

agreeably with general rules of justice doth in general sort forbid. For sith all good laws are the voices of right reason, which is the instrument wherewith God will have the world guided; and impossible it is that right should withstand right: it must follow that principles and rules of justice, be they never so generally uttered, do no less effectually intend, than if they did plainly express, an exception of all particulars, wherein their literal practice might any way prejudice equity.

[4.] And because it is natural unto all men to wish their own extraordinary benefit, when they think they have reasonable inducements so to do; and no man can be presumed a competent judge what equity doth require in his own case: the likeliest mean whereby the wit of man can provide, that he which useth the benefit of any special benignity above the common course of others may enjoy it with good conscience, and not against the true purpose of laws which in outward show are contrary, must needs be to arm with authority some fit both for quality and place, to administer that which in every such particular shall appear agreeable with equity. Wherein, as it cannot be denied but that sometimes the practice of such jurisdiction may swerve through error even in the very best, and for other respects where less integrity is: so the watchfullest observers of inconveniences that way growing, and the readiest to urge them in disgrace of authorized proceedings, do very well know, that the disposition of these things resteth not now in the hands of Popes, who live in no worldly awe or subjection, but is committed to them whom law may at all times bridle, and superior power control; yea to them also in such sort, that law itself hath set down to what persons, in what causes, with what circumstances, almost every faculty or favour shall be granted, leaving in a manner nothing unto them, more than only to deliver what is already given by law. Which maketh it by many degrees less reasonable, that under pretence of inconveniences so easily stopped, if any did grow, and so well prevented that none may, men should be altogether barred of the liberty that law with equity and reason granteth.

[5.] These things therefore considered, we lastly require that it may not seem hard, if in cases of necessity, or for common utility's sake, certain profitable ordinances sometime

be released, rather than all men always strictly bound to the general rigour thereof.

X. Now where the word of God leaveth the Church to make choice of her own ordinances, if against those things which have been received with great reason, or against that which the ancient practice of the Church hath continued time out of mind, or against such ordinances as the power and authority of that Church under which we live hath itself devised for the public good, or against the discretion of the Church in mitigating sometimes with favourable equity that rigour which otherwise the literal generality of ecclesiastical laws hath judged to be more convenient and meet; if against all this it should be free for men to reprove, to disgrace, to reject at their own liberty what they see done and practised according to order set down; if in so great variety of ways as the wit of man is easily able to find out towards any purpose, and in so great liking as all men especially have unto those inventions whereby some one shall seem to have been more enlightened from above than many thousands, the Church did give every man license to follow what himself imagineth that "God's Spirit doth reveal" unto him, or what he supposeth that God is likely to have revealed to some special person whose virtues deserve to be highly esteemed: what other effect could hereupon ensue, but the utter confusion of his Church under pretence of being taught, led, and guided by his Spirit? The gifts and graces whereof do so naturally all tend unto common peace, that where such singularity is, they whose hearts it possesseth ought to suspect it the more, inasmuch as if it did come of God, and should for that cause prevail with others, the same God which revealeth it to them, would also give them power of confirming it unto others, either with miraculous operation, or with strong and invincible remonstrance of sound Reason, such as whereby it might appear that God would indeed have all men's judgments give place unto it; whereas now the error and unsufficiency of their arguments do make it on the contrary side against them a strong presumption, that God hath not moved their hearts to think such things as he hath not enabled them to prove.

[2.] And so from rules of general direction it resteth that

now we descend to a more distinct explication of particulars, wherein those rules have their special efficacy.

XI. Solemn duties of public service to be done unto God, must have their places set and prepared in such sort, as beseemeth actions of that regard. Adam, even during the space of his small continuance in Paradise, had where to present himself before the Lord¹. Adam's sons had out of Paradise in like sort² whither to bring their sacrifices. The Patriarchs used³ altars, and⁴ mountains, and⁵ groves, to the selfsame purpose.

