

# DIOCESAN CHURCHES

NOT YET DISCOVERED IN THE PRIMITIVE TIMES;

OR,

A DEFENCE OF THE ANSWER TO DR. STILLINGFLEET'S ALLEGATIONS OUT  
OF ANTIQUITY FOR SUCH CHURCHES,

AGAINST

THE EXCEPTIONS OFFERED IN THE PREFACE TO A LATE TREATISE CALLED  
A VINDICATION OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH,

WHERE

WHAT IS FURTHER PRODUCED OUT OF SCRIPTURE AND ANCIENT AUTHORS FOR  
DIOCESAN CHURCHES IS ALSO DISCUSSED.

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## P R E F A C E.

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DISSENTERS are accused of schism by some of this church : both these and the other are branded not only as schismatics, but as heretics by the Papists; who upon this account judge us unworthy to live, and had actually destroyed both together, if God in mercy had not discovered their devilish plot. The discovery gave them some interruption, and put them upon an after-game, to retrieve what had miscarried. And this was so to divide us, as that ourselves should help them in their design to ruin us all, when they had less hopes to do it alone. In pursuance hereof, such influence they have had upon too many as to raise in them a greater aversion to Dissenters than to Papists. These the conspirators count their own, and think they may well do so, since they are too ready to concur with them in their design to exterminate those who are true Protestants in every point, and differ no more from this church than those in France do, who by the same counsels are at this time in extreme danger to be utterly extirpated. Others are so far prevailed with as to make use of one of the sharpest weapons they have against dissenting Protestants, and that is the charge of schism, lately renewed and reinforced.

In these hard circumstances, while we do what we can against the common enemy, we are put to ward off the blows of such as (notwithstanding some present distemper) we will count our friends. Amongst other expedients, sufficient to secure us against this attack, it was thought not unuseful to answer the allegations out of antiquity concerning two points, wherein only the ancients

were made use of to our prejudice; viz. 1. For diocesan churches; and then, 2dly. Against the election of bishops by the people in the primitive times. Something was performed and published in reference to both these in a late discourse; one-half of which, where the latter is discussed, concerning the popular elections of bishops, hath yet passed without any exception that I can see or hear of; yet this alone is enough to defend us against the afore-said charge; for those who will not make the primitive church schismatical must not condemn any as schismatics for declining such bishops as that church would not own.

Against the former part of the discourse, concerning diocesan churches, some exception hath been made; but very little. A late author, in his preface to a treatise of another subject, hath touched about five pages in forty, but so as he hath done them no more harm than another, who, to find one fault therein, runs himself into two or three, about *μύριοι*, rendered indefinitely according to the mind of the author who uses it, and the most common use of it.

I disparage not the gentleman's learning who attacks me in his preface; he shows that which (with answerable care and judgment) might be serviceable in a cause that deserves it. But much more than he shows would not be enough to support what he would establish. And he might have forborne the vilifying of those who are known to be masters of much more valuable learning than appears in either of us. The neglect of some accuracy in little things, remote from the merits of the cause, in one who is not at leisure to catch flies, is no argument that he is destitute of learning.

I complain not of his proceeding with me, but am obliged by him that he treats me not with so much contempt as he does others, who less deserve it. I wish he had dealt more temperately with M[r.] B[axter]: it would have been more for his reputation, and no prejudice to his undertaking: a good cause, when it hath a sufficient advocate, does not need any indecent supplements.

After I have cleared my discourse from this gentleman's exceptions, I thought it not impertinent to show what in reason cannot be counted competent proofs of diocesan churches; that if any will pursue this debate farther, instead of opposing us, they may not beat the air, and amuse those that inquire after truth with what is insignificant. Withal I have given an account of what

other allegations out of Scripture and antiquity this author hath brought in other parts of his treatise for such churches ; and showed that there is no evidence in them as to the purpose they are alleged for.

In short, I find nothing in this author, or any other before him, which may satisfy a judicious and impartial man that in the two first ages of Christianity any bishop had more than one particular church or congregation for his proper charge ; or that in the third age there was any bishop which had a church consisting of more than are in some one of our parishes, unless it was the church of Rome, (nor is there sufficient evidence produced for that ;) or that in the middle of the fourth age there were four churches, each of which comprised more than could assemble in one place, (though, if they had contained more, that might be far enough from making them diocesans ;) or that afterwards, within the time of the four first general councils, where there were several churches belonging to one bishop, he did exercise jurisdiction over them alone, or only by himself and his delegates. It will be time enough to censure us as schismatics for declining diocesan churches, when they have made it appear that there was such in the best ages of Christianity ; (which not appearing, the censure falls upon the primitive Christians, from whom it will slide off upon themselves.) If they will forbear us till this be performed, we need desire no more ; unless we may prevail with those who sincerely profess themselves Protestants, to regard the securing themselves and their religion from the destructive designs of the Papists, more than those things which are not properly the concern either of Protestants or of religion.

As for those who prefer the Papists before Dissenters, and revile these as worse, though they differ in no one point of religion from other true Protestants, we need not wonder if we meet with no better treatment from them than from declared Papists ; since, by such preference they too plainly declare the Protestant religion to be worse than Popery in their account. The following sheets have lain by me many months, and had done so still, but that the importunity of some, and the misrepresenting of my silence by others, forced me to publish them.

# DIOCESAN CHURCHES

NOT YET DISCOVERED IN THE

## PRIMITIVE TIMES.

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To show that many presbyters in one church was not enough to prove it a diocesan, I made it manifest that it was usual in the ancient church to multiply presbyters, beyond what we count necessary, (not beyond what *is* necessary, as it is too often misrepresented.) For this I offered two testimonies, one asserting it to be so in the first age, the other in the fourth; and thought these sufficient, if they could not be denied, (as they are not,) to evince it to have been so in the third: for who can reasonably suppose, but that had place in the third, which was usual both in the ages before and after? The first was that of Bishop Downham, who says, “At the first conversion of cities, the number of people converted were not much greater than the number of presbyters placed amongst them.” But this, it is said, can be of little use, “because, First, This was not the case of the church of Carthage: it was not a new converted church, but settled long before, and in a flourishing condition.”

The church of Carthage, by the fierce persecutions in Cyprian's time, (which is the time we speak of,) was brought so low, and reduced to so very few, as if it had been but new converted; and how was it in a settled and flourishing condition, when it was so lamentably wasted, and still harassed one year after another? or who can believe it, that reads Cyprian lamenting, *Pressura istius tam turbidam vastitatem, quæ gregem nostrum maximâ ex parte populata est, adhuc et usque populatur*, “so terrible a havoc as has destroyed the greater part of our flock, and still pursues its ravages;” and that they were *positi inter plangentium ruinas, et timentium reliquias, inter numerosam languentium stragem, et exiguam stantium paucitatem*, “placed between those who weeping fell, and a bare remnant whose hearts fail them,—between a copious slaughter of the unstable, and a very few stedfast professors?”<sup>a</sup> Was

<sup>a</sup> Lib. iv. Ep. l. ad fin.

not this much the case of the apostolical churches, unless this of Carthage was worse, and so less for our author's advantage? Or if this were otherwise, the churches in Nazianzen's time were not newly converted, but settled long before, and in a flourishing condition; which yet cannot be denied to have had more presbyters than we count needful. So that this was the practice in every condition of the church, whether flourishing or not.

Secondly, he says, "Many more presbyters may be ordained in a city than is necessary for the first beginning of a church, with respect to future increase," &c.

And who will question but the many presbyters in the church of Carthage were for the future increase both in city and country? So that herein the case is not different; and the design of that number of officers might partly be for other congregations, (episcopal churches, though not diocesan,) to furnish them with officers. This is apparent afterwards in the practice of the African churches, which, when a new church was erected, supplied it with a bishop or other assistants from places better stored with officers; and it is exemplified particularly (as we shall see hereafter) in the provision which St. Austin made for Fussala.

He says, further, "The multitude of presbyters belonging to one congregational church, might be occasioned by the uncertain abode of most of the apostles and their commissioners, who are the principal, if not the only, ordainers of presbyters mentioned in Scripture."

But herein he does but guess, and had no reason to be positive, unless the apostles and their commissioners, (as he calls them,) had been then the only ordainers; which he will not venture to affirm, knowing what evidence there is against it.

Lastly, he says, "If this opinion of Bishop Downham had any certain ground in antiquity, we should probably hear of it with both ears, and we should have it recommended upon more ancient authority than his."

This of Bishop Downham hath certain ground in the best antiquity, if the New Testament be such; where it is plain there were many presbyters in divers churches, such as are not yet, nor ever will be, proved to be diocesan.

To that of Nazianzen, he says it hath received its answer; and adds, "He that cannot answer it to himself, from the great difference between the condition of the church in Cyprian's and in Nazianzen's time, hath a fondness for the argument."

This is the answer it received, (p. 51,) and this difference was thus expressed a little before: "But that any church fixed and settled, having its bishop always present, should multiply presbyters beyond necessity, in the circumstances of the primitive Christians before

Constantine, is altogether incredible; for the necessary expenses of the church were very great—the poor numerous—the generality of Christians not of the richest—and the estates they had being at the discretion of their enemies, and ruined with perpetual persecution,” &c. He says, “multiplying presbyters beyond necessity, and without necessity.” While he alters my words so as to change the sense, he disputes against himself, not me; but this looking more like an argument than any thing before, I shall take a little more notice of it. First, Is not all this applicable to the churches in the apostles’ times, when it cannot be denied presbyters were multiplied beyond what we count necessary? “The poor numerous,—the generality of Christians not of the richest,—and the estates they had being at the discretion of their enemies, and ruined with perpetual persecution.”

Further, the church, before Constantine and Carthage particularly, supposing these to be its circumstances, might have many presbyters, without any great charge; for, first, the church stock was reserved only for those in want, τοῖς δεομένοις, as is determined in one of the canons which pass for apostolical,<sup>a</sup> and the same decreed in the synod at Antioch.<sup>b</sup> Ambrose even, in the fourth age, will have none to have a stipend who hath other revenues, *Qui fidei exercet militiam, agelli sui fructibus, si habet, debet esse contentus; si non habet, stipendiorum suorum fructu;*<sup>c</sup> “He who fights the fight of faith, ought to be content with the produce of his estate, if he have one, and with the proceeds of his salary, if he have not.” And Chrysostom tells us, that in elections, those of the competitors that had estates did carry it, because the church would need to be at no charge in maintaining of such, οὐκ ἂν δέοιτο τρέφεσθαι ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προσόδων.<sup>d</sup> Secondly, when they had no estates, and the church could not maintain them, they were to provide for themselves by some honest employment. The Council of Elvira allows all sorts of clergymen to drive a trade for their living, provided they did it only in the province where they lived;<sup>e</sup> and in the fourth Council of Carthage it is ordered, that the clergy, though they be learned in the word of God, shall get their living by a trade;<sup>f</sup> and in the next canon, that they shall get food and raiment by a trade or husbandry, with this proviso, that it be not a prejudice to their office. Our author says, indeed,<sup>g</sup> that this is contrary to the usage of all other churches: how true this is, may be seen by the canon before cited. He says also, that this is forbidden by the third Council of Carthage: but neither is this so; that canon adds but another restric-

<sup>a</sup> Can. iv.<sup>c</sup> Offic. lib. i. cap. xxxvi.<sup>e</sup> Can. xix.<sup>g</sup> Page 154.<sup>b</sup> Can. xxv.<sup>d</sup> De Sacerd. Ser. in. p. 23, edit. Savil.<sup>f</sup> Can. li.

tion, viz. that they got not their livings by an employment that is sordid or dishonest," where the Latin and Greek both agree in it. Thirdly, the church was to allow none of them, no not bishops, more than necessary, even after Constantine's time. That canon called the apostles', and the other at Antioch forecited, express this in the same words: "The bishop may have of the church stock what is needful, if he be necessitous," τὰ δεόντα εἰ δεοῖτο πρὸς ἀναγκαίας χρείας, for necessary uses; and these are afterwards explained to be food and raiment. Zonaras expresses it fully and clearly, whom he that the canon doth not satisfy may consult.

Having showed out of Justinian, that sixty presbyters belonged to the great church in Constantinople, and thence inferred they were numerous in Constantine's time, "the number," says he, "was become extravagant in Justinian's time; but what is this to their number in Cyprian's?"

He should have asked the Dean<sup>b</sup> this, who, to prove diocesan churches from the number of presbyters, immediately after testimonies out of Cyprian, brings this of Justinian.

"For this very edict of Justinian shows that this multiplying of church officers was an innovation, and therefore would have them reduced to the first establishment."

Justinian took order to retrench the numbers of presbyters; not therefore because it was an innovation, but because the church revenue could not maintain so many, which is express in the Novel.

"But that first establishment, it seems, admitted great numbers, for one church had sixty. True; but it must also be noted first, that these sixty were to serve more than one church."

Some may be ready to ask how it can be true, that one church should have sixty, and yet more than one had these sixty amongst them.

"For there were three more besides St. Sophia to be supplied by these presbyters," &c.

True; but this still confirms what I answered to their argument from the multitude of presbyters, that in the ancient church the officers were multiplied above what we count needful: for it is not now thought needful that any three or four churches in a city should have sixty presbyters, a hundred deacons, ninety subdeacons, readers a hundred and ten, &c.

"Yet after all, there is no argument to be drawn from this number; for these were canons of a particular foundation, designed for the service of a collegiate church; and no measure to be taken from thence concerning the numbers of presbyters belonging to the diocese. This is evident from the preface of the said Novel."

<sup>a</sup> Can. xv. in Cod. xvi.

<sup>b</sup> Dean Stillingfleet.



If no argument is to be drawn from this number, why did the learned Dean draw one from it? Secondly, this seems scarce consistent with the former period: there, these presbyters were for three or four churches; here they are but for one collegiate church, of which they were canons, and this is said to be evident in the preface, where I cannot see it. Thirdly, since no measure is to be taken from hence concerning the numbers of presbyters belonging to a diocese; it seems there may be this number of presbyters in a place which cannot be counted a diocese, (as this one great church never was, nor can be,) and then no argument drawn from the number of presbyters at Rome, Carthage, Edessa, &c., will prove a diocesan church; for here was the greatest number, which any where we meet with.

Dr. St[illingfleet], to prove diocesan churches from the numerousness of presbyters, mentioned sixty in C. P.<sup>a</sup> in Justinian's time; from hence, on the by, I thought it reasonable to suppose they were numerous in Constantine's time, when yet Theodoret says, "all the brethren met together with the bishop." That the number of presbyters is no proof of a diocesan church, was evinced sufficiently before: this fell in occasionally, and was added *ex abundanti*. Yet upon this supernumerary straggler, he turns his main force, spending about twelve pages on it. I am little concerned what becomes of it, since the main hypothesis is already secured by the premises; but that this gentleman may not quite lose all his labour, I am willing to lose a little, in taking some notice of it.

"I must confess that what is added concerning the church of C. P.<sup>a</sup> is somewhat surprising; no doubt, says he, that the presbyters were more numerous in C. P."<sup>a</sup>

Indeed, it might have been surprising if I had said, as he reports me, that they were more numerous; but I saw reason not to say so, though what reason there was to impose it on me I know not: I cited Soc., misprinted Soz., saying, "Constantine built two churches at C. P.,"<sup>a</sup> but laid no stress on it at all.<sup>b</sup> It is true, he says, not that he built no more than two, but his expression plainly implies it, and he was concerned if he had known any more to have mentioned it, when in the same line he says, "Constantine intended to make it equal to Rome." Eusebius's words agree well enough herewith; he says, "Constantine adorned it (πλεόνισεν) with more churches;" and that is true, if he built but two more, or any more than was there formerly, or any more than was usual. And these more churches were not in the city, but (as the historian speaks) partly there, and partly πρὸ τοῦ ἁστέος, "in the suburbs," which, as the word is used, may denote places many miles

<sup>a</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>b</sup> Soc. lib. i. cap. [xvi.]

distant from the city, as the gentleman elsewhere observes after Valesius. Sozomen says he built (πόλλους) many churches, (not very many as he will have it;) but if he thereby meant more than are named by Socrates, we need not understand that done before the time Theodoret speaks of; nor should a lax expression be more relied on, than one that is punctual and definite; unless we have a mind either to be misled, or to set the two historians together by the ears. Sozomen names but one church more than Socrates did, and that not in, but a good distance from, the city, (seventy furlongs by land;) and three may pass for many, when it was a rare thing for any city to have more than one. The best authors, as they sometimes express very few by none, and a generality by all; so they express more than ordinary by many; and two or three such churches in one city were more than ordinary at that time, when one city in an hundred had not two churches, and one in a thousand had not three churches, that could be styled μέγιστοι: all that Constantine built here were such; both Eusebius's more, and Sozomen's many, are said, by them, to be very great, μέγιστοι. But no considerable author that I meet with in that age, or some hundreds of years after, names more than two very great churches erected by Constantine in that city. And if comparison be made, there is no historian of those times to be more regarded in matters which concern C. P.,<sup>a</sup> than Socrates, who tells us<sup>b</sup> that he was born and educated at C. P.,<sup>a</sup> and continued there (as an advocate) when he wrote his history.

But if we should suppose that Sozomen intended more than three or four churches, or that the emperor built no more than was requisite, and only consulted conveniency, and designed not state or magnificence, (which yet our author a little after says he did; and we know nothing is more ordinary than for great cities to have more churches than are needful: it was so in London before the fire, and the retrenching of their number since shows it:) yet this will be so far from proving Alexander's church in C. P.<sup>a</sup> to be diocesan, that it will not prove it greater than some single congregations: for there were twelve churches in Alexandria, when yet the church in that city adhering to Athanasius consisted of no more than are in some of our parishes. For which such evidence has been brought, as is not yet, nor, I think, can be defaced.

"Nor can we imagine that two churches, much less one, could suffice all the Christians in C. P.,<sup>a</sup> when the city of Heliopolis being converted to Christianity required more, and Constantine built several for them, ἐκκλησίας δὲ κτίσας, "erected churches."

The word plurally expressed is much improved by our author, he makes out of it divers churches, and all these churches, when yet all

<sup>a</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. [v.] cap. xxiv.

these were but one church, as Socrates himself makes it plain a little before;<sup>a</sup> for having related how Constantine ordered a church to be built near the Oak at Mambre, he adds, that he ordered another church (not churches) to be erected at Heliopolis, *ἐτέραν ἐκκλησίαν κατασκευασθῆναι*. And to put it past doubt, Eusebius, whom the emperor employed about those structures, and from whom, in all likelihood, Socrates had the relation, gives an account but of one church there founded by the emperor, which he calls, *οἶκον εὐκτήριον ἐκκλησίας*,<sup>b</sup> “the house of prayer for the church,” and that it was furnished with a bishop, presbyters, and deacons. So that the bishop of Heliopolis had but one church for his diocese, which our author should not be so loth to own, since it cannot be proved that at this time one bishop in an hundred had more.

Valesius, (whom our author much relies on,) in his Notes upon this place, is so far from thinking that Constantine built more churches in Heliopolis, that he judges this one at present was not necessary for it, the town having then no Christians in it; and assigns this as the reason why Eusebius speaks of it as a thing unusual, that it should have a bishop appointed, and a church built in it. His words are, *Fortasse hoc novum et inauditum fuisse intelligit*, &c. “He may think this new and unheard of, that a church should be built in a city, where as yet there were no Christians, but all were alike idolators.” Therefore this church was built at Heliopolis, not for that there was any necessity of it, but rather in hope that he might invite all the citizens to the profession of the Christian religion. So that the bishop here had none for his diocese but one church, and that empty, there being then no Christians in that one parish; which yet was all he had to make him a diocesan.<sup>c</sup>

The better to confute Theodoret, who says (for they are his words, not mine,) that “Alexander, with all the brethren, met together,” he endeavours to show the state of that church about the latter end of Constantine[’s reign], &c.; this he does here and after by an undue application of some passages in Sozomen. For the account which that historian gives of that city is not confined to Constantine’s time, but reaches beyond it, ay, and beyond Julian’s too, which appears, as by other passages, so by his mentioning the heathen temples in the time of that emperor. And with respect to the time after Constantine, must that expression be understood, which makes C. P.<sup>d</sup> to exceed Rome, not only in riches, but in the number of inhabitants, otherwise it will be apparently<sup>e</sup> false? For when Chrysostom was bishop there, about seventy years after, (when it is like<sup>f</sup> the number of the inhabitants were doubled,

<sup>a</sup> Soc. lib. i. cap. xviii.

<sup>c</sup> In lib. ii. De Vitâ Constant. cap. lviii. p. 235.

<sup>f</sup> Probable.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. iii. cap. [lviii.] De Vitâ Constant.

<sup>d</sup> Constantinople. <sup>e</sup> Manifestly.

it cannot be questioned but they were far more numerous,) he who best could do it, reckons the Christians then to be a hundred thousand;<sup>a</sup> our author will have us look upon the Jews and heathen there to be inconsiderable, but let us count them another hundred thousand. Yet both put together will fall incomparably short of the number in old Rome, which, by the computation of Lipsius, was at least two millions.<sup>b</sup> And, in Constantine's time, new Rome was as far short of the old as to its greatness in circuit, for whereas Herodian declares that Severus quite demolished Byzantium for siding with Niger, and, reducing it to the state of a village, subjected it to Perintus, *κόμη δουλεύειν Περυνθίοις δῶρον ἐδόθη*,<sup>c</sup> we cannot in reason suppose it to be extraordinarily spacious; yet, as Zosimus reports, all the enlargement which Constantine gave it, was but the addition of fifteen furlongs, *σταδίοις πεντεκαίδεκα*.<sup>d</sup> Now suppose it was thirty or forty furlongs in compass before, (and so larger than one city in a hundred,) yet this addition will leave it less than Alexandria, which, as Josephus describes it, was eighty furlongs, that is, ten miles, in circumference,<sup>e</sup> yet Alexandria was four times less than Rome, for by Vopiscus's account, in Aurelian's time, not long before Constantine, the walls were made by him near fifty miles in circuit. So it will be in comparison of Constantinople when first built, rather like a nation than a city, as Aristotle said of the other Babylon, *ἔχει περιγραφὴν μᾶλλον ἔθνους, ἢ πόλεως*.<sup>f</sup> If then we will have this passage of Sozomen to have any appearance of truth, it must be extended far beyond Constantine's time, when, as Zosimus tells us, many of the succeeding emperors were still drawing multitudes of people to that city, so that it was afterwards encompassed with walls far larger (*πολλῷ μείζουσιν*) than those of Constantine.<sup>g</sup> And in an oration of Themistius, it is made a question whether Theodosius Junior did not add more to C. P. than Constantine did to Byzantium.

“Many of the Jews, and almost all the heathen, were converted and became Christians.”

The expression of Sozomen does not hinder, but as the main body of the Jews remained, so the numbers of the heathen might be considerable. Tertullian speaks of citizens in his time as if they were almost all Christians, *penè omnes cives Christianos*;<sup>h</sup> yet no instance can be given of any one city where the Christians were the major part of the inhabitants: those that take his words in a strict sense are very injurious to him, and make him speak that which no ancient records will warrant. Sozomen also may suffer by straining his expression; but I will not

<sup>a</sup> In Act. Hom. xi. p. 674.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. iii. p. 68. [ed. Lugdun. 1624, p. 122.]

<sup>e</sup> De Bello Jud. lib. ii. cap. xvi. [s. 4.]

<sup>g</sup> Lib. ii. p. 65. [ed. Oxon. 1679, p. 112.]

<sup>b</sup> De Magnit. Rom. lib. iii. c. iii.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. ii. p. 62. [ed. Oxon. 1679, p. 106.]

<sup>f</sup> Pol. lib. iii. c. [iii.]

<sup>h</sup> Apol. c. xxxvii.

digress to take further notice of what is not material ; for I design not, nor have any need, to make any advantage of the numbers of the heathens in this city.

He tells us of nine hundred and fifty work-houses, whose rents were allowed to defray the funeral expences of all that died in the city, (for so it is expressed in the constitution, *περὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων δόσιαν τὸ πρᾶγμα πρόεισιν*,<sup>a</sup> “they provide the expenditure for the public obsequies of all men,”) these being performed with great solemnity, and multitudes of attendants maintained by those rents for that purpose.<sup>b</sup> How this here makes the Christians in C. P.<sup>c</sup> to be so numerous as he would have them, he should have showed us; I am not yet so sagacious as to discover it. The number of the Decani<sup>d</sup> was determined<sup>e</sup> by Honorius to nine hundred and fifty.<sup>f</sup> Our author thinks it probable they were so many at the first establishment, but there is more ground to believe, they were much fewer in Constantine’s time; for about eight hundred were counted sufficient in Justinian’s reign, two hundred years after, when the city was both larger, and much more populous and in its greatest flourish.<sup>g</sup> Those that consider the premises, may well think, he might have formed his conclusion in terms less confident, to say no worse of it.

Next he forms an objection against himself: “Notwithstanding the number of Christians in C. P.<sup>c</sup> might be much too great for one congregation, yet the major part might be heretics or schismatics, such as came not to the bishop’s church, and therefore all that adhered to him might be no more than could meet in one assembly.”

To which he answers, that the number of heretics and schismatics was inconsiderable, and will not except the Arians or Novatians. For the Arians, he says, they had not yet made a formal separation.

But if they did not separate themselves, the church would have them separated, and did exclude them from communion, and withstood Constantine’s importunity for their admission, both here and in other places: Athanasius was threatened by Eusebius of Nicomedia,<sup>h</sup> and banished by the emperor for this cause among others. And Alexander being secured by Arius’ death from admitting him to communion, was the occasion of this passage in Theodoret which gives our author so much trouble. Now the Arians being debarred from communion, lessened the bishop’s church, both here and elsewhere, as much as if they had separated themselves. And they were numerous here, this

<sup>a</sup> Novel. xliii.

<sup>b</sup> Novel. lix. cap. ii.

