanks-
giving which we bless?” but from that blessing or thanks-
s


THORNDIKE.
giving—as it is indifferently called in the Scriptures—with which it was instituted by Christ, and appointed to be used afterwards. Ignatius ad Smyrnæos, 'Εκείνη βεβαλά εὐχαριστία ἥγεσθω, ἵνα τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἵνα δὲν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέψῃ. "Let that be counted a sound thanksgiving which is under 352 the Bishop, or to whom he gives leave." His meaning is, that to celebrate the Eucharist apart from the Bishop, and without his order, was not effectual toward God. The true Clemens, St. Paul's scholar, Epist. ad Corinth. 8, "Εκαστος ἑαυτῷ, ἠδέλφω, ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ τάγματι εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ Θεῷ. "Let each of you, brethren, give thanks to God in his own rank." He directs the presbyters of Corinth to celebrate the Eucharist by their turns, to avoid contention about it. In the words of Irenæus related in Greek by Epiphanius, Haer. xxxiv. 8, of the Marcosians, προσποιούμενος εὐχαριστεῖ, "pretending to give thanks," is as much to say as pretending to celebrate the Eucharist, and so more than once afterwards: therefore when the Apostle saith, "How shall he say Amen," ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ σου, and after, οὐ γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς, he seems to mean neither more nor less. For the answer of the people saying Amen at the end of this thanksgiving is so solemnly remarked in ecclesiastical writers, that the Apostle may justly seem to make reference to it. Justin Martyr, Apol. 1, Οὐ γαλοκλείσατος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων, ἄμην . . . εὐχαριστήσαντος ὑπὸ τοῦ προστῶτος, καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ, "Who having done his prayers and thanksgiving, all the people present join assent with him, saying Amen. . . . Then the chief having given thanks, and all the people assented with like wishes." And in the epistle of Dionysius 353 of Alexandria in Eusebius, Hist. Eccles. vii. 9, Εὐχαριστίας γὰρ ἐπακούσαντα καὶ συνεπιδεξάμενον τὸ Ἀμὴν, "Having heard the thanksgiving"—that is, being present at consecrating the Eucharist—"and answered Amen with the rest."

§ 41. The subject of this thanksgiving is thus expressed by Justin the Martyr* in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew,

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3 S. Epiph. Opp., tom. i. p. 233. ed. Colon. The passage from St. Ire-
4 neus is in lib. i. cap. ix.
6 Καὶ ἡ τῆς σεμιδάκλας δὲ προσφορά, ἢ ἡμέρας, ἐλέουν, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν καθαρίζο-
7 μένων ἐκ τῆς λέσχας προσφέροντας.
where he compareth the offering of fine flour for the leper at his cleansing according to the law, Lev. xiv. 10, with the bread of that thanksgiving which our Lord hath appointed us to make in remembrance of His passion, "Ινα ἀμα τε εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ Θεῷ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοῦ κόσμου εκτίκειαι σὺν πάσι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ, διὰ τὸν ἀνθρωπον, καὶ ἶπτερ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐν ἥ γεγονάμεν ἐλευθερωκέναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἔξοδας καταλεικύναι τελείως κατάλυσιν, διὰ τοῦ παθητοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτοῦ. "That withal we may give thanks to God, for having made the world, and all things in it, for man, and for having freed us from that naughtiness wherein we were born, and overthrown principalities and powers with a perfect overthrow, by Him that became possible according to His counsel." And Irenæus, iv. 34¹—arguing against the heretics of that time, that denied God the Father to have created heaven and earth, because then the Church should do affront to God, offering Him the creatures which He acknowledgeth not for His—sufficiently sheweth that the creatures of bread 354 and wine were offered with this Eucharist or thanksgiving, as well for the creation of all things as for the redemption of us. Justin Martyr, Apol. i.⁵, justifieth the Christians against the heathen, that consumed not God's creatures with fire in sacrifices, but received them with words of prayer and thanksgiving, 'Ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονέας, καὶ τῶν εἰς εὐφροσύναν πόρων πάντων, ποιητῶν μὲν γενόμεν, καὶ μεταβολῶν ὁρῶν, "For being born, and for all means of health, kinds of qualities, and changes of seasons:" wherein though the purpose of his speech is directed to the ordinary use of God's creatures, yet withal he seemeth to describe that thanksgiving which

then the Eucharist was celebrated with, being then used, as it was instituted, at meat.

§ 42. In the Constitutions of the Apostles, viii. 12, you have at large laid down the form of this thanksgiving, containing first a rehearsal of God’s unspeakable perfections: of the creation by Christ of things visible and invisible, and of man in righteousness: of the providence of God toward man having sinned, before the law and by it, with praise to Him therefore with the cherubim and seraphim: but more particularly recounting the incarnation of Christ, and the whole course of His dispensation in the flesh, especially His sufferings, death, and rising again. Hereupon it followeth, Μεμνημένοι οὖν δι’ ήμας ἑπτεμενεν, εὐχαριστούμεν σοι, Θεέ παντοκράτορ, οὐχ οὖσθι ὑψηλομέν, ἐκκλησία ἄνω δυνάμεθα, καὶ τὴν διά ταξιν αὐτοῦ πληροφιμέν έν ἔ γαρ υπερ ταρείδοτο. That is, “Therefore being mindful of those things which He suffered for us, we give Thee thanks, Almighty God, not so much as we ought, but as much as we are able”—there is Justin Martyr’s δοσι δύναμις—“and fulfil His appointment: for upon the night wherein He was betrayed”—rehearsing the whole words of institution of the Eucharist upon this. The same is the argument of this thanksgiving in the liturgies intituled to St. James¹ and St. Basil, both the Greek and the Latin, and that which we have from Masius out of the Syriae.² In that of St. Chrysostom it is to the same purpose, but in fewer words; in that of St. Mark, the same for substance, but more in brief, and for order somewhat otherwise: so in that which I spake of,³ turned out of the Arabic, under the names of St. Basil, St. Gregory, and St. Cyril, in this last as in that of St. Mark, and not much otherwise in that of the Christians of St. Thomas in India.⁴ In the canon of the Mass, that which is called the preface⁵ seemeth to be that which remaineth of

³ See chap. vii. sect. 42.
⁴ A Latin version of it is given in Raulin’s Historia Ecclesie Malabarica, p. 293. Rom. 1746. And in Bibliothec. Max. tom. xxvii. Lugdun. 1677.
⁵ See also Le Brun, tom. vi. p. 467.
⁶ Lectis secreto orationibus super oblatae, incipit Sacerdotes præfationem præmissa populi salutatione. Est autem præfatio veluti proloquium stantes excitantes et disponens ad praecipium actionem, in qua proprie sacrificii consistit.—Bona, Ret. Liturgic., lib. ii. cap. x. § 1. p. 531. Antwerp. 1677. The Preface is not a part of the Canon properly so called.
this thanksgiving, for it expresses the praises of God with much vehemence, though the subject of those praises, either concerning the creation of the world, or our redemption, is not contained in it: for the tenor of it is in a manner that 356 of our service—"It is very meet, right"... and afterwards, "therefore with angels and archangels"... besides the proper prefaces*, in which are celebrated the works of God's goodness, which the Church remembereth upon several solemnities.

§ 43. In fine, it seemeth that this thanksgiving, from which both the action of celebrating this Sacrament and the consecrated elements themselves are called Eἰχαριστεῖα, according to Justin Martyr and Irenæus†, did from the eldest times of the Church contain the remembrance of the creation of all things, in regard to the ordinary use of God's creatures, for the maintenance of our bodies, because it was at the first practised, as it was instituted, at feast. So much the words of Justin Martyr related afore** seem to import, when he affirmeth that the only sacrifice that Christians have received to offer is that of praise and thanksgiving at their nourishment, at which remembrance is made of the passion which God suffered for us.

§ 44. But as this Sacrament was frequented no otherwise [The same in all liturgies.] than as the most solemn part of God's public service at religious assemblies for that purpose, whatsoever was expressed more or less of the subject of it concerning the creation and redemption of the world, yet in all manner of liturgies of all Christian Churches there is none that I have seen which 357 doth not premise this thanksgiving and praise to God to the celebration of that Sacrament. And it is very remarkable that in that distance of times and places from which we receive the several forms yet extant with so much difference as must needs proceed from thence, yet there are two particulars of it in which all the forms that are extant agree, the one the beginning of it, with Sursum corda*, or "Lift up your

* Five of these are retained in the English book; the Council of Westminster, A.D. 1175, allowed ten only. Wilkins' Concil, tom. i. p. 478.
† Sect. 41.
‡ Chap. viii. sect. 41.
* The Æthiopic Liturgy does not contain the Sursum Corda. In the Malarabic we have it thus in the Latin version: S. Sursum sint mentes vestras. D. Apud te Deum Abraham, Isaac et Israel, Regem supergloriosum.
hearts,” the people answering as we use it, and then, to let us understand to what purpose they are exhorted to do it, “Let us give thanks to our Lord God,” specifying the prayer which I now describe: the other is the communion of the Church militant with the fellowship of angels in this office, expressed in the Trisagion or seraphical hymn, “Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth:” for though there is much difference between forms that are extant, yet it will be hard to find any of them wherein both those have not a place, which, had the forms been arbitrary, could not have come to pass.

§ 45. Here a question lies, to mine apprehension, very much concerning this purpose: whereas the creatures of bread and wine are deputed to the effect of becoming the body and blood of Christ to them that receive them aright by the appointment of our Lord, executed by the Church, how it can be conceived that by giving thanks to God to the purpose specified, they are, on the part of the Church, deputed to such effect. To me it seemeth unquestionable that the thanksgiving wherewith our Lord in the Gospel is said to have celebrated this Sacrament at His last supper, contained also prayer to God for the effect to which the elements, when they became this Sacrament, are deputed: and that the Church, upon His example, hath always frequented His institution with the like, rehearsing His institution out of the Gospel, and praying for the effect of it at the present, after the thanksgiving hitherto described: and so—whereas in the sense of the Church of Rome the elements are consecrated, that is, transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ, by rehearsing the affirmative words of Christ, This is My body, this is My blood, as operative—in the true sense of the Church they are consecrated, that is, deputed to be this Sacrament, and to the effect of it, by the prayer of the congregation, grounded upon the institution of Christ and the promise which it implieth.

§ 46. Let me suppose in the first place that the elements,
by being deputed to become this Sacrament, are not abolished for their substance, nor cease to be what they were, but yet begin to be what they were not, that is, visible signs, not only to figure the sacrifice of Christ's cross—which being so used they are apt to do of themselves, setting the institution of Christ aside—but also to tender and exhibit the invisible grace which they represent to them that receive. For though no man can receive the body and blood of Christ that is not disposed with a living faith to receive the same, yet on God's part it is undoubtedly tendered to those that are not so disposed, otherwise how saith the Apostle that those that eat and drink unworthily are guilty of the body and blood of Christ, as not discerning the same? And otherwise how saith our Lord of the elements at the instant of delivering them, "This is My body, this is My blood," in the present tense?

§ 47. Let me suppose in the second place that our Lord, in celebrating this Sacrament, made use of the received custom of His people: which was, as still it is, in receiving all good things at God's hands, to premise thanksgiving, or blessing as they call it, before they used them. In particular, at feasts, before supper was done, they took bread and broke it, and gave it about, and the cup of wine likewise, having blessed God for the use of those excellent creatures. Upon solemnities and particular occasions mention was made of that which the time required. This is the ground of those two points of the thanksgiving discussed afore, the use of those creatures, and the redemption of the world; which our Lord specified, upon the exigence of the general custom and the particular occasion, and the primitive Christians, according to Justin Martyr, frequented upon His example.

§ 48. But, as in the like case at the miracle of the loaves, when it is said that "our Lord looked up to heaven and blessed," Matt. xiv. 19, "or gave thanks," as it is John vi. 11, it cannot be doubted that beside blessing God for His creatures He prayed also for the purpose of that which He intended to do: no more is it to be doubted that the thanksgiving which He made over those elements, for that which they represented, contained also prayer, that by them it might be communicated to His disciples. The tenor and
consequence of our Lord's words require no less. For that which is affirmed must be true before it be truly affirmed, and the process of this action, blessing and delivering the elements, and commanding to receive them as His body and blood, importeth that He intended to affirm that so they were, in the true sense which the words import, at the instant of delivering them. And by what consequence could His disciples conceive them to be deputed for signs to exhibit His body and blood upon His giving of thanks over them for the redemption of the world, unless we suppose His thanksgiving, whereof the Gospel speaketh, to contain also prayer, that they might become effectual to that purpose? And herewith agreeeth that of the Apostle, [1 Tim. iv, 4, 5.] "Every creature of God is good, and none to be rejected, being received with thanksgiving: for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." For here the thanksgiving wherewith the creatures are sanctified to the nourishment of our bodies containeth also prayer, grounded upon the word of God, whereby He appointeth them for that purpose: accordingly, therefore, the thanksgiving wherewith these elements were sanctified by our Lord to be the nourishment of the soul, must contain prayer not grounded upon the institution of God to that purpose—because the act of Christ for the present went before His institution for the future—but as joined to His command, grounding a word of promise to the Church, whereupon it was to do likewise.