In the vast wilderness when the people of God had themselves no settled habitation, yet a moveable tabernacle they were commanded of God to make⁶. The like charge was given them against the time they should come to settle themselves in the land which had been promised unto their fathers, "Ye shall seek that place which the Lord your God shall choose⁷." When God had chosen Jerusalem, and in Jerusalem Mount Moria⁸, there to have his standing habitation made, it was in the chiefest of David's⁹ desires to have performed so good a work. His grief was no less that he could not have the honour to build God a temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite asunder their own tongues with very wrath, that they have not as yet the power to pull down the temples which they never built, and to level them with the ground. It was no mean thing which he purposed. To perform a work so majestic and stately was no small charge. Therefore he incited all men unto bountiful contribution, and procured towards it with all his power, gold, silver, brass, iron, wood, precious stones, in great abundance¹⁰. Yea, moreover, "Because I have (saith David) a joy in the house of my God, I have of mine own gold and silver, besides all that I have prepared for the house of the sanctuary, given to the house of my God three thousand talents of gold, even the gold of Ophir, seven thousand talents of fined silver¹¹." After the overthrow of this first house of God, a second was instead thereof erected; but with so great odds, that they¹² wept which had seen the former, and be-

¹ Gen. iii. 8. ⁵ Gen. xxi. 33. ⁹ 2 Chron. vi. 7. Psal. cxxxii. 3-5.

² Gen. iv. 3. ⁶ Exod. xxvi. ¹⁰ 1 Chron. xxii. 14.

³ Gen. xiii. 4. ⁷ Deut. xii. 5-7. ¹¹ 1 Chron. xxix. 3, 4.

⁴ Gen. xxii. 1. ⁸ 2 Chron. iii. 1. ¹² Ezra iii. 12. Hag. ii. 2.

held how much this later came behind it, the beauty whereof notwithstanding was such, that even this was also the wonder of the whole world. Besides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the land, and even in Jerusalem, by process of time, no small number of synagogues for men to resort unto. Our Saviour himself, and after him the Apostles, frequented both the one and the other.

[2.] The Church of Christ which was in Jerusalem, and held that profession which had not the public allowance and countenance of authority, could not so long use the exercise of Christian religion but in private only¹. So that as Jews they had access to the temple and synagogues, where God was served after the custom of the Law; but for that which they did as Christians, they were of necessity forced other where to assemble themselves². And as God gave increase to his Church, they sought out both there and abroad for that purpose not the fittest (for so the times would not suffer them to do) but the safest places they could. In process of time, some whiles by sufferance, some whiles by special leave and favour, they began to erect themselves oratories; not in any sumptuous or stately manner, which neither was possible by reason of the poor estate of the Church, and had been perilous in regard of the world's envy towards them. At the length, when it pleased God to raise up kings and emperors favouring sincerely the Christian truth, that which the Church before either could not or durst not do, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all places erected. No cost was spared, nothing judged too dear which that way should be spent. The whole world did seem to exult, that it had occasion of pouring out gifts to so blessed a purpose. That cheerful devotion which David this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and wish that the same in the Jewish people might be perpetual³, was then in Christian people every where to be seen.

[3.] Their actions, till this day always accustomed to be spoken of with great honour, are now called openly into question. They, and as many as have been followers of their example in that thing, we especially that worship God either in temples which their hands made, or which other men

¹ Acts i. 13.

² Acts ii. 1, 46.

³ 1 Chron. xxix. 17, 18.

sithence have framed by the like pattern, are in that respect charged no less than with the very sin of idolatry. Our churches, in the foam of that good spirit which directeth such fiery tongues, they term spitefully the temples of Baal, idol¹ synagogues, abominable sty².

The solemnity of erecting churches condemned by Bar. p. 130. The hallowing and dedicating of them scorned, p. 141.

