superiority over presbyters. When two of Chrysostom's presbyters had joined themselves to the faction of his mortal enemy Theophilus, Patriarch in the Church of Alexandria, the same Theophilus and other bishops which were of his convention, having sent those two amongst others to cite Chrysostom their lawful bishop, and to bring him into public judgment, he taketh against this one thing special exception, as being contrary to all order, that those presbyters should come as messengers and call him to judgment, who were a part of that clergy whereof himself was ruler and judge. So that bishops to have had in those times a ruling superiority over presbyters, neither could Jerome nor Chrysostom be ignorant; and therefore hereupon it were superfluous that we should any longer stand.

VII. Touching the next point, how bishops together with presbyters have used to govern the churches which were under them: it is by Zonaras somewhat plainly and at large declared, that the bishop had his seat on high in the church above the residue which were present; that a number of presbyters did always there assist him; and that in the oversight of the people those presbyters were after a sort the bishop's coadjutors. The bishops [bishop?] and presbyters who together with him governed the Church, are for the most part by Ignatius jointly mentioned. In the epistle to them of Trallians, he saith of presbyters that they are σύμβουλοι καὶ συνεθρεύτων τοῦ ἐπίσκοπου, "counsellors and assistants of the bishop; and

1 Pallad. (367-431) in Vita Chrys. [c. 6, l. xxxi. p. 29 E. ed. Bened. ἐμερίδον δὲ προσέπνευσεν τὸν Ἰωάννην... δέχασθαι ἵνα συνάχῃς ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς παραδοχῆς προς τὰς ἀνέπλεται δι’ ἐπιτύμπανον ψυχήν... καὶ ἀκούεις καὶ ἐκποτεύεσθε καὶ ἐκποτεύεσθε καὶ οἱ προσβέτεροι συνετάσια ἐν τῇ ἐπίσκοπε καὶ γυμνάσιας ἐπεκτάσεως. οὐ καὶ ἀκούεις διὰ τῆς ἀνήθους ἀκροβολίας ἐν τῇ ἐπίσκοπε.

2 Οὐσία σύμβουλοι δοῦσθαι τῷ ἐπίσκοπῳ. Ζωνάρας, 1029-1118, in Can. Apost. [Can. 58 ap. Bervidez, Syd. i. 38, καὶ τὸ ἐορμά δὲ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἡγεῖται διεγείρθην ἀπὸ τοῦ διὸ ἀνεπάρδεισθαι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐπὶ τῶν πάντων καὶ συνεθρεύτων τοῦ ἐπίσκοπον... ὡς τῶν τῶν πάντων, ἠθεὶς πάντων ἐν τῇ ὕπαρξι ἤθελεν καὶ τοῖς ἄνθρωποι, καὶ τὴν ἀυτῷ διάδοχον συμπαύνειν. ap. Coteler. ii. 63]

3 [Cap. 7. τι δὲ προσβέτεροι, ἀλλ’ ἡ σύνεται ἐρωτεύεται συνερχόμενος τοῦ ἐπίσκοπον... ὡς τῶν τῶν πάντων, ἠθεὶς πάντων ἐν τῇ ὕπαρξι ἤθελεν καὶ τοῖς ἄνθρωποι, καὶ τὴν ἀυτῷ διάδοχον συμπαύνειν. ap. Coteler. ii. 63]

