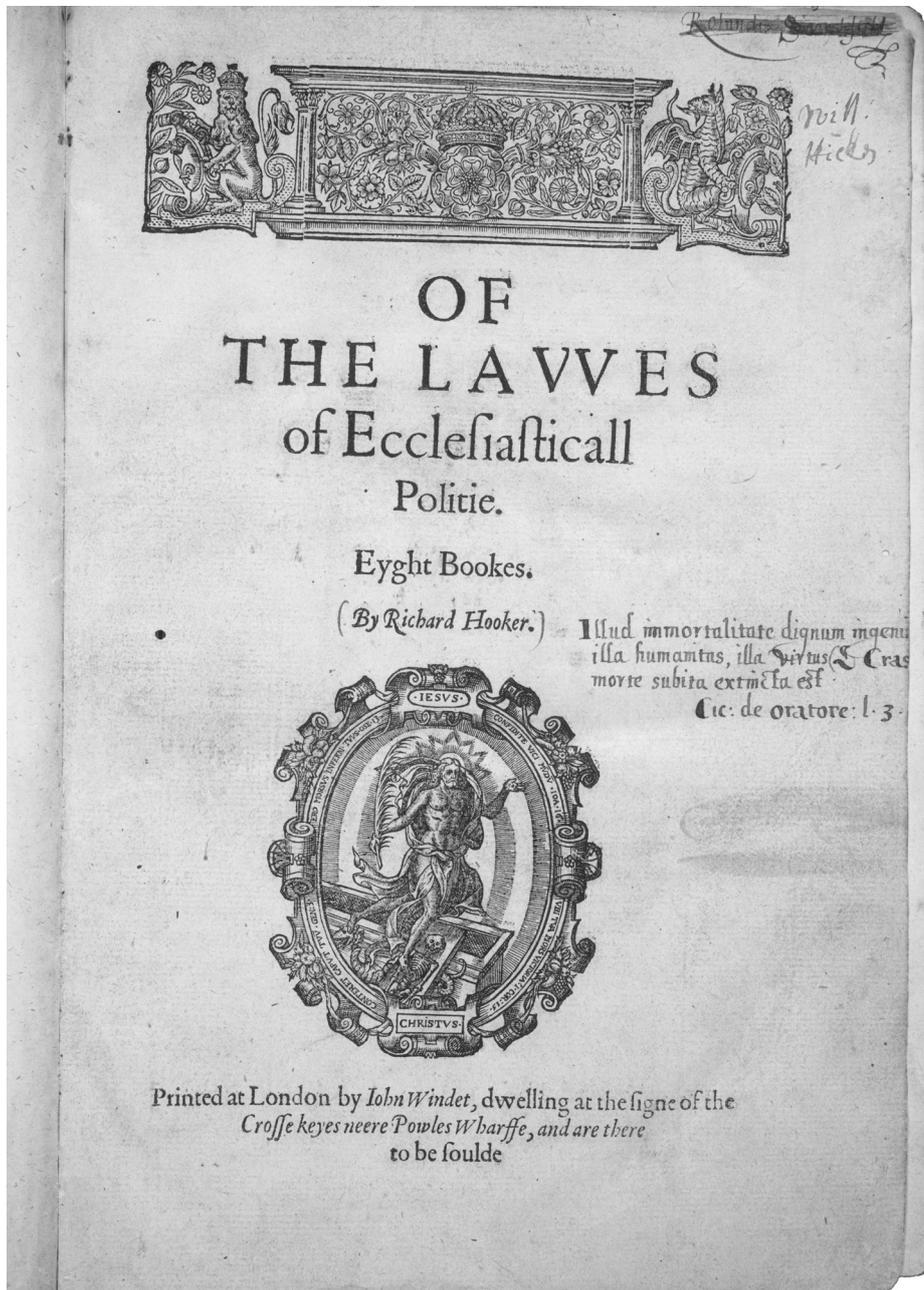


A Companion to Richard Hooker

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500–1700

VOLUME 8



Richard Hooker. *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie. Eyght Bookes.* London: John Windet, [1593]. The first edition, which contains books I-IV only.

A Companion to Richard Hooker

Edited by

Torrance Kirby

With a Foreword by Rowan Williams



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In Memoriam

William Speed Hill

(1935–2007)

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

RUDOLPH P. ALMASY	<i>West Virginia University</i>
DANIEL EPPLEY	<i>Thiel College</i>
LEE W. GIBBS	<i>Cleveland State University</i>
EGIL GRISLIS	<i>University of Manitoba</i>
WILLIAM H. HARRISON	<i>Diocese of Kootenay</i>
W. SPEED HILL († 2007)	<i>City University of New York</i>
RANALL INGALLS	<i>St. Thomas University</i>
DEAN KERNAN	<i>University of Rochester</i>
W. J. TORRANCE KIRBY	<i>McGill University</i>
DIARMAID MACCULLOCH	<i>University of Oxford</i>
A. S. MCGRADÉ	<i>University of Cambridge</i>
W. DAVID NEELANDS	<i>Trinity College, University of Toronto</i>
W. BROWN PATTERSON	<i>University of the South</i>
DEBORA K. SHUGER	<i>University of California, Los Angeles</i>
CORNELIU C. SIMUȚ	<i>Emanuel University, Romania</i>
JOHN K. STAFFORD	<i>St. John's College, University of Manitoba</i>
P. G. STANWOOD	<i>University of British Columbia</i>
JAMES F. TURRELL	<i>University of the South</i>
ROWAN WILLIAMS	<i>Archbishop of Canterbury</i>

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Feast of the Epiphany, 2008

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

<i>ACL</i>	<i>A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestantes</i> (1599), volume 4 of the <i>The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker</i>
<i>Answeres</i>	<i>The Answeres of Mr Richard Hooker to a Supplication preferred by Mr Walter Travers to the HH. Lords of the Privie Counsell</i> , volume 5 of the Folger edition
<i>Notes</i>	Hooker, <i>Autograph Notes</i> from Trinity College, Dublin, MS 364, fol. 69–84, vols. 3 & 4 of the Folger edition
<i>Cert.</i>	Hooker, <i>A Learned Sermon of the Certaintie and Perpetuitie of Faith in the Elect</i> , vol. 5 of the Folger edition
<i>CT</i>	<i>Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent</i> , ed. H. J. Schroeder, St Louis, MO, and London, 1941
<i>Dublin</i>	Hooker, <i>Dublin Fragments</i> , volume 4 of the Folger edition
<i>FLE</i>	<i>The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker</i> ¹
I...VIII	Books I through VIII, <i>Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie</i>
<i>HLQ</i>	<i>Huntington Library Quarterly</i>
<i>Inst.</i>	John Calvin, <i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i> , 1559
<i>Just.</i>	Richard Hooker, <i>A Learned Discourse of Justification, Workes, and how the foundation of faith is overthrowen</i> , volume 5 of the Folger edition
<i>JEcclH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>JW</i>	<i>The Works of John Jewel</i> , ed. John Ayre for The Parker Society, Cambridge, 1847
Keble	John Keble, ed., <i>The Works of...Mr Richard Hooker</i> , 7th edn., revised R. W. Church and F. Paget, Oxford, 1888
<i>Lawes</i>	Richard Hooker, <i>Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie</i> ²
LCC	Library of Christian Classics
<i>NPNF</i>	<i>A Select library of the Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian Church</i> , ed. Philip Schaff. Series 1 and 2, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1956

¹ References to the *Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker* cite volume, page, and line numbers.

