

# OF THE SUPREMACY.

## THE FOURTH ARTICLE.

### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Univer-  
sal  
bishop.

OR that the bishop of Rome was then called an universal bishop, or head<sup>1</sup> of the universal church.

[OF THE POPE'S PRIMACY.—ARTICLE IV. H. A. 1564.]

M. HARDING. THE FIRST DIVISION.

The ninety-  
third un-  
truth. For  
there was no  
such power  
confessed.  
Not one at all.

By what name soever the bishop of Rome was called within six hundred years after Christ's ascension, this is clear, that his primacy, that is to say, supreme power and authority over and above all bishops, and chief government of all Christ's flock, in matters pertaining to faith and christian religion, was then (93) acknowledged and confessed. Which thing being so, whether then he were called by either of those names that you deny, or no, it is not of great importance. And yet for the one of them, somewhat, and for the other, an infinite number of good authorities may be alleged. But thereof hereafter.

### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Extra. de  
Elect. et  
Elect. Potest.  
Solitæ.  
De Major. et  
Obed. Unam  
Sanctam.  
ix. Quæst. iii.  
Nemo.

Touching these glorious names and titles, wherewith the bishop of Rome hath long sithence furnished and beautified his estate, M. Harding seemeth in part willingly to yield; claiming nevertheless the supreme power and universal authority unto the see of Rome, and that even from the apostles' time: notwithstanding it was as easy a matter for Christ to give Peter the power and title both together, as to give him the power alone, without the title. But to avoid error that might grow by mistaking of words, him we call "the universal bishop," or "the head of the universal church," that hath authority above all general councils, and fulness of power to expound the scriptures; to whose determinations the whole church of God must of necessity submit itself without contradiction; whom neither emperor, nor king, nor clergy, nor the whole universal people, in anywise may control whatsoever he do; unto whom all appeals ought to lie from all places of the world; and who, wheresoever he happen to be, hath the full jurisdiction of a bishop<sup>2</sup>. That ever any such superiority, or universal power, was given by Christ to the see of Rome, it will be too much for M. Harding well to prove.

Greg. in Cat.  
in Matt. cap.  
xvi.

But whereas the bishop there so ambitiously craveth to be known and taken for the universal bishop, and head of the universal church, happy is he if he do the duty of one particular bishop, and be found but a member of Christ's church. St Gregory saith: *Adversus quem... portæ prævalent inferorum, ille neque petra dicendus est, supra quam Christus ædificat ecclesiam, neque ecclesia, neque pars ecclesiæ*<sup>3</sup>: "He against whom the gates of hell do prevail (as they have often against the bishop of Rome), neither may be called the rock, whereupon Christ doth build his church, nor the church, nor any part of the church."

[<sup>1</sup> The head, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>2</sup> Paschal. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. i. Tit. vi. De Elect. et Elect. Potest. cap. 3. cols. 110, &c.

Innoc. III. in eod. ibid. Lib. i. Tit. xxxiii. De Major. et Obed. cap. 6. cols. 424, &c.

Bonifac. VIII. in eod. Extrav. Comm. Lib. i. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. cols. 202, &c.

Innoc. in eod. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars,

Caus. ix. Quæst. iii. can. 13. col. 877.

See also before, page 93, note 1.]

[<sup>3</sup> There appears to be an error in the reference to Gregory: the passage in the Catena assigns it to Origen.—Thom. Aquinat. Op. Venet. 1595. Caten. Aur. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. XV. fol. 60. 2; where ædificat Christus. See also Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xii. Tom. III. p. 526.]

Certainly, touching these vain titles, the same ancient father St Gregory saith: *Ego...fidenter dico,... Quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua antichristum præcurrit*<sup>4</sup>: "I speak it boldly, Whosoever either calleth himself the universal bishop, or desireth so to be called, in his pride he is the forerunner of antichrist."

De Jure  
Divino.

Greg. Lib. iv.  
Epist. 34.

#### M. HARDING. THE SECOND DIVISION.

Now concerning the chief point of this article, which is the primacy of the pope, Peter's successor. First, it hath been set up and ordained by God, so as it standeth in force jure divino, by God's law, and not only by man's law, the scriptures leading thereto. Next, commended to the world by decrees of councils, and confirmed by edicts of christian emperors, for avoiding of schisms. Furthermore, confessed and witnessed by the holy fathers. Again, found to be necessary by reason. Finally, used and declared by the event of things, and practice of the church. For proof of all this, so much might easily be said as should serve to a whole volume.

A heap of  
untruths.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding saith he will trip and dance lightly over this article. And therefore, notwithstanding he would seem to hold *de jure divino*, that is, by the scriptures; yet for haste he allegeth not any one word of the scriptures, as of himself, but only upon the report and credit of others. Howbeit pope Zosimus, in all that long contention he had with the bishops of Africa, touching these matters, never alleged any word of the scriptures, but only the council of Nice<sup>5</sup>, which he himself had falsified. And Meltiades, writing hereof to the bishops of Spain, seemeth to claim only by custom, and not by any right of God's word<sup>6</sup>.

Zosim. in  
Concil.  
Aphri.

Melt. in  
Epist. ad  
Episcop. His.

Nevertheless, sithence that time, they have found out sundry places of the scriptures to avouch their title, and have forced the same to serve their purpose. Christ saith, "All power is given to me." Hereof Stephanus, the bishop of Patraca, concludeth thus: *Ergo in papa est omnis potestas, supra omnes potestates, tam cæli, quam terræ*<sup>7</sup>: "Therefore in the pope is all power above all powers, as well of heaven as of earth." Some others there be that reason thus: "Peter entered into the grave before John: Peter drew his net full of fish: unto Peter Christ said, Confirm thy brethren; ergo, the pope is head of the church<sup>8</sup>." Bonifacius the eighth saith: *In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram, non in principis*<sup>9</sup>: "God made heaven and earth in the beginning, and not in the beginnings, as in many." And again: *Spiritualis omnia dijudicat*<sup>10</sup>: "He that is spiritual judgeth all things;" ergo, the bishop of Rome ought to have an universal power over all the world. By these and other like authorities of the scriptures they conclude, that the pope holdeth his authority not by any ordinance of man, but *de jure divino*, that is, even by the right of God's undoubted law. And therefore pope Bonifacius determineth the matter in this wise to hold for ever: *Declaramus, dicimus, definimus, pronuntiamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis omni humane creature, subesse Romano pontifici*<sup>11</sup>: "We declare, say, determine, and pronounce, that undoubtedly it standeth upon the necessity of salvation, for every mortal creature to be subject to the bishop of Rome." Likewise saith the gloss upon the same: *Quicquid salvatur, est sub summo pontifice*<sup>12</sup>: "Whatsoever is saved is

John xvii.  
Matt. xxviii.  
In Concil.  
Later. sub  
Leon.

Reg. Pol.  
Adver. Hen.  
viii. Regem.  
Angliæ.

De Major. et  
Obed. Unam  
Sanctam.

1 Cor. ii.

De Major. &c.  
ut supra.

Gloss. ibidem

[<sup>4</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. Tom. II. col. 881.]

[<sup>5</sup> This contention, which was not ended by the death of Zosimus, may be seen in Concil. Carthag. vi. cap. 3. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 494; Concil. Afric. in eod. pp. 500, &c. See also Baron. Annal. Eccles. Rom. 1607. Tom. V. pp. 446, &c.]

[<sup>6</sup> Melciad. Epist. Decret. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 218. Melciades in this epistle certainly refers to a supposed authority given by Christ (Matt. xvi.) to Peter over the rest of the apostles, and of right descending from him to the Roman pontiffs.]

[<sup>7</sup> Orat. Steph. Arch. Patrac. in Sess. x. Concil. Later. v. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 269. See before, pages 93, 4, note 2.]

[<sup>8</sup> Reg. Pol. Card. Brit. ad Henric. VIII. pro Eccles. Unit. Def. Ingolst. 1587. Lib. II. pp. 186-9.]

[<sup>9</sup> Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Extrav. Comm. Lib. I. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212.]

[<sup>10</sup> Id. in eod. ibid. col. 211. See before, page 77, note 9.]

[<sup>11</sup> Id. in eod. ibid. col. 212. See before, page 95, note 11.]

[<sup>12</sup> Gloss. in eod. ibid. col. 205.]

De Jure  
Divino.

under the highest bishop." If these claims be good, it is no hard matter to hold by scriptures.

But forasmuch as they seem to make greatest account of these words of Christ, "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church;" therefore, for answer hereunto, understand thou, good christian reader, that the old catholic fathers have written and pronounced not any mortal man, as Peter was, but Christ himself, the Son of God, to be this rock. Gregorius Nyssenus saith: *Tu es Petrus, &c.*<sup>1</sup>: "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church." He meaneth the confession of Christ; for he had said before: "Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God." So saith St Hilary: *Hæc est una felix fidei petra, quam Petrus ore suo confessus est*<sup>2</sup>: "This is that only blessed rock of faith, that Peter confessed with his mouth." Again he saith: "Upon this rock of Peter's confession is the building of the church<sup>3</sup>." So Cyrillus: *Petra nihil aliud est, quam firma et inconcussa discipuli fides*<sup>4</sup>: "The rock is nothing else, but the strong and assured faith of the disciple." So likewise Chrysostom: *Super hanc petram, id est, in hac fide et confessione, ædificabo ecclesiam meam*<sup>5</sup>: "Upon this rock, that is to say, upon this faith and this confession, I will build my church." Likewise St Augustine: *Petra...erat Christus, super quod fundamentum etiam...ædificatus est Petrus*<sup>6</sup>: "Christ was the rock, upon which foundation Peter himself was also built." And addeth further besides: *Non me ædificabo super te, sed te ædificabo super me*<sup>7</sup>: Christ saith unto Peter: "I will not build myself<sup>8</sup> upon thee, but I will build thee upon me." All these fathers be plain; but none so plain as Origen. His words be these: *Petra est, quicumque est discipulus Christi: ... et super talem petram construitur omnis ecclesiastica doctrina ... Quod si super unum illum Petrum tantum existimas ædificari totam ecclesiam, quid dicturus es de Johanne filio tonitruui, et apostolorum unoquoque? Num audebimus dicere, quod adversus Petrum unum non prævalituræ sint portæ inferorum?... An soli Petro dantur a Christo claves regni cælorum?*<sup>9</sup> "He is the rock, whosoever is the disciple of Christ; and upon such a rock all ecclesiastical learning is built. If thou think that the whole church is built only upon Peter, what then wilt thou say of John the son of the thunder, and of every of the apostles? Shall we dare to say, that the gates of hell shall not prevail only against Peter? Or are the keys of the kingdom of heaven given only unto Peter?" By these few it may appear, what right the pope hath to claim his authority by God's word, and, as M. Harding saith, *de jure divino*. Indeed, touching the same words of St Matthew, St Hierome writeth thus: *Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Phariseorum assumunt supercilio*<sup>10</sup>: "Bishops and priests, not understanding this place, take upon them some part of the proud looks of the Pharisees." And again he saith: *Noverint episcopi, se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores*<sup>11</sup>: "Let bishops understand that they are greater than the priests, more of custom than of the truth of God's ordinance." By this it appeareth, that the bishop of Rome holdeth by custom, and not, as M. Harding saith, *de jure divino*.

As for the decrees of councils, the edicts of princes, the sayings of holy fathers, the necessity of reason, and the practice of the church, how justly they be avouched by M. Harding, they shall be severally examined as they come.

[<sup>1</sup> *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, super confessionem videlicet Christi, quia dixerat: Tu es Christus, filius Dei viventis.*—Gregor. Nyss. Op. Par. 1638. Test. de Advent. Dom. adv. Jud. Tom. II. p. 162. But this work is not genuine.]

[<sup>2</sup> *...una hæc felix fidei petra Petri ore confessa, &c.*—Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. II. 23. col. 800.]

[<sup>3</sup> *Super hanc igitur confessionis petram ecclesiæ ædificatio est.*—Id ibid. Lib. VI. 36. col. 903.]

[<sup>4</sup> *Cyril. Alex. Op. Par. Lut. 1638. De Sanct. Trin. Dial. IV. Tom. V. Pars I. p. 507.]*

[<sup>5</sup> *...καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, τούτῃ, τῇ πίστει τῆς ὁμολογίας.*—

Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Matt. Hom. liv. Tom. VII. p. 548.]

[<sup>6</sup> *August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xxi. Tractat. cxxiv. 5. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 822.]*

[<sup>7</sup> *Super me ædificabo te, non me super te.*—Id. De Verb. Evang. Matt. xiv. Serm. lxxvi. 1. Tom. V. col. 415.]

[<sup>8</sup> *Meself, 1565.]*

[<sup>9</sup> *Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. XII. 10, 11. Tom. III. pp. 524, 5.]*

[<sup>10</sup> *Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. III. in Matt. cap. xvi. Tom. IV. Pars I. col. 75.]*

[<sup>11</sup> *Id. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars I. cols. 413, 4; where episcopi noverint.]*

M. HARDING. THE THIRD DIVISION.

Epistles  
decretal.

But I, in this treatise, seeking to avoid prolixity, having purposed to say somewhat to this number of the other articles, and knowing this matter of the primacy to be already largely and learnedly handled of others, will but trip (as it were) <sup>Trip.</sup> lightly over at this time, and not set my fast footing in the deep debating and treating of it.

[The pope's primacy not of man, but of God's ordinance. H. A. 1564.]  
[The first proof of the pope's primacy, scripture expounded. H. A. 1564.]

First, as concerning the right of the primacy<sup>12</sup> by God's law, by these ancient authorities it hath been avouched. Anacletus, that holy bishop and martyr, St Peter's scholar, and of him consecrated priest, in his epistle to the bishops of Italy, writeth thus: In novo...testamento, post Christum, &c.<sup>13</sup>: "In the new testament, the order of priests began, after our Lord Christ, of Peter; because to him bishopric was first given in the church of Christ, where as our Lord said unto him, 'Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; and unto thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.' Wherefore this Peter received of our Lord, first of all, power to bind and to loose; and first of all he brought people to the faith, by virtue of his preaching. As for the other apostles, they received honour and power in like fellowship with him, and willed him to be their prince, or chief governor."

In another epistle to all bishops, alleging the same text, for the primacy of the see of Rome, speaking of the disposition of churches committed to patriarchs and primates, saith thus most plainly: "This holy and apostolic church of Rome hath obtained the primacy, not of the apostles, but of our Lord and<sup>14</sup> Saviour himself, and hath gotten the pre-eminence of power over all churches, and over the whole flock of christian people, even so as he said to blessed Peter the apostle, 'Thou art Peter; and upon this rock,' &c.<sup>15</sup>

## THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

The authorities here alleged are full of fog and false ground, and can abide no fast footing; and therefore M. Harding trippeth them so lightly over.

Touching this epistle of Anacletus, and other like epistles decretal, I will only give a taste, and leave the judgment thereof unto the reader.

First, one Petrus Crab, the compiler of the councils, complaineth much that the examples from whence he took them were wonderfully corrupted, and not one of them agreeing with another, and expresseth the same by these words: *Exemplarium intolerabilis nimiaque differentia et depravatio*<sup>16</sup>.

Again, Gratian himself, upon good advice, is driven to say that all such epistles ought to have place rather in debating of matter of justice in the consistory than in determining and weighing the truth of the scriptures<sup>17</sup>.

Besides this, neither St Hierome, nor Gennadius, nor Damasus, nor any other old father ever alleged these epistles, or made any account of them; nor the bishops of Rome themselves, no, not when such evidence might have stood<sup>18</sup> them

In Admon.  
ad Lect. ante  
Decret. Lib.  
Dist. xx.  
Decret.

[<sup>12</sup> The pope's primacy, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>13</sup> In novo, &c. Dominum a Petro sacerdotalis cœpit ordo, quia ipsi primo pontificatus in ecclesia Christi datus est, dicente Domino ad eum: Tu es (inquit) Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam, et tibi dabo claves regni cœlorum. Hic ergo ligandi atque solvendi potestatem primus accepit a Domino, primusque ad fidem populum virtute suæ prædicationis adduxit. Ceteri vero apostoli cum eodem pari consortio honorem et potestatem acceperunt, ipsumque principem eorum esse voluerunt. —Anaclet. Epist. ii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 61.]

[<sup>14</sup> H. A. 1564, omits and.]

[<sup>15</sup> Hæc vero sacrosancta Romana et apostolica ecclesia non ab apostolis, sed ab ipso Domino Sal-

vatore nostro primatum obtinuit, et eminentiam potestatis super universas ecclesias ac totum christiani populi gregem assecuta est, sicut ipse beato Petro apostolo dixit: Tu es Petrus, &c.—Id. Epist. iii. in eod. Tom. I. p. 63.]

[<sup>16</sup> ...vetustissima exemplaria... adeo depravata fuere, ut...restitui minime potuerint.—Ad Lect. in eod. Tom. I. fol. a. 4. See also fol. a. 3. 2.]

[<sup>17</sup> Apparet, quod divinarum tractatores scripturarum, etsi scientia pontificibus præemineant, tamen, quia dignitatis eorum apicem non sunt adepti, in sacrarum quidem scripturarum expositionibus eis præponuntur; in causis vero definiendis secundum post eos locum merentur.—Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xx. col. 88.]

[<sup>18</sup> Stand, 1563.]

**Epistles  
decretal.**

in best stead, namely in their ambitious contention for the superiority over the bishops of Africa.

The contents of them are such, as a very child of any judgment may soon be able to descry them.

Clem. Epist.  
1.  
Hier. de  
Eccles. Scrip.

Clemens informeth St James of the order and manner of St Peter's death<sup>1</sup>: yet it is certain, and Clement undoubtedly knew it, that James was put to death seven years before St Peter<sup>2</sup>.

Anth. Epist.  
1.

Antherus maketh mention of Eusebius, bishop of Alexandria, and of Felix, bishop of Ephesus: yet was neither Eusebius nor Felix neither bishop nor born all the time that Antherus lived<sup>3</sup>.

Marcell.  
Epist. 2. ad  
Orient.

Marcellinus saith: "The emperor might not attempt to presume any thing against the gospel<sup>4</sup>:" yet was there then no emperor alive that understood Christ, or knew the gospel.

Marcell.  
Epist. 2.

Marcellus writeth to the emperor Maxentius, and chargeth him straitly with the authority of Clement<sup>5</sup>: yet was Maxentius an infidel, a cruel tyrant, and a persecutor of the church, and neither knew nor cared for the name of Clement.

Zeph. Epist. 1.

Zephyrinus saith: "Christ commanded his apostles to appoint the three-score and twelve disciples<sup>6</sup>:" yet St Luke saith Christ himself appointed them.

Luke x.

Luke iii.

Meliad.

Epist. 1.

St Luke saith: "John the Baptist gave this counsel to the soldiers, Be ye contented with your wages<sup>7</sup>," &c.: yet Meltiades quite altereth the whole story, and nameth Christ instead of John.

It would be tedious and needless to open all: these few notes may suffice for a taste.

Anacl. Epist.  
1.

Now touching this Anacletus, whom M. Harding hath furnished with his titles, as though it were the very true Anacletus indeed: first, he saith, Clemens was his predecessor<sup>8</sup>: contrariwise Irenæus, that lived immediately afterward, and Eusebius say, Anacletus was predecessor unto Clement<sup>9</sup>. Whereby it may appear, that Anacletus wrote this epistle after that he himself was dead.

Dist. xciii.  
Juxta Sanc-  
torum.

He maketh mention of St Peter's church: yet was there no church built in the name of Peter within three hundred years after Anacletus<sup>10</sup>.

Anacl. Epist.  
3.

Again, he allegeth the decrees and canons of the old fathers: his words be these: *Hæc ab antiquis apostolis et patribus accepimus*<sup>11</sup>: "These things have we received of the old apostles and ancient fathers." As if the apostles had been long before him: notwithstanding, St John the apostle was yet alive, and Anacletus himself was one of the oldest fathers.

Although by that I have thus shortly touched, the likelihood hereof may soon appear, yet I beseech thee, good christian reader, consider also these and other like phrases and manners of speech, which in these epistles are very familiar, and may easily be found: *Persecutiones patienter portare: Peto ut pro me orare debeas: Episcopi obediendi sunt, non insidiandi: Ab illis omnes Christiani se cavere debent*. Here is not so much as the very congruity and natural sound of the Latin tongue. And shall we think that, for the space of three hundred years and more, there was not one bishop in Rome that could speak true Latin? and specially then, when all the whole people there, both women and children, were

[<sup>1</sup> Clement. Epist. i. ad Jacob. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. pp. 31, 2.]

[<sup>2</sup> Jerome says that James was put to death in the seventh year of Nero, Peter in the fourteenth.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Catal. Script. Eccles. 1, 2. Tom. IV. Pars II. cols. 101, 2.]

[<sup>3</sup> Anter. Epist. Decret. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 110. See before, page 173.]

[<sup>4</sup> Non licet imperatori...aliquid contra mandata divina præsumere.—Marcellin. Epist. ii. in eod. Tom. I. p. 187. Marcellinus was put to death in the persecution of Diocletian and Maximian.]

[<sup>5</sup> Marcell. Epist. ii. ad Maxent. in eod. Tom. I. p. 208.]

[<sup>6</sup> ...illi discipuli...quos Dominus ad adjumentum apostolorum eligi præcepit, id est, septuaginta duo.

—Zephyrin. Epist. i. in eod. Tom. I. p. 97.]

[<sup>7</sup> Unde et Dominus in evangelio militibus interrogantibus respondit, &c.—Melciad. Epist. Decr. in eod. Tom. I. p. 219.]

[<sup>8</sup> ...Clemens antecessor noster.—Anaclet. Epist. i. in eod. Tom. I. p. 54.]

[<sup>9</sup> Μετὰ τοῦτον [Ἀνέγκλητον]...τὴν ἐπίσκοπὴν κληροῦνται Κλήμης.—Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Lib. III. cap. iii. 3. p. 176. See also Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. III. capp. xiii. xv. p. 70.]

[<sup>10</sup> Anaclet. et Zach. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xciii. can. 4. col. 441. See before, page 173, note 7.]

[<sup>11</sup> Anaclet. Epist. ii. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 61; where hæc a sanctis patribus.]

able to speak it naturally, without a teacher? Verily, the pope himself saith: *Falsa Latinitas vitiat rescriptum papæ*<sup>12</sup>: "False Latin putteth the pope's own writ out of credit."

Epistles  
decretal.

As for the substance and contents of these epistles, they touch nothing, neither of the state of the church in that time, nor of doctrine, nor of persecution, nor of heresy, nor of the office of the ministers, nor of any other thing, either agreeable unto that age, or in any wise greatly worthy to be considered.

Extr. de  
Rescrip. Ad  
Audien.

All their drift is, by falsifying of the scriptures, and by all other means, only to stablish the state and kingdom of the see of Rome. Anacletus thus interlaceth the words of Christ: *Super hanc petram, id est, super ecclesiam Romanam, ædificabo ecclesiam meam*<sup>13</sup>: "Upon this rock, that is to say, upon the church of Rome, I will build my church." And again: *Romana ecclesia cardo et caput [est]... omnium ecclesiarum... Ut enim cardine ostium regitur, ita hujus sanctæ sedis auctoritate omnes ecclesiæ... reguntur*<sup>14</sup>: "The church of Rome is the hook and the head of all churches. For, as the door is ruled by the hook, so all churches are ruled by the authority of this holy see (of Rome)." Pope Stephanus saith: *Hæc sacrosancta domina nostra Romana ecclesia*<sup>15</sup>: "This holy our lady the church of Rome."

Anacl. Epist.

Anacl. Epist.  
3.

Dist. lxx.  
Opportebat.

And what needed M. Harding to allege only Anacletus, being so well stored of sundry others? For pope Evaristus, Alexander, Sixtus, Telesphorus, Higinus, Pius, Anicetus, Soter, Eleutherius, Victor, and all the rest of the ancient bishops of Rome, whose names have been abused to this purpose, agree in one. All they are made to say: "We are the universal bishops: we are the heads of the universal church: all appeals ought of right to lie to us: we cannot err: we may not be controlled; for it is written, The scholar is not above his master." If these authorities were sufficient, then were the case clear of M. Harding's side. But he saw they were forged, and full of untruth; and therefore he thought it best to trip so lightly over them. As for Anacletus himself, that was Peter's scholar, and the rest of the ancient bishops of Rome, they were holy men and godly fathers, and lived in continual persecution, and were daily taken and put to death, and had no leisure to think upon these ambitious and vain titles.

#### M. HARDING. THE FOURTH DIVISION.

*St Gregory, writing to Mauritius the emperor against John the bishop of Constantinople, ambitiously claiming and usurping the name of an universal bishop, proveth the bishop of Rome, succeeding in Peter's chair, to be primate, and to have charge over all the church of Christ, by scriptures, thus: Cunctis evangelium scientibus liquet, &c.*<sup>16</sup>: "It is evident to all that know the gospel, that the cure and charge of the whole church hath been committed, by the word of our Lord, to the holy apostle Peter, prince of all the apostles. For to him it is said:

*'Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my sheep.' To him it is said, 'Behold, Satan hath desired to sift you, as it were wheat, and I have prayed for thee, Peter, that thy faith fail not. And thou, being once converted, strengthen thy brethren.'* To him it is said, *'Thou art Peter; and upon this rock will I build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And unto thee I will give*

M. Harding  
cutteth off  
and corrupt-  
eth the words  
of St Gre-  
gory; for it  
followeth im-  
mediately:  
"Tamen Pe-  
trus univer-  
salis aposto-  
lus non  
vocatur."

[<sup>12</sup> Corp. Jur. Canon. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. i. Tit. iii. cap. 11. cols. 39, 40.]

[<sup>13</sup> ...ut majores...questiones semper ad sedem deferantur apostolicam, super quam Christus universam construxit ecclesiam, dicente ipso, &c.—Anacl. Epist. i. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 58.]

[<sup>14</sup> Id. Epist. iii. in eod. Tom. I. p. 64; where *hæc vero apostolica sedes cardo, &c., et sicut cardine, and sic hujus.*]

[<sup>15</sup> Ex Concil. Steph. Papæ III. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. lxxix. can. 3. col. 378.]

[<sup>16</sup> Cunctis, &c. liquet, quod voce dominica sancto et omnium apostolorum Petro principi apostolo totius ecclesiæ cura commissa est. Ipsi quippe dicitur: Petre, amas me? pascere oves meas. Ipsi dicitur:

Ecce Satanas expetit cribrare vos sicut triticum: et ego pro te rogavi, Petre, ut non deficiat fides tua. Et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos. Ipsi dicitur: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam, et portæ inferi non prævalent adversus eam. Et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum: et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in cælis; et quodcumque solveris super terram, erit solutum et in cælo. Ecce claves regni cælestis accepit; potestas ei ligandi ac solvendi tribuitur; cura ei totius ecclesiæ et principatus committitur, et tamen universalis apostolus non vocatur.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xiiii. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 748.]

[<sup>17</sup> I will, H. A. 1564.]

the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou bindest upon earth shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou loosest on earth shall be loosed also in heaven.' Behold, he receiveth the keys of the heavenly kingdom: the power of binding and loosing is given to him: the charge of the whole church and principality is committed to him." Thus far Gregory. But because our adversaries, though without just cause, refuse the witness of the bishops of Rome in this article, as unlawful witnesses in their own cause, were they never so holy martyrs, or learned confessors; they may understand, we are able to allege sundry other authorities to the confirmation hereof, that be above all exception.

*Cura ei totius ecclesie et principatus committitur.*

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If St Gregory were now alive, he would charge M. Harding with open injury; not only for altering his whole meaning, but also for mangling and maiming his very words. M. Harding, to prove that the bishop of Rome was called the universal bishop, allegeth these words of St Gregory: *Ecce, Petrus claves regni celorum accipit. Et potestas ei ligandi solvendi que tribuitur. Cura ei totius ecclesie et principatus committitur*: "Behold, Peter receiveth the keys of the kingdom of heaven. To him is given power both to bind and loose<sup>1</sup>. The charge and chief rule of the church is committed unto him." "Thus far Gregory," saith M. Harding. And why no farther? Was he stayed with the choincouch<sup>2</sup>, and forced to break off his tale in the midst? But mark well, gentle reader, and thou shalt see St Gregory set to school, and kept in awe, and not suffered to utter one word more than M. Harding will give him leave. The next words that immediately follow in the same sentence are these: *Tamen [Petrus] universalis apostolus non vocatur*: "Yet Peter is not called the universal apostle." M. Harding saith: "The bishop of Rome was called the universal bishop." But St Gregory, even in the self-same sentence that M. Harding hath here so hastily broken off, saith: "Peter himself, being the apostle of Christ, yet was not called the universal apostle." And would M. Harding have the world believe that the pope's power is greater and more universal than St Peter's? These words M. Harding thought good to nip off in the midst. Such is his dealing in the allegation of the ancient fathers. If I list to use his own terms, I might well call this foisting, or cogging, or I know not what. Certainly the holy fathers, in the council of Constantinople, say thus: *Non convenit orthodoxis, ita circumtruncatas sanctorum patrum voces deflorare. Hæreticorum potius hoc proprium est*<sup>3</sup>: "It is not meet for catholic men thus to chop and to pare the sayings of the holy fathers. It is rather the very property of heretics."

M. Harding will say, Gregory misliked this name of universal bishop only in John, the bishop of Constantinople, that so ambitiously and so greedily sought for it, and yet nevertheless claimed the same unto himself, as a title only belonging to the see of Rome; and that we therefore do wrongfully rack St Gregory, forcing his words otherwise than he ever meant. For answer hereunto, it shall behove us to consider both what St Gregory hath written in general of this title, and also what special claim he hath laid unto it for himself.

Thus therefore generally he writeth of it: *Ego...fidenter dico...Quisquis se universalem sacerdotem vocat, vel vocari desiderat, in elatione sua antichristum præcurrit, quia superbiendo se ceteris præponit*<sup>4</sup>: "I speak it boldly, Whosoever calleth himself universal bishop, or desireth so to be called, is in his pride the forerunner of antichrist, because in his pride he setteth himself before others."

*Hac in re a fratre et consacerdote meo contra evangelicam sententiam, &c.*<sup>5</sup>:

[<sup>1</sup> To loose, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>2</sup> Choincouch, (or choincough, 1609): the cough usually called chin-cough.]

[<sup>3</sup> Sext. Synod. Constant. Actio viii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. II. p. 321. See also Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. VI. col. 758.]

[<sup>4</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. Tom. II. col. 881.]

[<sup>5</sup> Qua in re a prædicto fratre, &c., contra bea-

tum quoque Petrum apostolum, et contra omnes ecclesias, contraque statuta canonum agitur...Sed in hac ejus superbia quid aliud nisi propinqua jam antichristi esse tempora designatur? Quia illum videlicet imitatur, qui spretis in sociali gaudio angelorum legionibus ad culmen conatus est singularitatis erumpere, dicens: Super astra cæli exaltabo solium meum, sededo in monte testamenti, in lateribus aquilonis, et ascendam super altitudinem nubium, et ero similis Altissimo.—Id. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xiii. Ad Constant. August. Epist. xxi. Tom. II. col. 751.]

Greg. Lib. iv.  
Epist. 32.

Petrus uni-  
versalis apo-  
stolus non  
vocatur.

Concil.  
Constant.  
viii.  
Action. viii.

Greg. Lib. vi.  
Epist. 30.

Greg. Lib. iv.  
Epist. 34.

"Herein my brother and fellow-bishop doth against the meaning of the gospel, against St Peter the apostle, against all churches, and against the ordinance of the canons. In this pride of his what other thing is there tokened, but that the time of antichrist is even at hand? For he followeth him, that, despising the equality of joy among the angels, laboured to break up to the top of singularity, saying thus, I will advance<sup>6</sup> my throne above the stars of heaven: I will sit in the mount of the testament, even in the corners of the north: I will get me up above the light of the clouds, and will be like unto the Highest." Again: *Rex superbie in foribus est*, &c.<sup>7</sup>: "The king of pride is even in the gates; and, a horrible thing to speak, an army of priests is made ready. For now they play the soldiers, and bear their heads on high, that were ordained to be captains of humility."

Isai. xiv.

Greg. Lib. iv.  
Epist. 38.  
Sacerdotum  
est paratus  
exercitus.  
Ita in manu-  
scriptis, me-  
lius quam  
exitus.

Again: "I would have all men to be great and honourable, so that their honour be no derogation to the honour of God. For whoso will be honoured against God shall not be honourable unto me<sup>8</sup>." Again: "Neither may you say, that the using of this title is nothing; for, if we bear this matter quietly, we overthrow the faith of the whole church<sup>9</sup>." "The agreeing unto this wicked title is the loosing of the faith<sup>10</sup>." Thus therefore St Gregory judgeth generally of the name of "universal bishop;" which name notwithstanding the bishops of Rome have sithence chosen and taken to themselves: that is to say, "that it is vain and hurtful; the confusion, the poison, and utter and universal destruction of the church; the corruption and loosing the faith; against the holy canons; against St Peter the apostle; against the very sense and meaning of the gospel; against all the churches of God, and against God himself; that never good or holy man would use such titles; that whosoever useth them in so doing followeth Lucifer, and is the very forerunner and messenger of antichrist."

Greg. Lib. vi.  
Epist. 28.

Greg. Lib. vi.  
Epist. 24.

Greg. Lib. iv.  
Epist. 33.

Perhaps M. Harding will say, this name belonged peculiarly and only to the bishop of Rome; and therefore Gregory reproved John the bishop of Constantinople, for that he so presumptuously, and by way of intrusion, claimed the same as a right and interest that was not his. But St Gregory calleth the same title of universal bishop, <sup>a</sup>*Typhum superbie*<sup>11</sup>, <sup>b</sup>*Nomen novum*<sup>12</sup>, <sup>c</sup>*Vocabulum temerarium*, <sup>d</sup>*Stultum*<sup>13</sup>, <sup>e</sup>*Superbum*, <sup>f</sup>*Pompaticum*<sup>14</sup>, <sup>g</sup>*Perversum*<sup>15</sup>, <sup>h</sup>*Superstitiosum*, <sup>i</sup>*Prophanum*<sup>16</sup>, <sup>k</sup>*Scelestum*<sup>17</sup>, <sup>l</sup>*Nomen erroris*<sup>18</sup>, <sup>m</sup>*Nomen singularitatis*<sup>19</sup>, <sup>n</sup>*Nomen vanitatis*<sup>20</sup>, <sup>o</sup>*Nomen hypocriseos*<sup>21</sup>, <sup>p</sup>*Nomen blasphemie*<sup>22</sup>: that is to say, "A puff of arrogancy, a new name, a rash, a foolish, a proud, a pompous, a perverse, a superstitious, an ungodly, and a wicked title, a name of error, a name of singularity, a name of vanity, a name of hypocrisy, and a name of blasphemy." And doth M. Harding think, or would he have the world believe, that St Gregory would ever take these names and titles from John the bishop of Constantinople, to the intent to lay them upon his own see of Rome? Or is it likely that M. Harding knoweth St Gregory's mind better than ever St Gregory knew it himself?

<sup>a</sup> Lib. vi.  
Epist. 2.  
<sup>b</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 32.  
<sup>c</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 38.  
<sup>d</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 32.  
<sup>e</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 33.  
<sup>f</sup> Lib. vi.  
Epist. 24.  
<sup>g</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 39.  
<sup>h</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 38.  
<sup>i</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 32.  
<sup>k</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 39.  
<sup>l</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 39.  
<sup>m</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 39.  
<sup>n</sup> Lib. iv.  
Epist. 30.

[<sup>6</sup> Avance, 1565.]

[<sup>7</sup> Rex superbie prope est, et, quod dici nefas est, sacerdotum ei præparatur exercitus [*alim* exitus]: quia cervici militant elationis, qui ad hoc positi fuerant, ut ducatum præberent humilitatis.—Id. ibid. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 744.]