§ 49. And herewith agree those forms of thanksgiving, or, as they call them, benedictions, which the Jews at this day practise, from very ancient time, as they pretend: for the foot and close of divers the most remarkable of them is with prayer for the blessing of God upon that wherefore they give thanks. For example, among the daily eighteen; "Blessed be Thou, O Lord our God, that removest sleep from our eyes and slumbering from our eye-lids: and let it please Thee, O Lord our God, and God of our fathers, to practise us in Thy law, and to make us cleave to Thy precepts; and bring us not into sin, and transgression, and temptation, and contempt," and so forth, ending thus, "Blessed be Thou, O Lord, that givest good graces." The blessing of the law, that is, the thanksgiving to God for it, is this; "Blessed art Thou, O Lord our
God, the King of the world, that hath sanctified us with His precepts, and given us command concerning the matters of the law: and sweeten, O God, the words of the law in our mouth, and in the mouth of Thy people the house of Israel: and make us all, and our children, and our children's children, knowers of Thy name, and learners of Thy law for itself: blessed art Thou, O Lord, that teachest Thy people Israel the law." So in the blessing of wine, so in the blessing after meat. And so for the resemblance of the blessing of our Lord over the elements with these, and the exigence of the business, may we justly presume that it ran in the like form to the purpose of it. Let a man look over the benedictions which they use before and after the lesson of "Hear, O Israel," Deut. vi., in the morning. Let a man look over the eighteen benedictions which they say every day, morning, evening, and at night, the antiquity whereof may in some sort be valued by that which hath been said afore, chap. vii.*, and it shall easily appear that they contain prayers as well as praises or thanksgivings to God, though called benedictions, because they begin, or end, or both, with "Blessed art Thou, O God," specifying something concerning the subject of each*.

§ 50. And last of all, herewith agreeth the practice of the ancient Church, wherein for certain the thanksgiving described afore was joined with prayer for the effect of that which was done. So saith Justin, that the president sent forth prayers and thanksgivings to God. So in Tertullian, de Oratione, cap. xiv., sacrificiorum orationibus, and in the next words, Eucharistia⁵, stand both for the same. So in the hundred-and-third of the African canons⁶ these thanksgivings are called "prefaces," to my thinking, because this thanks—

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* In section 18.
* Cited before in chap. viii. sect. 37. note i.
* Cited before in chap. vii. sect. 36.
giving was always premised to the prayer which the Euchari-
stist was consecrated with.

§ 51. I will here propound that form of prayer which
followeth after the rehearsal of the institution of this Sacra-
ment, in the place alleged of the Constitutions of the Apos-
tles. For a prayer to the like effect is to be found in all
the Eastern liturgies. Which if we compare with the testi-
omonies of ecclesiastical writers, which divers have produced
to prove that the elements are not consecrated by the affirma-
tive words of Christ, as operative, but by the prayers of
the Church, it will appear that it is the prayer whereof we
now speak, always used in the Church, to obtain of God the
promise which the institution of Christ supposeth, that
the elements present might be deputed to the effect of becoming
visible signs, tendering and exhibiting the invisible grace
which they figure. Which is that which in this matter is
called consecration, as I suppose.

§ 52. Having repeated the institution of this Sacrament
out of the Gospels, where we left afore, it followeth: Μεμη-
μενοι τούν τοῦ πάθους αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τῆς ἐκ
νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς εἰς οὐρανὸς ἑπανόδου καὶ τῆς μελ-
λούσης αὐτοῦ δευτέρας παρανάσιας, ἐν ἐκ ἐρχεται μετὰ δόξης καὶ
dυνάμεως κρίναι ζωτιᾶς καὶ νεκροῦ, καὶ ἀποδοθῆται ἐκάστῳ
κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, προσφέρομεν Σοι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ Θεῷ,
katὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ διάταξιν, τὸν ἄρτον τούτον καὶ τὸ ποτήριον
tοῦτο έκχριστοῦντες Σοι δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἑφ’ ὅς κατηφώμεθα ἡμᾶς
ἐστανὲι ἐνώπιόν Σου καὶ ιερατεύειν Σου καὶ ἠξιοῦμεν Σε, ὡς
εἰμινός ἐπιμελήσῃς ἐπὶ τὰ προκειμένα δώρα ταῦτα ἐνώπιον
Σου, Σὺ ὁ ἀνεμιδῆς Θεός. καὶ εὐδοκήσῃς ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς τιμὴν
τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου. καὶ καταπέμψῃς τὸ ἄγιον Σου Πνεῦμα ἐπὶ
tὴν θυσίαν ταῦτην τὸν μαρτύρα τῶν παθημάτων τοῦ Κυρίου
Ἰησοῦ, ὡς ἀποφήνῃ τὸν ἄρτον τούτον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου,
kαὶ τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου· ἵνα οἱ μεταλαβόν-

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d See the argument on the side of the Greeks in this controversy in Nico-
laus Cabasilas' Liturgiae Expositio, printed in the Bibliotheca Patrum,
tom. ii. p. 200. Paris. 1624, and in
Latin in the Bibliotheca Patrum, tom.
vi. Paris. 1610. The doctrine of the English Church is the same with that
of the Roman, as is shewn in the Ru-

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e Sect. 42.
Therefore mindful of His passion, and death, and rising from the dead, and ascension into heaven, and of His second appearance, at which He is to come with glory and power to judge the quick and dead, and to render to every man according to his works, we offer to Thee our King and God, according to His appointment, this bread and this cup, giving thanks to Thee through Him, that Thou hast vouchsafed us to stand before Thee, and to minister unto Thee: and beseech Thee that Thou wouldest look favourably upon these oblations present before Thee, Thou God that wastest nothing, and accept them to the honour of Thy Christ, and send down Thy Holy Spirit, witness of the passions of the Lord Jesus, upon this sacrifice, to exhibit this bread the body, and this cup the blood of Thy Christ: that they which partake of it may be confirmed in godliness, obtain remission of sins, be delivered from the devil and his deceit, be filled with the Holy Ghost, become worthy of Thy Christ, and obtain life everlasting, Thou being reconciled to them, God Almighty.” It is clearly true in the sense and language of the ancient Church, which St. Ambrose saith, De his qui mysteriis initiantur, cap. ix. Ante benedictionem verborum caelestium alia species nominatur, post consecrationem, corpus Christi significatur: “Before consecration another species is named,” that is, the bread, “after it the body of Christ is signified.” And de Sacramentis, lib. v. cap. 4. Dixi vobis, quod ante verba Christi, quod offertur, panis dicatur, ubi Christi verba deprompta fuerint, jam non panis dicitur, sed corpus appellatur: “I told you that before the words of Christ, that which is offered is called bread; after the words of Christ are produced, it is no more called bread, it is called His body.”

§ 53. Therefore, whereas in this prayer the elements are [Its pur-
named by their kind, of bread and wine, it is plain that all
that while they are not conceived, or intended, to be con-
secrated. And what doubt can there be in that, when we see
a prayer follow, wherein is desired that the elements may
become the body and blood of Christ? And he that shall
turn over the copies of liturgies, which we have extant from
the Eastern Churches, shall find them to agree in this: that
after the institution is rehearsed out of the Gospels, professing
that what is presently done is in obedience to the same,
prayer is made first, that by the Holy Ghost the elements
may be sanctified to become the body and blood of Christ,
and then that they may be to such effects of grace as are
specified in the form rehearsed to them that communicate.
Only in the missal of the Maronites, printed at Rome, there
be divers forms of consecration—which they call Anaphora—
under the Apostles’ names, and other Eastern doctors, wherein
this prayer seemeth to be wilfully changed, to make them con-
formable to the doctrine of the now Church of Rome. It was
printed there for the use of that nation in the year MDXCIV.

§ 54. In the ancient form of the Latin Church, there
seemeth—not by the now canon of the Mass, but by the remembrance of it extant in ancient Church-writers—to have
been some difference from this, and that difference seemeth
to have occasioned the error of the now Church of Rome,
concerning consecration by operative words. Nevertheless
the words of St. Ambrose, or whosoever wrote those books, de
Sacramentis, are these, iv. 5: *Vis scire quia verbis caelestibus
consecratur? accipe quae sunt verba.* *Dicit sacerdos, Fac nobis,
inquit, hanc oblationem adscriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilem,
quod figura est corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi.
Qui pridie quam patetur...* “Wilt thou know that it is con-
secrated by the heavenly words? hear what be the words:
the priest saith, Make this sacrifice imputable, accountable,
acceptable for us, which is the figure of the body and blood
of Jesus Christ our Lord. Who the night before He suffered”
... and so forth, proceeding to rehearse the institution out of
the Gospel. In the canon of the Mass is added ratam1, or

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The Benedictine editors have re-

... stored it into the text of St. Ambrose,

"out of many MSS."
ratified; hanc oblationem adscriptam, ratam, rationabilem, much to my purpose; for it is plain that this is not the doctrine of the now Church of Rome, when, being to shew how the elements are consecrated, he produceth the prayer of the Church joined to the institution of Christ: which is to say, that by virtue of Christ's institution, executed by the Church, with prayer to God to ratify and accept the elements presently offered, to be the figure and remembrance of the body and blood of Christ, they are deputed to become this Sacrament.

§ 55. In the canon of the Mass these words are somewhat changed from that which is set down in St. Ambrose, for they are read thus: Ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi: “That they may become to us the body and blood of Thy most beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord.” And it seemeth that they were changed on purpose, that this Sacrament might not be called a figure of the invisible grace of it. But in the meantime it is manifest that here prayer is made for the effect of Christ's institution in these elements, and that nothing can be more cross to this doctrine of the now Church of Rome, than their own service. St. Ambrose observed⁸, that after the institution is rehearsed, the elements are called the body and blood: the reason seems to be, because they were intended to be deputed to become this Sacrament, by prayer grounded on the institution of Christ, which it is joined with. But it should seem that after the institution there followed in the ancient form of the Latin Church a prayer to the purpose, though not in the terms of that which now followeth in the canon of the Mass, the close whereof is this: Ut quotquot ex hac Altaris participatio sacrosanctum Filii Tui corpus et sanguinem sumserimus, omni benedictione caelesti et gratiâ repleamur: “That as many as shall receive the holy body and blood of Thy Son, by participating of this Altar, may be fulfilled with Thy heavenly benediction and grace.” Which is plainly in lieu of the second point of that prayer alleged out of all the Eastern liturgies, desiring the like effects of grace, by the means of this Sacrament upon them that communicate.

§ 56. If any man think that the forms hitherto described

⁸ See sect. 52.
import that the ancient Church intended to consecrate the elements in the sense of the now Church of Rome, that is, to abolish the corporal substance of them, and substitute that of the body and blood of Christ instead, not in the true sense, to depute them to become visible signs, tendering and exhibiting the invisible grace which they figure, he shall much prejudice the truth which we profess: the due advantage whereof hath been long since proved to be this, that the error pinned upon it is not to be found so much as in the service of the Church where it is bred and maintained.

§ 57. When prayer is made concerning the elements in the canon of the Mass, Ut nobis corpus fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi: "That they may become to us the body and blood of Thy well-beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord:" these words 'to us,' make an abatement in the proper signification of the body and blood. For the elements may be said to become the body and blood of Christ without addition, in the same true sense in which they are so called in the Scriptures. But when they are said to become the body and blood of Christ to them that communicate, that true sense is so well signified and expressed, that the words cannot well be understood otherwise than to import not the corporal substance, but the spiritual use of them. In the Greek form1 prayer is made that the elements may be made, or become, or be changed, or translated into the body and blood of Christ. That also among our writers of controversies is acknowledged to be verified, and is indeed easily verified, though we suppose them not to cease to be what they were, but to become what they were not, that is, visible signs exhibiting the invisible grace which they figure.

§ 58. To which meaning that which always follows in that form directs us, when prayer is made that the elements may become the body and blood of Christ, so that they which receive them may be fulfilled with the blessings of His grace:


2 "Πιστεύεω τοῖς μεταλαμβάνονσιν εἰς νῦν ψυχὴν, εἰς ἄρσην ἀμαρτίας, εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος, εἰς βασιλείαν οἰραίων πληρωμα, εἰς παραβολὴν τὴν πρὸς ἄλλη μὴ εἰς κόρμα ἢ εἰς κατάρκημα.—Ib., pp. 79, 80.
which is to say, that they may become that which they are called—to wit, the body and blood of Christ—not in respect of the corporal substance and kind, whereof they consist, but in respect to the spiritual communion which they exhibit. And indeed, when St. Ambrose saith that after consecration the body of the Lord and His blood only is named, and signified, and expressed, this also seems to import a great abatement of the proper signification of the body and blood of Christ: as being so called and named and signified to us, not because the substance of their nature and kind is abolished, but because it comes no more into consideration, as not concerning the spiritual benefit of them that communicate. Which seemeth to be the true reason why Church-writers continually call the elements by the names of that which they exhibit, without such addition as might import that abatement whereof now we speak: who nevertheless otherwhiles stick not to acknowledge that the species of the elements—that is, in their sense, not the outward appearance of the accidents, as those of the Church of Rome disguise the true meaning of the Latin word, but the inward nature and substance of their kind—doth remain as it was.

