

BOOK V. "we require your obedience to that which God himself doth
Ch. lxxii. 12. "institute. Is it not strange that men to their own will should
"yield that which to God's commandment they will not grant?
"Shall the pleasure of men prevail more with you than the
"power of God himself?"

[12.] These places of Tertullian for fasting have worthily been put to silence. And as worthily Aërius condemned for opposition against fasting. The one endeavoured to bring in such fasts as the church ought not to receive, the other to overthrow such as already it had received and did observe: the one was plausible unto many by seeming to hate carnal looseness and riotous excess much more than the rest of the world did, the other drew hearers by pretending the maintenance of Christian liberty: the one thought his cause very strongly upheld by making invective declamations with a pale and a withered countenance against the Church, by filling the ears of his starved hearers with speech suitable to such men's humours, and by telling them no doubt to their marvellous contentment and liking¹, "Our new prophecies are refused, "they are despised. Is it because Montanus doth preach "some other God, or dissolve the gospel of Jesus Christ, or "overthrow any canon of faith and hope? No, our crime is, "we teach that men ought to fast more often than marry, the "best feast-maker is with them the perfectest saint, they are "assuredly mere spirit, and therefore these our corporal de- "votions please them not:" thus the one for Montanus and his superstition. The other in a clean contrary tune against the religion of the church², "These set fasts away with "them, for they are Jewish and bring men under the yoke "of servitude; if I will fast let me choose my time, that "Christian liberty be not abridged." Hereupon their glory was to fast especially upon the Sunday, because the order of

¹ [Tertull. de Jejun. c. i. "Hi "Paracletō controversiam faciunt, "propter hoc novæ prophetiæ recu- "santur, non quod alium Deum "prædicent Montanus et Priscilla "et Maximilla, nec quod Jesum "Christum solvant, nec quod ali- "quam fidei aut spei regulam ever- "tant, sed quod plane doceant sæ- "pius jejunare quam nubere." et c. 17. "Qui sanctior inter vos, nisi "convivandi frequentior, nisi obso- "nandi pollucibilior, nisi calicibus "instructor? Merito homines solius "animæ et carnis spiritalia recu- "satis." Hooker seems to have read the last sentence without the "et," or he put a comma at *animæ*.] ² [Ὅτε νηστεία, φησὶν, ἔσται τεταγμένη ταῦτα γὰρ Ἰουδαϊκά ἐστί,

the Church was on that day not to fast¹. "On Church fast- "ing days and specially the week before Easter, when with "us," saith Epiphanius, "custom admitteth nothing but lying "down upon the earth, abstinence from fleshly delights and "pleasures, sorrowfulness, dry and unsavoury diet, prayer, "watching, fasting, all the medicines which holy affections can "minister, they are up betimes to take in of the strongest for "the belly, and when their veins are well swollen they make "themselves mirth with laughter at this our service wherein "we are persuaded we please God."

[13.] By this of Epiphanius it doth appear not only what fastings the Church of Christ in those times used, but also what other parts of discipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient use and custom of bringing all men at certain times to a due consideration and an open humiliation of themselves. Two kinds there were of public penitency, the one belonging to notorious offenders whose open wickedness had been scandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church and unto every several person whom the same containeth. It will be answered that touching this latter kind it may be exercised well enough by men in private. No doubt but penitency is as prayer a thing acceptable unto God, be it in public or in secret. Howbeit as in the one if men were wholly left to their own voluntary meditations in their closets, and not drawn by laws and orders unto the open assemblies of the Church that there they may join with others in prayer, it may be soon conjectured what Christian devotion that way would come unto in a short time: even so in the other we are by sufficient experience taught how little it booteth to tell men of washing away their sins with tears of repentance, and so to leave them altogether unto themselves. O Lord, what heaps of grievous transgressions have we committed, the best, the perfectest, the most righteous amongst

καὶ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δουλείας . . . εἰ γὰρ ὅλως βούλομαι νηστεύειν, οἷον δ' ἂν αἰρήσομαι ἡμέραν ἀπ' ἑμαυτοῦ, νηστεύω διὰ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. Ὅθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς πεφιλοτίμηται μᾶλλον ἐν κυριακῇ νηστεύειν . . . ἔν τε ταῖς ἡμεραῖς τοῦ Πάσχα, ὅτε παρ' ἡμῖν χαμεννία, ἀγνεΐα, κακοπαθεία, ξηροφαγία, εὐχαι, ἀγρυπνία τε καὶ νηστεΐα, καὶ