<sup>c</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>d</sup> The Decani Copiatæ are here meant. These were public officers appointed to take the charge of all funerals in the city. They seem to have been first regularly incorporated by Constantine. See Bingham’s Ant. b. iii. cap. viii.

<sup>e</sup> limited.

<sup>f</sup> Cod. de Eccles. [Tit. ii.] Lex. iv.

<sup>g</sup> Novel. lix. cap. ii.

<sup>h</sup> Soc. lib. [i.] c. [xxvii.]

being the place where they had greatest favour ; in Constantine's edict against the heretics whose meetings he would have suppressed, the Arians were not mentioned when the other are named.<sup>a</sup> Socrates writes that the people in this city was divided into two parties, the Arians and the orthodox : they had continually sharp bickerings, but while Alexander lived the orthodox had the better ; as soon as he was dead (which was<sup>b</sup> while Constantine lived) it seems they appeared equal, for "the contest," says he, "was dubious," ἀμφήριστος ἡ μάχη.<sup>c</sup> In Nazianzen's time so far they overtopped the orthodox, that this great diocesan church appeared but in the form of a "private meeting, held in a very little house," where he kept a conventicle with them, ἐν οἰκίσκῳ μικρῷ ἐκκλησίαζε, so Sozomen,<sup>d</sup> and Socrates agrees with him in the expression, ἐν μικρῷ οἰκίσκῳ, such a diminutive place seems as unproportionable for such a diocesan church as a nutshell for Homer's Iliads, or a key-hole for a witch, to use our author's elegances.

As for the Novatians, to which he will have no more allowed than a conventicle, they were numerous in other places ; they had once divers churches in Alexandria, many churches in Rome, and in other places. It is like<sup>e</sup> they were numerous here, for here they had as much favour or more, and longer too, than in the cities forementioned ; here Socrates says they had three churches,<sup>f</sup> and if three churches would but make one inconsiderable conventicle, it is possible the other orthodox churches (though he will have them to be many) might be comprised in one vast congregation.

I might observe how much Sozomen is misrepresented in what he says next of those concerned in the edict, the Novatians especially. He speaks not mincingly, as our author would have him, but fully that the Novatians did not suffer much by the edict ; he does not say only that it was probable they suffered little, but says this only of a reason himself gives, why they suffered not much. He gives other reasons for it than the opinion, the Novatians had of that bishop. He does not say the other heretics were altogether extirpated. He does not confess that the Novatians suffered the same measure with others everywhere, no, nor any where else ; it is the Montanists that he says this of. He dares to affirm they had a conventicle or more, for he affirms they had an eminent bishop in C. P.,<sup>g</sup> and were not only numerous there before the edict, but continued so after. The gentleman was in too much haste here, as himself will perceive, by observing how much his account differs from the historians.

At last he comes to that passage of Theodoret which occasioned all

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. de Vita Constant. lib. iii. cap. lxii. lxiii. [Ed. Reading, cap. lxiv. lxv.]

<sup>b</sup> Vales Observ. in Soc. et Soz. lib. ii.

<sup>c</sup> Soc. lib. ii. cap. vi.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. vii. cap. v.

<sup>e</sup> probable.

<sup>f</sup> Lib. ii. cap. xxx.

<sup>g</sup> Constantinople.

these lines, "but Theodoret affirms they were no more than could meet in one church, and that they did actually do so," "I answer," says he, "that Theodoret does not say so, and the passage cited does not conclude it."

I did not say Theodoret affirms they were no more than could meet in one church, but he says the same in effect, viz., that all the brethren assembled with Alexander. His words are, "Alexander, the church rejoicing, held an assembly with all the brethren, praying and greatly glorifying God." The words are plain, and the sense, I take them in, is open in the face of them. Nor do I believe that any disinterested person would put any other sense upon them than this, that the generality of Christians of which the church at Constantinople consisted, assembled together with their bishop, Alexander, to praise God joyfully for their deliverance by the death of Arius. But he will not have the words taken in a general sense, but will suppose them taken with respect to that particular congregation, in which Arius was to be reconciled. Yet this supposition hath no ground either in the words, or in the contexture of the discourse, or any where else that I know of, or our author either; for if he had, we should have heard it "with both ears," as he speaks elsewhere. He will not have all the brethren, to be all believers at C. P.,<sup>a</sup> yet he knows that brethren and believers are synonymous terms both in Scripture and ancient authors. And those were the believers or brethren at the church of C. P.,<sup>a</sup> which had occasion to rejoice, and that was the whole church there: as for *πάντες*, rendered *universi*, I do not take it for all and every one of the Christians there; for in all assemblies, of great churches especially, many are always absent. He had dealt more fairly with Theodoret, if by all he would have understood the generality of Christians adhering to Alexander at C. P.,<sup>a</sup> or the greatest part of them, and about such an abatement of the full import of the word, there had been no need to contend; but his restraint of it to a particular congregation agrees not with the words nor the occasion of them, nor hath any support elsewhere.

Nor is that better which follows, unless you will say that, With all the brethren, does not signify their personal presence, but only their unanimity.

This looks more like a shift than a plain answer, and, therefore, he was well advised in not venturing to own it.

"Theodoret could not think that all the believers of C. P.<sup>a</sup> could come together to the bishop's church, for he cites a letter of Constantine's a little after, where he gives an account of the great increase of

<sup>a</sup> Constantinople.

that church. ‘In the city that is called by my name, by the providence of God, an infinite multitude of people have joined themselves to the church, and all things there wonderfully increasing, it seems very requisite that more churches should be built; understanding, therefore, hereby what I have resolved to do, I thought fit to order you to provide fifty Bibles fairly and legibly written.’”

He does not say an infinite multitude, the words of the letter are *μέγιστον πλῆθος*: that there was a very great multitude of Christians is not denied, nor that he intended to build more churches; but this confirms what is signified before, that these very many churches were not yet built, but only in design, and that with a prospect of Christians there still increasing. And the Bibles, if they were intended only for C. P.,<sup>a</sup> might be for the future churches, not the present only.

His conclusion is, “Where Christians were so multiplied that it was necessary to build more churches, and to make such provisions for the multitude of their assemblies, it could not be that they should all make but one congregation.”

He should have concluded that which is denied, otherwise all he hath premised will be insignificant, and to no purpose: it is granted that all the Christians at C. P.<sup>a</sup> did make more than one congregation, and for their conveniency met at other times in several churches. That which is denied is, that the main body or generality of Christians there could not meet in one assembly, or did not so meet at this time with their bishop Alexander: as to this he hath proved nothing, and, therefore, did well to conclude nothing against that which is affirmed to be the plain import of Theodoret's expression.

And it may be supposed that Theodoret, if he had not expressed it, might well think (though the contrary be suggested) that as great multitudes as Constantine's letters signified, might meet together at the bishop's church; for himself declares what a vast congregation he preached to at Antioch, having an auditory of many myriads.<sup>b</sup> I will not ask him what Eusebius could think, when he tells us the Christians had *μυρίαδρους ἐπισυναγωγὰς*, “assemblies consisting of myriads.”<sup>c</sup> Nor what Socrates thought, when he tells us long after, of C. P.,<sup>a</sup> that “the whole city became one assembly, and meeting in an oratory, continued there all day,”<sup>d</sup> *Ὁλη πόλις μία ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, ἐν δὲ τῷ εὐκτηρίῳ γερόμενοι, &c.* But I would have him tell me how he understands that passage of Chrysostom, *καὶ γὰρ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ χαριτὶ εἰς δέκα μυριάδων ἀριθμὸν οἶμαι τοὺς ἐντάνθα συναγομένους τελεῖν*,<sup>e</sup> “For by the grace of God I think those here assembled are full ten myriads in number.” What is the import of

<sup>a</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. vii. cap. xxiii.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. lxxxiii.

<sup>e</sup> Hom. lxxxv. in Mat. tom. ii. p. 529.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. viii. cap. i.



these words? Do they signify that ten myriads were assembled in one place to hear Chrysostom? If so, there will be no question but that the generality of Christians might meet in one church with Alexander in Constantine's reign; for that then (about seventy years before) there was anything near so many Christians as a hundred thousand adhering to one bishop in this city, cannot with any reason be imagined. Or does he mean only, that there were so many myriads of Christians contained in that city? If so, then he says here no more than in another homily forecited, where the number of Christians in C. P.<sup>a</sup> is computed to be a hundred thousand, reckoning all besides Jews and heathens. Now if they were no more in his time, they cannot with reason be supposed to have been above half so many in Constantine's (unless any can imagine, that their numbers advanced more in six years than in seventy, when the succeeding emperors multiplied the inhabitants excessively, *ἐπὲρ τὴν χρείαν*, "beyond necessity," as Zosimus tells us,<sup>b</sup> crowding the city so full as that they could scarce stir without danger;) and a great part of these were fallen off to Arius while Alexander was bishop; the Novatians also were numerous, having several churches; and these, with other sects, being deducted, the Christians there that communicated<sup>c</sup> with Alexander will be no more (if so many) than belong to some one of our parishes.

"It would swell this preface to too great a bulk, if I should answer the rest so particularly."

Since he designed to be so brief, and to have so short a preface, I wish he had employed more of it against that which is the strength of the discourse he opposes, and of more consequence to the main cause; and not have spent so many leaves upon a by-passage, for which we have little reason to be concerned: for if he could make it appear, that the Christians at C. P.,<sup>a</sup> in Constantine's time, were more than could meet in one congregation, yea, or in two either; that would be far from proving it a diocesan church, unless some one or two of our parishes can be counted so.

Let me add, in fine, that our author has done just nothing towards the disproving of what Theodoret was alleged for; unless he show, that C. P.<sup>a</sup> exceeded old Rome, was furnished with such an infinite number of Christians, so many (more than two) magnificent churches there erected, the fifty Bibles thought needful to be provided, and almost all the heathen besides many Jews converted; before Alexander (who is said to hold this assembly with all the brethren) deceased; and so unless he prove that all this was done (which himself, I think, can scarce believe) in less than a year. For Valesius<sup>d</sup> (upon whose

<sup>a</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>c</sup> held communion.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. ii. [p. 112, ed. Oxon. 1679.]

<sup>d</sup> Lib. ii. Observ. in Soc. et Soz.

authority this gentleman takes much) proves at large (making it the business of one of his books) that Alexander died (and yet must live some while after this panegyrical assembly) in the year 331. And it is manifest, that C. P.<sup>a</sup> was not built, nor had that name till 331. For though it was building the year before, yet it was not finished till the twenty-fifth year of Constantine's reign (as Jerome<sup>b</sup> and others:) and the beginning of his reign is reckoned from the death of Constantius' father, who was consul with Maximianus in the year 306, and died in the middle of it.<sup>c</sup> There needs not a word more to show that all his discourse on this subject is wholly insignificant, and not at all for his purpose, though this be the most considerable part of his preface.

"This author gives several instances of several bishops being in one city at the same time, in answer to the Dean of Paul's,<sup>d</sup> who affirmed that it was an inviolable rule of the church to have but one, &c. Jerusalem is the first instance, &c. I wonder to find a man of learning cite this passage, than which nothing can be more disadvantageous to his cause."

There is one who I suppose passes for a man of learning, who for the same purpose makes use of this instance, since mine was published: "We have," saith he, "examples in ecclesiastical story of two bishops at the same time in the same see, and yet this was never thought schismatical, when the second was advanced by the consent of the first. Thus Alexander, a bishop in Cappadocia, was made bishop of Jerusalem while Narcissus was living, but very old; and Anatolius at the same time, sate in the church of Cæsarea with Theotecnus, and this was St. Austin's own case, who was made bishop of Hippo, while there was another bishop living."<sup>e</sup> He says also, Nothing can be more disadvantageous to my cause than this passage. If it had been no advantage to my cause, I should have thought it bad enough; but if nothing could be more disadvantageous, I am very unhappy: let us see how it is made good.

"Narcissus having retired, and the people not knowing what had become of him, the neighbouring bishops ordained Dios in his place, who was succeeded by Gordius and after<sup>f</sup> by Germanico, (it should be, by Germanico, and after<sup>f</sup> by Gordius,) in whose time Narcissus returned, and was desired to resume his office, and did so. What became of Germanico, (he means Gordius,) is not said, but probably he resigned or died presently."

There is nothing to make either of these probable: it is altogether as likely, if not more, that he continued bishop there with Narcissus for

<sup>a</sup> Constantinople.  
Dr. Stillingfleet.

<sup>b</sup> Chronic.  
<sup>c</sup> Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet], p. 178.

<sup>d</sup> Fast. Consul.  
<sup>f</sup> afterwards.

some time; but because Eusebius says nothing of it, I insist not on it. But beside he tells us Narcissus took Alexander into the participation of the charge. That signifies [that] Narcissus was not excluded from the episcopal charge; both had their parts therein. No, but, says he, "Alexander was the bishop, Narcissus retained but the name and title only," that is, he was but a titular, not really a bishop; and why so? because Alexander, says he, "joined with him in prayers; and the historian says he was not able to officiate by reason of his great age." He was not able it may be to perform all the offices of a bishop, but what he was able to do no doubt he performed. Now if they must be but titular bishops, who perform not personally all the offices of a pastoral charge, (when they cannot pretend *λιπαρὸν γῆρας*, "a green old age,") how many real bishops shall we find in the world? But besides the name and title, did he not retain the power and authority of a bishop? If not, how came he to lose it? Did he resign, or was he deposed? That he resigned there is not the least intimation in this historian, or any other; nor any instance in the ancient church, that ever any bishop divested himself of all pastoral power upon this account. To have deposed him for his great age had been a barbarous act, and such as the church in these times cannot be charged with. No doubt but he retained the episcopal power, though through age he could not exercise it in all instances; and if he had not only the title, but the power, he was really a bishop, and there were two bishops at once in one church, and then this instance is so far from being most disadvantageous, that it serves me with all the advantage I designed in alleging it.

As for the words of Valesius cited by him, if they be taken in the sense which our author would have them, that learned man will not agree with himself. For, but a very few lines before, he says these two were *co-episcopi*, "bishops together," in that city, *superstite episcopo adjutor et coepiscopus est adjunctus*, "during the lifetime of the bishop, a colleague in the episcopate was appointed." And though he says, (but says it doubtfully, with a *ni fallor*, "if I mistake not,") this was forbidden at Sardica, (above a hundred years after;) yet he adds that, "notwithstanding it was still usual in the church," *nihilominus identidem in ecclesia usurpatum est*, which is all that I need desire. And afterwards, where Eusebius<sup>a</sup> again mentions two bishops in one city, he observes, that in one of his copies, the scholiast has this note upon it in the margin, *καὶ ἐνταῦθα μίας ἐπισκοπῆς δυο προύστησαν*, "here also there were two bishops of one church." Valesius adds, "the scholiast understands Alexander, who was bishop of Jerusalem together with Narcissus."

<sup>a</sup> In lib. vii. cap. xxxii.

The next instance is of Theotecnus and Anatolius, who were bishops of Cæsarea together. Against this he hath little to say, I suppose because nothing can be said against it in reason. Only he seems willing that Anatolius should pass but as *episcopus designatus*, "bishop elect," whereby if he mean one, who is not yet actually a bishop, but designed to be one hereafter, as Eradius was by Augustine, it is inconsistent with what Eusebius says and himself quotes but one line before, viz. that Theotecnus ordained him bishop in his life-time; for if he was not actually bishop after he was thus ordained, he was never bishop at all.<sup>a</sup>

Another instance was of Macarius and Maximus, both bishops at once of Jerusalem.

He would not have Maximus to be bishop while Macarius lived, because it is said, he was to rule the church after his death.

But Maximus was to govern the church not only after his death, if he survived him, (as he was like to do, being much younger,) but while he lived; and so did actually together with him, *συνιεῖν*, which denotes the exercise of the same function together;<sup>b</sup> besides, the historian says, Maximus was before this ordained bishop of Diospolis; and if he had officiated at Jerusalem, where they were so desirous of him, in a lower capacity, their kindness to him had been a degrading him, which it cannot be supposed they would either offer, or he yield to.

I alleged Epiphanius, who signifies that other cities had two bishops together, and excepts only Alexandria. To which he answers, that Epiphanius cannot mean that all other cities had two bishops at a time, nor did I say that he meant this, but his expression imports no less than that it was usual for other cities to have two bishops. Nor is there any reason to think that Epiphanius respects only the cases alleged; it was quite another case that was the occasion of his words; and divers other instances might be brought of a different nature and occasion, though this be sufficient to show that the rule against two bishops in one city was not inviolable. He adds, "I do not see what advantage can be made of this passage."

This passage shows that there was commonly two bishops in a city at once; Alexandria is only excepted as varying herein from other cities. And this is advantage enough for me, and it is enough against him too, and leaves no reason for his pretence that it was only in extraordinary cases. I affirmed it could not be Epiphanius's meaning, (as a great antiquary<sup>c</sup> would have it,) that Alexandria was never so divided, as that several parties in it should have their respective bishops

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. lib. vii. cap. xxxii.

<sup>b</sup> Soz. lib. ii. cap. xix.

<sup>c</sup> Petavius.

there, and brought several instances to evince it; for so it was divided in the time of Epiphanius, when the Catholics had Athanasius, the Arians had Gregorius, and then Georgius; and afterwards the one had Peter, the other Lucius; and the Novatians had their bishops successively in that city till Cyril's time.

He answers, however, "I do not see why that learned antiquary's opinion may not be maintained against this gentleman's objections. He says, that Alexandria was divided before Epiphanius's time between several bishops, (I said, in Epiphanius's time :) it cannot be denied. But that is not the thing Epiphanius speaks of, but that before the election of Theonas against Athanasius, there were never two opposite bishops as in other churches."

But this doth neither agree with the one, nor defend the other; it agrees not with Epiphanius, but makes him contradict himself, for he tells us there were two opposite bishops at Alexandria before Theonas was chosen. For this was not till Alexander's death, but he says, Pistus was made bishop there by the Arians while Alexander was living.<sup>a</sup> And he could not be ignorant of what Eusebius declares,<sup>b</sup> that upon the division in Egypt, occasioned by Arius, in every city, καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν, "there was bishop against bishop, and people against people." Nor doth it defend the antiquary; for he speaks universally, without limiting himself to the election of Theonas, *Ecclesiam Alexandrinam nunquam in partes scissam quarum singulae episcopum suum habebant*, "that church was never divided so as to have opposite bishops."

"The instances are all later than this fact, and therefore are insignificant," says he.

They are fully significant, both in reference to the antiquary, against whom they are brought to prove that he mistook Epiphanius, when he would have it to be his meaning, that Alexandria was never so divided as to have two opposite bishops; for they show it was often so divided: and also in reference to Epiphanius, they were so late as his time, on purpose to show more unquestionably that could not be his meaning, which was against his knowledge, and notorious instances in his own time.

But he will not deny the instance of the Novatians to be significant; only Socrates does not say that they had their bishops successively to Cyril's time.

Nor do I say he does; but he says Cyril shut up the Novatian churches there, and took away all the sacred treasure in them, and deprived their bishop, Theopompus, of all that he had. Now when our author meets with churches, and a bishop over them, he is

<sup>a</sup> Her. lxxix. Num. viii. p. 733.

<sup>b</sup> Vita Const. lib. iii. cap. iv.

not wont to question a succession, unless it appears he was the first.

"It may be they began there after this time, for there is little account in church history, that I know, of any Novatians in Alexandria, before Athanasius."

We are little concerned about this, yet it may be they began before this time, for there is no account at all in church history that the Novatians began there in, or after Athanasius's time.

I had produced evidence that many African bishops declared, in the case of Valerius and Austin, that it was usual in all parts to have two bishops in a city at once ; to this he answers, "But suppose all this true, that this might be maintained by the examples of several churches, what is it, that two bishops may be in one church ? no, that is not the matter, but that a bishop, when he grows old, may appoint or ordain his successor, to prevent the mischiefs that are usually produced by popular elections."

If what the African bishops did allege were restrained to that particular case he contends for, yet this is enough to make good all I intend, viz. that usually in the ancient church there were two bishops together in one place. For when one is ordained bishop in the same place, when another is still living, with whatever design, upon what occasion soever this is done, yet there are two bishops at once in the same place.

I see no reason why this should be restrained to that particular case ; the occasion of what the bishops affirm may clear it, and that was Austin's scruple, not to succeed Valerius, but to be made bishop of Hippo while his bishop there was living, *Episcopatum suscipere, suo vivente episcopo, recusabat*, "He refused to take the episcopate during the lifetime of his own bishop," for so there would be two together, which he took to be against the custom of the church, *contra morem ecclesie* ; but they all persuade him that this was usually done, *id fieri solere*, and prove it by examples in all parts.\* And Valerius's desire and proposal was that Austin might be ordained bishop of Hippo, *Qui suæ cathedræ non tam succederet sed consacerdos accederet*, "Not as one that was to succeed him only, but to be bishop together with him."

When he assigns this as the reason of appointing a successor, to prevent the mischiefs that are usually produced by popular elections, he speaks his own sense, not theirs ; for they were better advised than to brand the general practice of the ancient church as mischievous, and how this suggestion becomes one who undertakes to write a vindication of the primitive church, let himself consider. Others may judge it a more intolerable reflection upon the universal church in the best and

\* Possidon. Vita August. cap. viii.

after times than any M[r.] B[axter] can be justly charged with. However, the reason assigned for it by Possidonius is another thing than appears in this author's whole account ; it was because Valerius feared lest some other church should seek him for their bishop and get a person so approved from him.

Whereas, in fine he says, " These cases specified were not thought to violate the rule that allowed but one bishop to a city ;" yet it was thought so by St. Austin, when he excuses his suffering himself to be made bishop with Valerius, by this, that he knew not it was forbidden by a rule of the Nicene Council, *Quod concilio Niceno prohibitum fuisse nesciebam*, and gives this as the reason why he would not so ordain Eradius.<sup>a</sup>

Next, he would prove that this provision for a successor does not destroy that rule, by an instance ; I need not transcribe it at large ; the sum of it is this : when the government is monarchical, if it fall out once (in many ages, as it did in England once in about five hundred years) that another king be crowned besides him who hath the throne, yet it will be true enough that it is the rule of those kingdoms to have but one king. To which I say briefly, If it be usual to have two kings in such a government, it will scarce be thought true that it is the inviolable rule of those kingdoms to have but one king. And then, how this instance will suit his purpose let those judge who take notice that I have already proved it usual, in the ancient church, for cities in all parts to have two bishops at once.

From page 12 he passes to page 23. To show there were more bishoprics than one in the region or diocese of Ilippo, I brought several instances ; and might have produced more, but that I confined myself to those which the learned Dean alleged to the contrary. Fussala is one of them, and that alone this gentleman takes notice of. St. Austin calls it *castellum* divers times in one epistle. He finds fault that I translate *castellum* a castle. I did no more expect to be blamed for this than if I had rendered *oppidum* a town. But I suppose he counts it no great crime since he runs into it himself, and in a few lines after calls it a castle.

" But these castles," says he, " were garrison towns, with a good dependence of villages belonging to them."

They were fortresses, and sometimes had villages depending on them, and might contain so many buildings as there are in some village or little town ; however, he calls them castles, and may give me leave to do so too.

<sup>a</sup> Possidon. Vita August. cap. viiii.

He adds, "It was forty miles distant from Hippo, and was in St. Austin's diocese, and never had a bishop of its own."

It is said, indeed, to belong to the diocese of Hippo, but I do not find it said to be in St. Austin's diocese or bishopric ; these are two things, and should not be confounded. When it is said to belong to the diocese of Hippo, so far distant, diocese is not taken in an ecclesiastical sense, as it is with us, for part of a country under the government of one bishop, but as it was used in Africa, in a civil sense, for part of a province, without respect to one bishop, or to any one bishop at all. Some parts there called dioceses had no bishops, nor were to have any, by decrees of the African councils.<sup>a</sup> Other places, called a diocese, had more bishops than one. Petilian says, that in the place where his colleague Januarius was bishop there were four bishops besides, all five *in una diocesi*,<sup>b</sup> "in one diocese." And thus it was in many other places, particularly in that called the diocese of Hippo, as I showed by divers instances, and St. Austin's own testimony.

Hereby it appears that in Africa a diocese and a bishopric were not the same thing, though they be with us. There were divers dioceses and no bishoprics, and many bishoprics were but one diocese ; so that Fussala, and twenty other castles and towns, might be in the diocese of Hippo, at forty miles distance or more, and yet St. Austin's bishopric not one jot the larger for it, nor he more a diocesan.

Whereas, he adds, that it never had a bishop of its own ; it is unquestionable that Fussala had a bishop of its own in Austin's time ; and this renders it wholly unserviceable to their purpose ; for the bishopric of Hippo, said to be of forty miles extent, will not, upon the count<sup>c</sup> of Fussala, be forty yards larger. Nor will either of these bishops, nor any other in that region, be diocesans, unless there can be two diocesans, and I know not how many more, in one diocese.

I assigned this reason why Fussala had not a bishop sooner, because Austin declares there was not one Catholic in it, and supposed this might serve the turn, not dreaming that those who count all the people in a very large parish, or in one hundred parishes, little enough for a diocesan, could think his diocese competently furnished when he had not one soul (or but some few) in communion with him.

He says, the town or castle indeed had none, but the county belonging to it had some ; he will have the territory or parish depending on this castle to be a county. I cannot but observe the admirable power of a fancy tinctured and prepossessed. It will turn a parish into a county, and a castle into a county town ; and since a county with us was a province with them, one province must be as much as all Africa ;

<sup>a</sup> Con. Carth. ii. Can. v. Cod. Afric. liii.

<sup>b</sup> Coll. Carth. D. i. Num. cxvii.

<sup>c</sup> account.



and a very small part of Numidia must be far greater than the whole. But there are some hypotheses which may stand in need of such imaginations.

However, he likes not my reason ; and why ? Because, though it had no Catholics in it then, it might have some before ; and concludes it had, because it belonged heretofore to the diocese of Hippo.

“ But that it formerly had Catholics (says he) we may conclude by Mr. Baxter’s reasoning, because it belonged heretofore to the diocese of Hippo.”