§ 59. It remaineth now to declare both the right purpose and true meaning of that prayer for all states of the Church, which in all liturgies, that I have seen, is made at consecrating the Eucharist, and before the receiving of it. In that which hath been hitherto represented out of the Constitutions of the Apostles, as in the most of the Eastern liturgies, immediately after the consecration hitherto described, the beginning of it there is thus: *Et deo meo Σου, Κύριε, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας Σου ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἀπὸ περάτων ἐως περάτων, ἃν περισσοτέρο νῷ τῷ τιμίῳ αἴματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ Σου, ὡς αὐτὰν διαφυλάξῃς, ἁσιωτόν, καὶ ἀκλησίωτόν, ἀχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος· καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης ἐπισκοπῆς τῆς ὁρθοτομοῦσθε τῶν λόγων τῆς ἄληθείας· ἐτί παρακαλοῦμεν Σε καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐμῆς τοῦ προσφέροντος Σου οὐδεμιᾶς· καὶ ὑπὲρ παντὸς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου ὑπὲρ τῶν διακόνων καὶ παινότος τοῦ κληροῦ, ἵνα πάντας σοφίσας, Πνεύματος ἁγίου πληρώσῃς· ἐτί παρακαλοῦμεν Σε Κύριε ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ καὶ παινότος τοῦ στρατοπέδου, ἵνα εἰρηνευτώτα τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς· ὡς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ὠρμοῖα διάγοντες τὸν πάντα χρόνου τῆς ἡμέρας ἡμῶν ὑδίατας Σε διὰ
§ 60. In the same place, that is, immediately after the consecration of the Eucharist, is this prayer made in the liturgies attributed to St. James, St. Basil, and St. Chrysostom. In

* Labbei, tom. i. col. 482. ed. Venet.
the same place, in all the forms related under the names of ancient saints and doctors of the Church, in the missal of the Maronites, unless it be one. But in the liturgy intituled to St. Mark, this prayer is inserted straight after the beginning of the Eucharist or thanksgiving described afore. In the Ethiopic, immediately after the salutation of peace, which in the Eastern Churches was always straight before the Eucharist. In that of St. Cyril, among the three translated out of the Arabic and mentioned afore, in the same place with that of St. Mark. From whence we may argue this to have been the course of the Church of Alexandria, by the agreement observed between those liturgies that are intituled to those that were Bishops of Alexandria, and the Ethiopic depending upon that Church, wherein they differ from the rest. Yet so it is also in that of the Christians of St. Thomas in the East Indies. In the Latin Churches this prayer seemeth of old to have gone before the consecration, for St. Ambrose describing the consecration, saith, de Sacramentis, iv. 4, Oratio præmittitur pro populo, pro regibus, pro cæteris?: “Prayer is premised for the people, for the king, for the rest.” And St. Augustine, Epist. lix.3: Eliog in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel penè omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, ante quam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedici; orationes, cum benedicitur et sanctificatur: “I choose to understand in these words,” of St. Paul to Timothy, I., ii. 1, 2, “that which all or almost all the Church frequenteth, that we take those to be called supplications, which we make at celebrating the Sacraments, before that which is on the Lord’s board begins to be blessed; prayers, when it is blessed and sanctified.” For without peradventure these are the supplications for all states of the Church, whereof he speaketh.

§ 61. The order of this prayer in the canon of the Mass is somewhat strange: for he that will take notice of that which goes before the words of institution, and that which follows after the same, until the Lord’s Prayer, comparing all with the tenor of other liturgies, may observe that they

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7 Oratio petitur.—Ed. Ben.
8 Thordike.
are all parcels of this prayer for all states of Christ's Church, which here we describe. And I observe, that in that form which is intitled to St. Peter, in the missal of the Maronites, this prayer is likewise made both before the words of institution, and after the same. I am punctual in observing the tenor of several liturgies in this point, to give notice that there is no ancient or pretended ancient form extant, wherein prayer is not made by him that celebrateth the Eucharist at the Lord's board, to this purpose. A thing which seemeth to me somewhat strange, that, according to the general custom of the Church declared afore, prayer having been made by the people a little afore upon the same subject, that is, for all states of Christ's Church, though not in the same manner, but bidden by the deacon, and answered by the people, the same prayers should be again repeated by him that celebrateth the Eucharist at the Lord's board.

§ 62. Which is more, the Church of Africa seemeth to have differed from the rest in the manner of this prayer, whereof we speak, by St. Augustine's words, Epist. cvii.\(^1\): Quando audis sacerdotem Dei ad Altare exhortantem populum Dei, orare pro incredulis, ut eos Deus convertat ad fidem, et pro catechumenis, ut eis desiderium regenerationis inspiret, et pro fidelibus ut in eo quod esse coeperunt, ejus munere perseverent, "When thou hearest the priest at the Altar exhorting the people of God, pray for the unbelievers, that God would convert them to the faith: and for the hearers, that He would inspire the desire of regeneration into them: and for the faithful, that by His grace they may persevere in that which they have begun to be." Compare we herewith his words that are read Epist. cxviii. cap. 18*:\(^{*}\): Quando autem non est tempus, cùm in Ecclesia fratres congregantur, sancta cantandi, nisi cùm legitur, aut dis-\(^{375}\) putatur, aut Antistes clard voce deprecatur, aut communis oratio voce diaconi indicitur? "When is it not time to sing holy songs at the assemblies of the brethren in the Church, but in time of reading or preaching, or when the Bishop prays with a loud voice, or when common prayer is indicted by the deacon's voice?" Again, Epist. cvii. Ubi audieris sacerdotem Dei, ad ejus Altare, populum hortantem ad Deum oran-


dum, vel ipsum clará voce orantem, ut incredulas gentes ad fidem suam venire compellat, non respondebis, Amen? "When you hear the priest of God at His Altar exhorting the people of God, or himself praying with a loud voice, that He would compel unbelieving nations to His faith, do ye not answer, Amen?" When St. Augustine mentioneth common prayer indicted by the deacon’s voice, he acknowledgeth the litanies described afore—which Justin Martyr also calls common prayers⁴, because they proceeded from all the people—to have been practised in the African Churches before the Eucharist: which notwithstanding, by his words it appeareth that he which celebrated the Eucharist in the same form, was wont to exhort the people to make this prayer for all states of persons, unbelievers, hearers, believers, for instance of the rest, which is not according to the form of any of those liturgies which we have, to my remembrance. But he informeth us besides, that those things which the Bishop exhorted the people to pray for, the same he prayed for alone afterwards, and that prayer he means when he speaks of the Bishop praying with a loud voice.

§ 63. It is hard for me to give account of this general practice of the ancient Church otherwise than by conjecture. Thus much may be affirmed with confidence, that the practice of this prayer was the effect of the Apostle’s instruction whereof our service speaketh; “Who by Thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men.” The words of the Apostle, 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2; “I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men; for kings, and all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.” St. Ambrose upon these words; Hæc regula ecclesiastica est tradita à magistro Gentium, qua utuntur sacerdotes nostri, ut pro omnibus supplicent, deprecantes pro regibus luxus seculi; ut subjectas habeant gentes, ut in pace positi, in tranquillitate mentis et quiete Deo nostro servire possimus. Orantes etiam pro iis, quibus sublimis potestas est credita, ut in justitia et veritate gubernent rempublicam, suppeditante rerum abundantia, ut amota perturbatione seditionis, succedat latitia⁵. “This ecclesiastical rule is

⁴ Sect. 3.
delivered to the Church by the doctor of the Gentiles, which
our priests use to make supplication for all, praying for the
kings of this world, that they may hold the nations subject,
that settled in peace we may be able to serve our God with
tranquillity and quiet of mind. Praying also for those that
are trusted with high power, that they may govern the com-
monwealth in justice and truth, with abundance of all things,
that the trouble of sedition being removed, gladness may
succeed."

§ 64. When he calleth it the rule of that service which the
priests ministered, it is plain he understandeth the words of
the Apostle concerning the prayers which were made at the
Lord's board at celebrating the Eucharist: besides, the brief
which he relateth containeth the chief particulars of that
form produced out of the Constitutions of the Apostles. So
St. Augustine, Epist. lix., in the words partly related afore,
partly to be related afterwards, acknowledgeth the whole
order of the service which the Eucharist was celebrated with
to be prescribed in these words of the Apostle. But this
purpose to prove there needs no great dispute. The general
custom of the ancient Church, gathered from the marvellous
agreement of all ancient forms of service that remain, speaks
aloud that this prayer for all men at the Eucharist, whereof
we speak, comes from the order of the Apostle.

§ 65. It seemeth therefore to me most probable that the
meaning of the Apostle is this, and so was understood and
practised by all the ancient Church, that at the celebration of
the Eucharist, supplications and prayers be made for all men,
for kings, &c. For it is nothing forced or strained to take
the word εἰκαριστίας, or "thanksgivings," in the same sense
in which it stands in the passages of Clemens and Ignatius
alleged afore, for the celebration of the Eucharist, for the
whole action, and all the prayers which it was celebrated
with. And otherwise the consequence of the Apostle's words
will be altogether impertinent. For in the common and gen-
eral sense of this word thanksgiving, it is not proper to exhort
that giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings and so
forth, that we may lead a peaceable life in all godliness and

[Used at
the cele-
bration of
the Eucha-
rist.]

2 Sect. 60. and sect. 72.
7 Sect. 53.
honesty: but it is proper to exhort that supplications and prayers be made for all men, for kings and the rest, that by the means of their rule and government we may lead a peaceable life in all godliness and honesty: and it is proper enough to exhort that thanksgivings be made for all men to that purpose, understanding by thanksgivings that action of celebrating the Eucharist, part whereof are those supplications and prayers.

§ 66. And thus, as in lieu of spiritual graces in prayer, which were used to make supplication for the necessities of all members and states of the Church under the Apostle, according to St. Chrysostom alleged afore², prayers afterwards in most parts of the Church were indicted by the deacon and made by the people, which for the manner and substance both were conceived afore to be the original of those that since have been called litanies: so nevertheless to give effect to this rule of the Apostle it seemeth to have been an ancient and general custom of the Church to make supplications and prayers at the Lord's board at celebrating the Eucharist, though much to the same purpose with the former for all states of men, but of the Church in particular.

§ 67. And this nice observation, if it may take place, will be of great consequence to out the Church of Rome of all pretence of the sacrifice of the Mass in the sense of the ancient Church, and in particular in the style and tenor of the liturgies themselves, which for the great agreement between themselves, and with the style of the most ancient Church-writers, seem to contain and express it. For it is manifest that it is called an oblation or sacrifice in all liturgies, according to the style of the most ancient Church-writers, not as consecrated, but as presented and offered—whether by the people, as the custom was, to him that ministered, or by him that ministered, to God—to be consecrated as aforesaid. It is the style of the form produced out of the Constitutions of the Apostles³, “We offer unto Thee this bread and this cup, beseeching Thee that they may become the body and blood of Christ to the soul’s health of them that receive;” or to that purpose. Thus far there is no pretence of the sacrifice of the Mass, which supposeth the body and blood of Christ present as the subject of it. True it is that the

² Chap. v. sect. 22.
³ Sect. 52.
style of this prayer whereof we speak, in divers points of
divers liturgies runs in the terms of, “we offer unto Thee,”
for such and such, for this and that.

§ 68. But it is to be observed that this prayer came not
after the consecration in all liturgies, and according to the
custom of all Churches, to give occasion to think that the
meaning is, to offer Christ there present by consecration, for
the said persons and causes, but went afore it in divers, as
hath been said, the purpose of it being to execute the Apo-
stle’s exhortation to make prayers, supplications, and inter-
cessions for all men at celebrating the Eucharist. Besides, it
is nowhere said, “we offer unto Thee the body and blood of
Christ” for such persons and causes; but it is divers times
said, “we offer unto Thee” τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν ταύτην, “this
reasonable service;” and what is that but these prayers? For
in the form alleged it is said at some points, “we pray Thee
for the Church, and for the king;” at others, “we offer unto
Thee for this people, and for the weather, and fruitful sea-
sons;” and shall we not think them both to stand in one
sense?

§ 69. It hath been shewed that this prayer is the practice
of the Apostle’s exhortation to make prayers, and supplica-
tions, and thanksgivings for all men: and it hath been de-
clared that the meaning of his exhortation is, that at the cele-
bration of the Eucharist such prayers and supplications be
made. Therefore when it is said by name, in the form re-
lated out of the Constitutions of the Apostles, “we offer unto
Thee for this people, we offer unto Thee for the weather,
and fruitful seasons,” what should hinder the meaning to be
according, at this celebration of the Eucharist, “In confidence
that Thou hearest Thy Son for us, at this remembrance of
His death, and in obedience to Thine Apostle, we pray unto
Thee for such persons and causes?” as it is in express terms
in the liturgy of the Indian Christians; Hæc enim horâ quâ
Patri Tuo sacrificium offertur, rogo Majestatem Tuam, miserere
omnia creaturarum, “For at this hour, when sacrifice is
offered to Thy Father, I pray Thy Majesty have mercy on
all creatures.” And thus, so often as we read in Church-

b Sect. 59.

c Rogo gratiam tuam, in the Bib-
1677.
writers of offering for such and such persons and causes, the meaning is, that they offered the elements in which the Eucharist was to be celebrated, that with it they might pray for those persons or causes, according to the Apostle.

§ 70. And if the question be further made concerning offering for the dead, it shall seem to me nothing improbable that because the Apostle exhorteth that supplcations, and prayers, and intercessions, and thanksgivings be made for all men, therefore the ancient Church enlarged the sense of that "all men" further than they needed to do, to comprise the dead as well as the living: and that thence came the commemoration of the dead at the Eucharist and the offering of the elements, that it might be celebrated, and that such commemoration might be made. Though as concerning the particulars of the prayers for the dead in the ancient Church, how far they came from the Scripture, and how far from human opinions, in that whole matter I refer myself to those things which have been declared with so much learning by that excellent learned Prelate, in his Answer to the Jesuit’s Challenge in Ireland.