XII. Wherein the first thing which moveth them thus to cast up their poison, are certain solemnities usual at the first erection of churches. Now although the same should be blame-worthy, yet this age thanks be to God hath reasonably well forborne to incur the danger of any such blame. It cannot be laid to many men's charge at this day living, either that they have been so curious as to trouble bishops with placing the first stone in the Churches they built, or so scrupulous, as after the erection of them to make any great ado for their dedication. In which kind notwithstanding as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpose the stiff defence of any unnecessary custom heretofore received³: so we know

¹ [So A. C. ("idoll"), comp. Zech. xi. 17, "idle," K. Comp. in Bacon's Letters, 1595 (Spedding, i. 365), "any insufficient obscure idole man," "any idole man."] 1886.

² [Hooker seems here to be quoting some tract of Henry Barrow's: probably "A Brief Discovery of the False Church," London, 1590; reprinted in 1707. But the editor has not as yet been able to meet with that pamphlet.]

³ Durand. (Bishop of Mende, taught law in Italy, † 1296.) Rational. lib. i. cap. 6. Decr. Grat. III. Tit. de Consecratione, Dist. i. c. 2. "Tabernaculum." Gregor. Magn. Epist. x. 12. [al. xii. 11.] and vii. 72. [ix. 70.] and viii. 63. [x. 66. The passage from the Decretal grounds the principle of consecration on the authority of the Old Testament, and transfers it *a fortiori* to the Christian Dispensation. Durandus (who wrote in the thirteenth century) gives a minute detail of the ceremonies used in his time. Of the "unnecessary customs" referred to by Hooker, and of the manner in which they had come to be blended with the simple and noble form still retained in the practice of the

English Church, the following may serve as a specimen. "Quarto, dicendum est qualiter Ecclesia consecratur. Et quidem omnibus de Ecclesia ejectis, solo Diacono ibi remanente incluso, Episcopus cum Clero ante fores Ecclesie aquam non sine sale benedicit; interim intrinsecus ardent xii luminaria ante xii cruces in parietibus Ecclesie depictas. Postmodum vero clero et populo insequente circumeundo Ecclesiam exterius cum falculo hyssopi, parietes cum aqua benedicta aspergit, et qualibet vice ad januam Ecclesie veniens percudit superliminare cum baculo pastorali, dicens, Attollite portas principes vestras, &c. Diaconus de intus respondet, Quis est iste Rex glorie? Cui Pontifex, Dominus fortis, &c. Tertia vero vice, reserato ostio, ingreditur Pontifex ecclesiam cum paucis ex ministris, clero et populo foris manente, dicens, Pax huic domui; et dicit litanias." Let this be compared with the corresponding part of the service drawn up by Bishop Andrews, and now commonly used. The passages from St. Gregory are

no reason wherefore churches should be the worse, if at the first erecting of them, at the making of them public, at the time when they are delivered as it were in God's own possession, and when the use whereunto they shall ever serve is established, ceremonies fit to betoken such intents and to accompany such actions be usual, as in the purest times they have been¹. When Constantine² had finished an house for the service of God at Jerusalem, the dedication he judged a matter not unworthy, about the solemn performance whereof the greatest part of the bishops in Christendom should meet together. Which thing they did at the emperor's motion, each most willingly setting forth that action to their power; some with orations, some with sermons, some with the sacrifice of prayers unto God for the peace of the world, for the Church's safety, for the emperor's and his children's good³. By Athanasius⁴ the like is recorded concerning a bishop of Alexandria, in a work of the like devout magnificence. So that whether emperors or bishops in those days were churchfounders, the solemn dedication of churches they thought not to be a work in itself either vain or superstitious. Can we judge it a thing seemly for any man to go about the building of an house to

official letters, a few out of many, exhibiting the form in which, as Bishop of Rome, he was accustomed to issue his license to his suffragans for dedication of a Church or Chapel. There are two conditions on which he invariably insists: a certain fixed endowment, and sufficient security that the spot had never been used as a burying-place before: the latter, because (say the Benedictine editors) "periculum erat ne cultus sanctis Martyribus debitus corporibus pridem hoc in loco sepultis reddi putaretur."