concludeth in the end, "He that should disbelive these were a plain atheist, and an irreligous person, and one that did set Christ himself and his own ordinance at nought." Which order making presbyters or priests the bishop's assistants doth not import that they were of equal authority with him, but rather so adjoined that they also were subject, as hath been proved. In the writings of St. Cyprian nothing is more usual than to make mention of the college of presbyters subject unto the bishop, although in handling the common affairs of the Church they assisted him. But of all other places which open the ancient order of episcopal presbyters the most clear is that epistle of Cyprian unto Cornelius, concerning certain Novatian heretics received again upon their conversion into the unity of the Church. After that Urbanus and Sidonius, confessors, had come and signified unto our presbyters, that Maximus a confessor and presbyter did together with them desire to return into the Church, it seemed meet to hear from their own mouths and confessions that which by message they had delivered. When they were come, and had been called to account by the presbyters touching those things they had committed, their answer was, that they had been deceived, and did request that such things as there they were charged with might be forgotten. It being brought unto me what was done, I took order that the presbyter might be assembled. There were also present five bishops, that upon settled advice it might be with consent of all determined what should be done about their persons."
Thus far St. Cyprian. Wherein it may be peradventure demanded, whether he and other bishops did thus proceed with advice of their presbyters in all such public affairs of the Church, as being thereunto bound by ecclesiastical canons, or else that they voluntarily so did, because they judged it in discretion as then most convenient. Surely the words of Cyprian are plain, that of his own accord he chose this way of proceeding, "I Unto that," saith he, "which Donatus, and Fortunatus, and Novatus, and Gordius, our com-presbyters, have written, I could by myself alone make no answer, forasmuch as at the very first entrance into my bishoprick I resolutely determined not to do any thing of mine own private judgment, without your counsel and the people's consent." The reason whereof he rendereth in the same epistle, saying, "When by the grace of God myself shall come unto you," (for St. Cyprian was now in exile,) "of things which either have been or must be done we will consider, sicut honor mutuo poscit, as the law of courtesy which one doth owe to another of us requireth." And at this very mark doth St. Jerome evermore aim in telling bishops that presbyters were at the first their equals, that in some churches for a long time no bishop was made but only such as the presbyters did choose out amongst themselves, and therefore no cause why the bishop should disdain to consult with them, and in weighty affairs of the Church to use their advice. Sometime to countenance their own actions, or to repress the boldness of proud and insolent spirits, that which bishops had in themselves sufficient authority and power to have done, notwithstanding they would not do alone, but craved therein the aid and assistance of other bishops, as in the case of those Novatian heretics, before alleged, Cyprian himself did. And in Cyprian we used of others the like practice. Rogatian a bishop, having been used contumeliously by a deacon of his own church, wrote thereof his complaint unto Cyprian and other bishops.

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1 Cypr. Ep. 93. [5. p. 11. "Ad id quod scripserunt mihi compresbyter nostri Donatus et Fortunatus, Novatus, et Gordius, solus rescribere nihil potui, quando a primordio episcopatus mei statuerim nihil sine consilio vestro et sine consensus plebis mea privatim sententia gerere."]

2 [Itid. "Sed cum ad vos per Dei gratiam venero, tunc de ipsis que vel gesta sunt vel gerenda, sicut honor mutuo poscit, in commune tractabimus."]

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In which case their answer was, "That although in his own cause he did of humility rather shew his grievance, than himself take revenge, which by the vigour of his apostolical office and the authority of his chair he might have presently done, without any further delay;" yet if the party should do again as before, their judgments were, "fungaris circa eum potestate honoris tui, et eum vel deponas vel absteas;"—use on him that power which the honour of thy place giveth thee, either to depose him or exclude him from access unto holy things."

[2.] The bishop for his assistance and ease had under him, to guide and direct deacons in their charge, his archdeacon, so termed in respect of care over deacons, albeit himself were not deacon but presbyter. For the guidance of presbyters in their function the bishop had likewise under him one of the selfsame order with them, but above them in authority, one whom the ancients termed usually an arch-presbyter, we at this day name him dean. 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 miserere Sion. Servi tui diligent lapides ejus, pulveris ejus miseret eos."

VIII. How far the power which bishops had did reach, how far what number of persons was subject unto them at the first, the power of Bishops of the church of Alexandria under Theophilus at that time bishop. [Hist. Eccles. Tripart. lib. x. cap. 10.]

1 Cypr. Ep. [65. al. 3. c. 1. vid. supr. c. vi. § 7. p. 172, note 2.]

2 Such a one was that Peter whom Cassiodore writing the life of Chrysostom doth call the archbishop of the church of Alexandria under Theophilus at that time bishop.

3 Psalm ci. 13, 14.
and how large their territories were, it is not for the question we have in hand a thing very greatly material to know. For if we prove that bishops have lawfully of old ruled over other ministers, it is enough, how few soever those ministers have been, how small soever the circuit of place which hath contained them. Yet herof somewhat, to the end we may so far forth illustrate church antiquities.

2. A law imperial there is, which sheweth that there was great care provided for every Christian city a bishop as near as might be, and that each city had some territory belonging unto it, which territory was also under the bishop of the same city; that because it was not universally thus, but in some countries one bishop had subject unto him many cities and their territories, the law which provided for establishment of the other orders, should not prejudice those churches wherein this contrary custom had before prevailed. Unto the bishop of every such city, not only the presbyters of the same city, but also of the territory thereunto belonging, were from the first beginning subject. For we must note that when as yet there were in cities no parish churches, but only colleges of presbyters under their bishop's regiment, yet smaller congregations and churches there were even then abroad, in which churches there was but some one only presbyter to perform among them divine duties. Towns and villages abroad receiving the faith of Christ from cities whereunto they were adjacent, did as spiritual and heavenly colonies by their subjection honour those ancient mother churches out of which they grew. And in the Christian cities themselves, when the mighty increase of believers made it necessary to have them divided into certain several companies, and over every of those companies one only pastor to be appointed for the ministry of


2) Cum sanctorum genitalia et solis locis prope. Et hic de sancto loco, quod quidem est in episcopo, noster cleri- um urbium, item universis episco- pis vel in nostra provincia vel trans mare constituisse. &c. Cum juniperim per omnes pro- vincias et per urbes singulas ordi- nantur episcopi.