§ 71. As for the rest of the service which the Eucharist is celebrated with, after the prayer hitherto described, there follows in the Constitutions of the Apostles a brief repetition of the litanies, with a prayer of the Bishop, that the congregation may worthily communicate. In the time of communicating it is ordered there that the thirty-fourth Psalm be sung, in regard of the words "O taste and see how gracious the Lord is!" In other of the Eastern liturgies, the twenty-third, forty-second, hundred-and-eighteenth, and the hundred-and-forty-fourth are prescribed. The Latin liturgists call the verses of psalms that are sung during the time of communi-

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4 Archbishop Usher. See Tracts for the Times, No. 72.
5 Ἐστίβλεψον ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πόλην τοῦ τοῦτο δὲ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἐξελέξω εἰς δύον τὸ νόμιμον τὸν Καὶ ἁγιάζως ἡμῶν τὰ σώματα, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν καταβάλλον καθαρίζων γενομένους ἀνὴρ πατρὸς μολισμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος τριχῶν τῶν προκειμένων ἁγαθῶν καὶ μυθία ἡμῶν ἡμῶν κρίσις, ἀλλὰ δοθῆσθι ἡμῶν γεγονότοι—Labbe, tom. i. col. 484. ed. Venet.
6 Ψυλλός δὲ λεγέσθω τριακοστὸς τρι-
7 τος ἐν τῷ μεταλαμβάνων πάντας τὸν λόιπον. Labbe, tom. i. col. 485. ed. Venet. It is the thirty-fourth in the English division of the Psalms.
8 The Psalms xxii. Dominus regit me, cxvi. Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, and cxliv. Exaltabo Te Deus meus rex, are ordered to be sung in the liturgy of St. James; Psalm xlii. Quemadmodum desiderat cererus, in the liturgy of St. Mark. These are numbered in the English version respectively xxiii. cxvii. cxlv. xliii.
cating, "communions;"
and the prayer or thanksgiving that follows after the same, "post-communions."
Such a form of thanksgiving there is extant in all liturgies. The people is dismissed with the benediction of the Bishop in the Constitutions, which benediction comes after the communion; before the communion in most of the other liturgies.

§ 72. I will here repeat that whole passage of St. Augustine, the beginning whereof was produced afore, for it containeth the whole order of these remains whereof we speak.

Ep. lix.: Eligo in his verbis hoc intelligere, quod omnis vel penē omnis frequentat Ecclesia, ut precationes accipiamus dictas, quas facimus in celebratione Sacramentorum, antequam illud, quod est in Domini mensa, incipiat benedictio; orationes, quàm benedicitur, et sanctificatur, et ad distribendum comminuitur, quam totam petitionem, ferē omnis Ecclesia Dominici oratione concludit: . . . . . . .

. . . . . interpellationes autem, sive ut vestri codices habent, postulationes, quin, quàm populus benedicitur: tunc enim Antistites, velut advocati, suscepsos suos per manus impositionem misericordissime offerunt potestati. Quibus peractis, et participato tanto Sacra-

\[\text{[Out of St. Augustine.]}\]


\[\text{Apost. Constitut., lib. viii. 15. Labbe, tom. i. col. 485. ed. Venet. In the original edition the text ran thus, "comes after the consecration."}\]

mento, gratiarum actio cuncta concludit, "I choose to understand in these words that which all, or almost all, the Church frequenteth, that we conceive those to be called supplications which we make at celebrating the mysteries, before that which is on the Lord's board begins to be blessed; prayers, when it is blessed, and sanctified, and broken to be distributed, which petition almost all the Church concludes with the Lord's Prayer"—so it is in all forms that are extant, and it is another mark that they were prescript—"but intercessions, or as your books have it, requests, are made when the people is blessed: for then the Bishops, as advocates, receiving their people, offer them to the most merciful Power with imposition of hands. Which done, and so great a Sacrament participated, all concludes with thanksgiving." The hundred-and-third of the African canons related afore": Placuit etiam hoc, ut preces quae probate fuerint in concilio, sive praefationes, sive commendationes, seu manus impositiones ab omnibus celebrantur.

§ 73. It seems that the benedictions of the Bishop or presbyter that celebrated—to whom this office also belonged, as St. Hierome o contendeth—whereof we speak, are called here commendations, or impositions of hands, [that is] to say, prayers to commend the people to God with imposition of hands: unless by these commendations we understand those prayers for all men, according to the Apostle, wherewith the several estates of all men, especially of the Church, were commended to God: which, saith St. Augustine, went before the sanctifying of the elements. In the Anaphora of St. Basil published by Masius out of the Syriac, there is this prayer at the beginning, before the consecration of the Eucharist: Extende, Domine, manum Tuam non aspectabilem, et benedic servis et ancillis Tuis, mundatōque ipsos ab omni macula carnis et spiritus, atque dignare nos fieri particeps corporis unigeniti Filii Tui. The people bowed the head at receiving this blessing, the Bishop holding his hands over them, as a sign of God's hand stretched out to bless. Therefore he saith, "Extend, O Lord, Thy invisible hand, and bless Thy servants and handmaids,

o Chap. vii. sect. 36.
Ep. ad Evang. quoted in note t.
chap. x. sect. 6. of Prim. Govern.

and cleanse them from all stain of flesh and spirit, and deign them to become partakers of the body of Thy only begotten Son."

§ 74. Of confession of sins at beginning of the Mass hath been said: after the consecration the benediction is contained in these words, Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum: "The peace of God be with you always." You shall see how Luther understands it, in his form of communion of the year MDXXIII. Quae est quasi publica quaedam absolutio a peccatis communicantium. Vox planè Evangelica, annuncians remissio- nem peccatorum, unica illa ac dignissima ad mensam Domini preparatio, si fide apprehendatur, non secus atque ex ore Christi prolata: "Which is," saith he, "a kind of public absolvement of them that communicate from their sins. The very voice of the Gospel pronouncing remission of sins the only fittest preparation to the Lord's board, if apprehended by faith, as out of Christ's mouth." But it is plain that this is to be accounted a benediction, because, as hath been said, confession of sins and prayer for pardon upon the same is made at the beginning of the Mass. In the liturgy of St. Basil which we have translated out of the Arabic, at the beginning prayer is made for remission of sins at large, upon the promise of the Gospel, "whose sins ye remit".... the like prayer is made there after receiving the Eucharist. In the Ethiopic, prayer is made before the consecration of the Eucharist to like purpose, though corrupted with that superstition which ignorance breedeth. In the Anaphora of St. Peter in the Maronites' missal this prayer is made for forgiveness of sins. In the Jesuit Kircherus' Prodromus Coptus for an essay of that language, I remember, there is produced a form of this prayer, as ministered by the deacon, out of some of their liturgies. The books are not in my hands for the present. This seemeth most answerable to that confession of sins which our service useth before the Eucharist, otherwise it is to be granted that in most liturgies that which seemeth to keep most correspondence with it is rather a benediction than confession with prayer for pardon of sins.

\* Sect. 5—11.  
§ 75. It remaineth that from that which hath been said we give account of that form of service which we use, deriving it higher than the Mass—from which it is charged to come, as containing nothing but that which is found there, though not all that is there—and shewing where it shall be requisite that the corruptions of the Mass are laid aside in it. How just this charge is may appear in the confession of sins which it begins with: were it enough to condemn any part of our service to say that the like is used in the Breviary and Mass, then must we condemn almost all reformed Churches that use confession of sins at the beginning of their service, as the Breviary and Mass do. Du Plessis\textsuperscript{a} thought otherwise: like a man of learning as well as nobility he saw it was an argument of some antiquity in the practice of the reformed Churches in France, that confession of sins, which they use in the beginning, was and had been used in the Mass, and this ancient use an advantage to recommend it. And we have cause to see that though it was not used in the beginning of service, where hearers and penitents were dismissed in the middle, yet the alteration of times having brought that to nothing, we have no cause to balk it at the beginning, though it be there used in the Breviary and Mass.

§ 76. He that will use a little judgment and conscience must distinguish between a form of public service and the corruptions of the Mass pinned to it; between that which we follow and the reasons why we follow it. If by doing that which is done in the Mass we retain the corruptions of it, it is time it were done no more: if any man would not have us do that aught which tends to the service of God, because in the Mass it is done amiss, we are bidden to our loss. The reason why we begin with confession of sins is not to be faulted; both because daily sins accrue daily upon the congregation and members of it, and daily reckonings not daily cleared oppress in the end, and there is no such means as the

\textsuperscript{1} "For although it be objected that it is purged from the Popish dross, yet if it should be brought to the touch-stone, or tried in the test, let the wisest then judge how free from Popish dross it is, when therein they shall find Romish superstitious ceremonies maintained and pressed upon men's consciences, as the Surplice, Cross in Baptism, kneeling at the Sacrament, standing at the Creed, attended with their several significations."—Christ on His Throne, case vi. p. 24. See note t. chap. vi. sect. 32. for the former part of this passage.

\textsuperscript{a} See sect. 5.
public prayers of the Church to strike them clear: and particularly as an entrance and preparation to the service of God, because if our confession be such as it must be presumed to be, it is the only sufficient disposition to make our service acceptable to God.

§ 77. That which this Church of England is to give account of in particular is the declaration of forgiveness, upon the confession of sins, not used in other reformed Churches. In this he shall proceed upon the surest ground, that first shall resolve wherein the power of binding and loosing, of retaining and remitting sins, given by our Lord in the Gospel, under the symbol of the keys of His house, consisteth, and how far it extendeth. For as there is no question that the ministers of the Church, by this commission, are authorized to declare forgiveness of sins to whomsoever they shall find disposed by serious contrition and true faith to receive it at God’s hands: so to think that to bind and loose, to remit and retain sins, is nothing else but to declare them bound or loosed, remitted or retained, and that the charge whereof we speak consists in declaring this and nothing else, is a thing which the property of no language will bear, seeing that in all use of speech all men understand it to be one thing to bind and loose, to retain and remit sins, another thing to declare that: yet is it no part of my mind to make this power of the keys, by which sins are bound or remitted, to consist in the power of pronouncing sentence of forgiveness, which God ratifieth: as resting well assured that God giveth pardon to whomsoever He sees disposed to receive it: and that thenceforth that disposition being brought to pass, the ministry of the keys consisteth only in declaring the pardon given by God: it seemeth nevertheless that the ministry of

*Hoc de remittendis et retinendis peccatis mandatum, et illa de ligando et solvendo Petro facta promissio non alio debent referri quam ad verbi ministerium, quod dum Apostolis committerat Dominus, simul et hoc solvendo ligandique munere ipsois instruebat. . . . Testificatus est ergo Christus nihil in Evangelii prædicatione Apostolorum esse praeriter ministerium. . . . Itaque peccatorum remissionem quam annuntiarentur, veram esse Dei promissionem, damnationem quam pronuntiarent, certum esse Dei judicium. . . . Habeamus potestatem clavium esse simpliciter in illis locis Evangelii prædicationem: nec tam potestatem esse quam ministerium, sed homines respicimus. Non enim hominibus hanc potestatem proprie Christus dedit, sed verbo suo cujus homines ministros fecit.—Calvin, Institut., lib. iv. cap. xi. § 1. Whitaker and Cartwright repeat the same doctrine, the former in his Prælectiones, the latter in his Annotations upon the Rhemish version of the New Testament. Whitaker
the keys is formerly seen otherwise, that is, in procuring that disposition of the hearts which is requisite to make men capable of forgiveness, in bringing them to the knowledge of their sins, in directing the course which they have to take in seeking their reconciliation with God.

§ 78. The discipline of the primitive Church seemeth to point out to us this direct meaning of our Lord's promise, agreeable to the rest of the Scriptures: according to the words of Firmilianus Bishop of Cæsarea Cappadocia to St. Cyprian, in the seventy-fifth of his epistles produced elsewhere: *Non quasi à nobis remissionem peccatorum consequatur, sed ut per nos ad intelligentiam delictorum suorum convertatur, et Domino plenius satisfacere cogantur.* "Not as if they procured the pardon of their faults at our hands," saith he, "but that by us they may be converted to understand their faults, and constrained to make more full satisfaction to the Lord." How he meaneth that men are converted to acknowledge their faults to God by the means of His ministers is to be seen in Tertullian's words, *Apologet.*, cap. xxxix., speaking thus of their assemblies; *Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, et censura divina. Nam et judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; sumnumque futuri judicii prejudicium est,quisi sita deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, et conventus, et omnis sancti commercii relegetur: "There also are exhortations, reproofs, and the censure of God. For first, judgment is given with great weight, as among men assured of God's sight; and then it is the greatest prejudice of the judgment to come, if a man fail so as to be confined from the communion of prayers, and assemblies,

saith.—Cum ergo Apostoli et cæteri Ecclesiærum ministri Evangelium Christi populis annunciant et proponunt, tum claves istas tractant, id est, caæum credentibus et vitam emendantibus aperiunt, non credentibus atque improbis claudunt. Claves ergo in hujus Evangelicæ prædicationis functione versantur, ex qua etiam censura Ecclesiæstica Sacramentorumque administration pendet.—Controv. iv. Q. 2. cap. v. p. 564. Gener. 1610. Cartwright thus:—"By binding and loosing are signified the same things that are marked by the keys. . . . . . . There remaineth nothing here but to unsay that which the Jesuits do say; and to deny that which they do affirm. The sum of which denial is, that the Pope hath nothing but that [which] all other Bishops [have], no, nor so much in this usurpation of his as others have, and they nothing but a ministerial power to pronounce those bound or loosed, whom the Lord, by the preaching of the word, hath before bound or loosed."—Annot. upon St. Matth. xvi. 19. p. 55. A.D. 1618. *" See Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 2.

Prim. Govern., chap. xi. sect. 2.
and all holy commerce." It was not the mere preaching of
the Scripture, and knowledge of the doctrine of it, that
brought men to acknowledge their offences, according to
Firmilianus.

§ 79. Tertullian shews it was the exhortations, the re-
proofs, the censures of the Church, that were employed to
that purpose. By whom it followeth there; president pro-
bati quique seniores: "The presidents are all the approved
elders." The Bishop—whom we have seen him acknowledge
elsewhere—and his presbyters. And in the same epistle
of Firmilianus; Omnis potestas et gratia in Ecclesia constituta
sit, ubi president majores natu, qui et baptizandi, et manum
imponendi, et ordinandi possident potestatem: "All power and
favour is estated upon the Church, the presidents whereof are
the elders, which have power both to baptize, and to impose
hands"—in penance—"and to ordain." It is the Bishop
that writes this. The exhortations, the reproofs, the cen-
sures, by which men were brought to the sight and acknow-
ledgment of their faults, and constrained to the due course
of humiliation for procuring forgiveness, were ministered at
their assemblies, but by the presidents.

