taineth not only more\(^4\) such parts of a province, but even more provinces also than one; as the diocese of Asia contained eight\(^7\) the diocese of Africa seven\(^8\). Touching dioceses according unto a stricter sense, whereby they are taken for a part of a province, the words of Livy\(^9\) do plainly shew what order the Romans did observe in them. For at what time they had brought the Macedonians into subjection, the Roman governor, by order from the senate of Rome, gave charge that Macedonia should be divided into four regions or dioceses. \(^*\) Capita \(^*\) regionum ubi concilia fieren, prime sedis Amphipolis, \(^*\) secunda Thessalonica, tertia Pellam, quartae Pelagoniam \(^*\) fecit. Eo concilia sua cujusque regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi magistratus creari jussit." This being before the days of the emperors, by their appointment Thessalonica was afterwards the chiefest\(^6\), and in it the highest governor of Macedonia had his seat. Whereupon the other three dioceses were in that respect inferior unto it, as daughters unto a mother city; for not unto every town of justice was that title given, but was peculiar unto those cities wherein principal courts were kept. Thus in Macedonia the mother city was Thessalonica; in Asia, Ephesus\(^3\); in Africa, Carthage; for so Justinian in his time made it\(^6\). The governors, officers, and inhabitants of these mother cities were termed for difference\(^6\) sace metropolitae, that is to say, mother city men; than which nothing could possibly have been devised more fit to suit with the nature of that form of spiritual regimen under which afterward the Church should live.

Wherefore if the prophet saw cause to acknowledge unto

\[4\] moj ed. 1676; more, 1682.

\[1\] Notit. Imp. Orient. per Pancriollum, p. 76. ed. 1593.

\[2\] [According to the Notitia, p. 153, Africa had but five provinces; according to Sextus Rufus, six; ap. Gruter. Script. Hist. Rom. p. 1194.]

\[3\] [Lib. xiv. c. 29.]

\[4\] [Theodoret. E. H. v. 17; Cod. Theodos. xi. tit. i. 33.]


\[6\] Sanctius ... ut sicut Orients atque Illiricum, ita et Africa praetoriana maxima potestate specierat altera nostra clementia decoraret. Cujus sedem judicem esse Carthaginem ... et ab ea, auxiliante Deo, septem provinciam cum suis judicibus disponantur. Lib. i. tit. 27. l. i. sect. 1, 2. [Cod. Justinian. p. 190. ed. Gothofr. 1688.]

The Lord that the light of his gracious providence did shine no where more apparently to the eye than in preparing the land of Canaan to be [a]\(^6\) receptacle for that Church which was of old\(^1\), "Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt, thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it, thou madest "room for it, and when it had taken root it filled the land:" how much more ought we to wonder at the hand-y-work of Almighty God who to settle the kingdom of his dear Son did not cast out any one people, but directed in such sort the politic counsels of them who ruled far and wide over all, that they throughout all nations, people and countries upon earth, should unwittingly prepare the field wherein the vine which God did intend, that is to say, the Church of his dearly-beloved Son was to take root? For unto nothing else can we attribute it, saving only unto the very incomprehensible force of Divine providence, that the world was in so marvellous fit sort divided, levelled and laid out before-hand. Whose work could it be but his alone to make such provision for the direct implantation of his Church?

[8.] Wherefore inequality of Bishops being found a thing convenient for the Church of God, in such consideration as hath been shewed, when it came secondly in question which bishops should be higher and which lower, it seemed herein not to the civil monarch only, but to the most, expedient that the dignity and celebrity of mother cities should be respected\(^2\). They which dream that if civil authority had not given such preeminence unto one city more than another, there had never grown an inequality amongst bishops, are deceived: superiority of one bishop over another would be requisite in the Church although that civil distinction were abolished: other causes having made it necessary even amongst bishops to have some in degree higher than the rest, the civil dignity of place was considered only as a reason wherefore this bishop should be preferred before that: which deliberation had been likely enough to have raised no small trouble,

\[1\] Psalm lxviii. 8, 9.\n
\[2\] Concil. Antiachico. can. 9. Tote kath enisth enporiai episkopous eivnai chri tov en tov mnuopolivon proesteta episkopon kai tov fivon tivn anavdekeiai pashe tis eparchias, dii tov in to mnuopoli synwasthmen synstikhein pion tov prwstikon exoun, othen doboi kai to fivon pro- nignontai aitio. [l. l. 395. ed. Har- dian. l. d. 341.]
but that such was the circumstance of place, as being followed in that choice, besides the manifest convenience thereof, took away all show of partiality, prevented secret emulations, and gave no man occasion to think his person disgraced in that another was preferred before him.