3) Hieron. advers. Lucifer. [§ 9.] Non quidem ab uno hanc ecclesi- arum esse consecutum, ut ad eos qui lingua urbi minoribus urbi- bus per presbyters et diaconos baptizati sunt, episcopos at invoca- tionem Sancti Spiritus manum imposituram excurram.

4) Cypr. Ep. 45. al. 52. c. 1. Didicimus, atque docere et in- struire easteros coepimus, Evaris- timus de episcopo, jam nec laicum

holy things; between the first and the rest after it there could not but be a natural inequality, even as between the temple and synagogues in Jerusalem. The clergy of cities were termed urbici, to shew a difference between them and the clergy of the towns, of villages, of castles abroad. And how many soever these parishes or congregations were in number, which did depend on any one principal city church, unto the bishop of that one church they and their several sole presbyters were all subject.

3. For if so be, as some imagine, every petty congregation or hamlet had had his own particular bishop, what sense could there be in those words of Jerome concerning castles, villages, and other places abroad, which having only presbyters to teach them and to minister unto them the sacraments, were resorted unto by bishops for the administration of that wherewith their presbyters were not licensed to meddle. To note a difference of that one church where the bishop hath his seat, and the rest which depend upon it, that one hath usually been termed cathedral, according to the same sense wherein Ignatius speaking of the Church of Antioch termeth it his throne; and Cyprian making mention of Evaristus, who had been bishop and was now deposed, termeth him cathedra extorren, one that was thrust besides his chair. The church where the bishop is set with his college of presbyters about him we call a see; the local compass of his authority we term a diocese. Unto a bishop within the compass of his own both see and diocese, it hath by right of his place evermore appertained to ordain presbyters.
Choreiscopi dependent on their Bishops.

Inequality among Bishops; natural.

see; in which churches they had also power to make subdeacons, readers, and such like petty church officers. With which power so stinted, they not contenting themselves, but adventuring at the length to ordain even deacons and presbyters also, as the bishop himself did, their presumption herein was controlled and stayed by the ancient edict of councils. For example that of Antioch1, "It hath seemed good to the holy synod that such in towns and countries as are called Choreiscopi do know their limits and govern the churches under them, contenting themselves with the charge thereof, and with authority to make readers, sub-deacons, exorcists, and to be leaders or guides of them; but not to meddle with the ordination either of a presbyter or of a deacon, without the bishop of that city, whereunto the Choreiscopus and his territory also is subject." The same synod appointed likewise that those Choreiscopi shall be made by none but the bishop of that city under which they are. Much might hereby be added, if it were further needful to prove that the local compass of a bishop's authority and power was never so strictly listed, as some men would have the world to imagine.

[5.] But to go forward; degrees there are and have been of old even amongst bishops also themselves; one sort of bishops being superiors unto presbyters only, another sort having pre-emnence also above bishops. It cometh here to be considered in what respect inequality of bishops was thought at the first a thing expedient for the Church, and what odds there hath been between them, by how much the power of one hath been larger, higher, and greater than of another. Touching the causes for which it hath been esteemed meet that bishops themselves should not every way be equals; they are the same for which the wisdom both of God and man hath evermore approved it as most requisite, that where many governors must of necessity concur for the ordering of the same affairs, of what

