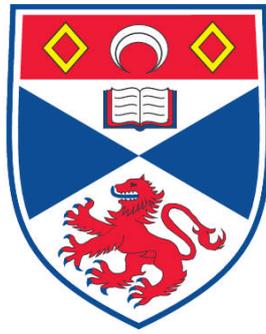


**EUCHARIST AND ECUMENISM IN THE THEOLOGY OF
LANCELOT ANDREWES (1555-1626): THEN AND NOW**

Jeffrey H. Steel

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



2012

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**Eucharist and Ecumenism in the Theology of Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626):
Then and Now**

Jeffrey H. Steel

**Thesis Presented for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy
in the University of St Andrews
January 2012**

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This thesis is dedicated to
Henry A Whitmore
In loving memory of
Jare R Whitmore

I. ABSTRACT

This thesis is an examination of Lancelot Andrewes' (1555-1626) Eucharistic theology which is explored in order to see how far he might act as a catalyst for ecumenism with Rome on the topic of Eucharistic sacrifice. The purpose of the thesis is to develop a fuller exposition of Andrewes' Eucharistic theology as a unique theologian who maintained a view of sacrifice that was denied by Protestants on the continent of Europe and by most within the English Church of his day. In the first four chapters Andrewes' own views are not always juxtaposed to more contemporary views. This is intentional in order to develop his own thought before looking at him as an ecumenical partner on sacrifice. The first chapter explores Andrewes as a theologian within his own context of ecclesiology, placing Andrewes within a more Catholic framework as opposed to Puritanism that was becoming politically influential during the reign of King James I. The second chapter then looks at Andrewes' view of Eucharistic instrumentality where I characterise him as an 'effectual instrumentalist' over against some contemporary scholars who place him alongside John Calvin who is sometimes described as a 'symbolic instrumentalist'. I find Andrewes closer to a Catholic framework of instrumentalism. The third chapter further explores Andrewes' view of presence where I conclude that he should be characterised as one holding to an objective view of presence and give him the Cappodocian label as a Transelementationist. This is to emphasise that Andrewes did encourage the faithful to look for Christ in the elements themselves, which goes beyond Christ's presence within the faith of the believer alone. The fourth chapter is the lengthiest chapter as it develops Andrewes' views of sacrifice. I see him as someone immersed in the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist defined within the writings of the Fathers of the first five centuries. It was here that Andrewes is able to be set fully within the framework of a Catholic view of the mystery as the Christian sacrifice offered to God in return for the gift of the Christ-event to the world. Andrewes' description of the offering as containing a propitiatory effect in the application of the forgiveness of sins through 'instrumental touching' was a unique understanding of someone in the Church of England during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In the final chapter, I juxtapose Andrewes with Catholic teaching as it is explored in contemporary Catholic theology as well as, perhaps more importantly, within papal documents and authoritative Catholic statements on the sacrifice of the Mass. This is to show how similar Andrewes is in his description of the sacrifice of the Eucharist to Rome and how he goes further in that direction than any of his contemporaries or even modern ecumenical statements in Anglican and Roman Catholic dialogue.

II. ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Pursuing this Ph.D. project has proved painful and rewarding experience at the same time. It launched me onto a journey that I never imagined before beginning. When beginning this project I was a committed Anglo-Catholic serving as a priest in the Church of England but having then become convinced of the claims made by the Roman Catholic Church I was received on 18 July 2009. Having begun this project as an Anglican I then stepped back from it in order to stabilise my family and move from Durham to London where I am now in formation for the priesthood in the Catholic Church for the Diocese of Westminster and am a seminarian at Allen Hall in Chelsea.

First of all, I thank God for the opportunity to pursue this work and the grace he has often given me throughout the development and the transitions taking place within my own thinking and the necessary moves I had to make as a result of these changes. God has provided for my family and me at every turn. I am truly grateful to the Revd Professor David Brown who accepted my thesis proposal while at the University of Durham. I am sincerely grateful for David's patience and direction throughout this thesis and value very much his input and care for me and my topic. I cherished very much David's homily at my first Mass in the Church of England that spoke of the catholicity of Andrewes and the liturgical expression I was preparing to make at the altar on that evening. I recall his plea to my congregation to encourage me to complete this work. When David left Durham to go to St Andrews, he was very willing to bring me along with him in order to complete my thesis and I am not only grateful to David but also to the University of St Andrews for accepting me as a continuing student on extension.