§ 80. The means of forgiveness ministered in the discipline
of penance consists in the party's repentance and the prayers
of the Church. Penance was not prescribed in the ancient
Church only to give satisfaction to the Church for the scandal
of bad example: those that imagine this shall not take notice
of any mention of it in ecclesiastical writers, but they shall
find their mistake convinced: it was to appease the wrath of
God offended, and to recover His favour again, which is in
Firmilianus' terms, "to make satisfaction to God;" not in the senseless and impious sense of the now Church of Rome,
to make Him recompense for the debt of punishment incurred,
but according to the use of the word in good Latin, to ap-
pease His wrath with true sorrow, and with cordial contrition,
to seek reconciliation. Imposition of hands was not used
once, in pronouncing sentence of forgiveness; but always at
public service, during the prescript time of penance, those of

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* Prim. Govern., chap. vii. sect. 4.  sect. 11.
that state, after the earnest prayers of the congregation for their pardon, coming and kneeling afore the Bishop, holding his hands over their heads, with his blessing and prayers for that purpose, were dismissed afore the mysteries: this was called on their part ὑπόττωσις or falling down, on his part χειροθεσία or imposition of hands in penance\(^d\). In the ministry of these means of forgiveness the power of the keys is seen. In Rhenanus’ argument to Tertullian’s book de Pænitentia\(^e\) are to be found divers remarkable things to this purpose, out of the Penitentials of Theodulphus of Orleans, and Theodore of Canterbury, out of St. Basil and Tertullian, that confession to God is that which cleanseth sin, but confession to the Church is to the course of learning the course men are to hold in seeking pardon, and obtaining the prayers of the Church to that purpose.

§ 81. Besides this, I find that St. Cyprian hath placed the power of the keys in the Sacrament of Baptism. His words are these, Epist. lxxiii.\(^f\): Manifestum est autem, ubi et per quos remissa peccatorum dari possit, qua in baptismo scilicet datur. Nam Petrus primus Dominus—super quem ædificavit Ecclesiam, et unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit—potestatem istam dedit, ut id solveretur in cælis, quod ille solvisset in terris. “Now it is manifest where and by whom remission of sins may be given, I mean that which is given in baptism. For unto Peter—upon whom He built the Church, and from

\(^d\) See sect. 24.


whom He appointed and expressed the original of unity—
our Lord at first gave this power, that it should be loosed in
heaven which he loosed on earth.” And by and by after-
wards: Unde intelligimus, non nisi in Ecclesiæ præpositis, et in
Evangelica lege ac Dominica ordinatione fundatis, licere baptizare,
et remissam peccatorum dare; “Whence we understand that
it is not lawful but for those that are set over the Church,
and founded upon the law of the Gospel, and the ordinance
of our Lord, to baptize and give remission of sins;” to wit,
as is given by the power which St. Peter received under the
figure of the keys of God’s Church.

§ 82. I find further that Primasius, a scholar of St. Augus-
tine’s, seems to place the power of binding and loosing in the
Sacrament of the Eucharist, in Apocalyp. viii. 36. A thing
somewhat strange, to make the power of binding and loosing
all one with the Sacraments: but that it is to be remembered
that the judgment of the Church and the ministers of it goes
before the ministering of them, to discern how fit they are for
them that pretend, and to constrain them to the means which
make them capable of forgiveness. It is no more than follows
there in St. Cyprianb, speaking of rebaptizing those that
returned from their heresies: Quapropter, qui fidei et veritati
præsumus, eos qui ad fidem et veritatem veniunt, et agentes pæn-
tentiam remitti sibi peccata deposcunt, decipere non debemus et
fallere: sed correctos à nobis, ac reformatos, ad regnum caelo-
rum disciplinis caelestibus erudire. “Therefore we that are
over the faith and truth must not deceive nor cozen those
that come to the faith and truth, and doing penance, desire
their sins to be remitted, but instruct them, amended and
reformed by us, to the kingdom of heaven, with heavenly
discipline.” They that returned from heresies sought remis-

sion of sins by repentance: his opinion was that it was not to
be had without a second baptism: and the power of binding

* Et accepit Angelus thuribulum et
implevit illud ex igne aræ Dei, et misit
in terram. Et accepit Dominus corpus
suum, id est, Ecclesiam; et perficiendo
Patris voluntatem, impelvit illam ex
igne aræ, id est, ex potestate solvendi
atque ligandi quæ consistit in sacrificiis
et propitiatione Dei. Hinc dicitur
etiam, Qui factit Angelos suos Spiritus
et ministros suos ignem ardentes. In
his enim accepit Ecclesia omnum po-
testatem in caelo et in terra, dum Dei
sacrificium perfectum, offerente Domino
se principaliter et exhibentibus Sanctis
sua corpora hostiam vivam sanctam.
—Primas. in Apocalyp., ib. iii. in
316. Lugdun. 1677.

and loosing he makes to consist in prescribing repentance and admitting them to baptism upon repentance.

§ 83. So that in some he shall seem most sufficiently to comprise the whole charge of binding and loosing, that shall make it to consist in the ministry of those means which dispose men to be capable of remission of sins. In which regard the ministers of the Church shall be said, with as much propriety of speech, to remit and retain sins, to bind and loose, as the physician is said to cure those diseases in which he does no more but prescribe or apply the remedies. But no man doubts but this office, as it is appointed in respect of God to procure pardon, so is it in respect of the conscience to assure it: which assurance, as it is warrantable for them to give, that have seen the course performed which they are intrusted to prescribe, so is it due for him to receive that hath performed it.

§ 84. Suppose then we leave it questionable—as not to be disputed in this place—what sins are to come under the discipline of penance, either of necessity, or for a sure course of procuring their pardon: certain it is that the children of God do continually remember, with remorse and bitterness of spirit, the sins which they committed of old: and certain it is that men's daily offences are not capable of so solemn a cure: so great is the number of them that it is not possible for man's mind to attend them in particular. And as certain it is that there is no means so powerful to obtain pardon of them as the daily prayers of the congregation to that purpose. So that the course which the Church prescribeth for the pardon of daily offences being put in practice, what can be more just, more due, than to declare that forgiveness which those that dissemble not, those that are as they pretend to be, do attain? What more comfortable than to hear the news of it from his mouth by whom the Church ministereth the office? What more seasonable than to do this before we come to praise God and hear His word, that we may persuade our hearts that He accepteth this service at the hands of them that hate not to reform themselves?

§ 85. In this consideration I must needs prefer the order of this Church of England before that of other reformed Churches, in that we put confession of sins in the first place.
The public worship beginneth with prayer, and reading some portion of Holy Scripture both of the Old and New Testament, which the people hear with attention and reverence, and after reading, the whole congregation joineth in singing some psalm. This reading and singing do continue till the preaching begin; at which time the minister having prefixed a little for quickening and lifting up the hearts of the people, first maketh a prayer for remission of sin, sanctification, and all things needful, joining also confession of sins and Thanksgiving, with special relation to the hearers; after which in the forenoon is another psalm, and after the psalm a prayer for a blessing upon the preaching of the word."—The Government and Order of the Church of Scotland, pp. 15, 16. Edinburgh, 1641.

"The most of them [the Puritans] that are but doctors—as they term themselves—and readers of lectures in other men's charges, do seldom or never come to the service which is read in the church according to Her Majesty's laws; but under pretence of studying for their sermons, do absent themselves until service be done, or at the least almost finished, and then they come in, gravely I warrant you, and do go to this their own form of service."—Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 103. London, 1595, and 1640.

"Give leave to me, a poor minister of God's Holy Word, to put you in mind of some errors in the public worship and service of God, as they call it, for which many of His Majesty's subjects have, and daily do, more and more, with grief of heart refrain from coming to the public worship and service of God, till the service be all read."—Certain Grievances worthy the Consideration of Parliament, p. 1. A.D. 1640. See chap. vi. sect. 16.
justice to be required at their hands, that have been the means to intercept it, by the unjust disgrace which they have stuck upon the settled order of this service.

§ 86. Now as concerning the ancient and general course of God's praises, and reading the Scripture, it appeareth by Justin Martyr and Tertullian, that the order of reading the Scripture in the Church was arbitrary in their time, as accommodated to the condition of the times and occasions of their assemblies, by the guides of several Churches. The one of them saith that the Scriptures are read, μὴ χρονον ἐγγυωρι, "as far as occasion serves:" the other's words are these, Apologet., cap. xxxix. Coimus ad literarum Divinarum commemorationem, si quid prae sentium temporum qualitas aut praemonere cogit aut recognoscere. "We assemble to repeat the Scriptures of God"—not like those that will not assemble till they be read—"what the condition of the present times enforceth either to forewarn or to recognise." The order which is accommodated to the condition of the times, cannot be certain and appointed afore.

§ 87. The reason why a set order in these parts of public service is now preferred before the disposition of the guides of Churches from time to time, is the same for which men choose to live by positive law, rather than by the will of their rulers, though, if men were as they should be, it is manifest that they might cut straighter by the thread of justice, applying right reason to the case, than ruling their proceedings by a general that was not built upon the particular. The order might be better were it left to particular disposing, but the courses of the world enforceth to presume that it would be for the worse. Besides, in ecclesiastical matters by a set order we attain uniformity with other Churches, to help towards the unity of the whole; we avoid disputes about what is most fitting, which in matters of this probable nature must needs be endless; we avoid jealousies and umbrages upon that which is not customable. What this amounts to, St. Augus-

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m See the passage cited in chap. vi. sect. 10.

n "And contrary to the opinion of Bishop Jewel, who affirmeth that to limit and diet the people, what they ought to read and what they ought to leave, was sometimes the superstitious discretion of the rabbies."—The Abolishing of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 1. A.D. 1641.
tine's experience may teach us, Serm. cxxiv." de Tempore. 
Volueram aliquando, ut per singulos annos secundum omnes 
Evangelistas etiam passio legeretur: factum est: non audierunt 
homines quod consuerant, et perturbati sunt. "I had once a 
desire that every year the passion also"—as the resurrection, 
in Easter week—"should be read according to all the Evange-
glists: it was done: men heard what they had not wont to 
hear, and were troubled."

§ 88. How unjust the charge of the Mass upon our service 
is, hath appeared in the first point of it: how untrue it is 
will appear in the next, that is, in the order of psalms and 
lessons at the daily morning and evening service. For, if 
because the Breviary and Mass contain a certain order of 
psalms and lessons for the service of God, therefore all orders 
of psalms and lessons to that purpose are derived from the 
Breviary and Mass, and chargeable with the corruptions of 
them; what shall become of the ancient Church before there 
was any such thing as Breviary or Mass, that is, either form 
of public service in the opinion of those that profess this, or, 
according to the truth, as the Mass importeth the corruptions 
of public service? What shall become of the Church under 
the Apostles, when public service consisted of the same in-
gredients, as hath been shewed, and the order of them is no 
more than St. Paul's rule, "Let all things be done decently 
and in order?" but if the meaning of these clamours be to 
say that this same order of going over the Psalter once a 
month, at daily morning and evening service, of going over 
the Bible, or all the most convenient of it, once a year, is the 
order of the Breviary and Mass, it might concern all men 
either of honesty or shame, though not to look into the 
Breviary or Mass, of which they are so confident, yet to look 
upon the preface of this our service which they condemn 
without understanding, and think whether men of common 
sense would use all those excellent reasons to excuse the 
alteration of that course, which now they are accused for 
retaining.

" Serm. cxvii. In diebus Paschali-
" Chap. vi. sect. 9—24. 
" Fatio breviora esse illorum Bre-
viarum, Missale, Rituale, quam Ponti-
ficiorum. Then he recites the sub-
stance of the preface to the Book of 
Common Prayer, Concerning the Service 
of the Church,— Liturgia Ecclesiae An-
glicaee, si credere fas sit, revocata est
§ 89. But granting all to be true which is so apparently false, were the Mass worse than it is, and all this the very order contained in it, is it possible that any man of judgment or conscience should think it enough to say that this or that is in the Breviary or Mass, and never trouble himself to shew that it is part of the corruptions which they contain? What reason is there to prove that the order of the Psalter once a month is not for the service of God, and the edification of His Church? this Church abolisheth not the use of psalms to musical tunes, where they may have place in the course of our service. Is it demanded further, that the monthly course of the Psalter be abolished to make them room? If it be, the Church is bidden to loss, and the service of God shall suffer in it: the people is now more plentifully conducted to the knowledge of God, and His praises, according to His own word: then, the ruder sort shall have much ado to dream over a psalm, in a great deal of time, in a manner so far from that decency to which it pretendeth, as may be a just means to deaden the devotion of such as are not set upon a good edge.

§ 90. The answers of the people represent, in some sort, that most ancient and commendable fashion of antiphones, and teach them their office, and conduct them to bear their part in the praises of God, not to sit by as hearers, where they are to be actors. And where that fashion may be represented to the truth, in the more skilful congregations of collegiate and cathedral Churches, what a strange prejudice is it that will not suffer reasonable persons to relish the advantage of it in the service of God? but all this affords no ground to condemn the course of those more skilful congregations of collegiate and cathedral Churches, in singing the hymns


"Tertium quod damnamus, est cantus alternatus, cum in Horis Canonici Psalni alternatim per singulos versus a psallentibus dicatur, quae alternatio Antiphona vocatur. . . . after describing the institution of this way of singing, he proceeds; Quisquis est author, institutum non est laudabile, quia non intelligitur plerumque materia, et qui canere debet et voce et corde, corde canit non ore ut debet, siquidem in hunc finem institutus cantus ut voce et cantu proferamus laudes Dei.—Didoclav. Altare Damascen., pp. 490-1."
with music, provided the congregation may understand and go along in their devotions. He that undertakes to do it shall be sure to run upon a rock from which he shall not come off without splitting, that is, the precedent of the public service of God in the temple. For let no man think that this is to be ranked with the figurative service of God, according to the ceremonial law: that he must leave to the inner court of priests; the praises of God are part of the perpetual service of God in spirit and truth, to last under the gospel, instituted and indicted by the prophets, ministers of that service, frequented by the Apostles, and a precedent for the Church, according to the rule of edification of it.