If diocese be taken in a civil sense (as it is frequently in African authors) this will be no proof that there had been any Catholics in it, because in this sense Fussala might belong to that diocese, though there had not been either Christian or bishop in the whole region. Nor will it be hereby proved, taking it in the ecclesiastical sense, for that part of Hippo which was under the Donatist bishop, had no Catholic, and yet *de jure*, as he tells us, belonged to the diocese (as he calls it) or charge of St. Austin. Yet, since he allows Mr. Baxter’s argument, he must admit what it concludes, viz. that a place that had no Christians or Catholics in it belongs to no bishop ; and then Fussala never belonged to St. Austin as its bishop, either before it had Catholics, for against this the argument is admitted to be conclusive ; not after, for then it had a bishop of its own. And so all they have to allege for the largeness of St. Austin’s bishopric comes to nothing.

“ So that I conceive the reason will not hold for its having no bishop of its own, since the same reason destroys its dependence upon the diocese of Hippo, which is expressly affirmed.”

The reason I gave for its having no bishop was, because St. Austin declares there was no Catholic in it. This reason will hold, unless they think a place may have a bishop where there are no Christians at all ; when as yet they judge that a place which hath Christians enough to make a good congregation, or many, ought not to have a bishop. Whereas, he says, this reason destroys its dependence upon the diocese, I wonder what dependence he imagines, since it is such, as both the not having of Christians, and also the having of them, destroys it. The former he here affirms, the same reason (which is its not having of Catholics) destroys it ; the latter is undeniable, for when Fussala had a competent number of Catholics, a bishop was there constituted ; and then it depended no more on the diocese of Hippo than one bishop’s church depends on another when both are independent.

The dependence of Fussala upon Hippo was such as that of a country place upon a greater town, well furnished with officers for their help, to convert and reduce the inhabitants, and, when enough are converted, to help them to a bishop or pastor. This St. Austin did for Fussala ; he

employed presbyters to reduce the Donatists there, and when they were reduced he adds them not to his own charge, would not have them *episcopo cedere*, but advises them to have a bishop of their own, and procures one for them. This was the practice of the primitive times ; in these methods were churches and bishops multiplied ; it was not out of use in the fifth age, this of Fussala, as managed by St. Austin, is a remarkable instance thereof ; and if other bishops had imitated him as he did the apostles and best ages, the church would not have been troubled with debates about diocesans.

That Austin would not take the charge of a place so far off as Fussala, he will have it ascribed to his modesty. But it was such modesty as this excellent person made conscience of, being convinced *certissima ratione*, "by most certain reason," that he was not sufficient for it. If all other bishops had been so modest, so conscientious, there might have been, as Nazianzen speaks, when bishops were multiplied in Cappadocia, *ψυχῶν ἐπιμέλεια πλείων*, "anxiety for many souls," a much more desirable thing, to those that love souls, than a great diocese.

He gives a reason why this must be ascribed to St. Austin's modesty, because he discharged the office of a bishop there in more difficult times, while the presbyters he employed there were barbarously used.

I need not deny that he performed the office of a bishop there, for it is the office of a bishop to endeavour by himself or others the converting or reducing of all that he can. Only this will not prove Fussala to be then a part of his bishopric, no more than it will prove Athanasius to have been bishop of India ; because he encouraged and sent Frumentius, with others, thither to convert the Indians.<sup>a</sup>

The learned Dean<sup>b</sup> had cited Austin as calling himself the bishop of that diocese (understanding by it a region of vast extent :) I observed that in the epistle quoted he only saith, he had the episcopal charge of Hippo. By this, the gentleman, changing my words, will have me to signify that he was the bishop of the town only. This I did not intend, but that he was not the only bishop of that whole region. But whether he was bishop of part of the town only, or of that and some part of the region also, I am not much concerned. His words are, "as if he had been bishop of the town only, nay, but of part of that neither, for the Donatists had their bishop there : so this will strangely diminish the bishopric of St. Austin, which at first appeared so large." Then he answers, "for the Donatists having a bishop there, it signifies little to our present purpose, since he was but an usurper."

But this signifies as much to my purpose as I need, for the Donatists having a bishopric in Hippo, St. Austin's must needs be diminished

<sup>a</sup> Soc. lib. i. cap. xv. Soz. lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

<sup>b</sup> Stillingfleet.

thereby, and altogether as much lessened as if they had not been usurpers. And they were counted no otherwise usurpers, but so that if the Donatist bishop had been reconciled, by a decree of the African church he was to continue in his bishopric there, as a rightful possessor, and there would have been still two dioceses (such as they were) in one town.

He would have us believe Austin as if he declared that he was not the bishop of the town only ; but his words are, *Ut modum dispensationis mee non supergrediar hoc ecclesie ad Hipponensem regionem pertinenti prodesse contestor*, "Not to overstep the measure of my charge, I protest that this is for the advantage of a church which belongs to the region of Hippo," which, says our author, plainly signifies that all the church belonging, not only to the town, but also to the region of Hippo, belonged to him.

But if he please to view the words again which himself hath quoted, he will find it plainly signified that Austin's church belonged to the region of Hippo, but not that all the church, both in town and region, belonged to him. Antonius, bishop of Fussala, might have said this as truly of his church there as Austin did of his church at Hippo ; it did *ad Hipponensem regionem pertinere*, "belong to the region of Hippo." And it may be as justly inferred from hence that all the church, both in the town and region of Hippo, belonged to the bishop of Fussala. If our author will allow of this, (as he must, if he will stand to his own account of this passage,) Austin's bishopric will be strangely diminished indeed ; it must be confined to a part of Hippo, and made less than I represent it. For I did not say, nor had I any need to assert, that he was bishop of the town only. We may allow him, besides his part of the town, divers villages in the country (though I have not seen it proved) without any danger of assigning him a diocesan church. For Kidderminster (as one tells us who very well knows it) hath twenty villages belonging to it, and some thousands of souls therein, yet according to our modern measures will scarce make a diocesan church."

To show that there were more bishops in the region of Hippo than St. Austin, (besides particular instances, which he passes by,) I alleged a passage of his, where the Donatists were desired to meet together with the Catholic bishops that were in that region, and who there suffered so much by the Donatists: to this he answers, "That these bishops who are said to be *in regione Hipponensi*, 'in the region of Hippo,' were not the bishops of that region, but some bishops of the province met together there."

But that these were bishops of the province met together there, is a

mere conjecture of his own, without the least ground either in this passage or any other in that epistle. It will not be hard to answer any thing at this rate. If there had been a provincial council then held in that region, there might have been some pretence for what he says; but there is not any hint of this in the whole epistle. That which is desired is a meeting for conference, *Hoc est ergo desiderium nostrum*, &c. "this therefore is what we wish," &c.; *primum, si fieri potest, ut cum episcopis nostris pacificè conferatis*, "first, that, if possible ye will peaceably confer with the bishops of our parts;" *ideo nos conferre volumus*, "therefore we wish a conference;" and the prime occasion of it was the outrages committed in that region by the Donatists, wherein the bishops of that place were particularly concerned. This is signified, as in other parts of the epistle, so particularly in the passage cited, *Episcopos nostros qui sunt in regione Hipponensi, ubi tanta mala patimur*, "the bishops of our party who are in the region of Hippo, where we suffer so many calamities." This meeting was to be with the Catholic bishops upon the place, *in regione Hipponensi*, "in the region of Hippo," not any to be called from other parts. And these words seem brought in to prevent an objection which the Donatists might make against a more general, or more public meeting, as that which might bring them in danger of the laws in force against them, *an fortè istæ leges imperatoris vos non permittunt nostros episcopos convenire*; and then immediately follow these words in answer to it, *ecce interim episcopos nostros qui sunt in regione Hipponensi*, "look in the mean while to the bishops of our party who are in the region of Hippo," &c.; so that this to me seems the plain sense of both objection and answer. If because of the laws you dare not meet us in a more general or provincial council, yet give a meeting to the bishops of this particular region, where there can be no apprehension of danger. All which makes me judge what he says, concerning the bishops of the province as here intended, to be no better than an evasion.

To prove that there was but one bishop in the region of Hippo, he tells us, "that the clergy there, called in the inscription of an epistle, *Clerici regionis Hipponensium*, 'the clergy of the region of Hippo,' do call him their bishop, and not one of their bishops," &c.

But the clergy so called, may be only the clergy of Hippo, and so they are in the title of the epistle, *Clerici Hippone catholici*, "The Catholic clergy at Hippo;" and well may they of Hippo be called the clergy of the region, both because they were in that region, and were the clergy of it, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, "in a special sense." But if the expression should be extended to more or to all in the region, their calling him *episcopus noster*, "our bishop," will be no proof that they had no other bishop but him at Hippo. For that phrase *episcopus noster*, "our

bishop," or *episcopi nostri*, "our bishops," all along in this epistle, doth not denote the bishop of that particular church to which they belonged, (as he would have it) but a bishop of their party or persuasion. So they call Valentinus *nostrum catholicum episcopum*, "our catholic bishop," who yet was not bishop of Hippo. So they call them *episcopos nostros*, whom they desired the Donatists to meet once and again,<sup>a</sup> and thrice in another page, where our author finds *episcopos nostros*.<sup>b</sup> He may have many more instances hereof in that epistle. If there was so many bishops in Hippo, or in that region, as the clergy call *episcopos nostros*, he must grant many more bishops in that region than I need desire. So that this phrase, however it be understood, is a medium unhappily chosen; if it be taken in my sense it is impertinent, and can conclude nothing for him; if it be taken in his own sense, it will conclude directly against him.

He passes to Alexandria, and to page 32. "The instance of Mareotis he says little to,"—so our author: I might think it enough, where there was so little occasion.

"He insinuates as if Mareotis might not have number enough of Christians to have a bishop; but this Athanasius does sufficiently show to be a groundless conjecture."

I had no intention or occasion to signify that Mareotis had not Christians enough to have a bishop; I knew that it both had many Christians and a bishop also, and named him too; and therefore the groundless conjecture may be fixed somewhere else.

"And even before Athanasius, the generality of the people there were Christians."

How long before? Dionysius in the latter part of the third age declares it *ἐρημον τὸν ἀδελφῶν*, "quite destitute of Christians,"<sup>c</sup> and the gaining the generality there to the faith, required some considerable time, and it is like<sup>d</sup> proceeded not far, till Christianity generally prevailed.

Besides Ischyas, I had mentioned Dracontius, both bishops in the territory of Alexandria, (as Agathammon also was;<sup>e</sup>) of Dracontius he takes notice, and says, "possibly he was a chorepiscopus."

But a chorepiscopus is elsewhere with him a diocesan,<sup>f</sup> and here he says that he did accept a bishopric. Now these put together will go near to make a diocesan bishop. But then if there were two or three bishops in the diocese of Alexandria, besides Athanasius, they will scarce be so much as half diocesans.

He says, Athanasius pressed him to accept it. If so, this great person was no more unwilling to have another bishop in his diocese,

<sup>a</sup> Page 373.<sup>b</sup> Page 371.<sup>c</sup> Euseb. lib. vii. cap. xi.<sup>d</sup> probable.<sup>e</sup> Apol. ii. p. 612.

Page 590.

and in a country place too, than Austin was to have one at Fussala. He says further, This was an extraordinary case, though what was extraordinary in it I cannot imagine: to prove anything there mentioned to be so, will be an hard task.

“And allowing this man a country bishopric, that of Alexandria would be a great deal too big for the Congregational measure.”

And so it might be, and yet be no diocesan church; if that will satisfy him which is too big for those measures, he seems content to drop his cause, and may leave it in the hands of presbyterians. And he is in the more danger, because he seems not apprehensive of it, but counts it enough if he thinks a church is any where found larger than one congregation.

I had given instances of several towns that had bishops, and were but two, or three, or four, &c. miles distant one from another: this he denies not; but asks, What does this conclude?<sup>a</sup> might not those dioceses be yet much larger than one congregation?

I might conclude that these were just such dioceses as our country parishes are; and had such congregations as those parish churches have. And some of them in time might have provision (as some of ours have) for more congregations than one. And if our modern dioceses were of this proportion, they would be much more conformable to the ancient models.

“Suppose the chief congregations of Holland had each a bishop, yet I conceive they would be diocesans, though those cities lie very close together.”

He might have laid the scene at home, where we are better acquainted, and supposed this of our country towns; or of both the chief and lesser towns in Holland; if he had designed what would be most parallel. But to take it as it is formed, though those cities lay not further distant, and had each of them a bishop, yet if their churches were governed in common by bishop and presbyters, as the ancient churches were, they would not be diocesan, but more like the model of the churches and government which Holland hath at present.

“And now after all this, though we have several instances out of Egypt, how near cities were together in some parts, yet upon the whole account the dioceses do appear to be large enough, from the number of them.”

He would have us think, where cities are so near together (as I have showed,) yet because of their number the dioceses might be large enough. But where they were so near together, they could not be large enough to make anything like the modern dioceses; no, nor larger than our country parishes, if they had bishops in them. And the ancients

<sup>a</sup> argue.

thought themselves obliged by the apostle's rule to have a bishop, not only in some but in every city, ἐπισκόπων ἔδει πολλῶν, "there is need of many bishops," says Chrysostom, καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν προηγησάμενων,<sup>a</sup> "and rulers in every city," and Theophylact expresses κατὰ πόλιν by καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν, "in every city," without exception of the smallness of the place or its nearness to others. The reason divers cities had none was the want, or the inconsiderable number of Christians in them. Nothing but this hindered any city from having a bishop in the four first ages; though the greatest part of their cities (as may be made manifest) were no greater than our market-towns or fairer villages. And upon this account many cities might want bishops, and it may be did so, in Egypt particularly; heathenism prevailing in many places there, even in Athanasius's time; for which I could produce sufficient evidence; but will not now digress so far. Afterwards the affectation of greatness in some was the occasion of new measures; and orders were made that towns which had no bishops before should have none after: though the reason why they had none before was gone; and those places had as many or more Christians in them than most episcopal cities had of old.

"For in Athanasius's time there were not an hundred bishops in all Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis."<sup>b</sup>

I was a little surprised to read this, and see Athanasius cited for it. For I knew that Athanasius reckons ninety-five bishops from Egypt besides himself, at the Council of Sardica, and others from Africa, wherein Lybia and Pentapolis are usually included; and it was never known that a major part or a third of the bishops in a country did come to a council at such a distance as Egypt was from Sardica. It is scarce credible that Athanasius would so far contradict himself as to say there were not so many bishops in all those three countries, when he had signified there were many more in one of them. Some mistake I thought there must be, and consulting the place I found it not entirely represented. There is this clause (immediately following the words he cites) left out, οὐδεὶς τούτων ἡμᾶς ἠτιᾶτο, "none of these accused me," whereby it appears that the meaning of the whole passage is this, there was an hundred bishops in the diocese of Egypt who appeared not against him, or that favoured him. But those who favoured Arius, (whom he calls Eusebians) and Meletius, to say nothing of Coluthus, (for in so many parties was that country then divided) are not taken into the reckoning; otherwise it would have amounted to many more than an hundred. Sozomen says, the bishops there, who took Arius's part, were many, πολλοὶ τῶν ἐπισκόπων,<sup>c</sup> and in Athanasius there is

<sup>a</sup> In 1 Tim. Hom. xi.

<sup>b</sup> Athan. Apol. ii.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. i. cap. xiv.

an account of many Meletian bishops by name;<sup>a</sup> and in Epiphanius it is said, that in every region through which Meletius passed, and in every place where he came, he made bishops.<sup>b</sup>

The next thing he takes notice of is the defence of Mr. Baxter's allegation out of Athanasius, to show that all the Christians of Alexandria (M[r.] B[axter]'s words are, The main body of the Christians in Alexandria) could meet in one church.

"It is to be confessed that the expressions of that father seem to favour him, *καὶ πάντας ἐψήχθησαν*, 'and there they all prayed,' and that the church did *πάντας δέξασθαι*, 'hold all,' " &c.

I am made more confident by all that is said to the contrary, that the evidence is really such as will need no favour, if it can meet with justice.

"Now, suppose that all the Christians in Alexandria, the Catholics at leastwise, could meet together in that great church, yet all the diocese could not."

All that was undertaken to be proved by the passage in question was, that the main body of Christians in Alexandria adhering to Athanasius could and did meet in that one church. If this be granted, nothing is denied that he intended to prove. As for a diocese in the country, if he will show us what or where it was, and that it had no other bishop in it, he will do something that may be considered; yet nothing at all against what this testimony was made use of to evince.

He says, 2dly, "Suppose this great church could receive all the multitude, yet if that multitude was too great for personal communion it is insignificant."

Upon this supposition it might be too great for an ordinary meeting in the Congregational way, yet not big enough for a diocesan church. But the supposition is groundless, and contradicts Athanasius, who says they had personal communion, they all prayed together, and did not only meet within the walls, but concurred in the worship, and said, Amen.

He says, 3dly, "Before the church of Alexandria met in distinct congregations, but we are told that those places were very small, short, and strait places."

All these save one, I said, which he ought not to have omitted. And they were so small because those who were wont to meet in them severally, so as to fill them, could all meet in one church, and did so, as Athanasius declares.

"But that they were such chapels or churches as [that] some of our parishes in England have as great a number as Alexandria, is hardly credible.

<sup>a</sup> Apol. ii. p. 614. (Ed. Col. 1686, tom. i. p. 796.)

<sup>b</sup> Epiph. Har. lxxviii. [n. 3.]



I know not how those places could be well expressed with more diminution than Athanasius hath done it ; he says they were not only strait and small, but the very smallest. If he will make it appear that our churches or chapels are less than those that were *βραχύτατοι*, "very little," I shall understand that which I could never before, that something is less than that which is least of all. But he will prove they were not so small, because first, the church of Alexandria was very numerous from the beginning. Why it should be counted so very numerous from the beginning I know no reason, but the mistake of an historian, who will have a sect of the Jews (which was numerous in or about Alexandria) to be Christians.

"And if they met all in one place, it must consequently be very large."

The ground of the consequence is removed ; Valesius his own author says they had but one church to meet in in Dionysius's time, almost three ages from the beginning.<sup>a</sup> If that one was large, yet it is not like<sup>b</sup> that it stood till Athanasius's time, after so many edicts for demolishing of all Christian churches, and a severe execution of them in Diocletian's persecution.

"Nor is it likely they should divide till they were grown too numerous for the biggest meeting-place they could conveniently have."

It is as likely as that Athanasius speaks truth in a matter which he perfectly knew ; he tells us they did divide, and yet were not too numerous for one great church, in which they met conveniently too ; yea, better than when dispersed in those little places, as he says and proves, *τοῦτο βέλτιον ἦν*, "this was preferable," &c.

2dly, He says, "Though before the empire was converted they might be confined to little places, and forced to meet severally,<sup>c</sup> yet after Constantine became Christian it is not likely that the Alexandrians would content themselves with small and strait chapels."

Nor did they content themselves with those little ones, for besides this built in Athanasius's time, there was one greater than those small ones finished in Alexander's time, where the body of Catholics assembled with Alexander, the other places being too strait, *στενῶν ὄντων ἄλλων τῶν τόπων*, this is that one I excepted when I said (after Athanasius) that the rest, all save one, were exceeding small. But is it any proof that these were not very small which Athanasius represents as such, because there was one (expressly excepted from that number) something larger ? As for what he adds, that then every ordinary city built very great and magnificent cathedrals, it is easily said, but will never be proved.

<sup>a</sup> Page 64.

<sup>b</sup> probable.

<sup>c</sup> in separate places.

"3dly, Some of these churches had been built with a design of receiving as many as well could have personal communion in worship together."

Neither will this hold, unless some of those churches could have received all which had personal communion with Athanasius in this greatest church ; which he denies, and makes use of to Constantius as a plea why he made use of the greatest.

"As Theonas is said by Athanasius to have built a church bigger than any of those they had before."

Where Theonas is said by Athanasius to have built a church, &c. I find not, nor does he direct us where it may be found, I suppose for very good reason. Indeed Athanasius in this apology speaks of a church called Theonas (it is like<sup>a</sup> in memory of a former bishop of that place) where he says the multitude of Catholics met with Alexander, *συνῆγεν ἐκεῖ δία τὸ πλῆθος*, "met there because of the crowd ;" in like circumstances, as a greater multitude assembled with himself in the new church, which was greater, and pleads Alexander's example in defence of what he did. But Theonas could not build this church, for he was dead many years before, being predecessor to Peter, whom Achillas and Alexander succeeded.<sup>b</sup>

"And yet this and all the rest were but few and strait in comparison of the great multitude of Catholics that were in Alexandria."

I expected another conclusion, but if this be all, he might have spared the premises ; for one part of it we assert, the other we need not deny, only adding with Athanasius, that the greatest church was capable *δέξασθαι πάντας*, "of receiving this great multitude."

But here he sticks, and will wriggle a little more. "But I conceive," says he, "after all this, that the expressions of Athanasius do not conclude that all the Christians in Alexandria were met in this great church."

That all and every one did come, was never imagined. It is but the main body of the Catholics that M[r.] B[axter] intends, as our author observes a little before.

"For the tumultuous manner in which they came to their bishop to demand a general assembly, makes it probable that not only women and children would be glad to absent themselves, but many more, either apprehensive of the effect of this tumultuous proceeding, or of the danger of such a crowd."

The women he will not admit ; but was it ever known that such a great and solemn assembly for worship consisted only of men ? Were not the women in communion with Athanasius Christians, that they

<sup>a</sup> probable.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. lib. vii. cap. ult. Theodoret, lib. i. cap. ii.

must be left out, when he says all the Catholics met? Can all be truly said to assemble, when the far greater part (women, children, and his "many more") were absent? Are not the women in the primitive church often noted for such zeal for the worship of Christ, as made them contemn far greater dangers than here they had any cause to be apprehensive of? The supposed danger was either from the crowd or the tumult. For the former, did the women and "many more" never come to Christian assemblies, when there was any danger of being crowded? I think there was as great danger from a crowd in Basiliscus's reign, when the whole city of C. P.<sup>a</sup> is said to have met together in a church with the emperor, but yet the women stayed not behind, but crowded in with the men, as Theodorus Lector reports it, *πάσης ὁμοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀνδράσιν ἅμα καὶ γυναιξίν, ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κατὰ βασιλίσκου συναθροισθείσης*.<sup>b</sup> Besides, Athanasius here signifies the danger of a crowd was in the lesser churches, (not in this,) where they could not meet but *ἐπὶ κινδύνου συνοχῆς*, "with danger of a crowd," and so prefers their assembling together in the great church as better.

As for the tumults, (which might have been concealed in a vindication of the primitive church,) if there was anything tumultuous, it was over when Athanasius had complied with their desires to meet in the great church. And so no apprehension of danger [was] left to women, or any else, upon this account.

"And even those that did assemble there were too many for one congregation, and [it] was an assembly more for solemnity and ostentation than for personal communion in worship, and the proper ends of a religious assembly."

Here he runs as cross to the great Athanasius, and the account which he gives of this assembly, as if he had studied it; debasing that as more for ostentation than for personal communion in worship, and the proper ends of a religious assembly, which Athanasius highly commends both for the more desirable communion which the Christians had there in worship, and for the greater efficacy of it as to the proper ends of a religious assembly. Let any one view the passages,<sup>c</sup> and judge. He sets forth the harmony and concurrence of the multitude in worship with one voice. He prefers it before their assemblies, when dispersed in little places, and not only because the unanimity of the multitude was herein more apparent, but because God would sooner hear them, *οὕτω καὶ ταχέως ὁ Θεός ἐπακούει*. "For if," says he, "according to our Saviour's promise, where two shall agree concerning anything it shall be done for them by my Father, &c., how prevalent will be the one voice of so numerous a people, assembled together, and saying

<sup>a</sup> Constantinople.<sup>b</sup> Collect. lib. i. p. 183, F.<sup>c</sup> Apol. ii. pp. 531, 532.

Amen to God?" and more to that purpose, by which we may perceive, Athanasius being judge, how true it is that this assembly was more for solemnity and ostentation, than for personal communion in worship, and the proper ends of a religious assembly. And thus much to let us see through the arts used to cloud a clear passage alleged out of Athanasius; if M[r.] B[axter] had betaken himself to such little devices, in like circumstances, our author would have taken the liberty to tell him, that he was driven to hard shifts.

Before we leave Alexandria, I am to take notice of what is said by our author, to part of a letter written by a friend to M[r.] B[axter,] concerning this city, and the number of Christians therein in Constantius's time. The writer of it observes a gross abuse put upon him in the Vindicator's answer to it, and desires his defence may be here inserted. It contains an argument to confirm what was concluded from that passage in Athanasius here insisted on, that the Catholics then could meet in one place. After that passage, and to this purpose, M[r.] B[axter] introduced it, as is very apparent.<sup>a</sup> This our author seems to observe when he begins with it; "he adds," says he, "to this of Athanasius (the very passage mentioned) another argument given him by a learned friend."<sup>b</sup> And after he hath done with it,<sup>c</sup> [proceeds] "because M[r.] B[axter] has endeavoured to represent the church of Alexandria [as] so inconsiderable even in Constantius's days, &c." And yet, how it comes to pass I know not, it is quite out of his thoughts while he is examining it. He was so hasty for confuting, that he stays not to take notice what he was to confute, though the intent of it be most plain and obvious, both by the occasion and words of the letter, but forces that sense on it, and makes that the design of it, which I was far from thinking would ever come into any man's fancy, when he was awake. The words of the letter are these, "The city of Alexandria," says Strabo, "is like a soldier's cloak, &c., and by computation about ten miles in compass: a third or fourth part of this was taken up with public buildings, temples, and royal palaces; thus is two miles and a half, or three and a quarter taken up." He answers, "I will not say this learned friend hath imposed on M[r.] B[axter,] but there is a very great mistake betwixt them."