² All references to the *Lawes* cite book, chapter, and section followed by the standard *FLE* citation. Where the division of chapters and sections differs from Keble, both editions are referenced.

<i>OS</i>	John Calvin, <i>Opera Selecta</i> , ed. P. Barth, W. Niesel, D. Scheuner. 5 vols., Munich, 1926–52
<i>Pride</i>	Hooker, <i>A Learned Sermon of the Nature of Pride</i> , volume 5 of the Folger edition
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiæ cursus completus: Series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne. Paris, 1844–1882
<i>PS</i>	Parker Society editions of the works of the English Reformers, 56 volumes, Cambridge, 1840–
<i>Remedie</i>	Hooker, <i>A Remedie against Sorrow and Feare</i> , volume 5 of the Folger edition
<i>RHC</i>	Arthur Stephen McGrade, ed., <i>Richard Hooker and the Construction of Christian Community</i> , 1997
<i>RHER</i>	W. J. Torrance Kirby, ed., <i>Richard Hooker and the English Reformation</i> , 2003
<i>SRH</i>	W. Speed Hill, ed., <i>Studies in Richard Hooker: Essays preliminary to an Edition of his Works</i> , 1972
<i>ST</i>	Thomas Aquinas, <i>Summa Theologiae</i> , translated by the Fathers of the English Dominican Province, New York, 1947
<i>Supplication</i>	Walter Travers, <i>A Supplication made to the Privy Council</i> , Oxford, 1612, volume 5 of the Folger edition
<i>STC</i>	Short Title Catalogue
<i>WW</i>	<i>Works of John Whitgift, DD, Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. John Ayre for the Parker Society, Cambridge, 1851

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

IMAGES FROM BOOKS IN THE W. SPEED HILL COLLECTION OF THE
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TRINITY COLLEGE, TORONTO

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3	Richard Hooker. <i>Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie. Book V</i> . Edited by W. Speed Hill. The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker, gen. ed., W. Speed Hill, 2. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977	367

4	<i>The Causes of the Continuance of These Contentions Concerning Church-Government: Out of the Fragments of Richard Hooker. Preamble to A Summarie View of the Government Both of the Old and New Testament.</i> Oxford: Leon Lichfield, 1641 ¹	480
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¹ Although this image of the head-title page of “Causes of the Continuance...” is from a copy in the Graham Library Rare Books Collection, not the Hill Collection, there is a copy in the Hill Collection.

FOREWORD

OF THE LAWES OF ECCLESIASTICALL POLITIE REVISITED

Rowan Williams
Archbishop of Canterbury

You have to admit that *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie* is not a title calculated to attract a mass readership; and it is still rather difficult to explain just why a book with such a title is a classic of doctrinal reflection, not just a dissertation on how to run churches.¹ As to the first, it has long been recognised that Hooker's many gifts did not include what a modern audience would regard as the popular touch; as to the second, what we have to try and grasp is that for Hooker the question of how to run churches, a matter of literal life-and-death significance in his day, could only be rationally thought through on the most fundamental of theological principles. He is reacting, essentially, to a twofold claim by his opponents, the militant puritan wing of the English Church in the last decades of the sixteenth century. The English state had determined that the reshaping of the Church after the breach with Rome had gone far enough, and that controversy over further reform should stop: challenging the rights of bishops or the survival of certain practices and ceremonies in public worship was not admissible. The puritan position was, first, that the Bible specifically laid down the rules for running churches, so that it wasn't possible to treat certain matters as open to dispute or local variation, and second, that the state had no authority to decide how the Church was to be run unless it specifically subjected itself to the Bible; indeed, it would be very desirable if the entire system of Old Testament law could be enshrined in the law of the state. These are the positions that Hooker sets out to challenge; and he can

¹ This essay is the text of a lecture delivered at the Temple Church, London on 26 October 2005 as one of an occasional series of Temple Talks organised by the Ecclesiastical Law Society. It was first published in the *Ecclesiastical Law Journal* 8 (2006), 382–391, and is reproduced with permission. His Grace is Patron of the Ecclesiastical Law Society and Master of the Bench of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple.

challenge them effectively only by looking at the very nature of law and what that implies for our understanding of Church and Bible.

This is, of course, a dispute that has suddenly become rather contemporary again. The modern equivalent of the puritan might appear to be the Muslim apologist who cannot see how a believer can recognise real legitimacy in a society not governed by Sharia law, interpreted in a strict and ‘primitive’ fashion. The question of how a believer in revealed religion can work with a state and a legal system that are not in every respect determined by revelation is a serious one, because it raises the issue of how to live under potentially conflicting authorities. I don’t want to claim that Hooker solves all this (as if all that were needed to pacify the Islamist right were an infusion of Anglicanism...). Yet a basic discussion of the nature of divine law and divine revelation should prompt a better-resourced debate. So in what follows, I shall be trying to set out some of Hooker’s central convictions about law and revelation, and arguing that what he is opposing is any picture of these things that refuses the work of interpretation or that pretends that history has come to a halt. I hope that what will emerge is a sense that it is possible in the Christian tradition, and perhaps in others too, to hold a robust doctrine of revelation, to stand firm against a particular kind of individualist liberalism in theology and politics, and still to recognise the historical forces that are at work in our reception of revealed truth and the complexities of authority in a world of necessarily changing perceptions and pressures. Perhaps I should say at once that I don’t think Hooker will solve our contemporary problems about authority in the Anglican Church in any straightforward way. I doubt whether he could have entertained any idea that the moral law set out in Scripture was anything other than lastingly valid, and, despite arguments to the contrary, I can’t see him easily accepting alternatives to patriarchy as the basis of human (and therefore ecclesial) government. Yet there remains something about his approach to the Church’s nature and basis that may offer a few pointers for a theology of Christian belonging less obsessively anxious about the humanly policed limits of the Church than some of our current styles of thought.

Anyway, to begin at Hooker’s beginning, we must ask with him what the primary character of God’s action is, as we learn it from Bible and nature. And Hooker’s answer is that God wills to exercise the ‘abundance’ of his glory—to create as many reflections as possible of his own being. But if the point of the world is the abounding plurality of such reflections, each must exist within limits, since God alone

is infinite; and to say that everything exists within limits is to say that it exists according to 'law'. There is no infinite compatibility between different possibilities; if this happens, that can't. Law is one way of talking about the single line of time within which the universe unfolds, in which the fact that some things happen rather than others determines a single set of possible futures. (Hooker, happily, knew nothing of the infinite number of possible universes proposed by some contemporary physicists; but his point still holds for any one actual universe.)

