

ANTIQUARY

Nicholas Bownd's *Sabbatum Veteris et Novi Testamenti: or the True Doctrine of the Sabbath*

In a 1599 sermon the anti-Sabbatarian conformist minister Thomas Rogers publicly attacked Puritan Sabbatarianism, particularly as expressed in the 1595 book of Nicholas Bownd. Rogers had been privately hounding Bownd since 1595, if not from the time Bownd first lectured on the subject in about 1585/86. The scolding cleric may have also been behind or aided in the official suppression of Bownd's book in about 1599. And after the appearance of Bownd's second edition of 1606, Rogers would in 1608 viciously attack Sabbatarianism again in an exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles. This first Sabbatarian controversy in English literature involving Rogers and Bownd is explored at length in an article appearing earlier in this issue of *The Confessional Presbyterian*. This entry for *Antiquary* will explore in more depth the nature of this work which Thomas Rogers attacked so vehemently.

Nicholas Bownd's *Doctrine of the Sabbath* was first published in 1595. It was a work of 286 pages with four pages of front matter and a trailing two page "table of the principal matter." It is divided into two books with many side-headings, some serving as subdivisions, and others the equivalent of footnotes. There are major breaks in the flow and wording that indicate new major sections, but there are no chapter divisions.¹ This is also true of the 1606 enlarged edition of 479 pages. The first edition contained one short dedicatory epistle to the Earl of Essex Robert Devereux, and a short epistle to the reader. The second edition in addition to the insertion of new text has more elaborate front matter.² For book one there is

1. For the critical edition to be published by Naphtali Press (forthcoming 2015, DV), I have added fourteen chapter divisions for each book. See Nicholas Bownd, *Sabbatum Veteris et Novi Testamenti: or the True Doctrine of the Sabbath* (Naphtali Press, forthcoming 2015); hereafter NP text.

2. The front matter of the enlarged edition takes up 22 pages.

3. Alexander Boundus S. *Theologiae Doctor ad fratrem unicum & charissimum*. "Alexander Bownd, Doctor of Sacred Theology, To his only and dearly beloved brother."

4. The Latin pieces are presented with English translation on the facing pages in the critical edition. See the Willet and Jones in this issue.

5. Walter Allen (d. 1602). In *Librum D. N. Boundi De Doctrina de Sabbatho Gualteri Aleni Pothumus*. See p. 244 at the end of this article.

6. Edward Martin Allen, "Nicholas Bownde and the Context of Sunday Sabbatarianism." Ph.D. Thesis, Fuller Theological Seminary, School of Theology, 2008, page 41-42.

7. The words in braces were added to the title for the 1606 edition.

a dedicatory epistle to the Bishop of Norwich John Jegon, an epistle to the reader, commendatory verse in Latin by Bownd's brother Alexander with a title remindful of the passing of Thomas Bownd years before and the recent death of Richard Bownd,³ and a Latin commendatory epistle by Andrew Willet.⁴ Book two is prefaced by a dedicatory epistle to Humphrey Tyndall (or Tindal, d.1614), Dean of Ely (1591-1614) and Master of Queens' College, Cambridge, a commendatory epistle in Latin by William Jones, a fellow minister in Suffolk, and Latin commendation in verse by Walter Allen, who with John Knewstub was one of the leaders of the Suffolk ministers.⁵

CONTENTS OF BOWND'S *DOCTRINE OF THE SABBATH*

While a significant amount of text is added with few excisions in the 1606 edition, the major sections in both versions remained the same. The book is divided into two large sections or books.

The first half of the book is theological while the second half is a detailed discussion of the spiritual exercise of Sabbath keeping. The clues to the influence of Bownd's book are found in the relationship between both parts of the book. The theological treatment of the fourth commandment of the Decalogue in the first half of the book prepares the way for the practical treatment of the Sabbath exercises in the second half of the book.⁶

As Allen notes, the first book sets out to prove the morality and abiding nature of the fourth commandment. Book One covers "the {Ancient}⁷ Institution and Necessary Continuance of the Sabbath {With the Practice of the Church of God herein before and after the Law, and in the Time of the Gospel}; and from what Several Things all sorts of Men are Commanded Straitly to Rest in {Thought, Word, and Deed} upon that Day." Bownd covers in this first book what can be identified as fourteen major topics (with many subdivisions). 1. The difference of the fourth commandment from the other nine. 2. The Sabbath ought to continue because it dates to creation, is not taken away by the gospel, and a day of rest for worshipping God is still necessary. 3. Covers some objections to the notion that the Sabbath continues. 4. What day is to be kept as the Sabbath. 5. The change of the day from the seventh in the week to the first. 6. The change of the name for the day to the Lord's Day. 7. Bownd finally gets to the division of the commandment itself and the first part dealt with for the rest of book one is the rest commanded for the Sabbath day. 8. Reasons for resting on the Sabbath and from what particular things man is to rest. 9. All degrees of men of high or low rank or status are to rest. 10. Six days for our callings are sufficient and the Sabbath day's journey. 11. All bodily labor is not forbidden. 12. Works of necessity

and mercy. 13. Christians are as strictly bound by the fourth commandment as were the Jews. 14. Resting from lawful recreations and the conclusion.

The second half of *Doctrine of the Sabbath* sets out the spiritual exercises or the means of grace that are to take up the Lord's Day, that medium or "mean of the means" crucial to the exercise of Bownd's practical divinity, which he likely learned from his stepfather Richard Greenham.⁸ Book Two covers the second part of the fourth commandment to sanctify the Sabbath day, "declaring the several parts of God's worship, {with other duties of charity} whereby we ought {in soul and body,} publicly, and privately, to sanctify and keep holy the Lord's Day, {from morning to morning,} with other{s} and by ourselves." Thirteen sections and a conclusion are identifiable. 1. The second part of the fourth commandment that the day be sanctified and set aside for the worship of God. 2. A precise keeping is urged for this sanctification in Scripture. 3. Assemblies are to be held for public worship. 4. The ordinances of public worship. 5. Public Worship must be from the heart. 6. Collections for the poor. 7. The Sabbath is a whole day of 24 hours. 8. Private worship prepares for public worship. 9. Meditating and conferring on God's Word. 10. Meditating upon God's Works. 11. Singing of Psalms. 12. Works of Mercy. 13. Keeping of the Sabbath is to be urged by superiors. 14. A conclusion with an application to all and noting how the Sabbath is grievously profaned by many people.

DETRACTIONS AND DEFECTS OF DOCTRINE OF THE SABBATH

It is a sizable and impressive book; yet Bownd's work can be faulted if held up to today's standards. The first thing one notices is that the text is two books without any chapter divisions; all the divisions of the text are relegated to marginal notices, and these are mixed together with all the references and other notices put in the margins. This of course was simply the style of the age. Other matters such as the source referencing are quite deficient by today's standards. Bownd almost never gives page numbers. Other things are faults simply because there is now better information. For instance, several of the cited works by church fathers are now known to be the works of others, including a work of significant importance and often cited by Bownd, Augustine's *Sermones supposititios*, Sermo CCLXXX (alias *de Tempore* 251).