§ 91. I am ashamed to repeat here the needless quarrels with the old translation of the psalms in use*. Men seem now to be wise enough to see the shameless partiality which they contain, in that men should be so quick as to see so many faults in that, and pass by all the extreme barbarisms, the spurious additions, the false translations which the psalms in metre contain. I suppose the Church intends not to aver all that is read in the Church to be truly translated. If so, God help the universal Church when it had no Scripture of the Old Testament, but the Greek, and the translations of it. Let them that find fault employ themselves, and all they can make, to translate but that one book of Psalms; if they put their work past a considerable number of just exceptions, I am ready to forfeit for one. It is sufficient to my understanding, and always was, that what is read in the Church is more fit for the edification of it than to go about to change it. And what interest hath any man not to desire change

* "Because many things therein contained are stumbling-blocks before the feet of many, such as these, the clogging it with ceremonies, and the often and impertinent reiterating of the Lord's Prayer, the ill translation of the Psalms, and other Scriptures."—Simeonmunns, chap. ii. quere i. p. 12.

"Seeing we are here fallen upon the consideration or examination of the Service-book, let all wise-hearted and well-instructed scholars in Christ's school, that have learned the art of separating the precious from the vile, but tell me what they think of Apocryphal books, publicly read in churches as if they were the Holy Scriptures. . . . . . . What of the lame and incongruous, yea senseless translations of those sundry Scriptures with the Psalms?"—Christ on His Throne, case vi. pp. 26, 27. See a large collection of alleged mistranslations in a book with this title: A Defence of the Ministers' Reasons for Refusal of Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer and Uniformity, imprinted 1607.
in that point, but St. Augustine’s experience alleged afore, non audierunt homines quod consuerant, et perturbati sunt?

§ 92. What will any man say now to the order of reading the Scriptures once a year in the Church? shall this be the thanks of the Church of England for renewing that religious order of the ancient Church, and providing a public course for the people to become acquainted with the Scripture, to say that it is out of the Breviary or Mass? the offence is, because some of the Apocrypha are read: before that offence had been taken, it should have been shewed that nothing but that which is inspired by the Holy Ghost should be heard in the Church. What then would a number of good sermons become, which, how good soever, no man dare say are inspired. Sure they that will advise with reason and conscience, not with prejudice, must enquire whether the reading of them promote or hinder the edification of the Church. In that respect, so far is it from me to put out some Apocrypha, that I would rather put in the first of Maccabees, as describing the fulfilling of some of Daniel’s prophecies, and the then state of God’s people.

§ 93. But is it from the Mass that the Church of England learned to restore the sermon into the due place at solemn service? I should have thought it one of the abuses of the Mass, that whereas, by the universal custom of the Church, the place of it appeared, there the use of it was for the most part silenced. The good order of this Church, and the success God hath lent it, hath prevailed so far, that this apostolical order may be said to have recovered the ancient place and rank. As for the afternoon sermon, I am yet to

1 Sect. 87.
2 “Touching this their Service-book and liturgy in general, this we say; In that by their liturgy they prescribe what and how much to read, at morn to their matins, at even &c., teaching the Church and ministry to pray by number, stint, and proportion, it is not only popish, but most frivolous and vain, disgracing and not instructing the Church and ministry.
3 In that by this their liturgy they prescribe unto the Church what Scriptures publicly to read, and when to read them, as these chapters and psalms at their matins before noon, those at afternoon, &c., on all the days that they have public meetings and service through the year, and so from year to year; they thereby take from the Church the holy and free use both of the Scriptures and Spirit of God. . . . . . .
4 “In that they bring in and command the Apocryphal writings to be publicly read in the Church: they both maintain and publicly teach the dangerous errors therein contained to the poisoning and subverting of the faith of the Church.”—Greenwood’s Refutation of Giffard, pp. 49, 50. A.D. 1591.
5 The House of Commons on Mon-
learn what place it had in the public service of the Church, by what command of Scripture, what rule or custom of the ancient Church it is pressed. Timothy is commanded to be instant in season and out of season, but to what purpose to publish the word, to do the office of an evangelist, to win strangers to the faith. How can that be importune? so Paul preached at Troas till midnight. If that be our precedent, let us celebrate the Eucharist as those of the Church of Rome do, on Christmas-eve.

§ 94. There are examples of preaching as well evening as morning in the ancient Church, but at particular times, and on particular occasions: my question is, to shew me the place of the sermon in the afternoon service, as it hath been shewed in the morning service, otherwise not satisfied of any rule or custom of the Church. Not because men's laws are not a fence to God's law, and that it is not for the good of the Church the more it is frequented, as it ought, especially to the purpose that the people may sufficiently understand their profession, and the grounds of it: but because it is reason that the offices of the Church be practised with respect to opportunities and abilities, not in such sort as may neither advance the honour of God, nor of the profession which we make.

§ 95. We hear no news of new reasons against the Creed, for part of the service. It was a great work to settle such forms as might conclude, and confine, and bring to light the malice of heretics. The next work to that was to bring it into the service. So was it best commended to the knowledge, to the respect of God's people; which respect, had
it been preserved, this new varnish of old heresies, which prevaleth so far abroad, is not like to have taken with the people.

§ 96. What shall I say of the collects or prayers which the daily service concludes with? My proposition allows me not to dispute the particular conceptions or terms in which they are expressed. But I must commend the order of answers of the people in all places of the service where it stands. It refreshes their attention; it teacheth them their part at public prayers, not to stand by and censure how well the minister plays the mouth of the congregation. If they be to act their part in it, the part assigned them in our service conducts them in doing their office. As for the subject of them, the occasions of several seasons and solemnities, protection against bodily and ghostly enemies, conduct of God's grace and providence, success of the rule of the commonwealth, and guidance of the Church, and the like; it is unknown to me, that any thing is more fit and requisite than these to be remembered at all public assemblies. It hath been shewed that those prayers for all states and conditions of persons in the Church, which since have been called litanies, were from the beginning frequent at the solemn service of the Church, before the celebration of the Eucharist, and that it is like so to have been even under the Apostles.

§ 97. Now though the condition of the Church be not for the present capable of so good and so excellent a custom as the continual celebration of the Eucharist on Lord's days, yet was there great reason that the litanies should be prescribed on these days nevertheless, as the next member of the public service of God, observed from the beginning of the Church. And because they contain matter of supplication, for the diverting of God's judgments, and obtaining of


* See sect. 59.
His blessings, nothing could be more suitable than to add
them to the daily morning service on Wednesdays and
Fridays, as the exercise of that continual humiliation before
God to which the observation of these days was intended, to
the unspeakable benefit of the Church, and the continual dis-
charge of those most excellent offices of fasting, prayer, and
alms among Christians.

§ 98. It is past mine apprehension to imagine wherein any
man will pretend to fault the act of confession of sins in the
public service of God, before celebrating and receiving the
Eucharist. For if repentance be a disposition requisite to
make men capable of the grave which it exhibiteth, shall it
not be exercised at the public service of God, which our
common profession acknowledgeth so necessary, rather than
only presumed to be performed in particular? and if it prove
by the verdict of all consciences to be darkened from time
to time by the intercourse of daily offences, joined with un-
thankfulness and unfruitfulness, is not that order, for the edification of the Church, which reviveth, and refresheth,
and enlighteneth it, at so solemn an act of religious service
as this?

§ 99. Sure I am, that whosoever will lay his hand upon an
honest heart, shall not say that the form which we use is
taken out of the Mass, when he considereth that which the
reformation teatcheth and professeth of free pardon of sins
through Christ, to be so comfortably expressed in it. And
seeing it hath been shewed afore, that in the practice of the
ancient Church, to them which for notorious or acknowledged
offences were under the state of penance, the means of forgiv-
ness was partly ministered in the public prayers of the Church
and the ministers of it, what can be more suitable to this prac-

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* In ordine isto precum Matutinarum et Veaspertinarum reprehensione digna sunt . . . quod feriis quartis et sextis, magis quam secundis, tertiiis, quintis, litania et supplicationes cantandae.—Didoclav. Altare Damascen., pp. 625. 627.

Cur magis diebus Mercurii et Veneris obligantur, quam aliis temporibus, et ad Litaniam magis quam alias preces . . . Sed ad officium feriale neminem invitum avocatione sua legitima abstrahendum sentio, nisi extraordina-
tice, and the grounds of it—on behalf of those that acknowledge themselves sinners, but are not reduced by the Church under that discipline—than that prayer or blessing wherein he that celebrateth the Eucharist imploret that grace on their behalf at God's hands? to me it seemeth, that the rehearsal of the decalogue in the beginning of that, which some still call the latter service, together with the answers of the people, craving pardon and grace to observe them for the future, is to the very purpose of this confession of sins, and to actuate our repentance by calling to mind our offences by retail, though it is in the order of our service somewhat removed from it, as being thought fit, for other reasons, to be used when the Eucharist was not celebrated.

§ 100. Notwithstanding, were it left to my choice, I confess I should think the most proper place for this confession of sins to be that which it holdeth in the first edition of Edward VI., after the consecration of the elements, and before receiving them, with that prayer which beginneth "We do not presume"... after the same: for the reason why it hath been otherwise ordered seemeth to have been to avoid offence, lest it might be thought to import transubstantiation, in those words spoken after consecration, "So to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His blood:" the cause of which offence, if any such may be imagined, seemeth to me utterly voided in the words added there, "So to eat the flesh of Thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink His blood in these holy mysteries."

§ 101. Thus much let me be bold to affirm, that it would be a great fault in the Church to celebrate this Sacrament without something answerable to that thanksgiving wherewith it was first instituted by our Lord, and practised by the whole Church. Suppose it contain no mention of the creation, and
the blessing of God's creatures, because, as hath been said, it seemeth to have been practised heretofore in relation to man's bodily sustenance, wherewith it was instituted and practised at the first: without thanksgiving for the redemption of the world it is not duly received; therefore with it it is duly celebrated. Of this thanksgiving for the redemption of the world there is due remembrance in the very end of the exhortation, from those words, "And above all things" . . . . therefore it seemeth that the preface, wherein that thanksgiving is contained and expressed, after "Lift up your hearts," had followed very seasonably after remembrance of the cause and ground of it. But the substance of that which is done is always the same.

§ 102. Further, how little soever the grace of God's goodness depend on that which by man is ordered for the fittest, and though it is not pretended that any law of God in the Scriptures enacteth this Sacrament to be celebrated with that thanksgiving from which it is called the Eucharist, or that prayer for the effect of Christ's institution at the present, which is the close of it: yet since it hath been shewed that so this Sacrament hath been celebrated from the beginning of the Church, and that for so good reasons upon our Lord's example at the institution of it, and since this course so much concerns the edification of the Church, it seemeth altogether requisite that the elements be not supposed deputed for such a blessing to the congregation by the mere act of receiving them to such purpose, but should be actually and formally deputed by remembering the institution of our Lord, and by the prayer of the Church, professing the execution, and begging the blessing of the same, which I suppose is called consecration among us. a

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a The liturgy used when Thorndike wrote this book had no rubric directing the priest to place the elements on the Altar, nor was the word omissions in the prayer for the Church militant. The rubric before the prayer of consecration was this—"Then the priest standing up, shall say as followeth." There were also no directions as at present concerning the act of consecration, upon which Calderwood thus observes: Utrum vero, dum Deum alloquitur et recitat verba institutionis accipit panem et polum in manus, ut in canone Missae prescrititur, ex liturgia Anglicana non sais liqueat, nisi quod innuere videantur verba ista, has suas creaturas, vel in manus suamere vel manibus extensis demonstrare.—Dido. Altr. Darnacen., p. 723. "The priest is ordained to place and to offer up the bread and wine upon the Lord's table." This is spoken of the Scottish liturgy, "that it may be ready for that service, just the popish offering in that place of the Mass, of the bread and wine, as a
§ 103. Gregory the Great* and Isidore† tell us that the Apostles, and St. Peter by name, celebrated the Eucharist with the Lord's Prayer alone; but that "alone" must be understood to except other accessories to the manner of celebrating, consisting in the Eucharist or thanksgiving, whereof the prayer of consecration was the foot and close. Rabanus de Institutione Clericorum, lib. i. cap. 32*. Cum benedictione enim et gratiarum actione primùm Dominus corporis et sanguinis sui Sacramenta dedicavit, et Apostolis tradidit, quod exinde Apostoli imitati fecere, et successores suos facere docuerunt, quod et nunc, per totum orbem terrarum, generaliter tota custodit Ecclesia: "For our Lord at first initiated, and delivered to His Apostles the mysteries of His body and blood, with blessing and thanksgiving, which thence the Apostles imitated, and did, and taught their successors to do, and which now the whole Church generally observeth all the world over." That which hath been said is enough to shew that it was always celebrated with this thanksgiving, the foot whereof, as hath been shewed, was the prayer of the Church for the effect of the institution of our Lord at the present.

§ 104. Where are they now that take upon them to say that all our service is taken out of the Massb? how will they preparatory sacrifice for the propitiation following." And again; "They make an express rubric for the priest's taking of the paten and chalice in his hand in the time of consecration, which taking not being either for his own participation or distribution to others, why shall we not understand the end of it to be that which the Mass there enjoins the paten and chalice—their elevation and adoration."—Ludensium Autokatarkisis, chap. vii. p. 101 and p. 108.