πάσαι τῶν ψυχῶν αἱ σωτηρίαὶ τῶν ἁγίων παθῶν, αὐτοὶ ἀπέωθεν ὄψωνοῦσι κρέα τε καὶ οἶνον, ἐαυτῶν τὰς φλέβας γεμίζοντες, ἀνακαγχάζουσι, γελῶντες, χλευάζοντες τὴν ἁγίαν ταύτην λατρείαν τῆς ἑβδομαδὸς τοῦ Πάσχα ἐπιτελοῦντας.] Epiph. Hæres. [75. c. 3.] ¹ [Ibid.]

us all, and yet clean pass them over unsorrowed for and unpented of, only because the Church hath forgotten utterly how to bestow her wonted times of discipline, wherein the public example of all was unto every particular person a most effectual mean to put them often in mind, and even in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and clean forget as if penitency were no part of a Christian man's duty!

[14.] Again besides our private offences which ought not thus loosely to be overslipped, suppose we the body and corporation of the Church so just, that at no time it needeth to shew itself openly cast down in regard of those faults and transgressions, which though they do not properly belong unto any one, had notwithstanding a special sacrifice appointed for them in the law of Moyses, and being common to the whole society which containeth all, must needs so far concern every man in particular, as at some time in solemn manner to require acknowledgment with more than daily and ordinary testifications of grief. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be devised than that memorable commination set down in the book of Common Prayer, if our practice in the rest were suitable. The head already so well drawn doth but wish a proportionable body. And by the preface to that very part of the English liturgy it may appear how at the first setting down thereof no less was intended. For so we are to interpret the meaning of those words wherein restitution of the primitive church discipline is greatly wished for, touching the manner of public penance in time of Lent. Wherewith some being not much acquainted, but having framed in their minds the conceit of a new discipline far unlike unto that of old, they make themselves believe it is undoubtedly this their discipline which at the first was so much desired. They have long pretended that the whole Scripture is plain for them. If now the communion book make for them too (I well think the one doth as much as the other) it may be hoped that being found such a well-willer¹ unto their cause, they will more favour it than they have done.

[15.] Having therefore hitherto spoken both of festival days, and so much of solemn fasts as may reasonably serve

¹ [So Bodl. MS. and edd. to 1676. *Well-wisher*, 1682, and so K.]

to shew the ground thereof in the law of nature, the practice partly appointed and partly allowed of God in the Jewish Church, the like continued in the Church of Christ, together with the sinister oppositions either of heretics erroneously abusing the same, or of others thereat quarrelling without cause, we will only collect the chiefest points as well of resemblance as of difference between them, and so end. First in this they agree, that because nature is the general root of both, therefore both have been always common to the Church with infidels and heathen men. Secondly they also herein accord, that as oft as joy is the cause of the one and grief the well-spring of the other, they are incompatible¹. A third degree of affinity between them is that neither being acceptable to God of itself, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him must necessarily depend on that which they ought to import and signify; so that if herein the mind dispose not itself aright, whether we rest² or fast³ we offend. A fourth thing common unto them is, that the greatest part of the world hath always grossly and palpably offended in both; infidels because they did all in relation to false gods; godless, sensual, and careless minds, for that there is in them no constant true and sincere affection towards those things which are pretended by such exercise; yea certain flattering oversights there are, wherewith sundry, and they not of the worst sort, may be easily in these cases led awry, even through abundance of love and liking to that which must be embraced by all means, but with caution; inasmuch as the very admiration of saints, whether we celebrate their glory or follow them in humility, whether we laugh or weep, mourn or rejoice with them, is (as in all things the affection of love) apt to deceive, and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchful guide, seeing there is manifestly both ways, even in them whom we honour, that which we are to observe and shun. The best have not still been sufficiently mindful that God's very angels in heaven

¹ Conc. Laod. c. 51, 52. *vetat Natalitia Martyrum in Quadragesima celebrari.* [t. i. 1505. οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ μαρτύρων γενέθλιον ἐπιτελεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων *μνεῖαν ποιεῖν ἐν τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ κυριακαῖς.* And can. 52. οὐ δεῖ ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ γάμους ἢ γενέθλια ἐπιτελεῖν.]
² Isai. i. 13. ³ Isai. lviii. 3.

