

inferiors, for that good of direction which ecclesiastical actions recorded do always bring.

[9.] Thirdly, But to call home our cogitations, and more inwardly to weigh with ourselves what principal commodity that order yieldeth, or at leastwise is of its own disposition and nature apt to yield: kings and princes, partly for information of their own consciences, partly for instruction what they have to do in a number of most weighty affairs, entangled with the cause of religion, having, as all men know, so usual occasion of often consultations and conferences with their clergy; suppose we, that no public detriment would follow upon the want of honourable personages ecclesiastical to be used in those cases? It will be haply said, "That the highest might learn to stoop, and not to disdain the advice of some circumspect, wise and virtuous minister of God, albeit the ministry were not by such degrees distinguished." What princes in that case might or should do, it is not material. Such difference being presupposed therefore, as we have proved already to have been the ordinance of God, there is no judicious man will ever make any question or doubt, but that fit and direct it is for the highest and chiefest order in God's clergy to be employed before others about so near and necessary offices as the sacred estate of the greatest on earth doth require. For this cause Joshua had Eleazar; David, Abiathar; Constantine, Hosius, bishop of Corduba; other emperors and kings their prelates, by whom in private (for with princes this is the most effectual way of doing good) to be admonished, counselled, comforted, and if need were, reprov'd. Whensoever sovereign rulers are willing to admit these so necessary private conferences for their spiritual and ghostly good, inasmuch as they do for the time while they take advice grant a kind of superiority unto them of whom they receive it, albeit haply they can be contented even so far to bend to the gravest and chiefest persons in the order of God's clergy; yet this of the very best being rarely and hardly obtained, now that there are whose greater and higher callings do somewhat more proportion them unto that ample conceit and spirit wherewith the minds of so powerable persons are possessed; what should we look for, in case God himself not authorizing any by miraculous means, as of old he did his prophets, the

equal meanness of all did leave, in respect of calling, no more place of decency for one than for another to be admitted? Let unexperienced wits imagine what pleaseth them, in having to deal with so great personages these personal differences are so necessary that there must be regard had of them.

[10.] Fourthly, Kingdoms being principally (next unto God's Almightyness, and the sovereignty of the highest under God) upheld by wisdom and by valour, as by the chiefest human means to cause continuance in safety with honour (for the labours of them who attend the service of God, we reckon as means divine, to procure our protection from heaven); from hence it riseth, that men excelling in either of these, or descending from such as for excellency either way have been ennobled, or possessing howsoever the rooms of such as should be in politic wisdom or in martial prowess eminent, are had in singular recommendation. Notwithstanding, because they are by the state of nobility great, but not thereby made inclinable to good things; such they oftentimes prove even under the best princes, as under David certain of the Jewish nobility were. In polity and counsel the world had not Achitophel's equal, nor hell his equal in deadly malice. Joab the general of the host of Israel, valiant, industrious, fortunate in war, but withal headstrong, cruel, treacherous, void of piety towards God; in a word, so conditioned, that easy it is not to define, whether it were for David harder to miss the benefit of his warlike ability, or to bear the enormity of his other crimes. As well for the cherishing of those virtues therefore, wherein if nobility do chance to flourish, they are both an ornament and a stay to the commonwealth wherein they live; as also for the bridling of those disorders, which if they loosely run into, they are by reason of their greatness dangerous; what help could there ever have been invented more divine, than the sorting of the clergy into such degrees, that the chiefest of the prelacy being matched in a kind of equal yoke, as it were, with the higher, the next with the lower degree of nobility, the reverend authority of the one might be to the other as a courteous bridle, a mean to keep them lovingly in awe that are exorbitant, and to correct such excesses in them, as whereunto their courage, state and dignity maketh them over-prone? O that there were for encouragement of prelates herein, that

inclination of all Christian kings and princes towards them, which sometime a famous king of this land either had, or pretended to have, for the countenancing of a principal prelate under him in the actions of spiritual authority! "Let my lord archbishop know¹," saith he, "that if a bishop, or earl, or any other great person, yea if my own chosen son, shall presume to withstand or to hinder his will and disposition, whereby he may be withheld from performing the work of the embassage committed unto him; such a one shall find, that of his contempt I will shew myself no less a persecutor and revenger, than if treason were committed against mine own very crown and dignity." Sith therefore by the fathers and first founders of this commonweal it hath upon great experience and forecast being judged most for the good of all sorts, that as the whole body politic wherein we live should be for strength's sake a threefold cable, consisting of the king as a supreme head over all, of peers and nobles under him, and of the people under them; so likewise, that in this conjunction of states, the second wreath of that cable should, for important respects, consist as well of lords spiritual as temporal: nobility and prelacy being by this mean twined together, how can it possibly be avoided, but that the tearing away of the one must needs exceedingly weaken the other, and by consequent impair greatly the good of all?