Law, then, is bound up with the compatible variety of things in the universe. Hooker suggests that the most primitive sense of law, theologically speaking, is God's acceptance of the logic of a limited creation. In creating, God chooses to make a world of limits—that's what creation is; his purpose being to secure the greatest possible variety of imitations of his own being, a complex of realities each (in the language of classical patristic theology) 'participating', sharing, in his own being in a unique way. And it is this fundamental principle of mutual limit that shows us what the character of law will be in every context where the concept applies. 'Compatible variety' means the harmony of genuinely distinct subjects. The 'laws' of nature tell us how all material beings exist together. The laws of society propose how beings with free choice can exist together. The law that regulates the Church tells us how human beings may live in the society of God and the angels.

In such a context, we need ways of distinguishing between different sorts of law as they affect our experience. Some affect us simply as human beings: we can't fly, live without water, or see in the dark. We know how to reason about what's good and bad, possible or impossible, for us at this level; and, extending this a bit further, as Hooker does, we work by general human axioms about how we can bear short-term pain for long-term profit, about doing to others what we'd want them to do for us, respecting parents and acknowledging that 'spiritual' benefits are more real and lasting than material. All this has to do with understanding what we are in relation to the rest of the world, grasping what is distinctive about being human: we are physically limited in specific ways, and we are also so constituted that mental or spiritual reality cannot be ignored in what we say about ourselves. Hooker takes it for granted that recognition of God's existence is part of what is 'natural' to human being in this way; and so is the sense of moral responsibility, the connection between actions and rewards and punishments. This basic grasp of what we are in relation to creator and creation would dictate human behaviour even if human beings didn't live together.

But as a matter of fact we are also by nature sociable; our good can never be fully realised by any one of us living alone. So we next have to discern how common life is to be regulated so as to allow us to do to each other the good we are capable of doing, and to restrain the damage we are equally capable of doing. Our liberty to nourish material life and health needs to be secured, violence and rapacity towards others has to be restrained. And a parallel principle is at work in the 'law of nations', where Hooker alludes to the distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' conventions. The former regulates diplomatic immunities and trade, the latter regulates conflict. No commonwealth should have the right to ignore these laws, abusing or neglecting the rights of strangers and travellers or abandoning the customs governing war. Hooker does not specify the latter, but presumably means things like the immunity of non-combatants and ambassadors, the status of treaties and so on. And finally we come to the laws of the Church, which are about living 'sociably' with God; to the degree that natural reason alone does not deliver the whole truth about God, we need God to show us what sort of God he is in order that we may know how to live harmoniously with him. The Church's law is thus 'positive' law rather than natural, but it relates just as much to what we are in our most profound being, images of God destined to become children of God through Jesus Christ.

This is, in scandalously brief outline, the argument of Hooker's first book of the *Laws*. How do these principles help him in the particular controversy in which he is entangled? The first and most important point is that he is able to distinguish clearly between, as we might put it, laws that are to be kept for their own sake, because they relate to the conservation of humanity as such, and laws that are to be kept for ordinary 'civic' good order. In the state in general, laws against theft and murder and fraud, laws that protect people from assault, exclusion and prejudice, laws that support domestic stability and so on are laws without which no common human life is imaginable. And in the Church, the common life of this 'supernatural' society requires an ethic of generosity, forgiveness, fidelity, and a practice of common prayer. Nothing can change these basics, in Church or state, because such constraints are bound up with God's purpose in creating the world and human beings within it, with a heavenly destiny. But there are then all those laws that contribute to the maintenance of this or that particular society or Christian community. These are not unchangeable, because the outward forms of governance alter with the passage of time; but this does not mean that their authority is relative at any given moment. We

can't be members of a timeless universal human society. We are bound to be citizens of a specific social unit. So those laws that contribute to the good order of that social unit have an equally binding character, though they may be changed by the authority that enforces them for whatever may seem to be good pragmatic reason.

Now in Hooker's eyes, the mistake of his puritan opponents is to think that the Bible is an exhaustive source for laws of both kinds. Every Christian presumably admits that in its definition of God's purposes for creation, the Bible sets out a 'law', an account of the limits within which humanity can properly operate, which is not open to revision. It does this, though, in a way that is, for Hooker, clearly Christ-centred: we don't turn to the Pentateuch for a full definition of the law under which Christians must live, because the Pentateuch itself is part of the historical process of revelation, foreshadowing something greater. Only in the Incarnation of the second person of the Trinity is the full scope of human destiny revealed. But the Bible does not justify us in concluding that it is the sole source of a comprehensive positive law that will regulate for all time in the second of the two legal contexts he has defined. The Bible shows us people who are governed by the contemplation of divine wisdom without reference to Scripture; paradoxically, it displays its own limits when it relates the virtue and insight of its own characters (who never read it). 'The bounds of wisdom are large'² God teaches by many means, and we do no honour to God or to the Bible by imagining that all God might ever wish to say to us can be contained in one volume. We learn from nature, from spiritual inspiration, from sheer experience. And God is not glorified if we assume that we can please him only by doing exactly what Scripture specifies and no more.

We can perhaps see here how the principle of divine abundance with which Hooker begins affects his view of the Bible. Creation offers an immeasurable variety of ways of being good—that is, ways of existing so as to show God's own glory and beauty. It is absurd to think that the text of Scripture could exhaust these possibilities. Put very plainly, the Bible does not give us an alibi for the use of common sense, ordinary discretion, imagination, willingness to learn from experience and whatever else belongs to mature human reflection on behaviour. On the contrary, it commends the example of individuals who live like this. The 'sufficiency' or perfection of Scripture, argues Hooker, is a matter

² *Laws* II.1.4; 1:147.5–6.

of its perfect capacity to do what it is meant to do. If we try to make it do more than it is meant to, we destroy its credibility; if we suggest, for example, that nothing except what is commanded in the Bible can be other than sinful, we paralyse a great deal of ordinary human life. A *reductio ad absurdum*—no order could ever be given unless backed by the Bible, and Hooker imagines theologically acute domestic servants waiting for their masters to produce a biblical warrant for ordering them to light a fire or cook a meal. But the underlying point is wholly serious. The Bible is neither a complete nor an incomplete law book. We have to break through the sterile opposition between Catholic and puritan error, Catholics arguing that all sorts of things are obligatory under divine law that are not contained in the Bible, puritans countering with the claim that everything not commanded in Scripture is in effect prohibited. Both extremes, by couching their question in terms of what will please God and further their salvation, miss the main thing, which is that Scripture uncovers the ‘abundant’ purpose of God in creation and redemption, the glory that human creatures in communion with Christ are made to manifest. Law, then, as the form of compatible variety, is also the form in which God’s abundance is to be perceived and experienced. If we take the Bible to be the sort of comprehensive handbook for human behaviour that the puritans (at least as Hooker interprets them) want it to be, we actually deny the central revelation of the Bible itself—that God freely makes a world of finite goods and beauties so as to share his own overflowing goodness and beauty, and that he brings his work to completion in overcoming the rebelliousness of perverted human freedom by ‘opening the Kingdom of Heaven’ through participation in Christ. Claim everything for the Bible as law book and you end up claiming nothing, Hooker says; you end up trivialising creation and redemption alike.