¹ Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι παλαιὸς νόμος, καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἐγκαίνιων. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐχ ἅπασι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις, ἐκάστῃς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ περιτροπῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ἐπαγούσης, ἵνα μὴ ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γένηται τὰ καλά. Greg. Nazian. Orat. εἰς τὴν κυριακὴν. [Orat. 43. init.]

² Vide Euseb. de vita Constant. lib. iv. c. 41, 43-45.

³ [Euseb. iv. 45. Οἱ δὲ τοῦ

Θεοῦ λειτουργοὶ εὐχαῖς ἅμα καὶ διὰ λέξεσι τὴν ἐορτὴν κατεκόσμου· οἱ μὲν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὄλων σωτήρα δεξίωσιν ἀνυμνοῦντες, τὰς δὲ περὶ τὸ μαρτύριον μεγαλουργίας διεξιόντες τῷ λόγῳ· οἱ δὲ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν θείων δογμάτων πανηγυρικαῖς θεολογίαις, πανδαισίαν λογικῶν τροφῶν ταῖς πάντων παραδιδόντες ἀκοαῖς· ἄλλοι δὲ ἐρμήνειαι τῶν θείων ἀναγνωσμάτων ἐποιοῦντο, τὰς ἀπορήτους ἀποκαλύπτοντες θεωρίας· οἱ δὲ μὴ διὰ τούτων χωρεῖν οἰοῖ τε, θυσίας ἀναίμοις καὶ μυστικαῖς ἱερουργίαις τὸ θείον Ἰλάσκωτο, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ, αὐτοῦ τε βασιλέως ὑπὲρ τοῦ τοσοῦτον αἰτίου, παίδων τ' αὐτοῦ θεοφιλῶν, ἱκετηρίου εὐχὰς τῷ Θεῷ προσαναφέροντες.]

⁴ Athanas. Apol. ad Constantium, [§ 15. ὁ μακαρίτης Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πατέρες . . . συναγαγόντες καὶ τελειώσαντες τὸ ἔργον, ἠνυμνοῦσαν τῷ Κυρίῳ, ἐγκαίνια ἐπιτελέσαντες. I. 685. Ed. Colon. 1686.]

the God of heaven with no other apparance¹, than if his end were to rear up a kitchen or a parlour for his own use? Or when a work of such nature is finished, remaineth there nothing but presently to use it, and so an end?

[2.] It behoveth that the place where God shall be served by the whole Church, be a public place, for the avoiding of privy conventicles, which covered with pretence of religion may serve unto dangerous practices. Yea, although such assemblies be had indeed for religion's sake, hurtful nevertheless they may easily prove, as well in regard of their fitness to serve the turn of heretics, and such as privily will soonest adventure to instil their poison into men's minds; as also for the occasion which thereby is given to malicious persons, both of suspecting and of traducing with more colourable show those actions, which in themselves being holy, should be so ordered that no man might probably otherwise think of them. Which considerations have by so much the greater weight, for that of these inconveniences the Church heretofore had so plain experience, when Christian men were driven to use secret meetings, because the liberty of public places was not granted them². There are which hold, that the presence of a Christian multitude, and the duties of religion performed amongst them, do make the place of their assembly public³; even as the presence of the king and his retinue maketh any man's house a court. But this I take to be an error, inasmuch as the only thing which maketh any place public is the public assignment thereof unto such duties. As for the multitude there assembled, or the duties which they perform, it doth not appear how either should be of force to infuse any such prerogative.

¹ ["apparance," A and C; "appearance," K.; which scarcely gives sense. "Apparance" seems a word formed from Lat. *apparare*, with the meaning of the derivatives, *apparati*, *apparatio*, *apparatus*, v. Facciol. in v.] 1886.

² [See the Apologies of Tertullian and Justin Martyr.]