The looseness of citing works with abbreviated titles or antiquated Latin terms (*in, in hunc locum, in eundem*) is another characteristic of the work that is not particularly helpful by today's standards. Even a simple reference regarding an exposition of Revelation 1:10 such as "Beza, *in hunc locum*," is not as simple as it may appear. First one would need to guess correctly that this is referencing *Jesu Christi D.N.*

Novum Testamentum, rather than Beza's smaller testament (which Bownd does reference once in the 1606 edition, and helpfully gives sufficient notice), but one will only find the actual text cited in later editions after the edition of 1565.⁹ Another seemingly simple-looking reference is "Chrysoſtom, *De Resur.*, sermon 5." However, this is not a major work, so it is a bit mystifying to find, since it pairs a now unfamiliar title with what is now considered a misattribution. The nine homilies of which this is the fifth do not normally appear in sets of Chrysoſtom's works after the critical Greek editions of Savile (1612) and Monfaucon (1718–1738) omitted them. The work is *Divi Ioannis Chrysoſtomi episcopi Constantino-politani de resurrectione homiliae novem* (*Opera*, Paris, 1546, 3.195v; Paris, 1687, 2.358).¹⁰

Complicating matters further are Bownd's "quotations." The common practice of compositors of type at this time was to put emphasized words, Latin, quotations and paraphrases, etc. *all* in italics. This practice paired with Bownd's manner of paraphrasing and often adding his own commentary to citations, results in texts that appear to be quotations from the cited authors, which are not, but rather often a mixture and running together of partial quotations, summary, paraphrase and commentary/deduction. This however is not due to a lack of care or veracity. Bownd and his contemporaries "lived at a time when rules regarding attribution, quotation, and plagiarism were almost non-existent."¹¹ Indeed, the editor of Thomas Roger's *Catholic Doctrine* makes a similar complaint.¹²

Another factor that may add to the difficulty in tracing Bownd's citations is that he rarely indicates when he is citing a work via a secondary source which may also be loosely paraphrasing or summarizing rather than quoting the material. The citation of the fifth homily on the resurrection just noted is an example of this. While he does not say so, Bownd clearly is referencing this work as cited by Franciscus Junius in his ΠΡΩΤΟΚΤΙΣΙΑ ... *In Tria Prima Capita Geneseos*

8. See in "Anti-Sabbatarian Scold;" cf. John H. Primus, *Richard Greenham: the portrait of an Elizabethan pastor* (Mercer University Press, 1998), 150–177.

9. On the other hand, Bownd is aware of the changes made by Junius to the different editions of the Tremellius Bible. See the note, NP text, 43–44.

10. The author's thanks go to Roger Pearse for assistance tracing the attribution of these sermons. On the possible attribution of this fifth homily to Augustine see the note in the forthcoming critical edition, NP text, 333.

11. Primus, *Richard Greenham*, 22.

12. Thomas Rogers, *The Catholic Doctrine of the Church of England*, edited for the Parker Society by Rev. J. J. S. Perowne, M.A. (Cambridge: University Press, 1854), "Introductory Notice," xiv. This writer can commiserate with Rev. Perowne in his complaint, "None but those who have actually made the experiment can conceive of the time and labor necessary to verify the numerous references made by many of the writers of the Elizabethan period."

Prælectiones Francisci Junii (Commelinus, 1589). Bownd writes, “Chrysoſtom, among the ſundry names which he reckons up, that this day had in the primitive Church, ſays it was therefore ‘called the Lord’s Day, *Quia ſolemnis erat memoria reſurrectionis Chriſti*: because it was ſolemnly appointed for the memory of the reſurrection of Chriſt.” That Latin is not in Chryſoſtom but is in Junius. “. . . cui ex inſtituto & exemplo ipſius Apoſtoli tradiderunt diei dominici obſervationem. Quod optime expoſuerunt Cyrillus libro 12. in Johan. cap. 58. Auguſtinus ad Caſulanum Epiſt. 86. & ad Januarium, Epiſtola 119. cap. 13. Et ideo Chryſoſtomus, ſerm. 5. de reſurrectione, hunc diem iam olim in priſca Eccleſia vocatum fuiſſe ſcribit tribus nominibus, diem dominicum, diem panis, & diem lucis: Dominicum puta quia eo die, *qui ſolemnis erat memoriæ reſurrectionis Chriſti*. . . .”¹³ He immediately also cites the two letters of Auguſtine cited by Junius. Bownd does reference this work by Junius explicitly ſixteen times, but he does not indicate his dependence on it when citing Chryſoſtom. Some of the puzzling citations Bownd makes which proved hard to trace may be ſimilar caſes of citing material via an unnamed ſecondary ſource.

There are also problems in the referencing which are neither conflation of ſources¹⁴ nor a mixing of quotation, paraphraſe and commentary, but are juſt outright errors. Some of this, perhaps a good bit of it, are miſtakes by the compoſitor miſreading and/or miſſetting the type (that is why the Errata page was invented). But ſome if it is difficult to avoid attributing to the author. A noticeable incoſiſtency involves the citation of Calvin’s two ſermons on the fourth commandment. All the citations refer to ſermons 34 and 35, which indicate the ſource as the Golding translation of all the ſermons on the book of Deuteronomy (1583). However, when one checks the text, every quotation comes from ſermons five and ſix in *Sermons of M. John Calvin upon the x. commandments of the lawe*, translated by John Harmar (1579; London: Thomas Woodcocke, 1581). Since the works are by two different translators, Bownd’s quotations do not match anything in the Golding work. Another more egregious and odd example of ſuch errors concerns ſix references to Athanaſius on Matthew 11:27, none of which is correct. One is found in *De Decretis*. In five other inſtances the reference ſhould have been noted as *De Sabbatis et Circumciſione*. There are also three references to the *Homiliam de Semente*, but one of theſe is actually also found in *De Sabbatis et Circumciſione*.

13. Junius, *Prælectiones in Geneſeos* (Commelinus, 1589) 64.

14. There is at leaſt a poſſible conflation of Bede for Beza, for which ſee NP text, page 120, footnote 150.

15. Allen, 282–283.

16. Allen, 284.

THE SCHOLARSHIP OF DOCTRINE OF THE SABBATH

All the challenges Bownd faced and the noted difficulties notwithstanding, Bownd’s *Doctrine of the Sabbath* would have been conſidered quite ſcholarly for the period in 1595, which ſhows juſt how audacious Thomas Rogers’ treatment of the work was, as if it were ſimply the muſings of a rube and only perſuaſive to the ignorant country folk.