But this means that, outside the abiding and central truths about what sort of life God’s life is and what sort of dignity is given to creatures, human intelligence and ingenuity and prudence have a wide remit. There is not one divinely approved means of human government, in state or Church. Custom and convenience will settle this. Yet once it is settled, it is not for any private person or interest group to seek to change it according to their own conviction. Just as God alone is able to declare the ceremonial laws of the Old Testament no longer in force because he is their author, so with human authorities: duly constituted authority must establish changes. So in the England of the 1590s, there is nothing wrong with obeying the state’s ordinances for the running

of the Church, and a great deal wrong with attempts to change them on the basis of what we have now seen to be a thoroughly misleading view of what the Bible is. The English state, for Hooker, is simply the political expression of the life of a local body of Christians, monarchically governed; there is a sovereign power in this realm to which the care of the Church's administration is committed. The refusal of this authority in the name of a supposed scriptural imperative for further reform of the national church's institutions of government is itself an offence against the Body of Christ. It is to elevate the judgement of a 'private' group over the common sense of a whole Christian community which has developed a theologically lawful form of government, the Elizabethan state. It is to deny that the Christian community has a history of perfectly legitimate discernment and discussion and to make the Bible a timeless absolute. But Christian salvation comes from incorporation into the life of Christ the eternal Son, who has shared his life with us through the incarnation; it is not a matter of adherence to a form of words, even inspired and inerrant words. The Bible is true but not a substitute for the living Truth which is Christ's person.

Hooker's willingness to be positive about the history of interpreting and realising the given structures revealed in Scripture does not, of course, commit him to a modern view of the Bible's historical 'conditionedness', nor does it make him some sort of a relativist. We live first by the laws of God's nature and ours, which are not open to negotiation because they are not about any sort of balance of power or interest, not about any dispositions of prudence or convenience; they are simply what is—namely the ground conditions of being. These laws are revealed in scriptural history—that is, they are presented to us as realities disclosed by a particular set of historical narratives, in which are involved a number of laws and enactments for the better realisation of the underlying truth about who and what God and creation are. The new state of affairs that has come into being through these revealing events is not a timeless sealed capsule in which no-one learns or changes, but a corporate life with narrative and memory. Hooker does not quite put it like this, but you can see the possible argument that the unfolding of Christian potential across time becomes another witness to the pervasive theme of abundance, the unceasing discovery of new ways of reflecting God's glory in new stories of discipleship and fidelity.

It is uncomfortably true, as has been repeatedly underlined in modern scholarship, that Hooker is not a detached and angelic expositor of

divine wisdom but a profoundly shrewd polemicist, for whom the very language of reasoned, patient and consensual discussion serves most effectively to deny his opponents a legitimate place in political debate. But there is an inescapable paradox in arguing about the legitimacy of argument itself: Hooker would doubtless have said that against the puritan appeal to timeless law any argument was bound to have the kind of shape that his exhibits—a ‘proscriptive’ style, denying the other’s right to argue. Whether he would be right (about puritans or about the ethics of argument in general) is another matter; but he is certainly out to deny that argument is possible where there is no agreement on what might count as criteria. If the history of human discernment is being ruled out, there are things that will not be allowed to count as making arguments good or bad, valid or invalid. At the least, he is identifying a problem that has become depressingly familiar of late.

So Hooker’s immediate political concerns lead him inexorably to what is in effect an appeal to the biblical doctrine of creation: God desires a variety of created goods, so that as many ways as possible will be realised for his glory to be reflected; and this means law, natural, social and ecclesial. The most basic form of rebellion is to refuse the limits that make ‘compatible variety’ possible, whether this is sinful denial of what is ‘naturally’ owed to God, self and neighbour, revolt against duly constituted authority in the realm or the attack on episcopal governance. Such rebellion suggests that it is for creatures to define the limits of compatible variety, not God; to redraw the contract of the universe. We can hear Shakespeare’s Ulysses in the background on un-tuning the string of order, and the deep metaphysical fear that sedition aroused in Hooker’s day.

This set of connections doesn’t come all that naturally to us. But it may not hurt to be reminded that the whole notion of law takes for granted more of a world-view than we might have bargained for. If we approach law as simply the process of mutual contract between rational individuals, expressed through a neutral and in principle universal tribunal, we shall miss several things of cardinal importance about our human practice. Certainly law adjudicates conflicts of interest, assuming that no-one’s legitimate interest is beyond scrutiny or control. But this in turn assumes that what is good for any one person or group can’t be defined once and for all just in relation to that person’s or group’s views of the matter. No-one’s good can be understood as lawfully requiring someone else to suffer or be deprived. So the notion of law, as it were, smuggles into our social practice a basic presupposition about negoti-

ating with the other before you can presume to say definitively what is good for you. And Hooker goes a little further by saying that this is not simply a negative matter, avoiding unnecessary conflicts between groups and persons; lawful society is also society in which each element is likely to need goods and services from the other, and the law regulates and facilitates the flow of mutual usefulness. In this respect, Hooker stands with those who, in the seventeenth century and after, assumed that lawful freedom was not simply the negative liberty of entitlement to rights but the positive liberty of being able to negotiate on your own behalf—that is, he stands closer to the common law heritage of legal thinking than to a rationalist universalism.

Law assumes, then, that we do not ‘begin’ socially as a set of unrelated atoms, whether individuals, classes, races, or interest groups. Our basic position is one of potential agents in a negotiation through which we discover our welfare, discover something we do not know at the start. As some Hegelian scholars have put it, we begin by staking a position that is inevitably mistaken, and we work through our mistakes in conversation, bargaining and self-examination. These social, civic, and, as Hooker would put it, ‘sociable’ practices are the actual means of finding out what our common humanity is; they are means of revelation, not quite in the sense that Scripture is such in Hooker’s theology, but definitely the process by which God’s purpose is clarified. That purpose, for Hooker and his contemporaries, is fully specified by what God tells us, in the history of Israel, in Jesus, and in the record of Scripture. How it is to be lived out in detail in this or that setting requires the sociable exercise of reasoning together. And since therefore one of the things we have to discover is how to live out the fact that we exist in fellowship with God and the angels and saints, the Church on earth must give a value to this sociability, to the civic virtues of reasoned argument and the common life of ordered prayer. Appeal to Scripture as a comprehensive law book in the puritan sense implies that the civic and the social simply do not have the value that Scripture itself seems to give them by its doctrine of creation and of the Body of Christ. Hooker is able, in his fifth book, to make a triumphantly unexpected case for the value of church music and of responsive praying in the liturgy on the basis of the need for our whole selves to be involved in worship and for us to be of service to one another by visibly and audibly responding to each other’s words. ‘Abundance’ is yet again the issue in view: the social character of worship, including song and ritual conversation, shows that we are discovering something

together, and that the full variety of what can be brought to light in God's presence will only appear when we 'own' our complex physical selves and our presence to each other. Hooker is a thinker who begins from the idea that we are engaged in solidarities long before we are properly aware of ourselves as individuals. When we do start to become aware, we are liable to see things wrongly and oddly, and have to learn the truth by the long process of mutual engagement. The problem with the puritan ideology he opposes is that it seeks to bypass the given character of solidarity, through history, custom and what might be called the process of 'settlement', the discernment that emerges over time in a fairly stable community. In this sense, he is someone who seems to give a kind of priority to 'common law' rather than any fundamental theory of universal legal rights. This perspective is what surfaces again in the Catholic liberalism of Lord Acton and his followers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, in 'pluralists' like John Neville Figgis—a liberalism utterly at odds with the individualist assumptions usually associated with the term. In this connection, the liberal is someone who is sceptical about centralising and universalising claims for law and political practice, and who understands the life of the state as essentially the negotiation of differences, the creation of a community of communities, to use the phrase beloved of Figgis.