But the mistake is his own, and such a one as I wonder how he could fall into it. He takes it for granted, that the argument is brought to prove what Christians Alexandria had in Strabo's time. Here is not the least occasion given for this, unless the citing of Strabo showing the dimensions of that city; but Primate Usher is quoted too, on the same

<sup>a</sup> Church Hist. pp. 9, 10.

<sup>b</sup> Page 58.

<sup>c</sup> Page 63.

account; and so as much reason to fancy the design was to show what [number of] Christians Alexandria had in the primate's time. Jerome, Epiphanius, Theodoret, Socrates, Sozomen, are also cited there; why could not these as well lead him to the right age, which their words plainly point at, without the least glance at any age before, as Strabo alone (cited without any respect to the time when he wrote) so far misled him? Nay, the fourth age is expressly mentioned in the letter; and the numerousness of the Novatians and Arians in Alexandria at the time intended, is insisted on; could he think any man so stupid, that had but the least acquaintance with those things, as to speak of Arians and Novatians in Strabo's time? But it may be, though I would hope better, our examiner was too inclinable to fix an absurd thing upon the writer of the letter, that he might be excused from giving a better answer when it was not ready.

But let us hear what he says to it; yet what can be expected to be said by one who makes his own dream the foundation of his discourse? However, let us try if we can find any one clause that is true and pertinent in the whole, and begin with the best of it.

Though Strabo says that temples and great palaces took up a fourth or a third of the city, yet our examiner will have us think there might be inhabitants there, when Epiphanius says, as I cited him, that part was *ἐρημος*, destitute of inhabitants; so he tells us Bruchium was. The examiner denies not Bruchium to be that region of the city which Strabo says was taken up with public buildings, but adds, "What, all the public buildings of the town in one region?" But who said "all" the public buildings? This is his own fancy still.

"And that an outer skirt, too, as it is described by the Greek Martyrology, in Hilarion," &c.

If he mean it was not a part or region of the city, Strabo and Epiphanius will have credit before a story out of the Greek Martyrology, or him that tells it, when it appears not in the words cited. In Strabo it is *μέρος*, "part of the city;" in Epiphanius it is a region, *ἐν τῷ βρονχίῳ καλουμένῳ κλίματι*, "in the region called Bruchium." For as Rome was divided into fourteen regions, and C. P.<sup>b</sup> in imitation of it, so Alexandria was divided into five, whereof Bruchium was one, and the greatest of all. So I understand Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>c</sup> who, upon the loss of Bruchium, saith, *amisit regionum maximam partem, quæ Bruchium appellatur*, "Alexandria lost the greatest of its regions, which was called Bruchium."

"This Epiphanius says was destitute of inhabitants, in his time, and

<sup>a</sup> De Pond. et Mens. p. 166.

<sup>b</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>c</sup> [Lib. xxii. cap. xvi.]

not unlikely, and perhaps destitute of public buildings, too, for it was destroyed after an obstinate siege in the reign of Aurelian, as Ammianus Marcellinus [testifies]; or of Claudius, as Eusebius."

When he hath granted all that I designed, that this part was destitute of inhabitants, and more too, that it was destroyed, yet he would have the city no less, "no necessity of this," says he. Sure we are not yet awake: can a city lose τέταρτον ἢ καὶ τρίτον τοῦ πάντος περιβόλου μέρος, in the historian's words, "a fourth, yea, or a third part of its largeness," and yet not be so much the less? He hath nothing to salve this, but "it may be," and "it might be,"—groundless surmises, without either reason or authority.

"They might enlarge upon another quarter, being, it may be, forbid[den] to build Bruchium; they might dwell closer than before, and so their multitude be undiminished."

How far it is from being true, that their multitude was undiminished, and how needless either to enlarge, or to dwell closer, may soon appear. The multitude must needs be much diminished in such a war, and a close siege of many years' continuance, for so it is reported both by Eusebius<sup>a</sup> and Jerome;<sup>a</sup> and it was much wasted and in a consumptive condition, before it was thus besieged and dismantled by Claudius II., or Aurelian.

It was greatly diminished in numbers by Caracalla, who massacred a great part of the inhabitants. Herodian says, τοσούτος ἐγένετο φόνος ὥς ρείθροις αἵματος, &c. "the slaughter was such that with the streams of blood, which ran from the place, not only the vastest outlets of Nilus, but the sea, all along the shore of Alexandria, was discoloured."<sup>b</sup> Towards the latter end of the third age, Dionysius gives an account of the strange diminution of the Alexandrians,<sup>c</sup> signifying that "in former days the elderly men were more numerous than in his time, both young and old, comprising all from infancy to extreme old age," ἀπὸ νηπίων ἀρξαμένην παίδων, μέχρι τῶν εἰς ἄκρον γεγηρακότων.

"However, certain it is, that this city, long after the destruction of Bruchium, retained its ancient greatness, and is represented by no author as diminished either in number or wealth."

This is certain no otherwise than the former, *i.e.* quite the wrong way. For not long after the destruction of Bruchium, in the Egyptian war made by Diocletian upon Achilleus, which Eusebius, Eutropius, and others mention, it was greatly diminished both in numbers and wealth. For Alexandria, after a long siege, was taken by force, and plundered, great execution done upon the citizens, and the walls of the town demolished.

<sup>a</sup> In Chronic.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. lib. iv. [p. 176, ed. Lugdun. 1624.]

<sup>c</sup> In Euseb. lib. vii. cap. xxii.

"A great part of the city," says the latter, "was assigned to the Jews, so Strabo indefinitely as Josephus quotes him; others tell us more punctually,<sup>a</sup> that their share was two of the five divisions; though many of them had their habitations in the other divisions, yet they had two-fifth parts entire to themselves; and this is, I suppose, the *τόπος ἴδιος* which Josephus says the successors of Alexander set apart for them; thus we see how six or seven miles of the ten are disposed of." To this he says, "The number of those Jews was much lessened within a little while after Strabo, by an insurrection of the Alexandrians against them."

I suppose he means by that slaughter of them which Josephus mentions,<sup>b</sup> where fifty thousand were destroyed; but what were these to the vast number of Jews in Egypt, which Philo<sup>c</sup> says amounted to no less than a million?

"The civil wars afterwards under Trajan and his successor had almost extirpated them."

It was in Palestine where these tragedies were acted, and they were so far from extinguishing them in Egypt or Alexandria, that thereby, in all probability, their numbers were there increased; for being divested of about one thousand towns and garrisons by Severus (Adrian's general,) as Dion reports, and forbidden all access to Jerusalem, as Aristo Pelleus in Eusebius,<sup>d</sup> this made other places more desirable, those particularly where they might have good entertainment, as they were wont to have at Alexandria; and what Dion Chrysostom says confirms it.

But all this which he says, if there were truth in it, is impertinent; for the letter is not concerned what Jews there were near Strabo's or Adrian's time, but in the fourth age. Yet this is all that he hath to say to the rest of the letter, besides the publishing and repeating of his own mistake, and upon no other ground making himself sport with the writer of it.

Thus he begins: "By the same rule he might have disposed of all at once, and concluded out of Strabo's division of the town, that there was not one Christian in it:" and repeats it thrice in the same page. "No matter what number of Jews or heathens it had in Strabo's days; it is kindly done to provide for Christians before they were in being; surely Strabo, who makes the distribution, never intended the Christians one foot of ground in all that division, and this learned friend might have spared his little town of eight or ten furlongs, which he so liberally bestows upon the bishop of Alexandria, before our Saviour was born:" and he is at it again several times in the following discourse.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> particularly.

<sup>b</sup> *De Bello Judaic.* lib. ii. cap. xxi.

<sup>c</sup> *Legat. ad Caium*, [p. 1040, ed. Turneb.]

<sup>d</sup> *Lib. iv. cap. vi.*

<sup>e</sup> Pages 69, 94.

How desirable a thing is it to have M[r.] B[axter] and his friend rendered ridiculous, when rather than it shall not be done, our examiner will publish his own indiscretion so many times over to effect it! But I will forbear any sharper reflections upon this author; for taking him to be an ingenuous person, I may expect he will be severe upon himself, when he discerns his error; which I doubt not but he will see clearly by once more reading that letter.

Next he would disprove M[r.] B[axter]'s representation of the church of Alexandria in Constantius's time, by giving a view of that church's greatness from the first foundation of it;<sup>a</sup> which because it may concern the letter duly understood, I shall take some notice of it very briefly. But there is something interposed, between this and the letter, which requires some observance;<sup>b</sup> there we may have an instance of this gentleman's severity upon M[r.] B[axter] and how reasonable it is; "His remark," says he, "upon two bishops living quietly in Alexandria is so disingenuous a suggestion, that he hath reason to be ashamed of it."

But what is there in this so disingenuous and shameful? Does not Epiphanius say this, and our examiner acknowledge it?<sup>c</sup> Ay; but M[r.] B[axter] means that there were not only two bishops, but their distinct churches in this city. Well, and does not Epiphanius give him sufficient ground for it? Does he not tell us that Meletius made bishops, who had their *ιδίας ἐκκλησίας*, "own churches," in every place where he came? Does he not signify that the Meletians in Alexandria had their distinct churches or meetings both in the time of Alexander and Athanasius? Says he not particularly of Meletius that being familiar with Alexander he stayed long in that city, having *ιδίαν σύναξιν σὺν τοῖς ιδίοις*, "a distinct meeting with those of his own party?" Were there not innumerable cities in that age which had two bishops and their churches, some three or four at once? (those of the Arians, the Donatists, the Novatians, the Meletians, &c., besides those who were styled Catholics.) Would this gentleman take it well if M[r.] B[axter] should tell him, that he who denies this is disingenuous if he know it, and hath some reason to be ashamed if he know it not? Ay, but Epiphanius was deceived in this account of the Meletians, and misrepresents them. Indeed, our examiner makes as bold with Epiphanius (a bishop of great zeal and holiness, a metropolitan, a famous writer) as he does with M[r.] B[axter], charging him with much weakness, (as one easily imposed upon,) many oversights, gross mistakes, divers absurd things, and such stories, that he will scarce wish worse to his adversary, than to believe him.<sup>d</sup> Nor does Epiphanius alone fall under his censure; in his Vindication of the Primitive Church, (as he calls it,)

<sup>a</sup> Page 61.<sup>b</sup> observation.

Page 107.

<sup>d</sup> Pages 112, 113, &c.



he goes near to accuse more particular persons (bishops amongst others) of eminency in the ancient church, than he defends; so that one may suspect his design was, not so much to defend eminent bishops, as great bishoprics, such as the ancient church had none, and to run cross to M[r.] B[axter] more than to vindicate any.

"In St. Mark's time Alexandria had several churches, though but one bishop," &c.<sup>a</sup>

What Eusebius says of churches in Alexandria at that time, is grounded upon a mistake, as appears, because immediately after the words cited, he adds, "So great was the multitude of believers at Mark's first attempt there, that Philo in his writings thought fit to give an account of them," *ὡς καὶ γραφῆς ἀξιῶσαι τὸν Φιλῶνα*. Eusebius conceived that the Essenes, as Scaliger, or the Therapeutæ, as Valesius, whom Philo describes, were the Christians of Mark's conversion; and there being assemblies of that sect of the Jews in Philo's time, the historian speaks of Christian churches at Alexandria in Mark's time; but those who believe that he erred in the former, can have no reason to give him credit in the latter. Our examiner does not deny that he was mistaken, but says, "It is not material whether they were Jews or Christians;" yet those who inquire after truth sincerely, will think it material; and little value a testimony which hath no better ground than a mistake.

The next is no better;<sup>b</sup> that is an epistle of Adrian, which others are puzzled to make sense of, or such sense as can have any appearance of truth. That very passage in it, which is the only ground of our author's argument, himself acknowledges to be false; for he would show the Christians in Alexandria to be numerous enough for his purpose, because it is there said that "some," whom he takes to be Christians, "did force the patriarch," whoever he be, "to worship Christ," and yet adds, "there is no doubt but Adrian does the Christians wrong in this point, for they never forced any to their religion." Will he have us to rely upon reasonings, which have no better foundation, than what is undoubtedly false by his own confession? He says, also, "It is not material to our purpose whether this patriarch were bishop of Alexandria, or chief governor of the Jews." If so, then it is not material with this gentleman, either to argue from that which is not true, or else from that which is nothing to his purpose. For if this patriarch was the bishop of Alexandria, that they forced him to worship Christ, is not true, he did it of his own accord: and if it be not one, who was no Christian, that they forced; there is not anything in

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. lib. ii. cap. xvi.

<sup>b</sup> Page 62.

this passage to his purpose, and Adrian's epistle might have been waived as a mere impertinency.

That which follows,<sup>a</sup> hath not a show of a reason: "The great catechists of Alexandria, as Pantæus, Clemens, Origen, and Heracles, did not a little advance the growth of Christian religion in that place," &c.

Must there needs be a diocesan church there because the catechists did advance religion not a little?

The next concerning Dionysius's church meeting at Chebron (Cephro it should be) and Coluthio, is already fully answered, as it is offered with better improvement than our examiner gives it.<sup>b</sup> It cannot easily be apprehended how a larger church meeting with Dionysius, made up of those banished with him, and others from several parts of Egypt, at Cephro, a village of Lybia, a distant province, should prove that he had a diocesan church in Alexandria, to any but those who are very inclinable to believe it without proof. Nor will others understand that Dionysius is better proved to be a diocesan by the Christians which came from Alexandria to Coluthio in Mareotes; (there being none there besides) for the believers in Alexandria itself, were no more than one church could hold, as Valesius collects from this very place to our examiner's regret, *Ex hoc loco colligitur, ætate quidem Dionysii, unicam adhuc fuisse Alexandriæ ecclesiam, in quam omnes urbis illius fideles orationis causâ, conveniebant.* "From this place we gather that in the time of Dionysius there was, as yet, but a single church at Alexandria, in which all the faithful of that city met for prayer."<sup>c</sup>

In the next paragraph our examiner argues for the great numbers of Christians at Alexandria, from the multitudes of martyrs at Thebes.

"Under the persecution of Diocletian what numbers of Christians might be at Alexandria, may be judged by the multitude of martyrs that suffered at Thebes,"<sup>d</sup> &c.

But here he mistakes Eusebius, who gives an account not of the martyrs which were ἐν Θήβαις, "in the city Thebes," but κατὰ Θηβαΐδα, "the province Thebais," which was half of that large kingdom, according to the ancient division of it into the upper and lower Egypt. The superior Egypt was Thebais, the inferior was called sometimes the Delta, sometimes Egypt in a restrained sense, and this division in these terms we have in Eusebius (to go no further) a little before,<sup>e</sup> κατὰ Θηβαΐδα, "in Thebais," κατ' Αἴγυπτον, "in Egypt," where he begins his account of the martyrs in this country. Now if the Christians in that province of large extent, and comprising very many cities, may be con-

<sup>a</sup> Page 63.

<sup>b</sup> No Evidence for D. C. pp. 30, 31.

<sup>c</sup> Not. in Euseb. lib. vii. cap. xi.

<sup>d</sup> Page 64.

<sup>e</sup> Cap. vi.

cluded to be very numerous from the multitudes of martyrs which suffered there ; yet nothing at all can be inferred for any numbers to his purpose in the city Thebes, by which he would conclude their numerousness in Alexandria. But if M[r.] B[axter] had mistaken one city for so large a country with multitudes of cities in it, and made that mistake the ground of his reasoning, it is like<sup>a</sup> our examiner would have exposed him for it in his preface, as he does for some lesser matters.

In the following paragraph,<sup>b</sup> there is a groundless supposition, that the division of Alexandria into parishes was ancients than Arius, there being no mention of it by any ancient author ; as also an accusation of Petavius as mistaking Epiphanius's words, without any cause that I can discern in those words, though he says "it is plain there." That which he says is plain, the learned dean of Paul's<sup>c</sup> could not discern, but understood Epiphanius as Petavius and others did before him. These I took to be preliminaries, and expected his argument, but found it not, unless it be couched in the first words.

"The division of Alexandria between several presbyters, as it were into so many parishes," &c.

But this signifies nothing for his purpose, if those in Alexandria thus divided could all meet in one place, as Athanasius declares they did ; and that so plainly that any one will judge so, whose interest is not too hard for his judgment. Valesius (who had no bias unless what might lead him the other way) understood it as I do ; and expresses it in these words, (deciding the matter so long insisted on, against our author.) "Afterwards in the times of Athanasius, when there were more churches built by divers bishops of Alexandria, the citizens assembled in several churches severally and in parcels, as Athanasius says in his apology to Constantius ; but on the great festivals, Easter and Pentecost, no particular assemblies were held," *sed universi in majorem ecclesiam conveniebant, ut ibidem testatur Athanasius*, "but all of them assembled together in the great church, as Athanasius testifies."

So that there can be no pretence that the church in Alexandria was diocesan at this time, unless those who could meet together in one place might make such a church. Yet this was then the greatest church in the empire save that at Rome ; and what he adds makes that at Rome very unlike such diocesan churches, as are now asserted.

"Valesius infers from the same passage of Pope Innocent's epistle to Decentius, which Petavius brings to prove the contrary, that though there were several titles or churches in Rome then, and had been long

<sup>a</sup> probable.

<sup>b</sup> Page 65

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Stillingfleet, Sermon of Separation, p. 28.

before, yet none of them was as yet appropriated to any presbyter, but they were served in common as great cities in Holland and some other reformed countries, that have several churches and ministers," &c.

The advocates for these churches, who assign the bounds of a diocese with most moderation, will have it to comprise a city with a territory belonging to it; but there was no church in the territory which belonged to the bishop of Rome, he had none but within the city, as Innocentius declares in the cited epistle, whereas now the greatest city with a territory larger than some ancient province is counted little enough for a diocese. Further it is now judged to be no diocese which comprises not very many churches with presbyters appropriated to them; but he tells us none of the churches in Rome were appropriated to any presbyter, but they were served in common. How? as greater cities in Holland and some other reformed countries, and then they were ruled in common as these cities are. The government of many churches is not there, nor was of old, ever entrusted in one hand; and thus the bishop of Rome was no more a diocesan than the presbyters of that city.

He concludes<sup>a</sup> with two assertions, which will neither of them hold good. The first that "it is evident out of Athanasius how the bishop of that city had from the beginning several fixed congregations under him."

This is so far from being evident in Athanasius, that he hath not one word which so much as intimates that the bishop of Alexandria from the beginning, had any such congregations under him.

The other is, that those of Mareotes must be supposed to receive the faith almost as early as Alexandria.

How true this is we may understand by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, towards the latter end of the third age, who declares that then Mareotes was *ἐρημος ἀδελφῶν καὶ σπουδαίων ἀνθρώπων*,<sup>b</sup> it was so far from having any true Christians in it, that it had none of our author's old Christians, *i. e.* virtuous, good men.<sup>c</sup> Nor is it likely that the faith was there generally received till many years after; and therefore not almost so early as Alexandria, unless the distance of above two hundred years will consist with his almost. For Alexandria received the faith by the preaching of Mark, who arrived there, says Eusebius, in the 2nd of Claudius,<sup>d</sup> others in the 3rd of Caligula.<sup>e</sup> But in the time of Dionysius it doth not appear that Mareotes had so many Christians, as Bishop Ischyra's church there consisted of, though those were but seven, *οὐ πλεόν ἑπτα τῶν συναγομένων ἔχειν*,—"had not

<sup>a</sup> Page 66.

<sup>d</sup> Chron. Euseb.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. lib. vii. cap. xi.

Chron. Alex.

<sup>c</sup> Page 60.

more than seven for a congregation.”<sup>a</sup> But enough of Alexandria, though our author is far from bringing enough to prove it, even in the fourth age, a diocesan church. He may be excused for doing his utmost to this purpose, considering the consequence of it, for if this church was not now so numerous as to be diocesan, it will be in vain to expect a discovery of any such churches in the whole Christian world in those times; for this is acknowledged to be the greatest city and church in the Roman empire next to Rome. So that there cannot be so fair a pretence for any other inferior to this, such as Jerusalem, Carthage, Antioch, &c., much less for ordinary cities, which were ten times less considerable than some of the former, as may be collected from what Chrysostom says of one of them, *δέκα πόλεων πένητας δυνατόν ἦν θρέψας*, that it was able to maintain the poor of ten cities.<sup>b</sup>

So far the writer of the letter. Let me now return to our author’s preface: To show that the Christians in Alexandria adhering to Athanasius were not so exceeding numerous as is pretended, and not to be compared with the Christians now in London, I had said, that “the greatest part of the inhabitants of that city were at this time heathens or Jews; of those who passed for Christians, it is like<sup>c</sup> Athanasius had the lesser share,<sup>d</sup> the Novatians and other sects, the Meletians especially, and the Arians, did probably exceed his flock in numbers; it may be the Arians there were more numerous.” This last clause (which [as] appears by the expression, I was not positive in) he alone fixes on, and would disprove it by a passage out of Athanasius. But the Greek is false printed, and the sense defective for want of some word, and so no judgment can be well passed thereon, unless I saw it; and where to see it he gives no direction. My concern therein is not so great as to search for it through so voluminous an author. It will serve my turn well enough, if the Arians were but very numerous, or as Sozomen expresses them, *οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα τοῦ λαοῦ*,<sup>e</sup> “no small portion of the people,” which cannot be denied, though they alone were not more numerous. The last thing he would take notice of, is the diocese of Theodoret, but this is remitted to the Dean of Paul’s,<sup>f</sup> yet one thing he says he cannot omit; though some may think that he had better have passed it (as he had many other things;) than being so much in haste, to slip at almost every line, as he does in those few which concern it.

“If these eight hundred churches, not eighty, as this gentleman reckons them,” (it was not he but the printer that so reckoned them,

<sup>a</sup> Athan. Apol. 2, p. 615. [Ed. Col. 1686, p. 796, B, tom. i.]

<sup>c</sup> probable.

<sup>d</sup> Page 30.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Stillingfleet.

<sup>b</sup> In Mat. Hom. lxvi.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. i. cap. xiv.

as the errata show,) "belonged to him as metropolitan, and they were all episcopal churches," (I never met with any before, that took them for episcopal churches, and how he should fall into this mistake I cannot imagine; I will not believe that he creates it, to make himself work,) "this poor region of Cyrus would have more bishops than all Africa," (not so neither, for by the conference at Carthage, and the abbreviation of it by St. Austin, much more to be relied on, than the *Notitia* published by Si[r]mond, which is neither consistent with others, nor with itself, Africa had many more bishops than eight hundred,) "notwithstanding they were more numerous there than in any part of the world besides." Nor will this pass for true with those who take his own account concerning their numbers in Africa," (which he reckons but four hundred and sixty-six, taking in those of the schismatics too; about sixty-six for each province one with another, counting them as he does seven;) and the account which others give of their numbers, in the ancient Roman province, the kingdom of Naples, the island Crete, Ireland, to say nothing of Armenia, and other parts of the world.

That which follows is, I suppose, instead of an answer to the other part of my discourse concerning the popular election of bishops, which this gentleman was as much concerned to take notice of, as of the few passages he hath touched in the former part; why he did not, I will not inquire further, but satisfy myself with what is obvious, especially since he tells us he intends a discourse of such a subject. If in this designed work he satisfies me that it was not the general practice of the ancient church for the people to concur in the choice of their bishops, he will do me a greater displeasure than the confutation of what I have written, or any other that I can fear he intends me, by taking me off from further conversation with ancient authors, as persons by whose writings we can clearly know nothing. For if that point be not clear in antiquity, I can never expect to find anything there that is so.

I intended to conclude this discourse here, without giving the reader further trouble; but considering there are misapprehensions about the subject in question, those being taken by divers for diocesan churches, which indeed are not such, and arguments used to prove them so which are not competent for that purpose (of which there are many instances, as elsewhere so particularly in the latter end of this author's discourse,) I thought it requisite for the rectifying of these mistakes, and to show the insufficiency or impertinency of such reasonings, to give an account what mediums cannot in reason be esteemed to afford competent proof of diocesan churches.

In general, those who will satisfy us that any churches, in the first

ages of Christianity, were diocesan, should prove them to be such diocesans as ours are, as large, or near as large; otherwise what they offer will scarce appear to be pertinent. For the rise of this debate is the question between us, whether the bishops of these times be such as those in the primitive church. This we deny, because modern bishops will have another sort of churches or dioceses than were known in the best ages. Not that we reject all dioceses or diocesan churches, for both *παρουσία* and *διοίκησις* are used by the ancients for such churches as we allow. It is those of a later model, that we approve not, as vastly differing from the ancient episcopal churches. The modern dioceses, and churches thence denominated, are exceeding great and extensive, consisting of many scores, or many hundred particular churches, whereas for the three first ages we cannot find three bishops that had two particular churches in his diocese, nor in the fourth, one in fifty, (if I may not say one in a hundred,) that had more. So that the difference is exceeding great, and more considerable in the consequence thereof, which I had rather give an account of in the words of the very learned D[r.] St[illingfleet] than mine own. "Dioceses generally," says he, "in the primitive and eastern churches were very small and little, as far more convenient for this end of them in government of the church under the bishop's charge;"<sup>a</sup> and elsewhere, "Discipline," says he, "was then a great deal more strict, preaching more diligent, men more apprehensive of the weight of their function, than for any to undertake such a care and charge of souls, that it was impossible for them even to know, observe, or watch over, so as to give an account for them:"<sup>b</sup> men that were employed in the church then did not consult for their ease and honour, and thought it not enough for them to sit still, and bid others work."<sup>c</sup> St. Austin, speaking of the third age, makes account of many thousand bishops then in the world.<sup>d</sup> Our author seems to treat that excellent person something coarsely on this occasion, and goes near to question his judgment or veracity for it:<sup>e</sup> some may think this not over decently done (to say no more) when it is his business to vindicate some ancient bishops who need it, to reflect upon one so untainted as to need none. However, since he says that father judged of other ages by his own, when dioceses were exceedingly multiplied,<sup>f</sup> we may suppose he will grant there were many thousand bishops in the fourth age. Yet among so many thousand bishops I do not expect that any can show me twenty, (if I may not say ten,) who had so many churches in their diocese as some pluralists amongst us may have, who yet never pretend to have a diocesan church. Those,

<sup>a</sup> Iren. p. 376.<sup>b</sup> Page 332.<sup>c</sup> Page 333.<sup>d</sup> Contra Crescon. lib. iii. [cap. iii.]<sup>e</sup> Page 334.<sup>f</sup> Page 335.

therefore, who will make proof of such diocesan churches as are in question, must show us some in the primitive times something like ours in largeness and extent. Amongst the instances produced for this purpose by former or later writers, I find none anything near to ours, save that only of Theodoret in the fifth age. But this in the former discourse was showed to be so insufficient to serve the ends it is alleged for, that I may hope it will be pressed no more for this service.