I appreciate the theology department at the University of Durham and the librarians at Durham Cathedral who were always willing to help support me in my research. It is with great fondness that I recall my hours spent in the Cathedral library. Special thanks also goes to Dr Chris Joby who graciously read my Latin translations of Andrewes and pointed out corrections where necessary.

I am very grateful to my formation director at Allen Hall, The Revd Dr Stephen Wang and the Rector of the Seminary, Mgr Mark O'Toole, for the space and time provided during my formation and the strong encouragement finally to complete this project. I am also very grateful to the entire seminary staff and especially my fellow seminarians who offered me encouragement during this time. Special thanks are offered to The Revd Kim Addison for his computer expertise when times of frustration due to formatting issues arose.

Special thanks also go to my in-laws Henry and Jare Whitmore without whom I could have never financially managed my move from the States to the UK in order

to pursue further studies. I appreciate the love and support for my project they offered and will always be grateful beyond what words are able to express.

Finally yet importantly, I am very grateful to my wonderful wife, Rhea Steel, who has supported and encouraged my educational pursuits since our first year of marriage while in University together (1993). I could have never managed without her support and unfailing love for me in those times when I wanted to give up. Rhea was very willing to uproot our large family of six young children and move to the UK with me leaving family and friends behind. I am eternally in her debt for the grace and love she has given me as a devoted wife and mother of our children. This brings me to give a truly humble note of gratitude to my six wonderful children: Matthew, Hannah, Sarah, Joshua, Caleb, and Abigail who have made numerous moves in their young lives due to the educational and ministry callings God put on my heart. They have made these moves with much grace and maturity and I am sincerely grateful and proud of them for how they have handled every moment of change while their father was pursuing this degree.

Jeffrey H Steel
Feast of Mary, Mother of God
January 2012

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IV. ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Adv Haeres</i>	<i>Adversus Haereses</i>
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>Apos Sacra</i>	<i>Apospasmata Sacra, or a Collection of Posthumous and Prphas Lectures</i>
ARCIC	Anglican Roman Catholic International Commission
BCP	Book of Common Prayer
Cap	<i>Capitulis</i>
CDF	Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith
CO	John Calvin, <i>Joannis Calvini Opera quae supersunt Omnia</i> [etc]
Col	Colossians
Cor	Corinthians
CP	Canterbury Press
CT	Council of Trent
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<i>De Civ Dei</i>	<i>de Civitate Dei</i> or Of the City of God
de Myst	<i>de Mysteria</i> or Of the Mysteries
de Spirit. Sanct	<i>de Spiritu Sancto</i> or Of the Holy Spirit
<i>Faust</i>	<i>Contra Faustus</i>
Heb	Hebrews
L.A.C.T.	Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology
Lev	Leviticus
LUP	Loyola University Press
Macc	Maccabees
Mal	Malachi
Matt	Matthew
MS3707	Andrewes, <i>Manuscript 3707</i>
NDP	Notre Dame Press
NPNF	<i>Nicene Post-Nicene Fathers</i>
<i>Orat Catech</i>	<i>Oratio Catechetica</i>
OUP	Oxford University Press
Pet	Peter
Ps	Psalm
<i>Quaest</i>	Question
<i>Responsio</i>	<i>Responsio ad apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmine</i>
RSV	Revised Standard Version
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
ST	<i>Summa Theologia</i>
<i>Tortura Torti</i>	<i>Tortura Torti, sive ad Matthaei Torti librum responsio</i>
Zach	Zachariah

I have followed the Chicago style in the footnoting and the bibliography. The style of footnoting, after full details given at first citation, is the name of the author, title of the work, year published and page numbers.

V. INTRODUCTION

*That there need not such ado
in complaining, if men did not delight rather
to be treading mazes than to walk in the ways of peace.¹*

Describing the Eucharistic celebration as the sacrifice of the Mass has provoked many differences and harsh exchanges between Protestants and Catholics since the Reformation. Yet Eucharistic ecumenism is the way of the Church if she is to be faithful to the prayer of Jesus that we may all be one in him. There have been many steps taken towards the hopes of having a Church that offers the sacrament of salvation as the Body of Christ without borders. However, there remain important differences not only about the Eucharist but also about the nature of the Church and this needs further dialogue as well. Since ecumenism is a duty of the Christian churches to explore in order that we may be of one faith, one communion and one Lord, I have discovered that Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626) is one such voice who needs further consideration to help bridge the Eucharistic gaps between Anglicans and Catholics on the issue of Eucharistic sacrifice.