Comparing Bownde’s works to preceding works on the Sabbath ſhows that his work was at a higher level of ſcholarſhip. While his biblical quotations are legion, what is moſt impressive is his uſe of extra-biblical ſources in comparison with other authors’ writings on the Sabbath. For example, John Hooper [on the ten commandments] refers to ſeven extra biblical works. Martin Bucer refers to Eusebius of Caesarea and five emperors [*De Regno Chriſti*]. Edmund Bonner quotes almoſt the entirety of Sermon 251 attributed to Auguſtine plus four other works by various authors [*Profitable and Neceſſarye Doctryne*]. Humphrey Roberts refers to eight ſources [*Earneſt Compliant*], Gervase Babington [*Fruitfull Expoſition*] and Andrew Willet [*Synopsis Papismi*] to ſeven ſources each, and Adam Hill quotes four ſources on dancing and one on the laws of the Sabbath [*Crie of England*]. None of the other 106 works conſulted for this paper quote or refer to paſtriſtic, hiſtorical, or any other ſources. In contraſt, in his 1595 edition Bownde quotes forty-eight ſeparate extra-biblical authors or ſources from ninety individual works which ſhow evidence of original reſearch in primary ſources as well as acquaintance with the moſt current Reformed ſcholars of his day. His 1606 edition quotes eighty-eight ſeparate authors or ſources from approximately 162 individual works. Anyone peruſing his works would be impressed with the ſcholarly evidence that he marſhaled to ſupport his ideas. No one had ever written on the Sabbath in that manner before, at leaſt not in Engliſh.¹⁵

While my count of the various ſources cited outside of Scripture differs from Allen’s, a difference that may reflect how one identifies ſpecific authors and works, the number of references Bownd makes is indeed impressive. And Bownd ups the ante for his 1606 edition conſiderably, nearly doubling the number of authors and titles. In addition to the extra-biblical ſources, Bownd makes reference to over 600 Scripture verſes or paſſages, counting each juſt once (though many are referenced multiple times). With only about eight ſcholarly works published a year in the years leading up to the publication of *Doctrine of the Sabbath*,¹⁶ it would have ſtood out immediately as an important work on a ſubject which had been receiving the nation’s attention for the preceding decades.

Allen ſufficiently reviews the many ſources which are cited in the two editions of Bownd’s work on the Sabbath, detailing

them under the following headings (bracketed authors are in addition to those Allen lists):¹⁷

Classical ({Cicero,}¹⁸ {Macrobius,} Mercurius Trismegistus, Cornelius Tacitus, Plutarch, Josephus, Seneca, via Augustine, Maurus Servius Honoratus on Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ulpianus, Ovid).

Patristic ({Ambrose,} Ignatius, *The Apostolic Constitutions*, Justin Martyr, Eusebius, {Sozomen,} Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, Cyril, Tertullian, Athanasius, Basil, Chrysostom, Jerome, Augustine).

Medieval (Bede, Theophylact, Nicholas of Lyra, Aquinas). Councils ({Helvetic and Saxon Confessions,} canon and civil law, {Canute's laws,} acts of English Parliament and regal injunctions and laws, canons of the Church of England, Councils of Cabilonensium c.650, Arles c.813, Matiscoensis II c.585, Moguntinum c.813, Moguntinum c.1451, Paris VI c.820, Rhemes c.813, Tours c.813).

Histories ({Bartholomaeus de Salignaco and Christiaan van Adrichem,}¹⁹ Beroaldus, Lively, Magdeburg Centuries, Discipulus, Herolt, Beard, Fincel).

Papists ({Petrus Canisius,} Covarrubias, Council of Trent). Annotations (Rhemes New Testament, Arias Montanus, Vatable, Tremmelius).

Martin Bucer.

Calvin and the Genevan Circle (Vatable, Junius, Beza, Daneau, Viret, Bertram).

Other Reformed Theologians (Musculus, Oecolampadius, Ramus).

The Italian Circle (Vermigli, Zanchius, Tremellius).

The Zurich Circle (Bullinger, Gualter, Hoşpinian, Johan Wolf, Heinrich Wolf).

English Sources ({James I,}²⁰ Hooper, Bradford, Pilkington, Greenham, Perkins, Fulke, Foxe).

Lutheran Sources (Melanchthon, Brenz, Chemnitz).

The most significant patristic author for Bownd is Augustine, though the works central to Bownd's argument are now classed as spurious or misattributed. In his known works "Augustine interpreted the Sabbath symbolically."²¹ However, Bownd found significant support in a work that was attributed to Augustine at the time, the 251st sermon in *Sermones de Tempore*, "Why the feasts of saints, are celebrated, and with what privileges the Sunday above all other is honored."²² This sermon is referenced over twenty times.

In Bownd's first edition, the most significant and most cited Reformed author is John Calvin and his two sermons on the fourth commandment figure prominently in Bownd's case. The sermons are cited seventeen times in both editions. That nudges out by one the next most cited Reformed work, which is Junius' *In Geneseos Praelectiones*.

Junius' theological material on the Sabbath is significant to Bownde, who cites his lecture on Genesis 2 numerous times. Junius supports the creation origins of the Sabbath and the continuity of its celebration every seventh day. He teaches that the apostles observed the Lord's Day "by the appointment and example of Christ." Junius is certain that the Lord's Day is based not on tradition but on the authority of the Holy Scriptures. No wonder that John Primus asserts that on the issue of the change of the New Testament Sabbath Junius was probably the most emphatic Sabbatarian of his day.²³

Calvin's and Junius' top spot amongst Reformed authors is replaced in the second edition by Jerome Zanchius, who becomes a primary and very significant source for Bownd. He cites the Italian Reformer's work on the fourth commandment almost sixty times in his second edition, more than twice the references to the next most cited single work, the Tremellius Bible. It is also more than the total references to works by Augustine, the most cited author in the first edition, whose works are referenced fifty-three times in the second edition. The total number of citations of Zanchi's works in the 1606 edition is sixty-nine, compared to a single reference to his *De Tribus Elohim* in the first edition.

Zanchius appears to be the one theologian that Bownde has the greatest affinity for. Bownde is unaware of Zanchius' major work on the Sabbath in his 1595 *Doctrine of the Sabbath* but cites him sixty-eight times in the 1606 *Sabbathum Veteris*, more than any other source.²⁴ He is so taken with Zanchius' treatment of the fourth commandment that he quotes from it fifty-four times. While it is doubtful that Bownde could have

17. Allen, 165–245.

18. A possible uncredited citation. NP text, 93.

19. Barthélemy de Salignac (1554–1612) is the author of various travelogues and descriptions of countries visited. Bownd cites from his description of the Holy Land. Christiaan van Adrichem, a Roman Catholic writer, is cited from *Theatrum Terrae Sanctae et Biblicarum Historiarum*. First published in 1584, this elaborate cartographic work in folio contained maps of Jerusalem which were not surpassed until the new discoveries of the nineteenth century. There was a copy in Perne's collection. See below.

20. Bownd references James' *Basilicon Doron* in his 1606 edition.

21. Allen, 175.

22. To show the general acceptance of this work as Augustine's at the time, Allen traces a translation which as its first entry has this very sermon. Allen, 176. Thomas Paynell, *Certain sermons of Saine Augustines translated out of Latyn, into Englishe* (London, 1557).

23. Allen, 209; cf. John H. Primus, *Holy Time: Moderate Puritanism and the Sabbath* (Mercer University Press, 1989) 138–139.

24. Zanchi's work on the fourth commandment was not published until 1597. *Hieronymi Zanchij tractationum theologiarum volumen librum de operibus creationis proxime sequens: et primam tractatus de redemptione partem continens* (Neostadij Palatinatus: Harnisiorum, 1597).

possibly been indebted to Zanchius for his basic theological concepts of the Sabbath, he certainly found a kindred spirit in Zanchius.... Bownde finds support in Zanchius' material for almost all of his major points except for Bownde's belief that the entire fourth commandment is moral and contains nothing ceremonial.²⁵

The most important work for Bownd, if we are to judge by what Primus in one work incorrectly calls one of Bownd's two significant innovations,²⁶ is Heinrich Wolf's *Chronologia Sive de Tempore*, published in Zurich in 1585. Bownd cites this work only seven times in 1595 adding a single reference for a total of eight in the 1606 edition. Though less than ten references are made, Wolf provides Bownd a source for maintaining that the fourth commandment as one of the ten commandments, "containeth in it nothing ceremonial, nothing typical, nothing to be abrogated."²⁷ Bownd also finds in Wolf support for the change of the day by Christ's appointment by virtue of His resurrection on the first day of the week.