[<sup>8</sup> Omnes magnos esse et honorabiles cupio, quorum tamen honor honorum omnipotentis Dei non detrahat. Nam quisquis se contra Deum honorari appetit, mihi honorabilis non est.—Id. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Cyriac. Episc. Epist. xxxi. col. 879.]

[<sup>9</sup> Vos tamen eandem causam nullam esse dicere non debetis: quia si hanc æquanimitè portamus, universæ ecclesiæ fidem corrumpimus.—Id. ibid. Ad Anastas. Episc. Epist. xxvii. col. 873.]

[<sup>10</sup> Id. Lib. v. Indict. xiiii. Ad Sabin. Diac. Epist. xix. col. 747. See before, page 76, note 6.]

[<sup>11</sup> *Al. typum*.—Id. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Cyriac. Episc. Epist. xxxi. col. 878.]

[<sup>12</sup> Id. Lib. v. Indict. xiiii. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. col. 748.]

[<sup>13</sup> Id. ibid. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. cols. 742, 3.]

[<sup>14</sup> Id. ibid. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. col. 748.]

[<sup>15</sup> Id. ibid. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 743.]

[<sup>16</sup> Id. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Anastas. Episc. Epist. xxvii. col. 873.]

[<sup>17</sup> Id. Lib. v. Indict. xiiii. Ad Sabin. Diac. Epist. xix. col. 747.]

[<sup>18</sup> Id. ibid. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 742.]

[<sup>19</sup> Id. ibid. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. col. 749.]

[<sup>20</sup> ...ille [Johannes] in sua vanitate confirmatus esse videretur.—Id. ibid. Ad Sabin. Diac. Epist. xix. col. 746.]

[<sup>21</sup> ...spero in...Deum quia hypocrisin illius [Johannis] superna majestas solvet.—Id. ibid.]

[<sup>22</sup> Id. ibid. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. col. 749.]



Verily, St Gregory not only misliketh these titles in others, but also disclaimeth the same from himself, and from his see of Rome for ever. For thus he writeth, and his words be plain: *Nullus [Romanorum pontificum]...hoc singularitatis nomen assumpsit*<sup>1</sup>: "None of the bishops of Rome ever received this name of singularity." *Nullus...decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit*<sup>2</sup>: "None of my predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly name." *Nos hunc honorem nolumus oblatum suscipere*<sup>3</sup>: "We, being bishops of Rome, will not take this honour being offered unto us."

And the reason that he forceth against the bishop of Constantinople may serve as well against the bishop of Rome. For thus he saith: *Quid tu Christo, universalis...ecclesie capiti, in extremi iudicii dicturus es examine, qui cuncta ejus membra tibi met conaris universalis appellatione supponere*<sup>4</sup>? "What answer wilt thou make unto Christ, that indeed is the head of the universal church, at the trial of the last judgment, that thus goest about, under the name of universal bishop, to subdue all his members unto thee?" This is the very definition of an universal bishop. Thus the bishop of Rome attempteth to subdue the whole church of God and all the members of Christ unto himself. Therefore by St Gregory's judgment he is the forerunner of antichrist. And writing unto Eulogius the patriarch of Alexandria, he useth these words: *Sanctitas vestra...mihi [sic] loquitur,...Sicut jussistis: quod verbum jussionis, peto, a meo auditu remove; quia scio quis sim, et qui sitis: loco...mihi fratres estis, moribus patres*<sup>5</sup>: "Your holiness writeth thus unto me, As you commanded. This word of commanding, I beseech you, take away from my hearing. For I know both what I am, and also what you are. In place (or dignity) ye are my brethren, in life and manners ye are my fathers." Again he saith: *Ecce in prefatione epistolae*<sup>6</sup>, &c.: "Behold, even in the very preface of the epistle that you sent unto me, you have written the name of that presumptuous title, calling me the universal pope, notwithstanding I have forbidden it. I beseech your holiness to do it no more. For you do defraud yourself when you give another more than reason would." The self-same meaning M. Harding might have found twice written, even in the same place of St Gregory that he here allegeth, if it had pleased him to consider, either what went before, or else what followed immediately after. Before, he writeth thus: *Non mea causa, sed Dei est...Nec solus ego, sed tota turbatur ecclesia. Quia pie leges, quia venerande synodi, quia ipsa...Domini nostri Jesu Christi mandata superbi atque pompatici cujusdam sermonis inventione turbantur*<sup>7</sup>: "It is God's cause, it is not mine: neither only I, but also the whole church is troubled. For both the godly laws, and the reverend councils, and the very commandments of our Lord Jesus Christ, are cumbered with the device of this proud pompous title." Immediately after it followeth thus: *Nunquid ego in hac re, piissime domine, propriam causam defendo*<sup>8</sup>? "O my most gracious sovereign, do I herein defend mine own right?" By these it may appear that St Gregory, being bishop of Rome, would not suffer the name of universal bishop to be given, neither to any other bishop, nor to himself.

And whereas St Gregory saith, "The charge and chieftly of the whole church is committed unto Peter;" in the sense it is spoken in, we deny it not. St Paul likewise saith of himself in like sense: *Incumbit mihi quotidiana cura omnium ecclesiarum*: "There lieth upon me the daily charge of all churches;" and further saith: "I reckon myself<sup>9</sup> to be nothing inferior in travail to the highest apostles." And will M. Harding hereof reason thus?

Peter had the charge of the whole church;

[<sup>1</sup> Id. *ibid.*; where *nomine uti consensit.*]

[<sup>2</sup> Id. *ibid.* Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. xliii. col. 771.]

[<sup>3</sup> Id. *ibid.*]

[<sup>4</sup> Id. *ibid.* Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. col. 742; where *tu quid*, and *es dicturus.*]

[<sup>5</sup> Id. Lib. viii. Indict. i. Ad Eulog. Episc. Epist. xxx. col. 919; where we find *vestra beatitudo*, and *qui sum qui estis.*]

[<sup>6</sup> Ecce, &c., quam ad me ipsum qui prohibui di-

rexistis, superbae appellationis verbum, universalem me papam dicentes, imprimere curastis. Quod peto dulcissima mihi sanctitas vestra ultra non faciat: quia vobis subtrahitur quod alteri plus quam ratio exigit praebeatur.—Id. *ibid.*]

[<sup>7</sup> Id. Lib. v. Indict. xliii. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. col. 748; where *non causa mea*, and *non solus.*]

[<sup>8</sup> Id. *ibid.*; where *hac in re.*]

[<sup>9</sup> Meself, 1565.]

*Ergo*, the pope is an universal bishop.

Certainly, St Gregory saith: "Peter himself, notwithstanding he received the whole charge, yet is he not called the universal apostle<sup>10</sup>." And can the pope be that thing that St Peter himself could not be?

Greg. Lib. iv.  
Epist. 32.  
Tamen uni-  
versalis apo-  
stolus non  
vocatur.

St Gregory driveth his reason thus: If this title of universality might belong to any man, it should chiefly belong unto St Peter: but it belongeth not unto St Peter; therefore it can belong to no man.

Hereby it is plain that the bishop of Rome challengeth this day a title that St Peter never had, that no holy nor godly man would ever take upon him, that St Gregory utterly refused and detested, and called blasphemy. And yet will he seem to maintain his estate by the authority of this holy father! If St Gregory were now alive, he would cry out, as he did to the emperor Mauritius: *O tempora! O mores!*<sup>11</sup> "O what a time is this! O what manners are these!" Thus much is M. Harding furthered by the authority of St Gregory.

Greg. Lib. iv.  
Epist. 32.

#### M. HARDING. THE FIFTH DIVISION.

*St Cyprian, declaring the contempt of the (94) high priest Christ's<sup>12</sup> vicar in earth to be cause of schisms and heresies, writeth thus to Cornelius, pope and martyr: Neque enim aliunde hæreses abortæ sunt<sup>13</sup>, &c.: "Neither have heresies or schisms risen of any other occasion than of that the priest of God is not obeyed, and that one priest for the time in the church, and one judge for the time instead of Christ, is not thought upon. To whom if the whole brotherhood<sup>14</sup> (95) (that is, the whole number of christian people, which be brethren together, and were so called in the primitive church) would be obedient according to God's teachings; then no man would make ado against the college of priests; no man would make himself judge, not of the bishop now, but of God, after God's judgment, after the favour of the people declared by their voices at the election, after the consent of his fellow-bishops; no man, through breach of unity and strife, would divide the church of Christ; no man, standing in his own conceit, and swelling with pride, would set up by himself abroad, without the church, a new heresy."*

The ninety-fourth untruth. For St Cyprian speaketh these words of every several bishop, not only of the bishop of Rome.

Secundum magisteria divina.

The ninety-fifth untruth, standing in the manifest corruption and falsifying of St Cyprian.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

If M. Harding's cause were true, he would not avouch it with such untruth, and so often corruption of the holy fathers. If St Cyprian, writing this epistle to Cornelius the bishop of Rome, once name him either the high priest, or Christ's vicar-general in earth, or universal bishop, or head of the universal church; or say that the whole brotherhood of all christian people ought to be obedient unto him, as M. Harding untruly and contrary to his own knowledge expoundeth it; or if either his words or his purpose of writing may seem any way to lead to that end; then may M. Harding seem to have some honest colour for his defence. Otherwise we may justly say, he racketh the doctors, and forceth them to speak what him listeth to serve his turn.

First, it is certain, that in all that epistle St Cyprian never gave unto Cornelius any such ambitious title, but only calleth him by the name of brother. For thus he saluteth him: "Cyprian unto his brother Cornelius sendeth greeting;" and maketh his entry in this wise: "Dear brother, I have read your letters<sup>15</sup>." Thus St Cyprian, being bishop of Carthage, claimeth brotherhood and equality with the pope. One special occasion of his writing unto Cornelius was this amongst others: Cornelius, being bishop of Rome, and having excommunicate certain

Cypr. Lib. i.  
Epist. 3.

[<sup>10</sup> Id. *ibid.*]

[<sup>11</sup> Id. *ibid.*]

[<sup>12</sup> Christ, 1611.]

[<sup>13</sup> Neque, &c., aut nata sunt schismata, quam inde quod sacerdoti Dei non obtemperatur, nec unus in ecclesia ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus iudex vice Christi cogitatur. Cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas universa, nemo adversum sacerdotum collegium quidquam moveret; nemo

post divinum iudicium, post populi suffragium, post coepiscoporum consensum, iudicem se jam non episcopi, sed Dei faceret; nemo dissidio unitatis Christi ecclesiam scinderet; nemo sibi placens ac tumens seorsim foris hæresim novam conderet.—Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 129.]

[<sup>14</sup> Brotherhead, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>15</sup> Cyprianus Cornelio fratri, salutem. Legi literas tuas, frater carissime.—Id. *ibid.* p. 126.]

One  
Bishop.

notorious wicked men, and afterward being threatened and ill used at their hands, began to faint, and to be weary of his office. St Cyprian, hearing thereof, wrote comfortably unto him, and willed him in any wise to proceed, and to deal boldly, and not to yield, considering it was God's cause, and not his own. Among other words he saith thus: *Christiani non ultra aut durare aut esse...possumus, si ad hoc ventum est, ut perditorum minas et insidias<sup>1</sup> pertimescamus*<sup>2</sup>: "We can no longer continue or be christian men, if we, being bishops, once begin to shrink at the threats and fetches of the wicked."

Upon occasion hereof he sheweth what hurt and confusion of sects and schisms ensueth in any province or diocese, where as the bishop's authority and ecclesiastical discipline is despised. "For every bishop," saith St Cyprian, "within his own diocese is the priest of God, and for his time is a judge appointed in the place of Christ; and, as the church is one, so ought he likewise to be but one<sup>3</sup>." And thus he writeth generally of the authority of all bishops, and not only of the authority of the bishop of Rome. And notwithstanding he directeth his epistle only to Cornelius, yet are all his reasons general, and touch both himself, being bishop of Carthage, and also all other bishops whatsoever.

The occasion  
of M. Harding's error.

Now therefore to draw that thing by violence to one only bishop, that is generally spoken of all bishops, it is a guileful fetch to mislead the reader, and no simple or plain dealing. But M. Harding seemeth to ground his error upon the mistaking of these words of St Cyprian, *unus sacerdos*, and *fraternitas universa*<sup>3</sup>; that is, "one bishop," and "the whole brotherhood." For whereas St Cyprian saith, "There must be one bishop in a church;" he imagineth there must be one bishop to rule over the whole universal church.

And whereas again St Cyprian saith, "The whole brotherhood must obey one bishop;" he gathereth that all christian people throughout the whole world, which he untruly calleth "the whole brotherhood," must be obedient unto one universal bishop. And thus he buildeth one error upon another. But mistaking of the doctor maketh no sufficient proof.

vii Quest. i.  
Factus est.

It may soon appear St Cyprian meant that, for the avoiding of schisms and divisions, there ought to be only one bishop within one diocese, and not one bishop to rule over all the world. For thus he expoundeth his own meaning: *Cum post primum esse non possit quisquam, qui post unum, qui solus esse debet, factus est, jam non secundus ille, sed nullus est*<sup>4</sup>: "Seeing that after the first bishop is chosen there can be none other, whoso is made bishop after that one, which must needs be alone, is now not the second bishop, but indeed is no bishop."

Euseb. Lib.  
vi. cap. xliii.

So likewise, when the heretic Novatus had by wicked practice divided the people of Rome into sects, and had solemnly sworn them that gave ear unto him, that they should no more return unto Cornelius the bishop there, and so had rent one bishopric into two, and made two bishops in one city; Cornelius, complaining thereof unto Fabius, the bishop of Antioch, and informing him of the same, writeth thus unto him: *Novatus nescit, unum episcopum in catholica ecclesia esse debere*<sup>5</sup>: "Novatus knoweth not that there ought to be but one bishop in a catholic church;" not meaning thereby the whole universal church throughout the world, but only his own particular church of Rome.

Soer. Lib. vi.  
cap. xxii.

So when Chrysostom, the bishop of Constantinople, saw Sisinius bear himself as bishop within the same city, he said unto him: "One city may not have two bishops<sup>6</sup>."

Hieron. in  
Epist. ad Tit.  
cap. i.

So likewise St Hierome saith that, notwithstanding the power of all priests by the authority of God's word be one and equal, "yet men, by policy to avoid contention, appointed one priest in every city<sup>7</sup>," to order and to direct his brethren.

[<sup>1</sup> Insidia, 1609, 1611.]

[<sup>2</sup> Id. *ibid.*; where we find *nec Christiani*, and *atque insidias*.]

[<sup>3</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 129.]

[<sup>4</sup> Id. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. vii. Quæst. i. can. 5. col. 818; where we find *secundus esse non possit: quisquis post, &c., debeat*, and *non jam*. Op. Ad

Anton. Epist. lv. p. 104.]

[<sup>5</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vi. cap. xliii. p. 198.]

[<sup>6</sup> ...ὁ δύναται ἢ πόλις δύο ἐπισκόπους ἔχειν.—Socrat. in eod. Lib. vi. cap. xxii. p. 270.]

[<sup>7</sup> Postquam vero unusquisque eos quos baptizaverat suos putabat esse, non Christi, in toto orbe decretum est, ut unus de presbyteris electus super-

Thus was the unity of the whole church preserved; thus were all churches as one church, and all bishops as one bishop: for whoso dissented from one dissented from all. So saith St Cyprian: *Ecclesia . . . coherentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulatur*<sup>8</sup>: "The church is coupled and joined in one by consent of bishops agreeing together."

Likewise again he saith: *Hanc unitatem firmiter tenere et vindicare debemus, maxime episcopi, qui in ecclesia præsides; ut episcopatum quoque ipsum unum et indivisum probemus*<sup>9</sup>: "This unity must we keep and defend, specially that be bishops and bear rule in the church, that we may declare indeed that our bishopric is one, and not divided." And therefore St Hierome saith: *Episcopi noverint . . . in commune debere [se] ecclesiam regere*<sup>10</sup>: "Let bishops understand that they ought to govern the church in common, or as all in one."

In this sense is every bishop for his time, as St Cyprian saith, in the stead of Christ, and to every such Christ saith: "He that heareth you heareth me; and he that despiseth you despiseth me." And therefore Ignatius saith: "The bishop in his church is the form of God the Father of all; and, so much as is possible, resembleth (in his office) Christ our God"<sup>11</sup>. For this cause St Cyprian saith: "Hereof spring schisms and heresies; for that the priest of God (in every several diocese) is not obeyed"<sup>12</sup>. As likewise again he saith to like purpose: *Qui cum episcopo non sunt, in ecclesia non sunt*<sup>13</sup>: "They that be not with the bishop be not in the church." So likewise Ignatius: "They that be of Christ are with the bishop"<sup>14</sup>.

Thus St Cyprian spake these words generally of the authority of all bishops in their several dioceses, and not of any special authority of the bishop of Rome, as it is here untruly affirmed by M. Harding.

But he will reply, St Cyprian saith, *universa fraternitas*, that is, "the whole brotherhood ought to be obedient to that one bishop:" and that whole brotherhood must needs be the whole company of all christian people. Notwithstanding this exposition seem very large, yet, if St Cyprian himself had not opened his own meaning otherwise, perhaps some man, either of simplicity or of ignorance, might so take it. But St Cyprian, that doubtless best knew his own mind, understandeth these words, *fraternitas universa*, not of all the universal company of all christian people throughout all the world, as M. Harding doth, but of the whole brotherhood within every several and particular diocese. For thus he writeth in the next epistle following: *Fere per provincias universas tenetur, ut ad ordinationes rite celebrandas ad eam plebem, cui præpositus ordinatur, episcopi ejusdem provincie proximi quique convenient, et episcopus deligatur plebe præsentē, &c. Quod et apud nos factum vidimus in Sabini collegæ nostri ordinatione; ut de universæ fraternitatis suffragio . . . episcopatus ei deferretur*<sup>15</sup>: "This order is in manner kept in all provinces, that, unto the due ordering or installing of a bishop, the bishops of the same province that dwell nearest come together to the people of that city, unto which a new bishop is appointed; and that the bishop be chosen in the presence of the people. Which thing we saw done in the election and ordering of our fellow-bishop Sabinus, that the bishopric was bestowed upon him by the consent and voices of the whole brotherhood." Here *universa fraternitas* undoubtedly is used for the whole faithful company of one city. In like manner he writeth unto Cornelius of certain that were returned from schisms and errors unto the unity of the church: *Merito illos revertentes summo . . . gaudio et clerus et plebis*

The Universal Brotherhood.

Cypr. Lib. iv. Epist. 9. Cypr. de Simplicitate Prælatorum.

Hieron. ad Tit. cap. i.

Luke x.

Ignat. ad Trall.

τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων

τύπος.

Cypr. Lib. i.

Epist. 3.

Cypr. Lib. iv.

Epist. 9.

Ignat. ad Philad.

ὑσσι...

Χριστοῦ...

εἰσιν οὗτοι

[καὶ] μετὰ

τοῦ ἐπι-

σκόπου

εἰσιν.

Fraternitas

universa.

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 4.

Cypr. Lib. ii. Epist. 12.

poneretur cæteris, ad quem omnis ecclesiæ cura pertineret.—Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 413.]

[<sup>8</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Florent. Pup. Epist. lxvi. p. 168; where we find *copulata*, *sic* having preceded.]

[<sup>9</sup> Id. De Unit. Eccles. p. 108; where for *hanc* we have *quam*, and *atque indivisum*.]

[<sup>10</sup> Hieron. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 414.]

[<sup>11</sup> Ignat. ad Trall. cap. iii. in Patr. Apostol.

Oxon. 1838. Tom. II. p. 326. See also Not. in loc. which exhibits the reading of the interpolated epistle—that here quoted.]

[<sup>12</sup> Cypr. Op. ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 129. See before, page 347, note 13.]

[<sup>13</sup> Id. ad Florent. Pup. Epist. lxvi. p. 168; where *non sint in ecclesia non esse*.]

[<sup>14</sup> Ignat. ad Philad. cap. iii. in Patr. Apostol. pp. 376, 8; where *εἰσιν* precedes *Χριστοῦ*.]

[<sup>15</sup> Cypr. Op. Ad Cler. et Pleb. Hisp. Epist. lxvii. p. 172; where we find *apud vos factum videmus*.]

The Uni-  
versal  
Brother-  
hood.

Rescr. Honor.  
ad Bonif.  
Quem univer-  
satis consen-  
sus elegerit.

Orig. in Esai.  
Hom. 6.

Orig. in Hier.  
Hom. 7.

Ignat. ad  
Trall.  
τί...ἐστιν  
ἐπίσκοπος  
ἄλλο, ἢ  
πάσης ἀρ-  
χῆς καὶ  
ἐξουσίας  
ἐπέκεινα  
πάντων  
κρατῶν;

Cypr. Lib. iv.  
Epist. 9.

Athanasius  
forged.

*fraternitas omnis exceptit*<sup>1</sup>: "When they came again, both the clergy and the whole brotherhood of the people worthily received them with great joy." So likewise the emperor Honorius writeth unto Bonifacius: "If two bishops through ambition and contention happen to be chosen, we will that neither of them be allowed as bishop; but that he only remain in the apostolic see, whom out of the number of the clergy godly discretion, and the consent of the whole brotherhood, shall choose by a new election<sup>2</sup>."

In these places M. Harding cannot deny but these words, *universa fraternitas, omnis fraternitas*, and *universitatis consensus*, must needs be taken for one whole particular brotherhood within one province or diocese. In the same sense Origen saith: *Qui vocatur . . . ad episcopatum, . . . vocatur . . . ad servitutem totius ecclesiæ*<sup>3</sup>: "He that is called unto a bishopric is called unto the service of the whole church." Likewise again he saith: *Plus a me exigitur, quam a diacono; plus a diacono, quam a laico: qui vero totius ecclesiæ arcem obtinet, pro omni ecclesia reddet rationem*<sup>4</sup>: "There is more required of me (being a priest) than of a deacon; more of a deacon, than of one of the people; but he that keepeth the watch or castle of the whole church (which is every bishop in his diocese) shall yield a reckoning for the whole."

In these places every particular church is called the whole church. And therefore Ignatius saith: *Quid aliud est episcopus, quam quidam obtinens principatum et potestatem supra omnes*<sup>5</sup>? "What is a bishop, but one having all rule and power over all?"

These things well weighed, besides the manifest corruption and falsifying of St Cyprian's both words and mind, I doubt not but the weakness also of M. Harding's reason may soon appear. For upon this place of St Cyprian untruly reported, he would seem to reason thus: There must be one bishop in one church or diocese; ergo, there must be one bishop over all the world. Or thus: The whole brotherhood in every diocese ought to hearken only to one bishop; ergo, all christian people throughout the world ought to be in subjection to the bishop of Rome.

These arguments bewray themselves, and therefore need no further opening.

All this notwithstanding, if M. Harding will say, St Cyprian's words must needs import one universal bishop, and the same of necessity must be the bishop of Rome; let him then vouchsafe to read the epistle that the same St Cyprian wrote unto Florentius Pupianus. There shall he find that St Cyprian, even in like form and order, speaketh these self-same words of himself, being, as M. Harding knoweth, the bishop of Carthage in Africa, and not the bishop of Rome. His words be these: *Unde schismata et hæreses obortæ sunt, et oriuntur, [nisi] dum episcopus, qui unus est, et ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, et homo dignatione Dei honoratus ab hominibus indignis judicatur*<sup>6</sup>? "Wherehence have schisms and heresies sprung heretofore, and whereof spring they now, but that the bishop, which is one and governeth the church, by the presumptuous disdain of certain is despised, and a man preferred by God's allowance is examined and judged by unworthy men?" All this St Cyprian speaketh plainly, and namely of himself, being bishop of Carthage. Therefore it is great oversight to force the same only to the bishop of Rome, and stoutly to say it can be applied unto none other.

#### M. HARDING. THE SIXTH DIVISION.

*Of all other authorities, that of Athanasius and of the bishops of Egypt and Lybia, gathered together in a synod at Alexandria, is to be regarded; who, making*

[<sup>1</sup> Id. ad Cornel. Epist. li. p. 95; where *plebs et fraternitas*.]

[<sup>2</sup> At si duo contra fas temeritate certantes fuerint ordinati, nullum ex his futurum penitus sacerdotem; sed illum solum in sede apostolica permansurum, quem ex numero clericorum nova ordinatione divinum judicium et universitatis consensus elegerit.—Rescr. Honor. ad Bonif. Pap. Rom. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 491.]

[<sup>3</sup> Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Isai. Hom. vi. 1. Tom. III. p. 116.]

[<sup>4</sup> Id. in Jerem. Hom. xi. 3. Tom. III. p. 189.]

[<sup>5</sup> Ignat. Interp. Epist. ad Trall. in Cotel. Patr. Apost. Amst. 1724. cap. vii. Vol. II. p. 63; where *ἐπίσκοπος; ἀλλ' ἢ*.]

[<sup>6</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Florent. Pup. Epist. lxi. p. 167; where *inde, and indignus ab hominibus*.]

humble suit to Felix, then bishop of Rome, for aid and succour against the Arians, through the whole epistle confessing the supreme authority of that apostolic see, utter

*In primo tomo* these very words: *Vestræ apostolicæ sedis imploramus auxilium, &c.*<sup>7</sup>  
*Conciliorum.*

"We humbly beseech you of the help of your apostolic see; because (as verily we believe) God hath not despised the prayers of his servants offered up to him with tears, but hath constituted and placed you and your predecessors, who *In summitatis arce constituit.* were apostolic prelates, in the highest tower or supreme state, and commanded them to have cure and charge of all churches, to the intent you help and succour us, and that defending us (as to whom judgment of bishops is committed) you forslow not through negligence to deliver us from our enemies."

Now, if the apostolic church of Rome hath obtained the primacy and pre-eminence of power over all churches, and over the whole flock of christian people, of our Lord and<sup>8</sup> Saviour himself<sup>9</sup>, as Anacletus saith; if it be evident to all that know the gospel, that the cure and charge of the whole church hath been committed to the holy apostle Peter, prince of all the apostles, by the word of our Lord<sup>10</sup>, as Gregory witnesseth; if the whole brotherhood<sup>12</sup> (that is to say, all christian folk) ought to obey the one high priest or bishop of God, and the one judge that is Christ's vicar, or instead<sup>13</sup> of Christ for the time, according to the precepts and teachings of God<sup>14</sup>, as Cyprian writeth; if it be God that hath placed and ordained the bishop of Rome in the highest state of the church<sup>15</sup>, as Athanasius, with all the fathers of that Alexandrine council, recordeth; if this, I say, be true, then is it easily seen upon how good ground this doctrine standeth, whereby it is affirmed that the bishop of Rome his primacy hath his force by God's law, and not only by man's law, much less by unjust usurpation. The scriptures, by which as well these as all other holy and learned fathers were led to acknowledge and confess the primacy of Peter and his successors, were partly such as Anacletus and Gregory here allegeth, and Cyprian meaneth (as it appeareth by his third treatise, *De Simplicitate Prælatorum*<sup>16</sup>), and sundry more of the new testament, as to the learned is known; of which to treat here largely and pithily, as the weight of the matter requireth, at this time I have no leisure; neither if I had, yet might I conveniently perform it in this treatise, which otherwise will amount to a sufficient bigness; and that matter thoroughly handled will fill a right great volume. Wherefore, referring the readers to the credit of these worthy fathers, who so understood the scriptures, as thereof they were persuaded the primacy to be attributed to Peter's successor by God himself, I will proceed, keeping my prefixed order.

Anacletus forged.

St Gregory nipped. For<sup>11</sup> the next words immediately following are these:

"Tamen Petrus universalis apostolus non vocatur."

St Cyprian's mind twice falsified in one place.

Whereas the pre-eminence of power and authority, which to the bishop of Rome by special and singular privilege God hath granted, is commended to the world by many and sundry councils, for avoiding of tediousness I will rehearse the testimonies of a few. Among the canons made by three hundred<sup>17</sup> and eighteen bishops at the Nicene council, which were in number seventy, and (96) all burnt by heretics in the east church, save twenty, and yet the whole number (97) was kept diligently in the church of Rome in the original itself, sent to Sylvester the bishop there from the council, subscribed with the said three hundred and eighteen fathers' hands,—the forty-fourth canon, which is of the power of the patriarch over the metropolitans and bishops, and of the metropolitan over bishops, in the end hath this decree: *Ut autem cunctis ditionis sue nationibus, &c.*<sup>18</sup>: "As the patriarch beareth rule over all nations of his jurisdiction,

The ninety-sixth untruth, joined with folly, as shall appear.

The ninety-seventh untruth. For there was no such original kept in the church of Rome.

[<sup>7</sup> *Vestræ, &c.*: quia (ut credimus) non desepit Deus preces cum lacrymis sibi oblatas servorum suorum, sed ob id vos predecessoresque vestros, apostolicos videlicet præsules, in summitatis arce constituit, omniumque ecclesiarum eis curam habere præcepit, ut nobis succurratis, nosque tuentes, cui omne episcoporum judicium est commissum, liberare ab hostibus nostris non negligatis.—*Epist. Ægypt. ad Felic. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 355.*]

[<sup>8</sup> And is omitted, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>9</sup> Anaclet. *Epist. iii. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 63.* See before, page 341, note 15.]

[<sup>10</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. *Epist.*

Lib. v. *Indict. xiii. ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 748.* See before, page 343, note 16.]

[<sup>11</sup> 1565 omits *for.*]

[<sup>12</sup> Brotherhead, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>13</sup> In the stead, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>14</sup> *Cypr. Op. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 129.* See before, page 347, note 13.]

[<sup>15</sup> See before, note 7.]

[<sup>16</sup> *Cypr. Op. De Unit. Eccles. pp. 106, &c.*]

[<sup>17</sup> The three hundred, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>18</sup> ...est tamen patriarcha iis omnibus qui sub potestate ejus sunt, sicut ille qui tenet sedem Romæ, caput est et princeps omnium patriarcharum; quan-

Athanasius  
forged.

The ninety-eighth untruth. For there was no prince or province christened in St Peter's time.

and giveth laws to them; and as Peter, Christ's vicar, at the beginning set in authority over religion, over the churches, and over all other things pertaining to Christ, was (98) master and ruler of christian princes, provinces, and of all nations; so he, whose principality or chieftly is at Rome, like unto Peter, and equal in authority, obtaineth the rule and sovereignty over all patriarchs." After a few words it followeth there: "If any man repine against this statute, or dare resist it, by the decree of the whole council he is accursed."

Julius, that worthy bishop of Rome, not long after the council of Nice, in his epistle that he wrote to the ninety Arian bishops, assembled in the council<sup>1</sup> at Antioch against Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, reproving them for their unjust treating of him, saith of the canons of the Nicene council, then fresh in their remembrance, that they command, non debere præter sententiam Romani pontificis ullo modo concilia celebrari, nec episcopos damnari<sup>2</sup>: "that, without the authority of the bishop of Rome, neither councils ought to be kept, nor bishops condemned:" again, that nothing be decreed without the bishop of Rome, cui hæc et majora ecclesiarum negotia tam ab ipso Domino, quam ab omnibus universorum conciliorum fratribus, speciali . . . privilegio contradita sunt<sup>3</sup>: "to whom these and other the weighty matters of the churches be committed by special privilege, as well by our Lord himself as by all our brethren of the whole universal councils." Among other principal points which he reciteth in that epistle of<sup>4</sup> the Nicene council's canons, this is one: Ut omnes episcopi<sup>5</sup>, &c.: "That all bishops who sustain wrong in weighty causes, so often as need shall require, make their appeal freely to the see apostolic, and flee<sup>6</sup> to it for succour, as to their mother, that from thence they may be charitably sustained, defended, and delivered. To the disposition of which see the ancient authority of the apostles and their successors, and of the canons, hath reserved all weighty or great ecclesiastical causes and judgments of bishops."

Athanasius and the whole company of bishops of Egypt, Thebaida, and Lybia, assembled together in council at Alexandria, complaining in their epistle to Felix the pope of great<sup>7</sup> injuries and griefs they sustained at the Arians, allegeth the determination of the Nicene council touching the supreme authority and power of that see apostolic over all other bishops: Similiter et a supradictis patribus est definitum consonanter<sup>8</sup>, &c.: "Likewise (say they) it hath been determined by common assent of the aforesaid<sup>9</sup> fathers (of Nice) that, if any of the bishops suspect the metropolitan or their fellow-bishops of the same province, or the judges, that then they make their appeal to your holy see of Rome, to whom by our Lord himself power to bind and loose by special privilege above other hath been granted." Matt. xvi. Thus<sup>10</sup> much alleged out of the canons of the Nicene council, gathered partly out of Julius' epistle, who wrote to them that were present at the making of them (which taketh away all suspicion of untruth), and partly out of Athanasius and others, that were a great part of the same council.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

A scarecrow, stuffed with straw and set upright, may seem afar off to be a man. Even so a forger of lies and fables, pricked up in the apparel of ancient

doquidem ipse est primus, sicut Petrus, cui data est potestas in omnes principes christianos, et omnes populos eorum, ut qui sit vicarius Christi Domini nostri super cunctos populos et universam ecclesiam christianam, et quicumque contradixerit, a synodo excommunicatur.—Concil. Nicen. can. Interp. F. Turrian. cap. 39 (al. 44) in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 303.]

[<sup>1</sup> In council, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>2</sup> Rescript. Jul. Papæ I. contr. Orient. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 309.]

[<sup>3</sup> Id. in eod. p. 310.]

[<sup>4</sup> Out of, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>5</sup> Ut omnes episcopi, qui in quibusdam graviorebus pulsantur vel criminantur causis, quoties necesse fuerit, libere apostolicam appellent sedem, atque ad eam quasi ad matrem confugiant, ut ab ea (sicut

semper fuit) pie fulciantur, defendantur et liberentur. Cujus dispositioni omnes majores ecclesiasticas causas, et episcoporum judicia, antiqua apostolorum eorumque successorum atque canonum auctoritas reservavit.—Id. cap. 2. in eod. p. 311.]

[<sup>6</sup> Fly, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>7</sup> The great, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>8</sup> Similiter, &c., ut si quisquam episcoporum aut metropolitanum aut comprovinciales vel iudices suspectos habuerit, vel vestram sanctam Romanam interpellat sedem, cui ab ipso Domino potestas ligandi ac solvendi speciali est privilegio super alios concessa.—Epist. Ægypt. ad Felic. in eod. Tom. I. p. 356.]

[<sup>9</sup> Foresaid, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>10</sup> This, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

names, may seem to the ignorant an old catholic father. No marvel though this authority like M. Harding best above all others; for it is most vain and shameless above all others, and therefore meetest to help up a shameless doctrine. It is no new practice in the church of Rome to forge evidence in the name of old fathers, as, God willing, hereafter it shall better appear. But as for this epistle and certain others that are carried about under the name of that godly bishop Athanasius, I will only rip up the stuffing, and open some part of the contents of them, and so will not refuse M. Harding himself to be the judge.

Athanasius  
forged.

First, that they were never written in Greek, and therefore not by Athanasius, it may appear by sundry tokens, and namely by the allusion of these two Latin words, *vertex* and *vertuntur*: [*Romana sedes*] *est . . . sacer vertex, in quo omnes vertuntur*<sup>11</sup>. The Latin is rude and barbarous, and many times utterly void of sense. The manner of utterance is childish and babbling, empty of matter, and full of words without measure. The substance of the whole is nothing else but flattering and advancing<sup>12</sup> of the see of Rome, farced up, and set out with lies without shame.