[9.] Thus we see upon what occasion metropolitan bishops became archbishops. Now while the whole Christian world in a manner still continued under one civil government, there being oftentimes within some one more large territory divers and sundry mother churches, the metropolitans whereof were archbishops; as for order's sake it grew hereupon expedient there should be a difference also amongst them, so no way seemed in those times more fit than to give preeminence unto them whose metropolitan sees were of special desert or dignity: for which cause these as being bishops in the chiefest mother churches were termed primates, and at the length by way of excellency, patriarchs. For ignorant we are not, how sometimes the title of patriarch is generally given to all metropolitan bishops.

They are mightily therefore to blame which are so bold and confident, as to affirm1 that for the space of above four hundred and thirty years after Christ, all metropolitan bishops were in every respect equals, till the second council of Constantinople² 

1 Villerius de Statu primitive Ecclesiae. [He quidem Ecclesiae Christianae instituta ad sube eccc "adimpluit regna integra atque inviolata permanensur . . . At paucis post annis, Constantinopolis episcopus ambitione et capitate digreganiacensus ausus est praecram illam Ecclesiam descriptionem et economiam con- secratur. Cum enim imperatores "ea civitate constituisse, ille arti- bus suis perfectis, ut ca . . . digni- tatem quoque et potestatem ali- quam prater ceteras metropoles "eximiam ac perpetuam obtineretur. "Itaque quod Constantinopolitani primi cap. 2. constitutum erat, ut Asia Ponti, et Thraciae metropoli- polis, sae quique provincie "procurationem gererent, . . . prox- imo universali concilio, i.e. Chal- cedonensi, funditus abrogatun "est: e. novo more, nullo exemplo "constitutum, ut harum omnium "provinciarum metropolitar solus "Constantinopolis episcopus "constituerat: qua lege . . . nemo "non videt . . . equabilitatem pro- "vinciarum, quae a majoribus con- "servata ac adicit fuerat, turpis- "sine confusam ac perturbationem." fol. 145. ad calcem Reg. Poli, Def. Eccl. Unit. ; Argentorat. 1555. The tract was written in reality by Fran- cois Hotman, the distinguished French protestant lawyer, and was first printed at Geneva, 1553: Hot- man being then Professor of Law at Strassburg. Vid. Gesneri Biblioth. as epitomized by Simler, Zurich, 1574. p. 202 ; et Biogr. Univ. art. Hotman.] 2 [I.e. the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451; in its 28th canon, cited below.]

1 [Can. vi. Tā διαρρηχεία όμηρον πατρί- τικα, τά τού Αλεξανδρείας και Λείψης και Παντοπούλεως, διότι τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπων πάνω τῶν άλλων ἔχει τοῦ ζωνού τοῦ ψυχῆς, ἐπείδη καὶ τά τῷ Ρώμῃ ἐπισκόπων τῶν άλλων οἶκοι τῶν άηδίων νόμων διά κατά τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείας, καὶ τότε τινὰ ἐσπηράσματα, τα πρεσβεία σώζεται ταίς ἐκκλησίαις. Conc. Hardin. i. 345.]

2 Soc. lib. v. c. 8.

3 [A D. 381. Can. ii. Cat. τοῦ κακοῦ, τῶν μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπι- σκόπων πάνω τῶν άλλων, κατὰ νόμων διάκρισιν, τούτων ταῖς ἐπισκόπων τῶν ἐν τούτω κακοῦ τότε κατά Νοεμβρίου προορισμένης τῆς Ἀναφορᾶς ἐκκλησίας. And Can. iii. Τὸν μέν τοῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκόπου ἔχει τό πρεσβεία τῆς τιμῆς μετά τοῦ τῆς Ρώμης ἐπισκόπου, διὰ τὸ τῶν σῴζομεν τούτων ἀκόμη κατὰ γενεὰς. So ibid. ii. 612.]

exalted certain metropolitans above the rest. True it is, they were equals as touching the exercise of spiritual power within their dioceses, when they dealt with their own flock. For what is it that one of them might do within the compass of his own precinct, but another within his might do the same? But that there was no subordination at all of one of them unto another; that when they all, or sundry of them, were to deal in the same causes, there was no difference of first and second in degree, no distinction of higher and lower in authority acknowledged amongst them; is most untrue.