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1 Concill. Antioch. A.D. 341. can. 10. [Gōz bod ταίς καιραίς, ἢ ταῖς χώραις, ἢ τοῖς καλοτρίμησις χρονικολόγiolis, εἰ καὶ χρησιμοί καὶ ἐν αὐτούς ἐκκλησίας εἰσέχων, ἔποιη τῇ ἑλένες ἑκδόσεως ἐκδόσει τῶν μετρίων, καὶ διδότων τις ὑποκρίνεις ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ τοῦτος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος φυλακῇ καὶ ἡμεροῖς, καθὼς δὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς, καὶ ὑποθεσάμενος, καὶ ἔφοροι, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος προσεγγισθεὶς μετὰ παραβάσεως, μετὰ διάκονος χρησιμοί καὶ τοῖς ἑντὸς ἐκκλησίαις, εἰ καὶ διεσπαρόμενοι εἰσέχοντες αὐτῶν καὶ δικαίως ταχύτερον ἐκκλησίας εἰσέχων, ἔποιη τῇ ἑλένες ἑκδόσεως ἐκδόσει τῶν μετρίων, καὶ διδότων τις ὑποκρίνεις ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῇ τούτων ἀρχιεπίσκοπος φυλακῇ καὶ ἡμεροῖς, καθὼς δὲ ἀναγκασθεὶς, καὶ ὑποθεσάμενος, καὶ ἔφοροι, καὶ τῇ
nature soever they be, one should have some kind of sway or stroke more than all the residue. For where number is, there must be order, or else of force there will be confusion. Let there be divers agents, of whom each hath his private inducements with resolute purpose to follow them (as each may have); unless in this case some had preeminence above the rest, a chance it were if ever any thing should be either begun, proceeded in, or brought unto any conclusion by them; deliberations and counsels would seldom go forward, their meetings would always be in danger to break up with jars and contradictions. In an army a number of captains, all of equal power, without some higher to oversway them; what good would they do? In all nations where a number are to draw any one way, there must be some one principal mover.

Let the practice of our very adversaries themselves herein be considered; are the presbyters able to determine of church affairs, unless their pastors do strike the chiefest stroke and have power above the rest? Can their pastoral synod do anything, unless they have some president amongst them? In synods they are forced to give one pastor preeminence and superiority above the rest. But they answer, that he who being a pastor according to the order of their discipline is for the time some little deal mightier than his brethren, doth not continue so longer than only during the synod. Which answer serveth not to help them out of the briers; for by their practice they confirm our principle touching the necessity of one man's preeminence wheresoeuer a concurrency of many is required unto any one solemn action: this nature teacheth, and this they cannot choose but acknowledge. As for the change of his person to whom they give this preeminence, if they think it expedient to make for every synod a new super-

1 [T. C. i. 85. apud Whitgift. Def. 392. al. 110. "If any man will call this a rule or president-ship, and him that executeth the office a president or moderator, or a governor, we will not strive, so that it be with these cautions, that he be not called simply governor or moderator, but governor or moderator of that action and for that time, and subject to the orders that others be, and to be censured by the company of the brethren as well as others, if he be judged any way faulty. And that after that action ended and meeting dissolved, he sit him down in his old place, and set himself in equal estate with the rest of the ministers. Thirdly, that this government or presidency, or whatsoever else name you will give it, be not so tied unto that minister, but that at the next meeting it shall be lawful to take another if another be thought meetter.]

6. The ground therefore of their preeminence above bishops is the necessity of often concurrency of many bishops about the public affairs of the Church, as consecrations of bishops, consultations of remedy of general disorders, audience judicial, when the actions of any bishop should be called in question, or appeals are made from his sentence by such as think themselves wronged. These and the like affairs usually requiring that many bishops should orderly assemble, begin, and conclude somewhat; it hath seemed in the eyes of reverend antiquity a thing most requisite, that the Church should not only have bishops, but even amongst bishops some to be in authority chiefest.

7. Unto which purpose, the very state of the whole world, immediately before Christianity took place, doth seem by the special providence of God to have been prepared. For we must know, that the countries where the Gospel was first planted, were for the most part subject to the Roman empire. The Romans' use was commonly, when by war they had subdued foreign nations, to make them provinces, that is, to place over them Roman governors, such as might order them according to the laws and customs of Rome. And, to the end that all things might be the more easily and orderly done, a whole country being divided into sundry parts, there was in each part some one city, whereinto they about did resort for justice. Every such part was termed a diocese. Howbeit, the name diocese is sometime so generally taken, that it con-

rion, there is no law of God which bindeth them so to do; neither any that telleth them that they might, [not?] suffer one and the same man being made president even to continue so during life, and to leave his preeminence unto his successors after him, as by the ancient order of the Church, archbishops, presidents amongst bishops, have used to do.

1 Of Archbishops, see Admon. ap. Whitgift. Def. 298; Answ. ibid. al. 95—103. T. C. i. 61. al. 82; Def. 297, &c.; T. C. ii. 453—514.

1 [Si quid habebis cum aliquo Hellespontio controversie, ut in illum 1207. rejecis. Cic. Fam. E. iii. 53. lib. iii. The suit which T. C. i. 85. 1676. 1682. party in whose behalf he wrote to the prebendarie, might have his causes put over to that court which was held in the diocese of Hellespont, where the man did abide, and not to his trouble be forced to follow them at Ephesus, which was the chiefest court in that province.]

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