The author hereof, speaking of the church of Rome, saith: *Inde ecclesie sumpserunt prædicationis exordium*<sup>13</sup>: "From Rome the churches received the first preaching of the gospel." But God himself saith: *Ex Sione exiit lex, et verbum Domini de Hierusalem*: "From Sion the law shall proceed, and the word of the Lord from Hierusalem." And therefore Tertullian calleth Hierusalem "the mother of religion"<sup>14</sup>. And Nicephorus saith, that Simon Zelotes ran over all Africa, and preached the gospel<sup>15</sup>. Eusebius saith, that St Mark the evangelist first erected congregations, and taught the gospel at Alexandria<sup>16</sup>. And Nicephorus saith further, that St Mark went preaching over all Egypt, and Lybia, and Cyrene, and Pentapolis, and the whole country of Barbary, in the time of the emperor Tiberius<sup>17</sup>, which was at the least six years before Peter came to Rome. St Augustine saith, the religion of Christ was first brought into Africa out of Græcia, and not from Rome<sup>18</sup>. Therefore that M. Harding's Athanasius saith, the church received from Rome the first preaching of the gospel, is an open flattery, and a manifest untruth.

Isai. ii.  
Mic. iv.

Matrix religionis.  
Niceph. Lib. ii. cap. xi.  
Euseb. Lib. ii. cap. xxiv.  
Niceph. Lib. ii. cap. xliii.

August. Epist. 170. et Epist. 178. Græcia, unde fides orta est.

Further this author saith, that "in all cases there lay appeals from the metropolitan to the bishop of Rome; and that by the authority of the Nicene council<sup>19</sup>." But that thing in the council of Carthage, St Augustine being then present, was utterly denied by all the bishops of Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, Byzancena, and Tripolis, to the number of two hundred and seventeen; and by the witness of the three patriarchs of Antiochia, Constantinopolis, and Alexandria, was found untrue<sup>20</sup>.

Council. Carth. vi.

This author saith: *Fuit semper vestrae sanctæ et apostolicæ sedi licentia, injuste damnatos vel excommunicatos potestative sua auctoritate restituere, et sua eis omnia reddere*<sup>21</sup>: "Your holy apostolic see had evermore a special prerogative, by your own authority, and by way of power, to relieve men unjustly condemned or excommunicate, and to restore them to their own." But it shall hereafter appear that the bishop of Rome at that time had no such power; and that it was not he that restored any man in that case by his power, but only the emperor.

St Paul saith: "Other foundation none can be laid, but only that is laid already, which is Christ Jesus;" and findeth great fault with the Corinthians that said: "I hold of Apollo, I hold of Paul, I hold of Peter." But M. Harding's Athanasius saith: *Tu es . . . Petrus, et super fundamentum tuum ecclesie columnæ, hoc est, episcopi, . . . sunt confirmatæ*<sup>22</sup>: "Thou art Peter; and upon thy foundation

1 Cor. iii.

[<sup>11</sup> Id. *ibid.*]

[<sup>12</sup> Avancing, 1565.]

[<sup>13</sup> Id. *ibid.* p. 357; where *unde*.]

[<sup>14</sup> Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. 35. p. 562. See before, page 280, note 4.]

[<sup>15</sup> Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. ii. cap. xl. Tom. I. p. 202.]

[<sup>16</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. ii. capp. xvi. xxiv. pp. 42, 53.]

[<sup>17</sup> Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. cap. xliii.

Tom. I. p. 209.]

[<sup>18</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Severin. Epist. lii. 2. Tom. II. col. 119. Id. Alterc. cum Pascent. seu Epist. xx. 6. Tom. II. Append. col. 41.]

[<sup>19</sup> See before, note. 8.]

[<sup>20</sup> Concil. Carthage. vi. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. pp. 494, &c.]

[<sup>21</sup> Epist. Ægypt. ad Felic. in eod. Tom. I. p. 356.]

[<sup>22</sup> Id. *ibid.*; where *id* for *hoc*.]



**Athanasius  
forged.**

the pillars of the church, which are the bishops, are surely set." And thus he deviseth another foundation besides Christ, and contrary to St Paul's doctrine would have all the bishops of the world to hold of Peter.

Athanas. in  
Epist. ad  
Orthod.

Socrat. Lib.  
ii. cap. viii.

But to leave all other untruths wherewith these epistles be stuffed full, mark, gentle reader, only this oversight, and thou shalt plainly see with thine eyes, that M. Harding's doctor is an impudent and an open liar. For the true Athanasius himself, of whom we make no doubt, saith that the Arians at Alexandria burnt the catholic men's books, and therewithal the canons of the council of Nice, in the time of the emperor Constantius, Julius being then bishop of Rome<sup>1</sup>. Which observation of time appeareth also by Socrates in his story<sup>2</sup>. But M. Harding's Athanasius is either so forgetful of his lies, or so impudent and careless what he say, that he maketh piteous complaint of the said burning unto Marcus, that was bishop in Rome before Julius, and was dead at the least nine years before the canons were burnt. By such doctors M. Harding upholdeth the state of Rome.

As for Athanasius himself, he never understood the bishop of Rome had any such prerogative power, nor never named him by greater title than the bishop of Rome. And whereas this epistle, alleged in the name of Athanasius, soundeth far otherwise, it is no marvel; for it was dated at Alexandria, and made in Rome.

Gregor. Lib.  
iv. Epist. 32.

Gregor. Lib.  
iv. Epist. 36.

Gregor. Lib.  
vi. Epist. 30.  
Gregor. Lib.  
vi. Epist. 24.

Now, if the decretal epistle, which M. Harding hath brought in under the name of Anacletus, be nothing else but forged evidence, as it is sufficiently declared—if M. Harding have uncourteously used St Gregory, cutting off his tale in the midst, and purposely leaving out those words: *Tamen [Petrus] universalis apostolus non vocatur*<sup>3</sup>: "Yet is not Peter called the universal apostle:" which was the only matter that St Gregory had then in hand—if St Gregory say: "None of my predecessors, bishops of Rome, would ever take upon him the name of universal bishop"<sup>4</sup>—if St Gregory say: "It is the puff of arrogancy; the word of pride; a new, a pompous, a perverse, a foolish, a rash, a superstitious, a profane, an ungodly, and a wicked name; a name of singularity; a name of error; a name of hypocrisy; a name of vanity, and a name of blasphemy; and that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be called by that arrogant name, in the pride of his heart is the forerunner of antichrist; and that the quiet and indifferent bearing of the same is the destruction of the faith of the universal church"<sup>5</sup>—if M. Harding have wittingly and openly falsified the words of St Cyprian<sup>6</sup>, and that twice together in one sentence, as he himself cannot deny—if the epistle, that he allegeth under the title of Athanasius, be nothing else but a shameless counterfeit, full of vile flattering and apparent lies—then is this former part hitherto but weakly proved; neither can M. Harding truly say his doctrine standeth upon good and sure ground.

Cypr. Lib. I.  
Epist. 3.

O what luck hath M. Harding to such authorities, having choice, as he saith, of so many, and tripping over so lightly, to speed so ill! His Amphilochius lieth at Verona; his Clemens in Candy; his Martial in a cave under ground: his canon of the council of Ephesus against Nestorius was never seen, and others otherwise miscarried: the council of Nice, wherein was the whole stay of the primacy of Rome, is burnt by the Arians, and, saving only in Rome, nowhere else in the world to be found.

Cypr. de Jej.  
et Tent.

For answer hereunto, methinketh these words, spoken generally by St Cyprian, had then, and have yet a special place in the see of Rome: *Ambitio dormit in sinu sacerdotum*<sup>7</sup>: "Ambition sleepeth in the bosom of priests." For, to pass over the great contention that even at the beginning happened there between

[<sup>1</sup> Athanasius relates the burning of the books, and immediately after says that the incendiary calumniated him to Constantius.—Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Encycl. ad Episc. Epist. Tom. I. pp. 113, 5.]

[<sup>2</sup> Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695–1700. Lib. II. cap. viii. p. 70; where the council at Antioch is said to have been held in the reign of Constantius, Julius being bishop of Rome.]

[<sup>3</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xliii. ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 748.]

[<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. xliii. col. 771. See before, page 346.]

[<sup>5</sup> Id. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. col. 881.]

Id. ibid. Ad Anastas. Episc. Epist. xxvii. col. 873. See before, page 345.]

[<sup>6</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 129. See before, page 347, note 13.]

[<sup>7</sup> Etiam in sinu sacerdotum ambitio dormit.—Id. De Jej. et Tent. (Arnold.) p. 38.]

Damasus and Ursinus, whether of them two should be bishop, in which contention a great number of either part was slain<sup>8</sup>; St Augustine also complaineth that even the deacons of Rome in his time advanced<sup>9</sup> themselves far above their estate. These be his words: *Falcidius duce stultitia, et civitatis Romanæ jactantia, . . . diaconos presbyteris æquare contendit*<sup>10</sup>: "Falcidius, led by folly, and by the courage of the city of Rome, would have deacons to be nothing inferior unto priests." Likewise St Hierome saith: "The Romans are noted of courtesy and stoutness of mind<sup>11</sup>." And therefore St Paul gave this advertisement specially unto them above all others: "*Noli altum sapere, sed time*: "Be not high-minded, but stand in awe." Wherefore it is the less to be marvelled, if they have so ambitiously at all times attempted dominion over others.

But M. Harding saith, the pre-eminence of power and authority of the bishop of Rome is commended to the world by many and sundry councils. Wherein I marvel he allegeth not the council of Carthage, of Hippo Regius, and of Africa, in which it was decreed thus: *Ut primæ sedis episcopus non appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi, sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus*<sup>12</sup>: "That the bishop of the first see be not called the chief of priests, or the highest priest, or by any other like name; but only the bishop of the first see;" or the council of Africa, where, touching appeal to Rome, it was specially provided thus: *Si . . . provocandum putaverint, non provocent, nisi ad Africanæ concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum suarum. Ad transmarina . . . qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur*<sup>13</sup>: "If they think it needful to appeal from their own bishops, let them not appeal but only unto councils to be holden within the country of Africa. But whosoever shall think it needful to appeal to the judgment of any beyond the sea (that is, to the bishop of Rome), let no man within Africa receive him to his communion." Why doth M. Harding so warily leave these councils that be extant, and to be seen, the authority whereof was never doubted of, and allege only a patch of the council of Nice, which he himself confessed<sup>14</sup> was burnt; and all the bishops of the east part, who are supposed to have made it, protest openly, under their hands and seals, it was never made? But M. Harding herein doth much like unto the Arians, that accused Athanasius, who were not ashamed to bring in the names of certain men, as being alive, to witness against him; and yet, notwithstanding, charged Athanasius with the same men, that he had slain them<sup>15</sup>.

Neither do I see wherefore M. Harding should need in this case to lean to the authority of any council. For his Anacletus thought it better to make men believe he had his superiority, "not from the apostles, but from Christ himself<sup>16</sup>." And Faustinus Episcopus Potentinus, claiming for the bishop of Rome in the council of Carthage, and finding himself to have small hold in this canon of the Nicene council, alleged rather custom and prescription. These be his words: *Tractandum est cum vestra beatitudine . . . de Nicenis canonibus, ut conserventur et constituta eorum et consuetudo; quia aliqua ordine et canone tenentur, aliqua consuetudine firmata sunt*<sup>17</sup>: "We must deal with your holiness of the canons of the council of Nice, that they may be kept, both the constitutions thereof, and also the custom. For certain things are holden by order and by canon; and certain things are made good by custom." But pope Nicolas the first utterly refuseth, not only the council of Nice, and all other councils in this behalf, but also the authority of prescription and custom. For thus he saith: *Animadver-*

The pride  
of Rome.

Ammi. Mar.  
Socrat. Lib.  
iv. cap. xxiv.  
August. in  
Quæst. Vete-  
ria et Novi  
Test.  
Quæst. ci.  
Hieron. in  
Præfat. ad  
Galat.

Rom. xi.

Council. Carth.  
iii. can. 26.  
Council. Hipp.  
can. 27.  
Council. Afric.  
cap. 6.

Council. Afric.  
cap. 92.

Synod. Alex.  
adversus Ac-  
cusatores  
Athanasii.

Anaclet.  
Epist. i.

Council. Carth.  
vi. can. 2.

Nicol. I. ad  
Michael. Im-  
peratorem.

[<sup>8</sup> Amm. Marcell. Op. Par. 1681. Lib. xxvii. cap. iii. pp. 480, 1.

Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. iv. cap. xxix. p. 202.]

[<sup>9</sup> Advanced, 1565.]

[<sup>10</sup> Quidam igitur qui nomen habet Falcidii, duce &c. conquare &c. — August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Quæst. ex Utroq. Mixt. Quæst. ci. Tom. III. Appendix. col. 92.]

[<sup>11</sup> . . . facilitatis et superbiæ arguuntur. — Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. ii. in Epist. ad Gal. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars i. cols. 255, 6.]

[<sup>12</sup> Council. Carthage. III. cap. 26. in Crabb. Council.

Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 428.

Council. Hippon. Abbrev. cap. 27. in eod. Tom. I. p. 434.

Council. Afric. cap. 6. in eod. Tom. I. p. 503.]

[<sup>13</sup> Id. cap. 92. in eod. Tom. I. p. 517.]

[<sup>14</sup> Confesseth, 1565.]

[<sup>15</sup> Council. Alex. Epist. Synod. in Council. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 552.]

[<sup>16</sup> Anaclet. Epist. i. in Crabb. Council. Tom. I. p. 58. See also Epist. iii. p. 63. See before, page 341, note 15.]

[<sup>17</sup> Faustin. in Council. Carthage. vi. cap. 2. in eod. Tom. I. p. 494; where *cum vestra beatitudine tractanda*, and in the text *constitutio*.]

The Pope  
a forger.

*tendum est, quia non Nicena, non denique ulla synodus quicquam Romanæ contulit ecclesiæ privilegii; quæ in Petro noverat eam totius jura potestatis pleniter meruisse, et cunctarum Christi ovium regimen accepisse*<sup>1</sup>: "Ye must consider that neither the council of Nice, nor any other council, ever gave any privilege to the church of Rome: for this church knoweth that in Peter she hath fully deserved the right of all power, and hath attained the government of all the sheep of Christ."

But touching the forgery of this council of Nice, the very beginning of the quarrel, and the whole story standeth thus: One Apiarius, a priest of the church of Sicca in Africa, as it appeareth, a very ill man, being justly excommunicate, both by his own bishop, and also by a great number of other bishops together in the council there, appealed from them all unto Zosimus then bishop of Rome. Zosimus, without further knowledge of the cause, never hearing the other party, pronounced Apiarius to be innocent, and restored him to the communion; and, understanding there was a council gathered in Africa touching the same, sent thither Faustinus the bishop of Potentia, with two other priests of Rome, Philippus and Asellus, not only to see that the said Apiarius, without any further trial, might be restored unto his right, but also to make plea in the open council, that it should be lawful for any priest to appeal from his own ordinary, or metropolitan, or council, unto the apostolic see of Rome. The bishops of Africa answered, there was no law it should be so<sup>2</sup>. Faustinus laid forth this canon of the council of Nice, not made by the authority of the bishops there, but only devised by the bishop of Rome. The bishops there, among whom was St Augustine, that famous learned father, thought it was a forged matter<sup>3</sup>, and therefore said, they would send unto Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, for the very original copies of the said council, and desired the bishop of Rome to do the same, and said that in the mean while they would do as they had done before. Upon this message, and return of the answer with the true authentic copies, from Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria, and Atticus the bishop of Constantinople<sup>4</sup>, it appeared plainly unto the world, that the canons were corrupted, and that the pope had falsified that holy council; and, to the intent to advance<sup>5</sup> his apostolic see of Rome, had devised privileges and prerogatives of his own. Here might M. Harding well bestow his terms; here might he truly say: The pope coggeth and foisteth the die; the pope bombasteth the canons of councils, and the decrees of holy fathers, with his counterfeit stuffing. The bishops in the council of Africa, having thus thoroughly examined the truth hereof, wrote unto Cælestinus, being then bishop of Rome, in this wise: *Decreta Nicena, &c.*<sup>6</sup>: "The decrees of the council of Nice have committed both the inferior clerks, and also the bishops, unto their metropolitans. For it was discreetly and rightly considered that all matters are to be determined in the places where they began,

Concil. Carth.  
vi. cap. 3.

cap. 4.

They would  
not thus have  
done, if they  
had thought  
all the ori-  
ginals and  
copies had  
been burnt.  
cap. 7.  
Concil. Apher.  
cap. 102.

Concil. Apher.  
cap. 105.

[<sup>1</sup> Nicol. Papæ I. Epist. ad Michael. Imp. in eod. Tom. II. p. 758; where in the text *privilegium*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Ita enim dixerunt ... in concilio Niceno, cum de episcoporum appellatione decernerent. Placuit autem, ut si episcopus accusatus fuerit, et judicaverint congregati episcopi regionis ipsius...et appellasse episcopus videatur, et confugerit ad beatissimum ecclesiæ Romanæ episcopum...ut renovetur examen.—Zosim. Common. recit. in Concil. Carthag. vi. cap. 3. in eod. Tom. I. p. 494.]

[<sup>3</sup> Alyp. in eod. cap. 4. ibid. See below, page 358. See also cap. 7. p. 495.]

[<sup>4</sup> Rescr. Cyril. Alex. in Concil. Afric. cap. 102. in eod. Tom. I. p. 520.]

[<sup>5</sup> Avance, 1565.]

[<sup>6</sup> ... decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos episcopos, suis metropolitans aptissime commiserunt. Prudentissime enim justissimeque providerunt, quæcunque negocia in suis locis, ubi orta sunt, finienda: nec unicuique provinciæ gratiam sancti Spiritus defuturam, qua æquitas a Christi sacerdotibus et prudenter videatur, et constantissime teneatur: maxime, quia unicuique con-

cessum est, si judicio offensus fuerit cognitorum, ad concilia suæ provinciæ vel etiam universale provocare. Nisi forte quisquam est, qui credat, uni cuilibet posse Deum nostrum examinis inspirare justitiam, et innumerabilibus congregatis in concilium sacerdotibus denegare. Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum judicium ratum erit, ad quod testium necessariæ personæ, vel propter sexus vel propter senectutis infirmitatem, vel multis aliis intercurrentibus impedimentis, adduci non poterunt? Nam ut aliqui, tanquam a tuæ sanctitatis latere, mittantur, nulla invenimus patrum synodo constitutum; quia illud quod pridem per eundem coepiscopum nostrum Faustinum, tanquam ex parte Niceni concilii, exinde transmisistis: in conciliis verioribus, quæ accipiuntur Nicena, a sancto Cyrillo coepiscopo nostro Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ, et a venerabili Attico Constantinopolitano antistite, ex authenticis missis...a nobis transmissa sunt, in quibus tale aliquid non potuimus reperire. Executores etiam clericos vestros quibusque petentibus nolite mittere, nolite concedere, ne fumosum typhum seculi in ecclesiam Christi...videamur inducere.—Epist. Concil. ad Cælestin. cap. 105. in eod. p. 521.]

and that no province can lack the Holy Ghost, whereby the bishops of Christ may be able both wisely to see, and also constantly to maintain the right; and specially for that it is lawful for every man, that shall mislike the discretion of his judges, to appeal either to a particular council within the same realm, or else to the universal council of the whole world: unless perchance some man will say, God is able to inspire the trial of justice into one man alone (because he is bishop of Rome), and will not inspire the same into a great number of bishops meeting together in council. And how may such beyond-sea judgment be thought good, whereunto the persons of the witnesses, which in trial of truth are thought necessary, either for that they be women, or for the infirmity of their age, or for many other incident lets, cannot be brought? Now that any should be sent abroad, as it were, from your holiness' side, we find it not decreed in any council. As for that you sent us lately by our brother Faustinus, as part of the council of Nice, we must do you to wit, that in the true councils, which we have received from our holy fellow-bishop Cyrillus of Alexandria, and the reverend father Atticus the bishop of Constantinople, taken out of the very originals, it cannot be found. And send you not any your clerks hither to execute justice at any man's request, lest we seem to bring the smoky puff of the world into the church of Christ." Thus far the words of the council.

The Pope  
a forger.

The pope  
taken in  
manifest  
forgery.

Fumosum  
typhum.

The bishop of Rome, when he saw he was taken with the manner, and found an open falsary, (for that the canons of his making disagreed from the very originals,) thought it good policy to say, the originals were burnt by the Arians, and so no true copy now remaining, but his only. And therefore he imagined a letter to be written in the name of Athanasius, and other bishops of Egypt, unto Marcus the bishop of Rome, wherein they besought him a copy of the Nicene council, for that all their books were utterly destroyed<sup>7</sup>. But this shift was too simple. For it were hard for M. Harding to shew, what help Athanasius could have found in any of those canons that are now presumed to be burnt, wherewith either to relieve himself in that case, or else to molest and grieve his adversaries.

But both Julius the bishop of Rome, and also Athanasius the bishop of Alexandria, make mention hereof. Therefore there is no cause, saith M. Harding, why this matter should be suspected of any untruth. This removing of suspicion, I know not how, seemeth somewhat to increase suspicion. If there were not a sore, what should it thus need to be salved? Indeed Julius allegeth a canon of the council of Nice; but M. Harding's canon he allegeth not. And the compiler of the councils gave this note in the margin touching the same: *Hoc statutum solum reducibile est ad quintum et sextum caput Niceni concilii; verum aperte non invenitur*<sup>8</sup>: "This decree may only be reduced to the fifth and sixth chapter of the council of Nice; but expressly it is not found." Such credit is to be given to this Julius in his allegations.

In Epist.  
Decret. Julii.

As for M. Harding's Athanasius, his tale is so simple, that it will soon bewray itself. For, as I noted before, he writeth unto Marcus the bishop of Rome, of the burning of the books; and yet Athanasius himself certainly knew that Marcus was dead at the least nine years before that burning happened<sup>9</sup>.

Manifest  
forgery.

Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
Orthodox.  
Socrat. Lib.  
ii. cap. viii.

Even so the vain forger of the emperor Constantine's great donation<sup>10</sup> imagineth him to decree, that the bishop of Constantinople should be subject unto the see of Rome<sup>11</sup>. And yet neither was the city of Constantinople at that time built, nor any such name yet known in the world, nor any bishopric there erected. A man might say: *Non satis commode divisa sunt temporibus tibi, Dave, hæc*<sup>12</sup>.

Again, the same Athanasius, writing unto Felix, saith: "The Arians had falsified the Nicene council<sup>13</sup>." But writing unto Marcus of the same matter, as a man

Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
Fœl.

[<sup>7</sup> Epist. Ægypt. ad Marc. Papam, in eod. Tom. I. p. 299.]

[<sup>8</sup> Jul. Papæ I. Epist. in eod. Tom. I. p. 305; where (in the marginal note) in *Niceni* 5 & 6 capi.]

[<sup>9</sup> See before, page 354.] [<sup>10</sup> Dotation, 1565.]

[<sup>11</sup> Edict. Constant. in eod. Tom. I. p. 226.]

[<sup>12</sup> Ter. Andr. iii. i. 17, 8.]

[<sup>13</sup> ...ut...legem, quæ in memorata Nicena synodo est promulgata, licet prædictorum insidiatorum...depravatione sit suffocata, reparetis.—Epist. Ægypt. ad Felic. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 357. In an earlier part of the same epistle complaint is made that the Nicene canons were incensa, nobisque sublata. p. 356.]

The Pope  
a forger.

Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
Marc.

Theodor.  
Lib. i. cap. ix.  
et Lib. ii.  
cap. viii.  
Mar. Victor.  
adversus  
Arium, Lib.  
ii.

Concil. Carth.  
vi. cap. 4.

Concil. Carth.  
vi. cap. 102.

Concil. Carth.  
vi. cap. 103.

Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
Marc.

that had utterly forgotten himself, he saith: "The Arians had burnt the council of Nice<sup>1</sup>." But if it were burnt, how was it falsified? If it were falsified, how was it burnt? These tales hang not well together. But forasmuch as M. Harding would so fain have the pope to hold by burnt evidence, if it may please thee, gentle reader, discreetly to weigh the whole circumstance of the matter, thou shalt soon find that all this great ado was nothing else but a great fable. For first, it appeareth by Theodoretus, that the whole acts and copies of the council of Nice were sent abroad unto all bishops that were away<sup>2</sup>. And Marius Victorinus, writing against Arius, saith that the same acts were sent abroad into the whole world, and that "many thousand bishops" subscribed and agreed unto them<sup>3</sup>. Which thing being undoubtedly true, it were very much for M. Harding to say, that all these copies, in all parts of the world, could be destroyed upon the sudden, and that all together, in one place, and with one fire, and at one commandment. The Arians neither were so mighty to achieve it, nor so foolish to attempt it. Certainly the like never happened to any other council. But what needeth words, where the matter is plain? The bishops of Africa had the very copies of these canons. Alypius, the bishop of Tagasta, in this conference with Faustinus said: *Adhuc tamen me movet, quoniam cum inspiceremus Græca exemplaria hujus synodi Nicenæ, ista ibi, nescio qua ratione, minime invenimus*<sup>4</sup>: "But this one thing much moveth me, that, conferring and examining the Greek examples of this Nicene council, these matters (of the superiority of the see of Rome that is alleged), I know not how, we found not there." And Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria, being desired for trial of this matter to send the true original of this council, made answer in this sort: *Necesse habui... fidelissima exemplaria ex authentica synodo... vestræ caritati dirigere*<sup>5</sup>: "I thought it needful to send unto you the true example<sup>6</sup> of the very authentic council." Likewise Atticus, the bishop of Constantinople, to the same request answereth thus: *Canones sicut statuti sunt in Nicæa civitate a patribus, in integro... [ad vos] direxi*<sup>7</sup>: "I have sent unto you the canons in the whole, even as they were made and ratified by the fathers in the city of Nice." Now if these canons were quite burnt, as M. Harding saith, how were they afterward found whole, as the godly father Atticus and the learned bishop Cyrillus saith? And if they were afterward found whole, how then were they quite burnt before? Or how is it, that no man, neither in Africa, nor in Europa, nor in Asia, neither in the east church, nor in the west, was ever able to see these canons, but only the bishop of Rome, that so ambitiously claimeth by them? And if he have them indeed, and that of such authentic record, under the hands of the three hundred and eighteen bishops, as it is boldly avouched, why are they not shewed? Why have they been, for the space of these thirteen hundred years, still kept invisible? Verily the council of Nice were well worth the shewing.

All these things rightly weighed may seem sufficient to descry a forger. Yet, gentle reader, the better to satisfy thy mind, mark how earnestly and with what cunning M. Harding's Athanasius forceth on his fable. He thought it not sufficient to say, "The canons all were quite burnt," which thing he only saith, and no man else; but, because he saw wise men would reply, There were no such canons ever made, therefore he took pains further to shew the considerations and causes, and the whole order and circumstance of the making, whereat, he saith, he himself was present. "Four-score canons," saith he<sup>8</sup>, "were devised in the whole, whereof forty were laid in in Latin by the Latins, and forty other in

[<sup>1</sup> Libros... nostros... etiam Nicenam synodum... incenderunt.—Epist. Ægypt. ad Marc. in eod. Tom. I. p. 299.]

[<sup>2</sup> Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. i. cap. ix. Lib. ii. cap. viii. pp. 29 &c., 74 &c. The former chapter contains a synodic epistle from the council of Nice, the latter one from that of Sardica.]

[<sup>3</sup> ...multi orbis episcopi trecenti quindecim in civitate Nicæa quam per totum orbem decretam fidem mittentes, episcoporum millia in eadem habue-

runt, &c.—Mar. Victorin. adv. Ar. Lib. ii. 9. in Biblioth. Vet. Patr. Stud. Galland. Venet. 1765-81. Tom. VIII. p. 178.]

[<sup>4</sup> Alyp. in Concil. Carthag. vi. cap. 4. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 494.]

[<sup>5</sup> Rescr. Cyril. Alex. in Concil. Afric. cap. 102. in eod. Tom. I. p. 520.]

[<sup>6</sup> Examples, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>7</sup> Epist. Attic. cap. 103. in eod. ibid.; where *canones precedes in integro*.]

[<sup>8</sup> He saith, 1565.]

Greek by the Grecians. Of this whole number of canons," saith he, "the fathers there took off ten canons, and divided them as they might most handsomely among the rest, and so made up only the number of three-score and ten canons, thereby mystically to represent the three-score and ten disciples; or else the number of the three-score and ten tongues that be known in the world<sup>9</sup>." Thus of wholesome and godly rules of faith and manners, M. Harding's Athanasius hath leisure to fancy pretty mysteries.

The Pope  
a forger.

But for better view hereof, I remember, cardinal Cusanus, touching the famous donation of Constantine, writeth thus: *In ipsa scriptura reperi manifesta argumenta falsitatis*<sup>10</sup>: "Even in the writing of it I have found manifest tokens of falsehood." The like may be said of these M. Harding's new canons: Even in the utterance and writing of them we may find plain contrariety, and therefore undoubted tokens of untruth. For the former twenty canons, whereof there is no question, were made in the council of Nice; but the rest, whereof St Augustine and the bishops of Africa moved doubt, and whereby the bishop of Rome would seem to claim, were devised at Rome, and not at Nice. This new canon, here alleged, saith: "The bishop of Rome hath the rule and sovereignty over all patriarchs." But the very true and undoubted council of Nice saith far otherwise: *Antiqua consuetudo servetur per Ægyptum, Libyam, et Pentapolim: . . . ut Alexandrinus episcopus horum omnium habeat potestatem; quia et urbis Romæ episcopo parilis mos est*<sup>11</sup>: "Let the ancient custom be kept throughout Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; that the bishop of Alexandria have the government over all these: for the bishop of the city of Rome hath the like order." By this canon the bishop of Rome hath no sovereignty over the<sup>12</sup> other patriarchs, as M. Harding fantasieth, but only a fellowship and equality with the rest, to walk carefully within his own division, as others were bound to do within theirs. And in this canon these two words, *parilis mos*, are specially to be noted, which cannot otherwise be expounded, but only of like manner, order, and authority of jurisdiction. M. Harding's canon saith: "St Peter was master and ruler over all christian princes." And yet is not M. Harding able to prove that, while St Peter lived, there was any one prince christened in the whole world. And if Peter had had power over kings and princes, it is not likely he would have taken up his lodging with Cornelius<sup>13</sup> the poor tanner. In the end he concludeth with a terror: "If any man repine against this statute, accursed be he." Wherein he doth great wrong both to St Augustine, and also to all the bishops of Africa, Numidia, Mauritania, Pentapolis, and Bizancena; who not only repined openly against this canon, but also said it was falsified, and rebuked the pope of pride and ambition for the same.

Nicol. Cusan.  
de Donat.  
Constan.

Concil. Nic.  
can. 6.

Parilis mos.

Acts x.

To be short, what leadeth M. Harding to say, "The bishop of Rome hath these three-score and ten canons in safe keeping?" Why doth he thus dissemble, and mock the world? Certainly the bishop of Rome himself utterly disclaimeth it, and saith, he hath them not. For thus he writeth touching the same: *Viginti tantum capitula Nicenæ synodi in sancta Romana ecclesia habentur; sed quo neglectu alia defecerint, ambiguum est*<sup>14</sup>: "There are in the church of Rome only twenty canons of the council of Nice. But by what negligence the rest are lost, it is not known." The pope saith, there are but twenty canons extant: M. Harding saith, there are three-score and ten canons. I trow, it is no reason we should believe M. Harding and leave the pope.

Dist. 16.  
Vigint. Steph.  
Pap.

But Steven the bishop of Rome saith, there were sometime in Rome the full three-score and ten canons; which thing he gathereth only upon this forgery of

[<sup>9</sup> Sane præsentibus nobis octoginta capitula in memorata tractata sunt synodo, scilicet quadraginta a Græcia, Græca edita lingua, et quadraginta a Latinis, similiter Latina edita lingua. Sed visum est trecentis decem et octo patribus, . . . ut decem capitula adunarentur aliis, atque congruis locis insererentur, et ad formam septuaginta discipulorum, vel totius orbis terræ linguarum, septuaginta tanti et tam excellentis concilii fierent capitula.—Epist. Ægypt. ad Marc. in eod. Tom. I. p. 299.]

[<sup>10</sup> ... repperi ex ipsamet scriptura argumenta manifesta confictionis et falsitatis.—Nic. de Cusa, Op. Basil. 1565. De Concord. Cathol. Lib. iii. cap. ii. Tom. II. p. 781.]

[<sup>11</sup> Concil. Nicen. can. 6. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. cols. 32, 40, 1.]

[<sup>12</sup> 1565 omits the.] [<sup>13</sup> Simon.]

[<sup>14</sup> Steph. Pap. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xvi. can. 13. col. 67.]

The Pope  
a forger.

M. Harding's Athanasius<sup>1</sup>. And the same being the evidence whereby he holdeth his whole title, and such evidence as was not to be found elsewhere in all the world, yet cannot he tell neither how he came by it, nor how long he kept it, nor how he lost it. But a thing is well lost that cannot be avouched and shewed without shame.

Cypr. de Sim-  
plicitate Præ-  
lator.

M. Harding's Athanasius saith: "Power to bind and loose is given to the holy see of Rome by special privilege above all other<sup>2</sup>." And yet the old catholic fathers could never understand any such special privilege. St Cyprian saith: *Quamvis [Dominus] apostolis omnibus post resurrectionem suam parem potestatem tribuat, . . . tamen ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis ejusdem originem ab uno incipientem sua auctoritate disposuit. Hoc erant utique et ceteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis*<sup>3</sup>: "The Lord, after his resurrection, gave unto his apostles like power: yet, to declare unity, he disposed by his authority the original of unity, beginning of one. The rest of the apostles were even the same that Peter was, endued with like fellowship, both of honour and of power."

Orig. in Matt.  
Tract. i.

Origen saith: *An vero soli Petro dantur a Christo claves regni cælorum, nec alius beatorum quisquam eas accepturus est? Hoc dictum, Tibi dabo claves regni cælorum, ceteris quoque est commune*<sup>4</sup>: "What, hath Christ given the keys of the kingdom of heaven unto Peter only? and shall no holy man else receive them? Verily this saying, 'To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' is common also to the rest." St Cyril saith: *Apostolis, et eorum in ecclesiis successoribus, plenam concessit potestatem*<sup>5</sup>: "Christ gave full power unto the apostles, and unto others that succeeded them in the churches." And St Basil saith: *Christus Petrum post se sue ecclesiæ pastorem constituit, et consequenter omnibus pastoribus et doctoribus eandem tribuit potestatem: cujus signum est, quod omnes ex æquo et ligant, et absolunt, quemadmodum ille*<sup>6</sup>: "Christ appointed Peter to be pastor of his church after him, and so consequently gave the same power unto all pastors and doctors: a token whereof is this, that all pastors do equally both bind and loose as well as he."

Cyrl. in  
Johan. Lib.  
iii. cap. xx.

Basil. in  
Libello de  
Vita Solita-  
ria, cap.  
xxiii.

Now, if Christ gave like power to all his apostles—if the rest of the apostles were the same that Peter was, endued all with like honour and like power—if Christ's words were common to all the rest—if all pastors do equally both bind and loose, as well as Peter; what a fable then is this, that M. Harding with his Athanasius hath brought in, that "power to bind and loose is given to the holy see of Rome, by special privilege above all others!"

Now, gentle reader, shortly and simply to lay all the effect hereof before thine eyes; M. Harding's canons were burnt before they were ever made. They were burnt, and yet were they falsified. They were falsified, and yet were they burnt too. This Athanasius informeth Marcus the bishop of Rome of the burning of them, nine years before the fire was made.

The pope is found in manifest forgery, and that by the witness of the patriarchs of Constantinople, and Antioch, and of all the bishops, and the whole council of Africa, St Augustine himself being present.

M. Harding saith, the pope hath the custody of these invisible canons.

The pope himself saith, he hath none of them.

These canons be plain contrary, not only to the old catholic fathers, but also to other canons of the same council.