The great council of Nice was after our Saviour Christ but three hundred twenty-four years, and in that council 1 certain metropolitans are said even then to have had an ancient preeminence and dignity above the rest; namely the primate of Alexandria, of Rome, and of Antioch. Three scores years after this there were synods 2 under the emperor Theodosius; which synod was the first at Constantinople, whereat one hundred and fifty bishops were assembled: at which council it was decreed 3 that the bishop of Constantinople should not only be added unto the former primates, but also that his place should be second amongst them, the next to the bishop of Rome in dignity. The same decree again renewed concerning Constantinople, and the reason thereof laid open 4 in the council of Chalcedon: at the length came that second
of Constantinople, where were six hundred and thirty bishops, for a third confirmation thereof. Laws imperial there are likewise extant to the same effect. Herewith the bishop of Constantinople being overmuch puffed up, not only could not endure that see to be in estimation higher, whereunto his own had preferment to be the next, but he challenged more than ever any Christian bishop in the world before either had, or with reason could have. What he challenged, and was therein as then refused by the bishop of Rome, the same the bishop of Rome in process of time obtained for himself, and having gotten it by bad means, hath both upheld and augmented it, and upheld it by acts and practices much worse.

[10] But primates, according to their first institution, were all, in relation unto archbishops, the same by prerogative which archbishops were being compared unto bishops. Before

1 Can. 36. [There is an historical oversight here. The council meant is called Quinisextum, or in Trullo. A.D. 798; of which the 36th canon appeals to the 630 bishops assembled at Chalcedon. Άνωθεν είτε τά παρά τῶν ὅσον παραδόθη ἐν τῷ εὐφραίνει τῷ και βαθύτερον πολλά συνολέωσιν, και τῶν χί. τῶν ἐν Χαλέκδοις συνελθόντων μομεντίνῃ, δρίκινω, διότι τῶν χαλέκεων συνολόσων δρών τῶν ἄνω συνολοσωμεν των τῆς πρεσβυερᾶς ἣμας ὑμᾶς, καὶ εἰς τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ὡς κύκλου μεγαλούχης πράγματος, δίνως μετ' ἑαυτῷ τῇ γραφῇ μέχρι τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας μεγαλούχων ἁρματειας ὑμῶν εἶναι τῆς Ἀντικειμῶν, καὶ μετ' ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἡπεροπολεμήσων πόλεως. Ibid. iii. 1676.]

2 [E.g. of Theodosius ii. xvi. Cod. Theodosii tit. ii. l. 45. A.D. 421. Omni innovatione cessante, nequeat canones pristinos ecclesiasticos qui nunc usque te mercant, per omnes Illyrici provincias servari praeceptum: tum si quid dubitatur, emerget, id oporeat non absque scientia viri reverendissimi sacrosancte legis antiquitis urbis Constantinopolis (que Romae veteris praenotativa latetur) conventui sacerdoti tali sanctoque judicio reservari.]

1. vi. 8c. ed. Gothofred. And of Justiniæ, Novell. cxxxii. c. i. 2. A.D. 541. "Sancimus vicem legum obtinere sanctas ecclesiasticas regulas, que a sanctis canonicis cilia exhibite sunt, aut firmate..."

2. Ideoque sancimus secundum causam definitiones sanitissimam seniores Romanæ juris primum esse omnium sacerdoti; beatissimum autem Archiepiscopum Constantinopolis novæ Romæ secundum habendum."

3. Novell. cxxii. 22. [Si quis vero sanctissimorum episcoporum jussum synodi dudum temetionem aliquam ad invicem habeat, sive pro ecclesiastico jure, sive pro alio quibusdam rebus, prius metropolita eorum cum alius de sua synodo episcopo causam examinat et judicat, et si non rata habuerit utraque pars ea quae judicata sunt, tunc beatissimus Patriarcha diecezios illius inter eos audiat, et ulla determinet, quod ecclesiasticis canonibus et regulis consonant, nulla parte ejs sententiae contra dicicere valeret. Si autem et alii clero, aut alio quoque adito contra episcopum fiat propter quamlibet causam; apud sanctissimum ejus metropolitanum secundum dummus regulas et nostras leges causa judicetur; et si quis judicat contra dictum ad beatissimum patriarcham diciceres illius litteras referatur."