[11.] (Fifthly.) The force of which detriment there is no doubt but that the common sort of men would feel to their helpless woe, how goodly a thing soever they now surmise it to be, that themselves and their godly teachers did all alone without controlment of their prelate. For if the manifold jeopardies whereto a people destitute of pastors is subject be unavoidable without government; and if the benefit of govern-

¹ Petr. Blesens. Ep. 5. [t. xii. par. ii. p. 704. Biblioth. Patr. Colon. "Ego, qui conscius secretorum fui, verbum illud confidenter in communem deduco notitiam: verbum enim memorabile est. 'Sciat,' inquit, 'Dominus Archiepiscopus, quod si meus filius electus, aut aliquis episcopus terræ, vel comes, vel aliqua persona illustris, suæ voluntati aut dispositioni contrarie præsumpsit, aut impedit quo

"minus opus sibi commissæ legationis adimpleat, inveniet me sui contemptus persecutorem et vindicem, ac si in coronam meam proditorie commisisset." Peter of Blois was archdeacon of Bath in the reign of Henry II. and wrote this letter from court to Richard, who succeeded Thomas Becket in the primacy, and held it from 1174 to 1183.]

ment, whether it be ecclesiastical or civil, do grow principally from them who are principal therein, as hath been proved out of the prophet, who albeit the people of Israel had sundry inferior governors, ascribeth not unto them the public benefit of government, but maketh mention of Moses and Aaron only, the chief prince and chief prelate, because they were the well-spring of all the good which others under them did: may we not boldly conclude, that to take from the people their prelate is to leave them in effect without guides, as leastwise without those guides which are the strongest hands that God doth direct them by? "Thou didst lead thy people like sheep," saith the Prophet¹, "by the hands of Moses and Aaron."

If now there arise any matter of grievance between the pastor and the people that are under him, they have their ordinary, a judge indifferent to determine their causes, and to end their strife. But in case there were no such appointed to sit and to hear both, what would then be the end of their quarrels? They will answer perhaps, "That for such purposes their synods shall serve." Which is as if in the commonwealth the higher magistrates being removed, every township should be a state, altogether free and independent; and the controversies which they cannot end speedily within themselves, to the contentment of both parties, should be all determined by solemn parliaments. Merciful God! where is the light of wit and judgment, which this age doth so much vaunt of and glory in, when unto these such odd imaginations so great not only assent, but also applause is yielded?

[12.] (Sixthly.) As for those in the clergy whose place and calling is lower, were it not that their eyes are blinded lest they should see the thing that of all others is for their good most effectual, somewhat they might consider the benefit which they enjoy by having such in authority over them as are of the selfsame profession, society and body with them; such as have trodden the same steps before; such as know by their own experience the manifold intolerable contempts and indignities which faithful pastors, intermingled with the multitude, are constrained every day to suffer in the exercise of their spiritual charge and function, unless their superiors, taking their causes even to heart, be by a kind of sympathy drawn to

¹ Psal. lxxvii. 20.

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—♦—
relieve and aid them in their virtuous proceedings, no less effectually than loving parents their dear children.

Thus therefore prelacy, being unto all sorts so beneficial, ought accordingly to receive honour at the hands of all; but we have just cause exceedingly to fear that those miserable times of confusion are drawing on, wherein¹ “the people shall be “oppressed one of another;” inasmuch as already that which prepareth the way thereunto is come to pass, “children presume against the ancient, and the vile against the honourable:” Prelacy, the temperature of excesses in all estates, the glue and soder of the public weal, the ligament which tieth and connecteth the limbs of this body politic each to other, hath instead of deserved honour, all extremity of disgrace. The foolish every where plead, that unto the wise in heart² they owe neither service, subjection, nor honour.