Regarding cited material, while Edward Martin Allen's

25. Allen, 223, 225.

26. Allen, 246. Cf. Primus, *Holy Time*, 75, 78, 11.

27. Allen, 234. Bownd, *Doctrine of the Sabbath* (1595) 21; *True Doctrine* (1606) 36; NP text, 67.

28. Allen, 174.

29. Allen, 188.

30. Allen, 237.

31. NP text, 181.

32. "For generations, Cambridge had depended on London for the regular supply of books both from abroad and from the city's printers. From the 1580s it relied also on London to provide or enable a market for books produced in Cambridge itself." David McKitterick, *Printing and the book trade in Cambridge: 1534-1698* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) 17.

33. Thomas owned the following titles which Bownd cited: Aquinas' *Summa Theologica*, Beze's *Annotationes* and on the Psalms, Calvin on John, Jeremiah, Psalms, the Harmonia of the Gospels, and sermons on Deuteronomy, and Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. "Thomas Bownd," in Elisabeth Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 1.363-364.

34. At this period, sermons and popular level works such as Calvin on the ten commandments or common works in quarto or smaller were not normally collected by the libraries, if we judge by Andrew Perne's opinion, who left the first choice to Peterhouse those "books in larger formats, while the smaller octavos and duodecimos, 'not so meet for a librarie,' passed to his nephew." David McKitterick, "Andrew Perne and His Books," *Andrew Perne: Quatercentenary Studies*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society Monograph No. 11, edited by Patrick Collinson, David McKitterick, and Elisabeth Leedham-Green (Cambridge University Library, 1991) 36. Elisabeth Leedham-Green compiled inventories that give some idea of what was privately collected at the time. *Books in Cambridge Inventories: Book-Lists from Vice-Chancellor's Court Probate Inventories in the Tudor and Stuart Periods*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

work on Bownd is a significant work that finally gives deserved attention to Nicholas Bownd's ministry and writings, I would be remiss (though with no disparagement intended) in not noting several mistakes. 1. Allen was not able to trace Augustine's sermon 251 in modern collections. This attribution is now classed as spurious (portions of the sermon are attributed to Alcuin who lived some three hundred years later), and can indeed be found in Migne, *Patrologiae Latina* volume 39, stating at column 2274, *Sermones supposititios, Sermo CCLXXX* (280, alias *de Tempore* 251). He similarly did not find sermone 151 (which was a typo for 251) or 154 (*Sermo CLXVII*, (alias 151 *sic* 154), "In Pascha, ix" *PL* 39.2070).²⁸ 2. Allen was stumped by one reference to a history regarding the sect called Essæi which was a reference to the Magdeburg Centuries (*Cent. 1. lib. 1. cap. 5*), *Ecclesiastica Historia*, Prima Centuria (Basileæ: Oporinus 1559) col. 235.²⁹ 3. Allen writes that Bownd references but does not quote from Greenham's treatise on the Sabbath.³⁰ While it is not clear without a careful checking of the text, Bownd actually did follow Greenham's advice and incorporated some of his stepfather's work at one point into his revised edition regarding various labors not to be undertaken on the Lord's Day.³¹

BOWND'S SOURCES FOR HIS REFERENCE MATERIAL

Noting the difficulties with the citations, and how numerous and scholarly they were for the time, raises the interesting question of where the rector of a rural congregation in Norton, Suffolk would have found all the many books cited in *Doctrine of the Sabbath*? In the letter to the reader prefixing the 1595 edition Bownd writes,

And then I revived my former purpose and revised mine own labors, in which having at the first contented myself with the bare proofs out of the scriptures, which I then thought sufficient, especially for that auditory, to whom they were first meant, did now compare the several positions therein contained with the doctrine of former times, and other churches, as I found the same set down in the writings of the fathers, Greek and Latin, new and old, so many as I had, or could conveniently get, and as I had time to read them....

This indicates Bownd had something of a working library, but that also he had resources for books he may not have owned. He could have purchased some titles via the Cambridge book trade.³² He may have inherited some books from his brother Thomas, though the inventory of his brother's books more likely give clues to what he may have already owned.³³ He may have resorted to borrowing from friends with whom he would have had regular contact at the Monday lectures in Bury St. Edmunds.³⁴

Bownd would have also had access perhaps to the libraries at Cambridge; at least to the more accessible university library, which unlike the various collections of the colleges, would not have been limited to just the college fellows.³⁵ Disregarding sermons and the most recent of titles, many of the works referenced both in the 1595 and 1606 editions could have been found in the Cambridge University Library.³⁶

However, by far the best resource to which Bownd likely had access were the books in what was the greatest private collection of the day. Andrew Perne had left a good portion of his private collection to Peterhouse College, from which Bownd took M.A. in 1575 and D.D. in 1594. The books the college acquired numbered around 900, and the volumes were moved into a new location and available for the college in 1593–94.³⁷ A surviving letter by Nicholas Bownd indicates he was at least an acquaintance of Perne's, and would have been familiar with the collection and that it was available at the time he was working on his D.D.³⁸ From a collation of Bownd's references it is clear the largest percentage of cited works could have been found amongst this collection.

Additionally, there was another much more accessible source which, while it could not have helped with Bownd's 1595 work, may have aided him in his considerably revised edition of 1606.³⁹ This was the Parish Library of St. James, the clerical library the founding of which seems to be associated with the Bury St. Edmunds Monday lecture.⁴⁰ An inventory exists for books present in the library in 1599.⁴¹ References to works cited in the 1606 edition which may have been found in this clerical library include:⁴²

Ambrose on Psalm 118 (*Opera*, Basel, 1567, donated by Henry Hammond, Nov. 2, 1595).

Athanasius, several works noted above (*Opera*, Paris: 1581, donated by John Bye with Alexander Gooche, Nov. 23, 1595).

Augustine, *Contra Adimantum Manichæi*, *Contra Faustum Manichæum*, *De Civitate Dei*, *De Genesi ad litteram, imperfectus liber*, and several others (*Opera*, Basel, 1569, by Leonard Tillot, Nov. 3, 1595).

Basil, *Commentarius in Isaiam* and *Homilia in Psalmum Primum* (*Opera*, Basel, 1565, donor and date unknown).

Calvin, Commentary on Acts and on the Psalms (*In Acta Apostolorum*, 1584, bound with *Harmonia*, and *Commentarii in librum Psalmorum X*, 1578, both donated by Robert Jermyn, Nov. 3, 1595).

Chemnitz, *De Examen Concilii Tridentini (Exam Concil Trident)*, 1585, no donor noted.⁴³

Chrysostom, Homilies on 1 Corinthians, Matthew, *Ad Hebræos* (*Opera*, Basel, 1539, donated by Thomas Croftes, Oct. 2, 1595).

Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata (Opera)*, Heidelberg, 1592, bound with *Opera*, Paris, 1592).

Council Moguntinum⁴⁴ (*Conciliorum omnium, tam generalium, quam Provincialium*, 1585, donated by William Jermyn, Nov. 3, 1595).