Puritan Argument against Primacy.

BOOK VII. customs of Egypt and Libya, and Pentapolis; by which
the bishop of Alexandria hath authority over all
these; the rather for that this hath also been the use of
the bishop of Rome, yea the same hath been kept in
Antioch and in other provinces." Now because the custom
likewise had been that great honour should be done to
the bishop of Alexandria, therefore lest their decree
congering the primate of Antioch should any whit prejudice
the dignity and honour of that see. Special provision is
made, that although it were inferior in degree, not only
unto Antioch the chief of the East, but even unto Cesarea too,
yet such preeminence it should retain as belonged to a mother
city, and enjoy whatsoever special prerogative or privilege it
had besides. Let men therefore hereby judge of what
continuance this order which upheld degrees of bishops
must needs have been, when a general council of three
hundred and eighteen bishops living themselves within three
hundred years after Christ doth reverence the same for
antiquity's sake, as a thing which had been even then of
old observed in the most renowned parts of the Christian
world.

[11.] Wherefore needless altogether are those vain and
wanton demands, "No mention of an archbishop in Theo-
"philus bishop of Antioch? None in Ignatius? None in
"Clemens of Alexandria? None in Justin Martyr, Ireneaus,
"Tertullian, Cyprian? None in all those old historiographers,
"out of which Eusebius gathereth his story? None till the
"time of the council of Nice, three hundred and twenty
"years after Christ?" As if the mention which is therefor
made in that very council, where so many bishops acknow-

ledge archiepiscopal dignity even then ancient, were not of
far more weight and value than if every of those Fathers had
written large discourses thereof. But what is it which they
will blush at, who do so confidently set it down, that in
the council of Nice some bishops being termed metropolitans,
no more difference is thereby meant to have been between
one bishop and another, than is shewed between one minister
and another, when we say such a one is a minister in the city
of London, and such a one minister in the town of New-
ington? So that to be termed a metropolitan bishop did in their
conceit import no more? preeminence above other bishops,
than we mean that a girdler hath over others of the same
trade, if we term him which doth inhabit some mother city
for difference sake a metropolitan girdler.

But the truth is too manifest to be so deluded; a bishop
at that time had power in his own diocese over all other
ministers there, and a metropolitan bishop sundry preemi-
nences above other bishops, one of which preeminences was
in the ordination of bishops, to have κύρος τῶν γυμνῶν, the
chief power of ordering all things done. Which preeminence
that council itself doth mention, as also a greater belonging
unto the patriarch or primate of Alexandria, concerning whom
it is there likewise said, that to him did belong θυσία, au-
thority and power over all Egypt, Pentapolis, and Libya:
within which compass sundry metropolitan sees to have been,

more, so in ed. 1676, 1682.

1 T. C. lib. i. ubi supra. "A me-
tropolitan bishop was nothing
"else but a bishop of that place
"which he pleased the emperor or
"magistrate to make the chief of
"the diocese or shire; and as for
"this name, it makes no more dif-
"ference between a bishop and a
"bishop, than when I say a minister
"of London and a minister of New-
ington."-Girlder, 'A maker of girdles.'
"Talk with the girdler, or with
"the milliner.' Beaum. and Fletcher,
"Honest Man's Fortune." Todd's
"Johnson's Dict.

2 Vide Sarav, de Divers. Ministr.
Evang. Grad. c. 20.

3 What! no mention of him in

"Theophilus bishop of Antioch?
"none in Clemens Alexandrinus?

"none in Ignatius? none in Justin
"Martyr? in Ireneus, in Tertul-
"lian, in Origen, in Cyprian? in
"those old historiographers, out of
"which Eusebius gathered his
"story? Was it for his baseness
"and smallness that he could not
"be seen amongst the bishops,
"elders, and deacons, being the
"chief and principal of them all?
"Can the cedar of Lebanon be hid-
den amongst the box-trees? "T. C.
"lib. i. 92. [al. 70.]