More particularly: 1st, It proves not a church to be diocesan because it consists of more than can meet together in one place, for there are parishes in this land that contain many hundreds or thousands more than can meet in the parish church, and yet are but counted single congregations. Though multitudes in such churches be far from proving them to be diocesan, yet I think two instances cannot be given in the third age of more in one church than are in some single congregations amongst us; nor many afterwards, till Arianism and Donatism were suppressed; which the latter was not in Africa till after the famous conference at Carthage, anno 410, nor the former in other parts during the fourth age; for though Theodosius made some sharp declarations against them and other heretics, yet none but the Eunomians were prosecuted; if we believe Socrates,<sup>a</sup> that emperor gave not the least trouble to the rest, forced none to communicate with him, but allowed them their meetings, and even in C. P.<sup>b</sup> when afterwards the Arians divided among themselves, each party had several congregations in that city,<sup>c</sup> both that which adhered to Marinus, and that also which followed Dorotheus, these keeping the churches which they had before, and the other erecting new churches.

I know there are those who, from some passages in Tertullian,<sup>d</sup> would infer that the Christians in his time were the major part of the inhabitants in all cities, and so enough not only for vast congregations, but for diocesan churches. But Tertullian was a great orator, and frequently uses hyperbolical expressions, which ought not to be strained. Such are those insisted on, and by regular construction they import no more than that the Christians were very numerous in many parts of the empire. Those that will have them strained, and understood as they sound, offer great injury to Tertullian, making him intend that which hath no warrant in any records of antiquity, civil or ecclesiastical, that I can meet with. Before they impose such a sense on him, they ought in reason to make it manifest, that the Christians were the major part of the inhabitants in some considerable cities at that time; when I believe they cannot produce two instances in the whole empire: I never yet could meet with one.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. v. cap. xx.

<sup>b</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. v. cap. xxiii.

<sup>d</sup> Apol. cap. xxxvii. et ad Scapulam. [Ed. Lutet. 1675, p. 71, C.]



Our author from these oratorical expressions sticks not to conclude, that it is evident that the Christians were the major part everywhere, but in Rome more eminently so; and Dr. Downham signifies that Tertullian speaks chiefly of the city of Rome.<sup>a</sup> This gentleman says, that by his account it is made very probable, that they were the better half of the Roman empire; and tells us,<sup>b</sup> it is certain that the number of Christians at Rome was proportionably greater than in any part of the empire. Now how far the Christians at Rome were from being the major part of the inhabitants, we may judge by the vast disproportion between the poor in the church of Rome, and those in the whole city. Cornelius, near fifty years after Tertullian, (when it was of more growth by half an age,) reckons the poor of his church to be fifteen hundred; whereas out of Suetonius, and others, the poorer sorts of citizens, *quæ e publico victitabat*, "who were maintained at the public expense," are computed to be thirty-two thousand.<sup>c</sup>

Many take occasion, from the thousands converted at Jerusalem, (Acts ii. and iv.) to conclude the vast number of Christians and exceeding largeness of churches elsewhere. Our author hath nothing from Scripture for diocesan churches but this, which is considerable;<sup>d</sup> nor will this appear so, if but a small part of those thousands can be counted inhabitants of Jerusalem, and so fixed in that church. And this is as demonstrable as anything of this nature can be. For this miraculous conversion was at Pentecost, one of the three great feasts, when there was a vast concourse of Jews and proselytes from all parts to that city. These converted were not only inhabitants of Jerusalem, but foreigners, and in all reason more of these proportionably, as they exceeded the inhabitants in number. And then those of the city will scarce be a twentieth part of the five or eight thousand converts. For the foreigners that resorted to Jerusalem at these great solemnities are reckoned to be three millions, *οὐκ ἐλάττους τριακοσίων μυριάδων*,<sup>e</sup> whereas the inhabitants of that city were but about a hundred and twenty thousand, *περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες*: but of this elsewhere more fully.

The author of the Vindication will not have so great a part of those converts to be strangers, and to return home when the feast was over, and assigns something like reasons for it.

1st. "That the Scripture gives no countenance to this conjecture, but says all those strange nations were inhabitants of Jerusalem; and the original word inclines most on this side."

That he should say the Scripture gives no countenance to this, is something strange. It is plain in Scripture, that God enjoined the

<sup>a</sup> Defence, lib. ii. cap. v. p. 98.

<sup>d</sup> Page 435, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Page 54.

<sup>c</sup> Lipsius de Mag. Rom. lib. iii. cap. ii.

<sup>e</sup> Joseph. De Bell. Judaic. lib. ii. cap. xxiv.

children of Israel to repair to Jerusalem from all quarters of the country where they dwelt thrice a year, for the observance of the three great feasts. And it is apparent also that they were wont to come up to Jerusalem at those solemnities, both Jews and proselytes, διὰ τὸ πάσχα συνελθύθεισαν πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν,<sup>a</sup> "all the tribes, together with the Gentiles, came together because of the Passover." And it is evident in that chapter cited, Acts ii.: the feast of Pentecost being come, there was a resort of Jews and proselytes from all those parts of the world to this city. Ay, but the Scripture says, "all those strange nations were inhabitants of Jerusalem."

He cannot judge that the Scripture says this but upon a supposition that the word κατοικοῦντες, Acts ii. 5, can signify no other thing than inhabitants; but this is a mistake, for the word denotes such as abide in a place, not only as inhabitants, but as strangers or sojourners. Thus Dr. Hammond will have it translated abiding, rather than dwelling,<sup>b</sup> those that were there as strangers,<sup>c</sup> and here expresses those abiding at Jerusalem to be Jews which came up to the feast of the Passover, and proselytes which had come from several nations of all quarters of the world. Thus also Mr. Mead,<sup>d</sup> "for the word κατοικοῦντες, saith he, which I translate sojourning rather than dwelling; (for so I understand it, that they were not proper dwellers, but such as came to worship at Jerusalem from those far countries, at the feast of the Passover and Pentecost, and so had been continuing there some good time) it is true that in the usual Greek οἰκέω and κατοικέω signify a durable mansion, but with the Hellenists, in whose dialect the Scripture speaketh, they are used indifferently for a stay of a shorter or longer time, that is, for to sojourn as well as to dwell, as these two examples out of the Septuagint will make manifest, Gen. xxvii. 44, 1 Kings xvii. 20; there κατοικεῖν is to sojourn only. In a word, οἰκέω and κατοικέω answer to the Hebrew verb יָשַׁב, which signifies any stay or remaining in a place." Grotius saith it answers the Hebrew word which is rendered not only by κατοικεῖν but παροικεῖν, &c. adding therefore it is not said only of them "who had fixed their habitation, but of those who were come to the city for the celebrating of the Passover or Pentecost, staying there for awhile." The best and most learned expositors generally take it so in this place, as denoting, not settled inhabitants, but such as resided there only for a time. Indeed, when this author would have the Scripture say all these strange nations were inhabitants of Jerusalem, he makes it speak things inconsistent. For it is said, verse 9, they were κατοικοῦντες, dwellers at Mesopotamia, Judea, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, &c.; by

<sup>a</sup> Hægesip. in Euseb. lib. ii. cap. xxiii.

<sup>b</sup> In loc.

<sup>c</sup> In Act. x. ii.

<sup>d</sup> In Exercit. in Act. ii. 5.

which must be understood, either that they were inhabitants or sojourners in those countries ; that they were now sojourners there no man will imagine, nor can any man be said to be actually a sojourner in a place where he is not. And if they were inhabitants of those regions, they could not be inhabitants of Jerusalem, unless they could be inhabitants of several distant countries at once. To the same purpose Mr. Mead,<sup>a</sup> “οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, where, note by the way, that οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, are comprehended in the number of those whom my text saith were κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, which confirms my interpretation that κατοικοῦντες there signifies sojourning, and not dwelling ; for that they could not be said to dwell in both places.”

“2. Suppose there were some of them strangers,” &c.

Suppose, says this gentleman, there were some of them strangers ? But does any man that understands how or by whom those feasts were celebrated ever suppose that there were not very many thousands of strangers, such as were not inhabitants, present at those solemnities ? Josephus (and Eusebius after him) says, there were three millions in the city at the Passover, and declares what course was taken to give Cestius Gallus a certain account of their numbers ; but then they were all in a manner strangers, for he adds, πολὺ δὲ τοῦτο πλῆθος ἔξωθεν συλλέγεται, “this vast multitude consisted of foreigners.”<sup>b</sup> Yet our author goes on, and confirms himself in the former mistake by another ; the verse he cites to prove them fixed inhabitants of Jerusalem is misunderstood ; the words are προσκαρτεροῦντες τῇ διδαχῇ, which do not signify any fixed abode in that place, but only their constancy or persevering in the duties mentioned while they were there. This is the use of the expression in the New Testament, Col. iv. 2, τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερεῖτε, and so Rom. xii. 12, continuing in prayer, which they might do if they never had a fixed habitation, nor continued as inhabitants in any place. And thus the evangelist Luke uses the phrase in this book of the Acts, chap. i. ver. 14, chap. ii. 46, chap. vi. 4. But our author, I think, will never find it used in this form for any settled or continued abode in a place, and had no reason to fancy it here.

He thinks it not probable<sup>c</sup> that the zeal and devotion of those converts would suffer them to leave the apostles, whereas it is certain that the primitive zeal and devotion, though it crucified them to the world, yet heightened and improved a Christian care of their families, and the souls of their relatives and others. And their zeal for Christ and love to souls would hasten them homeward, that they might acquaint their

<sup>a</sup> In Exercit. in Act. ii. 5.

<sup>b</sup> De Bel. Jud. lib. vii. cap. 45.

<sup>c</sup> Page 437.

families and others with Christ and the doctrine of salvation, as those dispersed from Jerusalem did, chap. viii.

The five thousand mentioned chap. iv. ver. 4, he will have to be a new accession to the three thousand before converted, but should not have been so positive in it without reason. Those who are engaged in the same cause with him (besides many others) are not of his opinion herein, as they would have been if they had seen any ground for it. Dr. Hammond<sup>a</sup> takes the five thousand to be the number of the auditory, not of the converts; Bishop Downham includes the three thousand in those five;<sup>b</sup> and the Dean of Paul's<sup>c</sup> makes account but of five thousand in all.<sup>d</sup> To me it is not material whether they were five thousand or eight thousand, or many more, seeing there was not the twentieth part of them other than foreigners, and such as, for anything I can see or hear, designed not to dwell at Jerusalem, and so intended not [to] fix themselves in that particular church. There can be no just reckoning of the numerousness of a church from an occasional recourse of strangers, who inhabit remote parts or foreign countries.

If there had been more Christians in the church of Jerusalem than could meet in one place, that would be no evidence that it was a diocesan church, whereas the whole is said in the Acts to meet in one place.<sup>e</sup> He hath nothing to say against this which is considerable, but that the all may denote only those that were present,<sup>f</sup> and so the sense will be, all that were in one place, were in one place: if this can please himself, I think it will satisfy none else. Let Dr. Hammond decide this business, for in such a cause we may admit a party to be umpire.<sup>g</sup> "What follows," saith he, "of the paucity of believers, and their meeting in one place, is willingly granted by us. What they say of the point of time, Acts ii. 41, that believers were so numerous that they could not conveniently meet in one place, this is contrary to the evidence of the text, which saith expressly, ver. 44, that all the believers were ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, which in the last paragraph they interpreted, meeting in one and the same place: the like might be said of the other places, Acts iv. 4, and v. 14, for certainly as yet, though the number of believers increase, yet they were not distributed into several congregations."

Concerning the dispersion, Acts viii. 1,<sup>h</sup> he tells us, "Though they are all said to be scattered besides the apostles, yet it cannot be understood of all the believers."

No, but of the generality of them, all that could commodiously fly as strangers might do. Nor must it be confined to all the officers only;

<sup>a</sup> In loc.

<sup>d</sup> Serm. of Separation, p. 26.

<sup>e</sup> Answer to L[ondon] Ministers, pp. 78, 79.

<sup>b</sup> Defence, lib. ii. cap. v. page 85.

<sup>c</sup> Act. ii. 44, vi. 2, &c.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. Stillingfleet.

<sup>g</sup> Page 441.

<sup>h</sup> Pages 442, 443.

the generality of expositors are misrepresented if this be made their sense, nor doth it appear that Eusebius so understood it ; *μαθηταὶ* is used in Scripture and other writers, and Eusebius himself, to denote believers, and not officers only. As for the time of the dispersion (though I need not insist on it) probably it was nearer this great Pentecost than some would have it. On the first day of the week in the morning were the three thousand converted ; the next, or (as some tell us) the same day afternoon, at the ninth hour,<sup>a</sup> the number of the converts was increased to five thousand. While this sermon was preaching the apostles are apprehended, and committed to custody till the next morning. Another, it is like<sup>b</sup> the day after, they are imprisoned, but enlarged by an angel in the night, chap. v. In or near that week were the seven deacons chosen, presently after the disciples were thus increased, and the apostles imprisoned and dismissed. The expression signifies it, chap. vi. 1. It is not *ἐν ἐκεῖναις*, in those days, which may admit a latitude and some good distance of time, but *ἐν ταύταις*, in these days, which denotes the time instant, or that which immediately ensues, without the interposure<sup>c</sup> of any such distance. And so the phrase is used by St. Luke, both in the Gospel and in the Acts. It is Dr. Hammond's observation upon Luke i. 39. "The phrase *ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις*, in these days, saith he, hath for most part a peculiar signification, differing from *ἐν ἡμέραις ἐκεῖναις*, in those days. The latter signifies an indefinite time, sometimes a good way off, but the former generally denotes a certain time then present, instantly, then at that time ; so here, that which is said of Mary's going to Elizabeth was sure<sup>d</sup> immediately after the departing of the angel from her, and therefore it is said she rose up *μετὰ σπουδῆς*, very hastily ; so ver. 24, *μετὰ ταύτας τὰς ἡμέρας*, *i. e.* immediately Elizabeth conceived ; so chap. vi. 12, *ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις*, *i. e.* then, at that point of time, he went out to the mountain. See chap. xxiii. 7, c. xxiv. 18, Acts i. 5, c. xi. 27, and xxi. 15."

Immediately after the choice of the deacons, Stephen, one of the seven, is apprehended *ἅμα τῇ χειροτονίᾳ*, "as soon as ever he was ordained, as if he had been ordained for this alone," saith Eusebius, (lib. ii. cap. i.) And at the same time the persecution began which dispersed that church. Whereas he saith, "whatsoever numbers were forced away, it is likely they returned ;" if he understand it of the strangers driven from Jerusalem, that they returned to fix there, or otherwise than occasionally, it is no more likely, nor will be sooner proved than what he asserts a little after, (page 444,) viz. that "the empty sepulchre preached with no less efficacy than the apostles."

This is enough to satisfy<sup>e</sup> what our author would draw out of Scrip-

<sup>a</sup> D[r.] L[ightfoot.]

<sup>b</sup> probable.

<sup>c</sup> interval.

<sup>d</sup> surely.

<sup>e</sup> answer

ture concerning the church of Jerusalem. After some trifling about objections which he forms himself, and then makes sport with, he comes to prove that Jerusalem was a diocesan church in the apostles' time. But first he would have us believe that James was the proper bishop of that church, and would evince it by two testimonies, those of Clemens and Hegesippus. But what says his Clemens? He saith not only that James was ordained bishop of Jerusalem presently after our Saviour's ascension, but what I think our author was loth to mention. If he had given us the entire sentence, it might have been better understood. "After the ascension of our Saviour, Peter, James, and John, the most honoured by our Lord, would not yet contend for the first degree of honour, (μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης,) but chose James the Just bishop of Jerusalem,"<sup>a</sup> *Apostolorum episcopum*, "bishop of the apostles," Ruffinus reads it. This seems to signify that his being made a bishop there, was some degree of honour above their being apostles. A learned Romanist<sup>b</sup> tells us, that the books where Eusebius had this did so abound with errors, that they were not thought worth preserving, and so are lost, (as those of Papias and Hegesippus are for the same reason:) this may prove one instance of those many errors. That which seems to be the sense of his words is more fully expressed by one who goes under the name of Clemens too:<sup>c</sup> "James, the Lord's brother, was prince of bishops, and by his episcopal authority commanded all the apostles;" and so the former Clemens in Ruffinus calls him the bishop of the apostles.<sup>d</sup> If he means such a bishop as ours, (and otherwise his meaning will not serve our author's purpose,) then the apostles were but the vicars or curates of James. This is bad enough if James was an apostle—the absurdest Papist will scarce ascribe as much to Peter;—but if he was not an apostle, it is yet more intolerable. If our author can believe his own witness, some may admire,<sup>e</sup> but I think few will follow him.

Let us hear Hegesippus, (not quite so ancient as this gentleman makes him, since he was alive in the reign of Commodus;) he says, James ruled that church, μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων. If we take this as it is rendered in Jerome, "after the apostles," it is not only against grammar, but without truth, and makes James to be bishop when he was dead; for he was martyred about the fourth [year] of Nero, and all the apostles but the other James survived him. But if the meaning be that he ruled that church *with* the apostles, it speaks him no more the bishop of Jerusalem than the rest of the apostles, who were not fixed or topical bishops, but œcumenical officers of an extraordinary office and power, and accordingly is James described. One ancient author says that he, no less than Peter, did ἐπιτροπήν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀναδέξασθαι. And

<sup>a</sup> [Clem. in Eus. lib. ii. cap. i.]

<sup>d</sup> Hist. lib. ii. cap. ii.

<sup>b</sup> Valesius.

<sup>e</sup> wonder.

<sup>c</sup> Lib. ii. Recognit. [cap. lix.]

Epiphanius reports,<sup>a</sup> that Hyginus after James, Peter, and Paul, was the ninth bishop of Rome successively, signifying that he was as much bishop of Rome as Paul and Peter. I need not quote that other author who says he ruled the holy church of the Hebrews, as also he did all churches everywhere founded.<sup>b</sup>

“However, certain it is that James was bishop of Jerusalem, not only from Hegesippus and Clemens Alex[andrinus,] but also from St. Paul, who mentions him as one of the apostles that he had conversed with in Jerusalem; and it is likely there were no more there at that time but he and Peter.”

This is no way certain from Clemens and Hegesippus, and so far from being certain by St. Paul, that his mentioning him as an apostle makes it rather certain that he was not a bishop; for the offices of an apostle and of a bishop are inconsistent, as is acknowledged and proved by an excellent person of your own.<sup>c</sup> “The offices of an apostle and of a bishop are not in their nature well consistent; for the apostleship is an extraordinary office, charged with the instruction and government of the whole world, and calling for an answerable care, (the apostles being rulers, as St. Chrysostom saith, ordained by God,—rulers not taking several nations and cities, but all of them in common intrusted with the whole world;) but episcopacy is an ordinary standing charge affixed to one place, and requiring a special attendance there—bishops being pastors who, as Chrysostom saith, do sit, and are employed in one place. Now he that hath such a general care can hardly discharge such a particular office; and he that is fixed to so particular an attendance, can hardly look well after so general a charge, &c. Baronius saith of St. Peter, that ‘it was his office not to stay in one place, but as much as it was possible for one man to travel over the whole world, and to bring those who did not yet believe to the faith, and thoroughly to establish believers.’ If so, how could he be bishop of Rome, which was an office inconsistent with such vagrancy? It would not have beseemed St. Peter, the prime apostle, to assume the charge of a particular bishop; it had been a degradation of himself, a disparagement to the apostolical majesty, for him to take upon him the bishopric of Rome, as if the king should become mayor of London,—as if the bishop of London should be vicar of Paneras.” And [a] little before, “St. Peter’s being bishop of Rome (it holds as well of James’s being bishop of Jerusalem) would confound the offices which God made distinct; for God did appoint first apostles, then prophets, then pastors and teachers: wherefore St. Peter, after he was an apostle, could not

<sup>a</sup> Hæres. [xli.] Cerdon. [n. 1.]

<sup>b</sup> [Clem.] Ep. to James. [In Hard. Conc. tom. i. p. 39.]

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Barrow, Suprem. pp. 120, 121.

well become a bishop; it would be such an irregularity as if a bishop should be made a deacon."

"Ecclesiastical history makes James the ordinary bishop and diocesan of the place."

There is nothing in ecclesiastical history for it, but what is derived from Hegesippus and Clemens, whom others followed right or wrong.

"It is strange to see Salmasius run his head so violently against such solid testimonies as those of Hegesippus and Clemens."

That great person understood things better, and discerned no danger in running his head against a shadow; and there is nothing more of solidity in what is alleged from those authors.

Further, he would prove it a diocesan church by a passage in Hegesippus, who says, "That several of the Jewish sectaries who believed neither a resurrection nor judgment to come, were converted by James, and that when a great number of the rulers and principal men of the city were by this ministry brought to believe the Gospel, the Jews made an uproar, the scribes and Pharisees saying, that it was to be feared that all the people would turn Christians."<sup>a</sup>

He says many of the prime sectaries were converted by James; but this will scarce prove such a diocesan church as he contends for. That which would serve his turn (that all the people would turn Christians) was not effected, but only feared by the Jews, who took a course to prevent it by killing James. But if this were for his purpose, Hegesippus is not an author to be relied on; part of the sentence cited is false, that the sects mentioned (and he had mentioned seven) did not believe the resurrection nor judgment, whereas the Pharisees and others of them believed both, which Valesius observes.<sup>b</sup> One false thing in a testimony is enough to render it suspected, but there are near twenty things false or fabulous in this account he gives of James, many of them marked by Scaliger,<sup>c</sup> divers by Valesius,<sup>d</sup> and some acknowledged by Petavius.<sup>e</sup>

He would not have us suspect that the numbers of the church at Jerusalem were not so great as he pretends, because Pella, an obscure little town, could receive them all besides its own inhabitants, "but we must understand that town to be their metropolis, and the believers all scattered through the whole country, and this as Epiphanius writes."

But where does Epiphanius write this? Not in the place cited; he writes the contrary both there and elsewhere, that all the believers, (in one place,<sup>f</sup>) that all the disciples (in another place,) πάντες οἱ μαθηταὶ

<sup>a</sup> Page 446.

<sup>d</sup> In Euseb. lib. ii. cap. 23.

<sup>b</sup> In Euseb. lib. ii. cap. 23.

<sup>c</sup> Not. ad Hæres. 78. [n. 3.]

<sup>e</sup> Animad. in Euseb. p. 178.

<sup>f</sup> Epiph. Hær. xxx. [n. 2.]



ᾠκησαν ἐν Πέλλῃ;<sup>a</sup> what he adds is but to describe where the town was situated, "all the disciples, all the believers dwelt beyond Jordan in Pella." Archbishop Whitgift brings this as a pregnant proof that the Christians at Jerusalem were but few in comparison, (and no more than could all meet in one place, as a little before he affirms again and again;) his words are, "How few Christians was there at Jerusalem not long before it was destroyed, being above forty years after Christ. Does not Eusebius testify<sup>b</sup> that they all were received into a little town called Pella? yet the apostles had spent much time and labour in preaching there; but the number of those that did not profess Christ in that city was infinite."<sup>c</sup> This might be farther cleared<sup>d</sup> by what Epiphanius saith of that church in its return from Pella, but I design briefness.

Our author adds one testimony more, to show that under the government of Simeon great numbers were "added to that church, many thousands of the circumcision receiving the Christian faith at that time, and among the rest Justus," &c.—p. 448.

But those who view the place in Eusebius will see, that he does not say those many of the circumcision were converted by Simeon, or were under his government, or belonged to that church; and so it signifies nothing for his purpose. And so in fine, the account wherewith he concludes his discourse of Jerusalem will not be admitted by any who impartially consider the premises.

As for his other Scripture instances, there is not so much as the shadow of a proof showed by him, that there were near so many Christians as in Jerusalem, or as are in some one of our parishes, yea, or more than could meet in one place, either in Samaria, (where he says it appears not what kind of government was established, p. 451,) or in Lydda, which was but a village, though a fair one, and far from having Saron for its proper territory, that being a plain between Joppa and Cæsarea; or in Antioch,—p. 452; much less in Corinth and Ephesus, which he advisedly passes by,—p. 456.

Our author does in effect acknowledge that in Scripture it appears not that these churches were episcopal, much less diocesan; "It is to be confessed," says he, p. 461, "that the Scriptures have not left so full and perfect an account of the constitution and government of the first churches, &c. Thus we have no more notice of the churches of Samaria and of Judæa (Jerusalem excepted) than that such were founded by the apostles; but of their government and constitution we have not the least information." What information, then,

<sup>a</sup> De Ponder, et Mens. cap. xv.

<sup>c</sup> Defence of Answer, Treat. iii. cap. vi. p. 175.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. iii. cap. v.

<sup>d</sup> made clear.

can we have that they were diocesan or episcopal? He goes on, "And the prospect left of Antioch in Scripture is very confused, as of a church *in fieri*," where a great number of eminent persons laboured together to the building of it up; but only from ecclesiastical writers, who report that this church, when it was settled and digested, was committed to the government of Euodias, and after him to Ignatius," &c. So that after what form the church at Antioch was constituted does not appear, (it may be congregational and not diocesan, for any thing this gentleman can see in Scripture,) but only from ecclesiastical writers.