The bishops in the council of Africa openly dislike the pope's attempt in this behalf, and call it worldly pride and vain ambition.

Such warrant hath M. Harding to advance<sup>7</sup> the state of the see of Rome.

[<sup>1</sup> Id. *ibid.* col. 68, as the canon is quoted by Ivo.]

[<sup>2</sup> Others, 1565.]

[<sup>3</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. pp. 107, 8; where the words *post resurrectionem suam* precede the rest.]

[<sup>4</sup> Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. In Matt. 11. Tom. xii. Tom. III. pp. 524, 5.]

[<sup>5</sup> Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅτι καὶ τὸν τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς

διακονίας καρπὸν πλοῦσιον κομιέται παρὰ Θεοῦ τῶν μαθητῶν ὁ χορὸς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους οἱ τῶν ἀγίων τοῦ Θεοῦ προεστῶτες ἐκκλησιῶν.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Comm. in Joan. Lib. III. cap. iv. Tom. IV. p. 288.]

[<sup>6</sup> Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Const. Monast. cap. xxii. 5. Tom. II. p. 573.]

[<sup>7</sup> Advance, 1565.]

## M. HARDING. THE SEVENTH DIVISION.

For further declaration of this matter, it were easy here to allege the council of The Pope a forger.  
*Sardica*<sup>8</sup>, the council of Chalcedon<sup>9</sup>, certain councils of Africa, yea, some  
Can. 4. *councils also holden by heretics, and sundry other; but, such store of*  
Can. 9. *authorities commonly known, these may suffice.*

## THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These councils are brought forth, all in a mummery, saying nothing. Therefore I might safely pass them over, until they had learned to speak somewhat. Yet, forasmuch as these men think it good policy to huddle up their matters in the dark, it will not be amiss to rip them abroad, and to bring them forth into the light.

In the council of Chalcedon it is decreed thus: *Teneat...et Ægyptus, ut episcopus Alexandria omnium habeat potestatem: quoniam et Romano episcopo hæc est consuetudo. Similiter...et qui in Antiochia constitutus est*<sup>10</sup>: "Let Egypt hold this order, that the bishop of Alexandria have the jurisdiction of all things there; for the bishop of Rome holdeth the same order (within his division). So likewise let the bishop of Antioch." By this council every of these patriarchs had his power limited within himself, and none of them to have dominion over other. Concil. Chalc. Actio. xvi.

The fathers in the council of Africa, wherein M. Harding would seem to have some affiance, have decreed thus: *Ne primæ sedis episcopus appelletur princeps sacerdotum, aut summus sacerdos, aut aliquid hujusmodi; sed tantum primæ sedis episcopus*<sup>11</sup>: "That the bishop of the first see be not called the chief of priests, or the highest priest, or by any other like title; but only the bishop of the first see." And again: "If any shall think it good to appeal, let them appeal only to councils to be holden within Africa, or else to the primates of their own provinces. But whosoever shall appeal beyond the seas (that is, to the bishop of Rome), let no man within Africa receive him to his communion<sup>12</sup>." Thus much only for a taste. I think M. Harding will not gather hereof, that the bishop of Rome was called universal bishop, or the head of the universal church. Concil. Afric. cap. 6.  
Can. 102.

## M. HARDING. THE EIGHTH DIVISION.

[The 3. proof, edicts of emperors, H. A. 1564.] *The christian princes, that ratified and confirmed with their proclamations and edicts the decrees of the canons concerning the pope's primacy, and gave not to him first that authority, as the adversaries do untruly report, were (99) Justinian and Phocas the emperors. The words of Justinian's edict be these: Sancimus, secundum canonum definitiones, sanctissimum senioris Romæ papam primum esse omnium sacerdotum*<sup>14</sup>: "We ordain, according to the determinations of the canons, that the most holy pope, of the elder Rome, be foremost and chief of all priests." The ninety-ninth untruth. For 13 Phocas gave this title to the bishop of Rome; but Justinian gave it never.

About three-score and ten years after Justinian, Phocas the emperor, in the time of Bonifacius, to repress the arrogance of the bishop of Constantinople, as Paulus Diaconus writeth, who vainly, and, as Gregory saith, contrary to our Lord's teachings and the decrees of the canons, and for that wickedly, took upon him the name of the universal or œcumenical bishop, and wrote himself chief of all bishops, made the like decree and ordinance, that the holy see of the Roman and apostolic church should be holden for the head of all churches<sup>15</sup>.

[<sup>8</sup> Concil. Sardic. can. 4. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 629.]

[<sup>9</sup> The ninth canon of Chalcedon here referred to does not appear to contain any thing to the point. It directs an appeal to Constantinople, rather than to Rome.—Concil. Calched. can. 9. in eod. Tom. IV. col. 759.]

[<sup>10</sup> Id. Act. xvi. in eod. col. 811. See also Chalced. Concil. Act. xvi. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 938.]

[<sup>11</sup> Concil. Afric. cap. 6. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 503. See before, page 355.]

[<sup>12</sup> Id. cap. 92. in eod. p. 517. See before, page 355.]

[<sup>13</sup> 1565 omits *for*.]

[<sup>14</sup> Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xiv. Novell. cxxxi. cap. 2. Tom. II. p. 184; where for *canonum* we find *earum*: *αὐτῶν*.]

[<sup>15</sup> Hic [Phocas] rogante papa Bonifacio statuit sedem Romanæ et apostolicæ ecclesiæ primam esse, cum prius Constantinopolitana se primam omnium ecclesiarum scriberet.—Paul. Diac. De Gest. Langob. Basil. 1532. Lib. iv. cap. xi. p. 401.]



## THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

## Papa.

Theodor. Lib.  
v. cap. xviii.  
Sozom. Lib.  
vii. cap. xxiv.  
Socrat. Lib. i.  
cap. xxiv.

Emperors, princes, and others, have been favourably inclined sometime to the parties, in respect of their places; sometime to the places, for the admiration and reverence of the parties. Theodosius the emperor said, "he never saw bishop that bare himself as a bishop indeed, but only St Ambrose<sup>1</sup>." Constantinus the emperor said of Eusebius the bishop of Cæsaria: *Dignus est qui sit episcopus, non tantum unius civitatis, sed etiam prope universi orbis*<sup>2</sup>: "He is worthy to be the bishop, not only of one city, but also in a manner of the whole world."

Authen. de  
Eccles. Tit.  
Collat. ix.  
Ideoque sac-  
rimus.  
Cod. de Sacro-  
sanct. Eccles.  
Decernimus  
sacro-  
sanctam.  
Authen. Col-  
lat. ix. de  
Eccles. Tit.

In respect of places, they were moved either for their antiquity, or for their authority and civil power, or for the commodity of the situation, or for some other good consideration and circumstance, to favour them, and to grant them privileges above others. Thus the emperor Justinian had a special inclination to the city of Constantinople, for that it was now grown in wealth and puissance, and, for the state and nobility thereof, called *nova Roma*<sup>3</sup>, "new Rome;" and for that it was, as he saith, *mater pietatis nostræ, et Christianorum orthodoxæ religionis omnium*<sup>4</sup>: that is, "the mother of his majesty, and of all christian men of the catholic faith." For like consideration the emperor gave out this special privilege in favour of the see of Rome: *Sancimus, secundum canonum definitiones, sanctissimum senioris Romæ papam primum esse omnium sacerdotum*<sup>5</sup>: "We decree, according to the determination<sup>6</sup> of the canons, that the most holy pope of the elder Rome be the first or foremost of all priests." And, by the way, lest any error happen to grow of this word *papa*, it behoveth thee, good reader, to understand that *papa*, in old times, in the Greek tongue, signified a father, as appeareth by that Jupiter, the great idol that was honoured as God in Bithynia, was called *papa*, ὁ ζεὺς, ὁ πάππας<sup>7</sup>, *Jupiter papa*: and further, that in St Augustine's time, and before, the same name was given, not only or specially to the bishop of Rome, but also generally to all bishops. The priests and deacons of Rome write thus unto St Cyprian the bishop of Carthage: *Cypriano papæ*<sup>8</sup>: "Unto pope Cyprian." And Galerius, the judge, having St Cyprian in examination for the christian faith, said thus unto him: *Tu es, quem Christiani papam suum nominant*<sup>9</sup>? "Art thou he, whom the Christians call their pope?" So likewise St Hierome intitleth his epistles unto St Augustine, being bishop of Hippo: *Hieronymus beatissimo papæ Augustino*<sup>10</sup>: "Hierome unto Augustine the most holy pope." Thus much only by the way.

Cœlius  
Rhodig. Lib.  
xi. cap. xxi.  
Jupiter papa.

Cypr. Lib. ii.  
Epist. 7.  
Pontius in  
Passione  
Cypr.

Inter Epist.  
August.  
Epist. 11.

But to return to the matter: M. Harding may not of every thing that he readeth conclude what he listeth. This privilege granted unto the bishop of Rome, to be the first of all priests, was not to bear the whole sway, and to overrule all the world; but only in general meetings and councils to sit in place above all others; and for avoiding of confusion, to direct and order them in their doings. The emperor's words be plain: *Prærogativa in episcoporum concilio, vel extra concilium ante alios residendi*<sup>11</sup>: "A prerogative in the council of bishops, or without the council to sit in order above others." This prerogative in Greek is called *προεδρία*, that is, "the privilege of the first place." And these phrases in that tongue be known and common, τὰ πρωτεία ἔχειν, τὰ δευτερεία, τὰ τριτεία, like as also these in the Latin tongue, *obtinere primas, secundas, tertias*; that is, "to have the pre-eminence of the first, second, or third place." And that the emperor Justinian meant only thus, and none otherwise, it is manifest even by the self-

Cod. de Sacro-  
sanct. Eccles.  
Decernimus.

[<sup>1</sup> Ἀμβρόσιον γὰρ οἶδα μόνον ἐπίσκοπον ἀξίως καλούμενον.—Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. v. cap. xviii. p. 223. See also Sozom. in eod. Lib. vii. cap. xxv. pp. 603, 4.]

[<sup>2</sup> Socr. in eod. Lib. i. cap. xxiv. p. 49.]

[<sup>3</sup> Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xiv. Novell. cxxxi. cap. 2. Tom. II. p. 184.]

[<sup>4</sup> Id. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. ii. 16. Tom. II. p. 8; where *matrem nostræ pietatis*.]

[<sup>5</sup> Id. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xiv. Novell. cxxxi. cap. 2. Tom. II. p. 184.]

[<sup>6</sup> Determinations, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>7</sup> Cœl. Rhodig. Lect. Antiq. 1599. Lib. xi. cap. xxi. col. 515.]

[<sup>8</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cypr. Epist. xxx. p. 56.]

[<sup>9</sup> Tu papam te sacrilegæ mentis hominibus præbuiisti?—Cypr. Pass. in eod. p. 13.]

[<sup>10</sup> Hieron. ad August. Epist. lxxv. 1. in August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Tom. II. col. 168; where the words are transposed.]

[<sup>11</sup> Corp. Jur. Civil. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. ii. 16. Tom. II. p. 8.]

same place that M. Harding hath here alleged. His words stand thus : *Sancimus, &c., senioris Romæ papam primum esse omnium sacerdotum : beatissimum autem archiepiscopum Constantinopoleos, novæ Romæ, secundum habere locum*<sup>12</sup> : "We ordain that the pope of the elder Rome shall be the first of all priests ; and that the most holy archbishop of Constantinople, which is named new Rome, have the second place." Hereby it is plain that this privilege standeth only in placing the bishop of Rome in the first seat above others. But I beseech thee, gentle reader, weigh well the words that follow in the same law, and thou shalt see, both that M. Harding's dealing herein is not upright, and also that the bishop of Rome was then excluded by plain words from that universal power which he now so deeply dreameth of. It followeth immediately : *Beatissimum archiepiscopum primæ Justinianæ patriæ nostræ habere semper sub sua jurisdictione episcopos provinciarum Daciæ, et Daciæ, et Dardaniæ, et Mysiæ, . . . atque Pannoniæ : et ab eo hos ordinari : ipsum vero a proprio ordinari concilio : et in subjectis sibi provinciis locum obtinere eum sedis apostolicæ Romæ*<sup>13</sup> : "We ordain that the most holy archbishop of Justiniana the first, which is in our country, shall have for ever under his jurisdiction the bishops of the provinces of Dacia, Dania, Dardania, Mysia, and Pannonia ; and that they shall be invested by him ; and he only by his own council ; and that he, in the provinces subject unto him, shall have the place of the apostolic see of Rome." Here we see the bishop of Justiniana set in as high authority and power, within his own jurisdiction, as the bishop of Rome within his. In like sort the emperor Justinian saith : *Ecclesia urbis Constantinopolitanæ . . . Romæ veteris prærogativa letatur*<sup>14</sup> : "The church of the city of Constantinople enjoyeth now the prerogative of Rome the elder."

The first Bishop.

την δευτέ-  
ραν τάξιν.

Cod. de Sacro-  
sanct. Eccles.  
Omni inno-  
vatione.

Now, if the bishop of Justiniana and the bishop of Rome, in their several divisions, have like authority ; and if the church of Constantinople in all prerogatives and privileges be made equal with the city of Rome ; then is not the bishop of Rome's power universal ; neither can he justly be called the head of the universal church. Verily Justinian himself, writing unto Epiphanius the bishop of Constantinople, calleth him "the universal patriarch"<sup>15</sup> : which thing he would not have done, if he had thought that title of right had belonged to the bishop of Rome.

Authen. Ut  
determinatus  
sit numerus  
clericorum.  
ὁ... βασι-  
λεὺς Ἐπι-  
φανίῳ...  
οἰκουµε-  
νικῶ πα-  
τριάρχῃ.

The argument that M. Harding gathereth of Justinian's words is this : The bishop of Rome had the first place in general councils ; *ergo*, he was an universal bishop. Which argument, what weight it beareth, I leave to M. Harding to consider.

But the emperor Phocas gave this special grant to the see of Rome, that the bishop there should be called "the head of all churches." But M. Harding knoweth this grant was made unto Bonifacius the third, which was bishop in Rome in the year of our Lord six hundred and eight, even at the same very time that Mahomet first began to plant his doctrine in Arabia ; and therefore maketh nothing to this purpose, as being without the compass of six hundred years. Notwithstanding both Platina<sup>16</sup> and Sabellicus<sup>17</sup> say, that Bonifacius hardly and with much ado got the same then to be granted. Howbeit, forasmuch as M. Harding would seem to found his supremacy upon some godly man, it may please thee, good reader, to understand that this Phocas, being but a soldier, by treason and conspiracy laid hands upon his liege lord and master, the emperor Mauritius, and in cruel sort did him to death. The manner whereof was this : first he commanded forth the emperor's youngest son, and caused him to be slain, even in the sight of his father, and so the second, and then the third, and afterward the wife ; Mauriti-  
us heavily looking on, and lamenting, and saying unto God : "O Lord, thou art just ; and just is thy judgment." Last of all, he used the like tyranny upon him

Anno Dom.  
608.

Platina.  
Sabellicus.

Abbas  
Ursperg. in  
Maurit.

[<sup>12</sup> Id. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. xiv. Novell. cxxxi. cap. 2. Tom. II. p. 184.]

[<sup>13</sup> Id. *ibid.* cap. 3 ; where *primæ Justinianæ nostræ patriæ archiepiscopum*, and *Daciæ mediterraneæ et Daciæ Ripensis et Privalis* : Δακίας μεδιτερράνας και Δακίας ριπενσίας, Τριβαλλέας, κ.τ.λ.]

[<sup>14</sup> Id. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. ii. 6. Tom. II. p. 6.]

[<sup>15</sup> Id. Auth. Coll. i. Tit. iii. Novell. iii. Tom. II. p. 6.]

[<sup>16</sup> Bonifacius . . . a Phoca imperatore obtinuit, magna tamen contentione, &c.—Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Bonifac. III. p. 75.]

[<sup>17</sup> Estque id ægre, nec sine multa contentione, apostolicæ sedi datum.—Sabell. Rapsod. Hist. Par. 1509. Ennead. viii. Lib. vi. Pars III. fol. 37, 2.]

Carion. in  
Chronic.

Abbas  
Ursperg.

also, and laid the emperor, his wife, and his children in a heap together<sup>1</sup>. Afterward, during the time of this Phocas, God seemed utterly to withdraw his blessing: France, Spain, Germany, Lombardy, and the greatest part of the east, fell from the empire for ever—such a wreck to the state as never had been seen before<sup>2</sup>. After that<sup>3</sup> he had thus lived, and committed sundry murders and other great mischiefs (*post multa homicidia et alia malefacta*), the people took him, and slew him, and threw him into the fire<sup>4</sup>. This was he that first proclaimed the bishop of Rome to be head of the universal church.

#### M. HARDING. THE NINTH DIVISION.

*Of the doctors what shall I say? Verily, this matter is so often and so commonly reported of them, that their sayings laid together would scantily be comprised within a great volume. The recital of a few shall here give a taste, as it were, of the whole, and so suffice.* [The 4. proof, doctors. H.A. 1564.]

*Irenæus, having much praised the church of Rome, at length uttereth these words, by which the sovereignty thereof is confessed: Ad hanc... ecclesiam propter potentiorē principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui undique sunt fideles<sup>5</sup>: "To this church (of Rome) it is necessary all the church, that is to say, all that be faithful any where, to repair and come together, for the mightier principality of the same," that is to wit, for that it is of mightier<sup>6</sup> power and authority than other churches, and the principalest of all.* Lib. iii. cap. iii.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Touching the doctors, M. Harding findeth himself much troubled with the number of them: yet can he not find any one of them all that calleth the bishop of Rome the universal bishop, or head of the universal church.

Irenæus, Lib.  
iii. cap. iii.

Irenæus, Lib.  
iii. cap. iv.

Irenæus speaketh neither of supremacy, nor of headship of the church, nor of any other universal power. Therefore M. Harding mistelleth his author's tale, and avoucheth that he never meant. For Irenæus in that place writeth only against Valentinus, Cerdon, and Marcion, which, contrary to the doctrine of the apostles, had devised sundry strange heresies and fantasies of their own: for trial whereof, he biddeth them to behold the churches which the apostles had planted. "The church of Ephesus," saith he, "first instructed by St Paul, and afterward continued by St John, is a sufficient witness of the apostles' learning. Polycarpus, being converted, and taught by the apostles, instructed the church of Smyrna; and all the churches of Asia follow it. Yet none of all these churches ever allowed or received your strange doctrine<sup>7</sup>." "Yea, the very wild barbarous nations, that have received the faith of Christ at the apostles' hands only by hearing, without any book or letter, if they should hear of these heresies, they would stop their ears<sup>8</sup>." Thus Irenæus calleth forth these heretics, as we do now our adversaries, to be tried by the doctrine and churches of the apostles. But he saith: *Valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare*

[<sup>1</sup> At Phocas ... imperator efficitur: a quo Mauritius cum uxore ac filiis penes Calcedonem missus decollatur. Verum Mauritius patienter infelicitatem sustinuit, Deum in omnibus invocans, et crebro pronuncians: Justus es, Domine, et rectum judicium tuum.—Chronic. Abbat. Ursperg. Argent. 1537. Hist. Maurit. p. 157. The empress was not put to death at this time.]

[<sup>2</sup> Defecerunt jam prorsus ab imperio Gallia, Hispania, Germania et Lombardi: præterea et Persarum rex Cosroa multas regiones et civitates pariter in Oriente occupavit.—Carion. Chronic. Lib. Par. 1543. Lib. iii. fol. 82. 2.]

[<sup>3</sup> 1565 omits *that*.]

[<sup>4</sup> Phocas ... cum homicidia ceteraque mala multa fecisset in populo... vulgus... apprehensum interfecit, et in igne apud Taurum cremavit.—Chro-

nic. Abbat. Ursperg. Hist. Phoc. p. 158.]

[<sup>5</sup> Iren. Op. Par. 1710. Contr. Hær. Lib. iii. cap. iii. 2. pp. 175, 6. See below, note 10.]

[<sup>6</sup> Greater, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>7</sup> Καὶ Πολύκαρπος δὲ οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων μαθητευθεὶς ... ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ ἀποστόλων κατασπα-  
θεὶς εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐν τῇ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ,  
ἐπίσκοπος ... ταῦτα διδάξας αἰεὶ ... μαρτυροῦσιν  
τούτοις αἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκκλησίαι πᾶσαι, κ.τ.λ.  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐκκλησία ὑπὸ Παύλου μὲν  
τεθεμελιωμένη, Ἰωάννου δὲ παραμείναντος αὐτοῖς...  
μάρτυς ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ τῆς ἀποστόλων παραδόσεως.—  
Id. ibid. 4. pp. 176-8.]

[<sup>8</sup> Hanc fidem qui sine literis crediderunt... quibus si aliquis annunciarerit ea quæ ab hæreticis adinventæ sunt... statim concludentes aures, longo longius fugient.—Id. ibid. cap. iv. 2. p. 178.]

*successiones*<sup>9</sup>: "It would be very long in such a book as this is, to reckon up the successions of all churches." Therefore he resteth specially upon the example of the church of Rome, which he calleth *maximam, antiquissimam, et omnibus cognitam*<sup>10</sup>, "the greatest, most ancient, and known to all men;" and saith: "By the example of this church we confound all perverse doctrine;" and addeth further: *Ad hanc...ecclesiam, propter potentiorum principalem, necesse est omnem ecclesiam convenire, quia in hac semper conservata est ea quæ est ab apostolis traditio*<sup>10</sup>: "Unto this church of Rome every other church must agree." The reason is: "For that in this church the tradition of the apostles hath ever been kept." So the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius commanded all them to be called catholics that follow the faith that St Peter delivered unto<sup>11</sup> the see of Rome<sup>12</sup>. For the apostles' doctrine is the trial and rule of faith. This doctrine at the beginning was exactly observed in Rome without corruption; and therefore was that church in reverence and estimation above others.

But they will reply, Irenæus saith, *Propter potentiorum principalem*. Of these words groweth their error. They dream of a kingdom and principality. But Christ saith to his disciples: "The kings of nations rule over them:" *vos autem non sic*: "but you may not so." And Origen saith: *Qui vocatur...ad episcopatum, non vocatur ad principatum, sed ad servitutem totius ecclesie*<sup>13</sup>: "He that is called to be a bishop is not called to a principality, but unto the service of the whole church." The principality that Irenæus meant was the civil dominion and temporal state of the city of Rome, in which God had then planted the empire of the world, and made all nations subject unto it. And therefore the church of God, being once enkindled there, was more notable and better known unto all nations. As for the bishops of Rome that then were, they had neither lands nor rents, but lived still under the sword in continual persecution; as St Paul saith, "the off-shaving of the world, and the vilest of all people," far from any shew or colour of principality. Yet, that notwithstanding, the church there was called a principal and a chief church above others, because of the dominion and principality of the city. And in this sense *ecclesia principalis* is sometimes used in the old fathers. In the council of Carthage it is written thus: *Placuit ut nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diocesi constitutam se conferre*<sup>14</sup>: "We think it good it be lawful for no man, leaving the principal chair or church, to go to any other church within the diocese." Likewise Paulinus unto Alypius: *Dominus in suis te civibus principalem cum principibus populi sui sede apostolica merito collocavit*<sup>15</sup>: "The Lord hath worthily placed thee in the see apostolic, a principal one among his citizens, with the princes of his people." Thus the principality, that Irenæus meaneth, stood not in the preaching of the gospel, but in the civil estate and worldly dominion; not in the bishop that professed Christ, but in the emperor that was an heathen; not in the church, but in the persecutors and enemies of the church. Therefore M. Harding, reasoning thus, Rome had the power and princehood of the world; *ergo*, the bishop there was head of the universal church, seemeth not well to weigh his own conclusion. For of the same grounds we might well reason thus: Rome now hath lost that power and princehood of the world; *ergo*, the bishop there is not now the head of the universal church.

To be short, if the church of Rome would now faithfully keep the traditions and doctrine of the apostles, we would frankly yield her all that honour that Irenæus giveth her. But she hath shaken off the yoke of Christ, and wilfully

Cod. de Sum.  
Trin. Cunctos  
Popul.  
Sozom. Lib.  
vii. cap. iv.

Matt. xx.  
Luke xxvii.  
Orig. in Esai.  
cap. vi.  
1 Tim. iii.

vii. Quæst. i.  
Placuit.

Inter Epist.  
August.  
Epist. 35.

[<sup>9</sup> Id. ibid. cap. iii. 2. p. 175.]

[<sup>10</sup> Id. Lib. iii. cap. iii. 2. pp. 175, 6; where *maximæ et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognita, potiorum, et convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata, &c.*]

[<sup>11</sup> To, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>12</sup> Grat. Valent. et Theod. Edict. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. i. 1. Tom. II. p. 1. See before, page 80, note 2.

Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700, Lib. vii. cap. iv. p. 575.]

[<sup>13</sup> Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. In Isai. Hom. vi. 1. Tom. III. p. 116; where *non ad principatum vocatur.*]

[<sup>14</sup> Concil. Carthag. v. can. 5. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. vii. Quæst. i. can. 21. col. 830.]

[<sup>15</sup> In ejus te civibus, &c.—Paul. et Theras. ad Alyp. Epist. xxiv. 1. in August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Tom. II. col. 34.]

Prima-  
tus.

Gregor. Lib.  
iv. Epist. 36.

breaketh God's commandments, to the intent to uphold her own traditions. For proof whereof, to pass over an infinite number of other disorders, the bishop there presumeth now to intitle himself "the universal bishop." But St Gregory saith: *Nemo...decessorum meorum hoc tam profano vocabulo uti consensit*<sup>1</sup>: "None of my predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly name." Therefore like as Irenæus saith of his time, "The church of Rome hath ever hitherto kept the tradition and doctrine of the apostles; *ergo*, all churches ought to take her for an example, and to agree unto her;" so may we in contrariwise say of our time: The church of Rome hath now broken the traditions and doctrine of the apostles; *ergo*, no church ought to follow her example, and to agree unto her.

#### M. HARDING. THE TENTH DIVISION.

*Andrew followed our Saviour before that Peter did; et tamen primatum non accepit Andreas, sed Petrus*<sup>2</sup>: "and yet Andrew received not the primacy, but Peter," saith Ambrose. In 2 Cor. xi.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This error holdeth only of the misunderstanding of this word, *primatus*; which, by M. Harding's judgment, must needs signify an universal power over the whole world. But it is easy to be shewed that *primatus*, among the old fathers, is far otherwise used; I mean, for any superiority or preferment before others. And first, to begin with St Ambrose, thus he writeth: *Esau per lentem honorem primatus amisit*<sup>3</sup>: "Esau by a dish of rice-pottage lost the honour of his primacy." In like sort writeth St Augustine: *Esau primatus suos, non propter gallinam, sed propter lenticulam perdidit*<sup>4</sup>. Likewise the council of Chalcedon, in the condemnation of the heretic abbat Eutyches, useth these words: *Decernimus...eum extraneum esse ab omni officio sacerdotali, et a nostra communione, et a primatu monasterii*<sup>5</sup>: "We decree that he shall be removed from his office of priesthood, and from our communion, and from the primacy of his abbey." So the council of Toledo: *Primatu dignitatis...honorabiles habentur in palatio*<sup>6</sup>: "They are counted honourable in the court for the primacy of their dignity." In these places, I reckon, we need not to take *primatus* for an universal or infinite government.

Likewise the same word *primatus* is often taken for the superiority of every of the four patriarchs, and not only for the dominion that is claimed by the bishop of Rome. In the council of Constantinople it is written thus: "*Alexandriæ...episcopi solius orientis curam gerant, servatis honoribus primatus ecclesiæ Antiochenæ*"<sup>7</sup>: "Let the bishops of Alexandria have the charge only of the east, the honour of primacy ever reserved to the church of Antioch." In like manner it is written in the council of Chalcedon: *Episcopus qui in Antiochia constitutus est, et qui in ceteris provinciis, habeant primatus ecclesiæ civitatum ampliorum*<sup>8</sup>: "The bishop that is appointed for Antioch, and likewise others in other provinces, let them have the primacies of the greater cities." So the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian wrote unto Dioscorus the bishop of Alexandria, as it is reported in the council of Chalcedon: *Auctoritatem et primatum tuæ præbemus beatitudini*<sup>9</sup>.

Now, if this word *primatus* must needs signify that power and government that M. Harding fantasieth, then must it follow of necessity, that Esau, Eutyches,

[<sup>1</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xliii. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Epist. xliii. Tom. II. col. 771. See before, page 346.]

[<sup>2</sup> Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Comm. in Epist. 11. ad Cor. cap. xii. v. 11. Tom. II. Append. col. 205.]

[<sup>3</sup> Id. Serm. xxvii. 5. Tom. II. col. 429. This is not genuine.]

[<sup>4</sup> August. Op. Append. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. xiv. Tractat. lxxiii. 1. Tom. III. Pars II. col. 689.]

[<sup>5</sup> Concil. Chalced. Act. i. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. col. 229.]

[<sup>6</sup> Concil. Tolet. vi. cap. 13. in eod. Tom. V. col. 1746; where *primatum dignitate*, and *in palatio honorabiles*.]

[<sup>7</sup> Concil. Constant. i. can. 2. in eod. Tom. II. col. 947; where the primacy of Egypt alone is assigned to the bishop of Alexandria, and of the east to the prelates of the east. See, however, the canon in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Edit. i. Tom. I. p. 411; where it stands as Jewel has cited it.]

[<sup>8</sup> Concil. Chalced. Act. xvi. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. IV. col. 811.]

[<sup>9</sup> Imp. Epist. ad Diosc. in eod. Act. i. in eod. col. 109.]

the bishop of Antioch, and the bishop of Alexandria, had the universal power and government of the whole world. But if it may well be taken for any manner preferment, or pre-eminence, or priority before others, then is M. Harding's argument much acrased<sup>10</sup>, and concludeth not so much as is pretended. Verily Tertullian saith: *Tot ac tantæ ecclesiæ, una est illa ab apostolis prima, ex qua omnes. Sic omnes primæ, et [omnes] apostolicæ, dum unam omnes probant unitatem*<sup>11</sup>: "So many and so great churches are all that first one church erected by the apostles, from whence came all. And so are all churches both the first, and also the apostolic churches, forasmuch as they all allow one truth."

Prima-  
tus.

Tertul. de  
Præscrip.  
contr. Hæret.

As touching St Peter's pre-eminence, Cyprian saith: *Hoc erant alii, quod ... Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis*<sup>12</sup>: "The rest of the disciples were even the same that Peter was, all endued with like fellowship, both of honour and also of power." Even so saith St Ambrose too, and that in the very same place that M. Harding hath alleged: *Inter Petrum et Paulum, quis cui præponatur, incertum est*<sup>13</sup>: "Of Peter and Paul, whether ought to be preferred before other, it is not known." Certainly, if Peter had had the universal sovereignty over all the apostles, he should have had the like over St Paul. And so perhaps M. Harding will say, notwithstanding St Ambrose by plain words denieth it; and although St Gregory say: [*Petrus*] *universalis apostolus non vocatur*<sup>14</sup>: "Peter is not called an universal apostle."

Cypr. de  
Simplicit.  
Prælat.

Gregor. Lib.  
iv. Epist. 32.

Of St Ambrose' words M. Harding reasoneth thus: Peter was the chiefest of the apostles; *ergo*, the pope is head of the universal church. This argument would be better considered; for, as it is, it holdeth but weakly.

#### M. HARDING. THE ELEVENTH DIVISION.

*In the epistle of Athanasius and the bishops of Egypt to Liberius the pope, in which they sue for help against the oppressions of the Arians, we find these words: Hujus rei gratia, universalis vobis a Christo Jesu commissæ est ecclesiæ*<sup>15</sup>, &c.: "Even for this cause the universal church hath been committed to you of Christ Jesus, that you should travail for all, and not be negligent to help every one. For

This epistle  
is forged, and  
not written  
by Athana-  
sius.

*Luc. xi. whiles the strong man being armed keepeth his house, all things that he possesseth are in peace."*

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This epistle under the name of Athanasius, besides that it is vain and childish, and full of needless and idle talk, hath also evident tokens of manifest forgery. For further answer hereunto, I refer myself<sup>16</sup> unto that is before answered unto the epistle written under the name of Athanasius unto Felix.

#### M. HARDING. THE TWELFTH DIVISION.

*Hilarius, speaking much to the extolling of Peter and his (100) successor in that see, saith: Supereminentem beatæ fidei suæ confessione [locum] promeruit*<sup>17</sup>: "That for the confession of his blessed faith, he deserved a place of pre-eminence (101) above all other."

The hundredth  
untruth.  
For Hilary  
speaketh not  
one word of  
Peter's suc-  
cessor.  
The hundred  
and first  
untruth,  
standing in  
false transla-  
tion.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Hilarius, by M. Harding's report, speaketh much to the extolling of St Peter and his successor in that see. Here is first a great untruth. For Hilarius, in that whole place, speaketh not one word neither of Rome, nor of the see, nor of the successor of Peter. Only he commendeth St Peter's faith, wherein he con-

[<sup>10</sup> Acrased: crazed.]

[<sup>11</sup> Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscr. Hæret. 20. p. 238; where *prima*, and *una*.]

[<sup>12</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. pp. 107, 8. See before, page 360.]

[<sup>13</sup> Inter ipsos qui, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1614. Serm. in Fest. SS. Petr. et Paul. Tom. V. col. 142. This is not genuine.]

[<sup>14</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Epist. Lib. v.

Indict. XIII. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 748.]

[<sup>15</sup> Epist. Ægypt. ad Liber. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 353. These epistles of Athanasius are given up as forgeries by Labbe and Cossart.]

[<sup>16</sup> Meself, 1565.]

[<sup>17</sup> Hilar. Op. Par. 1693. De Trin. Lib. vi. 37, col. 904; where *supereminentem gloriam beatæ*.]

De Trin. Lib.  
vi.

fessed that Christ is the Son of the living God, and saith: "*Hæc fides est fundamentum ecclesiæ: super hanc... confessionis petram ecclesiæ edificatio est*<sup>1</sup>: "This faith is the foundation of the church: upon this rock of confession the church<sup>2</sup> is built." And addeth further: "By the confession of his blessed faith he obtained a place of pre-eminence," as M. Harding addeth of his own, "above all other." Wherein also he committeth another untruth. For Hilarius saith only: "He obtained a special place," and speaketh not one word of any other. St Augustine saith: *Petrus pro omnibus dixit, et cum omnibus accepit*<sup>3</sup>: "Peter spake for all the rest, and received promise with all the rest." As the confession was one, so the place of pre-eminence was all one. The pre-eminence was, that they should be the first-fruits of God's saints, the vessels of election, the fathers of the people, the light of the world, the pillars of the church, and the angels of God; that they should sit upon twelve seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel. This was the special pre-eminence of the apostles of Christ, and was equally given unto them all.

August. in  
Johan. Tract.  
xi. et cxxiv.

1 Cor. xv.  
1 Cor. iv.  
Rom. ix.  
Matt. v.  
1 Tim. iii.  
Luke xxii.  
Acts vii.  
Rev. i.  
Rev. ii.

But M. Harding cannot believe there is any place of pre-eminence, but only in Rome; and therefore imagineth that upon this confession Christ said unto Peter: "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona, for thou shalt be pope, and shalt be exalted above thy brethren, and shalt be furnished with all worldly power; and all the princes of the world shall stoop unto thee." This is the pre-eminence that, by M. Harding's fantasy, Christ promised unto St Peter.

Of these words of Hilary M. Harding seemeth to reason thus: Peter obtained a place of pre-eminence; *ergo*, the bishop of Rome is head of the universal church. This argument is open, and sheweth itself.