³ [See "A Declaration of the Faith and Order owned and practised in the Congregational Churches in England; agreed upon and consented unto by their elders and messengers in their meeting at the Savoy, Octob. 12,

1658." London, 1659. p. 23, 24. "The Lord Jesus calleth out of the world unto communion with himself those that are given unto him by his Father; . . . Those thus called, he commandeth to walk together in particular societies or Churches . . . Churches thus gathered and assembling for the worship of God, *are thereby visible* and public, and their assemblies (in what place soever they are) according as they have liberty or opportunity, are therefore Church or public assemblies."]

[3.] Nor doth the solemn dedication of churches serve only to make them public, but farther also to surrender up that right which otherwise their founders might have in them, and to make God himself their owner. For which cause at the erection and consecration as well of the tabernacle as of the temple, it pleased the Almighty to give a manifest sign that he took possession of both¹. Finally, it notifieth in solemn manner the holy and religious use whereunto it is intended such houses shall be put².

[4.] These things the wisdom of Salomon did not account superfluous³. He knew how easily that which was meant should be holy and sacred, might be drawn from the use whereunto it was first provided; he knew how bold men are to take even from God himself; how hardly that house would be kept from impious profanation he knew; and right wisely therefore endeavoured by such solemnities to leave in the minds of men that impression which might somewhat restrain their boldness, and nourish a reverend affection towards the house of God⁴. For which cause when the first house was destroyed, and a new in the stead thereof erected by the children of Israel after their return from captivity, they kept the dedication even of this house also with joy⁵.

[5.] The argument which our Saviour useth against profaners of the temple⁶, he taketh from the use whereunto it was with solemnity consecrated. And as the prophet Jeremy forbiddeth the carrying of burdens on the Sabbath⁷, because that was a sanctified day⁸; so because the temple was a place sanctified, our Lord would not suffer no not the carriage of a vessel through the temple⁹. These two commandments therefore are in the Law conjoined, "Ye shall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my sanctuary¹⁰."

Out of those the Apostle's words, "Have ye not houses to eat and drink¹¹?"—albeit temples such as now were not then erected for the exercise of the Christian religion, it hath been nevertheless not absurdly conceived¹² that he teacheth

¹ Exod. xl. 34. I Reg. viii. 11.

² Exod. xl. 9.

³ I Reg. viii.

⁴ Lev. xvi. 2. The place named

Holy.

⁵ Ezra vi. 16.

⁶ Matt. xxi. 13.

⁷ ["Saboth," "Sabbaths," A. (1597.) "Sabbath," C. (1616.)] 1886.

⁸ Jer. xvii. 24.

⁹ Mark xi. 16.

¹⁰ Levit. xxvi. 2.

¹¹ I Cor. xi. 22.

¹² Pet. Cluniac. (Petrus Venera-

what difference should be made between house and house¹; that what is fit for the dwelling-place of God, and what for man's habitation he sheweth; he requireth that Christian men at their own home take common food, and in the house of the Lord none but that food which is heavenly; he instructeth them, that as in the one place they use to refresh their bodies, so they may in the other learn to seek the nourishment of their souls; and as there they sustain temporal life, so here they would learn to make provision for eternal. Christ could not suffer that the temple should serve for a place of mart, nor the Apostle of Christ that the church should be made an inn.

[6.] When therefore we sanctify or hallow churches, that which we do is only to testify that we make them places of public resort, that we invest God himself with them, that we sever them from common uses. In which action, other solemnities than such as are decent and fit for that purpose we approve none.