BOOK V. are but angels, and that bodily exercise considered in itself is no great matter¹. Finally seeing that both are ordinances well devised for the good of man, and yet not man created purposely for them as for other offices of virtue² whereunto God's immutable law for ever tieth; it is but equity to wish or admonish that where by uniform order they are not as yet received, the example of³ Victor's extremity in the one, and of⁴ John's disciples' curiosity in the other be not followed; yea where they are appointed by law, that notwithstanding⁵ we avoid Judaism, and as in festival days men's necessities for matter of labour, so in times of fasting regard be had to their imbecilities, lest they should suffer harm doing good.

[16.] Thus therefore we see how these two customs are in divers respects equal. But of fasting the use and exercise though less pleasant is by so much more requisite than the other, as grief of necessity is a more familiar guest than the contrary passion of mind, albeit gladness to all men be naturally more welcome. For first we ourselves do many moe things amiss than well, and the fruit of our own ill-doing is remorse, because nature is conscious to itself that it should do the contrary. Again forasmuch as the world over-aboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good unto other men, there is no man so seldom crossed as pleased at the hands of others, whereupon it cannot be chosen but every man's woes must double in that respect the number and measure of his delights. Besides concerning the very choice which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well considered, there is cause why our Saviour should account them happiest that do most mourn⁶, and why Salomon might judge it better to frequent mourning than feasting houses⁷, not better simply and in itself (for then would nature that way incline) but in regard of us and our common weakness better. Job was not ignorant that his children's banquets though tending to amity needed sacrifice⁸. Neither doth

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 8.

² Eccles. xii. 13; Isai. lviii. 6, 7; Rom. xiv. 17; James i. 27; Heb. xii. 14; Ephes. ii. 10.

³ Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. v. c. 23.

⁴ Matt. ix. 14.

⁵ Col. ii. 16.

⁶ Matt. v. 4.

⁷ Eccles. vii. 2, 4.

⁸ Job i. 5.

any of us all need to be taught that in things which delight we easily swerve from mediocrity, and are not easily led by a right direct line¹. On the other side the sores and diseases of mind which inordinate pleasure breedeth are by dolour and grief cured. For which cause as all offences use to seduce by pleasing, so all punishments endeavour by vexing to reform transgressions. We are of our own accord apt enough to give entertainment to things delectable, but patiently to lack what flesh and blood doth desire, and by virtue to forbear what by nature we covet, this no man attaineth unto but with labour and long practice.

[17.] From hence it riseth that in former ages abstinence and fasting more than ordinary was always a special branch of their praise in whom it could be observed and known, were they such as continually gave themselves to austere life; or men that took often occasions in private virtuous respects to lay Salomon's counsel aside², "Eat thy bread with joy," and to be followers of David's example which saith³ "I humbled my soul with fasting;" or but they who otherwise worthy of no great commendation have made of hunger some their gain, some their physic, some their art, that by mastering sensual appetites without constraint, they might grow able to endure hardness whensoever need should require. For the body accustomed to emptiness pineth not away so soon as having still used to fill itself.

Many singular effects there are which should make fasting even in public considerations the rather to be accepted. For I presume we are not altogether without experience how great their advantage is in martial enterprises that lead armies of men trained in a school of abstinence. It is therefore noted at this day in some that patience of hunger and thirst hath given them many victories; in others that because if they want there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plenty to moderate themselves, he which can either bring them to hunger or overcharge them is sure to make them their own overthrow⁴.

¹ Ἐν παντὶ δὲ μάλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν' οὐ γὰρ ἀδέκαστοι κρίνομεν αὐτήν. Arist. Eth. ii. cap. 9.

² Eccles. ix. 7.

³ Psalm xxxv. 13.

⁴ [The overthrow of the German Protestant army in France, A. D. 1587, might possibly be in Hooker's mind when he wrote this sentence. Davila says, "Più che tutte le fatiche, "e tutte l'industrie del Duca di

What nation soever doth feel these dangerous inconveniences may know that sloth and fulness in peaceable times at home is the cause thereof, and the remedy a strict observation of that part of Christian discipline which teacheth men in practice of ghostly warfare against themselves those things that afterwards may help them justly assaulting or standing in lawful defence of themselves against others.