It is a paradoxical route for Hooker's influence to follow, since he is nothing if not an apologist for what seems to us a wholly monolithic state, united in religion and custom. But what I have been trying to suggest is that Hooker's interest in 'abundance' and his picture of law as the condition for compatible variety in fact assume that diversity is the starting point, not a single human source of binding authority. While it is hard to imagine him in the context of a culturally and religiously diverse modern society, and while his justification of state control upon religious diversity presupposes what is now a problematically organic picture of political life, his resistance to the philosophy of timeless legal regulation through Scripture lays some of the foundation for a radically different set of conclusions. What he undoubtedly would not understand is the odd assumption of the modern secularist (much in evidence in the recent British parliamentary debates over the Assisted Dying Bill) that the only 'rational' arguments are those advanced by people who acknowledge no pre-existing solidarities or metaphysical commitments. I suspect that he would see such disputants as the heirs of the puritans, in search of some godless equivalent for Scriptural authority—a set of timeless rules for abstract persons.

And this in turn might suggest a thought or two about our contemporary standoffs between militant Islam and militant Western rationalism. The radical Islamist, like Hooker's opponents, takes Scripture as a text whose history of interpretation can be disregarded—in a way incomprehensible to the traditional Muslim, for whom Sharia law is not a single timeless code, but the deposit of argument and judgement. And the most effective response is not to look for another absolutism but to argue for the virtue of argument, for the 'interactive pluralism' of a society that recognises that it is composed of diverse cultural bodies and convictions, which need to learn their need of each other for the sake of their own flourishing. A merely rationalist universalism of law, confining diversity, religious and otherwise, to the private sphere, isolates and paralyses each community's understanding of the good as surely as it shrinks and trivialises the cultural and religious identities of individuals, reducing personal commitments to consumer options bolted on to a basic 'rational' and secular identity.

Hooker's treatise is thus a good deal more than a museum piece. It poses some very central questions about the nature and purpose of law, questions which bear on many current questions about how to manage a multi-cultural and multi-religious state without adopting an oppressive insistence upon public secularity. Hooker was the ally of a regime which, in modern eyes, was seeking to destroy religious liberty; yet the mode of his defence was potentially a ground for making sense of certain aspects of religious diversity. What allows his system to have such an odd and counter-intuitive application is simply his most basic theological conviction: the world exists so that God may be imitated and participated as diversely as possible. So far from belief in the Incarnation of God the Son limiting the range and vitality of human difference, we now have in this doctrine a ground for discerning how diversity may be harmonised by seeing differences as distinct ways of offering the one eternal gift of God's life to each other so that each distinct subject becomes able to reflect God's life more completely. Belief in the Body of Christ gives us the means of discerning where and how diversity becomes symphonic. Of course it does not do so automatically, and there is no charter here for simple post-modern or consumerist plurality—an abundance of possible possessions surveyed by a set of monolithic, undifferentiated choosing wills. But Hooker's world is one shaped by a maker's intention; and that intention is unmistakably the diffusion of bliss in a world of history and difference, a world therefore of argument and interpretation, even, we could say, of that intellectual

charity which takes trouble with the recalcitrant stranger in order to make him or her a partner in discourse.

Hooker spent some formative—if appallingly difficult—years in the atmosphere of the Inns of Court. It would be nice to think that his valuation of certain habits of thought and relationship was nurtured here—his concern for responsible interpretation, his concern for the possibilities of (in every sense) civil speech. But the fundamental motor of his thought remains his theology of Christ’s Body—that society, the model of every true and functioning society, in which we are constantly learning how to receive at each other’s hands and to become ourselves in God’s sight, through the crosses and resurrections of ‘sociable’ existence. Law is the guardian of compatible variety: a bland statement at first sight, perhaps; but if that variety is ultimately the unimaginable diversity of ways in which the beauty of the face of God in Jesus Christ can be made visible—no, anything but bland.

INTRODUCTION

W. J. Torrance Kirby

It is now thirty years since the publication in 1977 of the first volume of the *Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker* under the able direction of William Speed Hill, general editor. Since then—and to a considerable extent spurred on by the appearance of this splendid new critical edition—there has been a remarkable resurgence of scholarly interest in the ideas of this eminent Elizabethan scholar, philosopher, and theologian. As the Select Bibliography of this present volume reveals, a great many books, articles, and collections of essays devoted to the study of Hooker have appeared within this time span, and indeed the circle of interest has grown larger at a steadily increasing pace. The Folger edition of the complete *Works* (including recently discovered MSS and Autograph Notes) including full textual ‘Introductions and Commentary’ in two large volumes, together with a comprehensive ‘Index of Names and Works’ cited throughout, took twenty-one years to bring to completion.¹ Prior to the launch of the Folger Edition, an excellent introductory collection of critical essays titled *Studies in Richard Hooker* (1972), also edited by Hill, offered a valuable digest of the current state of scholarly criticism and served to shape the discussion of the last three decades.² A significant number of the contributors to this present volume—Hill, Gibbs, Grislis, McGrade, and Stanwood—were key players in the Folger edition and collaborated in that inaugural volume of criticism. Another valuable collection of critical studies was published under the editorship of A. S. McGrade following an international conference held at the Folger Shakespeare Library and Washington National Cathedral in 1993 to mark the

¹ W. Speed Hill, gen. ed., *The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker*, vols. 1–5 (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1977–1990); vol. 6, ‘Introductions and Commentary’ in 2 parts, & vol. 7 ‘Index of Names and Works’ (Binghamton, New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1993–98). See also by the same author ‘Editing Richard Hooker: A Retrospective,’ *Sevanev Theological Review. A Celebration of Richard Hooker*. 36.2 (Easter 1993): 187–199.