#### M. HARDING. THE THIRTEENTH DIVISION.

*St Ambrose, confessing himself to believe that the largeness of the Roman empire was by God's providence prepared, that the gospel might have his course, and be spread abroad the better, saith thus of Rome: Quæ tamen per apostolici sacerdotii principatum amplior facta est arce religionis quam solio potestatis*<sup>4</sup>: "*Which for all that hath been advanced more by the chiefly of the apostolic priesthood in the tower of religion than in the throne of temporal power.*"

De Vocatione Gen-  
tium, Lib. ii. cap.  
vi.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These words of St Ambrose be true, and not denied, and further no part of M. Harding's purpose. But here is a whole sentence overhipped<sup>5</sup>, that quite overthroweth his whole purpose. The words that immediately go before are these: *Quamvis gratia christiana non contenta sit eosdem limites habere, quos Roma, multosque jam populorum scepro crucis Christi illi subdiderit, quos armis suis ista non domuit*<sup>6</sup>: "Howbeit the grace of Christ is not content to have the same limits that Rome hath; but hath subdued more nations by the sceptre of Christ's cross, than Rome ever subdued by force of war." If the grace and salvation of God have larger limits, and reach further than the power of Rome, how then claimeth the bishop of Rome his universal power? Many that live without the compass or obedience of Rome are notwithstanding partakers of the grace of Christ. How then is it that Bonifacius the bishop there saith, *Subesse Romano pontifici omni humanæ creature declaramus, dicimus, definimus, ... pronuntiamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis*<sup>7</sup>; "We declare, say, determine, and pronounce, that to be subject unto the bishop of Rome is undoubtedly of the necessity of salvation?"

Extra. de  
Major. et  
Obed. Unam  
sanctam.

[<sup>1</sup> Id. *ibid.* 36, 7. cols. 903, 4; where *ecclesiæ fundamentum est.*] [<sup>2</sup> Christ, 1611.]

[<sup>3</sup> Respondit Petrus, *petra illa*, voce omnium, &c. — August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xi. 5. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 378.

Ecclesia ergo ... *claves* ... accepit in Petro, &c. — Id. *ibid.* cap. xxi. Tractat. cxxiv. 5. col. 822. See also *ibid.* 7. col. 824.]

[<sup>4</sup> Ambros. Op. Par. 1614. De Voc. Gent. Lib.

ii. cap. vi. Tom. IV. col. 543. This treatise, not being genuine, is not included in the Benedictine edition.]

[<sup>5</sup> Overhipped: passed by, skipped over.]

[<sup>6</sup> Id. *ibid.*; where *illa* for *illi*.]

[<sup>7</sup> Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. i. De Major. et Obed. cap. i. col. 212.]

St Ambrose, that the glory of the gospel of Christ might the better appear, compareth it with the power and puissance of the empire of Rome, which then overreached a great part of the world. One said: *Romanos rerum dominos*. St Ambrose saith: *Roma principatum et caput obtinet nationum*<sup>8</sup>: "Rome hath the empire and sovereignty of all nations." Thus he seemeth to compare the church with the city; the power of the gospel with the power of the empire; the sceptre of the cross with the sceptres of the prince; and the glory of the one side with the glory of the other. Although Rome were glorious for the empire, yet was she much more glorious for the gospel. The emperor there with his power subdued nations; but the gospel of Christ subdued the emperor. Constantinus, Theodosius, Valentinianus, and other emperors of Rome, with all their power, confessed themselves to be subjects unto Christ. And St Ambrose writeth unto Valentinian the emperor: *Quid...honorificentius, quam ut imperator dicatur filius ecclesiæ*<sup>9</sup>? "What can be more honourable, than that the emperor be called a child of the church?" This was the whole and only meaning of St Ambrose. And in that sense St Augustine saith: *Ostendatur mihi Romæ in honore tanto templum Romuli, in quanto [ego] ibi ostendo memoriam Petri. In Petro quis honoratur, nisi ille defunctus pro nobis? Sumus enim Christiani, non Petriani*<sup>10</sup>: "Shew me the temple of Romulus in Rome, in so great honour as I will shew you there the memory of Peter. And who is honoured in Peter, but he that died for us? For we are christian men, and not Peter's men." So likewise Chrysostom: *Contigit primum Antiochiæ discipulos appellari Christianos. Hoc autem civitatum quæ sunt in mundo cunctarum habet nulla, nec ipsa Romuli civitas*<sup>11</sup>: "It chanced that the disciples in this city of Antioch were first called Christians. Of all the cities that be in the world, none ever had this gift, no, not the city of Romulus." Therefore St Ambrose's meaning is, that Rome was never so noble before for the empire of the world, as it was afterward for the gospel of Christ. But St Ambrose saith, *Apostolici sacerdotii principatum*: "The principality of the apostolic priesthood." With which words worldly eyes may soon be dazzled. But M. Harding knoweth that St Peter being in Rome had no manner shew or state of princehood. His whole power was spiritual, and stood only in the preaching of the gospel, with which armour God is able to pull down kings and princes to the obedience of his Christ. Thus saith God unto Hieremy: *Constitui te super gentes et regna*: "I have set thee over nations and kingdoms." And St Peter, speaking generally unto all christian people, saith: *Vos estis regale sacerdotium*: "You are that kingly priesthood." This principality and tower of religion was not only in Rome, but also in every place where the name of Christ was received. Albeit I grant, both for the multitude of idols that there had been honoured, and also for the nobility of the empire, the victory of Christ in Rome appeared most glorious.

Now let us consider M. Harding's reasoning: The state of Rome was more famous for the gospel than ever it had been before for the empire; *ergo*, the pope was called the head of the universal church. This argument is such as needeth no answer.

#### M. HARDING. THE FOURTEENTH DIVISION.

*Lib. i. contra 2. Epistolas Pelagianorum.*

St Augustine, in his 162nd epistle, saith: In ecclesia Romana semper apostolicæ cathedræ viguit principatus<sup>12</sup>: "The primacy or principality of the apostolic chair hath evermore been in force in the Roman church." The same St Augustine, speaking to Bonifacius bishop of Rome: "This care," saith he, complaining of the Pelagians, "is common to us all that have the office of a bishop, albeit therein thou thyself hast the pre-eminence over

*Ad Bonifacium, cap. i.*

*Quamvis ipse in eo præeminet ceteris fastigio speculæ pastorali.*

<sup>8</sup> In urbe Roma, quæ, &c.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1614. Serm. in Fest. SS. Petr. et Paul. Tom. V. col. 142.]

<sup>9</sup> Id. Op. Par. 1686-90. Serm. contr. Auxent. de Basil. Trad. 36. Tom. II. col. 873; where *ecclesiæ filius esse dicatur*.]

<sup>10</sup> August. Op. Enarr. in Psalm. xlv. 23. Tom. IV. col. 394.]

<sup>11</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Pop. Ant. Hom. xvii. Tom. II. p. 176.]

<sup>12</sup> August. Op. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. 7. Tom. II. col. 91. See below, page 371, note 15.]



The hundred and second untruth, standing in the false translation and corruption of St Augustine's words.

*all, being on the top of the pastoral watch-tower<sup>1</sup>." In another place he hath these words: Ceterum magis vereri debeo, ne in Petrum contumeliosus existam. Quis enim nescit, illum apostolatus principatum cuilibet episcopatui præferendum<sup>2</sup>? "But I ought rather to be afraid, lest I be reproachful toward Peter. For who is he that knoweth not that that principality of apostleship is to be preferred before any bishopric that is?" Another most evident place he hath in his book De Utilitate Credendi ad Honoratum: Cum tamen<sup>3</sup> auxilium Dei, &c.<sup>4</sup>: "Whereas," saith he, "we see so great help of God, so great profit and fruit, shall we stand in doubt whether we may hide ourselves in the lap of that church, which (though heretics bark at it in vain round about, condemned partly by the judgment of the people themselves, partly by the sadness of councils, and partly by the majesty of miracles even to the confession of mankind,) for<sup>5</sup> the apostolic see, by successions of bishops, hath obtained the top or highest degree of authority? To which church if we will not give and grant the primacy, soothly it is a point either of most high wickedness, or of headlong arrogancy."*

*Lib. ii. de Baptismo contra Donatistas, cap. xvii.*

*Culmen auctoritatis obtinuit. Cui primas dare nolle, vel summae profecto impietatis est, vel præcipit arrogantiæ.*

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

These places of St Augustine may soon be answered. For here is neither universal bishop, nor head of the universal church, nor superiority or dominion over all others, nor any other word tending to that end. M. Harding knoweth that St Augustine was present at the council of Carthage, and gave his consent, that "the bishop of the first see should not be called neither the prince or chief of priests, nor the highest priest, nor by any other like title<sup>6</sup>."

He knoweth also that St Augustine afterward confirmed the same in a council holden at Hippo Regius in his own diocese<sup>7</sup>. Likewise he knoweth that the same St Augustine decreed among other bishops, to the number of two hundred and seventeen, in the council of Africa, that it should not be lawful for any man of those countries to seek for aid over the seas, and to appeal to the bishop of Rome; and that whosoever so appealed should stand excommunicate<sup>8</sup>; and so utterly condemned that infinite dominion, and universal power, that so many have since dreamed of. Again, writing upon the gospel of St John, he saith: *Petrus erat oculus in capite*<sup>9</sup>: "Peter was an eye in the head." He saith not, Peter was the head. In these words appeareth plainly St Augustine's certain and undoubted judgment touching this matter. The rest that is here brought in standeth only upon M. Harding's gathering.

It is true that as well St Augustine, as also other godly fathers, rightly and well in old times yielded great reverence to the see of Rome, both for the antiquity of the church, and for the honour and memory of St Peter, and for the constancy of the holy martyrs that there had suffered, and also for the purity of religion, which was preserved there a long time without spot, and might be a standard unto others. But the greatest increase of outward estimation in the world unto that see was the imperial seat and presence of the prince, as notably appeareth by the first council of Constantinople<sup>10</sup>. For these causes St Augustine saith: "The see of Rome had the highest place and chief pre-eminence above others."

Concil. Carth. iii. cap. 26.

Concil. Hipp. cap. 27.

Concil. Aphr. cap. 22.

August. in Johan. Tract. xiii.

Concil. Const. i. cap. 5. Dist. 22. Constantinopolitanæ.

[<sup>1</sup> Id. Contr. Du. Epist. Pelag. Lib. i. cap. i. 2. Tom. X. col. 412. See below, page 371, note 18.]

[<sup>2</sup> Id. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. ii. 2. Tom. IX. cols. 96, 7.]

[<sup>3</sup> Tantum, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>4</sup> Cum igitur tantum auxilium Dei, tantum profectum fructumque videamus, dubitabimus nos ejus ecclesiæ condere gremio, quæ usque ad confessionem generis humani ab apostolica sede per successiones episcoporum, frustra hæreticis circumlatrantibus, et partim plebis ipsius judicio, partim conciliorum gravitate, partim etiam miraculorum majestate damnatis, culmen, &c.? Cui nolle primas dare, vel &c.—Id. Lib. de Util. Credend. cap. xvii. 35. Tom. VIII. col. 69.]

[<sup>5</sup> From, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>6</sup> Concil. Carthag. iii. cap. 26. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 428. See before, page 355.]

[<sup>7</sup> Concil. Hippon. Abbrev. cap. 27. in eod. Tom. I. p. 434.]

[<sup>8</sup> Concil. Afric. cap. 92. in eod. Tom. I. p. 517. See before, page 355.]

[<sup>9</sup> Petrus in corpore oculus est.—August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. In Johan. Evang. cap. iii. Tractat. xiv. 17. Tom. III. Pars ii. col. 399.]

[<sup>10</sup> Constantinopolitanæ civitatis episcopum habere oportet primatus honorem post Romanum episcopum, propterea quod sit nova Roma.—Concil. Constant. i. cap. 5. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Prim. Pars, Dist. xxii. can. 3. col. 102.]

Perhaps M. Harding will press me further with this word *principatus*, which he expoundeth "the principality." Howbeit, I believe he will not say *principatus* signifieth an universal power or supreme government; and so his advantage of this word is not so great. Verily *princeps*, in the Latin tongue, is often used for a man that for his virtue or room, or any singular quality, is to be had in estimation above others. So Cicero saith: *Socrates princeps philosophorum: Gravitate dicendi princeps Plato: Princeps orbis terrarum Pompeius*. Like as also Chrysostom saith: *Caput prophetarum Elias*<sup>11</sup>: "Elias the head of the prophets." In these places *princeps* is taken, not for a prince or governor, but only for a man that for his qualities is to be esteemed above the rest. And in this sense St Augustine calleth the see of Rome, as it was in his time, *principatus*<sup>12</sup> *sedis apostolicæ*, and not in respect of any supreme government; for that he himself in the council of Africa, as it is already proved, utterly denied him. I grant, as St Augustine saith, the bishop of Rome truly and diligently doing the part of a bishop, he, that then would have denied him the chief pre-eminence for the respects above touched, had been wicked or arrogant. But the same bishop of Rome now claiming to himself the title of universal bishop, as St Gregory saith, "is the forerunner of antichrist<sup>13</sup>," and the consenting to the same, as the same Gregory saith, "is the renouncing and forsaking of the faith<sup>14</sup>."

De Natura  
Deorum.  
De Oratore.  
Pro Domo  
sua.  
Chrysost. ad  
Rom. Hom.  
18.

Gregor. Lib.  
vi. Epist. 30.  
et Lib. iv.  
Epist. 39.

I could further say, that M. Harding in these authorities of St Augustine hath left out and transposed what he thought good; and so hath shewed no simple dealing. In the first place, St Augustine's words be these: *Episcopus videbat se Romanæ ecclesiæ, in qua semper apostolicæ cathedræ vixit principatus, . . . per communicatorias literas esse conjunctum*<sup>15</sup>: "He saw himself by letters of conference to be joined with the church of Rome, in which church the chief pre-eminence of the apostolic see had ever flourished." St Augustine saith, the bishop there was joined with the church of Rome, not by way of obedience or subjection, but by letters of conference; wherein is implied an equality or a fellowship. And afterward in the same epistle St Augustine saith that Miltiades the bishop of Rome, with certain other bishops, heard the matter between Cæcilianus and Donatus a Casis Nigris<sup>16</sup>, not by any his universal or supreme power, as M. Harding imagineth, but by special commission from the emperor<sup>17</sup>. And so was the bishop of Rome the emperor's delegate; and that, not in any sovereign authority, but fellow-like, and equally joined with other bishops; and that afterward the same cause, upon complaint and misliking of Donatus, was by the emperor taken out of the bishop of Rome's hands, and by a new commission was put over to the hearing of the bishop of Arle in France<sup>18</sup>. But where was then the bishop of Rome's supreme government?

August.  
Epist. 162.

In the second place, M. Harding hath notably falsified both St Augustine's words in the Latin, and also his own translation in the English. St Augustine's words be these: *Communis est nobis omnibus, qui fungimur episcopatus officio, quamvis ipse in eo præemineas celsiore fastigio, specula pastoralis*<sup>19</sup>. Which words M. Harding by wilful depravation hath altered thus: *Celsiore fastigio specula pastoralis*; and so hath left the adjective *communis* without a substantive, and the principal verb, *est*, without a nominative case; and, to serve his turn, hath caused St Augustine to speak false Latin. This place of St Augustine may be Englished thus: "The pastoral watch-tower is common to us all that bear the office of

August. Lib.  
i. contra  
Epist. Pelag.  
cap. i.

[<sup>11</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In Epist. ad Rom. Hom. xviii. Tom. IX. p. 636.]

[<sup>12</sup> Principatum, 1565.]

[<sup>13</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xxxiii. Tom. II. col. 881.]

[<sup>14</sup> Id. Lib. v. Indict. xiii. Ad Sabin. Diac. Epist. xix. col. 747.]

[<sup>15</sup> August. Op. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. 7. Tom. II. col. 91; where *cum se videret et Romanæ*, &c.]

[<sup>16</sup> He was bishop of Casæ Nigræ.]

[<sup>17</sup> ... judicante Melchiade tunc Romanæ urbis

episcopo cum collegis suis, quos ad preces Donatarum miserat imperator.—Id. ibid. 4. col. 90. This passage however, it will be seen, precedes that previously cited.]

[<sup>18</sup> ... post apud Arelatum memoratum imperatorem eandem causam diligentius examinandam terminandamque curasse.—Id. ibid. The Benedictine editors attach the following note to the passage: In concilio i. Arelatensi, anno 314.]

[<sup>19</sup> Id. Contr. Du. Epist. Pelag. Lib. i. cap. i. 2. Tom. X. col. 412; where *communisque sit omnibus nobis*, and *in ea*. It appears by a note that some editions exhibit Harding's reading.]

bishops: albeit thy pre-eminence is greater, as sitting in the higher room." M. Harding's translation is thus: "Thou thyself hast the pre-eminence over all, being in the top of the pastoral tower." Wherein these words, "over all," are not found in St Augustine, but only devised at pleasure by M. Harding. In the third place, besides other corruption, he dissembleth the words that St Augustine in the very same place allegeth out of St Cyprian, very well serving to this purpose. The words be these: *Nec Petrus . . . vendicavit sibi aliquid . . . aut arroganter assumpsit, ut diceret se primatum tenere, et obtemperari [sibi] a novellis et posteris . . . potius debere*<sup>1</sup>: "Neither did Peter challenge any thing, or proudly presume of himself to say that he had the primacy, and that therefore others as novices and underlings should be obedient unto him." All these things M. Harding dissembleth; and so, to furnish out his matter, and to smoothe his reader, he leaveth out what he listeth.

De Baptis.  
contr. Donat.  
Lib. ii. cap. i.  
Cypr. ad  
Quirinum.

#### M. HARDING. THE FIFTEENTH DIVISION.

*The notable saying of St Hierome may not be let pass: Ecclesiæ salus a summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet; cui si non exsors quædam* *Contra Luciferianos.* *et ab omnibus eminens detur potestas, tot in ecclesiis efficiuntur*<sup>2</sup> *schismata, quot sacerdotes*<sup>3</sup>: "The safety of the church hangeth of the worship of the high priest (103) (he meaneth the pope, Peter's successor), to whom if there be not given a power peerless, and surmounting all others in the churches, we shall have so many schisms as there be priests."

The hundred  
and third  
untruth.  
For<sup>4</sup> St Hierome  
meaneth not the  
pope, but  
any other  
several  
bishop.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

This place of St Hierome is notably well noted. But if it might have pleased M. Harding to note but the two lines that went before, he should soon have seen that this note was not worth the noting. For it is certain that St Hierome there speaketh generally of all bishops, and not one word specially of the bishop of Rome. He entreateth there of the order of confirmation, which, he saith, by the usage of the church, for quietness and unity, in many places was ministered only by the bishop, and not by any other priest, and that, he saith, *ad honorem magis sacerdotii, quam ad necessitatem legis*<sup>5</sup>, "more for the honour of the state of bishops, than for the necessity of the law." And this, as I said, he speaketh generally of all bishops. Immediately after he addeth these words that M. Harding here allegeth: *Ecclesiæ salus, &c.*: "The safety of the church hangeth of the dignity of the high priest." Herein St Hierome agreeth thoroughly with St Cyprian, that is, "that, for avoiding of sects and schisms, one high priest, that is to say, one bishop, was by good policy appointed in every diocese<sup>6</sup>, to whose doings and doctrine the rest of the clergy should conform themselves." And by this order the unity of the church was well preserved. St Cyprian saith: *Ecclesia . . . coherentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulatur*<sup>7</sup>: "The church is joined together by the consent of bishops agreeing in one." So saith St Hierome: *Singuli ecclesiarum episcopi, singuli archiepiscopi, singuli archidiaconi, et omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis rectoribus nititur*<sup>8</sup>: "There be several bishops of churches, several archbishops, and several archdeacons; and all the ecclesiastical order is stayed by the governors." And the gloss thereupon saith thus: *Hieronymus probat hic, . . . plures prælatos non debere esse in una ecclesia; sed singulos . . . debere esse in singulis ecclesiis*<sup>9</sup>: "St Hierome here proveth that there may not be two

Cypr. Lib. iv.  
Epist. 9.

Hieron. ad  
Nepotian.  
vii. Quæst. 1.  
In apibus.

[<sup>1</sup> Id. De Bapt. contr. Donatist. Lib. II. 2. Tom. IX. col. 96. Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Quint. Epist. lxxi. pp. 194, 5; in both which places we find *oportere*.]

[<sup>2</sup> Efficientur, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>3</sup> Hieron. Op. Par 1693-1706. Adv. Lucifer. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 295; where in *summi*, and *efficientur*.]

[<sup>4</sup> 1565 omits *for*.]

[<sup>5</sup> Id. *ibid.*; where *potius* for *magis*, and *ad legem necessitatis*.]

[<sup>6</sup> Division, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>7</sup> Cypr. Op. ad Florent. Pup. Epist. lxxi. p. 168. See before, page 349, note 8.]

[<sup>8</sup> Hieron. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. VII. Quæst. i. can. 41. col. 837; where we find *archipresbyteri*. Op. Ad Rust. Mon. Epist. xcv. Tom. IV. Pars II. col. 775.]

[<sup>9</sup> Gloss. in eod. *ibid.*; where *eadem*, and *singuli* ... *debent esse*.]

or more bishops in one church; but that a several bishop must be in every several church." To the like purpose St Hierome writeth upon the epistle unto Titus: *Hæc propterea, ut ostenderemus, apud veteres eosdem fuisse presbyteros, quos et episcopos; paulatim vero, ut dissensionum plantaria evellerentur, ad unum omnem sollicitudinem esse delatam*<sup>10</sup>: "These things have I spoken, to the intent to shew that in old time priests and bishops were all one; and that in process, and by degrees, the whole charge was brought unto one man (he meaneth within one diocese), that the occasions of dissension might be rooted out." And therefore, as it is before declared, St Cyprian saith: "Hereof spring schisms, for that the priest of the Lord is not obeyed"<sup>11</sup>. And therefore also saith St Hierome: "Unless the bishop have a special power above others, there will be as many schisms in the church as there be priests"<sup>12</sup>. But all these things, thus uttered generally of all bishops, M. Harding wresteth and forceth only unto one bishop; and thus, that is general he maketh special, and that is special he maketh general, at his pleasure; and, as before he misreported St Cyprian, even so doth he now likewise misreport St Hierome, and so shoreth up a ruinous matter with the falsification of his doctors.

Hieron. ad  
Titum, cap. i.

Cypr. Lib. i.  
Epist. 3.  
Hieron.  
contra  
Luciferian.

Amphilochius.

Lact. Lib. iv.  
cap. xxx.

But M. Harding will say, St Hierome useth these special words, *summus sacerdos*, "the highest priest;" which cannot otherwise be taken, but only of the pope. And therefore he gave this note with a special parenthesis: ("He meaneth the pope, Peter's successor.") Yet M. Harding knoweth there is no such necessity wherefore these words should be so<sup>13</sup> taken. His own Amphilochius calleth St Basil *summus sacerdos*<sup>14</sup>; and yet he knoweth St Basil was never bishop of Rome. Every bishop within his own diocese may be called the highest priest, in respect of other priests that live under him. And in this sense Lactantius seemeth to call every bishopric *maximum sacerdotium*<sup>15</sup>.

Lact. Lib. iv.  
cap. xxx.

As for the bishop of Rome, St Hierome advanceth<sup>16</sup> him not so high as M. Harding would seem, but rather maketh him equal and level with all other bishops. For thus he writeth unto Evagrius: *Si auctoritas queritur, orbis major est urbe. Ubique fuerit episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, &c., ejusdem [est] meriti, ejusdem... sacerdotii*<sup>17</sup>: "If we seek for authority, the world is greater than the city of Rome. Wheresoever there is a bishop, whether he be at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, or at Rhegium, &c., he is of like worthiness, and of like priesthood."

Hieron. ad  
Evag.

Here St Hierome specially and by name reckoneth the bishop of Rome among others, and maketh him equal to<sup>18</sup> the rest. And again he saith: *Quid mihi proferens unius urbis consuetudinem*<sup>19</sup>? "What shewest thou me the order or manner of one city?" So much St Hierome seemeth to set by the see of Rome. And to this end St Cyprian saith: *Hoc erant... ceteri apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi et honoris et potestatis*<sup>20</sup>: "The rest of the apostles were the same that Peter was, all endued with like fellowship, both of honour, and also of power." And so St Cyprian calleth Cornelius bishop of Rome "his brother"<sup>21</sup>; and Cyrillus calleth Cælestinus, likewise bishop of Rome, "his fellow-servant"<sup>22</sup>. And therefore when I hear M. Harding, by his strange interpretation, give unto the bishop of Rome "a power peerless, and surmounting all others," methinketh I hear doctor Durandus say: *Hic est Melchisedech, cujus sacerdotium non est ceteris comparatum:... [ille] est caput omnium pontificum, a quo illi, tanquam a capite membra, descendunt, et de cujus plenitudine omnes accipiunt*<sup>23</sup>: "This is Melchise-

Cypr. de  
Simplicit.  
Prælat.

Cypr. Lib. i.  
Epist. 3.  
Cyril. in  
Epist. ad  
Cælest.

Durand.  
Lib. ii.

[<sup>10</sup> Hieron. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 413.]

[<sup>11</sup> Cypr. Op. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 129. See before, page 347, note 13.]

[<sup>12</sup> See before, page 372, note 3.]

[<sup>13</sup> So be, 1565.]

[<sup>14</sup> Βασίλειος, ὁ πάνσοφος ἀρχιερεὺς ... μέγας ἱεράρχης Βασίλειος.—Amphiloch. Op. Par. 1644. In Vit. S. Basil. pp. 156, 224. See also p. 225.]

[<sup>15</sup> Sed ii quorum fides fuit lubrica... augendis opibus et honori studentes, affectabant maximum sacerdotium.—Lactant. Op. Lut. Par. 1748. Div. Inst. Lib. iv. cap. xxx. Tom. I. p. 353.]

[<sup>16</sup> Avanceth, 1565.]

[<sup>17</sup> Hieron. Op. Ad Evag. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 803.]

[<sup>18</sup> Unto, 1565.]

[<sup>19</sup> Cypr. Op. De Unit. Eccles. pp. 107, 8. See before, page 360.]

[<sup>20</sup> Id. ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 126.]

[<sup>21</sup> ... οὐδὲν ὅλως οὔτε πρὸς τὴν σὴν θεοσέβειαν γέγραφα ... οὔτε μὴ πρὸς ἑτέρου τῶν συλλειτουργῶν.—Cyril. Alex. Op. Lut. 1638. Ad Cælest. Epist. Tom. V. Pars ii. p. 36.]

[<sup>22</sup> Durand. Rat. Div. Offic. Lugd. 1565. Lib. ii. cap. i. 17. fol. 46; where *caput est*.]

\*Extravag.  
Johan. xxii.  
Cum inter.  
In Glossa.  
Impr. Lugd.  
anno 1556. et  
antea Lugd.  
anno 1513.  
Gregor. Lib.  
iv. Epist. 76.

dech, whose priesthood is not comparable unto others. He is the head of all bishops, from whom all they grow, as members grow from the head, and of whose fulness all they receive." Methinketh I hear that is written by the canonists: \**Dominus Deus noster papa*<sup>1</sup>: "Our Lord God the pope." And whereas he further saith, the safety of the church hangeth of the high priest, whom he supposeth to be the bishop of Rome, verily St Gregory saith: *Quando is, qui appellatur universalis, cadet, universa ecclesia a statu suo corrui*<sup>2</sup>: "Whensoever he that is called the universal bishop falleth, the whole church from her state must needs fall to the ground."

#### M. HARDING. THE SIXTEENTH DIVISION.

There is an epistle of Theodoretus bishop of Cyrus extant in Greek, written to Leo bishop of Rome, wherein we find a worthy witness of the primacy of the see apostolic. His words may thus be Englished: "If Paul," saith he, "the preacher of the<sup>3</sup> truth, and trumpet of the Holy Ghost, ran to Peter to bring from him a determination and declaration for them who at Antioch were in argument and contention concerning living after Moses' law; much more we, who are but small and vile, shall run unto your throne apostolic, that of you we may have salve for the sores of the churches." There follow these words: *Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν τὸ πρωτεύειν ἀρμόττει*: id est, Per omnia enim vobis convenit primas tenere. That is to say: "For in all things (pertaining to faith or religion, so he meaneth) it is meet that you have the chief doings, or that you have the primacy. For your high seat or throne is endued with many prerogatives and privileges<sup>4</sup>."

πολλοῖς  
γὰρ ὁ  
υμῆτερος  
θρόνος  
κοσμεῖται  
πλεονεκτι-  
μασι.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here might I say, that this Theodoret was a deadly enemy of St Cyrillus, and a Nestorian heretic, and condemned by that name in the general council of Constantinople, as appeareth by Evagrius<sup>5</sup>, Nicephorus<sup>6</sup>, and others. Verily, although he were brought into the council of Chalcedon by the authority and favour of the emperor Martianus, yet the bishops of Illyricum, Egypt, and Palestine, cried out against him: *Fides perit: Istum canones ejiciunt: Mitte hunc foras, magistrum Nestorii: Nolite istum dicere episcopum: Non est episcopus: Impugnatorem Dei foras mitte: Hæreticum foras mitte: Judæum foras mitte*<sup>7</sup>: "The faith is lost: This man the canons throw out: Out with this fellow: Out with Nestorius' schoolmaster: Call him not bishop: He is no bishop: Out with him that fighteth against God: Out with this heretic: Out with this Jew."

But I will not use this advantage. I judge rather that this Theodoretus, as he was a man of deep learning and great renown, so he was also a careful and godly bishop. As for the Nestorian heresy, he defied it in the council of Constantinople, and openly pronounced: *Anathema Nestorio*<sup>8</sup>: "Accursed be Nestorius."

Concil. Const.  
Act. viii.

In these words that M. Harding hath here alleged, he saith nothing that of our part is denied. Certainly here is not one word, neither of the head of the church, nor of universal bishop.

But if Theodoretus think St Paul went up to Hierusalem, either to visit Peter as the head of the church, as M. Harding seemeth to guess, or else to be better resolved of his doctrine, as standing in some doubt whether he had thitherto

[<sup>1</sup> Extrav. Joan. XXII. ad calc. Sext. Decretal. Par. 1685. Tit. xiv. Gloss. in cap. 4. col. 153. See before, page 96, note 4.]

[<sup>2</sup> *Universa ergo ecclesia ... a statu suo corrui*, quando is, &c.—Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xiiii. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. Tom. II. col. 749.]

[<sup>3</sup> H. A. 1564, omits the.]

[<sup>4</sup> *Εἰ Παῦλος τῆς ἀληθείας ὁ κήρυξ, ἡ τοῦ ἀγίου Πνεύματος σάλπιγξ, πρὸς τὸν μέγαν ἔδραμε Πέτρον, ὥστε τοῖς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ περὶ τῆς κατὰ νόμον πολιτείας ἀμφισβητοῦσι παρ' αὐτοῦ κομίσαι τὴν λύσιν, πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς οἱ εὐτέλεις καὶ σμικροί,*

*πρὸς τὸν ἀποστολικὸν ὑμῶν τρέχονεν θρόνον, ὥστε παρ' ὑμῶν λαβεῖν τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἔλκεσι θεραπείαν. διὰ κ. τ. λ.*—Theodor. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Ad Leon. Epist. cxiii. Tom. III. p. 984.]

[<sup>5</sup> Evagr. Scholast. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xxxviii. pp. 412, &c.]

[<sup>6</sup> Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. xvii. cap. xxvii. Tom. II. p. 776.]

[<sup>7</sup> Concil. Calched. Act. i. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. IV. cols. 101, 4.]

[<sup>8</sup> Id. Act. viii. in eod. col. 622. The council of Chalcedon seems to be that intended by the author.]

preached the truth or no; then doth he quite overthrow St Paul's whole meaning. For it is plain that St Paul knoweth not Peter for his head, but, contrariwise, taketh him as his equal. For thus he saith: *Videbant mihi concreditum esse evangelium præputi, sicut Petro circumcisionis*: "They saw that I was put in trust with the gospel over the heathens, even as Peter was over the Jews." And again: "James, Peter, and John, that seemed to be the pillars, gave unto me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship." Here we see between Peter and Paul a covenant of equality, and neither superiority nor subjection. Gal. ii. Dextras dederunt societatis.

And therefore St Ambrose saith, as it is before noted: *Inter Petrum et Paulum, quis cui præponatur, incertum est*<sup>9</sup>: "Between Peter and Paul, whether ought to be preferred before other, I cannot tell." Ambros. Sermon. 66.

Neither went he up to be better informed of the truth, as being doubtful of his own doctrine. All his reasoning, and the whole drift of that epistle, is to the contrary. For thus lie his words: "I never conferred with flesh and blood (that is to say, with any man), neither did I return to Hierusalem to them that had been apostles before me." "I received not the gospel that I have preached of any man, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." "If any preach unto you any other gospel than that I have preached, accursed be he." "They that were in chief regard among the apostles, ... touching the truth of the gospel, added nothing unto me." "I withstood Peter, even in the face, and spake unto him before all the people; for he walked not uprightly, but was worthy to be blamed." Hereby it may sufficiently appear, that St Paul's going to Hierusalem was not to bring from Peter a determination of any matter of truth that lay in question, as it is here supposed. And therefore St Hierome saith: *Ad hoc ivit Hierosolimam, ut videret apostolum (Petrum) non discendi studio, qui et ipse eundem prædicationis haberet auctorem; sed honoris priori apostolo deferendi*<sup>10</sup>: "Paul went to Hierusalem, to the intent to see Peter the apostle, not to learn any thing of him, as having the same author of his preaching that Peter had, but to shew reverence unto him that had been apostle before him." And again: *Propterea quindecim ponit dies, ut ostendat non fuisse grande tempus, quo potuerit aliquid a Petro discere: ut ad illum sensum, a quo cæpit, cuncta referantur, se non ab homine doctum esse, sed a Deo*<sup>11</sup>: "Therefore he nameth fifteen days, to shew that he had no long time that he might learn any thing of Peter; to the intent to drive all his words to that sense wherewith he began, that he was taught not by man, but by God." Likewise saith Hugo Cardinalis, a barbarous writer: *Secundum literam instruimur de mutua dilectione, quam deberent habere prædicatores et doctores; quia Paulus venit videre Petrum, quoniam bona audierat de ejus doctrina*<sup>12</sup>: "According to the letter, we are here instructed of mutual love, which ought to be between all preachers and doctors. For Paul went to visit Peter, because he had heard good of his doctrine." But what can be so plain as that is written by Chrysostom touching the same? His words be these: *Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro, nec ejus egebat voce: sed honore par erat illi: nihil enim hic dicam amplius*<sup>13</sup>: "Paul had no need of Peter; neither needed he to be taught at his mouth; but he was equal to him in honour. I will say no more." And immediately after: *Sicut nunc multi fratrum nostrorum ad viros sanctos proficiscuntur, eodem affectu tunc Paulus ad Petrum profectus est*<sup>14</sup>: "Like as now-a-days many of our brethren go to holy men, so then with like affection went Paul unto Peter." Acts xv. Gal. i. Gal. ii. Hieron. in Epist. ad Gal. i. cap. Hieron. eodem loco. Gal. i. Hugo Cardinalis in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i.

As for the rest, that the bishop of Rome had an estimation, and a credit, and a prerogative before others, it is not denied. For of the four patriarchs he had the first place, both in council and out of council, and therefore the greatest authority and direction of matters in all assemblies. And this was τὸ πρωτεύειν, "to have the first or highest room;" and πλεονέκτημα, "a dignity or privilege:" which words M. Harding hath noted in the margin.

[<sup>9</sup> Ambros. Op. Par. 1614. Sermon. in Fest. SS. Petr. et Paul. Tom. V. col. 142. See before, page 367, note 12.]