[18.] The very purpose of the Church of God both in the number and in the order of her fasts, hath been not only to preserve thereby throughout all ages the remembrance of miseries heretofore sustained, and of the causes in ourselves out of which they have arisen, that men considering the one might fear the other the more, but farther also to temper the mind lest contrary affections coming in place should make it too profuse and dissolute, in which respect it seemeth that fasts have been set as ushers of festival days for prevention of those disorders as much as might be, wherein notwithstanding the world always will deserve, as it hath done, blame¹, because such evils being not possible to be rooted out, the most we can do is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruit we look for) to create in the minds of men a love towards frugal and severe life, to undermine the palaces of wantonness, to plant parsimony as nature where riotousness hath been study, to harden whom pleasure would melt, and to help the tumours which always fulness breedeth, that children as it were in the wool of their infancy dyed with hardness may never afterwards change colour; that the poor whose perpetual fasts are necessity, may with better contentment endure the hunger which virtue causeth others so often to choose and by advice of religion itself so far to esteem above the contrary; that they which for the most part do lead sensual and easy lives, they which as the prophet David describeth them², "are not plagued like other men," may by the public spectacle of all be still put in mind what themselves are; finally that

"Guisa nuoceva agli Alemanni l'abbondanza di vini, di uve, di frutte, e di carnaggi, de' quali sono copiose quelle provincie." lib. viii. p. 365.]
¹ "Valde absurdum est nimia saturitate velle honorare martyrem
 "quem scias Deo placuisse jejuniis.
 "[Ita tibi semper comedendum est, ut cibum et oratio sequatur et lectio." Hier. Epist. ad Eust. [i. 132.]
² Psalm lxxiii. 5.

every man may be every man's daily guide and example as well by fasting to declare humility as by praise to express joy in the sight of God, although it have herein befallen the Church as sometimes David, so that the speech of the one may be truly the voice of the other¹, "My soul fasted, and even "that was also turned to my reproof."

LXXIII. In this world there can be no society durable otherwise than only by propagation. Albeit therefore single life be a thing more angelical and divine, yet sith the replenishing, first of earth with blessed inhabitants, and then of heaven with saints everlastingly praising God did depend upon conjunction of man and woman, he which made all things complete and perfect saw it could not be good to leave man without an² helper unto the fore-alleged end.

[2.] In things which some farther end doth cause to be desired choice seeketh rather proportion than absolute perfection of goodness. So that woman being created for man's sake to be his helper in regard to the end before-mentioned, namely the having and the bringing up of children, whereunto it was not possible they could concur unless there were subalternation between them, which subalternation is naturally grounded upon inequality, because things equal in every respect are never willingly directed one by another: woman therefore was even in her first estate framed by nature not only after in time but inferior in excellency also unto man, howbeit in so due and sweet proportion as being presented before our eyes, might be sooner perceived than defined. And even herein doth lie the reason why that kind of love which is the perfectest ground of wedlock is seldom able to yield any reason of itself.

[3.] Now that which is born of man must be nourished with far more travail, as being of greater price in nature and of slower pace to perfection, than the offspring of any other creature besides. Man and woman being therefore to join themselves for such a purpose, they were of necessity to be linked with some strait and insoluble knot. The bond of wedlock hath been always more or less esteemed of as a thing religious and sacred. The title which the very heathens

¹ Psalm lxix. 10.² [So Bodl. MS. 1616: any A. 1662: a K.] 1887.

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Ch. lxxiii. 4 and orders which were instituted in the solemnization of marriage, the Hebrews term by the name of conjugal *Sanctifications*².

[4.] Amongst ourselves because sundry things appertaining unto the public order of matrimony are called in question by such as know not from whence those customs did first grow, to shew briefly some true and sufficient reason of them shall not be superfluous, although we do not hereby intend to yield so far unto enemies of all church orders saving their own, as though every thing were unlawful the true cause and reason whereof at the first might hardly perhaps be now rendered.

Wherefore to begin with the times wherein the liberty of marriage is restrained³. "There is," saith Salomon⁴, "a time for all things, a time to laugh and a time to mourn." That duties belonging unto marriage and offices appertaining

¹ Τὸς ἱερὸς γάμους. Dionys. Antiq. lib. ii. [c. 25.]