It is important to note that when I commenced my theological explorations in Andrewes' writings I was a committed Anglo-Catholic who was in pursuit of the ecumenical hopes for a corporate reunion between Anglicans and Catholics. Since beginning this thesis, through my theological research, I left the Church of England in June of 2009 and became a member of the Roman Catholic Church. However, I remain convinced of Andrewes' own catholicity when it comes to his understanding of the sacrifice that the Church makes in her Eucharistic celebrations. Changing ecclesial communions midstream did not always prove easy as I felt the tension of

¹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 35.

having to make a critical distance with my new ecclesial position and the thesis proposal that Andrewes is one such voice who potentially can help to heal the divisions over Eucharistic sacrifice. The question of whether I could maintain such a thesis is more than a mere hope.

It was reading *The Mystery of the Eucharist in the Anglican Tradition* by Henry McAdoo and Kenneth Stevenson² that became the catalyst for this thesis. Their case study from Andrewes raised the question for me on the suitability of using Andrewes as a voice of dialogue with the Catholic Church on sacrifice. The book suggested that much more could be said of Andrewes on sacrifice and his juxtaposing time and eternity with movement.³ Their words encouraged my further exploration of the theology of Eucharistic sacrifice within Andrewes that was rarely much considered in the writings of contemporary scholarship. In reading the contemporary scholarship surrounding Andrewes I was not able to find anyone who had done any extensive work that looked exclusively at his theology of the Eucharist as sacrifice. It was for this reason that I became convinced of the need for my thesis to take up this challenge and explore more deeply Andrewes' own Eucharistic theology. In order to come to terms with how Andrewes spoke of sacrifice within a Eucharistic framework required further exploration in his development of thought regarding instrumentality and presence.

Andrewes focuses on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. For Andrewes, this is the necessary event for the salvation of the world, and his sermons focused on the accessibility of the cross and how this event ought to shape the lives of his hearers. Andrewes was keen that his hearers not only know the event in the past or simply remember it as an event that is now over and done with. He wanted the Christ-event

² H.R. McAdoo and Kenneth Stevenson, *The Mystery of the Eucharist in the Anglican Tradition*, (Norwich: Canterbury Pres, 1995)

³ H.R. McAdoo and Kenneth Stevenson, *Mystery* (1995), 170.

that was encapsulated in the past to become a saving reality in the present. His understanding of how that was to come to realisation was through the sacrifice of the cross being made present on the altars and offered for sins committed. Where his uniqueness becomes evident is that this was not something simply to be known in the mind alone—and this is where the ecumenical problem arises—he believed it could be made known unequivocally by it being effectually applied eucharistically. The question of what it meant for Andrewes that the Eucharist was a living and effective sign of Christ’s sacrifice that is still operative for humanity in the present is considered in detail.

What will become obvious when reading the thesis is that my exposition of Andrewes takes a primary role in setting forth the case for his uniqueness in how he understood the Eucharist as sacrament and sacrifice. This was necessary because of the extent to which Andrewes’ views needed an exploration that was not available prior to my writing the thesis. It is for this reason that much of the first four chapters primarily focus on Andrewes within his own setting and within the context of Trent and other Reformers. In the light of those considerations, contemporary treatments and ecumenical statements on the Eucharist as the memorial of Christ’s sacrifice can be seen to have been acceptable to Andrewes, and would I believe help to create a way out of the maze of division surrounding him. Even so, being that Andrewes saw the Eucharistic sacrifice as effectually more than a proclamation but as an actual application of the Cross-event in the present takes us further than some ecumenical statements go that are explored in the final chapter.

The opening chapter of the thesis takes us through Andrewes’ reflective and literate ecclesiological approach to how what he understood from the Fathers offered serious hopes for uniting a deeply divided church in England and on the Continent.