[<sup>10</sup> Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. Lib. i. in Epist. ad Gal. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 236; where *ad hoc isse ut videret.*]

[<sup>11</sup> Id. *ibid.*]

[<sup>12</sup> Hugon. de S. Charo Op. Col. Agrip. 1621. Epist. ad Gal. cap. i. Tom. VII. fol. 149.]

[<sup>13</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. In cap. i. Epist. ad Gal. Comm. Tom. X. p. 677.]

[<sup>14</sup> Id. *ibid.*]

Here M. Harding seemeth to reason thus :

The bishop of Rome had a privilege or dignity above others ;

*Ergo*, he was an universal bishop.

This argument concludeth a *genere ad speciem affirmative* ; and, as M. Harding knoweth, was never allowed in any schools.

Likewise he seemeth to say :

Paul went up to Hierusalem to visit Peter ;

*Ergo*, the bishop of Rome is head of the church.

Such weak gear M. Harding hath brought forth ; and yet with his furniture of words it seemeth somewhat. By the same reason he may prove that St James also was head of the church, as well as Peter : for Paul saith he visited him as well as Peter. And St Hierome saith of himself, that he purposely went to Alexandria to see Didymus<sup>1</sup> ; yet was not Didymus therefore head of the church.

Gal. i.  
Hieron. in  
Proœmio in  
Epist. ad  
Ephesios.  
Hugo Cardin.  
in Epist. ad  
Gal.

Indeed Hugo Cardinalis saith : “ Hereof it first began that bishops and archbishops made a vow to visit the pope, because Paul went to Hierusalem to see Peter ;” and saith further that “ custom hath added to the same this commandment, written in the Deuteronomy : *Non apparebis in conspectu Domini vacuus*<sup>2</sup> : ‘ Thou shalt not appear in the presence of the Lord without somewhat.’ ”

Deut. xvi.

M. Harding, tripping, as he saith, so nicely over the doctors, hath not yet once touched that thing that was looked for, and that he hath only and with such affiance taken in hand. For, notwithstanding a great pomp of words, and the names of many holy fathers, yet hath he not hitherto shewed that the bishop of Rome, within the space of six hundred years after Christ, was ever called the universal bishop, or the head of the universal church ; which thing if he could have shewed, I believe he would not so lightly have tripped it over.

#### M. HARDING. THE SEVENTEENTH DIVISION.

Now let us see whether this chief authority may be found necessary by reason. That a multitude, which is in itself one, cannot continue one, unless it be contained and holden in by one, both learned philosophers have declared, and the common nature of things teacheth. For every multitude of their own nature goeth asunder into many ; and from another it cometh that it is one, and that it continueth one. And that whereof it is one, and is kept in union or oneness, it is necessary that it be one ; else that self also shall need the help of another, that it be one. For which cause that saying of Homer was alleged by Aristotle, as most notable : “ It is not good to have many rulers : let one be ruler<sup>3</sup>. ” Whereby is meant, that plurality of sovereign rulers is not fit to contain and keep unity of a multitude of subjects. Therefore sith that the church of Christ is one (for, as there is one faith, one baptism, one calling, so there is one church, yea, all we are one body, and “ members one of another,” as St Paul saith, and in our creed we all profess to believe one holy catholic and apostolic church), therefore, I say, it hath need of one prince and ruler, to be kept and holden in. If it be otherwise, unity must needs forthwith be sparkled and broken asunder. And therefore it behoved that the rule and government of the church should be committed to one.

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν  
πολυκοιρανίην,  
εἰς  
κοίρανους  
ἔστω.

[The 3. proof,  
Reason. H. A.  
1564.]

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

All this is proved by Aristotle the philosopher, by one verse of the poet Homer, and by M. Harding's drift of reason, and none otherwise. Aristotle's and Homer's authority in this case cannot be great. And yet they spake<sup>4</sup> only of one captain-general in one field, and of one king in one realm, where as number or fellowship must of necessity breed confusion. But neither of them ever dreamed this new fantasy, that one king should rule over the whole world.

[<sup>1</sup> ... Alexandriam perrexi, ut viderem Didymum. —Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Ephes. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars i. cols. 319, 20.]

[<sup>2</sup> Hinc ortum habet, quod episcopi et archiepiscopi profitentur de visitatione papæ ... Hinc autem adiecit consuetudo illud Deut. 16. d. et Eccl.

35. a. Non apparebis ante conspectum Domini vacuus.—Hugon. de S. Charo Op. Col. Agrip. 1621. Epist. ad Gal. cap. i. Tom. VII. fol. 149.]

[<sup>3</sup> Hom. II. B. 204.]

[<sup>4</sup> Speak, 1565, 1609.]

M. Harding's reasons would weigh the more, if either Christ, or Peter, or Paul, or any old doctor or catholic father, had ever used the same. Otherwise St Augustine, speaking of discourse of reason in the understanding of the scriptures, saith thus: *Hæc consuetudo periculosa est. Per scripturas enim divinas multo tutius ambulatur*<sup>5</sup>: "This manner of expounding is very dangerous. The safer way is to walk by the scriptures." The force of M. Harding's reason caused Alexander, the ambitious king of Macedony, to say: "As the heavens can have but one sun, so may the whole world have but one king;" and likewise pope Bonifacius the eighth to say, as is before: *In principio creavit Deus cælum et terram, non in principiis*<sup>6</sup>: "In the beginning, as in one, God made heaven and earth, and not in the beginnings, as in many; ergo, the pope is head of the church."

August. de Doctrina Christian. Lib. iii. cap. xxviii.

Quintus Curtius.

De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam.

"But," saith M. Harding, "every multitude naturally goeth asunder; and the thing that keepeth it together must needs be one." That is to say, it is the pope only that preserveth the unity of the church and maketh it one: and therefore the pope himself must needs be one: otherwise, being two or more, saith M. Harding, they should need some other thing to make them one. And yet he remembereth that the council of Syrmium, to take up the contention between Felix and Liberius, that ambitiously strove together for the see of Rome, willed them to be bishops there both together<sup>7</sup>: which thing notwithstanding they meant not therefore neither to dissolve the unity of the church, nor to make the church a monster with two heads. And so Roffensis saith: "The church is one, not because of Christ, but because of the pope that keepeth it in one<sup>8</sup>." This reason, that M. Harding useth, is newly devised, and was never remembered of any of the old fathers. St Gregory saith: "None of my predecessors would ever take upon him to use this ungodly name, to be called the universal bishop<sup>9</sup>." And yet it appeareth not but the church was then kept in unity.

Sozom. Lib. iv. cap. xv. κοινῇ ἐπισκοπῇ.

Roffensis.

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 32.

Neither can this infinite power, that is imagined, stand without infinite great dangers. And forasmuch as it pleaseth M. Harding to avouch the government of Christ's church by philosophers and poets, that never knew Christ; it may also please him to remember that his poets likewise say, that when Phaeton, an undiscreept and a fond young man, would needs leap into Phœbus his father's chariot, to carry the sun-beams about the heavens, for lack of skill, he soon set a-fire the whole world. It may not much displease M. Harding, that I compare the bishop of Rome with Phaeton, a rash young man: for St Gregory, for the same attempt and enterprise, as it plainly appeareth by his words, compareth him with Lucifer and with antichrist<sup>10</sup>; and further saith: *Si hanc [causam] æquanimiter portamus, universæ ecclesiæ fidem corrumpimus*<sup>11</sup>: "If we take this matter quietly, we destroy the faith of the whole church."

Gregor. Lib. iv. Epist. 34. et Epist. 38. Gregor. Lib. vii. Epist. 69. Lib. vi. Epist. 24.

This reason standeth thus: The church of Christ is one;

*Ergo*, the pope is an universal bishop.

If any man deny this sequel, I marvel by what logic M. Harding will ever be able to make it good.

#### M. HARDING. THE EIGHTEENTH DIVISION.

*And whereas these gospellers say that Christ is the governor of the church, and that he being one keepeth the church in unity; we answer that, although the church be first and principally governed by Christ, as all other things are, yet God's high goodness hath so ordained, as each thing may be provided for, according to his own*

[<sup>5</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. xxviii. 39. Tom. III. Pars 1. col. 56.]

[<sup>6</sup> Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. 1. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 212. See before, page 14, note 2.]

[<sup>7</sup> Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. xv. p. 454.]

[<sup>8</sup> *Hæc ecclesia est una, unum habens caput, hoc est papam, qui est vicarius Christi, a quo una vocatur.*—Joan. Roffens. Episc. Op. Wirceb. 1597. Conc. De Libr. Luth. Crem. col. 1389.]

[<sup>9</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. v. Indict. xiiii. Ad Mauric. August. Epist. xx. col. 749. See before, page 346, note 1.]

[<sup>10</sup> Id. ibid. Ad Constant. August. Epist. xxi. col. 751.

Id. ibid. Ad Johan. Episc. Epist. xviii. cols. 742, 3, 4.

Id. Lib. ix. Indict. ii. Ad Euseb. Thess. Epist. lxviii. col. 984.]

[<sup>11</sup> Id. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Anastas. Epist. xxvii. col. 873.]



Christ's  
Vicar.

The hundred  
and fourth  
untruth.  
For Christ  
never ap-  
pointed any  
such vicar.

condition and nature. Therefore, whereas mankind dependeth most of sense, and receiveth all learning and institution of sensible things, therefore it hath need of a man to be a governor and ruler, whom it may perceive by outward sense. And even so the sacraments, by which the grace of God is given unto us, in consideration of man's nature, being so made of God as it is, are ordained in things sensible. Therefore it was behoveful this government of the church to be committed to one man, which at the first was Peter, and afterward each successor of Peter for his time, as is afore declared. Neither can this one man have this power of any consent, or company of men, but it is necessary he have it of God. (104) For to ordain and appoint the vicar of Christ, it pertaineth to none other than to Christ. For whereas the church, and all that is of the church, is Christ's, as well for other causes, as specially for that we are bought with a great price, even with his blood, as St Paul saith; how can it pertain to any other than to him, to institute and appoint to himself a vicar, that is, one to do his stead?

[1 Cor. iii. 1565,  
1609, and H. A.  
1564.]

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

August. ad  
Marcellin.  
Epist. 7.

M. Harding standeth very long in discoursing this matter by natural reason. And for that he knew St Augustine saith: *Si...ratio contra divinarum scripturarum auctoritatem redditur, quamlibet acuta sit, fallit verisimilitudine: nam vera esse non potest*<sup>1</sup>: "If natural reason be alleged against the authority of the holy scriptures, be it never so subtle, it beguileth men by a likeness or colour of the truth; for true it cannot be:" and for that he also saw the reasons he hath brought are very simple, and carry no weight; he hath therefore thrust a great many of them in a throng together, both to fill the hearers' senses, and also that the one might the better aid the other.

2 Cor. iv.

For his entry in mirth and game he calleth us gospellers. God open the eyes of his heart, that he may see the brightness of God's gospel, and consider what it is that he hath refused! Surely it is an horrible thing for a christian man thus to make mockery of the gospel of Christ. St Paul saith: *Si opertum est evangelium, in illis qui pereunt est opertum*: "If the gospel be covered, it is covered from them that perish."

Eph. i.

Eph. v.

Eph. ii.

Gregor. Lib.  
iv. Epist. 36.  
ad Eulogium.

It misliketh him that we build the unity of the church upon Christ only, and not also upon the pope; and this he calleth these new gospellers' doctrine. God be thanked, these gospellers have good warrant for their doctrine. St Paul saith: *Eum dedit caput super omnia ipsi ecclesie, quæ est corpus ejus*: "God hath given Christ to be head over all, even to the church, which is his body." And again: *Ille est caput, qui dat salutem corpori*: "Christ is the head, that giveth health unto the body." "Christ is our peace: all we are one in Christ Jesus<sup>2</sup>." Therefore St Gregory saith: *Nos quoque a vobis non longe sumus, quoniam in illo, qui ubique est, unum sumus. Agamus ergo ei gratias, qui, solutis inimicitii in carne sua, fecit ut in omni orbe terrarum unus esset grex, et unum ovile, sub se uno Pastore*<sup>3</sup>: "We are not far away from you, because in him that is every where we are all one. Therefore let us give him thanks, that, enmity being broken in his flesh, hath caused that in all the world there should be one flock, and one fold, under himself, being the one Shepherd." These places, and infinite other like, are good warrants of our doctrine.

John x.

Eph. iv.

Now, if M. Harding be able by the scriptures, or holy doctors, to say as much for the bishop of Rome, that he is the head of the church, that is to say, the head of Christ's body; or, that the church receiveth influence or health from him; or, that he is our peace; or, that we are all one in him; or, that all the world is one flock, and one fold, and he the one shepherd; or, that St Paul, as he said, "There is one Lord, one faith, one baptism," so he said also, There is one pope; then have we some cause to think, according to M. Harding's fantasy, that the unity of the whole church is founded and built upon the pope. Certainly it seemeth St Augustine would not give this privilege unto St Paul. His words be

[<sup>1</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Marcellin. Epist. cxliii. 7. Tom. II. col. 466.]

[<sup>2</sup> Jesu, 1565.]

[<sup>3</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist.

Lib. v. Indict. xliii. Ad Eulog. et Anastas. Episc. Epist. xliii. Tom. II. col. 772; where *quia* for *quoniam*.]

plain : *Nec Paulus radix eorum erat, quos plantaverat ; sed ille potius, qui ait, Ego sum vitis : vos estis sarmenta. Caput etiam eorum quomodo esse poterat, cum dicat, Nos omnes unum esse corpus in Christo, ipsumque Christum caput esse universi corporis*<sup>4</sup>? “Neither was Paul the root of them whom he had planted, but rather he that saith, ‘I am the vine ; and you are the sprigs.’ But the head of them how could he be, seeing he himself saith, ‘All we in Christ are one body ;’ and that of that whole body Christ himself is the head?” If St Paul, as St Augustine saith, could not be head of the church, how may we then think that the bishop of Rome may be head of the church?

Christ's  
Vicar.

August.  
contra Lit.  
Petilian. Lib.  
iii. cap. xlii.  
John xv.  
Eph. i.  
Eph. iv.

But mankind, saith M. Harding, dependeth most of sense : therefore the whole church must have one man to rule and govern over it ; and that man is Peter's successor, and Christ's vicar in earth. I marvel that none of the old fathers could ever understand either the necessity of this reason, or this special name and title of Christ's vicar. Howbeit, one true word M. Harding hath uttered amongst many others, that is, that to appoint Christ's vicar, it pertaineth only unto Christ, and to none other. Of which ground we may well reason thus : Christ never ordained, nor appointed, nor once named, the bishop of Rome, or his successor, to be his vicar, that is, to be an universal bishop over the whole church. Therefore, by M. Harding's own position, the bishop of Rome hath of long time usurped a power against Christ without commission, and indeed is not Christ's vicar. St Hierome saith generally of all bishops : *Noverint episcopi, se magis consuetudine, quam dispositionis dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores*<sup>5</sup> : “Let bishops understand that they be greater than the priests by order and custom (of the church), and not by the truth of God's ordinance.” If Christ, as St Hierome saith, appointed not one priest above another, how then is it likely he appointed one priest to be, as M. Harding saith, prince and ruler over all priests throughout the whole world?

Hieron. in  
Epist. ad  
Titum.

As for the universal supplying of Christ's room, Tertullian saith, the Holy Ghost is Christ's vicar. For thus he writeth : *Sedet ad dextram [Dei] Patris : misit vicariam vim Spiritus sancti, qui credentes agat*<sup>6</sup> : “Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father ; and, instead of himself, sent the power of the Holy Ghost, as his vicar, to direct them that believe.”

Tertul. de  
Præscript.  
contr. Hæret.

But because we are not only led inwardly by God's Spirit, but also outwardly by our senses, therefore hath Christ appointed, not one man to be his vicar-general over all, but every of his apostles, and so every priest, to be his vicar within his division. So saith Eusebius bishop of Rome : *Caput...ecclesiæ Christus est : Christi autem vicarii sacerdotes sunt, qui vice Christi legatione funguntur in ecclesia*<sup>7</sup> : “Christ is the head of the church ; and his vicars be the priests that do their message in the church in the stead of Christ.” Therefore saith St Hierome : *Potentia divitiarum et paupertatis humilitas vel sublimiorem vel inferiorem episcopum non facit. Ceterum omnes apostolorum successores sunt*<sup>8</sup> : “The stoutness of riches, or the humility of poverty, maketh a bishop neither higher nor lower ; but all bishops be the apostles' successors.” Other universal vicar of Christ there is none named in the scriptures, unless it be he of whom St Paul forewarneth us : *Homo ille sceleratus, filius perditus, &c.* : “That wicked man, that child of perdition, that setteth himself up against God, and that so far forth, that he will sit in the temple of God, and shew himself as if he were God.” But this vicar Christ shall destroy with the spirit of his mouth.

Euseb. Episc.  
Rom. Epist. 3.  
2 Cor. v.

Hieron. ad  
Evag. Tom.  
ii. p. 329.

2 Thess. ii.

To conclude, M. Harding seemeth to reason thus : Mankind dependeth most of sense ; *ergo*, the pope is the head of the universal church. Here is a very unsensible argument : nor sense nor reason can make it good. By as good sequel he might say : Mankind dependeth most of sense ; *ergo*, one king must rule over the whole world.

[<sup>4</sup> *Nec radix eorum erat ipse, sed ille, &c., nos multos, &c.*—August. Op. Contr. Lit. Petil. Lib. iii. cap. xlii. 51. Tom. IX. col. 322.]

[<sup>5</sup> Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. In Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. col. 413, 4. See before, page 340, note 11.]

[<sup>6</sup> Tertull. Op. Lut. 1641. De Præscr. Hæret. 13. p. 235 ; where *sedisse* and *misisse*.]

[<sup>7</sup> Euseb. Papæ Epist. iii. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 215.]

[<sup>8</sup> Hieron. Op. Ad Evang. Epist. ci. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 803.]

## M. HARDING. THE NINETEENTH DIVISION.

Wherefore, to conclude, except we would wickedly grant that God's providence hath lacked, or doth lack to his church, for love of which he hath given his only-begotten Son, and which he hath promised never to forget, so as the woman cannot forget the child she bare in her womb; reason may soon induce us to believe that to one man, one bishop, the chief and highest of all bishops, the successor of Peter, the rule and government of the church by God hath been deferred. For else, if God had ordained that in the church should be sundry heads and rulers, and none constituted to be over other, but all of equal power, each one among their people, then he should seem to have set up so many churches as he hath appointed governors. And so he shall appear to have brought in among his faithful people that unruly confusion, the destruction of all commonweals, so much abhorred of princes, which the Greeks call anarchian, which is a state, for lack of order in governors, without any government at all. Which thing, sith that the wise and politic men of this world do shun and detest in the government of these earthly kingdoms, as most pernicious and hurtful, to attribute to the high wisdom of God, and to our Lord Christ, who is the author of the most ordinate disposition of all things in earth and in heaven, it were heinous and profane impiety. Wherefore, if the state of a kingdom cannot continue safe unless one have power to rule, how shall not the church, spread so far abroad, be in danger of great disorders, corruption, and utter destruction, if, as occasion shall be given, among so great strifes and debates of men, among so many firebrands of discord, tossed to and fro by the devils, enemies of unity, there be not one head and ruler, of all to be consulted, of all to be heard, of all to be followed and obeyed? If strife and contention be stirred about matters of faith, if controversy happen to arise<sup>1</sup> about the sense of the scriptures, shall it not be necessary there be one supreme judge, to whose sentence the parties may stand? If need require (as it hath been often seen) that general councils be kept, how can the bishops, to whom the<sup>2</sup> matter belongeth, be brought together, but by the commandment of one head governor, whom they owe their obedience unto? For else, being summoned, perhaps they will not come. Finally, how shall the contumacy and pertinacy of mischievous persons be repressed, specially if the bishops be at dissension within themselves, if there be not a supreme power, who towards some may use the rod, towards other some the spirit of lenity, with such discreet temperament, as malice be vanquished, right defended, and concord procured, lest, if the small sparks of strife be not quenched by authority at the beginning, at length a great flame of schisms and heresies flash abroad, to the great danger of a multitude? Therefore, as there is one body of Christ, one flock, one church, even so is there one head of that his mystical body, one shepherd, and one chief servant, made steward, overseer, and ruler of<sup>3</sup> Christ's household in his absence, until his coming again.

## THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Whoso denieth the bishop of Rome's supreme government, saith M. Harding, he utterly denieth God's providence; and thus the great providence of God is brought forth to serve M. Harding's simple reason. The like consideration, as may be supposed, moved Petrus Bertrandus to write this special gloss upon the decretals: *Non videretur Dominus discretus fuisse, ut cum reverentia ejus loquar, nisi unicum post se talem vicarium reliquisset*<sup>4</sup>: "Otherwise Christ should not seem to have dealt discreetly, saving his reverence, unless he had left some one such vicar behind him." And therefore he saith further: *Christo data est omnis potestas in celo et in terra: ergo summus pontifex, qui est ejus vicarius, habet eandem potestatem*<sup>5</sup>: "All manner power both in heaven and earth is given to Christ; therefore the highest bishop, which is his vicar, hath the same power." Likewise they say: *\*Papa potest facere omnia quæ Christus ipse potest*<sup>6</sup>: "The

A sort of  
simple  
reasons.

De Major. et  
Obed. Unam  
sanctam.  
In Glossa.

\* De Sentent.  
Excomm. cap.  
Si aliquid.  
Hostien.

[<sup>1</sup> Rise, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>2</sup> That, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>3</sup> Over, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>4</sup> Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. 1. De Major. et Obed. Gloss. in cap. i. col. 212.]

[<sup>5</sup> Id. *ibid.*; where we have *data erat*, and *habebit hanc*.]

[<sup>6</sup> Hostiens. Op. Par. 1512. Super Quint. Decretal. De Sent. Excomm. foll. 115, 6. The words there, however, are: *Papa non subjacet legibus*.]

pope may do whatsoever Christ himself may do." And, <sup>b</sup> *Papæ et Christi est unum tribunal*<sup>7</sup>: "The pope and Christ have one consistory, and keep one court." <sup>b</sup> De Trans. Episc. cap. Quanto Innoc. iii.

Upon occasion hereof, M. Harding seemeth to reason in this sort: Unless there be one appointed by God to be the universal bishop of the world, having *omnia jura in scrinio pectoris sui*<sup>8</sup>, "all manner law and right in the closet of his breast;" <sup>c</sup> *cui sit pro ratione voluntas*<sup>9</sup>, "whose pleasure may stand instead of law;" unto whom, whatsoever he do, no man may say, <sup>d</sup> *Domine, cur ita facis*<sup>10</sup>? "Sir, why do you so?" and the same neither exhort, nor teach, nor minister sacrament, nor exercise discipline, nor do the duty either of bishop, or of priest, or of deacon, or any other the meanest officer of the church, but only take upon him to rule and govern the whole church; unless there be some such one, then, saith M. Harding, God hath no providence, neither is careful for his church. <sup>e</sup> Extr. de Const. Licet Romanus. <sup>d</sup> De Trans. Episc. cap. Quanto in Gloss. <sup>e</sup> De Conces. Præbendæ. Ad Apost. in Gloss.

If controversy grow about the understanding and sense of God's word; if it be necessary that a council be called; if contention fall out between any other inferior bishops; then, saith M. Harding, it is necessary there be one supreme judge, that may infallibly declare God's meaning, that may summon the council, that may hear and determine matters between the bishops. Touching the searching out of the sense of the scriptures, St Augustine giveth sundry good rules<sup>11</sup>: but this strange rule of recourse to the pope he toucheth not, nor taketh it for any rule. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. iii.

But they say, the scriptures be dark; therefore we must seek the meaning of them in the doctors. The doctors agree not; then must we weigh and try them by the Master of the Sentences. The Master of the Sentences himself sometimes is not holden; then must we seek further to the school-doctors. The school-doctors can in no wise agree: there is Scotus against Thomas, and Occam against Scotus, and Alliacensis against Occam, the nominals against the reals, the scholastics against the canonists: the contention is greater, and the doubts darker, than ever they were before. Neither is there any resolution to be hoped for, but only of the bishop of Rome, whom M. Harding calleth the supreme judge; who, as one saith, is *doctor utriusque legis, auctoritate, non scientia*<sup>12</sup>: "doctor of both laws, by authority, not by knowledge." Howbeit it appeareth his knowledge and authority in such cases are both like. For notwithstanding any his determination, the contention standeth still as it did before. Truly Alphonsus de Castro, a doctor of the same side, saith: *Cum constet plures papas adeo illiteratos esse, ut grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui fit, ut sacras literas interpretari possint*<sup>13</sup>? "Seeing it is well known that many popes be so void of learning, that they be utterly ignorant of their grammar, how may it be, that they can expound the holy scriptures?" Thus that supreme judge, at whose only hands M. Harding would have all the world to seek for the very sense of God's word, as Alphonsus saith, may go to school to learn his grammar. And what if the pope be an heretic? as Liberius was an Arian, Honorius an Eunomian, Anastasius was a Photinian<sup>14</sup>, and as Lyra saith: *Multi papæ inventi sunt apostatæ*<sup>15</sup>: "Many popes have been runagates of the faith." Or what if he be a sorcerer, and have league and conference with the devil, as had Sylvester the second<sup>16</sup>? Magister non tenetur. Baldus. Alphons. de Castr. Lib. i. cap. iv. Alphons. de Castr. Lib. i. cap. iv. Nicol. Lyra in Matt. xvi. cap. Plat. in Sylvest.

[<sup>7</sup> Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. III. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217.]

[<sup>8</sup> Bonifac. VIII. in eod. Sext. Decretal. Lib. i. Tit. ii. cap. 1. col. 11. See before, page 68, note 3.]

[<sup>9</sup> Ibid. Decretal. Gregor. IX. Lib. i. De Transl. Episc. Tit. vii. Gloss. in cap. 3. col. 217. See before, page 69, note 14.]

[<sup>10</sup> Ibid. Extrav. Joan. XXII. De Conc. Preb. Tit. iv. Gloss. in cap. 2. col. 56.]

[<sup>11</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Doctr. Christ. Lib. III. capp. x. &c. Tom. III. Pars i. cols. 49, &c.]

[<sup>12</sup> Not. hic, quod papa est doctor utriusque juris eo ipso quod est papa: et non est dubium quod est

doctor auctoritate, sed non scientia, quia multi sunt qui jus civile ignorant.—Bald. super Decretal. De Confessis. *Cum monasterium*. n. 6. fol. 234. col. 4. Lugd. 1551.]

[<sup>13</sup> Alfons. de Castro Adv. Hær. Col. 1539. Lib. i. cap. iv. fol. 8. 2; where *plures eorum*, and *possent*.]

[<sup>14</sup> Nam de Liberio papa constat fuisse Arrianum, et Anastasium papam fuisse Nestorianis.—Id. ibid. fol. 8.]

[<sup>15</sup> ... multi principes et summi pontifices... inventi sunt apostatæ a fide.—Bibl. cum Gloss. Ord. et Expos. N. de Lyra, Basil. 1502. Matt. cap. xvi. Pars V. fol. 52.]

[<sup>16</sup> Plat. De Vit. Pont. Col. 1551. Sylvest. II. p. 139.]

Leo. Epist. 37.  
ad Episc.  
Raven.

Cypr. Lib. i.  
Epist. 4.

Hieron. in  
Proemio in  
Epist. ad  
Eph.

Ambr. Lib. x.  
Epist. 83.

Sozom. citat.  
inter Act.  
Liber.

Ambr. de  
Obit. Valent.  
Bernard. in  
Cantic. Cant.  
Serm. 22.

Bernard. ad  
Eug. Lib. iv.

Bernard. de  
Conv. Paul.  
Isai. i.

Bernard. in  
Cantic. Cant.

Yet must we needs have recourse unto such an<sup>1</sup> one, as unto the mouth of God, for the certain sense and meaning of God's word? Verily, in the old times, men that stood in doubt of any matter of learning, and would gladly be resolved, sought unto the best learned, and not unto the pope. Pope Leo himself, in a case of doubt, thought it good to confer with other bishops<sup>2</sup>. The bishops of Numidia sent, not to the bishop of Rome to be resolved, but unto St Cyprian, and other bishops within Africa<sup>3</sup>. So likewise St Hierome writeth of himself: *Ob hanc causam vel maxime Alexandriam nuper perrexi, ut viderem Didymum, et ab eo in scripturis omnibus, quæ habebam, dubia omnia exquirerem*<sup>4</sup>: "For this cause chiefly I went of late to Alexandria, to the intent I might see Didymus, and be resolved by him in all such doubts as I had found in the scriptures." And St Ambrose saith, that certain learned men, in matter of question, having received answer and determination from the bishop of Rome, yet notwithstanding, for their better satisfaction, sought further unto him. Thus he writeth: *Post Romanæ ecclesiæ definitionem meam adhuc exspectant sententiam*<sup>5</sup>: "After the discussing of the church of Rome, they yet look for my sentence."

As for general councils, it is well known, and, God willing, shall appear hereafter more at large, that they were called and summoned by the emperors only, and not by the bishops of Rome. Sozomenus saith: *Imperator præceperat, concilium Mediolani celebrari*<sup>6</sup>: "The emperor had commanded a council to be kept at Milan."

Matters of variance between bishops were taken up, not only by the bishop of Rome, whose greatest practice these many years hath been to inflame and maintain discord among princes; but also sometimes by the prince, sometimes by councils, sometimes by other bishops, sometimes by some inferior persons, that were no bishops. St Ambrose was sent for into France, to pacify the bishops there<sup>7</sup>. Bernard, being but an abbat, compounded that great dissension that was between pope Innocentius and Peter in the church of Rome<sup>8</sup>. Therefore to these purposes it is nothing needful to erect a new vicar-general, or to give any man this universal power over the church of God.

M. Harding's reasons proceed thus: God is careful, and hath a special providence for his church; doubtful places of the scripture must be expounded; general councils must be summoned; bishops being at variance must be reconciled; *ergo*, the bishop of Rome is Christ's universal vicar, and head of the universal church. Otherwise, saith he, the church can never be rightly governed, nor preserved in unity. But, God's name be blessed for ever, God is able to govern his church, not only without such a vicar, but also maugre such a vicar. Miserable were God's church, if it stood only at the bishop of Rome's government. Long it were to open the looseness and dissolution of his own church, that lieth before him. St Bernard, speaking of the same, saith thus: *Mali ibi proficiunt: boni deficiunt*<sup>9</sup>: "Ill men there go forward; but good men go backward." *A planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis non est in ea sanitas*<sup>10</sup>: "From the sole of the foot unto the crown of the head there is no whole part in it." And again: *Servi Christi serviunt antichristo*<sup>11</sup>: "They would be called the servants

[<sup>1</sup> A, 1565.]

[<sup>2</sup> Leon. Magni Op. Lut. 1623. Ad Leon. Raven. Episc. Epist. xxxvii. cols. 349-51.]

[<sup>3</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. Ad Cler. et Pleb. Hisp. Epist. lxxvii. pp. 170, &c. They were Spaniards, as the letter referred to indicates, who had applied to Cyprian.]

[<sup>4</sup> Hieron. Op. Par. 1693-1706. Comm. in Epist. ad Ephes. Præf. Tom. IV. Pars i. cols. 319, 20; where *nuper ob hanc vel maxime causam Alexandriam perrexi*, and *dubia sciscitarer*.]

[<sup>5</sup> ... post ... Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ definitiones, episcopi quoque Romanæ ecclesiæ, per literas plerique meam adhuc exspectant sententiam.—Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Episc. per Æmil. Epist. xxiii. 8. Tom. II. col. 882.]

[<sup>6</sup> ... convenerunt episcopi...ut præcepto principis concilium Mediolani celebraretur.—Sozom. in

Decret. Liber. Papæ in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 347. See also in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iv. cap. ix. p. 445.]

[<sup>7</sup> Ambros. Op. De Obit. Valent. Cons. 25. Tom. II. col. 1181.]

[<sup>8</sup> Hoc demum tertio...reditum ab urbe nostrum clementior oculus e cælo respexit...Quievit Leonina rabies...ecclesia pacem recepit.—Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. In Cant. Serm. xxiv. i. Vol. I. Tom. iv. col. 1346.]

[<sup>9</sup> Perhaps the following is the passage meant: ...plures in ea [curia] defecisse bonos, quam malos profecisse probavimus.—Id. De Consid. Lib. iv. cap. iv. 11. Vol. I. Tom. ii. col. 439.]

[<sup>10</sup> Id. in Convers. S. Paul. Serm. i. 3. Vol. I. Tom. iii. col. 956; where *non est sanitas ulla*.]

[<sup>11</sup> Ministri Christi sunt, et serviunt antichristo.—Id. in Cant. Serm. xxxiii. 15. Vol. I. Tom. iv. col. 1393.]

of Christ; and yet indeed they serve antichrist." If the bishop of Rome can no better rule a few churches in one city, how then is he able to rule the infinite multitude of the whole universal church of God?

But God hath other ways and means whereby he hath ever governed his church. St Cyprian saith: *Ideo plures sunt in ecclesia sacerdotes, ut, uno hæresim faciente, ceteri subveniant*<sup>12</sup>: "Therefore there be many bishops in the church, that, one running into heresy, the rest may help." And again: "The church is preserved in unity by the consent of bishops agreeing in one"<sup>13</sup>. And to this end St Hierome saith, as is before alleged: *Noverint episcopi . . . se debere in commune ecclesiam regere*<sup>14</sup>: "Let bishops understand that they ought to rule the church as all in one."

Cypr. ad Steph. Lib. iii. Epist. 13.

Cypr. Lib. iv. Epist. 9.

Hieron. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i.

As for the unity that M. Harding meaneth, it is a vile subjection and servitude: it is no unity. St Hierome saith: *Nomine unitatis et fidei infidelitas scripta est: nam illo tempore nihil tam pium, nihil tam conveniens servo Dei videbatur, quam unitatem sequi, et a totius mundi communione non scindi*<sup>15</sup>: "Infidelity hath been written under the name of faith and unity. For at that time nothing seemed either so godly, or so meet for the servant of God, as to follow unity, and not to be divided from the communion of the whole world." They seemed, saith St Hierome, to follow unity, and yet notwithstanding they hung in infidelity. So likewise saith the wise man: *In tanto viventes ignorantie bello, tot et tanta mala pacem appellabant*: "Whereas they lived in such a war of ignorance, so many and so great mischiefs they called unity."

Hieron. contra Lucif.

Wisd. xiv.

#### M. HARDING. THE TWENTIETH DIVISION.

[The 6. proof, Practice of the church six-fold, H. A. 1564.] But here perhaps some will say, it cannot appear by the event of things, and practice of the church, that the pope had this supreme power and authority over all bishops, and over all Christ's flock in matters touching faith, and in cases<sup>16</sup> ecclesiastical. Verily, whosoever peruseth the ecclesiastical stories, and vieweth the state of the church of all times and ages, cannot but confess this to be most evident. And here I might allege first certain places of the new testament, declaring that Peter practised this pre-eminence among the disciples at the beginning, and that they yielded the same, as of right appertaining unto him.

Acts i. As when he first and only moved them to choose one in the stead of Judas, and demeaned himself as the chief author of all that was done therein; when he Acts ii. made answer for all, at what time they were gazed and wondered at, and of some mocked, as being drunken with new wine, for that in the fiftieth day they Acts v. spake with tongues of so many nations; when he used that dreadful severity in punishing the falsehood<sup>17</sup> and hypocrisy of Ananias and Saphira his wife; Acts xv. when, variance being risen about the observation of certain points of Moses' law, he, as chief and head of the rest, said his mind before all others. Among many Gal. i. other places, left out for brevity, that is not of least weight, that Paul, being returned to Damasco out of Arabia, after three years went to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days.