But his ecclesiastical writers do so contradict one another as renders their testimonies of little value. Nor is there much more reckoning to be made of the traditional account they and others give concerning the succession and government of the first bishops, than this author makes of Eusebius's traditional chronology, p. 454. Some make Euodias the first bishop, and he being dead, Ignatius to succeed him;<sup>b</sup> on the contrary, some will have Ignatius to have been the first, and make no mention of Euodias;<sup>c</sup> others will have them to have governed that church both together;<sup>d</sup> some will have Euodias ordained by Peter, and Ignatius by Paul; others report Ignatius ordained by Peter, and some modern authors of great eminency, both Protestants and Papists, (not only Baronius but Dr. Hammond,) find no more tolerable way to reconcile them, than by asserting that there were more bishops than one there at once, which quite blasts the conceit of a diocesan church there.

And what is alleged for the numbers of Christians there, to support this conceit of a diocesan church, is very feeble, p. 452, 453. "A great number believed, Acts xi. 21, and much people, ver. 24." The next verses show, that there were no more than Paul and Barnabas assembled within one church; meeting *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, for a year together, and there taught this *ἰκανὸν* or *πολὸν ὄχλον*. The same divine author says, Acts vi. 7, *πολὺς ὄχλος*, "A great company of the priests were converted:" and will this gentleman hence conclude that there were priests enough converted to make a diocese?

He hath no ground from Scripture to think otherwise of Rome, (that we may take in all his Scripture instances together,) however he would persuade us that there were several congregations there in the apostles' times. Let us see how: "By the multitude of salutations in the end of that epistle, he makes appear the numbers of Christians in that city. 'Salute Priscilla and Aquila with the church that is in their house.'"

<sup>a</sup> in the course of formation.

<sup>c</sup> Chrys. Orat. in Ignat.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. lib. iii. cap. xxii.

<sup>d</sup> Clemens Constitut. lib. vii. cap. xlii.

The Dean of Paul's<sup>a</sup> will have this church in their house to be but a family ; this author will have it to be a congregation, as if it might be either to serve a turn. I think it was such a congregation as removed with Aquila from one country to another, for this church which was in their house at Ephesus before, (1 Cor. xvi.) is said to be in their house at Rome, (Rom. xvi.,) that is, there were some of the church which belonged to their family. It is a question whether there was now at Rome any one congregation such as our author intends ; Grotius<sup>b</sup> thinks it probable there was none at all. But let us suppose this to be a congregation, where finds he his several others ? why where another person would scarce dream of any. "It is not improbable, saith he, that several that are mentioned with all the saints that are with them, may be the officers of several congregations,"—pp. 457, 458.

But it is manifest that in the apostles' times one congregation had many officers ; how, then, can several officers be a good medium to prove several congregations ? The ancient authors which count those officers (mentioned Rom. xvi.) do make them bishops, (and some except not Narcissus nor Prisca, *i. e.* Priscilla, though her husband also hath an episcopal church assigned him.) Now if they were not bishops at Rome, but other places, they are alleged to no purpose ; if they were bishops at Rome, there will be very many bishops in that one church, (it may be more than Priscilla's congregation consisted of,) which rather than our author will grant, I suppose he will quit his plurality of congregations here. Indeed, what he adds next, doth no ways favour them ; "and this number was afterwards increased considerably by the coming of Paul, who converted some of the Jews, and afterwards received all that came, whether Jews or Gentiles, and preached to them the kingdom of God for the space of two whole years, no man forbidding him,"—p. 458.

Paul preached at Rome in his hired house for two years ; all this while he received all that came to him : there is no question but that all the Christians there did come to hear this most eminent apostle ; so that it seems from first to last there were no more Christians at Rome than a private house could receive.

He would prove what he intends from "Nero's persecution, who is said to have put an infinite multitude of Christians to death upon pretence that they had fired Rome, p. 458. Tacitus speaks of the Christians as guilty, and says they confessed the crime, and detected<sup>c</sup> many others."

Now those who suffered, either confessed that they fired Rome, and then they were no Christians ; or they did not confess it, and then he

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Stillingfleet.

<sup>b</sup> In Rom. xvi. 5.

<sup>c</sup> caused the detection of.

wrongs them intolerably, and deserves no credit. But our author to excuse him (against the sense of such who best understand him, Lipsius particularly, besides Baronius and others) says, they confessed not that they burnt Rome, but that they were Christians. Whereas the inquiry being concerning the burning of Rome, the question was not whether they were Christians, but whether they fired the city; of this last Tacitus speaks, and will be so understood by those who think he speaks pertinently. But for truth in those accounts he gives of Christians, it is no more to be expected than from other heathen authors of those ages, with whom it is customary on that subject, *splendide mentiri*, "to utter brilliant falsehoods." Some other instances hereof we have in this report of Tacitus, which I suppose our author will scarce offer to excuse, as when the Christian religion is called *exitibilis superstitio*, "a pernicious superstition," and when the Christians are said *per flagitia invisos vulgò fuisse*, "to have been universally detested for their crimes."

But suppose he speaks truth, what is it he says? Nero put an infinite multitude of them to death, but *ingens multitudo*, which are his words, may be far less than an infinite multitude. Two or three hundred may pass for a great multitude, and extraordinarily great, when that which is spoke of them is extraordinary. The martyrs burnt in Queen Mary's days were a great multitude; and few may be accounted very many, to suffer in such a manner, as these did by Nero's cruelty. "Some were disguised in the skins of wild beasts, and worried to death by dogs; some were crucified; and others were set on fire when the day closed, that they might serve as lights to illuminate the night," *Ferarum tergis coniecti ut laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus affixi, aut flammam, atque ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis uterentur*, in the words of Tacitus.

To this he adds the general account which Eusebius gives of the success of the Christian faith immediately after the first discovery of it, that presently in all cities and villages churches abounding with innumerable multitudes were assembled, &c.—p. 459.

If he will not deal unkindly with Eusebius, he must not set his expressions upon the rack, nor stretch them beyond his intention, nor forget what is observed to be usual with him; *Oratorum more rem amplificare*,—"to amplify a matter after the manner of the orators." These churches consisting of innumerable multitudes are said to be not only in all cities, but villages; now I believe it will be an hard matter for our author to show us any villages, even in Constantine's time, where there were a thousand, yea, or five hundred Christians. Those who will not abuse themselves or their readers must give great allowance to such expressions, and not rely on them in strict arguing.

And here it may not be amiss to take notice of what he says of Rome in another chapter; M[r.] B[axter] had declared, that he found no reason to believe that Rome and Alexandria had for two hundred years more Christians than some London parishes, (which have sixty thousand souls,) nor near, if half so many.<sup>a</sup> The chief, if not the only argument to prove them at Rome more numerous, is a passage in Cornelius's epistle, showing the number of the officers and of the poor; this was in the middle of the third age, and so not within these two hundred years, but yet proves not what it is alleged for in Cornelius's time, near *anno* 260. The number of officers signifies no such thing, as hath been made evident; the number of the poor, being fifteen hundred, rather proves the contrary. This was cleared<sup>b</sup> by comparing the proportions of the poor with the rest in other places, at Antioch in particular, as was showed out of Chrysostom, who reckons the poor to be a tenth part of the inhabitants; and if it was so at Rome in Cornelius's time, the Christians were about fifteen thousand. This will serve M[r.] B[axter]'s purpose well enough. But the time and circumstances being exceeding different, makes it most probable that the Christians then at Rome did nothing near so much exceed the poor in number. It is far more likely that the proportions were nearer that at Constantinople, where Chrysostom says, the poor was one-half; this would spoil all our author's pretensions, and so he advisedly takes no notice of it.

However, something he would say against M[r.] B[axter], if one could understand it. It is about the word *θλιβόμενοι*, in Cornelius's epistle, rendered 'the poor.' Valesius observes the word is used by the Roman clergy in an epistle to those at Carthage, *sive viduæ sive thlibomeni*, i. e. *indigentes*, saith he, as Rufinus translates it, and tell us also that Cyprian<sup>c</sup> calls them *pauperes et indigentes qui laborant*. These, says our author, were not only poor, but sick and diseased, alleging that of the Roman clergy for it after Valesius, and if he mean not only the poor, but the sick also, and the diseased, he is right, for Cornelius signifies those that were maintained by the church, widows and indigent, whether sick or well. But when he says these poor were such only as were not able to come abroad, he seems to confine it to the sick and diseased, and then it contradicts the former, and is without reason, against the use and import of the word, as rendered by all interpreters former and later that I meet with, and indeed against common sense; for the number Cornelius speaks of is fixed, as that of the presbyters and deacons, such as may be constantly known, and a certain account given of it, whereas the

<sup>a</sup> Church Hist. p. 7. Vindicat. p. 27.<sup>b</sup> made clear.<sup>c</sup> Ep. iv.

number of the sick is not fixed, but such a contingency as is very uncertain and various.

But Cornelius says in the same epistle that the people of his church were innumerable. True, that is, according to the frequent use of the word, very many (it is granted they were more than in any other church) as when Dio says the nations conquered by Trajan were innumerable, and Socrates expresses those wounded in the fight between the Christians and heathen in Alexandria about the demolishing of an idol temple were ἀνρίθμητοι,<sup>a</sup> “innumerable,” which in Sozomen is but many;<sup>b</sup> and another ancient author says, there were innumerable bishops in Africa, which yet this gentleman can easily count, and tells us that schismatics and all were but four hundred and sixty-six.<sup>c</sup> M[r.] B[axter] may allow him what he falls short in this reckoning, which is more than half, and may grant there were many more hundreds of Christians in Rome than any of these innumerables come to, and yet make good what he supposes.

The great liberality of the Roman church is offered as no small argument of its greatness; they sent to a great many churches, relieving those that were in want, and sending necessaries to such as were condemned to the mines; thus in Severus's time, and in the time of Dionysius, the provinces of Syria with Arabia were thereby relieved every one, p. 53.

M[r.] B[axter] need not doubt, but some one parish near him might do what is equivalent to this, if the ancient charity were revived, which opened the hearts of Christians in those times further than their purses could well extend.

But the words are oddly stretched, for they did not relieve every one in all those places, but such as were in great want, and those particularly who were condemned to the mines; and ἐπαρχεῖν must denote as it were the all-sufficiency of the Roman church, which some would say is, as it were, blasphemy, but our author meant better, the proper import of the word is no more than *stipem conferre*.

He alleges two passages in Eusebius;<sup>d</sup> the former concerns not Rome more than any other place in the empire, the import of it is this, not that every soul of every sort, but that many of all sorts were led to the Christian religion: if πᾶσαν ψύχην be stretched to every soul, Eusebius is made to speak what is in a manner notoriously false, and monstrously extravagant. The later which concerns Rome does but signify, that more of good quality for riches and birth, with their families and relatives, came over for salvation.<sup>e</sup> These he will have to be of the nobility, but those were counted noble who descended

<sup>a</sup> Lib. v. cap. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Lib. vii. cap. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Page 131.

<sup>d</sup> Page 54.

<sup>e</sup> Lib. v. cap. 21.

from such as had been magistrates in cities or free towns. How this can make that church near so great as our author would have it, or greater than M[r.] B[axter] supposes, I don't understand.

What he subjoins<sup>a</sup> is very surprising and must seem strange to those who are acquainted with the state of the church in those times, that the Christians were the better half of the Roman empire, that they were the major part every where, but in Rome more eminently. This hath no good warrant from ancient authors, no, not from Tertullian, though he writ many years after Commodus. He, like an orator, draws something bigger than the life, (as our author says of Nazianzen, p. 137,) and must have allowance on this account by those who will not be injurious to him. In that very age wherein Commodus reigned, it is said the Christians were so often slaughtered, that few could be found in Rome who professed the name of Christ.<sup>b</sup> And near one hundred and fifty years after, when Constantine had reigned near twenty years in Rome, the generality of the inhabitants showed such disaffection to Christianity, as that is given for one reason why he transferred the seat of the empire to Byzantium.<sup>c</sup>

He runs beyond M[r.] B[axter]'s bounds towards the middle of the third century, and tells us the greatest part of Alexander Severus's family were Christians. And so they might be, and yet no more Christians in Rome for that, if they were Christians before they came into his family, which is more likely than that they were converted in it. However many more such additions will not increase that church beyond M[r.] B[axter]'s measures, nor make it near so numerous as that parish to which Whitehall belongs.

What he next offers neither concerns Rome,<sup>d</sup> being general expressions, nor M[r.] B[axter], referring to the ages after those which he is concerned for: whether by *μυριάδους ἐπισυνάγωγας* we understand the great multitudes which were gathered into the Christian profession, (as Valesius,) or that assembled together for Christian worship, (as our author,) is not material; though the former is more likely, unless we can think Eusebius, an elegant writer, would use so much tautology in so few lines. That from which he may expect more service is the next expression, which he renders, "the multitude of their meetings in every city," but may with better reason be rendered, "the numerousness or multitudes of those that assembled in several cities;" for it is so far from being true, that every city had many congregations of Christians in it, that there were many cities long after, which had no Christians in them. And two instances cannot be given of any cities in the whole empire that at this time had more congregations

<sup>a</sup> Page 54.<sup>b</sup> Platina Vita Xysti.<sup>c</sup> Zosimus, Hist. lib. ii. p. 61.<sup>d</sup> Page 55.

than one; unless where they all might have assembled in one place, they thought it better in prudence to disperse themselves into several meetings. For in Alexandria, which was the greatest city next to Rome, and the most populous church in the whole world, there is no appearance of more assemblies till the end of the tenth persecution, and the death of Peter, bishop there, who suffered in the ninth year of it.<sup>a</sup> And therefore the elegant gradation, in discovering of which this gentleman would have us take notice that he has a more comprehensive faculty than Valesius, seems not very well founded.

That which follows<sup>b</sup> is an hundred years or more beyond the time to which M[r.] B[axter] limits his assertion: "About this time, or not long after, Rome had above forty churches, which we must not imagine to be built all at the same time, but by degrees, according as the number of believers did require," &c.—page 55.

From the number of churches, he cannot reasonably conclude such a multitude of Christians as he contends for. There were many churches in Alexandria when Athanasius was bishop of it, and yet there were no more Christians in his communion than could meet together in one place. Baronius tells us, that there was a city in Germany which had four hundred churches in it;<sup>c</sup> and yet no reason to think that town was comparable for circuit and populousness either to Rome or Alexandria. If I should say that in Optatus there were not so many churches, but the number mistaken by the transcribers, this would be as good an answer as that of our author, who will have the twelve or fourteen years of Athanasius's banishment in Epiphanius not to be so many months, and that years are put instead of months by the mistake of the copies.—page 113. Or that other about the number of bishops in the council at Antioch, where he will have thirty in divers authors to be a mistake of the transcribers, for ninety (or ninety-seven, or ninety-nine.<sup>d</sup>) Onuphrius must have liked such an answer to this of Optatus, who though he was as much concerned for the greatness of the Roman church as any, and no less inquisitive into the ancient state of it, yet delivers it as a thing manifest and certain that Rome had but twenty-eight titles, and this number not completed till the fifth age.<sup>e</sup> But there is no need to insist on anything of this nature; it is not so material how many churches there was, as when there was so many, and about the time he will have Blondel to mistake, and M[r.] B[axter] to follow him therein; he had been nibbling at Blondel a little before upon a small occasion and with as little reason, as might be showed, if it were fit to follow one in his vagaries. Let us see whether he doth

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. lib. vii. cap. 32.

<sup>d</sup> Pages 123, 124, 125.

<sup>b</sup> Page 55.

<sup>c</sup> Anno 1018, No. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Interpret. Voc. Eccles. art. Titulus.



not follow Valesius in his mistake, who will have Optatus to speak of the churches at Rome in the time of Diocletian's persecution, *tempore persecutionis Diocletiani*.<sup>a</sup> But Optatus speaks of those churches when extant, and capable of receiving congregations, as is plain by his words ; but what churches were at Rome or other places, in the very beginning of that persecution, were all quite demolished, and that in one day, says Theodoret,<sup>b</sup> or the paschal days, as Eusebius ;<sup>c</sup> and there is no probability they could rebuild them while the persecution lasted, or that so many could be raised in less than many years after. Nicephorus speaks but of fourteen churches at Constantinople in the reign of Theodosius junior ; nor meet I with any author that gives an account of more, yet this was about an hundred years after Byzantium was re-edified, and both Constantine and the succeeding emperors endeavoured to make that city as populous as could be, and furnished it with churches answerable to the numbers of the inhabitants.<sup>d</sup> So that there is no likelihood there could be forty churches at Rome at any time nearer Diocletian's than Optatus's.

But to help this, our author tells us out of Optatus, that there were three Donatists bishops at Rome successively before Macrobius, who was contemporary with Optatus, and that the first of them was Victor Garbiensis, and he will have Optatus to speak of the state of Rome (the forty churches there) not as it was in his own time, but in that of this Victor ; when this was, he says, is not easy to fix.—page 56.

Yet this is certain, it cannot be in the time of Diocletian's persecution, for the schism of the Donatists did not break out till Majorinus was ordained, (who was the first bishop of the faction made in Africa or elsewhere) and this was some time after the persecution was there ended, as Optatus, and Valesius after him, and others declare ;<sup>e</sup> and some time must be allowed after this for the Donatists' settling in Rome, and such an increase of them there as to need a bishop. Baronius makes this Victor to be bishop in Silvester's time, which might be long enough after Diocletian's persecution, for he lived till 335. All which our author hath to allege for the more early date of Victor's bishopric is that there were two or three Donatist bishops between Victor and Optatus ; but this will scarce serve his turn ; for there were four bishops of Rome in the former part of that very age wherein we are now concerned, who held not the chair ten years among them : Marcellus, Eusebius, Melchiades, and Marcus. But we may allow the three Donatist bishops at Rome near ten years a-piece, from the time of Optatus, 378, as both Blondel and Valesius agree ; and yet Victor

<sup>a</sup> In Euseb. lib. vi. cap. xliii.

<sup>d</sup> Lib. vii. cap. xlix.

<sup>b</sup> Hist. lib. v. cap. xxxviii.

<sup>c</sup> Chron.

<sup>e</sup> De Schis. Donat. cap. iii. [Ed. Paris. 1679, p. 76, sq.]

Garbiensis may not be bishop till anno 350, and so nearer to Optatus's time, than Diocletian's.

2. It is no proof of diocesan churches, that those who belong to them occasionally divide themselves into distinct meetings. A large church, and sometimes a small congregation, may have occasion to divide and meet in parcels, for their convenience or security; particularly in time of persecution, that they may assemble with more safety, and be the better concealed from those who would disturb or apprehend them. The people that belonged to Cyprian did meet all together on several occasions, as is apparent in his epistles; yet when persecution was hot, he thought it advisable, *cautè non glomeratim nec per multitudinem simul junctam, conveniendum*,<sup>a</sup> "to meet cautiously, not in large bodies, nor in a compact multitude." They durst not, in some parts, *εἰς τὸ φάνερον ἐκκλησιάζειν*, "keep their assemblies in public," in the beginning of Constantine's reign.<sup>b</sup>

Damasus, the supposed author of the Popes' Lives, says, *Euaristus titulos presbyteris divisit*, "divided the titles in Rome to the presbyters;" and by titles, some will have us to understand parish churches. But it is incredible that the Christians, in Trajan's time, when Euaristus was bishop, could erect any structures in form of churches, or had any distinguishable from other houses, so as the heathen might take notice of them, as used or designed for the religious exercises of Christians. Who can imagine, that when it was death for any one to be known to be a Christian, they should frequent any known places for Christian worship? It is far more reasonable, which Platina says of Calixtus's time, more than an hundred years after, that then the "meetings of Christians were all secret, and rather in chapels, and those hidden, and for the most part underground, than in open and public places." *Cum eà tempestate ob crebras persecutiones occulta essent omnia, et sacella potius, atque eadem abdita et plerumque subterranea; quam apertis in locis ac publicis fierent.* Dr. St[illingfleet] says,<sup>c</sup> "I confess it seems not probable to me that those tituli were so soon divided as the time of Euaristus, who lived in the time of Trajan, when the persecution was hot against the Christians;" but Damasus seems not to believe himself, for in the life of Dionysius, he saith, *hic presbyteris ecclesias divisit*, "it was he who divided the churches to the presbyters." His reason concludes as much or more against the titles under this notion ascribed to Marcellus two hundred years after, (which some will have to be twenty-five, but Onuphrius shows they could not be more than fifteen<sup>d</sup>) for Marcellus was bishop of Rome for six years of the tenth persecution,

<sup>a</sup> [Ep. v.] [Ed. Paris, 1726, Ep. iv.]

<sup>b</sup> Iren. p. 357.

<sup>c</sup> Soz. lib. i. cap. ii.

<sup>d</sup> Interpret. Voc. Eccles. art. Titulus.

begun by Diocletian, which was the longest and fiercest that ever befel the church; when the Christians were so far from erecting any churches, that all before erected were by severe edicts to be quite demolished. But what is said of titles divided by Euaristus, may be true in this sense, that since they could not safely meet together in the persecution under Trajan, they dispersed themselves into distinct meetings, and had presbyters assigned to officiate in each of them. And yet the Christians at Rome were then no more, nor long after, than might all meet together for worship, and did so when it could be done in safety. In the time of Xystus, who had the chair at Rome under Adrian, it is said, "because of the frequent slaughters of the Christians, there were few found who durst profess the name of Christ," *propter frequentes caedes pauci reperientur qui nomen Christi profiteri audent.*<sup>a</sup> And there was an order in that church, that when the bishop celebrated, all the presbyters should be present. *Zepherinus voluit presbyteros omnes adesse celebrante episcopo, quod etiam Euaristo placuit,* "Zepherinus would have all the presbyters present, when the bishop celebrated, which was also the rule of Euaristus:" this is said to be made in the time of Euaristus, to whom this division of titles is ascribed, and it was in force an hundred years after, being renewed by Zepherinus, who was bishop till anno 218, about thirty years before Cornelius, who speaks of forty-six presbyters at Rome. Now the Lord's supper was frequently administered in those times, at least every Lord's day; and when the bishop was present, he himself did celebrate; and if all the presbyters were to be present when he did celebrate, then all the people likewise were to be present, or else they had no public worship, for they could have none without bishop or presbyters.

3. A church is not proved to be diocesan by the numbers of presbyters in it; this I have made evident before, and made it good against our author's exceptions. But he brings a new instance,<sup>b</sup> and will have Edessa to have been a diocesan church, because of the numerous clergy; "the clergy," says he, "of the city of Edessa, were above two hundred persons, not reckoning that of the country within his diocese, and this was a diocesan bishop to purpose."

He did well not to reckon that of the country in his diocese, unless he had known that something of the country was within his diocese. It was not unusual for the bishop's charge to be confined to a town or city—Rome itself is an instance of it;<sup>c</sup> *cum omnes ecclesie nostrae intra civitatem constitutae sunt*, "all our churches are fixed within the city." But why it should be judged to be a diocesan church, because two

<sup>a</sup> Platina. Vita Xysti.

<sup>b</sup> Page 552

<sup>c</sup> Innocent. Ep. ad Decentium. [cap. v.]

hundred such persons belonged to it, seeing the great church at C. P.<sup>a</sup> had above five hundred officers assigned it after Justinian had retrenched the numbers,<sup>b</sup> and yet was never counted a diocese, I do not well understand; but he hath some other reasons for it, and because he thinks they prove the bishop of Edessa to have been a diocesan to purpose, let us, on the by,<sup>c</sup> a little examine them. These he gives in<sup>d</sup> summarily—"This was a diocesan bishop to purpose, who, besides a large diocese, had excommunicating archdeacons, and a great revenue."

I find nothing alleged to show he had a large diocese, or any at all, but this—The city of Battina was in the diocese of Edessa; for Ibas is accused of having endeavoured to make one John bishop of it, &c.

Battina had a bishop of its own; how then can it be said to be in the diocese of Edessa, unless province and diocese be confounded? Edessa was the metropolis of Mesopotamia; the bishop of it was the third metropolitan in the patriarchate of Antioch, as they are ordered<sup>e</sup> in the ancient Notitia. The bishop of Battina was one of the many suffragans belonging to that metropolitan. How then comes the diocese of Edessa to be any ways large upon this account? Is the diocese of Canterbury one foot the larger because there is a bishop of Peterborough in that province? These things are not easily apprehended, nor can be well digested.

2.) The greatness of his revenue is no more apparent; there is nothing to prove it but the riches of that church, and its great revenues, and hereof our author gives us no clear account, no value of the *numismata*,<sup>f</sup> nor is there any evidence in the council for the manors he speaks of, but only the felling of some wood in a certain place there named. But where there was a diocesan and archdeacons, decorum required there should be manors and vast revenues for the bishop. Nor do I quarrel with it, only this breaks the squares a little, and disturbs the correspondence between those and our times; that if the revenues of that church had amounted to ten times more, yet the bishop would scarce have been one jot the richer for it. This will not seem strange to any, who take notice of the ancient orders concerning the revenues of an episcopal church. The bishop was to have nothing thereof if he could maintain himself otherwise. When he was necessitous, nothing was allowed him for himself but necessities, food and raiment.<sup>g</sup> He was to purchase nothing while he lived, nor to leave anything got by his bishopric when he died, to his relatives or others, but only to the church that maintained him.<sup>h</sup> The bishop of Edessa, or any other in these circumstances, must be a poor diocesan, and one in a good English

<sup>a</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>b</sup> Novel. iii. cap. iii.

<sup>c</sup> in passing.

<sup>d</sup> renders.

<sup>e</sup> arranged.

<sup>f</sup> tributes.

<sup>g</sup> Cou. Antioch. Can. xxv.