² W. Speed Hill, ed., *Studies in Richard Hooker: Essays Preliminary to an Edition of His Works*. Cleveland, OH: Press of Case Western Univ., 1972.

quater-centenary of the first edition of Books I–IV of Hooker’s great treatise *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*.³ Papers were contributed to the Washington conference by the above mentioned, and in addition by Almasy, Neelands, Patterson, Shuger, and Kirby, thus doubling the number of companions. Other important collections of essays have also appeared in recent years.⁴ Most recently, the circle of the present company was enlarged with the publication of another volume of critical studies under the title *Richard Hooker and the English Reformation* with the continuing contribution of several of those mentioned above and with Eppley, Harrison, and Stafford coming on board.⁵ With this continuous building of momentum in Hookerian studies over the past generation, the current portrait offered in this Brill *Companion to Hooker* is in some need of explanation, perhaps even justification. Is there really room for yet another collection of interpretative essays?

The present volume aims to be distinctive in its attempt to provide a comprehensive and systematic introduction to Richard Hooker’s life, works, thought, and reputation. The aim of the *Companion* is to bring together a representative body of contributors in order to synthesize current trends in criticism and to summarize the state of scholarly debate. Readers of this volume will very quickly discover that a key hermeneutical issue dominating current scholarly debates concerns Hooker’s relation to the doctrinal authority of the so-called ‘magisterial’ reformers of the sixteenth century. To what extent can Hooker be regarded as in the mainstream of Protestant reform? In 1599 an anonymous tract titled *A Christian Letter*, identified only as having been authored by ‘certaine English Protestantes, unfayned favourers of the present state of religion, authorized and professed in England,’ set out to portray Richard Hooker’s theology as inconsistent with

³ Arthur Stephen McGrade, ed., *Richard Hooker and the Construction of Christian Community* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997). The editio princeps: *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie. Eyyght Books by Richard Hooker* (London: John Windet, 1593 [STC 13712]).

⁴ See the recent collection of essays edited by William Haugaard in the *Anglican Theological Review* 84.4 (Fall, 2002). In the past decade other anthologies have appeared in *Churchman* 114.1 (2000), ed. Gerald Bray; the *Journal of Religious History* 21 (1997), ed. Bruce Kaye; see also John E. Booty, ed., *A Celebration of Richard Hooker* (on the 400th Anniversary of Hooker’s *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity*), *Seewanee Theological Review* 36.2 (Easter 1993); and Donald S. Armentrout, ed., *This Sacred History: Anglican Reflections for John Booty* (Cambridge, MA: Cowley Publications, 1990).

⁵ W. J. Torrance Kirby, ed., *Richard Hooker and the English Reformation* (Dordrecht, Boston, London: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2003).

established norms of Reformed doctrinal orthodoxy, chief among them the Thirty-Nine Articles approved by Parliament in 1571. The *Letter* accused Hooker of promoting “Romish doctrine” and “the darknesse of schoole learning,” chiefly on the ground of his theological claims concerning the capacity of the human faculties of intellect and will with respect to conditions of both nature and grace. As Diarmaid MacCulloch demonstrates in the final chapter below, Hooker’s reputation, especially concerning such matters as these, has fluctuated to a remarkable degree over the intervening centuries. While throughout the later nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries Hooker was almost universally perceived as the defender (and, by some, even the inventor) of an Anglican *via media* between the extremes of Roman Catholicism and continental Protestant Reform, more recently a revisionist interpretation has emerged which casts Hooker in the role of magisterial defender of the essentially Reformed character of the Elizabethan religious settlement. Thus scholarly opinion today might well be described as divided between those who, like the authors of *A Christian Letter*, entertain a deep suspicion of Hooker’s credentials as a mainstream Reformer, and others who are equally convinced that these anonymous sixteenth-century critics fundamentally misconstrued his theology as inimical to Reformed orthodoxy. Contributions to this volume reflect fairly evenly this current division of scholarly opinion; and thus, it is hoped, the *Companion* will provide readers with a useful survey of the current state of Hookerian Studies together with a comprehensive introduction to the major themes of Richard Hooker’s life, thought, published works, and later influence.

In his account of the ‘Life of Hooker’ Lee Gibbs reviews past biographies, including works by John Gauden (1662), Izaak Walton (1665), C. J. Sisson (1938), David Novarr (1958), Philip Secor (1999), and Georges Edelen (1999). Gibbs defines Hooker chiefly as a learned philosophical theologian who was also an engaged polemicist. More specifically, he depicts Hooker as defending a Church establishment that he was both helping to bring into existence and also definitively shaping for future centuries. Gibbs concludes that the controversial stance Hooker took on several major issues of his day probably cost him dearly in terms of his own preferment within the very church establishment he sought to defend and helped to create—notably, his positions on predestination, salvation within the Church of Rome, the origin and nature of the episcopacy, and an English constitutional monarchy.

In a chapter introducing ‘Works and Editions’ Paul Stanwood addresses the principal context and occasion of Richard Hooker’s homiletic and literary career, from the Sermons and Tractates to his major treatise *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*, and notes the reasons for his undertaking these activities, the support he received, and the immediate audience for whom he designed his works. This chapter considers, moreover, the growth and development of the *Ecclesiasticall Politie* and speculates on the nature and order of its composition by referring especially to Hooker’s autograph notes (mainly for Book VIII), and his other preparatory materials. Stanwood continues with an account of the publication of Hooker’s works during his own lifetime, as well as posthumously by describing their manuscript and printed traditions in the seventeenth century and concludes by examining subsequent editorial interventions, notably John Keble’s in the earlier nineteenth century and the most recent Folger Library Edition.

The following chapter by A. S. McGrade examines Richard Hooker’s classical, patristic, and medieval sources and offers an account of the frequency of citation by authors and classes of authors (early and late, Greek and Latin) in the various parts of Hooker’s work. McGrade distinguishes between texts brought forward by others (for example, Hooker’s reformist opponents or previous apologists for the Church of England cited in the *Lawes*) and texts brought into the English debate by Hooker himself. Distinctive characteristics of Hooker’s use of the cited texts are discussed in turn. One such characteristic in particular focuses on Hooker’s tendency to give greater attention to historical context than do his opponents or earlier apologists. McGrade also compares Hooker’s use of patristic and medieval sources with the use of similar material by major continental Reformation and Counter-Reformation authors.

The Elizabethan period was marked by heated theological exchanges as writers sought to ridicule, discredit, or vilify their opponents. Much was at stake: the religious identity of England, its international allegiances, and the character of the established Church of England. Brown Patterson traces the course of these exchanges, including that between Roman Catholics and defenders of the established Church and that between Puritan nonconformists and conformists to the established Church in a chapter titled ‘Elizabethan theological polemics’. Patterson analyses the attacks on episcopacy by the writers of the ‘Marprelate’ tracts and the challenge presented by advocates of independent, local congregations. Hooker, who engaged in a vigorous debate with the

Puritan Walter Travers, his colleague at the Temple church in the mid-1580s, subsequently lent his formidable talents to an anti-Puritan campaign by writing the *Laws*. Brown Patterson's chapter shows how important contemporary theological polemics are for an understanding of Hooker's major work.