The issues surrounding the ecclesiology of Andrewes that went to help shape his Eucharistic theology are developed within the interconnectedness of the liturgy and Eucharistic thought in his own day. The chapter examines whether or not Andrewes was influenced by Continental Reformers or Puritans within his local setting. What will become evident is that the ecclesial position of Andrewes is the result of a more reflective catholicity that was not papal. Secondly, we explore the question of sacrament and symbol in Andrewes' view of instrumentalism where I interact with contemporary scholars on the question of giving Andrewes an appropriate characterisation for his sacramental theology as a whole. The question of who influenced Andrewes and how far he was willing to go within his explanation of instrumentality are raised and identified. The claim that Andrewes was signing up to a typical Calvinist line is considered in detail. Many debates between Anglicans and Catholics revolved around teaching on sacramental efficacy. Andrewes tackles this controversy head on and provides helpful explanations to move Anglicans and Catholics beyond the impasses they face. Thirdly, we come to the heart of the controversy in Catholic teaching on Eucharistic presence. It is within this chapter that we look at Andrewes in his dialogue with Robert Bellarmine. At this point I compare Andrewes, Cranmer, Hooker and Calvin. The issues surrounding the important question of whether we look for the presence of Christ within the elements themselves or merely within the recipients (the faithful) has been debated for centuries. Andrewes, being very aware of these debates, develops his understanding of presence within an ecclesial unified characterisation that concentrates on the Chalcedonian view of Christology that he believes does not necessitate one to embrace Transubstantiation as defined by Trent.

The fourth chapter I consider the heart of the thesis where in the light of my earlier exposition I try to substantiate my claim to see Andrewes as a catalyst for ecumenism with a highly pertinent theological understanding of Eucharistic sacrifice. The question of how the Eucharist becomes the way to receive the forgiveness of sins and the assurance of salvation is looked at in detail within the context of the debate surrounding the Eucharist as a propitiatory offering made by an ordained priest. The question of how the Eucharistic offering is more than an offering of praise and thanksgiving becomes a high priority in Andrewes' understanding of what *anamnesis* theologically communicates. Whether the revisiting of Andrewes' theology of Eucharistic sacrifice is effective for modern ecumenical dialogue is explored by allowing Andrewes' Eucharistic theology to interact with the Catholic Church's authoritative teaching on sacrifice. What I believe will ultimately be the result of this project is best spoken in the words of Kenneth Stevenson who provided that initial spark to my thinking:

The twentieth-century *rapprochement* and *retour aux sources* may have left a few marks from the past that show the scars of old battles which are not quite so necessary to fight any more. They also show us, at root, how sacrifice keeps returning to give us new perspectives on that feast on which we shall endeavour to feed until the end of time.⁴

⁴ Kenneth Stevenson, 'Eucharistic Sacrifice – An Insoluble Liturgical Problem?', *Scottish Journal of Theology*, Vol. 42, (1989), pp. 469-492.

Chapter 1 Eucharist and the Fullness of Catholicity

1.1 Introduction

In this opening chapter, I develop Andrewes' Eucharistic thought in context and examine the rising modern debate of his place within the Church of England with a view to considering him as a catalyst for the ecumenical enterprise today. This opening chapter is significant, as one theologian has written, because 'we need to bring into that enterprise what is best and clearest in our past and for the renewal of a serious, reflective and literate Anglicanism.'¹ Initially, I place Andrewes within his historical context with his hopes of ecumenism that became nationally and economically important for King James I. Secondly, I address Andrewes' formation and the modern debate that describes him as someone sympathetic to Puritanism in his early years. Thirdly, the interconnectedness of the liturgy and his Eucharistic theology will be examined. Fourthly, Andrewes' methodology, with specific reference to how he determined his theology of the Eucharist is explored within the context of his ecclesiology. In addition to these areas, the issue of authority, which resulted in a more informed reliance upon the Fathers of an undivided church, is developed in order to show how he came to terms with the authority of the Church in England without a *Magisterium*. This will bring us to consider Andrewes' Eucharistic theology in light of his ecclesiology where we find him relying on the symbol of Eucharistic unity as the foundation of hope for ecumenism. Finally, we will explore how it was that Andrewes viewed the Eucharist as the heart of Catholic unity in a critique of what he understood as Puritan and Roman novelties alike. Overall, it is my hope to

¹ Rowan Williams in the Foreword of *The Mystery of the Eucharist in the Anglican Tradition*, H.R. McAdoo and Kenneth Stevenson, (Norwich: CP, 1995), ix. Nicholas Lossky also points out that after all it is the theological message of Lancelot Andrewes that has more to teach later generations, even our own... Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes the Preacher (1555-1626)*, trans. by A. Louth (Oxford, 1991), 17.

illustrate how this unity communicated by the Eucharist within Andrewes' theology symbolises what he understands as our sharing in that unity within the divine life of the Trinity.