Cyprian (spurious), *De Cardinalibus Christi Operibus: Sermo De Sancto Spiritu (Opera)*, Basel, 1558, no donor noted).

Cyril of Alexandria, *Opus insigne in Evangelium Joannis (Opera)*, Basel, 1566, donated by John Man, Nov. 2, 1595).

35. Bownd may have had access to the library of Emmanuel College, which was not so exclusive in limiting access to fellows. But most anything he may have found there was also available in the Perne collection or Cambridge University Library. "In this regard as well Emmanuel's practice appears to have been more liberal than the norm." Sargent Bush, Jr. and Carl J. Rasmussen, *The Library of Emmanuel College Cambridge 1584–1637* (Cambridge University Press, 1986; 2005) 5.

36. A 1583 inventory survives of the books then present and possibly available to Bownd in 1594. Elisabeth Ledham-Green and David McKitterick, "A Catalogue of Cambridge University Library in 1583," in *Books and Collectors 1200–1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (The British Library, 1997).

37. See the transcription of Perne's inventory circa 1589, "Andrew Perne," in *Books in Cambridge Inventories*, pp. 1.419–479, and another list drawn up before 1610, Peterhouse MS 405, *ibid.*, 604–641.

38. Bownd had loaned some money to Sir Edward Clere to pay for Edward Clere Jr.'s room rent at Peterhouse college and had run into trouble collecting on the debt. He wrote a letter to the Justice of the Peace Bassingbourne Gawdy in 1582 asking him to intercede, telling the JP that Clere had made a promise to pay at the house of Robert Jermyn with Sir Robert as witness. The importance of the letter is that it demonstrates the connections Bownd had even three years prior to becoming rector at Norton. Bownd notes that on occasion of being at Cambridge, he had attempted to get Perne involved; but the Master of Peterhouse demurred since he himself was already owed a considerable amount by Clere! See Allen, 13–14, and a transcription, 289.

39. The earliest known donation to the parish library was in late August, 1595. Bownd would have completed his 1595 MS at the least by some months earlier. Bownd's preface to the reader is dated June 27, 1595. The Stationers' register date is May 29, 1595. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.*, ed. Arber, Edward, 5 vols. (London, 1875–77, 1894) 2.298.

40. The donors of most of these works are known. See John S. Craig, *Reformation, Politics and Polemics: The Growth of Protestantism in East Anglian Market Towns, 1500–1610* (Ashgate, 2001), "Appendix 6: Donors to the Parish Library of St James, Bury St Edmunds, 1595–99, 213–219.

41. See Craig's transcription in "Appendix 5: The Parish Library of St James, Bury St Edmunds, as it was in 1599: A Transcription of the Inventory and Identification of the Books," *ibid.*, 205–212.

42. See the annotated bibliography noting the books available in the Perne collection, Cambridge University Library, the Parish Library of St. James, Emmanuel College Library, and in the inventory of Thomas Bownd, NP text, 449–465.

43. All the explicit references to Chemnitz are added in 1606. Bownd possibly cites the letter of Ignatius to the Magnesians from Chemnitz. One of these citations occurs in the 1595 edition, which if this supposition is true, is the only apparent use of Chemnitz in that edition.

44. Bownd added one reference to the Council of Moguntinum (c.1451) adding to the seven councils referenced in the 1595 edition.

Fulke, *Confutation of the Rhemish Testament* (no donation date).⁴⁵

Jerome, of which Bownd doubled his references to various works (*Opera*, 1578, donated by Edward Cope in 1595).

Josephus, *Antiquities and Jewish Wars* (*Opera*, 1584, donated by William Jermyn, Sept. 1, 1595).

Rhemes Testament (no date for donation).

Tacitus, *Historiæ* (no donation date).

Tertullian, additional works (*Opera*, 1580, no donation date).

Theophylact, additional references to his work on the Gospels and the Acts (Basel, 1570, donated by John Mallows in 1596).

Tremellius, *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra* (Henry Blaug donated a 2 vol. 1577–79 Frankfurt edition on Sept. 6, 1595 and Craig hypothesizes William Jermyn gave a 1586 edition on Sept. 1, 1595).⁴⁶

Vatable, *Biblia Sacra, Hebraice, Græce, & Latine* (*Biblia Vatabli*, no donation date).⁴⁷

Virmigli, *Common Places* (translation by Marten, donated by Nicholas Coote, Sept. 10, 1595).⁴⁸

Zanchi, *De operibus Dei intro spacium sex dierum creatas opus* (Robert Ashfield donated *De Operibus Dei* in 1596).⁴⁹

45. Bownd added at least one reference to Fulke in 1606 which falls within a large new section which seems to address a criticism of Thomas Rogers in his letter to Bownd. Cf. NP text, 94, fn 110.

46. Bownd added at least one reference to the Tremellius Bible for his 1606 edition.

47. Bownd added at least one new reference to an edition of the Vatable Bible in 1606. Craig identifies this entry as the Antwerp polyglot, *Biblia Sacra*, 8 vols. Antwerp, 1570–72, which appears to be incorrect. That would have been a princely donation and the entry *Biblia Vatabli* should be determinative that it was an edition of the Vatable Bible.

48. Edward Martin Allen observes that it appears Bownd (albeit often loosely) cites Vermigli's comments on Genesis 2:3 from the translation by Marten.

49. In is not clear whether Bownd used the first edition of Zanchi's *Opera* (1605; also 1613 and 1619) or the earlier individual publications for his 1606 edition. The settings of editions of the *Opera* are different with the 1619 using more of the italic face. However, the pagination is essentially the same for all three except for the additional works published in 1613 and 1619. The numerous citations from Zanchi are one of the significant differences in the 1606 edition. The 1595 only had a single quotation from *De Tribus Elohim*, at the beginning of book two. The most cited work is Zanchi's treatise on the fourth commandment first published in 1597. *Hieronymi Zanchij tractationum theologiarum volumen librum de operibus creationis proxime sequens: et primam tractatus de redemptione partem continens* (Neostadij Palatinatus: Harnisiorum, 1597).

50. *Holy Time* (1989) 74.

51. The term *legalistic* or *legalist* is not only unnecessarily pejorative for use against a person striving for a robust obedience of God, it is also easily misunderstood because of several usages (such as trusting in works righteous for salvation).

52. *Holy Time*, 78ff.

CRITICISMS OF BOWND'S DOCTRINE OF THE SABBATH

Some who have written regarding Bownd's *Doctrine of the Sabbath* do not hesitate to criticize his positions. Much of the criticism no doubt stems from the fact many do not agree with Bownd's doctrine. Other criticisms regard more nebulous things such as tone. Primus gives the opinion that Bownd's work "is sharper, the tone more dogmatic and contentious than in earlier treatments."⁵⁰ Primus is not clear which edition displays the sharp tone; if the later printing, then the controversy with Rogers may have sharpened his tone. Generally, no doubt one can find more examples of stronger tone in a longer, more scholastic and polemical work like Bownd's, than in shorter, more popularly directed works. If such a tone is characteristic, might it prove something like a hardening of the positions of various Sabbatarians? Primus raises this question, but provides no examples to judge Bownd's tone.