Indeed we condemn not all as unmeet, the like whereunto have been either devised or used haply amongst Idolaters. For why should conformity with them in matter of opinion be lawful when they think that which is true, if in action when they do that which is meet it be not lawful to be like unto them? Are we to forsake any true opinion because idolaters have maintained it? Nor to shun any requisite action only

bilis, 1092-†1156, Abbot of Clugny.) [cont. Petrobrusianos Epist. in Biblioth. Patr. Colon. t. xiii. 221, 2. "Recolite Epistolas Apostolorum, et ipsius Pauli diversis Ecclesiis missas. Si vero appellatione Ecclesiarum spiritualem magis fidelium congregationem quam corporalem structuram fieri dixeritis: videte quid Paulus Corinthios corripens dicat; 'Convenientibus,' inquit, 'vobis in Ecclesia, audio scissuras esse; et ex parte credo.' Et post pauca, 'Nunquid domos non habetis ad manducandum et bibendum, aut Ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?' Docet summus post Christum Ecclesie Magister domorum et domorum distantiam; et quid domui divinae, quid humanæ conveniat, more suo lucide manifestat. Non patitur crimina

"carnis in domo Spiritus celebrari, sed vult Christianos in domibus suis communes cibos edere, in domo autem Domini dominicam tantum cœnam manducare. Instruit eos, ut sicut in illis victum corporis sic in ista victum animæ quærere discant: et sicut in illis vitam mortalem, sic in ista vitam sibi provideant sempiternam. Imitatus est magistrum discipulus Christum, in quo loquebatur Christus. Et sicut ille templum Dei noluit esse domum negotiationis, sic iste Ecclesiam Dei non est passus fieri domum comestionis."

The date of this tract is 1147, according to Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xv. l. 69. c. 24.]

¹ [See Mede's Works, B. iii. Disc. of Churches, p. 319-340.]

because we have in the practice thereof been prevented by idolaters. It is no impossible thing but that sometimes they may judge as rightly what is decent about such external affairs of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatsoever idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatsoever they have either thought or done *idolatrously* be *so far forth* abhorred. For of that which is good even in evil things God is author.

XIII. Touching the names of Angels and Saints whereby the most of our churches are called; as the custom of so naming them is very ancient, so neither was the cause thereof at the first, nor is the use and continuance with us at this present, hurtful. That churches were consecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very general name itself doth sufficiently shew, inasmuch as by plain grammatical construction, *Church* doth signify no other thing than *the Lord's house*¹. And because the multitude as of persons so of things particular causeth variety of proper names to be devised for distinction sake, founders of churches did herein that which best liked their own conceit at the present time; yet each intending that as oft as those buildings came to be mentioned, the name should put men in mind of some memorable thing or person. Thus therefore it cometh to pass that all churches have had their names, some as memorials of Peace, some of Wisdom, some in memory of the Trinity itself, some of Christ under sundry titles, of the blessed Virgin not a few, many of one Apostle, Saint or Martyr, many of all².

[2.] In which respect their commendable purpose being not of every one understood, they have been in latter ages construed as though they had superstitiously meant, either that those places which were denominated of Angels and Saints should serve for the worship of so glorious creatures, or else those glorified creatures for defence, protection, and

¹ From Κυριακή, *Kyrē*, and by adding letters of aspiration, *Chyrch*. (Justinian) πολλοὺς μὲν ἐς κάλλος ἐξησκημένους τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἁγίοις σηκοῦς.] Hist. Trip. lib. iv. c. 18. [² Vid. Socr. lib. i. c. 16. [Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει (Constantinople) δύο μὲν οἰκοδομήσας ἐκκλησίας, μίαν ἐπωνόμασεν Εἰρήνην, ἑτέραν δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐπάνυμον.] Evagr. lib. iv. c. 30. [c. 31. περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου ναοῦ τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων. Ἀνέστησε δὲ πολλοὺς μὲν ἐς κάλλος ἐξησκημένους τῷ Θεῷ καὶ τοῖς Ἁγίοις σηκοῦς.] Hist. Trip. lib. iv. c. 18. ["Hoc tempore imperator (Constantianus) majorem Ecclesiam fabricabat quæ nunc Sophia vocatur, et est copulata Ecclesie, quæ dicitur Irene."]