What kinds of honour be due unto Bishops.
XIX. Now that we have laid open the causes for which honour is due unto prelates, the next thing we are to consider is, what kinds of honour be due. The good government either of the Church or the commonwealth dependeth scarcely on any one external thing so much as on the public marks and tokens, whereby the estimation that governors are in is made manifest to the eyes of men. True it is, that governors are to be esteemed according to the excellency of their virtues; the more virtuous they are, the more they ought to be honoured, if respect be had unto that which every man should voluntarily perform unto his superiors. But the question is now, of that honour which public order doth appoint unto church-governors, in that they are governors; the end whereof is, to give open sensible testimony, that the place which they hold is judged publickly in such degree beneficial, as the marks of their excellency, the honours appointed to be done unto them do import. Wherefore this honour we are to do them, without presuming ourselves to examine how worthy they are, and withdrawing it if by us they be thought unworthy. It is a note of that public judgment which is given of them; and therefore not tolerable that men in private should by refusal to do them such honour reverse as much as in them lieth the public judgment. If it deserve such grievous punishment, when any particular person adventureth to deface those marks whereby is signified what

¹ Isa. iii. 5.

² [Comp. Proverbs xi. 29.]

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—♦—
value some small piece of coin is publickly esteemed at; is it sufferable that honours, the characters of that estimation which publickly is had of public estates and callings in the Church or commonwealth, should at every man's pleasure be cancelled?

[2.] Let us not think that without most necessary cause the same have been thought expedient. The first authors thereof were wise and judicious men; they knew it a thing altogether impossible, for each particular in the multitude to judge what benefit doth grow unto them from their prelates, and thereupon uniformly to yield them convenient honour. Wherefore that all sorts might be kept in obedience and awe, doing that unto their superiors of every degree, not which every man's special fancy should think meet, but which being beforehand agreed upon as meet, by public sentence and decision, might afterwards stand as a rule for each in particular to follow; they found that nothing was more necessary, than to allot unto all degrees their certain honour, as marks of public judgment concerning the dignity of their places; which mark when the multitude should behold, they might be thereby given to know, that of such or such estimation their governors are, and in token thereof do carry those notes of excellency. Hence it groweth, that the different notes and signs of honour do leave a correspondent impression in the minds of common beholders. Let the people be asked who are the chiefest in any kind of calling? who most to be listened unto? who of greatest account and reputation? and see if the very discourse of their minds lead them not unto those sensible marks, according to the difference whereof they give their suitable judgment, esteeming them the worthiest persons who carry the principal note and public mark of worthiness. If therefore they see in other estates a number of tokens sensible, whereby testimony is given what account there is publickly made of them, but no such thing in the clergy; what will they hereby, or what can they else conclude, but that where they behold this, surely in that commonwealth, religion and they that are conversant about it are not esteemed greatly beneficial? Whereupon in time the open contempt of God and godliness must needs ensue: “Qui bona fide Deum colit, amat et sacerdotibus¹,” saith Papinius. In vain doth that kingdom or

¹ Præf. lib. v. Silv. [i.e. Statius, Publ. Papinius, Præf. lib. v. Sylvarum.] 1886.

BOOK VII. commonwealth pretend zeal to the honour of God, which doth not provide that his clergy also may have honour.

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xx. 1.

[3.] Now if all that are employed in the service of God should have one kind of honour, what more confused, absurd, and unseemly? Wherefore in the honour which hath been allotted unto God's clergy, we are to observe, how not only the kinds thereof, but also in every particular kind, the degrees do differ. The honour which the clergy of God hath hitherto enjoyed, consisteth especially in the preeminence of Title, Place, Ornament, Attendance, Privilege, Endowment. In every of which it hath been evermore judged meet, that there should be no small odds between prelates and the inferior clergy.

Honour
in Title,
Place,
Ornament,
Attend-
ancy, and
Privilege.

XX. Concerning title, albeit even as under the law all they whom God hath severed to offer him sacrifice were generally termed priests, so likewise the name of pastor or presbyter be now common unto all that serve him in the ministry of the gospel of Jesus Christ; yet both then and now the higher orders, as well of the one sort as of the other, have by one and the same congruity of reason their different titles of honour, wherewith we find them in the phrase of ordinary speech exalted above others. Thus the heads of the twenty-four companies of priests are in Scripture termed¹ arch-priests; Aaron and the successors of Aaron being above those arch-priests, themselves are in that respect further entitled high and great. After what sort antiquity hath used to style Christian bishops, and to yield them in that kind honour more than were meet for inferior pastors, I may the better omit to declare, both because others have sufficiently done it already, and in so slight a thing it were but a loss of time to bestow further travel. The allegation of Christ's prerogative to be named an arch-pastor² simply, in regard of

¹ Ἀρχιερείς.