"tientia factus sit episcopus, hunc
"magna synodus deminit episco-
pus, 'tum esse non operare.' [καθιλ-
νω δε προσθηκα τινα, διε ετε χρισ-
τον γαρ γαρυ των μητροπολιτων γενο-
το επισκοπος, των τοιοτων η μεγα-
λη ενιοτος υπαρχην τω νατο μη διε ετε επι-
σκοπος.'] Cap. 4. [τισισιον προση-
θηκα επισκοπος μιν υπαρχην τω νατο εν τη
"επιστημη καθησαυτησι, η δε διαβερητη
"τη το τονοτη, η δια καταηθησαντων
"ανθρωπου, δε διε μετα της χαρακτη-
"της της επιστημης και της επιστημης;
"το δε επιστημη των γυμνων διδαθην καθ
"εκατον επιστημη των μητροπολιων
"t. i. 324. Ed. Harduin.]
Prerogatives of Primates or Patriarchs.

it was thus decreed: “The bishops in every province must know, that he which is bishop in the mother city hath not only charge of his own parish or diocese, but even of the whole province also.” Again: “It hath seemed good that other bishops without him should do nothing more than only that which concerns each one’s parish and the places underneath it.” Further by the selfsame council all councils provincial are reckoned void and frustrate, unless the bishop of the mother city within that province where such councils should be, were present at them. So that the want of his presence, and in canons for church-government, want of his approbation also, did disannul them: not so the want of any others. Finally, concerning elections of bishops, the council of Nice hath this general rule, that the chief ordering of all things here, is in every province committed to the metropolitan.

[13.] Touching them, who amongst metropolitans were also primates, and had of sundry united provinces the首席est metropolitan see, of such that canon in the council of Carthage was eminent, whereby a bishop is forbidden to go beyond seas without the license of the highest chair within the same bishop’s own country; and of such which beareth the name of apostolical, is that ancient canon likewise, which chargeth the bishops of each nation, to know him which is first amongst them, and to esteem of him as an head, and to do no extraordinary thing but with his leave. The chief priates of the Christian world were the bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. To whom the council of Constantine being afterwards added, St. Chrysostom the bishop of that see is in

BOOK VII.

Ch. viii. 13.

there is no man ignorant, which in those antiquities have [hath?] any knowledge.

[12.] Certain prerogatives there are wherein metropolitans excelled other bishops, certain also wherein primates excelled other metropolitans. Archiepiscopal or metropolitan prerogatives are those mentioned in old imperial constitutions, to convocate the holy bishops under them within the compass of their own provinces, when need required their meeting together for inquisition and redress of public disorders; to grant unto bishops under them leave and faculty of absence from their own dioceses, when it seemed necessary that they should otherwhere converse for some reasonable while; to give notice unto bishops under them of things commanded by supreme authority; to have the hearing and first determining of such causes as any man had against a bishop; to receive the appeals of the inferior clergy, in case they found themselves overborne by the bishop their immediate judge. And lest haply it should be imagined that canons ecclesiastical we want to make the selfsame thing manifest; in the council of Antioch

1 Novell. cxxii. cap. 10. ["Ut omnis ecclesiasticus status et sacrae regulae diligenter custodiatur; jubemus unumquecumque beatum archiepiscopum et patriarcham metropolitam sanctissimos episcopos sub se constitutos in eadem provincia semel aut secundo per singulos annos ad se convocare, et omnes causas subsidi liter examinare, quos episcopos aut clericis aut monachi ad invicem habeant.” p. 255.]

2 Novell. cxxiii. cap. 29. ["Ecce nunc autem e xenodochos, nosocomos, proetrophos, et aliorum venerandorum locorum gubernatores, et alios omnes clericos jubemus pro creditis sibi gubernationibus apud proprium episcopum, cui subjicit, conveniri, et rationem suae gubernationis facere et exigere.”]

3 Novell. cxxiii. cap. 23. ["Cum omnis ecclesiasticus status est super unus, et super aliis regis regnum venire. Si vero necessitas facienda hoc contingat, non aliter nisi cum literis beatissimi Patriarchae aut metropolitae, aut per imperiale videlicet jussionem hac faciant.”] ibid.]