<sup>h</sup> Cod. Justin. Lex xlii. sect. ii. cap. De Episc. Nov. cxxxi. cap. xliii. Cou. Carth. iii. can. xlix.

rectory or vicarage, is in a fairer way to be rich than any in the ancient bishoprics, so ordered. And if riches or revenues be good arguments to prove a diocesan, one of our vicars may be a better diocesan than the bishop of Edessa. It is true there is some intimation from Rome, that the bishop should have the fourth part of the church's revenues ; but there is no appearance of such a distribution till after the time of the four first general councils, nor in any country but Italy till an hundred years after : nor did it ever obtain (that I can discover, after some inquiry) in the Greek churches.

3.) The other proof that Ibas was a diocesan, viz. because he had excommunicating archdeacons, our author would make good by telling us, that one of his archdeacons excommunicated Maras. Now this, though it prove not what it is alleged for, may prove more than he likes. An archdeacon in the ancient church (though he be another thing now) was not so much as a presbyter ; he was but in the lower order of deacons, though chief amongst them, and chosen by them, as Jerome signifies :<sup>a</sup> *diaconi eligunt de se quem industrium noverint, et archidiaconum vocant*, “the deacons choose from amongst themselves one whom they know to be industrious, and call him archdeacon.” Now if a deacon had the power to excommunicate, there can be no doubt but the presbyters had it, being of a superior order and power. And excommunication being counted the highest act of jurisdiction, it cannot be questioned but the other acts thereof belonged to them ; and so the presbyters having all the jurisdiction of bishops, (all the power of government) what did they want of being bishops but the honour of presiding in their assemblies ? And if they were no farther from being bishops, they will go near to be as much diocesan ; and so this gentleman may choose, whether he will have all of both sorts to be diocesans, or none of either.

4. It is no argument to prove a diocesan church, to show that it consists of such who live at a good distance one from another. Dionysius had a great congregation at Cephro, a village in Lybia ; but those which made up this church were of another country, coming partly from Alexandria, partly from other parts of Egypt, as Eusebius shows us, yet none ever esteemed that to be a diocesan church. In Justin Martyr's time, those that were in the country, and those that were in the city, when those were no more than made one congregation, met together in one place, *πάντων κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνελείσιν* ; the meeting consisted of such as lived at a good distance, but none will imagine it to be a diocesan church, but those who will have a single congregation to be such a church. “All the Christians

<sup>a</sup> Ep. ad Evagrium.

in city and country," says Dr. Downham, "if they had been assembled together, would have made but a small congregation."<sup>a</sup>

Our author would prove the largeness of Basil's diocese by the distance between Cæsarea and Sasima.<sup>b</sup> He makes much of it, and takes the pains to measure the distance between these towns, or rather, as he says, to make some guess at it out of an itinerary and Putinger's tables; yet tells us the distance must be as great, at least, as between Hippo and Fussala, that so St. Basil's diocese may be as great, at least, as that of St. Austin's. I think they will prove much alike, for as I have showed that Austin's diocese was not one foot larger for Fussala, so it will appear that St. Basil's had not the least enlargement upon the account of Sasima. That he might not be out in his measures, nor have lost all his labour, two things should first have been cleared,<sup>c</sup> neither of which is (or I think can be) proved. First, that Sasima was in Basil's diocese; for if it was but only in his province, how far soever it was from Cæsarea, his diocese can be nothing the larger for it, though his province might. To prove it in his diocese, I find nothing but his own assertion, that Sasima is said expressly to be taken out of the diocese of Basil; but where is this said expressly, or by whom, except by himself? The words in the margin signify no such thing, but only some attempt to deprive a metropolis of Sasima; for a metropolis may be deprived of a town which is in any part of the province, when another metropolitan seizeth on it. And I believe our author is yet more out in taking the metropolis which Nazianzen speaks of to be Cæsarea, when it appears by the epistle to be rather Tyana; for as the whole epistle is writ to Basil, so these words cited, after many others, by way of sharp expostulation, are directed to him as endeavouring to deprive a metropolis of this town, called ironically *τῶν λαμπρῶν Σασίμων*, "the illustrious Sasima:" now Cæsarea was not the metropolis which Basil would have deprived of Sasima; he earnestly endeavoured to have it annexed thereto: but he would have deprived Tyana of it, if Anthimus, the metropolitan there, had not made a stout opposition. Secondly, he should have proved, that after this part of Cappadocia was divided into two provinces, Sasima was in that province which fell to Basil's share; for if it was not in his province, how could his diocese be any larger for it? But instead of this, our author offers what may serve to disprove it, telling us that in the ancient Greek Notitia, Sasima is set down in the second Cappadocia, which belonged to Anthimus as the first did to Basil; and so, says he, it is not likely to be very near Cæsarea. No indeed; it is thereby proved to be so far from Cæsarea, that it did not enlarge Basil's

<sup>a</sup> Defence, lib. ii. cap. iv. p. 69.

<sup>b</sup> Pages 546, 547.

<sup>c</sup> made clear.

province, much less his diocese. Thus it is also placed in the *Διατύπωσις* of Leo Sophus, under the metropolitan of Tyana, not of Cæsarea. It is true Basil laid claim to it, but after some contest he yielded, and Anthimus carried it, placing Eulalius there as one of his suffragans, when Nazianzen had quitted it.

He goes farther on to show the largeness of dioceses in Basil's province.

"It is plain, by Nazianzen, that Cappadocia had but fifty bishops, for so many he says Basil had under him; and considering the extent of that country, the dioceses must needs be large."

He does not say Basil had no more under him, nor that he was making no more; he knew Basil was constituting more bishops in that part of Cappadocia which was his province, and Nazianzen commends him for it as an excellent undertaking on several accounts."

"Considering the extent of that country, the dioceses must needs be large, for the country, as Strabo computes, is near four hundred miles in length, and little less in breadth."

If he means Basil's own province, where he told us there were fifty suffragans under him besides Sasima, &c.,<sup>b</sup> (as I know not what he can mean else, if his discourse be not impertinent and inconsistent, for Basil, as metropolitan, had no bishops under him, but those in his proper province,) Strabo is strangely misrepresented to serve a turn; for it is the whole country which passed under the name of Cappadocia, that the geographer gives us the dimensions of in the place cited, and tells us it was divided into ten prefectures—Meletena, Cataonia, Cilica, Tyanitis, Isauritis, &c., whereof Basil's province was but one, viz. that called Cilica, and that of Anthimus, Tyanitis, another, &c.; Mazaca, afterwards called Casarea, being metropolis of Basil's, and Tyana of Tyanitis, &c.; and after he hath given some account of these ten prefectures, he adds the dimensions of the whole country in these words—"The extent of Cappadocia in breadth, from the Euxine to Taurus, is eighteen hundred furlongs; in length, three thousand." So that our author will have the extent of Basil's province to be no less than that of the whole country, when it is but the tenth part thereof. And as if this were not enough, he makes the breadth of the whole country to be near twice as much as it is in Strabo; but he hath some salvo for this, such as it is.

"And little less in breadth, as Casaubon restores the reading of eighteen hundred furlongs in the twelfth book, by a passage in the second, where the breadth is made two thousand eight hundred."

It is true Casaubon observes some difference in the places cited, but

<sup>a</sup> Orat. de Bas.

<sup>b</sup> Page 346.

he shows how they may be easily reconciled without changing the text here, or making the country broader than it is here described, viz. by taking Pontus in one place for the sea, in the other for the region so called, separated from Cappadocia by mountains parallel to Taurus; and then concludes, *Sic non erit discedendum à vulgatâ lectione*, "thus we shall not have to depart from the common reading." So that he hath no relief by Casaubon without curtailing the passage.

"And in this compass bishops may contrive fifty dioceses of very competent extent, and not inferior to many of ours."

Let him try how in Basil's province of about forty miles in length, he can contrive room for above fifty bishops, with as large dioceses as those he pleads for. That which is now thought little enough for one bishop, Basil conceived too big for fifty.

What dioceses Basil (and others before him) thought sufficient for bishops, both then and in former times, appears by a passage which our author next cites, where Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, is directed to constitute bishops for the province of Iconium, in "little corporations and villages."<sup>a</sup> Hundreds of instances might be brought of bishops elsewhere, in such little places and villages, but I will go no further now, than the instance himself offers us, whereby it is manifest that a little corporation or a village might furnish a bishop with such a diocese, as was then thought competent, both by Basil and the church before him; for in such little places there was bishops before, as Basil there signifies, and he gives direction that it should be so still. Yet he that would advise the reducing of bishops to such sees now, would be counted an enemy to episcopacy, and his advice destructive to bishops. So much do we now differ, both from the judgment and practice of the ancient church, and the most eminent bishops in it.

Hereby also it appears that the multiplying of metropolitans was no such occasion of multiplying bishops, but that their numbers increased, when there was not that occasion: and this in Cappadocia, which is our author's eminent instance.<sup>b</sup> For bishops were multiplied by erecting episcopal sees in villages, and little places; this was done in Isauria, a province in Cappadocia, as appears by these passages in Basil, before the contest between him and Anthimus, upon the constituting a new metropolitan: and after that difference was composed, Basil thought it advisable that it should be done still. And the like may be said of Africa, the instance he most insists on, and spends many pages upon, pretending [that] the occasion why bishops were so numerous there, was the schism of the Donatists, whereas the rule by which the African fathers proceeded in erecting bishoprics in little places, and so increasing



the number of bishops, was, as themselves declare, who best knew it, the increase of the number of Christians.<sup>a</sup> Where these were multiplied, and desired a bishop, they thought themselves bound to let them have one; not excepting the meanness or smallness of the places where he was to be constituted. And we must believe (if we have any reverence for those fathers) that they would have done what they judged themselves obliged to, though there had been no Donatists amongst them. And when there can be no such pretence of occasion from the Donatists, the practice was continued, as appears by St. Austin's procuring a bishop for Fussala, which he calls a castle, upon some increase of the Catholics there, divers years after the noted conference at Carthage, where the heart of the Donatists was broken. Nay, many years after the invasion of the Vandals, and the death of St. Austin, they proceeded in the same methods, or rather exceeded their predecessors in multiplying bishops, by erecting episcopal seats in smaller, and more inconsiderable places, if Leo's epistle may be credited.<sup>b</sup>

But to return to our author, and the passage of Basil insisted on, by which, says he, "it appears that Isauria was part of Basil's province." How this appears by anything therein, I cannot imagine. Our author signifies before that Isauria was a distinct province, the metropolis of it (as he supposes) Seleucia, which had a metropolitan and suffragans before; and being now destitute, the bishops in the vicinity were careful to provide others. Which being so, that it should be part of Basil's province, seems as incongruous, as if it were said, that the province of York is part of the province of Canterbury; but if this could be digested, that one province is part of another, yet Isauria would rather be part of Amphilochius's province, who (as he tells us) was to constitute a metropolitan and other bishops therein, than of Basil's, who is only represented as giving advice about it. Or if giving advice and direction, would prove anything of this nature, the Papists might think it a good argument, that Africa was part of the Roman province, because Leo, bishop of Rome, gives advice, how bishops should be there constituted.<sup>c</sup>

Next he brings in the chorepiscopi in order to his design, and tells us<sup>d</sup> they were "country bishops, and their churches consisted of many congregations, and those at a good distance one from another; and also that some of them had the inspection of a large territory, no less it is like<sup>e</sup> than the country of Fussala."

But not a word for proof of this, save Basil's mentioning a chorepiscopus τῶν τόπων, of some places; whereas, if he had been the bishop of two or three villages, this might be enough to satisfy the import of

<sup>a</sup> Concil. Carth. 2 Can. v.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. lxxxv. [cap. ii.]

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Page 550.

<sup>e</sup> probable.

that expression. Yet he knows there is some one country parish, that hath ten times as many, or more villages in it, but never pretended to be a diocesan church, and that such a pretence would be now counted ridiculous.

He adds that which, if it were true, would go near to dethrone these country bishops, (for Basil speaks of them as having their thrones in villages,) and render them less than ancient presbyters, for all their large territory, and their being diocesans.

"But yet these were but the deputies or surrogates of the city bishops in point of jurisdiction, for they were to do nothing of moment without their bishop."

If this be so, it would be less wonder that the pope will have bishops to be but his substitutes, and that some bishops will have the pastors of parochial churches to be but their vicars or curates. I hope our author intends better; however, it is well that such odd hypotheses have no better support than that which is added; for, says he, "they were to do nothing of moment without their bishop:" this is his argument, and he is not alone in urging it. Let us see whether it will not do the bishops (for whose advancement it is designed) as much disservice as it can do the chorepiscopi, or presbyters, divesting them of that which is counted more necessary and advantageous to them, than a large diocese. The provincial bishops were obliged to do nothing, *μηδὲν πράττειν* (*ἐπιχειρεῖν*) *δίχα τοῦ μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου*, without the bishop of the metropolis; this the synod at Antioch decrees, according to an ancient canon of the fathers." By this argument we must conclude, that the bishops in a province were but the deputies and surrogates of the metropolitan. And it may proceed proportionably against the metropolitans with respect to the *ἑξαρχοι* or primates, and also to their prejudice in reference to the patriarchs. It will go near to destroy the bishops likewise, if we follow it downwards. In the ancient church the bishops were to do nothing of moment without the presbyters; this the most judicious and learned asserters of episcopacy acknowledge.<sup>b</sup> Nay, further, in the best ages of the church, the bishops were to do nothing without the people, that is, without their presence and consent. This is most evident in Cyprian's epistles, and is acknowledged by such prelatists as are otherwise reserved enough.<sup>c</sup> Now by this argument we may conclude that bishops were but the deputies or surrogates of the presbyters; or, which will be counted more intolerable, that bishops had their jurisdiction from the people by deputation and vicarage. It may be this gentleman will not like his argument so well, when he sees

<sup>a</sup> Can. ix. Can. Apost. xxxv. Concil. Milev. Can. xiii.

<sup>b</sup> B[p.] Bilson, Dr. Field, Dr. Downham, B[p.] Hall, M[r.] Thorndike, B[p.] Usher.

<sup>c</sup> Vide Defence of Dr. Stillingfleet] p. 407.

what improvement it is capable of; yet in pursuance of it he adds, "Basil is so resolute upon his prerogative, that he will not endure they should ordain as much as the inferior clergy, without his consent; and if they do, let them know (says he) that whosoever is admitted without our consent shall be reputed but a layman."

I suppose the prerogative for which he will have Basil so resolute, is a negative in ordinations upon the country bishops; but this cannot be concluded from the words cited; for the council of Nice gives the metropolitan a power as to ordinations, in the same words,<sup>a</sup> declaring that if a bishop be ordained by the provincials, *χωρίς γνώμης*, without the judgment of the metropolitan, the great council will have him accounted no bishop; and yet the metropolitan had no negative upon the provincials in ordinations, for the same council determines, that in ordinations, plurality of votes shall prevail, which is utterly inconsistent with any one's negative voice. What, then, is the import of Basil's *ἄνευ γνώμης*? Take it in the words of a very learned and judicious Doctor of this church: "It is indeed there said, that none should be ordained, *χωρίς γνώμης*, without the opinion of the metropolitan; but that doth not import a negative voice in him, but that the transaction should not pass in his absence, or without his knowledge, advice and suffrage," &c.<sup>b</sup>

5. It is no proof of a diocesan church, to show that a town, besides the clergy or officers in it, had some presbyters or congregations in the country belonging to it. The instances which signify no more, or not so much, are produced as sufficient arguments to prove there were such churches. As that of Gaius Diddensis, presbyter, supposed (with what ground I examine not) to have been a country presbyter belonging to Carthage, and under Cyprian.<sup>c</sup> And that of Felix, said to do the office of a presbyter, under Decimus, another presbyter, a thing unheard of in those times; but let us take it as we find it, and upon the very slender reason alleged against Goulartius, (who is of another judgment) believe, that he was a priest in some village belonging to Caldonius's diocese.<sup>d</sup> And that order for the presbyters from their churches, to repair to their proper bishop for chrism in Africa,<sup>e</sup> in Spain,<sup>f</sup> and in France.<sup>g</sup> To these are added, for further evidences, the churches (said without ground to be many) belonging to Hippo Diaritorum; also the church of Thyana, belonging to Alypius, bishop of Tagesta, which without reason, we must take to be a considerable city,<sup>h</sup> and the city Milevis, because Petilian says Tunca belonged to it once, though now it had a bishop of its own; and by our author's art of computation, towns,

<sup>a</sup> Can. vi.<sup>b</sup> Barrow of the Pope's Supremacy, p. 314.<sup>c</sup> Vindication, p. 504.<sup>d</sup> Pages 506, 507.<sup>e</sup> Con. Carth. iv. Can. xxxvi.<sup>f</sup> Conc. Tol. i. cap. xx.<sup>g</sup> Conc. Vasens. Can. iii.<sup>h</sup> Page 527.

villages, and cities must belong to Milevis, upon the sole account of Tunca sometime appertaining to it;<sup>a</sup> and these with Fussala, (of which before) are the chief instances to prove that Africa had very large dioceses, not inferior to those of ours, in extent of territory.<sup>b</sup> Besides, in the council of Neocasarea, country presbyters are distinguished from others;<sup>c</sup> and that of Antioch provides<sup>d</sup> that country presbyters shall not give canonical epistles,<sup>e</sup> and allows the bishop to order<sup>f</sup> his own church, and the country places depending on it.<sup>g</sup> And Epiphanius speaks of a church belonging to his charge, which we must understand to be his diocese, though in the passage cited, it is twice called his province;<sup>h</sup> in fine, Jerome speaks of some baptized by presbyters or deacons in hamlets, castles, and places remote from the bishop.

These and such like are used as good arguments for diocesan churches, whereas there are divers towns in England, which besides the officers in them, have many congregations and presbyters in villages belonging to them, and contained within the parish; and yet our author and those of his persuasion, would think diocesans quite ruined, if they were reduced, and confined to the measures of those parish churches, and left no bigger than some of our vicarages and parsonages, though such as Mr. Hooker affirms to be as large as some ancient bishoprics; he might have said most, there being not one in many greater or so large. I yet see no ground in antiquity, nor can expect to have it proved, that the larger sort of ordinary bishoprics in the fourth age, and sometime after, were of more extent than two such vicarages would be, if united. Yet a bishop of such a district in our times would be counted so far from having a competent diocese, that he would scarce escape from being scorned as an Italian episcopellus.<sup>i</sup>

But his greatest argument, (in comparison of which his other allegations, he tells us, are but accidental hints,<sup>j</sup>) which he most insists on, and offers many times over, so that it makes a great part of his discourse on this subject,<sup>k</sup>—is drawn from the number of bishops in councils, by which he would evince the largeness of ancient dioceses, when it no way proves diocesan churches of any size. He proceeds upon this supposition, that there were great numbers of Christians in all parts and cities,<sup>l</sup> in the first age; and that the bishops were fewer in former times than afterwards. The former part of his hypothesis, if he understands the numbers of Christians to be anything comparable to what they were after Constantine, when bishops were much multiplied,

<sup>a</sup> Page 528.<sup>b</sup> Page 516.<sup>c</sup> Can. xiii.<sup>d</sup> Can. viii.<sup>e</sup> The canonical epistles were letters of recommendation given to persons who were in the peace and communion of the church, on their passing from one fellowship to another. See Bingham. Antiq. Book ii. chap. iv. sect. v.<sup>f</sup> regulate.<sup>g</sup> Can. ix. p. 536.<sup>h</sup> Page 555.<sup>i</sup> bishopling.<sup>j</sup> Page 508.<sup>k</sup> Pages 508 to p. 535, to p. 539, p. 556 to 562.<sup>l</sup> Page 530.

(as he must understand it, if he expect any service from it) wants proof; and he offers none but some passages in Tertullian, strained far beyond what is agreeable to other ancient authors, of which before. Let me add, that Nazianzen, comparing the numbers of Christians in former times with those in Julian's reign, says, they were not many in former persecutions, (Christianity had not reached many, οὐπω ἐπὶ πολλούς,) no, not in that of Diocletian, &c., (though they were at that time far more numerous than in Tertullian's age) but that Christianity was found only in a few, ἐν δλίγοις.<sup>a</sup> The other part, which needs no proof, since it is granted, (and may be without any advantage to him) he attempts to prove largely and industriously; but by such a medium as makes that which is granted to be questionable, such a one which, as it is ordered, may conclude backward, and prove the contrary to what he designs. That this may be manifest, let it be observed, that he will have us take an account of the number of bishops in the church, by their appearing in councils, more or fewer; and accordingly judge in several periods, whether they were less numerous, and consequently their dioceses larger in former times than afterwards. And to this purpose, we need view no other instances than himself produces. At Lambese, in Africa, there were ninety bishops against Privatus; but not so many in any council after, (though not a few are mentioned in that country) till the Donatists grew numerous.<sup>b</sup> In Spain, the council of Eliberis had nineteen bishops in the beginning of the fourth age, and the first council of Toledo had no more in the beginning of the age after. But the following synods, at Saragossa, Gerunda, Ilerda, Valentia, Arragon, had not so many.<sup>c</sup> In France, the council at Valence had twenty-one bishops in the fourth age, but those following them, in that and the after ages, had still fewer, viz. that of Riez, Orange, the third of Arles, that at Angers, that at Tours, and Vannes, and another at Arles. For general councils, the first at Nice had three hundred and eighteen bishops in the beginning of the fourth age; that at Ephesus, above an hundred years after, had but two hundred; that at C. P.,<sup>d</sup> in the latter end of the fourth age, had but one hundred and fifty bishops.

So that if we take account how many bishops there were of old, as he would have us, by their numbers in councils, there will be more before the middle of the third age, than in the beginning of the fourth; more in the beginning of the fourth than in some part of the fifth; and more in the beginning of the fifth, than in some part of the sixth; quite contrary to the hypothesis on which he proceeds. Whether by

<sup>a</sup> Orat. iii. [Ed. Paris, 1630, tom. i. p. 80, A.]

<sup>c</sup> Pages 557, 558.

<sup>b</sup> Page 509.

<sup>d</sup> Constantinople

his argument he would lead us to think dioceses did wax and wane so oddly, as it makes bishops to be more or fewer, I cannot tell. However, since he grants that in the fourth and fifth ages dioceses were very small,<sup>a</sup> and crumbled into small pieces,<sup>b</sup> (and so nothing like ours) there is no expectation he can find any larger, if anything near so great, in any former age : unless they can be larger, when incomparably fewer Christians belonged to these bishops, which will be no less a paradox than the former. For it cannot but be thought strange, that the bishop's diocese should be greater, when his flock was undeniably far less. And they seem not to be Christian bishoprics, whose measures must be taken by numbers of acres rather than of souls ; or by multitudes of heathens rather than Christians.

He denies not, that the generality of bishops, for a long while after the apostles, had but one congregation to govern.<sup>c</sup> "What then?" says he ; "if all the believers in and about a city would hardly make a congregation, that is to be ascribed to the condition of those times." Dioceses with him, were largest in the first times ; but bishops being still multiplied, they became less and less, and so were very small, and crumbled into very little pieces in the fourth and fifth ages. This is the tendency of his discourse all along. Thus dioceses must be largest, when a bishop had but one congregation ; but in after ages, when he had more congregations under his inspection, dioceses were very small. If he will stand to this, our differences may be easily compromised. Let him, and those of his persuasion, be content with the dioceses in the first ages, when he counts them largest ; and we shall never trouble any to reduce them to the measures of the fourth and fifth ages, when, in his account, they were so lamentably little, and crumbled so very small.

The particulars premised, contain enough to satisfy all that I have yet seen alleged out of antiquity for diocesan churches, so that no more is needful ; yet let me add another, which will show there is a medium between congregational and diocesan churches. So that if some churches should be showed out of the ancients exceeding the congregational measures, (as some there were in the times of the four first general councils) yet it cannot thence be immediately inferred that they were diocesan, since they may prove a third sort of churches, and such as will as little please those of this gentleman's persuasion as congregational.

6. It is no argument for a diocesan church, that there were several fixed churches, with their proper presbyters in a city or its territory, so long as these churches, how many soever, were governed in common

<sup>a</sup> Page 552.<sup>b</sup> Page 516.<sup>c</sup> Page 71.

by the bishop and presbyters in such a precinct. For though few instances can be given of such churches, in or belonging to a city in the fourth age, yet wherever they were extant in that, or the following age, in things of common concern to those churches, they were ordered in common by a presbytery, that is, the bishop with the presbyters of that precinct. Jerome declares it *de jure*, [that] they ought to be governed in common, *in communi debere ecclesiam regere*.<sup>a</sup>

And Felix, third bishop of Rome, (than whom no bishop was higher, or more absolute in those times,) declares it *de facto*, when he speaks of the presbyters of that church, as *διεπόντων μετ' ἐμοῦ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν θρόνον*, “ruling that church with him.” It is the same word that the governing of churches by other bishops, is expressed by, *μετὰ πάσης τῶν ἐπισκόπων οἱ τὰς πέριξ διεῖπον ἐκκλησίας γνώμης*, “with the perfect consent of the bishops who ruled the neighbouring churches,” as Alexander saith of Narcissus, *ὁ πρὸ ἐμοῦ διέπων τὸν τόπον ἐπισκοπῆς*,<sup>b</sup> “who preceded me in the administration of the episcopal office.” It imports no less than *præsidere*, and is ascribed to bishops and presbyters, jointly by Tertullian,<sup>c</sup> Cyprian,<sup>d</sup> and Firmilian.<sup>e</sup> Hence the presbyters are frequently said to be *συνλειτουργοὶ* with the bishop,<sup>f</sup> for then the governing power of bishops was but counted a ministry, *λειτουργίας γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὄνομα δηλωτικόν*,<sup>g</sup> “the name bishopric is significant of ministry,” and the presbyters fellow-ministers with him, and joint administrators in the government. They are styled *συμποιμένες*,<sup>h</sup> fellow-pastors; they did not then dream that a bishop was sole pastor of many churches. They are also called *συνέδρευται*, which is no less than *συνθρόνοι*,<sup>i</sup> for the presbyters had thrones with the bishop. So Nazianzen speaks of Basil when ordained presbyter, as promoted *ιεροῖς θρόνοις*, to the sacred thrones of the presbyters.<sup>j</sup> They are also called *συνάρχοντες*, or *κοινωνοὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς*, “partners in government.”<sup>k</sup>

But further evidence is needless, though abundance may be produced, since the great patrons of episcopacy seem not to question it; that “the church was governed in common,” and the bishop was to do nothing of importance without the presbyters, is acknowledged by Bishop Bilson,<sup>l</sup> Bishop Downham,<sup>m</sup> Bishop Hall asserts it, as “that which is universally accorded by all antiquity, that all things in the ancient church were ordered and transacted by the general consent of presbyters.”<sup>n</sup>

<sup>a</sup> In Titus i. [5.]<sup>b</sup> Euseb. lib. vi. cap. xi.<sup>c</sup> Apol. cap. xxxix.<sup>d</sup> Lib. i. Ep. lii.<sup>e</sup> Ep. lxxv. Apud Cyp<sup>f</sup> Theod. Hist. lib. iv. cap. viii. Epiph. Her. xlii. [p. 302, C. Ed. Col. 1682.]<sup>g</sup> Isidore, lib. iv. Ep. [ccxix.]<sup>h</sup> Naz. Orat. i. [Ed. Par. 1630, tom. i. p. 45, A. Orat. vii. p. 144, A.]<sup>i</sup> Ignat. ad Tral. [n. 3. Ed. Jacobson.]<sup>j</sup> Orat. xx<sup>k</sup> Chrys. in 1 Tim. Hom. i.<sup>l</sup> Perpet. Govern. cap. xi.<sup>m</sup> Defence, lib. iii. lib. i. c. viii.<sup>n</sup> Iren. p. 47.