² [T. C. i. 61. ap. Def. 300. al. 81. "The title of archbishop is only proper to our Saviour Christ, therefore no man may take that unto him. That it is proper to our Saviour Christ, appeareth by that which St. Peter saith, when he calleth him ἀρχιεπίσκοπος. . . And in the Hebrews where he is called the great shepherd of the sheep,

"and in the Acts and Hebrews arch-leader of life and salvation, which . . . are proper titles of his mediation, and therefore cannot be without bold presumption . . . attributed unto any mortal man." V. . . gift, Def. ibid. "What name is more proper unto God than is this name GOD? and yet is the same also attributed unto man."]

his absolute excellency over all, is no impediment but that the like title in an unlike signification may be granted unto others besides him, to note a more limited superiority, whereof men are capable enough without derogation from his glory, than which nothing is more sovereign. To quarrel at syllables, and to take so poor exceptions at the first four letters in the name of an archbishop, as if they were manifestly stolen goods whereof restitution ought to be made to the civil magistrate¹ toucheth no more the prelates that now are, than it doth the very blessed Apostle, who giveth unto himself the title of an archbuilder.

As for our Saviour's words alleged against the title of lordship and grace, we have before sufficiently opened how far they are drawn from their natural meaning, to bolster up a cause which they nothing at all concern. Bishops Theodoret² entitleth "most honourable." Emperors writing unto bishops, have not disdained to give them their appellations of honour, "Your holiness³," "Your blessedness," "Your amplitude," "Your highness," and the like: such as purposely have done otherwise are noted of insolent singularity and pride.

[2.] Honour done by giving preeminence of place unto one sort before another, is for decency, order, and quietness' sake so needful, that both imperial laws⁴ and canons ecclesiastical⁵ have made their special provisions for it. Our

¹ [T. C. ii. 408. "The Greek word signifying prince, which name he confesseth proper unto the civil magistrate; it must follow that the name of archbishop, which is as much as prince of bishops, breaketh upon the possession of the magistrate."]

² Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 8. [rather c. 9. in which he gives the synodical epistle of the council of Constantinople to the Roman synod, beginning Κυρίως τιμωτάτος.]

³ [Τὴν σὴν ἀγιωσύνην. Cod. Justin. I. 1.] de summa Trinit. l. vii. ["tuæ sublimitatis." ibid. I. 3.] de Episc. et cler. l. xxxiii.

⁴ ["Sacrosanctam hujus religionis civitatis ecclesiam . . . privilegia et honores omnes super episcoporum creationibus, et jure ante alios residenti, et cætera . . . habere sancimus." Impp. Leo et

Anthemius in Cod. Just. i. 2.] de sacros. Eccles. l. xvi.

⁵ [Conc. Nic. Canones Arabici, can. lvii. "Locus episcopi in oratione sit in summo sacelli sive capellæ intra locum altaris, ut qui sit pastor et gubernator: post eum sit archidiaconus ad latus dextrum, ut qui sit loco ejus, et præsit omnibus quæ ad orationem et ecclesiam pertinent: chorepiscopus autem sit post archidiaconum ad alterum latus, quia ipse etiam est loco episcopi super villas, et monasteria et sacerdotes villarum," t. i. 472. ed. Hard. iv Conc. Carth. A. D. 398. can. 35. "Ut episcopus in ecclesia, et in consessu presbyterorum, sublimior sedeat. Intra domum vero, collegam se presbyterorum esse agnoscat." t. i. 981.]

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Ch. xx. 2.

Saviour's invective against the vain affectation of superiority, whether in title or in place¹, may not hinder these seemingly differences usual in giving and taking honour, either according to the one or the other.