(105) But because our adversaries do wreath and wrest the scriptures, be they never so plain, by their private and strange constructions, to an understanding quite contrary to the sense of the catholic church, I will refer the reader, for further proof of this matter, to the stories bearing faithful witness of the whole state and condition of the church in all ages: in which stories the practice of the church is plainly reported to have been such, as thereby the primacy of Peter's successor may seem to all men sufficiently declared. For, perusing the ecclesiastical stories with writings of the fathers, beside many other things pertaining hereto, we find these 1. practices, for declaration of this special authority and power: first, that bishops (106) of every nation have made their appeal in their weighty affairs to the pope,

The hundred and fifth untruth, joined with a slander.

The hundred and sixth untruth, as afterward it shall appear.

[<sup>12</sup> Idcirco...copiosum corpus est sacerdotum...ut si quis...hæresim facere...tentaverit, subveniant ceteri.—Cypr. Op. Ad Steph. Epist. lxxviii. p. 178.]

[<sup>13</sup> Id. Ad Florent. Pup. Epist. lxxvi. p. 168. See before, page 349, note 8.]

[<sup>14</sup> Hieron. Op. Comm. in Epist. ad Tit. cap. i. Tom. IV. Pars i. cols. 413, 4.]

[<sup>15</sup> Id. Adv. Lucif. Tom. IV. Pars ii. col. 299.]

[<sup>16</sup> Causes, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>17</sup> Falsehead, 1565, and H. A. 1564.]

Peter  
head.

and always have sued to the see apostolic, as well for succour and help against violence, injuries, and oppressions, as for redress of other disorders. Also, that the 2. malice of wicked persons hath been repressed and chastised of that authority by excommunication, ejection, and expulsion out of their dignities and rooms, and by other censures of the church. Furthermore, that the ordinances and elections of 3. bishops of all provinces have been confirmed by the pope. Beside this, that the 4. approving and disallowing of councils have pertained to him. Item, that bishops, 5. wrongfully condemned and deprived by councils, by him have been assoiled and restored to their churches again. Lastly, that bishops and patriarchs, after long 6. strifes and contentions, have at length, upon better advice, been reconciled unto him again.

#### THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

Here M. Harding assayeth to prove the possession and occupation of this universal authority, by the practice both of St Peter himself, and also of other bishops in Rome, that followed after him. And touching St Peter, he thinketh it sufficient to say thus: Peter, being among the rest, shewed his advice first before all others, and at the sound of his words Ananias and Saphira fell down dead; *ergo*, Peter was the head, and had an universal power over the whole church. Here be very weak proofs to maintain so great a title. I think M. Harding himself doth not believe that whosoever first uttereth his mind in any council, or worketh any strange miracle by the power of God, is therefore the head of all the world. For oftentimes in great councils the youngest or lowest beginneth first, and the eldest and head of all speaketh last. Certainly, in this assembly of the apostles, after that St Peter had opened his mind, and all the rest had done, last of all, not St Peter, but St James pronounced the sentence; which thing belonged only to the head and president of that council. He must be very simple, that will be led with such simple guesses.

But whosoever well and thoroughly considereth St Peter's whole dealing at all times among his brethren, shall soon see that neither he bare himself, nor the rest received or used him, as the head of the universal church. He calleth the rest of the disciples his brethren: he calleth himself *compresbyterum*, fellow-elder. He commandeth not, nor chargeth any man, but heareth and entreateth others as his equals and fellows: being sent into Samaria by his brethren, he repined not, as being their head and governor, but went his way as their messenger; and, being reprov'd for going to Cornelius, and dealing with heathens, he excused himself, and came to his answer.

The rest of the apostles, no doubt, honoured St Peter, as the special member of Christ's body, with all reverence. But it appeareth not that any of them ever took him or used him as their head, or yielded him this infinite or universal power. St Paul compareth himself with him in apostleship, and saith: *Mihi concreditum est evangelium præputii, sicut Petro circumcisionis*: "To me is committed the gospel among the heathens, even as unto Peter among the Jews." And, "James, Peter, and John, which seemed to be pillars<sup>1</sup>, gave unto me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship." And afterward he saith: "I withstood Peter even unto the face; for that he was worthy to be rebuked." And again unto the Corinthians: *Arbitror me nihil inferiorem esse eximius apostolis*: "I take myself<sup>2</sup> to be nothing inferior unto the chief apostles." Hereby it plainly appeareth that Paul esteemed and took Peter as his fellow, and not as his head.

Whereas it liketh M. Harding to say that we wreathe and wrest the scriptures; if it would have pleased him also particularly to shew how and wherein, he might have had the more credit. But it is commonly said: *Dolosus versatur in generalibus*: "He that walketh in generalities meaneth not plainly." I trust the indifferent reader seeth the scriptures are plain enough of our side, and need no wresting. And therefore touching this case St Cyprian saith, as is before alleged: *Idem erant alii, quod Petrus*<sup>3</sup>: "The rest were the same that Peter was." And

[<sup>1</sup> The pillars, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>2</sup> Meself, 1565.]

[<sup>3</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1682. De Unit. Eccles. p. 167. See before, page 360.]

Acts xv.

Acts xv.  
1 Pet. v.

Acts viii.

Acts xi.

Gal. ii.

2 Cor. xii.

Origen likewise: *Nos quoque efficitur Petrus; et nobis dicitur illud, quod hunc sermonem sequitur: Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam. Petra enim est, quisquis est discipulus Christi*<sup>4</sup>: "Even we are become Peter; and unto us the same shall be said that followeth these words: 'Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church.' For he is the rock whosoever is Christ's disciple." And so it is written in St Augustine against the Donatists: *Clarus a Mascula dixit, Manifesta est sententia Domini nostri Jesu Christi apostolos...mittentis, et ipsis solis potestatem a Patre sibi datam permittentis: quibus nos successimus, eadem potestate ecclesiam Domini gubernantes*<sup>5</sup>: "The saying of our Lord Jesus Christ, sending out his apostles, and giving unto them only the same power that he had received of his Father, is plain: into which apostles' rooms we have succeeded, governing the church with the same power that they did." These be good witnesses that we wrest not God's words, but use them simply as they were spoken.

Orig. in Matt. Tract. i.

August. de Baptis. contr. Donat. Lib. vii. cap. xliii.

Now it were a long labour to shew at full how M. Harding, with others of that side, have dealt herein. The words that be specially and only spoken of God himself, and of his Christ, it is lawful for them to apply the same unto the pope without any wreathing or wresting of the scriptures. Cornelius, a bishop in the last council of Trident, useth these words: *Papa lux venit in mundum; sed dilexerunt homines magis tenebras, quam lucem*<sup>6</sup>: "The pope, being the light, is come into the world; but men loved the darkness more than the light." And Stephanus, the archbishop of Patraca, in the council of Lateran directeth these words unto the pope: *Tibi data est omnis potestas in celo et in terra*<sup>7</sup>: "Unto thee is all power given both in heaven and earth." Likewise saith pope Bonifacius: *Spiritualis...a nemine judicatur*<sup>8</sup>: "The man that is spiritual is judged of no man; ergo, no man may judge the pope." And again: *Quæ sunt potestates, a Deo ordinate sunt*<sup>9</sup>: "The powers that be are ordained of God; ergo, the pope is above the emperor." Now, to pass by other like places, which are innumerable, whether this be wresting of the scriptures or no, I leave to<sup>10</sup> the discreet reader to consider. Verily, as I have said before, Camotensis thus reporteth of them: *Vim faciunt scripturis, ut habeant plenitudinem potestatis*<sup>11</sup>: "To the intent they may have the fulness of power, they do violence to the scriptures, and devise strange constructions, contrary to the sense of the church of God."

Corn. Episc. Bitont. in Orat. ad Synod.

Steph. Archiepisc. Patrac. in Concil. Later. sub Leon. Session. 10. De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam. 1 Cor. ii. Rom. xiii.

Citat. a Corn. Agrip. de Vanit. Scien.

But forasmuch as M. Harding utterly leaveth the scriptures, wherein he seeth he hath so simple hold, and referreth the whole right of his cause to the continual practice of the church, I trust it shall not seem neither tedious nor unprofitable unto the reader, only for a taste, and by the way, to touch somewhat concerning the same; nothing doubting, but even thereby it shall well appear that, within the compass of six hundred years after Christ, the bishop of Rome was never neither named nor holden for the head of the universal church.

First of all, the bishops of other countries, writing to the bishop of Rome, call him not their head, but their brother or fellow. St Cyprian unto Cornelius writeth thus: *Cyprianus Cornelio fratri*<sup>12</sup>: "Cyprian unto Cornelius my brother." The bishops in the council of Carthage unto Innocentius: *Honoratissimo fratri*<sup>13</sup>: "To our most honourable brother." And John the bishop of Constantinople unto Hormisda: *Frater in Christo carissime*<sup>14</sup>: "My dear brother in Christ." So likewise Dionysius the bishop of Alexandria calleth Stephanus and Sistus, bishops

Cypr. Lib. i. Epist. 3. Concil. Carth. v.

In Decret. Hormis. Euseb. Lib. vii. cap. iv.

[<sup>4</sup> Orig. Op. Par. 1733-59. Comm. in Matt. Tom. xii. 10. Tom. III. pp. 523, 4.]

[<sup>5</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. De Bapt. cont. Don. Lib. vii. cap. xliii. 84. Tom. IX. col. 197. This was the sentence of one of the bishops at the council of Carthage under Cyprian.—Cypr. Op. lxxix. pp. 241, 2.]

[<sup>6</sup> Orat. Corn. Episc. Bitont. ad Trident. Synod. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. XIV. col. 996; where *papæ*.]

[<sup>7</sup> Orat. Steph. Arch. Patrac. in Sess. x. Concil. Later. v. in eod. Tom. XIV. col. 269. See before, pp. 93, 4, note 2.]

[<sup>8</sup> Bonifac. VIII. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Extrav. Comm. Lib. i. De Major. et Obed. cap. 1. col. 211.]

[<sup>9</sup> Non est potestas nisi a Deo; quæ autem sunt, a Deo ordinate sunt.—Id. ibid. col. 209.]

[<sup>10</sup> It to, 1565.]

[<sup>11</sup> Corn. Agrippa repeatedly cites Camotensis [Carnotensis], De Incert. et Vanit. Scient. Col. 1584. cap. lxi. foll. N. 6, 7; and from him Jewel declares he took his quotations. The sense of the words here alleged may be found Joan. Sarisb. Polyer. L. Bat. 1595. Lib. viii. cap. xvii. pp. 546, 7. Further reference to this author will occur hereafter.]

[<sup>12</sup> Cypr. Op. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. p. 126.]

[<sup>13</sup> Concil. Carthag. Epist. ad Innoc. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 469.]

[<sup>14</sup> Lib. Fid. Joan. Constant. ad Hormisd. in eod. Tom. I. p. 1036; where *in Christo frater*.]



Euseb. Lib.  
vii. cap. viii.  
In Concil.  
Aphric.  
In Concil.  
Ephes.  
Epiph. Lib.  
iii. Tom. I.  
Hæres. 72.

of Rome, "his loving brethren<sup>1</sup>." So the bishops of Africa call Anastasius *con-sacerdotem*<sup>2</sup>, "their fellow-bishop;" like as Cyrillus also calleth Cœlestinus<sup>3</sup>; and Marcellus, the bishop of Ancyra, calleth Julius *comministrum*<sup>4</sup>, "his fellow-servant." These words, "brother" and "fellow," seem rather to signify an equality between bishops, than any such sovereign power or universal authority as the bishop of Rome now claimeth.

Concil. Ni-  
cen. cap. 6.  
Concil. Aphr.  
cap. 92.  
Liter. Synod.

Gregor. Lib.  
i. Epist. 25.  
et Lib. vi.  
Epist. 24.

Ruffin. Lib. i.  
cap. xxix.

Æn. Sylv.

Further, touching the order of outward government, the council of Nice limiteth unto the bishop of Rome not the jurisdiction of the whole world, but his own several portion among other patriarchs<sup>5</sup>. The council of Africa straitly forbiddeth any man out of that country to appeal to Rome<sup>6</sup>. The four patriarchs, of Rome, of Constantinople, of Antioch, and Alexandria, used to write letters of conference between themselves, thereby to profess their religion one to another<sup>7</sup>; which was a token of fellowship, and not of dominion. The council of Alexandria committed full authority to Asterius to visit and to redress all the churches in the east part of the world, and to Eusebius, to do the like in the west<sup>8</sup>; and so seemed to have small regard to the bishop of Rome, or to acknowledge him as the universal bishop. And what needeth many words? Æneas Sylvius, being himself afterward bishop of Rome, for certain proof hereof writeth thus: *Ad episcopos Romanos aliquis sane, sed tamen parrus, ante Nicenum concilium respectus erat*<sup>9</sup>: "Some regard there was unto the bishops of Rome before the council of Nice, although but small." To be short, I trust it shall appear, even by M. Harding's own proofs, that is to say, by the order of appeals, by excommunications, by the allowance of elections, by the approving of councils, by restoring of bishops, and by receiving of schismatics into favour, that the bishop of Rome was not taken for the head of the church, nor had any such absolute authority as is supposed. And so M. Harding's six-fold proof, which is noted in the margin, in conclusion will appear but single-soled.

#### M. HARDING. THE TWENTY-FIRST DIVISION.

*First, for the appellation of bishops to the see apostolic, beside many other, we have the known examples of Athanasius, that worthy bishop of Alexandria and light of the world; who, having sustained great and sundry wrongs at the Arians, appealed first to Julius the pope, and after his death to Felix; of Chrysostom, who appealed to Innocentius against the violence of Theophilus; of Theodoretus, who appealed to Leo. Neither made bishops only their appeal to the pope by their delegates, but also in certain cases, being cited, appeared<sup>10</sup> before him in their own persons. Which is plainly gathered of Theodoretus his ecclesiastical story, who writeth thus: "Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia (who was the chief pillar of the Arians), and they that joined with him in that faction, falsely accused Athanasius to Julius the bishop of Rome. Julius, following the ecclesiastical rule, commanded them to come to Rome, and caused the reverend Athanasius to be cited to judgment, regulariter, after the order of the canons. He came: the false accusers went not to Rome, knowing right well that their forged lie might easily be depre-hended<sup>11</sup>."*

[<sup>1</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. vii. capp. v. ix. pp. 205, 8.]

[<sup>2</sup> Recitatis epistolis... consacerdotis nostri Anastasii, &c.—Concil. Afric. cap. 32. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 507.]

[<sup>3</sup> Cyril. Alex. ad Cœlest. Epist. in Concil. Ephes. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. III. col. 342. See before, page 373, note 21.]

[<sup>4</sup> ... συλλειτουργῶ, κ. τ. λ.—Epiph. Op. Par. 1622. Lib. III. Hær. lxxii. Epist. Marcell. ad Jul. Tom. I. p. 834.]

[<sup>5</sup> Concil. Nic. can. 6. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Tom. II. col. 32.]

[<sup>6</sup> Concil. Afric. cap. 92. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 517.]

[<sup>7</sup> Gregor. Magni Papæ I. Op. Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. i. Indict. ix. Ad Anastas. Patr. Epist. xxvi. Tom. II. cols. 516, 7.]

Id. Lib. vii. Indict. xv. Ad Anastas. Episc. Epist. xxvii. cols. 873, 4.

These are the epistles noted in the margin: others as much in point might readily be mentioned. See below, page 404.]

[<sup>8</sup> Hist. Eccles. Par. Lib. x. cap. xxix. foll. 116, 7.]

[<sup>9</sup> Quemadmodum factum esse videmus ante concilium Nicænum, dum sibi quisque vivebat, et ad Romanam ecclesiam parvus habebatur respectus.—Æn. Sylv. Op. Basil. 1571. Ad Mart. Mayer. Epist. cclxxxviii. p. 802.]

[<sup>10</sup> Appear, 1611.]

[<sup>11</sup> Καὶ γὰρ τῷ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ, Ἰουλίῳ δὲ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκείνην ἐποίμαινε, οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον τὰς κατὰ Ἀθανασίου συνθεθείσας συκοφαντίας ἐξέπεμψαν. ὁ δὲ τῷ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπόμενος νόμῳ, καὶ αὐτοὺς καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ῥώμην

In this<sup>12</sup> cause and defence of John Chrysostom, these bishops came from Constantinople to Innocentius the pope, Pansophus bishop of Pisidia, Pappus of Syria, Demetrius of the second Galatia, and Eugenius of Phrygia. These were suitors for Chrysostom. He himself treated his matter with Innocentius by writing. In his epistle, among other things, he writeth thus: "Lest this outrageous confusion run over all, and bear rule every where, write, I pray you, and determine by your authority, such wicked acts done in our absence, and when we withdrew not ourselves from judgment, to be of no force, as by their own nature truly they be void and utterly none. Furthermore, who have committed these evils (107), put you them under the censure of the church. And as for us, sith that we are innocent, neither convict, neither found in any default, nor proved guilty of any crime, give commandment that we be restored to our churches again, that we may enjoy the accustomed charity and peace with our brethren<sup>13</sup>." Innocentius, after that he understood the whole matter, pronounced and decreed the judgment of Theophilus, that was against Chrysostom, to be void and of no force. This whole tragedy is at large set forth by Palladius bishop of Helenopolis, In Vita Johannis Chrysostomi, who lived at that time<sup>14</sup>. By this appeal of Chrysostom, and by the whole handling of the matter, and specially by the purport of his epistle to Innocentius, the superiority of the pope is evidently acknowledged. And so is it plainly confessed by Athanasius and the bishops of Egypt, Thebais, and Lybia, assembled in council at Alexandria, by these words of their epistle to Fœlix: Vestrum est enim nobis manum porrigere<sup>15</sup>, &c.: "It is your part," say they, "to stretch forth your helping hand unto us, because we are committed unto you. It is your part to defend us and deliver us: it is our part to seek help of you, and to obey your commandments." And a little after: "For we know that you bear the cure and charge of the universal church, and specially of bishops, who, in respect of their contemplation and speculation, are called the eyes of our Lord; as always the prelates of your see, first the apostles, then their successors, have done."

The hundred and seventh untruth. St Chrysostom's words untruly reported.

Theodoretus, that learned bishop of Cyrus, beside the epistle he wrote to Leo for succour and help in his troubles, in another that he wrote to Renatus, a priest near about Leo, saith thus: Spoliarent me sacerdotio, &c.: "They have violently robbed me of my bishopric; they have cast me forth of the cities; neither having revered mine age spent in religion, nor my hoar hairs. Wherefore, I beseech thee that thou persuade the most holy archbishop (he meaneth Leo) to use his apostolic authority, and to command us to come unto your council or consistory. For this holy see holdeth the rudder, and hath the government of the churches of the whole world, partly for other respects, but specially for that it hath evermore continued clear from stench of heresy, and that none ever sat in it who was of contrary opinion, but rather hath ever kept the apostolic grace undefiled<sup>16</sup>." In which words of Theo-

ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὸν Ἀθανάσιον εἰς τὴν δίκην ἐκάλεσε. καὶ οὗτος μὲν ἐξώρμησεν εὐθὺς τὴν κλήσιν δεξάμενος. οἱ δὲ τὸ δῶμα συντεθεικότες εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἀπῆλθον, εὐφώρατον εἰδότες τὸ ψεῦδος. —Theod. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. IV. p. 71. See also Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. IV. cap. VI. fol. F. 3; where the word *regulariter* occurs.]

[<sup>12</sup> The, 1565, 1609, and H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>13</sup> ἵνα οὖν μὴ τοσαύτῃ σύγχυσις καταλάβῃ τὴν ὑφ' ἡλίου πᾶσαν, ἐπιστεῖλαι παρακληθῆτε τὰ μὲν οὕτω παρανόμως γεγενημένα ἀπόντων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐκ μίας μοίρας, καὶ οὐ παραιτησαμένων κρίσιν, μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἰσχὺν, ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ ἔχει τῇ οἰκείᾳ φύσει· τοὺς δὲ τοιαῦτα παρανομήσαντας ἐλεγχόμενους τῷ ἐπιτιμίᾳ ὑποβάλλεσθαι τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν νόμων· ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς οὐχ ἀδόντας, οὐκ ἐλεγχόμενους, οὐκ ἀποδειχθέντας ὑπευθύνους, τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν ὑμετέρων δότε ἀπολαβεῖν συνεχῶς, καὶ τῆς ἀγάπης, καὶ πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν περ καὶ ἐμπροσθεν.—Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Innoc. Epist. I. Tom. III. p. 520.]

[<sup>14</sup> Pallad. Dial. De Vit. Chrysost. in eod. Tom. XIII. pp. 20, &c. 84, 5.]

[<sup>15</sup> Vestrum, &c., quia vobis commissi sumus. Vestrum est nos defendere atque liberare, nostrumque est, a vobis auxilium expetere, vestris parere jussionibus.....Scimus enim (ut semper vestræ sedis præsules, primo apostoli, deinde successores eorum, fecerunt) vos universalis ecclesiæ, et maxime episcoporum, qui oculi, propter contemplationem et speculationem, vocantur Domini, curam gerere, &c.—Epist. Ægypt. ad Felic. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 357.]

[<sup>16</sup> ... ἐγόμενυσαν μὲν ἱερωσύνης, ἐξελαύνουσι δὲ καὶ πόλεως, οὐδὲ τὸ γῆρας αἰδεσθέντες, οὐδὲ τὴν πολίαν τὴν ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ τραφεῖσαν. διὰ τοι τοῦτο τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀγιωσύνην παρακαλῶ, πείσαι τὸν ἀγιώτατον καὶ δσιώτατον ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τῇ ἀποστολικῇ χρήσασθαι ἐξουσίᾳ, καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑμέτερον ἀναδραμεῖν κελεύσαι συνέδριον. ἔχει γὰρ ὁ πανάγιος θρόνος ἐκεῖνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διὰ πολλὰ, καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅτι αἰρετικῆς μεμένηκε δυσωδίας ἀμύητος, καὶ οὐδεὶς τάναντία φρονῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκάθισεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν χάριν ἀκήρατον διεφύλαξε. —Theod. Op. Lut. Par. 1642-84. Ad Renat. Epist. cxvi. Tom. III. Pars II. p. 989.]

## Appeals.

*doretus this chiefly is<sup>1</sup> to be marked, that the holy see of Rome, as he saith, hath the government of the churches of all the world, most for this cause, that it was never infected with heresy, as all other churches founded by the apostles were.*

## THE BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

It is certain that the bishops of Rome, to attain the pre-eminence and fulness of power over all the world, letted not to use many ambitious and importune means, and manifestly to falsify the canons of the holy council of Nice. Sithence which time they have not been idle, but have forged new canons to this purpose under the name of Clemens, Anacletus, Evaristus, Telesphorus, Higinus, and other martyrs; and besides have devised other like canons of their own. The decretal epistle that is abroad under the name of Julius seemeth to savour of some corruption, both for sundry other causes, and also for that it agreeth not with the very true epistle of Julius, which Athanasius allegeth in his apology<sup>2</sup>; and yet ought both these epistles to be all one without difference. Wherefore we have good cause to think that "all is not gospel that cometh from Rome."

Athanas. in  
Apolog. ii.

Thus ambitiously to advance<sup>3</sup> themselves under pretence of such appeals, oftentimes not understanding the case, (as it well appeareth by that is written of Apiarius, and by the story of Flavianus and Eutyches,) they found fault with good catholic bishops, and received heretics into their favour; wherewithal the bishops in the general council of Africa find themselves much grieved.

First, therefore, I must shew that there lay no such ordinary appeal from all countries of the world to the bishop of Rome, and that therefore the same is by M. Harding untruly avouched. That done, I trust it shall not be hard to answer these places of Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Theodoretus here alleged.

And that there lay not any such appeal to Rome, it is plain by consent of general councils; by the authority of holy fathers; and by the laws and ordinances of emperors and princes: by which grounds it is easy to understand the practice and order of the church in those days.

Concil. Nic.  
i. cap. 5.

In the council of Nice it is decreed thus: *Ab aliis excommunicati ab aliis ad communionem ne recipiantur*<sup>4</sup>: "Let not them, that stand excommunicate by one bishop, be received again to the communion by any other." M. Harding's appeals and these words cannot well stand together. But he will say, the bishop either of ignorance or of malice may excommunicate the party wrongfully. In this case the same council hath provided remedy of appeal, not unto the bishop of Rome, but unto a provincial synod within the country. These be the words: *Ergo, ut hæc possint digna examinatione perquiri, recte visum est, per singulos annos, in singulis provinciis, bis in anno, episcoporum concilium fieri, ut simul in unum convenientes ex communi provincia hujusmodi quæstiones examinent*<sup>5</sup>: "Therefore, that these things may be well examined, it is well provided, that every year in every province, at two several times, there be holden a council of bishops<sup>6</sup>, that they, meeting together out of all parts of the province, may hear and determine such complaints."

Concil. Nic.  
i. can. 5.

Concil. Telen.  
tempore  
Zosim. can.  
17.

The bishops in the council holden at Tela in Spain ordained thus: *Presbyteri et clerici ne appellent, nisi ad Africana concilia*<sup>7</sup>: "Let it not be lawful for priests or clerks to appeal (to Rome) but only to the councils holden in Africa."

Concil.  
Milev. can.  
22.

So in the Milevitane council: *Si ab episcopis appellandum putaverint, non provocent, nisi ad Africana concilia, vel ad primates provinciarum suarum. Ad transmarina autem qui putaverint appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem recipiantur*<sup>8</sup>: "If they think it meet to appeal from their bishops, let them

[<sup>1</sup> This is chiefly, H. A. 1564.]

[<sup>2</sup> Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Epist. Jul. in Apol. contr. Arian. Tom. I. pp. 141, &c.]

[<sup>3</sup> Avance, 1565.]

[<sup>4</sup> Concil. Nic. can. 5. in Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. II. col. 32.]

[<sup>5</sup> Id. ibid.]

[<sup>6</sup> Bishop, 1611.]

[<sup>7</sup> Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 489; where the council of Tela is referred to; but

neither here nor p. 420, where a fuller account of it is given, is any thing to the point. In the same page, however, p. 489, are the titles of the canons of a council said to be held at Carthage; and the 17th of these is: *De presbyteris et clericis, ut non appellent nisi ad Africana concilia.*]

[<sup>8</sup> Concil. Milev. cap. 22. in eod. Tom. I. p. 484; where *si et ab eis provocandum, qui putaverit, and suscipiatur.*]

not appeal, but only to the councils of Africa, or unto the primates of their own provinces. But if they shall make their appeal beyond the seas (that is, to Rome), let no man in Africa receive them to the communion." Appeals.

So likewise in the council of Africa: *Si... fuerit provocatum, eligat [is] qui provocaverit iudices, et cum eo et ille, contra quem provocaverit, ut ab ipsis deinceps nulli liceat provocare*<sup>9</sup>: "If appeal be made, let him that shall appeal choose other judges of his side; and likewise let the other do the same against whom he appealeth; that from them afterward it be lawful for neither of them to appeal." Concil. Afric. can. 63.

And again in the same council: *Non provocent nisi ad Africana concilia*<sup>10</sup>: "Let them not appeal, but only unto the councils holden within Africa;" and so forth word by word, as is alleged out of the council of Milevita. But here I may not well pass over Gratian's gloss touching this matter. For whereas the council hath determined that, if any man appeal beyond the seas, he stand excommunicate, Gratian hath expounded and salved it with this pretty exception: *Nisi forte Romanam sedem*<sup>11</sup> *appellaverit*<sup>12</sup>: "Unless they appeal to the see of Rome." Concil. Afric. can. 92.  
And so, by his construction, he excepteth that only thing out of the law, for which only thing the whole law was made. For it is plain and without all question, that the council of Africa specially and namely meant to cut off all appeals to the see of Rome. And yet those only appeals Gratian by his construction would have to be saved. ii. Quæst. vi. can. Placuit.

But what can be so plain as the epistle of the two hundred and seventeen bishops in the council of Africa, sent unto Cœlestinus bishop of Rome, declaring at length both the state and conveyance of the cause, and also their grief and misliking of the whole matter? The words lie thus: *Decreta Nicena sive inferioris gradus clericos*<sup>13</sup>, &c.: "The decrees of the council of Nice have evidently committed both the clerks of inferior rooms, and also the bishops themselves, unto their metropolitans. For both justly and discreetly they provided, that all manner actions should be determined in the same places where they began; and likewise thought<sup>14</sup> that no province should want the grace of the Holy Ghost, whereby christian bishops might be able both wisely to consider, and also constantly to maintain the right: and specially seeing that liberty is given that, if either party mislike his judges' order, he may lawfully appeal either to a convocation of bishops within the same country, or else to a general council. Unless any man will think that God is able to inspire the justice of trial into one man alone (meaning thereby the bishop of Rome), and will deny the same to a great number of bishops, being in council all together. And how can your beyond-sea judgment appear good, seeing that the witnesses, which be parties necessary, either for that they be women, or for that they be aged and weak, or for many other incident impediments, cannot come unto it? As for any delegates that should be sent, as from your side, we find no such matter determined in any council. And touching that you sent us of late by Faustinus, our fellow-bishop, as part of the Nicene council, in the very true councils of Nice, which we have received from holy Cyrillus the bishop of Alexandria, and from Atticus the bishop of Constantinople, &c. we find no such matter. Neither send ye, nor grant ye, your clerks to execute causes at any man's request, lest we seem to bring a smoky puff of worldly pride into the church of Christ, which, unto them that desire to see God, sheweth the light of simplicity and humility," &c. Epist. Afric. Concil. ad Cœlest. Justitiam examinis unicuiquebet. Executores clericos vestros.

The bishops of the east part of the world, being Arians, writing unto Julius the bishop of Rome, took it grievously that he would presume to over-rule them; and shewed him, it was not lawful for him, by any sleight or colour of appeal, to undo that thing that they had done<sup>15</sup>. Sozom. Lib. iii. cap. vii.

St Cyprian, finding fault with such running to Rome, and defeating of justice, writeth unto Cornelius the bishop there in this sort: *Cum... æquum justumque sit*, Cypri. Lib. i. Epist. 3.

[<sup>9</sup> Concil. Afric. cap. 63. in eod. Tom. I. p. 513.]

[<sup>10</sup> Ibid. cap. 92. ibid. p. 517.]

[<sup>11</sup> Appellaverint, 1565.]

[<sup>12</sup> Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Deor. Sec. Pars, Caus. 11. Quæst. vi. ad calc. can. 35. col. 675.]

[<sup>13</sup> Epist. Concil. Afric. ad Cœlestin. cap. 105. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 521. See before, page 356, note 6.]

[<sup>14</sup> Though, 1611.]

[<sup>15</sup> Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. 111. cap. viii. p. 414.]

## Appeals.

*ut unuscujusque causa illic audiatur, ubi crimen est admissum, et singulis pastoribus portio gregis sit adscripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus Domino redditurus; oportet utique eos, quibus præsumus, non circumcursare, nec episcoporum concordiam coherentem sua subdola et fallaci temeritate collidere, sed agere illic causam suam, ubi et accusatores habere et testes sui criminis possint: nisi ... paucis desperatis et perditis minor videtur esse auctoritas episcoporum in Africa constitutorum, qui jam de illis judicaverunt<sup>1</sup>, &c.: "Seeing it is meet and right that every man's cause be heard there where the fault was committed, and seeing that every bishop hath a portion of the flock allotted unto him, which he must rule and govern, and yield account unto the Lord for the same; therefore it is not meet that they whom we are appointed to oversee do thus run about (with their appeals), and so, with their subtle and deceitful rashness, break that concord and consent of bishops: but there ought they to plead their cause, where they may have both accusers and witnesses of the fault; unless perhaps a few desperate and lewd fellows think the authority of the bishops of Africa, which have already judged and condemned them, to be less than is the authority of other bishops."*

Lewd and desperate.

Hereby it is clear that the godly fathers and bishops, in old times, disliked much this shifting of matters to Rome, for that they saw it was the hindrance of right, the increase of ambition, and the open breach of the holy canons.

Auth. de Sanct. Episc. Collat. ix. Si quis vero.

And therefore the emperor Justinian, foreseeing the disorders that hereof might grow, to bridle this ambitious outrage, thought it necessary for his subjects, to provide a strait law in this wise to the contrary: *Si quis ... sanctissimorum episcoporum ejusdem synodi dubitationem aliquam adinvicem habeat, sive pro ecclesiastico jure, sive pro aliis quibusdam rebus, prius metropolita eorum, cum aliis de sua synodo episcopis, causam examinet et judicet. . Quod si utraque pars rata non habuerit ea quæ judicata sunt, tunc beatissimus patriarcha dioceseos illius inter eos audiat, et illa determinet quæ ecclesiasticis canonibus et legibus consonant, nulla parte ejus sententiæ contradicere valente<sup>2</sup>: "If any of the most holy bishops, being of one synod, have any matter of doubt or question among themselves, whether it be for ecclesiastical right, or any other matters, first let their metropolitan, with other bishops of the same synod, examine and judge the cause. But if both the parties stand not to his and their judgments, then let the most holy patriarch of the same province hear and determine their matters<sup>3</sup>, according to the ecclesiastical laws and canons. And neither of the parties may withstand his determination." And immediately after: *Patriarcha secundum canones et leges ... præbeat finem<sup>4</sup>: "Let the patriarch according to the laws and canons make an end."* By these words all appeals be quite cut off from the see of Rome.*

οὐδὲνός μὲν  
ποὺς... ἀν-  
τιλέγειν  
δυναμένους.

In eodem.

παρεχέτω  
πέρας.

Cod. de Sacrosanct. Eccles. Omni.

Cod. de Episc. et Clericis. Actor in nullo alio foro, vel apud quendam alterum judicem, clericos (ecclesie Constantinopolitane) litibus tentet irretire.<sup>7</sup>

Likewise the emperors Honorius and Theodosius have taken appeals away from the bishops of Rome, and have commanded the same to be entered before the bishop and synod of Constantinople. The law is written thus: *Omni innovatione cessante, vetustatem, et canones pristinos ecclesiasticos, qui usque tunc tenuerunt, . . . per omnes Illyrici provincias servari præcipimus: ut si quid dubietatis<sup>5</sup> emergerit, id oporteat, non absque sententia viri reverendissimi sacrosanctæ legis antistitis ecclesiæ urbis Constantinopolitanæ, quæ Romæ veteris prærogativa letatur, conventui sacerdotali et sancto judicio reservari<sup>6</sup>: "All innovation set apart, we command that the old order, and the ancient ecclesiastical canons, which hitherto have holden, be kept still through all the provinces of Illyricum; that, if any matter of doubt happen to arise, it be put over to be determined by the holy judgment and assembly of bishops, not without the discretion of the most*

[<sup>1</sup> Cypr. Op. Oxon. 1632. Ad Cornel. Epist. lix. pp. 136, 7; where we find *æquum sit pariter ac justum, and est crimen.*]

[<sup>2</sup> Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Auth. Coll. ix. Tit. vi. Novell. cxxiii. cap. 22; where *et si non rata habuerit utraque pars quæ.*]

[<sup>3</sup> Matter, 1665, 1609.]

[<sup>4</sup> Id. ibid.; where for *patriarcha* we find *et ille* :

*κακείνος.*]

[<sup>5</sup> Dubitatis, 1609, 1611.]

[<sup>6</sup> Id. Cod. Lib. i. Tit. ii. 6. Tom. II. p. 6; where *usque nunc, scientia, and sanctoque.*]

[<sup>7</sup> Id. ibid. Lib. i. Tit. iii. 25. Tom. II. p. 13; where for *actor* we have *qui*, and *eosdem clericos litibus irretire...tentet.*]

reverend the bishop of the city of Constantinople, which city now enjoyeth the prerogative of old Rome." Here M. Harding may not forget that the church of Constantinople had as great prerogative in all respects, of pre-eminence, superiority, and universality of charge, as ever had the church of Rome. Wherefore, if the bishop of Rome were head of the universal church, it must needs follow that the bishop of Constantinople was likewise head of the universal church.