And in another place, p. 104; "In the canon there are two parts most principal, which the Papias call the heart and head thereof— the prayers of consecration and oblation; this head the English strikes off; this heart they pull out of their book, that the wicked serpent should not have any life among them." This explains Thoindike's "I suppose."


a Prima pars libri Liturgiae Anglicae respondet Breviario Romano, quo continetur officium horarium, seu prae-cum Matutinarum et Vespertinarum. In Breviario Romano habent septem horas Canonicas, Angli tantum duas, Matutinarum et Vespertinarum nempe
discharge themselves in this most eminent point; or how will they be able to digest this untruth, which the least insight of the Mass will thrust down their throat? The form of the Mass was related afore, Ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi; and it was shewed that transubstantiation is not contained in these words: nevertheless, because there might be offence taken at the words, upon the sense of those that use them, we see them altered into those terms wherein the truth of that which is done is most excellently expressed, to the intent of the Scripture, and true sense of the primitive Church, in these words, "Hear us, O merciful Father;" and those which follow. In like sort, because the very term of offering and sacrifice, though used with a far other meaning than the Church of Rome professeth, seemeth to sound their meaning, it is not only removed out of the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, but the prayer itself removed, to stand afore the consecration, as we conjectured it did stand in the African precum. Officium habent sicut Pontificii, ordinarium et proprium de tempore. Nam habent proprias lectiones diebus dominicis et aliis solennioribus. Officii horariorum partes sunt sententiae breves sacrae Scripturae, confessio, absolutionis, preces, psalmi et cantica, lectiones ex Scriptura et libris Apocryphi, collectae aliquae orationes et preces.—Didov. Altare Damascen, p. 624.

1 Sect. 57.

k In the first liturgy used in the reign of Edward VI. the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church came after the preface, and was succeeded immediately by the prayer of consecration, which was not concluded with Amen, but followed by a prayer beginning "Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father," something like that which in the present liturgy begins "O Lord, and heavenly," after the Lord's prayer. In the second liturgy—used in Thorn-dike's—day—the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church was at the beginning of the service, as it is now—and at the Restoration the word oblations was inserted in it. In the Scottish liturgy the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church has the same place that it has in the modern English, but the words in the prayer of consecration—partly recited in the text—were as follows, slightly different from what they were in the first English liturgy: Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech Thee, and of Thy Almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with Thy word and Holy Spirit these Thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son, so that we receiving them according to Thy Son. These alterations were disagreeable to the Presbyterians. "Of all the limbs of the Mass, the most substantial for many evil qualities are those three which lie contiguous together, the Offertory, the Canon, the Communion. The Popish Offertory in itself is a foul practice. This piece of the Mass the English did clean abolish, but behold how much of it our present reformers are pleased to replant in our book. The English prayer for the Catholic Church is in our book cast immediately at the back of the offering of bread and wine, and that we may know it must be taken for the offertory prayer that stands there in the Missal, and that for the benefit not only of the living but also of the dead."—Ladens. AUTOBAT., pp. 100—102.

1 See sect. 62.
Churches, and not after it, to give opinion that Christ, present by consecration, was sacrificed then for the quick and dead, as the Church of Rome imagineth.

§ 105. Of the rest of the service of the Eucharist I shall need to say nothing, having shewed that in the ancient Church, as with us, the time of communicating was transacted with psalms after that thanksgiving, the dismissal upon that. The people is dismissed with the blessing in our service, as in the most ancient form related in the Constitutions of the Apostles; and so in the reformed Churches of France, though they use that of Moses, still frequented by the synagogue. In the service prescribed for Lord's days and festivals, when the Eucharist is not celebrated, it is not strange if something be added above the ordinary course to make it more solemn, though it had been rather to be wished that the world were disposed for the true solemnity of it.

§ 106. Is the voice of the law, calling us to mind our offences, and moving to crave pardon and grace for the future, nothing to the service of God? The lessons of the Epistles and Gospels belong indeed to the first part of the service, as hath been shewed; but shall we take them to come from the Mass, where they are last found, or from St. Hierome, from whom they seem first to have come? And was it not convenient in them to remember what the Church celebrateth at several seasons and solemnities of the year and to promote the edification of the Church, and instruction of the people in the mysteries of the faith, by giving preachers a subject of their sermons suitable to those solemnities. Last of all, though the world is not disposed to the continual celebration of the Eucharist, yet was it requisite, in reverence to the Apostle's order, and the universal practice of the Church, that the prayer for all states of the same should be used at almost all solemn assemblies, which because it always went

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*m* Sect. 71.

*n* Canunt vel recitant offertorium, etiamsi nullus adit qui offerat. Nam nulli offerre debent secundum ritum veterum, nisi qui communicaturi sunt. Si nulli adiunt communicantes nihil offertur, et tamen hic dicitur post Offertorium. Et iva—Here he quotes the first rubric at the end of the communion office. Hic habemus missam sic-cam; nam licet non celebrant singu-lis festis sacram conam, collectas Mis-sae diei festi recitant, et umbram sine corpore habent, ut supra dictum.—I. e. in p. 719.—Didoclav. Altare Damas-cen., p. 725.

{o} See sect. 20.

*p* See sect. 13.
along with the Eucharist, as it is used, serves to put us in mind what is wanting.

§ 107. In fine, though all forms of service devised by men must needs remain disputable, and happy it is when so they are but upon slight matters, so my hope is that from hence will appear that the form which we use deserves this commendation, that it is possible to alter it for the better, but easy to alter it for the worse. Thus far upon the principles propounded in the beginning, of things remembered in the Scripture concerning the public service of God, and the most ancient and general practice of the Church to expound them. I have discoursed the substance and form of God’s public service at solemn assemblies for that purpose, the circumstances of it, and the particular form which we use. Of the rest of ecclesiastical offices, and the course we use in them, it was not my purpose to say any thing at the present: in which, nevertheless, the reasons hitherto disputed will easily take place, to shew both that it is for the edification of the Church that the performance of them be solemn and by pre­script form, and that the form which we use is exceeding commendable.

CHAPTER XI.

HOW THE FORM OF PUBLIC SERVICE IS ORDERED. DEPENDENCE OF CHURCHES IS FROM THE APOSTLES, FOR THAT AND OTHER PURPOSES. HOW THE PREACHING OF LAYMEN IMPORTS SCHISM. THE GOOD OF THE ORDER OF PUBLIC SERVICE.

And now, without further dispute, it is to be seen what is prescribed concerning the public service of God in the Scriptures, and what is left to be ordered by human appointment. The particular offices whereof it consisteth—of public prayers and the praises of God—of reading and expounding the Scriptures—of the celebration of the Eucharist, and the rest, are prescribed and recommended to the Church in the rules and practice of Holy Scripture. The order and form in which they are to be performed is acknowledged on all hands that it ought to be prescript⁴, yet is it nowhere prescribed in

* Præscriptas verborum formulas in habuisse ex sacra Scriptura colligi non liturgia Ecclesias Apostolorum sæculo potest, præter verba determinata a
AT RELIGIOUS ASSEMBLIES.

the Scriptures, but left to human ordinance: that which is to be preached is acknowledged on all hands to be referred for the most part to the private endeavours of particular persons: not in respect to any immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost, otherwise to be quenched, but because it is the ordinary means to instruct and admonish whole congregations in that which most concerneth them of the knowledge and doctrine of the Scriptures. Public prayers, some think, are to be ministered according to the disposition and discretion of particular guides of particular congregations, by virtue of the Apostle's ordinance, forbidding to quench the Spirit. Here it is proved that, because it is confessed that the grace of praying by immediate inspiration is not now extant, therefore the purpose of this ordinance ceaseth, and that the ordinary rule of the edification of the Church to be attained by the order and comeliness of these things which are done at public assemblies, is followed to far more purpose in the use of a form prescript and uniform.

§ 2. It is further here to be observed, that whatsoever may concern the honour of God, the unity of the Church, the truth of religion, and the recommendation of it, is most effectually to be procured—as procured it was from the beginning of our faith—by the dependence of Churches, visibly derived from the Apostles, for that and other purposes.

Christo in Baptismo et sacra Coena . . .

"Studied sermons are of another nature. It is an ordinance of God that sermons should be studied before preached. Jude made it his whole study, πάντα ἕξετείνα, to write his Epistle, Jude 3. How much more ought we to make it our whole study to preach, who are not so immediately inspired."

THORDIKE.

Solomon gave good heed, and sought out to find and set in order fit words and matter for the edification of the people, Eccles. xii. 9, 10. And behold less than Solomon are ministers here, though in respect of the clear discerning the mysteries of Christ the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than he. Timothy is exhorted to give attendance to reading."—Cotton's Answer to Ball's Discourse of Set Forms of Prayer, p. 3. London, 1612.

"A true minister of Christ ought not to be tied with the bonds and lines of a written form of prayer that must be read, for as much as hereby the spirit of prayer in him is bound up, and both he and the people of God deprived both of the benefit of such a gift, and of that profit also which the prevailing prayer of Christ's Spirit procures of God."—Christ on His Throne, case vii. p. 32. See the notes to chap. vii. sect. 2.

1 See chap. vii. sect. 3—12.
from the appointment and ordinance of the Apostles. It hath been declared, that according to that which was done by Barnabas and Paul ordaining presbyters through the Churches, Acts xiv. 23, according to that which Titus is instructed to ordain presbyters through the cities, Titus i. 5, that is, colleges of presbyters to order the Churches founded in populous cities, so throughout the whole Christian world were all Churches of cities thought meet for their greatness—whether instituted by the Apostles, or propagated thence—[to be] governed by presbyters or colleges of presbyters, the heads whereof were Bishops, in succession to the Apostles. We know the Gospel attained to the countries and territories lying under these cities, upon the preaching of the Apostles: the Scripture saith, Acts xiii. 49, upon the first preaching of Paul and Barnabas, “The word of the Lord was dispersed all over the country:” and Clemens, disciple of the Apostles, Epist. ad Corinth.\textsuperscript{2}, 

\textit{Kατὰ χώρας ὦν καὶ πόλεις κηρύσσοντες, καθίσαντες τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶν, δοκιμάζοντες τῷ Πνεύματι, εἰς Ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύων.} “Preaching therefore through cities and countries, they made the first-fruits of them, trying them by the Spirit, Bishops and deacons of such as should believe,” speaking of the Apostles and their time: and we are ready to believe that congregations might be planted in these countries and territories during their time, though we read nothing of it here, and the division of titles and Churches, that is, city and rural congregations, in the Church of Rome, is assigned in the Popes’ Lives to a far later time than this.\textsuperscript{3}

\textsuperscript{2} Prim. Govern., chap. iii. sect. 2.
\textsuperscript{3} 7 In the Life of Evaristus, who was Pope in the year 100, we read, Hic titulós in urbe Roma divitis presbyteris. —Labbei, tom. i. col. 533. And of Dionysius, who was made Pope A.D. 259, Hic presbyteris Ecclesiae divitis et coemeteria parochiaisque et dioceses constituit,—Ib. col. 847. ed. Venet. The Puritans, however, had a different doctrine about the original of parishes, probably derived from a passage in Calvin’s Institutions strictly interpreted, lib. iv. cap. iv. 2. “I have shewed,” faith Cartwright in his reply to Whitgift, “and the matter is plain, that the Lord divided national Churches into parishes and congregations, so that if St. Paul have not the word of parish, yet he hath the thing.”—A Reply to an Answer of Dr. Whitgift, p. 50. Upon which Whitgift asks, “Where hath the Lord divided national Churches into parishes and congregations?”—Defence, p. 250. Cartwright, in reply, saith, “It is manifest these divisions were before the Monks’ time, yes, before the Apostles’ time;” but at the same time seems to withdraw from his first assertion, for thus he quotes his own words repeated by Whitgift—“He
§ 3. But do we not know that according to the general and primitive custom of the Church these rural congregations received their ministers from the mother-Churches in which their ordinations were made? Doth it not appear to common sense, that the form of God's public service, as it hath been described—uniform in the main ingredients from the beginning, unconformable in particulars of less moment—was practised by particular congregations according to their mother-Churches? Doth not the distinction of dioceses, or, as they were first called, παροικίαι, habitations adjoining to chief cities, received in all parts of the Church, proclaim that the institution and appointment of it cannot have been accessory and particular, but universal and primitive? And what cause have we to doubt that the Holy Ghost, directing the Apostles, should move them to that course which, according to the condition of the world, must needs be most reasonable? Or who can doubt that, according to the condition of the world, it is most reasonable to presume that frequent and populous residences must needs be furnished of men of best abilities, and means to know the right course of ordering public matters of the Church, for most advantage to the truth of religion, the peace of the Church, and the service of God, rather than that vulgar and rude congregations, inflamed with the ignorance and malice and overweening of unable guides, should choose for themselves, not only in things necessary for their own souls' health, wherein all have their due interest, but in things concerning the general state of the Church, which they are neither bound nor able to understand.

§ 4. I must confess to have written heretofore*, that in the time of the Apostles the work of preaching seemeth to have gone rather by men's abilities than their offices: and now I hope, in good time, having declared here several regards in which this is verified. It hath been shewed* that of the same ecclesiastical order, the same bench of the Church, some presbyters exercised the abilities of preaching, some not. It hath been shewed* that the rank of prophets furnished by the immediate inspiration of God, for the more plentiful per-
formance of that work in the beginning of the Gospel, cannot be thought to have been the same with that of presbyters. And if any man stand upon it, it shall not trouble me to yield that which Grotius\(^c\) of late hath observed, and under the Church of Rome, Ferrarius de Ritu Concionum, ii. 6\(^d\), that in the primitive times of the Church laymen were licensed to preach by the Bishops of Churches, according to the instances alleged in the letter of the Bishops of Palestine to Demetrius of Alexandria, in Origen's case, related by Eusebius; for it seemeth most agreeable to the succession of scribes after the prophets in the synagogue, seeing it is neither reasonable to conceive that scribes were denied this office when they were found fit, nor that those to whom it was granted were all elders of synagogues. And by this an easy reason is given how our Lord and His Apostles are admitted to speak in the synagogues, as licensed and invited by the elders and rulers of them according to the Scripture, Acts xiii. 14. And perhaps the custom might remain in the Church after prophetic al graces for the instruction of it were ceased, that those which had the knowledge of the Scriptures without inspiration should be admitted to speak to the people.