[3.] Something there is even in the ornaments of honour also; otherwise idle it had been for the wise man speaking of Aaron, to stand so much upon the circumstance of his priestly attire, and to urge it as an argument of such dignity and greatness in him²: "An everlasting covenant God made with Aaron, and gave him the priesthood among the people, and made him blessed through his comely ornament, and clothed him with the garment of honour." The robes of a judge do not add to his virtue; the chiefest ornament of kings is justice; holiness and purity of conversation do much more adorn a bishop, than his peculiar form of clothing. Notwithstanding, both judges, through the garments of judicial authority, and through the ornaments of sovereignty, princes; yea bishops through the very attire of bishops, are made blessed, that is to say, marked and manifested they are to be such as God hath poured his blessing upon, by advancing them above others, and placing them where they may do him principal good service. Thus to be called is to be blessed, and therefore to be honoured with the signs of such a calling must needs be in part a blessing also; for of good things even the signs are good.

[4.] Of honour, another part is attendancy; and therefore in the visions of the glory of God, angels are spoken of as his attendants. In setting out the honour of that mystical queen, the prophet mentioneth the virgin ladies which waited on her. Amongst the tokens of Solomon's honourable condition, his servants and waiters the sacred history omitteth not.

This doth prove attendants a part of honour: but this as yet doth not shew with what attendancy prelates are to be honoured. Of the high-priest's retinue amongst the Jews, somewhat the Gospel itself doth intimate. And albeit our Saviour came to minister, and not, as the Jews did imagine

¹ "They love to have the chief seats in the assemblies, and to be called of men Rabbi." Matt. xxiii. 6, 7. [quoted in Adm. ap. Def. 57; Answ. 40. al. 15; T. C. i. 12. al. 24; Def. 71, 72.]
² Ecclus. xlv. 7.

their Messiah should, to be ministered unto in this world, yet attended on he was by his blessed Apostles, who followed him not only as scholars, but even as servants about him. After that he had sent them, as himself was sent of God, in the midst of that hatred and extreme contempt which they sustained at the world's hands, by saints and believers this part of honour was most plentifully done unto them. Attendants they had provided in all places where they went; which custom of the Church was still continued in bishops their successors¹, as by Ignatius it is plain to be seen. And from hence no doubt those *Acolythes* took their beginning², of whom so frequent mention is made; the bishop's attendants, his followers they were: in regard of which service the name of *Acolythes* seemeth plainly to have been given. The custom for bishops to be attended upon by many is as Justinian³ doth shew ancient: the affairs of regiment, wherein prelates are employed, make it necessary that they always have many about them whom they may command, although no such thing did by way of honour belong unto them.

Some men's judgment is, that if clerks, students, and religious persons were more, common serving men and lay retainers fewer than they are in bishops' palaces, the use and the honour thereof would be much more suitable than now. But these things, concerning the number and quality of persons fit to attend on prelates, either for necessity, or for

¹ [Ign. ad Philadelph. Ep. interp. c. xi; ad Smyrn. c. x; Martyr. Ign. c. 3. ἐδεξιούντο τὸν ἅγιον, διὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, αἱ τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεις καὶ ἐκκλησίαι, πάντων ἐπειγομένων πρὸς αὐτόν. ap. Coteler. t. ii. 159.]

² [Before the middle of the third century, vid. (e. g.) S. Cypr. Ep. 55. "Cyprianus Cornelio. Legi literas tuas, quas per Saturnum fratrem nostrum acolythum misisti;" et Ep. 36. "Peregrinis sumptus suggeratis . . . misi . . . per Naricum acolythum aliam portionem;" et S. Cornelius ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 43. who reckons up ἀκολούθους δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα among the officers of the Roman church. Comp. Duarenus de Sacr. Eccles. Minist. i. 14. as quoted by

Bingham, b. iii. c. iii. § 3. "Extat re-scriptum cujusdam Pontificis ap. Gratianum, quo præcipitur Episcopis ut comites semper aliquos (duo Presbyteros et tres Diaconos) secum ducant famæ suspicionisque vitandæ causa. Can. *Subemus*; de Consecr. dist. i. (p. 1868.) Vel ideo acolythi appellati sunt, quod unus cum canonicorum et ascetiarum cœtu comitarentur. Nam eos id munus obire solitos fuisse satis perspicuum est ex constitutione Justiniani: Novell. ix." (c. iv. p. 136. ed. Gothofr.)]

³ Novel. vi. [c. 2. τοῦτο οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι πρόποντα λογισμὸν, τὸ μετὰ πλήθους (ὑπερ ἀνάγκη τὰς τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἔχειν θεραπείας) περιουσιεῖν . . . ἐν ξένῃ. vid. p. 18. ed. Gothofr. 1688.]