Appeals.

And again, the emperor Leo in plainer words: *Omnes qui ubicunque sunt, vel posthac fuerint, orthodoxæ fidei sacerdotes, et cleri<sup>8</sup>, cujuscunque gradus sint, monachi quoque, in causis civilibus, ex nullius penitus majoris minorisve sententia judicis commonitoria ad extranea judicia pertrahantur; aut provinciam, vel locum, vel regionem quam habitant, exire cogantur<sup>9</sup>*: "All that be, or hereafter shall be, priests or clerks of the catholic faith, of what degree soever they be, monks also, let them not in any civil actions be drawn forth to foreign judgment, by the summon or commandment of any judge, more or less; neither let them be driven to come forth of either the province, or the place, or the country, where they dwell." Thus, whether the action were ecclesiastical or civil, the party was to be heard within his own province, and could not be forced to appear abroad.

Cod. de  
Episc. et  
Cleric.  
Omnes.

Certainly, what good liking St Bernard had herein, it appeareth by his words.

For thus he writeth to Eugenius the bishop of Rome: *Quousque non exigitur consideratio tua ad tantam appellationum confusionem? . . . Ambitio in ecclesia per te regnare molitur: . . . præter jus et fas, præter morem et ordinem, fiunt. . . Repertum ad remedium, reperitur ad mortem: . . . antidotum versum [est] in venenum. . . Murmur loquor et querimoniam [communem] ecclesiarum. Truncari se clamant et demembrari. Vel nullæ, vel paucae admodum sunt, quæ plagam istam aut non doleant, aut non timeant<sup>10</sup>*: "When will thy consideration awake, to behold this so great confusion of appeals? Ambition and pride striveth through thee to reign in the church. These appeals be made beside all law and right, beside all manner and good order. It was devised for a remedy: it is found turned to death. That was triacle<sup>11</sup> is changed into poison. I speak of the murmuring and common complaint of the churches. They complain they be maimed and dismembered. There be either no churches, or very few, but either smart at this plague, or stand in fear of it." This is that worthy ground, whereupon M. Harding hath laid the first foundation of his supremacy: a confusion, a death, a poison, a terror, and dismembering of the churches; practised against law, against right, against manner, and against good order; disliked by the holy fathers, disallowed by godly councils, and utterly abrogated and abolished by sundry worthy and noble princes. This is M. Harding's principal foundation of his primacy.

Bernard. ad  
Eugen. de  
Considerat.  
Lib. iii.

But yet these men will say, Chrysostom, Athanasius, and Theodoretus, being godly fathers and holy bishops, appealed to Rome, and acknowledged the pope's authority, and besought him to use the same. For the true understanding hereof, it shall be necessary to consider the state that these godly fathers then stood in, and the miserable confusion of the east part of the world in those days. Chrysostom thereof writeth thus: *Certamen est totius orbis; ecclesiæ usque ad genua humiliatæ sunt, populi dispersi, clerus divexatus, episcopi exules, constitutiones patrum violatæ<sup>12</sup>*: "It is the contention of the whole world; the churches are brought upon their knees; the people is scattered; the ministry is oppressed; the bishops are banished; the constitutions of our fathers are broken." The emperor's captain with a band of soldiers beset the church where Athanasius was praying. Of the people that was with him, some were spoiled and banished, some trodden under the soldiers' feet, some slain where they went. Paulus the bishop of Constantinople was hanged: Marcellus the bishop of Ancyra was deprived: Lucius the bishop of Adrianopolis died in prison: Theodulus and Olympius, two bishops of Thracia, were commanded to be murdered. The

Epist. 2.  
Chrysost. ad  
Innocent.

Socrat. Lib.  
ii. cap. xi.  
Sozom. Lib.  
iii. cap. vi.  
Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
solitariam  
vitam  
agentes.  
Theodor.  
Lib. ii. cap.  
xiv.

[<sup>8</sup> Clerici, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>9</sup> Id. *ibid.* Lib. i. Tit. iii. 33. Tom. II. p. 17; where *ubique, clerici, and aut locum aut regionem.*]

[<sup>10</sup> Bernard. Op. Par. 1690. De Consid. Lib. iii. capp. ii. 7. i. 5. ii. 7, 8. iv. 14. Vol. I. Tom. ii. cols.

428-31; where *ne quod repertum ad remedium fuit reperitur ad mortem, and clamitant.*]

[<sup>11</sup> Triacle: treacle.]

[<sup>12</sup> Chrysost. Op. Par. 1718-38. Ad Innoc. Epist. ii. Tom. III. p. 522.]

## Appeals.

emperor had commanded Athanasius to be brought unto him, either dead or alive<sup>1</sup>.

These godly fathers, being thus in extreme misery, and seeing their whole church in the east part so desolate, were forced to seek for comfort wheresoever they had hope to find any; and specially they sought to the church of Rome, which then, both for multitude of people, and for purity of religion and constancy in the same, and also for helping of the afflicted, and entreating for them, was most famous above all others. In like sort sometimes they fled for help unto the emperor. So Athanasius, being condemned in the council at Tyrus, fled to Constantinus the emperor<sup>2</sup>; Flavianus unto the emperors Theodosius and Valentinianus<sup>3</sup>; Donatus a Casis Nigris unto Constantinus<sup>4</sup>. And the emperors sometimes called the parties, and heard the matter themselves; sometimes they wrote favourable letters in their behalf. The emperor Constans wrote unto his brother Constantius to call before him the bishops of the east part, to yield a reckoning of their doings against Athanasius<sup>5</sup>. The emperor Honorius gave his endeavour that Athanasius might be restored<sup>6</sup>. Constantinus the emperor, upon Athanasius' complaint, commanded the bishops of the council of Tyrus to appear before him. The words of his summon be these: *Quotquot synodum Tyri habitam complectistis, sine mora ad pietatis nostræ castra properetis, ac re ipsa, quam sincere ac recte judicaveritis, ostendatis: idque coram me, quem sincerum esse Dei ministrum ne ros quidem ipsi negabitis*<sup>7</sup>: "As many of you as were at the council of Tyrus, hie you unto our camp or court without delay, and shew us how sincerely and uprightly ye have dealt; and that even *before me*, whom you yourselves cannot deny to be the sincere servant of God."

Thus holy men, being in distress, sought help wheresoever they had hope to find it. This seeking of remedy by way of complaint, as it declareth their misery, so it is<sup>8</sup> not sufficient to prove an ordinary appeal.

But it is most certain, and without all question, that Chrysostom appealed unto Innocentius. For M. Harding hath here alleged his own words. I grant M. Harding hath here alleged Chrysostom, but in such faithful and trusty sort as pope Zosimus sometimes alleged the council of Nice. Good christian reader, if thou have Chrysostom, peruse this place, and weigh well his words; if thou have him not, yet be not over-hasty of belief. M. Harding's dealing with thee herein is not plain. The very words of Chrysostom in Latin stand thus: *Ne confusio hæc omnem, quæ sub cælo est, nationem invadat, obsecro ut scribas, quod hæc tam inique facta, et absentibus nobis, et non declinantibus judicium, non habeant robur: sicut neque natura sua habent. Illi autem, qui inique egerunt, pœnæ ecclesiasticarum legum subiaceant. Nobis vero, qui nec convicti, nec redarguti, nec habiti ut rei [sumus], literis vestris, et caritate vestra, aliorumque omnium quorum... ante societate fruebamur, frui concedite*<sup>9</sup>. Which words into English may truly be translated thus: "Lest this confusion overrun all nations under heaven, I pray thee write (or signify) unto them, that these things so unjustly done, I being absent, and yet not flying<sup>10</sup> judgment, be of no force, as indeed of their own nature they be of none; and (write) that they that have done these things so

[<sup>1</sup> Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. II. cap. xi. p. 74.

Sozom. in eod. Lib. II. cap. vi. p. 411.

Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 6. 7. 19. Tom. I. pp. 347, 8, 354, 5.

Theodor. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. II. cap. xiv. pp. 88, &c.]

[<sup>2</sup> Athanas. Op. Apol. contr. Arian. 9. Tom. I. Pars I. p. 131.

Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. I. capp. xxxi. xxxii. p. 56.

Hist. Tripart. Par. Lib. III. cap. v. fol. E. 6.

It is not easy to tell to what events in the text each particular marginal reference is made. The editor has given those which he supposed to be intended.]

[<sup>3</sup> Ambros. Op. Par. 1686-90. Ad Theoph. Epist. lvi. 3. Tom. II. col. 1006.]

[<sup>4</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. 4. Tom. II. col. 90.]

[<sup>5</sup> Sozom. in Decret. Jul. Papæ I. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 314.]

[<sup>6</sup> There is evidently an error here. For Athanasius probably Chrysostom is meant. The place referred to in Sozomen mentions the petition to the emperors Honorius and Arcadius for a synod with the view of obtaining the restoration of Chrysostom. Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. VIII. cap. xxviii. p. 645.]

[<sup>7</sup> Socrat. in eod. Lib. I. cap. xxxiv. p. 58.]

[<sup>8</sup> Is it, 1565.]

[<sup>9</sup> Chrysost. Op. Lat. Basil. 1547. Ad Innoc. Epist. i. Tom. V. cols. 972, 3; where *sua natura* and *antea*.]

[<sup>10</sup> Fleeing, 1565.]

Athan. Apol. 2.  
Socrat. Lib. I. cap. xx.  
Cassiod. Lib. iv. cap. xx.  
Ambros. Lib. x. Epist. 78. August.  
Epist. 162.  
Inter Decret. Julii, e  
Sozom.  
Sozom. Lib. viii. cap. xxviii.  
Socrat. Lib. I. cap. xxii.

Coram me.

Epist.  
Chrysost. ad Innocent. in Tom. v. Epist. I.

wrongfully be punished by the laws of the church; and grant you that we, that are neither convicted, nor reprov'd, nor found guilty, may enjoy your letters and your love, and likewise the letters and love of all others whose fellowship we enjoyed before." In these few words M. Harding hath notably falsified three places, quite altering the words that he found, and shuffling in and interlacing other words of his own. For these words in M. Harding's translation, that seem to signify authority in the bishop of Rome, and to import the appeal:

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"Write, and determine by your authority: Put you them under the censure of the church:

M. Harding falsifieth and untruly translateth St Chrysostom.

"Give commandment that we be restored to our churches;"

these words, I say, are not to be found in Chrysostom, neither in the Greek nor in the Latin, but only are prettily conveyed in by M. Harding, the better to furnish and fashion up his appeal. He seeth well this matter will not stand upright without the manifest corruption and falsifying of the doctors. This therefore is M. Harding's appeal, and not Chrysostom's.

For that Chrysostom made no such appeal to the bishop of Rome, it may sufficiently appear, both by Chrysostom's own epistles, and by the bishop of Rome's dealing herein, and by the end and conclusion of the cause. Touching Chrysostom himself, he maketh no mention of any appeal, nor desireth the parties to be cited to Rome, nor taketh Innocentius for the bishop of the whole church, or for the universal judge of all the world, but only saluteth him thus: *Innocentio episcopo Romæ Johannes*<sup>11</sup>: "John to Innocentius bishop of Rome sendeth greeting." And again, in the same epistle, he utterly avoideth all such foreign judgments, according to the determinations of the councils of Carthage, Milevitum, and Africa. These be his words: *Neque . . . congruum est, ut hi, qui in Ægypto sunt, judicent eos qui [sunt] in Thracia*<sup>12</sup>: "It is not meet that they that be in Egypt should be judges over them that be in Thracia."

Ad Innocent. Epist. priore.

Neither do the bishop of Rome's own words import any appeal, but rather the contrary: for he used<sup>13</sup> not his familiar words of bidding or commanding, but only in gentle and friendly manner exhorteth them to appear; and that not before himself, but only before the council of sundry bishops, summoned specially for that purpose. For thus Julius writeth unto the bishops of the east: *Quæ est causa offensionis? . . . An quia adhortati vos sumus, ut ad synodum occurreretis*<sup>14</sup>?

Epist. Julii ad Athan. Apol. 2.

"What is the cause of your displeasure? Is it because we exhorted you to come to the council?" Here he exhorteth and entreateth them: he commandeth them not: he calleth them to come, not before himself, but before the council. Again he saith: *Legati vestri, Macarius presbyter, et Hesychius diaconus, . . . concilium*

In Apol. 2.

*indici postulaverunt*<sup>15</sup>: "Your own ambassadors, Macarius being a priest, and Hesychius being a deacon, required that a council might be summoned." And again: *Vellem . . . vos magis ad jam dictam canonicam convenire vocationem, ut coram*

Epist. Julii ad Oriental. inter Decret. Julii.

*universali synodo reddatis rationem*<sup>16</sup>: "I would you rather to come to this canonical calling, that ye may yield your account of your doings before the general council."

So likewise St Basil writeth to Athanasius, by way of counsel, in that heavy time of trouble: *Viros igitur ecclesiæ tuæ potentes ad occidentales episcopos mitte, qui, quibus calamitatibus premamur, illis exponant*<sup>17</sup>: "Send some worthy men of your churches (not unto the bishop of Rome, but) unto the bishops of the west, that may let them understand with what miseries we are beset." Likewise again he saith: *Visum mihi est consentaneum, ut scribatur episcopo Romæ, ut ea, quæ hic*

Basil. Epist. 48. ad Athan.

*geruntur, consideret, detque concilium*<sup>18</sup>: "I think it good ye write to the bishop of Rome, that he may consider that is here done, and may appoint us a council."

Basil. ad Athan. Epist. 52.

[<sup>11</sup> This is the address in the second epistle—Id. ibid.; in the first these words are added: domino meo reverendissimo, pietissimoque.—Id. cols. 969, 70.]

[<sup>12</sup> Id. ibid. col. 970.]

[<sup>13</sup> Useth, 1565.]

[<sup>14</sup> Epist. Jul. in Athanas. Op. Apol. contr. Arian. 22. Tom. I. Pars i. p. 142.]

[<sup>15</sup> Id. ibid.]

[<sup>16</sup> Rescr. Jul. contr. Orient. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. I. p. 309; where *concilio redderetis*.]

[<sup>17</sup> Basil. Op. Par. 1721-30. Ad Athanas. Epist. lxvi. Tom. III. p. 159.]

[<sup>18</sup> Id. ad eund. Epist. lxi. p. 162; where however the Greek text has *δοῦναι γνώμην*, and a little below *αὐτὸν ἀνθεντῆσαι περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα*.]



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Athan. in  
Epist. ad  
solitariam  
vitam  
agentes.

Epist. Julii  
in Apol.  
Athan. 2.

Niceph. Lib.  
xiii. cap.  
xxxiii.

Optat. Lib. i.

Inter Decret.  
Julii Concil.  
Tom. i.

Inter Decret.  
Innocent.  
Epist. 27.

Sozom. Lib.  
iii. cap. x.

Concil.  
Constant.  
quintum.  
Actio. 1.

Neither did the bishop of Rome by his own authority summon the bishops of the east, but by the counsel and conference of other bishops. For so Athanasius saith: *Misit omnium Italicorum episcoporum consilio Julius ad episcopos orientales, certum illis synodi diem denuntians*<sup>1</sup>: "Julius sent unto the bishops of the east, by the counsel of all the bishops of Italy, giving them to understand the certain day of the council." Which thing Julius also himself avoucheth by these words: *Tametsi solus sim, qui scripsi, tamen non meam solius sententiam, sed omnium Italarum et omnium in his regionibus episcoporum scripsi*<sup>2</sup>: "Notwithstanding I alone wrote, yet it was not mine own mind only that I wrote, but also the mind of the bishops of Italy, and of all other bishops of these countries."

So likewise Innocentius the bishop of Rome, being very desirous to restore Chrysostom, and to recover the unity of the church, not of himself, or by his own authority, but by the decree and consent of a council holden in Italy, sent messengers into the east<sup>3</sup>. And, sitting with others in the council, he took not upon him that universal power that is now imagined, but had his voice equal with his brethren, as it appeareth by Miltiades bishop of Rome, that sat with three bishops of Gallia, and fourteen other bishops of Italy, to determine the controversy between Cæcilianus and Donatus a Casis Nigris<sup>4</sup>.

Now, to come to the prosecution of the matter, M. Harding knoweth that the bishops of the east understood not this singular authority or prerogative of the bishop of Rome; and therefore, being called, obeyed not the summon, nor had any regard unto his sentence, as it is many ways easy to be seen. Therefore they returned unto Julius this answer: *Si nostris placitis... assentiri... volueritis, ... pacem vobiscum et communionem habere volumus. Sin vero aliter egeritis, et eis amplius quam nobis assentiri judicaveritis, contraria celebrabimus: et deinceps nec vobiscum congregari, nec vobis obedire, nec vobis vestrisve favere volumus*<sup>5</sup>: "If you will agree unto our orders, we will have peace and communion with you; but, if you will otherwise do, and rather agree unto our adversaries than unto us, then will we publish the contrary; and henceforth neither will we sit in council with you, nor obey you, nor bear good-will either to you or to any of yours."

This imperfection and weakness of their own doings the bishops of Rome themselves understood and confessed. For thus Innocentius writeth unto St Augustine, Alypius, and others in Africa, touching Pelagius: *Si adhuc taliter sentit, cum sciat se damnandum esse; quibus acceptis literis, aut quando se nostro judicio committet? Quod si accersendus esset, id ab illis melius fieret, qui magis proximi, et non longo terrarum spatio videntur esse disjuncti*<sup>6</sup>: "If he continue still in one mind, knowing that I will pronounce against him; at what request of letters, or when will he commit himself to our judgment? If it be good he were called to make answer, it were better some others called him, that are near at hand," &c.

And therefore Julius the bishop of Rome, finding his own infirmity herein, wrote unto the emperor Constans, and opened unto him the whole matter, and besought him to write unto his brother Constantius, that it might please him to send the bishops of the east, to make answer to that they had done against Athanasius<sup>7</sup>. Even so the clergy of the city of Antioch, in the like case of trouble and spoil, wrote unto John the patriarch of Constantinople, to entreat the emperor in their behalf<sup>8</sup>. It appeareth hereby, that this infinite authority and prerogative power over all the world in those days was not known.

[<sup>1</sup> Mention is made of the announcement by Julius that a council should be summoned, Athanas. Op. Par. 1698. Hist. Arian. ad Monach. 9, 11. Tom. I. Pars 1. pp. 349, 50; but nothing is there said of the counsel of all the bishops of Italy.]

[<sup>2</sup> Epist. Jul. in eod. Apol. contr. Arian. 26. Tom. I. Pars 1. p. 146.]

[<sup>3</sup> Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. xiii. cap. xxxiii. Tom. II. p. 417.]

[<sup>4</sup> Optat. De Schism. Donatist. Lut. Par. 1700. Lib. i. cap. xxiii. p. 20. Optatus enumerates fifteen Italian bishops besides Miltiades.]

[<sup>5</sup> Epist. Orient. ad Jul. in Crabb. Concil. Col. Agrip. 1551. Tom. I. p. 307; where we find *assen-*

*tire, eligitis, si vero, nobis assentire, vobiscum deinceps nec, and vestrisque.*]

[<sup>6</sup> ... si adhuc, &c., quando se nostro judicio, quibusvis acceptis literis, quum sciat damnandum se esse, committet? Quod si accersendus esset, ab his melius, &c.—Rescr. Innoc. ad Aur. &c. Epist. xxvii. in eod. Tom. I. p. 480.]

[<sup>7</sup> Sozom. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. iii. cap. x. p. 416.]

[<sup>8</sup> Suppl. Cler. Ant. ad Joan. Patr. et Syn. in. Quint. Syn. Const. in Crabb. Concil. Tom. II. pp. 34, 5. See also Concil. Stud. Labb. et Cossart. Lut. Par. 1671-2. Tom. V. cols. 157, &c.]

I think it hereby plainly and sufficiently proved, first, that the bishop of Rome had no authority to receive appeals from all parts of the world, and that by the councils of Nice, of Tele, of Milevitum, and of Africa, by St Cyprian, and by the emperors Martian and Justinian. Next, that M. Harding, the better to furnish his matter, hath notoriously falsified Chrysostom's words three times in one place. Thirdly, that Chrysostom's letter unto Innocentius contained matter of complaint, but no appeal: which thing is also proved by the very words and tenor of the letter, by the bishops of Rome's own confession, and by the imperfection and weakness of their doings. For the law saith: *Jurisdiction sine modica coercionem nulla est*<sup>9</sup>: "Jurisdiction without some compulsion is no jurisdiction."

Appeals.

De Officio  
ejus cui  
mandata est  
jurisdictio.  
Mandatam.

Indeed, by way of compromise and agreement of the parties, matters were sometimes brought to be heard and ended by the bishop of Rome, as also by other bishops, but not by any ordinary process or course of law. And so it appeareth this matter between Athanasius and the Arians was first brought unto Julius; for that the Arians willingly desired him, for trial thereof, to call a council. For thus Julius himself writeth unto the bishops of the east, as it is before alleged: *Si Macario et Hesychio nullam synodum postulantibus adhortator fuisset, ut ad synodum, qui ad me scripissent, convocarentur, idque in gratiam fratrum, qui se injuriam pati conquerebantur, etiam ita justa fuisset mea cohortatio: . . . jam vero, ubi iidem illi, qui a vobis pro gravibus viris et fide dignis habiti sunt, auctores mihi fuerint, ut vos convocarem, certe id a vobis ægre*<sup>10</sup> *ferri non debuit*<sup>11</sup>: "If I had given advice unto (your messengers) Macarius and Hesychius, that they that had written unto me might be called to a council, and that in consideration of our brethren, which complained they suffered wrong, although neither of them had desired the same, yet had mine advice been void of injury. But now, seeing the same men, whom you took to be grave and worthy of credit, have made suit unto me that I should call you, verily ye should not take it in ill part."

Epist. Julii  
in Apol.  
Athanas. 2.

Hereby it is plain that Julius took upon him to call these parties, not by any such universal jurisdiction, as M. Harding fancieth, but only by the consent and request of both parties. And therefore Julius saith, he caused Athanasius to be cited *regulariter*, that is, according to order; for the order of judgment is that a man be first called, and then accused, and last of all condemned: but he meaneth not thereby the order of the canons, as M. Harding expoundeth it. For, touching appeals to Rome, there was no canon yet provided. The counterfeit epistle of Athanasius to Felix is answered before.

Regulariter.

Theodoretus was deposed and banished and cruelly entreated, as it appeareth by his letters unto Renatus<sup>12</sup>; and therefore the words that he useth are rather tokens of his miseries and want of help, than certain testimonies of his judgment. For every man is naturally inclined to extol him, and to advance<sup>13</sup> his power, at whose hands<sup>14</sup> he seeketh help.

Theodoretus.

But, if it were granted it was lawful then for the bishop of Rome to receive all manner appeals, in such order as it is pretended, yet cannot M. Harding thereof necessarily conclude, that the bishop of Rome was the head of the universal church. For Ostiensis saith: "Appeals may be made, not only from the lower judge unto the higher, but also from equal to equal." And in this order, as it shall afterward be shewed more at large, Donatus a Casis Nigris was by the emperor lawfully removed from the bishop of Rome to the bishop of Arle in France<sup>15</sup>. Ostiensis' words be these: *Non nocebit error, si appelletur ad majorem quam debuerit, vel ad parem*<sup>16</sup>: "The error shall not hurt, if the appeal be made

August. Epist.  
162.  
Extra. de  
Appellat. in  
Sext. Roman.  
Eccles. in  
Gloss.

[<sup>9</sup> Paul. in Corp. Jur. Civil. Amst. 1663. Digest. Lib. 1. Tit. xxi. 5. Tom. I. p. 87; where *coercitione*.]

[<sup>10</sup> *Ægri*, 1611.]

[<sup>11</sup> Epist. Jul. in Athanas. Op. Apol. contr. Arian. 22. Tom. I. Pars 1. pp. 142, 3. The Greek text for *qui ad me scripissent convocarentur* is *οὐκ ἔλαυνον τοὺς γραψάντας*.]

[<sup>12</sup> See before, page 387.] [<sup>13</sup> Avance, 1565.]

[<sup>14</sup> Hand, 1565, 1609.]

[<sup>15</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliiii. 4. Tom. II. col. 90. See before, page 371,

note 17. See also Cler. Hippon. ad Januar. Epist. lxxxviii. 3. col. 214; where the same words *episcopale judicium* are used of the cause at Arles, as at Rome.]

[<sup>16</sup> Hostiens. Op. Par. 1512. In Extrav. Decr. Innoc. IV. De Appellat. fol. 151. See also Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Sext. Decretal. Lib. II. Tit. xv. Gloss. in cap. iii. col. 402; where the words of Hostiensis are quoted, and the gloss proceeds: *Valeat ergo consuetudo quoad parem*; but the marginal note mentioned does not appear.]

either to a higher judge than was meet, or to an equal." Where also it is thus noted in the margin: *Appellari potest ad parem, si de hoc sit consuetudo*: "Appeal may be made unto the equal, if there be a custom of it." Hereby it is plain that the right of appeal, by fine force of law, concludeth not any necessary superiority, much less this infinite power over the whole universal church.

But M. Harding might soon have foreseen that this his first principle of appeals would easily be turned against himself:

1. First, for that it is well known that appeals then, even in the ecclesiastical causes, were made unto the emperors and civil princes.
2. Secondly, for that the bishop of Rome determined such cases of appeal by warrant and commission from the emperor.
3. Thirdly, for that matters, being once heard and determined by the bishop of Rome, have been by appeal from him removed further unto others.

As touching the first, that appeals in ecclesiastical causes were lawfully made unto the prince, it is clear by Eusebius<sup>1</sup>, by Socrates<sup>2</sup>, by Nicephorus<sup>3</sup>, and by St Augustine, in sundry places. Donatus, being condemned by three-score and ten bishops in Africa, appealed unto the emperor Constantinus, and was received<sup>4</sup>.

St Augustine saith: *Parmenianus ultro passus est suos adire Constantinum*<sup>5</sup>: "Parmenianus willingly suffered his fellows to go unto the emperor Constantinus."

Again he saith: *Infero adhuc et verba Constantini ex literis ejus, ubi se inter partes cognovisse, et innocentem Cæcilianum comperisse, testatur*<sup>6</sup>: "Here I bring in the words of Constantine out of his own letters, wherein he confesseth that he heard the parties, and found Cæcilianus to be innocent." Likewise he saith: *An forte de religione fas non est ut dicat imperator, vel quos miserit imperator? Cur ergo ad imperatorem legati vestri venerunt?*<sup>7</sup>

"What, is it not lawful for the emperor, or for such as shall be sent by the emperor, to pronounce sentence of religion? Wherefore then came your ambassadors unto the emperor?" And so likewise again: *Si nihil debent in his causis imperatores jubere, si ad imperatores christianos hæc cura pertinere non debet, quis urgebat majores vestros causam Cæciliani ad imperatorem mittere*<sup>8</sup>?

"If emperors have nothing to command in these cases, or if this matter nothing touch a christian emperor's charge, who then forced your predecessors to remove Cæcilianus' matter unto the emperor?" Therefore the emperor Constantinus summoned the bishops of the east, that had been in the council of Tyrus, to appear before him, to render account of their doings. His words be these: *Ut re ipsa quam sincere ac recte judicaveritis, ostendatis; idque coram me*<sup>9</sup>:

"I will you to make your appearance, and to shew indeed how sincerely and justly ye have dealt; and that even before me." By these few examples it may well appear that appeals in ecclesiastical causes in those days were made unto the prince, and that it was thought lawful then for the prince to have the hearing of the same. Yet was not the prince therefore the head of the universal church. Certainly St Gregory thought it not amiss to commit a spiritual matter, touching the purgation of a bishop, to Brunichilda the French queen<sup>10</sup>.

Notwithstanding it be noted thus in the gloss: *Fuit tamen hic nimium papaliter dispensatum*<sup>11</sup>.

As touching the bishop of Rome's power herein, it is certain he heard such matters of appeal by warrant of the emperor's commission, and not as having authority of himself. St Augustine, opening the contention between Cæcilianus and Donatus a Casis Nigris, uttereth this matter at large in this wise:

[<sup>1</sup> Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Amst. 1695-1700. Lib. x. cap. v. pp. 319, &c.]

[<sup>2</sup> Socrat. in eod. Lib. i. capp. xxxiii. xxxiv. pp. 57, &c.]

[<sup>3</sup> Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lut. Par. 1630. Lib. vii. cap. xliii. Tom. I. pp. 507, &c.]

[<sup>4</sup> August. Op. Par. 1679-1700. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. 4. Tom. II. col. 90.]

[<sup>5</sup> ...ultro passus est suos ipsos adiisse etiam Constantinum.—Id. Contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. i. cap. v. 10. Tom. IX. col. 17.]

[<sup>6</sup> Id. Contr. Cresc. Donatist. Lib. iii. cap. lxxi. 82. Tom. IX. col. 476; where *insero*.]

[<sup>7</sup> Id. Contr. Epist. Parm. Lib. i. cap. ix. 15. Tom. IX. col. 20; where we find *vestri venere legati*.]

[<sup>8</sup> Id. Cler. Hippon. ad Januar. Epist. lxxxviii. 5. Tom. II. col. 215.]

[<sup>9</sup> Socrat. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. i. cap. xxxiv. p. 58.]

[<sup>10</sup> Gregor. in Corp. Jur. Canon. Lugd. 1624. Decret. Gratian. Decr. Sec. Pars, Caus. ii. Quæst. v. can. 7. cols. 641, 2. A part only of this canon is found in Gregory's works, Par. 1705. Epist. Lib. xiiii. Indict. vi. Ad Brunich. Reg. Epist. vi. Tom. II. col. 1219.]

[<sup>11</sup> Gloss. in eod. ibid. col. 642.]

Euseb. Lib. x. cap. v.  
Socrat. Lib. i. cap. xxi.  
Niceph. Lib. vii. cap. xliii.  
August. Epist. 162.  
Contra Epist. Parm. Lib. i. cap. v.  
Contra Cresc. Gram. Lib. iii. cap. lxxi.  
Contra Epist. Parm. Lib. i. cap. vii.

August. Epist. 68.

Socrat. Lib. i. cap. xxii.

Gregor. Lib. ii. Epist. 8.  
ii. Quæst. v. Mennam.

*An forte non debuit Romanæ ecclesiæ episcopus Miltiades cum collegis transmarinis episcopis illud sibi usurpare iudicium, quod ab Afris septuaginta, ubi primas Tigisitanus præsedet, fuerat terminatum? Quid, quod nec ipse usurpavit? Rogatus quippe imperator iudices misit episcopos, qui cum eo sederent*<sup>12</sup>: “But should not the bishop of Rome, Miltiades, with other his fellows, bishops beyond the seas, joined together in commission, take upon him the judgment of that thing that was determined before by three-score and ten bishops of Africa, amongst whom the primate of Tigisita sat as president? And what if he never took it upon him (as of himself)? For the emperor, being entreated by the party, sent other bishops to sit with him.” The very copy of this commission is yet to be seen, both in Eusebius, and also in Nicephorus. Neither was the bishop of Rome alone in that commission, but joined together with Rheticius, Maternus, Marinus, and Marcus, whom the emperor calleth his commission-fellows. The words of the commission be these: *Constantinus imperator Miltiadi episcopo Romano, et Marco, &c.*<sup>13</sup>: “Constantinus emperor<sup>14</sup> unto Miltiades the bishop of Rome, and unto Marcus. Forasmuch as sundry letters have been sent unto me from Anilinus our most noble president of Africa, wherein Cæcilianus the bishop of Carthage is accused of many matters by certain his fellows of the same country, &c. Therefore I have thought it good that the said Cæcilianus, together with ten bishops his accusers, and other ten, such as he shall think meet, sail to Rome, that there in your presence, together with Rheticius, and Maternus, and Marinus, your fellow-commissioners, whom for that cause I have willed to travel to Rome, he may be heard,” &c.

Appeals.

August.  
Epist. 162.Euseb. Lib.  
x. cap. v.  
Niceph. Lib.  
vii. cap. xliii.  
Collegas.

Here it is evident to be seen, that the bishop of Rome was the emperor's delegate, and in ecclesiastical jurisdiction had his authority and power, not from St Peter, but from the emperor. Whereby it is easy to be gathered, that the bishop of Rome's power was not so universal then as M. Harding would seem now to make it; and that the world then understood not this decree of pope Clemens the fifth, which, as it is reported, he afterward published in the council of Vienna: *Omne jus regum pendet a papa*<sup>15</sup>: “All the right of the prince is derived from the pope.”

Clemens v.

Neither was the bishop of Rome's determination of such force, but that it was lawful then for the party grieved to refuse his judgment, and to appeal further. And therefore Donatus, being condemned before Miltiades, appealed from him, and, upon his complaint unto the emperor, was put over unto the bishop of Arle, in France, and to certain others<sup>16</sup>. And in conclusion, understanding that judgment there would pass against him, last of all he appealed to the emperor's own person. And the emperor himself confesseth by his letters, that he sat in judgment, and heard both parties<sup>17</sup>.

August.  
Epist. 68.August.  
contra Cresc.  
Gram. Lib.  
iii. cap. lxxii.

Now, if receiving of appeals necessarily import this universal power, then was the emperor's power universal; for he received all appeals, out of all countries, without exception, and that even in causes ecclesiastical. Again, then was the bishop of Rome's power not universal; for it was lawful then to refuse him, and to appeal to some other. And thus M. Harding's reasons run roundly against himself.

[<sup>12</sup> August. Op. Ad Glor. et cet. Epist. xliii. 14. Tom. II. col. 94; where *Melchides episcopus*.]

[<sup>13</sup> Κωνσταντίνος σεβαστός Μιλτιάδην ἐπισκόπον Ῥωμαίων καὶ Μάρκον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοιοῦτοι χάριται παρὰ Ἀνυλλίνου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἀνθυπάτου τῆς Ἀφρικῆς πρὸς με πλείους ἀπεστάλησαν, ἐν οἷς ἐμφέρεται Καικιλιανὸν τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Καρταγ. νησιῶν πόλεως παρὰ τινῶν κολλήγων αὐτοῦ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καθεστώτων ἐν πολλοῖς πράγμασιν εὐθύνεσθαι κ. τ. λ. ἔδοξέ μοι ἔν' αὐτὸς ὁ Καικιλιανὸς μετὰ δέκα ἐπισκόπων, τῶν αὐτῶν εὐθύνειν δοκούντων, καὶ δέκα ἐτέρων οὐδ' αὐτὸς τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δίκῃ ἀναγκάσις ὑπολάβοι, εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πλῆθ' ἀπείναι· ἔν' ἐκεῖσε ὑμῶν παρόντων, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Περεκίου

καὶ Ματέρνου καὶ Μαρίνου τῶν κολλήγων ὑμῶν, οὓς τούτου ἕνεκεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην προσέταξα ἐπισπεύσαι, δυνηθῇ ἀκουσθῆναι, κ. τ. λ.—Euseb. in Hist. Eccles. Script. Lib. x. cap. v. pp. 319, 20.

Niceph. Call. Hist. Eccles. Lib. vii. cap. xliii. Tom. I. p. 507.]

[<sup>14</sup> The emperor, 1565.]

[<sup>15</sup> Pretensions of this kind are asserted by Clement, Corp. Jur. Canon. Clementin. Lib. ii. Titt. ix. xi. cap. 2. cols. 114, &c. 128, &c.]

[<sup>16</sup> August. Op. Cler. Hippon. ad Januar. Epist. lxxxviii. 3. Tom. II. col. 214.]

[<sup>17</sup> Id. Contr. Cresc. Donatist. Lib. iii. cap. lxxi. 82. Tom. IX. cols. 476, 7.]