Despite the break with Henry VIII and the excommunication of Elizabeth I, Andrewes arrives on the scene in a very important time. Due to the number of differences in Eucharistic theology in the century prior to Andrewes, and the plausible influence of Continental theologians on English theology, the disunity that this caused forced Andrewes to turn his mind and heart back in time to the undivided Church. No doubt, there were Lutheran influences on the English church's Eucharistic theology early on but Henry VIII made that short-lived by his articles in the *King's Book* where Transubstantiation was established as the Church's teaching. Things changed under Edward VI with invitations from Cranmer to Continental theologians to join him in England in uniting the Protestant churches. Due to the influx of the variety of opinions, it is understandable that Andrewes began his search within the theology of the Fathers to determine his own Eucharistic thought. Therefore, one does not find Andrewes referring to any one theologian on the Continent within the century before him or within his own time, that shapes his Eucharistic theology. It is to Andrewes' context that we now turn in order to discover how he may be used as a catalyst for ecumenism today.

1.2 *Catholic or Sectarian?*

Was Andrewes really the ecumenist that I have suggested? What theological views would allow him to exercise such a role in his day? In a tract by Sir John Harington we find a contemporary witness speaking of Andrewes' ability as an ecumenist. He states,

I persuade myself, that whensoever it shall please God to give the King means, with consent of his confederate princes, to make that great peace which His blessed word, *Beati pacifici*, seemeth to promise,—I mean the ending of this great schism in the Church of God, procured as much by ambition as superstition,—this reverend prelate will be found one of the ablest, not of England only, but of Europe, to set the course for composing the controversies; which I speak not to add reputation to his sufficiency by my judgment; but rather to win credit to my judgment by his sufficiency.²

The Eastern theologian, Nicholas Lossky, also expresses why it is that we should see Andrewes as one important instrument and catalyst for ecumenism. He writes,

With his understanding of 'anamnesis' Andrewes anticipates the theological reflection of the twentieth century that has allowed Christians of diverse and opposed traditions to escape from the impasse which, since the sixteenth century, have immobilized debate on the Eucharist, both concerning the presence of Christ and the problem of sacrifice. This reflection, which has taken place at the heart of the Ecumenical Movement, has permitted a deeper understanding precisely of the notion of 'memorial' in the sense of 'anamnesis'. In January 1982, it led to an agreed text on the Eucharist, adopted unanimously by the Commission on Faith and Order of the World Council of Churches—a very representative theological commission, since it groups together, with very few exceptions, all Christian confessions. It is striking to see to what extent this text is close to the theological intuitions of Lancelot Andrewes.³

When approaching a historical figure like Lancelot Andrewes in order to investigate his Eucharistic theology, we need to see him with his context. This will require something of an understanding of Andrewes' historical context during the development and maturing of his thinking.⁴ Without such a historicization of Andrewes we can risk the mistake of portraying him, as some have, as a Puritan for at

² Sir John Harington, trac, Andrewes' *Works*, XI, xxxvii-xxxviii. Arnott, 'Anglicanism in the Seventeenth Century,' in More and Cross, *Anglicanism*, (London: SPCK 1935) asserts that many schemes of reunion were on offer and 'Andrewes, Laud, and Stillingfleet all attempted negotiations with the Eastern Orthodox Church, and would also have welcomed negotiations with the rest of the West, if only Rome had been content to hold herself aloof from political ambitions and alliances, and if she had been content to reform herself, otherwise than by the Canons of the Council of Trent.' lxxii.

³ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1991), 344.