In a textually specific sequel to Patterson's general account of Elizabethan polemics, Rudolph Almasy explores the rhetorical basis of Hooker's defence of the established Elizabethan Church in his treatment of the 'Rhetoric and Apologetics' of the *Laws*. Almasy argues that this defence is shaped by the three broad interests of rhetoric: first, the nature or ethos of the rhetor, that is, how Hooker cleverly constructs himself as participant in the debate as well as judge. This proceeds to a general discussion of how and why Hooker came to exercise power over his audiences and his opponents. Secondly, there is the notion of audience itself: who is the audience—or audiences—and how is the opponent constructed to match Hooker's rhetorical purposes as they are directed to such an audience? Thirdly, Almasy provides a description of the discourse itself or, in rhetorical terms, the 'oration' and addresses the question how the discourse is arranged, and how the problem of the defence—in its seven-fold proposition—is conceived, stated, analyzed, and concluded. Although Hooker's discourse reveals a distinctive style and strives for eloquence, it appears finally to be in search of truth or *logos*. Nonetheless, the rhetorical nature of Hooker's discursive performance, as this chapter suggests, always and inevitably colours the search for truth with the matters of power and politics addressed.

With his discussion of 'Sin and Grace,' Ranall Ingalls initiates a sequence of three chapters which address Hooker's theological 'first principles'. Scholarly disagreement concerning the interpretation of Hooker's soteriology centres chiefly upon the question of his relation to the Magisterial Reformation and, in particular, to the authority of Augustine set out in the anti-Pelagian treatises. By taking a close look at a series of sermons preached by Hooker during his tenure as Master of the Temple, and later published under the title *A Learned Discourse on Justification*, Ingalls shows how Hooker's teaching there about original sin, grace through Christ alone, saving faith, and works (*solus Christus, sola gratia, sola fides*) stands over against the teaching of the council of Trent and with the early reformers. According to Ingalls, Hooker's account of the doctrine of grace in terms of justification, sanctification, and glorification constitutes a 'pure evangelical theology'. In particular

he engages Nigel Voak's restatement of John Henry Newman's thesis that Hooker distances himself in his later writings from this early evangelical position and presents a survey of what Hooker says about these matters in the *Lawes* and the *Dublin Fragments*. In response to the 'Newman thesis' Ingalls argues that Hooker works within and interprets the Reformation soteriological consensus to which he adheres without departing from it or from Augustine.

Although Hooker was apparently criticized for unorthodox positions with respect to the 'comfortable doctrine of Predestination,' David Neelands's survey of the topic in all of his published works indicates a careful adherence to the standards of the Reformed Church of England and little evidence for a change of position. Hooker was, nevertheless, of an independent mind with respect to the growing emphasis on the related concept of assurance, and relied much more on Augustine rather than on Calvin for his theological underpinning. Neelands argues that Hooker was able to avoid affirming any sense of a double unconditional decree and was thus able to hold that, in some sense, God's grace is resistible, and also that there might be a temporary faith and justification.

In a third essay treating Hooker's soteriology, Debora Shuger explores the question of how his understanding of assurance differs from that developed in 'puritan' pastoral theology (e.g., by William Perkins and Richard Greenham) in response to the same problem of a conscience anguished and terrified by its own lack of faith. Shuger observes a large overlap between them, but Hooker alone links the pastoral problem to the Thomist epistemic distinction between certainty of evidence and certainty of assurance. Unlike the English Calvinists, Hooker casts the problem less in terms of subjective, personal assurance of salvation than as faith in the objectivity of God's justice, goodness, fidelity, etc.—a shift in emphasis also visible in Samuel Harsnett's amazing momentous 1584 Paul's Cross sermon denouncing double predestination.

All but two of the remaining contributions to the *Companion* address in turn the principal divisions of Hooker's *magnum opus*, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiasticall Politie*. In the first book of the *Lawes* Hooker constructs a systematic generic division of the different aspects of law. Torrance Kirby considers Hooker's exposition of this governing idea of law in terms of a classical 'logos' theology where the divine nature itself is identified with the essence of law: 'The being of God is a kind of law to his working.' Kirby summarises Hooker's account of the *summa genera* of law: the eternal law (distinguished by him into 'First' and 'Second'

species), the natural law, and the divine law revealed in the scriptures, with the two latter 'proceeding' from the Eternal Law as their original source. Hooker presents a system of laws as hierarchically ordered emanations consistent with ancient, received Christian Neo-platonic cosmology. The natural law manifests a divine '*processio*' of order in the act of creation from its original source in the eternal law, while the divine law reveals supernaturally the way of redemptive 'return' to the same source. Hooker's exposition of what is arguably the governing paradigm of the entire treatise is most remarkable for its synthesis of the cosmology of Christian Neoplatonism with the doctrinal claims of magisterial Protestant reform.

Egil Grislis takes up the critical Reformation question of the relative authority of natural human reason and the revealed wisdom of the holy Scriptures and in his discussion of 'Scriptural Hermeneutics' in Book II of the *Laws*. Firmly believing that the Scriptures are the inspired Word of God, and illuminated by the Holy Spirit to believers, Hooker nevertheless acknowledged, that mortal finitude and sin limited human understanding. However, this circumstance was not wholly beyond help. Grislis shows that for Hooker, even natural, sinful reason could serve as an initial guide to a literal understanding of biblical words and texts; assisted by the Holy Spirit, reason redeemed by grace could become an even more reliable guide. The final step to the acknowledgment that the Scriptures are the Word of God, however, was a mystical experience—but not infallible. A high degree of reliability in the act of interpretation was assured by the truly wise and judicious from within the Church, i.e. by adherence to the authority of tradition.

William Harrison takes up the question of Hooker's doctrine of the Church, and shows how the ecclesiology of Book III is rooted in his sacramental theology and his sense of history as affecting cultural contexts. On these grounds, Hooker argues that the church has both extensive powers and significant responsibilities in the world. Harrison draws out the institutional implications of Hooker's hermeneutical stance. Hooker's ecclesiology rests upon his claim that the intellect is native to humanity and has its own abilities unimpaired by sin. However, the church does not act without divine assistance. As a human '*politique societie*' the church has the capacity to make laws for itself, on the strength of its God-given reason. Because of the sacramental nature of the church, it depends upon the work of the Holy Spirit to inform its corporate intelligence. Harrison argues that Hooker is one of the early participants in the 'discovery of history' which is at the root of

modernity. He argues, moreover, that Hooker demonstrates the necessity of grounding ecclesiology in the customs inherited by the culture in which it functions and that Hooker makes a compelling case for ensuring that the Church be order in a manner suited to that culture. Thus, for Hooker the reformed English church is right to continue to follow some inherited pre-Reformation practices, while modifying others to fit its own purposes.

An eminently important aspect of Hooker's work was his defence of the liturgy of the Church of England, embodied in its *Book of Common Prayer*. Book V of the *Lawes* by itself is longer by half than the first four books taken together. James Turrell shows how Hooker took great pains to advocate both the necessity of uniformity in worship, decreed by proper authority, and the rightness of the particular liturgical choices made by the leadership of the established church. Turrell's chapter examines a selection of the most significant particular positions Hooker set out in Book V of the *Lawes*, and places them within the context of the ongoing debate between puritans and conformists over ceremonies in the Church of England. Turrell seeks to show ways in which Hooker's arguments went further than those of many conformists, particularly in his advocating the positive theological value of ritual and ceremony. Finally, this chapter notes the ways in which Hooker's arguments prefigured those employed in later liturgical controversies in the early-modern Church of England.