§ 5. But what is all this to these mechanic persons that make themselves Churches, and the Churches them their ministers, without education, without calling, without acknowledgment of one Church of God? They please themselves in observing that St. Paul used his trade while he preached

\(^{c}\) Neque mirari debemus si Christo permissum est in synagogue verba ad populum facere. Solebat enim ab archisynagogis honor divini viris gratibus et non in eruditis, ut nos doctum historicum quae est Actorum xiii. 15 . . . . Mansit is mori aliquamdiu in Ecclesia Christiana, ut concederum Episcoporum Scripturas interpretarentur, non Presbyteri tantum aut Diaconi, sed et alii, qui venisse a scholas oderum et anagogiae, si quibus manu nondum impositione crantis. Vide Eusebium qui Origenis alicuiumque exemplo probat laicibus omnia omnia non esse preter morum ut et laici populum aliquandum, sed tibi voce prostrantium epi epi persis presidium quod et illa spectant in legatur, 1 Corinthians xiv. 29. —Comment. in S. Matth., cap. iv. 23. Grotii Opp. tom. ii.

the Gospel, as they do: and in that perhaps there is as much mistake as in the rest. For it is not all one for a preacher to be bred to a trade from his youth, and for him that is bred to a trade from his youth to become a preacher when he pleases. To me there is so much difference that I yield the one to be St. Paul's case, as the world sees the other to be theirs.

§ 6. It is observed in Scaliger's Elenchus and elsewhere, that St. Paul in that particular made use of his education under Gamaliel, in regard it was the custom of their doctors to breed their scholars to a trade, as well as to the knowledge of the law, which they were to profess. And there is a saying among them in Pirke Aboth, of this tenor to my remembrance; "Always with the law let a man learn the way of the earth;" the meaning is, "a trade for his maintenance." Hereupon it is ordinary for their rabbis to be renamed by their trade. And in Maimoni, Talmud Torah, cap. iii., you have divers sayings of their ancient doctors, that with the law a man is to practise a trade for his maintenance, as this; 422 "All law," that is, all learning of the law, "with which there is not work, in the end comes to nothing, and draws on naughtiness, and the end of such a man is, he falls to rob creatures." And in cap. ii. afore, "He that exercises a trade with the study of the law, must spend three hours of the day

* "It is fitter for well meaning Christians than for ill meaning Christians, for well meaning Christians be the fittest on the earth to make Churches and to chuse their officers; whether they be tailors, felt-makers, button-makers, tent-makers, shepherds, or ploughmen, or what honest trade soever, if they are well meaning Christians; but ill meaning priests are very unfit men to make Churches, because what they build up with one hand they pull down with the other. Further, you seem to fear the spreading of heresies, if there be not a hindrance of these assemblies, but you should rather fear that your own glory would be eclipsed by their gifts and graces; for they are not men of so mean parts as you would make them: but are able to divide the Word of God aright by the Spirit that God hath given them."—Katherine Chidley's Justification of the Independent Churches, pp. 22, 23. London, 1641.

"And supposing such parts, gifts, and abilities fit for those duties; they conceive no man may upbraid them with poverty, or former living in a trade; which yet they think not altogether incompatible to preaching, for they have read of St. Paul, and others, intermixing his sermons with making of tents."—Lord Brooke's Discourse of Episcopacy, p. 106. London, 1642.


‡ Capita Patrum, cap. ii. 2. Suren- hus., tom. iv. p. 413.

CHAP. at his trade, and nine at his study," which are divided as it
follows there. The knowledge then of these abilities, to
which this education tended, taken according to public order
of that time, and the exercise of them for the public instruc-
tion of the people, allowed according to the same, seem to
contain sufficient warrant of human calling, to speak to
the people in the Church, in them that were not ministers
of it.

§ 7. St. Ambrose\textsuperscript{1} in Eph. iv. 11, 12. \textit{Ut ergò crescēret
plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est et
evangelizare, et baptizare, et Scripturas in Ecclesia explanare.}
"That the people of believers might increase and multiply,
in the beginning it was granted to all to preach the Gos-
pel, and to baptize, and to expound the Scriptures in the
Church." There is a difference between that which he
calleth preaching the Gospel, and expounding the Scriptures
in the Church, though both are called preaching among us:
for it is one thing to publish the Gospel where there is no
Church, another to minister the doctrine of the Scriptures
where there is\textsuperscript{1}. The Scripture witnesseth that those which
were dispersed upon the persecution raised about Stephen,
did the one without difference, Acts viii. 4; xi. 19. It is no
more than all Christians must do, so far as they hold them-
selves able to advance the faith. As for expounding the
Scriptures in Churches settled, where order took place, in
that also St. Ambrose's words may be verified, that it was
granted to all, that is, to all conditions, whether ministers of
Churches or not: but no otherwise granted than hath been
said, upon knowledge of competent abilities, according to the
practice of public order, derived, as it seems, into the Church
from the synagogue.

§ 8. But doth this fault the public order of this time,
that confineth the public exercise of this office to the public
ministries of the Church? The course of education being
open to all, and the performance of that course proved and
presumed according to public order, of all that pretend to
these ministries, the ministries of congregations being fur-
nished by that public order, to authorize others in congrega-

\textsuperscript{1} Quoted before in Prim. Govern, \textsuperscript{J} See Right of the Church in a
tions so appointed would be to choke the edification of the Church, by setting up perpetual emulation and difference. But how eminent soever men's abilities are, how well soever known to themselves or the world, to undertake the instructions of the people without public order in public assemblies, is a thing that no Scripture, no time, no custom of the primitive Church will allow. To tread all that learning under foot, without which the knowledge of the Scriptures is not to be had upon human endeavours, to undervalue the abilities of a learned age, in comparison of the boldness of mechanic persons, in spending the mouth without sense underneath, seemeth to be the wantonness of this time, for after ages to admire.

§ 9. But for private persons, against public order, and the unity of the Church, to call such assemblies, and to exercise these pretended abilities in such assemblies as public order forbiddeth, is neither more nor less than schism; let them that do it advise at whose door the sin of that schism lieth. For the public profession of this Church is the same that hath been proved, these so many years, to contain no cause of separation in it: and these that separate are so far from setting a-foot new, or from proving old charges, that they seem to be yet to learn whether there be any such thing as proving that which they say, or not. The unity of the Church is a thing commanded by God, and the divisions that shall arise in the Church, are a thing foretold by God: He that hath foretold that divisions shall come, hath commanded that they shall not come: to me it seems a strange reason!

"Such as are taught by the Spirit of God, destitute of human learning, are the learned ones that truly understand the Scriptures according to Peter's mind: I say, such as are taught by the Spirit, without human learning, are such persons as rightly understand the word . . . . . . . Another reason why such as have God's Spirit, destitute of human learning, come thus to know God's mind, is that, as the Apostle declares, no flesh should rejoice in God's presence. Now this learning is but fleshly and carnal."—The Sufficiency of the Spirit's Teaching without Human Learning, by Samuel How, A.D. 1640.

The Independents seem to have reasoned in this way against the Presbyterians: "We hold communion and consociation of Churches for counsel in doubts, and comfort in distress. . . . This communion of Churches doth no less—if not more—prevent heresies, schisms, injustice than your presbyterial. Nor can you shew reason to the contrary. And yet would you have our Churches more perfect than those of the Apostles' own planting and gathering, as to be altogether exempted from heresies, schisms, injustice? Did not the Apostle tell the Church of Corinth, 'there must be heresies even among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest?' And could those primitive Churches after the
because God hath foretold that heresies shall come in, for
men therefore to set open the door, and for public order to
take a course, by the independence of Churches, to allow as
many religions as conventicles m.

§ 10. The dependence of particular congregations upon
episcopal Churches, for the original, relateth to the institu-
tion of the Apostles, for the end, to the unity of the Church:
the dependence of these Bishop's Churches upon the seats
of metropolitans and patriarchs, acknowledgeth a mere human
original from the state of the Roman empire, and the resi-
dence of the chief powers of it, but not with respect to the
Gospel first planted, according to the precedent of the Apo-
stles, in the most eminent cities, and thence derived into the
countries about": but relateth to the same end of one Church,

Apostles preserve themselves from
heresies?"—Burton's Vindication
of Churches called Independents, pp. 18,

"A true Church of Christ is a
congregation of true believers, men
and women, who by the word of God
preached, are separated from the world,
and the reigning lusts thereof, and de-
clared to be such by the open profes-
sion of Christian life conformable there-
unto. Such is a particular visible true
Church or congregation, and so is, as
far as we can judge, a true branch of
the Holy Catholic Church which is in-
visible, comprehending the number of
God's elect, and is apprehended only
by faith, and not by sight. Now every
such particular congregation as afore-
said, consisting of professed believers
of the known truth of God, according
to which they frame their life and con-
versation, is in itself an absolute Church,
whose only governor for matters of
faith and the true worship of God is
Jesus Christ. . . . No power on earth
hath any authority to prescribe laws for
the government of this Church, whether
for doctrine or discipline, whether for
faith or worship, but only Christ, whose
written word and law . . . . all princes
. . . . are bound . . . . to see well observed both
by ministers and people . . . . Ministers
. . . . are all of equal authority, not one
over another, nor one over many, nor
many over one, each being in his place
and peculiar congregation under Christ
alone, as the king of His Church, to
whom he is accountable: and under
Christ to the civil magistrate as being
a subject. Some are of opinion that
a synod hath authority to bind par-
ticular Churches to such rites as they
shall prescribe, and impose. And
they allege that synod or assembly of
the Apostles, Acts xv. . . . Hence
they conclude that a synod collected
of the Churches hath power over par-
ticular Churches . . . . but this act of
the Apostles is no precedent or pattern
for succeeding ages."—Christ on His
Throne, case xi. pp. 52—56.

* Ecclesias ad exemplum Romani
imperii per provincias ab Apostolis ita
tributasuisse, ut inter fraternes, ejus
Episcopi prima sententia habetur cur
metropolitane urbis Episcopatus con-
creditius fuisse, absque ullo negotio
probari potest. . . . . Sane apud
vetere summa ratio habita fuit earum
Ecclesiarum qua ab ipius Apostolis
instituta sincerius fidei traditiones con-
serverasse sensebantur. Verum non
imnor huic privilegio. In id enim
duntaxat impreseentiaram elabo, ut
pateat vetere testimonio Ecclesiarum
per provincias divisionem ab Apostolis
fluisses. . . . Verum eti forma divi-
dendarum provinciarum et metropoleon
ab Apostolis manaverit; haec tamen
division ab Episcopis qui erant in ma-
joribus urbis constituti per incre-
menta variorum temporum aucta, tan-
don ultimam dispositionem consecuta
est. Unde profectum ut celebriorum
civitatum Episcopi jus quodam exi-
mium in ceteris Ecclesias adepti fue-
rint, quod ei privilegio respondet, quo
as procuring the actual correspondence of all the members of it. Since religion is become part of the state of several kingdoms and commonwealths, they are not to receive from one another the laws that enforce the exercise of it; but it is requisite that the exercise of it through each kingdom and commonwealth be uniform, by ecclesiastical rules, advised by each Church, and enforced by each kingdom and commonwealth, the dependence of particular congregations upon episcopal Churches, in the exercise of religion according to such rules, continuing inviolable, as the institution of the Apostles.

§ 11. Now regard we the truth of religion, regard we the peace of the Church, regard we the honour and glory of God, and the credit of our profession towards such as are without, this dependence of Churches is not more effectual in any point of religion than in the uniform and prescript form of God's public service. What means is there so effectual to convey and settle the truth professed in the minds of all people, than to glorify God in it, and according to it, in the continual exercise of His service? What means so powerful to obtain the peace of the Church from God, to preserve it with men, as to join in the same uniform service of God for the purpose? As for the honour of God, and the commendation of that profession which we make, let common reason not possessed with prejudice be judge, whether the voluntary extemporary conceptions of particular ministers of congregations, or the forms maturely advised by the most able, shall prove the more probable means to procure it.

§ 12. Let the public exercise of religion consist in speaking to the people more than men have learned of the knowledge of the Scriptures, in permitting men to vent their own passions, or perhaps factions, for the devotions of their people, for their prayers and thanksgivings to God: let the preacher's office consist in speaking by measure of time, not by weight of matter; let it consist rather in the exercise of the lungs than of any knowledge in the Scriptures: let the hearer's office consist in patience of sitting still so many glasses, or ratione originis potius ut eras colonias a se deductas em urbem, quam inde Matres appellans veteribus.—Petri de Marca, de Concord. Sacerd. et Imper., lib. i. cap. iii. §§ 2, 4, 5. p. 9. Paris, 1669.

* See the Right of the Church in a Christian State, chap. i. sect. 10.
rather in censuring the preacher's abilities, in praying as well as in preaching—for to that the office of praying in the Church may come: and those that are affected to the profession with the best, shall be forced for love of truth to lament that it is so much scandalized and hindered by them that pretend to advance it. But let the praises of God, the hearing of His Scriptures read and expounded, the common prayers of the Church, and the celebration of the Eucharist, be performed with that discretion for the order, with that choice for the substance, with that reverence for the outward visage and fashion of what is said and done respectively at each of these parts of God's public service, and let not me doubt that God the author, and men strangers to our profession, shall join in making good and acknowledging that of the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiv. 25, that God is among us of a truth.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<tr>
<td>Maurice, H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorndike.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker, William, on Baptism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop Webb.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wharton, H.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishop White, Fr. (Ely).</td>
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<td>Wilkins's Concilia.</td>
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