There are other more severe criticisms made by John Primus. The most troublesome is the charge of legalism, which is an unfortunate term.⁵¹ It is arguable whether Bownd may have been overly scrupulous in some of his prescriptions against Sabbath violations. Primus acknowledges Bownd's "more stringent Sabbatarianism" (a better turn of phrase) may have been in part due to the "chaotic conditions in the church," noting several of the problems of a country parish church at the time (dogs and hawks in the service, etc.).⁵² Regardless of the appropriate term, John Primus' criticisms are:

... Bound tends to make the Sabbath rest a kind of end in itself, and to espouse that rest in more stringent, legalistic terms than his predecessors. The Sabbath rest is very special. One enjoys cessation from labor on other days as well, but "the rest upon this day must be a most careful, exact and precise rest, after another manner, than men for the most part do perform."

For support of this extreme position he relies heavily on Old Testament passages, including those in the Levitical laws. We are with "a double chain" bound to this rest, for we have both social and spiritual need for it. Unlike Adam, we are subject to physical fatigue; like Adam, we need a special time for worship of God. Even the land was supposed to lie idle one year out of seven in Old Testament times. This teaches "of what moment and weight the Sabbath was," that even the "insensible ground should not be free from the subjection of it." In the 1606 edition Bound goes on for nine pages about resting in time of harvest, and discusses for five pages the problem of the Sabbath day's journey.

The threat of legalism looms larger in Bownd than in those who preceded him in the development of the Sabbatarian position. In his discussion of what activity is permitted on the Sabbath, he approves of "the ringing of one bell" to call people to service, but not the disordered jangling of many bells. Vices such as drinking, gambling, and dancing are sins on other days of the week, but double-sins on Sunday. We are not only to rest from daily works and pleasures but are also prohibited "from speaking and talking of them, seeing his purpose is, not only to restrain the hand and the foot, but the lips and tongue also." Bownd devotes ten graphic pages in the 1606 edition to the awful punishments that will be meted out upon Sabbath breakers, cataloging historical instances of people stricken dead, burned, or maimed for transgressing the Sabbath command. He is also the first to affirm explicitly a twenty-four hour Sabbath. He therefore insists that "we must spend the morning, evening, and whole day, yea some part of the night, so far as our necessary rest and sleep will permit us in praising and serving the Lord."⁵³

Qualifying words such as "tends to" raise the matter of interpretation, and some of the issues Primus notes evaporate once the full context is understood, and some are simply not issues at all.

For instance, Bownd's concern for the ringing of bells, which Thomas Rogers exaggerated out of all proportion, becomes much more understandable with some context. The job of bell-ringer was a paid position. The practice required payment to someone for maintenance and ringing of the bells, which was "an intrinsic part of medieval church life." "Bells continued to be part of everyday church life, and were used to indicate the beginnings and other key moments of the divine services.... The full number of bells in a church tower was eight (although five or six were sufficient), and was used to create a comprehensive musical effect."⁵⁴ Bownd was reacting against the excesses of a common practice of the times, one which may have involved something akin to a performance.

Concerning Bownd's phrase "precise rest" and the references to Leviticus, the context is clear that he is saying nothing different from other Sabbatarians, that the day should be set aside to carefully and diligently observe the ordinances of God's worship. In the section questioned, Bownd is noting how earnestly God urged the rest of the Sabbath day. The full passage should be cited for context, but for space we shall have to be content with the conclusion Bownd draws,

Thus we have hitherto seen concerning this matter, not only that the Lord requires in this commandment that we should rest upon the seventh day, but how necessarily He requires it of us, and what great care we ought to have of it; and that it is a greater sin to work upon that day than it is taken to be, and

that it is not an indifferent thing to work or to rest; but that even to rest from labor, though it is a merely worldly thing in its own nature, yet it is a singular part of our obedience to God upon that day; when it is so many times required, so often urged, and as it {were}⁵⁵ pressed upon us, with words doubled and tripled; yea and that by God Himself; Who is not flowing with words in a barren cause, but shows unto us the weightiness of His commandment, by the sort of words, and the severity of His laws by His most magnificent and pathetic speeches.⁵⁶

Other issues should simply not be a subject of criticism. The position that there are greater sins due to attending aggravating circumstances is not a novel concept. The Westminster Assembly codified this common principle in their Larger Catechism. "Q. 151. What are those aggravations that make some sins more heinous than others? A. Sins receive their aggravations, . . . 4. From circumstances of time (2 Kings 5:26) and place (Jeremiah 7:10): if on the Lord's day (Ezekiel 23:37-39)."⁵⁷ Granting the Sabbatarian position that prohibits pursuing our callings, this by consequence also involves avoiding speaking and thinking of them on the Lord's Day (cf. Isa. 58:13; WLC 119).⁵⁸

As for Bownd's stipulating that the Lord's Day is a day of 24 hours, as noted in the transcription, Rogers asked Bownd about this explicitly. Bownd accordingly added a section on the subject in his 1606 edition. Also, as Primus himself notes, Bownd is only explicitly saying what previous writers taught implicitly in directing with what duties the whole day is to be taken up.⁵⁹

On the notable and gruesome accounts, clearly the reason Bownd details historical (or alleged historical) examples of providential punishment of notorious Sabbath breakers, is to warn his readers. It is not clear how his doing so merits the charge of legalism, and he was not the only Puritan to use the collapse of the stands during a bear-baiting at Paris Garden as a providential warning against Sabbath-breaking.⁶⁰

53. *Holy Time*, 77-78.

54. *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662*, ed. Brian Cummings (Oxford University Press, 2011) 719.

55. "as it is neere pressed...." 1595.

56. Bownd, *Doctrine of the Sabbath*, NP text, 151-152.

57. Cf. Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, I, II 73,7-10.

58. "... we affirme the Sabboth to be broken in thought, word and deede. Besides, it is a generall rule in the law, that whatsoever is unlawfull to be done, the same is unlawfull to be thought or spoken of..." This is cited from the abridged version of Greenham's work on the Sabbath in Kenneth L. Parker and Eric J. Carlson, *Practical Divinity: The Works and Life of Revd Richard Greenham* (Ashgate: 1998) 327.

59. *Holy Time*, 7.

60. Bownd does not make use of this event until his 1606 edition (Naphtali Press, forthcoming, 263). This accident occurred in 1583, during the days of the complaint literature against Sabbath abuses and

No doubt it is true that Bownd's views are not widely held today. Even modern Presbyterians, who believe the Sabbatarianism taught in the Westminster Standards, may find some of Bownd's prescriptions to be too stringent. However, putting all of this aside, it really comes down to an issue of equity. What Primus finds to be legalistic or worthy of criticism in Bownd, he simply describes without such criticism in his more favored Sabbatarian, Richard Greenham. Both Bownd and Greenham address strict resting at harvest.⁶¹ Both address the sabbath day's journey.⁶² Both treat the Sabbath as a means of grace.⁶³ Both see the Sabbath as a creation ordinance.⁶⁴ Both men affirm that the day was changed to the Lord's Day by divine authority at the very least by the Apostles.⁶⁵ Both hold that the day is to be spent in holy exercises with allowance for acts of necessity and mercy.⁶⁶ Both condemn thinking or speaking about weekly callings or pleasures as well as the doing of them on the Lord's Day.⁶⁷ Both argue from the lesser to the greater that if Adam needed a Sabbath, more so fallen mankind.⁶⁸

GREENHAM AND BOWND: CEREMONIAL AID TO THE COMMANDMENT

It is also the case that Greenham and Bownd held similar views on a primary 'innovation' Primus assigns to Bownd, regarding the ceremonial aspect of the fourth commandment. Much is made of Bownd's affirming that there is nothing ceremonial or typical in the ten commandments. As previously noted, in this he really is not innovating as he draws upon a statement of Heinrich Wolf's in doing so, who maintained the Sabbath "is not to be reckoned among the figures and ceremonies of the Jews, both because it was ordained in paradise before the fall of man for the worship of God, and also it is commanded in the Decalogue, which contains in it nothing ceremonial, nothing typical, nothing to be abrogated." Yet there were ceremonial or

captured the nation's attention. John Field makes immediate use of the calamity in his *A Godly Exhortation, by occasion of the late iudgement of God, shewed at Parris-garden* (1583). Cf. James T. Dennison, *The Market Day of the Soul* (2001) 32.