In the midst of the fifth book, Hooker devoted a substantial treatise to a survey of the development of orthodox Patristic Christology as a preparation for his treatment of the sacraments. In his chapter on 'Christology and the Sacraments', David Neelands shows that Hooker adopted a Christological stance developed from the position the fourth-century Father, St. Cyril of Alexandria, and that this related the approach taken in the *Lawes* more closely to Martin Luther than to Calvin. At the same time, Hooker's treatment of Baptism and the Eucharist shows a careful absorption of the received reformed orthodoxy of the English church and an explicit rejection of Lutheran and Roman Catholic positions as he understood them. Neelands argues that Hooker adopts an account resembling symbolic instrumentalism in the *Lawes*. In the *Dublin Fragments*, however, he adopts an account resembling the earlier symbolic parallelism. Substantially orthodox, Hooker developed an original account of the relationship of the believer and Christ in the sacraments through his important theological formulation of the Neoplatonic concept of 'participation'.

In his essay on the ‘Orders of Ministry’ Corneliu Simuț presents the essentials of Richard Hooker’s pastoral theology as presented in closing chapters of Book V. Hooker offers a definition of ministry closely connected to the reformed idea of salvation as God’s initiative. The clergy receive special power from God for ministry while the laity practically carry out this ministry by the exercise of spiritual gifts. For Hooker, the role of the Holy Spirit in ministry is thus of paramount importance because it is God himself through the Spirit who works in and by means of the clergy. The orders of ministry are fundamentally twofold: they are distinguished as presbyters (Hooker does not favour use of the term ‘priest’) and deacons, and both must be formally ordained for ministry. Some presbyters are elevated to the status of bishops, successors to the apostles and to whom the church has delegated the power of jurisdiction and order, including the power to ordain new members to the orders of presbyters and deacons. In defence of tithing Hooker claims that clergy and laity must actively support Christian ministry because the wealth of Christians is in fact God’s own property. By offering tithes Christians give from what they own in order to demonstrate outwardly their constant love for God. The Christian believers’ love for God, however, must also extend beyond parish churches into a ministry to the entire world. Simuț shows that this should be made possible because ordination is valid beyond the limits of parish churches—as, e.g., in the context of the universities—and God’s ministers must always be well trained both in their spiritual calling and practical ministry as well as humbly preoccupied with the common public good.

In his 1593 Preface, Hooker promised four Books on ‘particulars’ to follow upon the ‘generallities’ treated in Books I through IV. Two of the former were to be Book VI on the church’s laws concerning spiritual jurisdiction, and Book VII on its episcopal regiment. In his chapter on ‘Jurisdiction and Episcopacy’ Dean Kernan explores the groundwork for both in Book V (1597) in order to elucidate linked aspects of Hooker’s treatment of jurisdiction in Books VI through VIII (all three books having been left unpublished at his death). Heated controversy over the legality of the church’s right to enforce conformity in the period 1584 to 1593 especially shapes the structure of Hooker’s argument. According to Kernan, an unfinished version of Book VI (as published eventually in 1648) develops the theological justification for the church’s claim to jurisdiction, and effectively underwrites the need for ecclesiastical courts, the canon law, and the church’s power to exercise discipline over its members. A plausible outline can be constructed for a finished sixth

book from Hooker's notes and elsewhere, which suggests how Hooker may have applied these insights to the laws and courts of the Church of England, as well as how he might have argued against proposed presbyterian models of ecclesiastical discipline. In Book VII, Hooker carefully extends his argument for the necessity of an episcopal hierarchy and for its legitimacy in holding governmental functions within both church and commonwealth, while arguing also that the institution of episcopacy is based upon the consent of the church.

In the succeeding chapter Daniel Eppley focuses on the arguments employed by Hooker in Book VIII of the *Laws* to defend the institution of 'Royal Supremacy' over the English Church. Eppley discusses Hooker's famous treatment of the royal power of ecclesiastical jurisdiction Hooker's in light of his hermeneutics, ecclesiology, legal theory, Christology, *etc.*, as presented in sermons and the preceding books of the *Laws*. He analyses the manner in which Hooker used these philosophical and theological ideas in order to justify and broaden the powers claimed for the civil magistrate over the church. Eppley also addresses Hooker's conception of the relative powers of Crown and Parliament in the actual exercise of the royal ecclesiastical supremacy.

The extant sermons of Richard Hooker present a remarkably rich synthesis of his theology and ecclesiology. In his discussion of the 'Practical Divinity' of these writings, John Stafford seeks to illustrate the extent to which these sermons reveal Hooker to be a man of deep pastoral insight and vision, and how they bring into view a unique sense of convergence of the theoretical and practical elements of his thought. Stafford's essay centres specifically on an analysis of *A Learned Sermon of the Nature of Pride*—Hooker's exposition of Habakkuk 2:4. The sermon reveals Hooker displaying all of his skills as Biblical exegete, theologian, rational debater, and concerned pastor. Stafford concludes further that while Hooker's theology remained firmly located within the limits established by such key Reformation doctrinal parameters as justification by faith and *sola scriptura*, Hooker's view of reform was nonetheless considerably more generous than that proposed by his Puritan counterparts.

In the final essay of the Companion, Diarmaid MacCulloch offers an incisive summary of Hooker's 'Reputation and Reception'. MacCulloch argues that Hooker, particularly in the latter part of his career, established his own idiosyncratic theological stance. Before his death in 1600, debate over his aims and theological orientation was initiated in 1599 by the publication of an anonymous tract *A Christian Letter of*

certaine English Protestantes; very quickly Hooker's authority was claimed by rival parties in the English Church and he gained an authoritative status. MacCulloch's essay on the *rezeptionsgeschichte* explores varied attempts to appropriate him down to the nineteenth century: namely by such diverse parties as Laudian High-churchmen, their evangelical and latitudinarian opponents, Tories, Whigs, even dissenters and deists. MacCulloch shows how Tories stressed the 'high' features of his ecclesiology and were embarrassed by his justification of political consent and contract; how Whigs claimed him as a spiritual ancestor, although in the full sun of Enlightenment Bishop William Warburton came to view him as an opponent of some significance. Only with the determined annexation of his memory by the Oxford Tractarians in the wake of the 1836 edition of his works by John Keble did Hooker's memory become comparatively uncontested, at least until the development of modern scholarly controversy. It is hoped that some significant element of the latter will be revealed in succeeding pages of this Brill *Companion to Richard Hooker*.

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Speed Hill, general editor of *The Folger Library Edition of the Works of Richard Hooker*, whose Herculean efforts brought this splendid new critical edition into the light of day.



Portrait of Richard Hooker engraved by E. Finden 'from a very rare print by Hollar.' *The Ecclesiastical Polity and Other Works of Richard Hooker*. Edited by Benjamin Hanbury. 3 vols. London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1830.