² Kidduschin in Rituali Heb. de benedictione nuptiarum. ["Apud Rabbinos קידוש הין synecdochice dicitur de consecratione sponsæ ad conjugium, pro 'desponsare, despondere, spondere.' קידוש 'sanctificationes;' item 'desponsationes, sponsalia;' de quibus integer liber extat apud Talmudicos sic vocatus." Buxt. Lex. Hebr. et Talm. col. 1978, 1980. Comp. Wolf. Bibl. Hebr. ii. 747. The tract "Kidduschin" is the seventh title of the third series in the Mischna, ed. Surenhus. t. iii. 359, &c.]

³ [I Adm. 16. ed. 1617. "We speak not of licences granted out of this court to marry in forbidden times, as in Lent, in Advent, in the gange week, when the priest in his surplice, singing gospels and making crosses, rangeth about in many places, upon the ember days, and to forbidden persons, and in exempt places." (Todd, Johnson's Dict. "*Gang week*. Rogation week, when processions are made to lustrate the bounds of parishes. This name is still re-

tained in the north of England.") In Strype, Ann. ii. 1. 382, is the following, among other articles, "pounded and divulged" by Cartwright at Cambridge, 1570. "xx. Matrimonium certis quibusdam anni temporibus interdiceret, papisticum est." See Bp. Cooper's Admonition, p. 103-107. "The bishops . . . prohibit marriage at certain times, most contrary to God's word: that is,' say they, 'a papistical practice, to fill the clergy's purse: yea it is a doctrine of Antichrist and of the Devil himself, prohibiting marriage even in laymen.' . . . This must needs be thought a captious and rigorous interpretation, to say that a stay of marriage for certain days and weeks is an unchristian forbidding of marriage. . . For then it is a popish disorder also, and Antichristian corruption, to stay marriage for three weeks, until the banns be asked. . . But. . . I think it not a matter of such necessity, neither is it so greatly pressed, as they pretend. I think there is no law remaining, that is so little executed, as that is."]

⁴ [Eccles. iii. 1.]

to penance are things unsuitable and unfit to be matched together, the¹ Prophets and² Apostles themselves do witness. Upon which ground as we might right well think it marvellous absurd to see in a church a wedding on the day of a public fast, so likewise in the selfsame consideration our predecessors thought it not amiss to take away the common liberty of marriages during the time which was appointed for the preparation unto and for exercise of general humiliation by fasting and praying, weeping for sins³.

[5.] As for the delivering up of the woman either by her father or by some other, we must note that in ancient times⁴ all women which had not husbands nor fathers to govern them had their tutors, without whose authority there was no act which they did warrantable⁵. And for this cause they were in marriage delivered unto their husbands by others. Which custom retained hath still this use, that it putteth women in mind of a duty whereunto the very imbecility of their nature and sex doth bind them, namely to be always directed, guided and ordered by others, although our positive laws do not tie them now as pupils.

[6.] The custom of laying down money seemeth to have been derived from the Saxons, whose manner was to buy their

¹ Joel ii. 16.

² I Cor. vii. 5.

³ [Con. Laod. can. 52; see above, c. lxxii. § 15, note 1, page 423. Lyndwood ap. Gibs. Codex 518. "Solennisatio non potest fieri a i^ma. Dominica Adventus usque ad Octavas Epiphaniæ exclusive; et a Dominica LXX usque ad primam Dom. post Pascha inclusive; et a prima die Rogationis usque ad septimum diem Pentecostes inclusive." Bishop Gibson says, "I find no prohibitions expressed or plainly supposed in our Constitutions or Canons." Strype, Ann. 1562, has preserved a paper which seems to have been intended for consideration in convocation that year, of which one article is, "That it shall be lawful to marry at any time of the year without dispensation, except it be on Christmas day, Easter day, and six days going before, and upon Pentecost Sunday."

Bishop Gibson, ubi sup. says, "In parliament, 17 Eliz. a bill was depending, entitled, *An Act declaring Marriages lawful at all times:* and in convocation, 1575, the last article presented to the Queen for confirmation, (but by her rejected) was, that the Bishops shall take order, that it be published and declared in every church before 1 May, that marriage may be solemnized at all times of the year." ⁴ "Mulieres antiquo jure tutela perpetua continebat. Recedebant vero a tutoris potestate quæ in manum convenissent." Boet. in Topic. Cic. [lib. ii. p. 781. ed. Basil. 1570.]

⁵ "Nullam ne privatam quidem rem foeminas sine auctore agere majores nostri voluerunt." Liv. lib. [xxxiv. c. 2.] The reason yielded by Tully this, "propter infirmitatem consilii." Cic. pro Mur. [c. 12.]