61. Richard Greenham, 167; *Holy Time*, 77.

62. Richard Greenham, 166; *Holy Time*, 77. Bownd cites Greenham on a Sabbath day's journey in the 1606 edition and Bownd's view of Mark 2:27 is essentially the same.

63. Richard Greenham, chapter seven; *Holy Time*, 75.

64. Richard Greenham, 157–162; *Holy Time*, 74.

65. Richard Greenham, 162–165; *Holy Time*, 75–76.

66. Richard Greenham, 165–170.

67. Greenham, "Of the Sabbath," *Works* (1599) 375–376; Bownd, *Doctrine of the Sabbath*, NP text, 276.

68. Richard Greenham, 159; *Holy Time*, 77.

69. Richard Greenham, 158.

70. Richard Greenham, *ibid.* *True Doctrine of the Sabbath*, NP text, 155–156.

71. Richard Greenham, *ibid.* *True Doctrine of the Sabbath*, *ibid.*

figurative aids added to the moral law under the old economy, such as the deliverance from Egypt added as another reason to rest under the fourth commandment as given in Deuteronomy 5. Greenham explained his distinction in moral and civil law in relation to this: "That I call morall, which doth informe mens manners either concerning their religion to God, or their duties unto man: that I meane figurative, which is added for a time in some respect to some persons for an help to that which is morall..."⁶⁹

Bownd affirms this same figurative help or ceremonial addendum to the moral law:

So that the Jews having this reason to move them to this rest, besides the above mentioned, were more severely tied unto it than any other people; but yet so, that it was required at the hands of men, long before this cause was annexed unto it. And therefore though that is removed and taken away, yea and the people to whom it only appertained; yet notwithstanding the Sabbath and day of rest is not gone with them, but is still in its first virtue and ancient strength, which upon good grounds it had in the beginning. The which thing, that it might not seem strange unto us, we may consider the like almost in every moral precept; which though every one of them was from the beginning, yet as they were given to the people of the Jews, had certain things added unto them, as accessory helps to keep them in the better obedience of them; which now being taken away again, the first commandments themselves have lost nothing of their former authority, but do bind as much as ever they did.⁷⁰

Indeed it would appear that from reading Greenham's treatise in this place where his stepfather answers the foreseen objection from Deuteronomy 5—"anticipating the argument that the redemption (rather than creation) setting of the fourth commandment (remember that you were slaves in Egypt, etc.) might be used as an argument against its creational-moral character"—Bownd made several singular excisions to his 1606 text as the old text was more open to the same counter.⁷¹

Excepting verbosity, Bownd's views and Greenham's are essentially the same on the defining tenets of English Sabbatarianism. One cannot credibly condemn one as legalistic or overly stringent and not the other, or absolve Greenham but not Bownd. Regrettably, Primus' lack of appreciation for Bownd's work is displayed in other ways.

BOWND: INNOVATIVE OR UNORIGINAL; SIGNIFICANT OR UNNEEDED?

As has been noted, there is no longer any legitimacy to the old revisionist contention that English Sabbatarianism was

in whole a Puritan innovation of the 1580s and 1590s. There is however some debate over the significance of the refinements made during that period. Allen sums up this difference of opinion.⁷²

Much of the recent scholarly discussion of Bownde has focused on the issue of his originality. Bownde himself made no claims to originating his ideas. He acknowledged acquaintance with Greenham's sabbatarian ideas and he used continental sources freely. Kenneth Parker has laid out the argument that Bownde's Sabbatarianism was not innovative but simply a further development of medieval Sabbath observance.⁷³

Answering Parker's assertions, John Primus defends the innovative nature of Bownde's work.⁷⁴ According to Primus Bownde's innovations consisted of his denial of a ceremonial aspect to the fourth commandment; his affirmation of its divine origins and perpetual obligation; his affirmation that Sunday became the Christian Sabbath; and his conviction that the entire day should be set aside for holy exercises with no time given to work, sports or idleness.⁷⁵

Patrick Collinson points out that there were certainly antecedents to each of Bownde's innovative assertions, including ideas contained in the writings of John Hooper, Lancelot Andrews, Martin Bucer, Heinrich Bullinger and Theodore Beza among others. Nonetheless, Collinson affirms that "The first extensively argued, dogmatic assertion that the fourth commandment is morally and perpetually [sic] binding was published" by Nicholas Bownde.⁷⁶

Allen overstates the case in maintaining that Primus lays all these Sabbatarian 'innovations' at Bownd's feet. Yet, while on the one hand Primus acknowledges the standing and historical importance of Bownd's work, his analysis runs the gamut, laying certain innovations exclusively at Bownd's feet, while also declaring a total lack of originality in his writings and the dubious nature of his efforts. On the one extreme, Primus declares Bownd to be a singular innovator, incorrectly claiming he was the person who first denied a ceremonial aspect of the fourth commandment, and the first to emphatically embrace "Sunday absolutism."⁷⁷ On the other extreme, while Bownd makes no claim for originality, Primus' claim that Bownd "borrowed heavily from his step-father" is not correct.⁷⁸ Greenham may have been one of his influences (all works of the period are very similar),⁷⁹ yet Bownd states emphatically that though he knew of the work, he had not seen Greenham's treatise. He also rejected his stepfather's suggestion to combine the two works. When Greenham suddenly died, Bownd dusted off his own work, which he had decided to suppress while Greenham pursued his own, and added patristic and other citations, but

did not add material from Greenham's treatise. He would not do that until the expanded edition of 1606.

Not content to merely note the lack of originality, Primus speaks dismissively of Bownd's work,⁸⁰ opining that the minister of Norton "made the dubious decision to expand on [Greenham]," dismissing Bownd's decades-long work, "[d]espite their [the two Bownd editions'] length, there is little in Bownd's works that is not already present in embryo in Greenham's treatise."

The scholarly nature of Bownd's work has already been noted. This in itself is a vast improvement over previous works. While Bownd's first work made use of scores of sources, Greenham's treatise has no discernible references. Disregarding greater length and detail, was Bownd really saying anything different than other Sabbatarians? Primus himself writes, "the degree of similarity among all Sabbatarian treatises is startling." He also grants that Bownd epitomizes Sabbatarian views.⁸¹ And, as just demonstrated, there is very little daylight between the views of Nicholas Bownd and those of Richard Greenham on the defining tenets of Sabbatarianism.