Mr. Thorndike proves at large, that "the government of churches passed in common ;"<sup>a</sup> Primate Usher more succinctly but effectually.<sup>b</sup> Add but Dr. St[illingfleet] who both asserts and proves it,<sup>c</sup> "there was still one ecclesiastical senate, which ruled all the several congregations of those cities in common, of which the several presbyters of the congregations were members, and in which the bishop acted as the president of the senate, for the better governing the affairs of the church," &c.

Let me add, when the churches were so multiplied in city and territory, as that it was requisite to divide them into parishes, and constitute several churches, the bishop was not the proper ruler or pastor of the whole precinct, and the churches in it, or of any church, but one. The parishes or churches were divided among presbyters and bishop, they had their several distinct cures and charges ; the bishop's peculiar charge was the *ecclesia principalis*, the chief parish or church so called, or *αὑθεντικὴ καθέδρα*, "his proper see." The presbyters performed all offices in their several cures, and ordered all affairs which did particularly concern the churches where they were incumbents ; those that were of more common concern were ordered by bishop and presbyters together, and thus it was in the bishop's church or parish, he performed all offices, administered all ordinances or worship himself, or by presbyters joined with him, as assistants. He was to attend this particular cure constantly, he was not allowed to be absent, no, not under pretence of taking care for some other church ; if he had any business there which particularly concerned him, he was to make quick dispatch, and not (*χρονίζειν καὶ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ οἰκείου λαοῦ*, as Zonaras) "stay there with the neglect of his proper flock ;" this is all evident by a canon of the council of Carthage,<sup>d</sup> *Rursum placuit ut nemini sit facultas, relicta principali cathedra, ad aliquam ecclesiam in diocesi constitutam se conferre, vel in re propria, diutius quam oportet constitutum, curam vel frequentationem propriæ cathedræ negligere.* "Again we decree that no one shall have liberty to the neglect of his principal church, to betake himself to any church established in the diocese, or by delaying longer than is becoming over his real business, to neglect the care and attendance due to his own see." Of this church or parish he was the proper pastor or ruler, called there *ἴδιος θρόνος*, and elsewhere<sup>e</sup> *οἰκεία καθέδρα*, in contradistinction to other parts of the precinct, called here dioceses ; and the people of it are called *οἰκείος λαός* by the ancient canonist,<sup>f</sup> his proper flock or people, his own special charge. This was the particular church under his personal government, but he was not ruler of the precinct, or any other churches in it, save only in common, and in conjunction with the

<sup>a</sup> Prim. Govern.

<sup>c</sup> Iren. pp. 354, 355, 356.

<sup>e</sup> Can. liii.

<sup>b</sup> Reduct. of Episcopacy.

<sup>d</sup> In Zona. N. 77, in Code 71.

<sup>f</sup> Zona. in loc.



other presbyters ; who jointly took cognisance of what in his church or theirs, was of greater or more general consequence, and concerned the whole, and gave order in it by common consent.

And while this was the form of government, if there had been as many churches there, thus associated, as Optatus in the fourth age says there was at Rome, or far more, they could not make a diocesan church, unless a diocesan and a presbyterian church be all one. For this is plainly a presbyterian church, the ancient presbyteries differing from the modern, but in a matter of smaller moment ; in those their president being fixed and constant, in these commonly though not always circular. The presbyteries in Scotland comprised some twelve, some twenty, some more churches ; their moderators were at first, and for some years, circular, king James afterwards, anno 1605,<sup>a</sup> would have them to be constant, and so it was ordered ; yet when they were fixed, no man ever counted these presbyteries to be diocesan churches. The church of Geneva consists of twenty-four parishes, governed in common by a presbytery with a moderator, who is sometimes changed, sometimes continued for life. Calvin was president while he lived, yet that of Geneva is not wont to be taken for a diocesan church. Nor were those ancient churches such, while they were governed, not by one bishop, but by a senate of presbyters where he presided ; as in the council of Constantinople all things in the province are said to be governed, not by the metropolitan, but by the provincial synod.<sup>b</sup>

Finally, the presbyters are in the ancient church acknowledged to have had the power of the keys, both as to the ministration of the word and the sacraments, and the exercise of government and censures. This power they exercised either jointly in conjunction with the bishop and senate of presbyters ; or distinctly in the particular churches whereof they had the charge. The former power concerning the word and sacraments is not questioned ; nor is there any ground to question the latter, if some were not swayed more by the practice of their own times, than the principles and declarations of the ancients. Chrysostom ascribes to presbyters, not only *διδασκαλίαν*, the power of order, but *προστασίαν*, the power of government,<sup>c</sup> giving this as the reason why the apostle gives the same rules for the ordering both of bishops and presbyters ; there is but little difference betwixt them, says he, for they are ordained both to the teaching and ruling (*προστασίαν*) of the church. Now that *προστασία* denotes jurisdiction or *presidentiam cum potestate*, “presidency together with authority,” and is as Hesychius renders it, *κυβέρνησις*, is plain in Chrysostom himself ; he tells us the apostle Paul

<sup>a</sup> Hist. p. 559. [What particular History Mr. Clarkson here refers to, the Editor is unable to conjecture.]

<sup>b</sup> Can. [iii.] Soc. lib. v. cap. viii.

<sup>c</sup> In 1 Tim. Hom. xi. [p. 289, Ed. Savill.]

had τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν προστασίαν,<sup>a</sup> "the presidency of the world," which he elsewhere expresses by τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν κυβέρνων;<sup>b</sup> and speaking of Moses, he says, It was wonderful, that he who was to be a ruler, ὁ προστάτης μέλλων ἔσσεσθαι, should be born at such a time.<sup>c</sup> Theophylact makes the difference as little between bishop and presbyters, and ascribes as much power to the latter, almost in the same words.<sup>d</sup> So Theodoret declares προστασίαν, jurisdiction, to belong to every presbyter;<sup>e</sup> "against an elder, especially, no less than two witnesses must be admitted, because he having ἐκκλησίας προστασίαν, "the government of the church," and in the exercise of it often grieving delinquents, they being ill-affected to him, will be apt to bring false accusations." And this is the ἡγεμονία included in the presbyters' office, εἴτε λειτουργίαν χρὴ λέγειν, εἴτε ἡγεμονίαν,<sup>f</sup> "whether we speak of ministry or of rule," as Nazianzen speaks, and much more to that purpose. And besides many other passages of like import, the title of governors is all along in ancient writers given to presbyters; and all the expressions which signify authority and government, are ascribed to them. Thereby those that would curtail their power, and make it no more of old than it is now, are not a little encumbered; to extricate themselves a distinction is devised of a power internal and external, the former they will allow to presbyters in their respective churches, not the latter.

But this is devised to disentangle themselves, and salve<sup>g</sup> the deviations and irregularities of later times, not that there is any ground for it in antiquity. For the highest act of that external power of jurisdiction is excommunication; and if this was in the presbyters' power of old, no other act of that power will, or can in reason be denied them; but this the ancients ascribe to them; so Jerome,<sup>h</sup> *Mihi ante presbyterum sedere non licet, illi si peccavero licet me tradere Satanae ad interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvus sit*, "It is not lawful for me to sit in the presence of a presbyter; he has power, if I transgress, to deliver me to Satan for the destruction of the flesh." Chrysostom threatened some of his auditory, while he was a presbyter, to excommunicate them, ἐπαγορεύσω λοιπόν ὑμῖν τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων ἐπιβήναι προθύρων;<sup>i</sup> to waive all of like nature insisted on by others, Justinian in the sixth age signifies plainly that not only bishops but presbyters might excommunicate offenders; in his Constitutions he forbids bishops and presbyters to exclude any from communion, till such cause was declared for which the canons appointed it to be done, πᾶσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις ἀπαγορευόμεν, ἀφορίζειν

<sup>a</sup> In 1 Cor. Hom. xxiii. et Hom. xxv. [p. 388.]

<sup>c</sup> In Act. Hom. xvi.

<sup>e</sup> In 1 Tim. v. 19.

<sup>g</sup> palliate.

<sup>i</sup> Hom. xvii. in Matth [p. 125.]

<sup>b</sup> In 2 Cor. Hom. xxv. [p. 681.]

<sup>d</sup> In 1 Tim. [iii. 8.]

<sup>f</sup> Orat. i. [Ed. Paris. 1630, p. 3, A, tom. i.]

<sup>h</sup> Ad Heliodorum. [Coi. x. tom. iv. par. ii. Ed. Par. 1706.]

τινα τῆς ἁγίας κοινωνίας, &c., and will have the sentence of excommunication rescinded, which was passed by bishops or presbyters without cause.<sup>a</sup> In the Code, both bishops and clergy are forbid to excommunicate in certain cases, and then mention is made of the cases for which they must not, ἢ ἀφορίζειν ἢ ἀναθεματίζειν, “either excommunicate or anathematise,” κὰν ἔθος τοιοῦτον ἐκράτησεν,<sup>a</sup> “although they had been accustomed to [do] it.”<sup>b</sup>

Now while presbyters had this power there could be no diocesan churches, whether they exercised it in common, as was showed before, or particularly in their several churches, as will now be made apparent; for by virtue of these powers the presbyters were really bishops; though they had not always the title, yet, they are called bishops, as a learned prelatist observes, by the most ancient authors, Clemens, Ignatius, Tertullian,<sup>c</sup> and have frequently the names and titles which some would appropriate to bishops, and which the fathers use to express the office of bishops by, [viz.] *προεστώτες*, *præpositi*, *antistites*, *præsidentes*,<sup>d</sup> &c. And so there were as many bishops really in every diocese as there were particular churches and presbyters there; and well may they be said to be really the same, since they were of the very same office; for bishops in the ancient church were not a superior order to presbyters, but had only a precedency in the same order. This some of the most judicious and learned defenders of episcopacy assert. And those who hold that patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops differed not in order, but in degree only, which is the common opinion of episcopal divines, and yet contend that bishops and presbyters were of a different order, will never be able to prove it. The difference they assign between bishops and metropolitans is, that these presided in synods, and had a principal interest in ordinations; and what more did the pre-eminence of ancient bishops, distinguishing them from presbyters, amount to? It consisted in nothing material but their presidency in presbyteries, and their power in ordinations. This last is most insisted on, as making the difference wider between these than the other. But with little reason all things considered. For those to be ordained were first to be examined and approved by the presbyters, μὴ ἄλλως χειροτονείσθωσαν ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων κληρικῶν δοκιμαζόντων,<sup>e</sup> the ordaining of one to the presbytery was to be ψηφῶ καὶ κρίσει τοῦ κλήρου πάντος,<sup>f</sup> “by the vote or judgment of the whole clergy.” It was a crime for which the greatest bishop in the world was censurable, to prefer any, or make ordinations παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ κλήρου, “against the consent of the clergy,” as appears by what

<sup>a</sup> Novel. cxxiii. cap. xi.

<sup>c</sup> Thorndike, Prim. Govern. pp. 73, 74.

<sup>e</sup> Theophilus Commonitor. cap. vi.

<sup>b</sup> Lex. xxxix. sec. ii. Tit. iii. de Episc. et Clericis.

<sup>d</sup> Idem. Of Religious Assemblies. p. 68.

<sup>f</sup> Clem. Constitut. lib. viii. cap. xviii.

Chrysostom was accused of, though it is like<sup>a</sup> falsely;<sup>b</sup> and this is counted by some the substance of ordination, wherein the presbyters had no less share (to say no more) than the bishop. And in imposing hands, which was the rite of ordaining, the presbyters were to concur with the bishop, for which there is better authority than the canon of an African council, for, saith a very learned doctor,<sup>c</sup> “to this purpose, the laying on of the hands of the presbytery<sup>d</sup> is no ways impertinently alleged, although we suppose St. Paul to concur in the action; because if the presbytery had nothing to do in the ordination, to what purpose were their hands laid upon him? Was it only to be witnesses of the fact, or to signify their consent? Both these might have been done without their use of that ceremony, which will scarce be instanced in,<sup>e</sup> to be done by any but such as had power to confer what was signified by that ceremony.” And divers instances are brought by the same hand to show that ordination by presbyters was valid in the ancient church.<sup>f</sup>

But if the presbyters had been quite excluded from ordination, and this power had been entirely reserved to the bishops, yet this would not be sufficient to constitute them a superior order. For the rite of ordaining was so far from being an act of government or jurisdiction, that it did not infer any superiority in the ordainer; nothing being more ordinary in the practice of the ancient church than for those who were of a lower degree and station to ordain their superiors.

While there was no more distance betwixt bishop and presbyters but only in degree, so that as the bishop was but *Primus* presbyter, (as Hilary under the name of Ambrose, and others;<sup>g</sup>) or Primicerius as Optatus, defined by a learned civilian to be *πρώτον της τάξεως*,<sup>h</sup> “the first presbyter,” so the presbyter was a second bishop, *ἐν δευτέροις θρόνοις*, as Nazianzen. As the bishop was *summus sacerdos*, in the style of Tertullian and others, that is, chief presbyter, so the presbyter was bishop a degree lower; not that he had less pastoral power, but because he wanted that degree of dignity or pre-eminence for which the other was styled chief. As the *prætor urbanus* was called *maximus*, “chief,” yet had no more power than the other, (*Prætorum idem erat collegium, eadem potestas*,<sup>i</sup> “That which the prætors possessed in common was the same to each; their authority was equal,”) but only some more privilege and dignity, (*dignitate ceteros anteibat propterea maximus dicebatur*,<sup>k</sup> “he surpassed the rest in dignity, whence he was called Maximus;”) and the *ἀρχὼν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀστυνόμοις* at Athens was *Prætor maximus*, yet all the rest were *pares potestate*,<sup>l</sup> “equal in power;” [so] bishops and presbyters had *idem*

<sup>a</sup> probable.

<sup>b</sup> Phot. in Chrys. tom. viii. p. 155. Concil. Carth. iv. cap. xxii. Concil. Turon. ii.

<sup>c</sup> Iren. p. 275.

<sup>d</sup> 1 Tim. iv. 1, 4.

<sup>e</sup> shown by a case in point.

<sup>f</sup> Page 379.

<sup>g</sup> In 1 Tim. v. Aug. Quest. in V. et N. T. [cap. ci.]

<sup>h</sup> Gothofrid. in Code. [vid. tom. i. p. 436.]

<sup>i</sup> Bodin Bib. iii. cap. vi.

<sup>k</sup> Fest. in Verb. Major

<sup>l</sup> Ibid.

*ministerium*, “the same ministry,” as Jerome, *eadem ordinatio*, “the same ordination,” as Hilary,<sup>a</sup> they were of the same order and office, had the same power, the power of the keys, all that which the Scripture makes essential to a bishop. While it was thus there could be no diocesan churches, that is, no churches consisting of many congregations which had but one bishop only.

### POSTSCRIPT.

A late writer presumes he has detected a notable mistake in the author of “No Evidence for Diocesan Churches” (ascribed to one who owns it not) about *μύριοι*, which, I suppose, he would have translated “ten thousands” definitely; but there it is rendered indefinitely “thousands,” as we are wont to express a great many, when the precise number is not known. Those who understand the language, and have observed the use of the word, will be far from counting this a fault: and those who view the passage will count it intolerable, to render it as that gentleman would have it. That of Atticus, bishop of C. P.,<sup>b</sup> may satisfy any concerning the import and use of the word, who, sending money for the relief of the poor at Nice, to Calliopius, thus writes, *ἔμαθον μυρίους ἐν τῇ πόλει πεινῶντας δεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν εὐσεβοῦντων ἐλέου. Μυρίους δέ λέγω το πλῆθος, οὐ τὸν ἀκριβῆ δηλῶν ἀριθμόν*, “I learn that there are myriads starving in the city who need the charity of the pious; I call the multitude myriads, not as though I would define the exact number;” where he tells him that by *μυρίους* he understands a multitude whose number he did not exactly know; thus (*i. e.* indefinitely) is the word most frequently used by Greek writers, and particularly by Eusebius, the author of the passage cited. So he tells us, Nero killed his mother, his brothers, his wife, *σὺν ἄλλοις μυρίοις*, “with myriads of others,” of her kindred;<sup>c</sup> and Timotheus of Gaza, he says, endured *μυρίους βασάνους*,<sup>d</sup> “myriads of torments.” Many more might be added, where the word is not rendered by the translators (Valesius particularly) ten thousand; but still indefinitely *innumerabiles*, or *infiniti*, or *sexcenti*, &c. Nor have I met with one instance (though possibly there may be some) in him where it is used to express ten thousand precisely.

However, it had been an unpardonable injury to Eusebius, to have rendered it so in this place; as if he would have deluded the world with a most palpable untruth, which both he, and all men acquainted

<sup>a</sup> In 1 Tim. iii.

<sup>c</sup> Hist. lib. ii. [cap. xxv.] lib. viii. cap. xiii

<sup>b</sup> Constantinople.

<sup>d</sup> [De Martyr. Palæst. cap. iii.]

with the state of the church in those times, know to be so. For this makes him say that ten thousand bishops met in council at Antioch in the third age; when as<sup>a</sup> he never knew a synod of six hundred bishops in the fourth age, while he lived; though then bishops were far more numerous, and had all encouragement to meet in greatest numbers. This makes him signify, that ten thousand bishops assembled in the skirts of the east part of the empire: when as<sup>a</sup> there was not near so many (this gentleman is concerned to maintain there was not one thousand) in the whole Christian world.

This is more than enough to show, that there is sufficient warrant to translate *μύριοι* thousands, more than once; though that it is in that discourse (which he styles a little pamphlet) so translated more than once, is another of his mistakes. And a third (all in two lines) is, that the author grounds his argument on it. Whereas those that view the passage, and the occasion of it, will see it had been more for his advantage to have translated it, ten thousands. He that can allow himself to write at this rate, may easily be voluminous, and look too big to be despised, as the writer of little pamphlets.

The letter mentioned, page 96, being communicated to me by M[r.] B[axter], that part of it which concerns Alexandria is here added, that it may appear how much it is mistaken, and how far from being answered.

“[As] for Alexandria, it was the greatest city in the empire, next to Rome, *μεγίστη μετὰ τὴν Ῥωμὴν ἡ πόλις*, says Josephus.<sup>b</sup> And Epiphanius gives an account of many churches in it assigned to several presbyters, viz., besides Casarea finished by Athanasius, that of Dionysius, Theonas, Pierius, Serapion, Perseas, Dizia, Mundidius, Anianus, Baucalas, adding *καὶ ἄλλαι*,<sup>c</sup> ‘and others besides.’ This, notwithstanding that the Christians at Alexandria, which held communion with Athanasius, might and did meet together in one church, he himself declares expressly in his apology to Constantius.<sup>d</sup> The whole passage is too large to transcribe or translate: this is the sense of it. He being accused for assembling the people in the great church before it was dedicated, (*πρὶν αὐτὴν τελειωθῆναι*) makes this part of his defence. ‘The confluence of the people at the paschal solemnity was so great that if they had met in several assemblies (*κατὰ μέρος καὶ διηρημένως*) the other churches were so little and strait, that they would have been in danger of suffering by the crowd, nor would the universal harmony and concurrence of the people have been so visible and effectual, if they had met in parcels. Therefore he appeals to him, whether

<sup>a</sup> whereas.

<sup>c</sup> Hæres. lxi. p. 728.

<sup>b</sup> De Bello Judaic. lib. v. cap. ult.

<sup>d</sup> Page 531, tom. i. Ed. Commelin. Anno 1601.

it was not better for the whole multitude to meet in that great church (being a place large enough to receive them altogether, *ὅντος ἤδη τοῦ τόπου δυναμένου δέξασθαι πάντας, ἐν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖν*.) and to have a concurrence of all the people with one voice (*καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μετὰ συμφωνίας τῶν λαῶν γίνεσθαι τὴν φωνήν*.) For if, says he, according to our Saviour's promise, where two shall agree as touching anything, it shall be done for them of my Father, &c., how prevalent will be the one voice of so numerous a people assembled together and saying Amen to God! Who, therefore, would not wonder, who would not count it a happiness, to see so great a people met together in one place? And how did the people rejoice to behold one another, whereas formerly they assembled in several places?

"Hereby it is evident that in the middle of the fourth age, all the Christians at Alexandria which were wont at other times to meet in several assemblies, were no more than one church might and did contain, so as they could all join at once in the worship of God, and concur in one Amen.

"He tells him also that Alexander, his predecessor, (who died anno 325) did as much as he in like circumstances, viz., assembled the whole multitude in one church before it was dedicated.<sup>a</sup>

"This seems clear enough, but being capable of another kind of proof which may be no less satisfactory, let me add that also. This city was, by Strabo's description of it, *χλαμύδι εἰδὸς τὸ σχῆμα*, like a soldier's coat, whose length at either side was almost thirty furlongs, its breadth at either end seven or eight furlongs,<sup>b</sup> so the whole compass will be less than ten miles. A third or fourth part of this was taken up with public buildings, temples, and royal palaces, *ἔχει τε ἡ πόλις τεμένη, τὰ τε κοινὰ κάλλιστα καὶ τὰ βασιλεια τέταρτον, ἥ καὶ τρίτον τοῦ παντὸς περιβόλου μέρος*,<sup>c</sup> 'the city possesses temples, and fine public buildings and palaces, which take up a fourth or even a third of its area;' two miles and half or three and a quarter is thus disposed of. I take this to be that region of the city which Epiphanius calls *Βρούχιον*, (where he tells us, was the famous library of Ptolomeus Philadelphus) and speaks of in his time as destitute of inhabitants, *ἐρημον τοινῦν ὑπάρχον*.<sup>d</sup> A great part of the city was assigned to the Jews, *πέλεως ἀφώριστο μεγα μέρος τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ*. So Strabo indefinitely, as Josephus quotes him.<sup>e</sup> Others tell us more punctually, their share was two of the five divisions.<sup>f</sup> Though many of them had their habitation in the other divisions, yet they had two-fifth parts entire to themselves, and

<sup>a</sup> Page 532.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>e</sup> Antiquit. Jud. lib. xiv. cap. xii

<sup>b</sup> Geogr. lib. xvii. p. 516.

<sup>d</sup> De Ponder. et Mensur. n. 9, p. 166.

<sup>f</sup> Usher's Annals Latin, p. 859.

this is, I suppose, the τόπος ἴδιος, 'quarter of their own,' which Josephus saith, the successors of Alexander set apart for them, αὐτοῖς ἀφώρισεν.<sup>a</sup> Thus we see already how six or seven miles of the ten were taken up. The greatest part of the citizens (as at Rome and other cities) in the beginning of the fourth age, were heathens. Otherwise Antonius wronged the city, who, in Athanasius's time, is brought in thus exclaiming by Jerome,<sup>b</sup> *Væ tibi Alexandria quæ pro Deo portenta veneraris; væ tibi civitas meretrix in quam totius orbis dæmonia confluxere*, &c. 'Woe to thee, Alexandria, who worshippes monsters instead of God! Woe to thee, harlot city, to which the demons of the whole world resort!' A charge thus formed, supposes the prevailing party to be guilty. But let us suppose them equal, and their proportion half of the three or four miles remaining. Let the rest be divided amongst the orthodox, the Arians, the Novatians, and other sects: and, if we be just, a large part will fall to the share of heretics and sectaries. For, not to mention others, the Novatians had several churches and a bishop there, till Cyril's time.<sup>c</sup> The Arians were a great part of those who professed Christianity, τοῦ λαοῦ οὐκ ὀλίγη μοῖρα,<sup>d</sup> and if we may judge of the followers by their leaders, no less than half. For whereas there were nineteen presbyters and deacons in that church,<sup>e</sup> (twelve was the number of their presbyters by their ancient constitution, as appears by Eutychius, and seven their deacons, as at Rome, and elsewhere,) six presbyters with Arius, and five deacons fell off from the Catholics.<sup>f</sup> But let the Arians be much fewer, yet will not the proportion of the Catholic bishop's diocese in this city be more than that of a small town, one of eight or twelve furlongs in compass. And so the numbers of the Christians, upon this account, will be no more than might well meet for worship in one place."

<sup>a</sup> Bello Jud. lib. ii. cap. xxi.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Socrat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. vii.

<sup>d</sup> Theod. Hist. lib. iv. cap. xxiii.

<sup>b</sup> Vit. Paul. p. 243.

<sup>e</sup> Sozom. Hist. lib. i. cap. xiv.

<sup>f</sup> Sozom. Hist. lib. i. cap. xiv.