Which is it? Did Bownd waste years of time on his books and needlessly put himself in Rogers' crosshairs? Or did he indeed create a work that had significant impact, something well worth the pains and efforts? It is one thing to note that Bownd himself doubted the need to pursue the publication of his book; but history has rendered the judgment that his decision to move forward proved significant. Primus' too-casual dismissal of Bownd's work cannot withstand scrutiny. Allen writes,

72. Allen, 33–34.

73. Kenneth Parker, "Thomas Rogers and the English Sabbath: The Case for a Reappraisal," *Church History* 53, no. 3 (Sept. 1984) 332–347.

74. Primus, *Holy Time* (1989), 11.

75. Calvin can be added to those stressing the giving of the whole day to holy exercises as is clear in his sermons on the ten commandments. Calvin was a "practical sabbatarian," a term used by Richard B. Gaffin, and while he does not use it, Primus' description of Calvin's view in his study contrasting the views of the Reformer and Bownd calls to mind the same term. Gaffin, *Calvin and the Sabbath: The Controversy of Applying the Fourth Commandment* (Ross-shire, Great Britain: Mentor, 1998) 109; Primus, "Calvin and the Puritan Sabbath: A Comparative Study," in *Exploring the Heritage of John Calvin*, ed. by D.E. Holwerda (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1976). For a work showing Calvin to be more a nascent sabbatarian, see Stewart E. Lauer, "John Calvin, the Nascent Sabbatarian: A Reconsideration of Calvin's View of Two Key Sabbath-Issues," *The Confessional Presbyterian* 3 (2007) 3–14, 302.

76. Patrick Collinson, *Godly People* (The Hambledon Press, 1983) 432–439, 431.

77. *Holy Time*, 75, 78, 85 (1989). By the time of his *Richard Greenham* (1998), it is clear Primus assigns some of this primacy to his favored Sabbatarian.

78. *Richard Greenham*, 30.

79. *Holy Time*, 73–74.

80. *Richard Greenham*, 152.

81. *Holy Time*, 11.

To Some Bownde may seem to lack originality and he may seem to have merely expanded on much of what had previously been written on the Sabbath, but Bownde's innovation lay in the way his works on the Sabbath drew the varied strands together in such a way that the whole was immensely greater than the sum of the parts. As a result, the puritan Sabbath became a major issue, highlighting the competing claims to authority present in the Stuart dynasty, where the king asserted his Divine Right to rule in a nearly absolute way. Opposing the king were the puritan claims to a higher authority—that of Scripture. The claim of Bownde and his spiritual heirs was that the Christian Sabbath was to be observed on Sunday on the basis of divine authority.⁸²

Primus has sought to show the historical significance of Greenham's work and particularly his treatise on the Sabbath,⁸³ but that work can be appreciated in its own right without denigrating the greater historical significance that *Doctrine of the Sabbath* proved to have. Bownde's book was an important work and came at a crucial time. It had a significant impact on the acceptance and spread of Puritan Sabbath doctrine. Edward Martin Allen argues that Bownde's work was influential because his books 1. "were intellectually satisfying. . . not simply abstract theology"; 2. were "intensely practical" extensively "detailed in a positive way. . ." and 3. "were at the highest level of scholarship for their time."⁸⁴

Fuller's assessment was that both before Rogers' opposition and afterwards, Bownde's books concerning the Sabbath were immensely influential and well-received.⁸⁵ The opposition, particularly by Rogers, failed; it merely drove up the price of Bownde's books during the period in which it was suppressed. The Norton minister's general lack of originality is not a fault; it merely shows the overall consensus of Sabbatarian views at the time. Nicholas Bownde's innovations or refinements consisted in bringing together the tenets of Sabbatarianism into what for that time was a significant, detailed, and very scholarly publication. ■

82. Allen, 286

83. Greenham's work "written in the early 1580s [*sic*], lays claim to being the first English analysis of the fourth commandment with distinctive Sabbatarian features; namely, that this commandment is a perpetual, moral law rooted in creation; that Sunday is the Christian Sabbath ordained by divine authority; and that the entire day must be devoted to worship and related spiritual exercises." While Bownde notes Greenham had a completed treatise long before he published, I know of no proof that puts the date in the early 1580s and Primus provides no documentation. The date may be a typographical mistake for "1590s," which is the timeframe usually surmised. *Richard Greenham*, 183.

84. Allen, 285, 286.

85. Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain*, edited by J. S. Brewer. 6 vols. (Oxford University Press, 1845) 5:211–219.

In Brief: In Librum D. N. Boundi, De Doctrina de Sabbatho, Gualteri Aleni Pothumus

Arcta per angustæ qui vadis limina portæ,
Quâ via clivoso pielatis tramite recta
Ducit ad ætheream requiem, sedesque beatas:
Huc properato, sitimque sacro restingue liquore,
Quem tibi mente pia sanctis è fontibus hausum
Candida doctiloqui portexit dextra Boundi.
Ille prophanatam (nec enim lex sanctior ulla)
De celebri legem requie per septima festa
Restituit decori, priscoque ornauit honore.
Quam prius horrendis violatam sordibus error
Papicolæ gentis temeravit, & improbus usus.

Cæca superstio procul hinc, procul improbe abusus
Ordinis æterna sanciti à numine lege.
Tu quoque liuor edax: & (tu sceleratior) audax
Impietas; & sæpè loquax, temeraria semper
Inscitiæ pestis, studiorum horrescite fructus
Rodere dente nigro, & pedibus calcare salubres.
Et vos hinc moniti (dirissima turba) prophani
Sabbatha sacra Deo violare facessite tandem.
At quicumque piam cæli spē pascere mentem,
Ex animoque cupis benè religionis honori,
Ac vitæ melioris iter peragrarè labores,
tutur carpe viam, tibi quam sacra pagina pandit,
Hincque modum sacri celebrandi discite diei.

Upon the Book of Dr. N. Bownde on The Doctrine of the Sabbath, Walter Allen, Pothumus

Thou who passest through the close beams of the narrow gate,
Where the straight way by the steep footpath of piety
Leads unto heavenly rest and blessed habitations:
To this place make haste, and quench your thirst with the sacred liquor,
Which, drawn for thee by a pious mind from the holy fountains,
The brilliant right-hand of the learnedly-speaking Bounde held forth.
He restored the profaned law (for there is no holier law)
Concerning the solemn rest through the feast of the seventh day
To glory, and adorned it with its former honor.
Which, previously violated by horrendous filth, was polluted by the error
And wicked use of the Papiistical race.

Blind superstition, be far from hence, and also wicked abuse
Of the eternal law of order consecrated by the divine will.
Thou also consuming envy: (thou yet more criminal) impiety
Both audacious; and often loquacious, always heedless
Of the plague of ignorance, dread ye the salutary fruits of studies
To gnaw with blackened teeth, and to tread under foot.
And ye, hence warned (O most awful mob), yet in the end profane,
Go on violating the Sabbath, holy to God.
But whoever wouldest labor to feed a pious mind with the hope of heaven,
And from the soul wishest well to the honor of religion,
And wouldest labor to travel the path of a better life,
Pursue the way that the sacred page spreads before thee,
And hence learn the manner of celebrating the sacred day.

Walter (Gualter) Allen (d.1602), rector of Erwarton, Suffolk (1575–86), of Rushbooke, Suffolk (1586–97) and of Stanton All Saints, Suffolk (1597–1602). With John Knewstubb, Allen was one of the leaders of the group of godly clergy in Suffolk of which Nicholas Bownde was a part. ■