⁴ See Walter Howard Frere. *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1558-1625)*, (Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1904) In W. R. W. Stephens and William Hunt, editors, *A History of the English Church*. 8 vols.,(London, 1901.1910); Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed. The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640*, (CUP, 1995); W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, (Cambridge University Press, 1997); Florence Higham, *Catholic and Reformed. A Study of the Anglican Church, 1559-1662* (London, S.P.C.K., 1962); Arthur Middleton, *Fathers and Anglicans: The Limits of Orthodoxy*, (Gracewing: 2001), 114-138.

least the early part of his public ministry.⁵ Puritans, generally, at the time of Andrewes focused on religious, moral and societal reform. Some Puritans believed that the English Church was beyond reform and what was needed was a completely new structure. Extreme positions were often not the majority opinions, yet their societal reforms eventually grew into the political power within Parliament. In their methodology, the Puritans stressed the authority of the scriptures as the sole determinative for theology and practice. The issues of focus are ecclesiology, liturgical practice, and moral theology including the appropriate form of observing the Sabbath. The Puritans did have an ordered and disciplined way of life that was intended to shape their personal piety that would have been similar to that of Andrewes in many ways, yet what it lacked was the catholicity and liturgical devotion that one discovers in places like Andrewes' *Praesepia Privatae*. It was the theology of the Puritans in England that was greatly influenced by theologians on the Continent that Andrewes eventually comes up against.

Andrewes is known as the father of the groundbreaking development of what came to be defined as High Church Anglicanism of the early seventeenth century⁶ or in some instances what has come to be identified as nineteenth century Anglo-Catholicism.⁷ T.S. Eliot, in his work, *For Lancelot Andrewes*, writes,

Compare a sermon of Andrewes with a sermon by another earlier master, Latimer. It is not merely that Andrewes knew Greek, or that Latimer was addressing a far less cultivated public, or that the sermons of Andrewes are peppered with allusion and quotation. It is rather that Latimer, the preacher of Henry VIII and Edward VI, is merely a Protestant; but the voice of Andrewes is the voice of a man who has formed a visible Church behind him, who speaks with the old authority and the new culture.

⁵ M.M. Knappen 'The Early Puritanism of Lancelot Andrewes', *Church History*, No. 2 (1933), 95-104.

⁶ G.E.O. Addleshaw, *The High Church Tradition: A study in the liturgical thought of the seventeenth century* (London: Faber 1947).

⁷ T.S. Elliot *For Lancelot Andrewes Essays on Style and Order*, (London, 1928); Maurice Reidy, *Bishop Lancelot Andrewes*, (LUP: Chicago. 1955) 217.

It is the difference between negative and positive: Andrewes is the first great preacher of the English Catholic Church.⁸

Are scholars who refer to Andrewes as an ‘English Catholic’ rather than a ‘mere Protestant’ honest, as well as correct, in their placing him within this category? What did Andrewes discover in his understanding of the Church and particularly with reference to the Eucharist that gives scholars this impression? I will show that the opinion that Andrewes might be seen as a Puritan is not an accurate position against this new assessment.⁹ A very recent scholar has suggested that the most influential person in the development of Andrewes’ Eucharistic theology was the Lutheran theologian and student of Melancthon, Martin Chemnitz (1522-1586).¹⁰ Though similarities between Chemnitz and Andrewes are found, this does not necessarily imply identity. These views will be taken up in the chapters on Instrumentality and Efficacy as well as the chapter on Presence.

Without doubt, Andrewes’ Eucharistic theology has bewildered scholars for quite some time. Reidy suggests that,

He was torn by the necessity of remaining non-Roman and by his own inclination to adopt the ascetical implications of the orthodox Roman Catholic teaching on the real presence. Again, Andrewes lacked originality. He was not one to blaze new trails in the realm of theological speculation. He relied heavily on traditional sources, borrowed from them extensively, and allowed them to shape the general pattern of his thought. He was not daring by nature; hence after surveying the confusion and unrest which had followed in the wake of the several Reformation changes in England, he sought to steady and shape the Church’s course along the lines Christianity had

⁸ Eliot, T.S., *For Lancelot Andrewes*, 18. See also Robert Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*. (Boston, 1894) 28, 29, where Quoting Dean Church, Ottley writes, ““He looked,” says Dean Church, “for producing his effect on the tone and course of religious thought in England, not by arguing, but by presenting uncontroversially the reasonableness and the attractions of a larger, freer, nobler, more generous . . . system of teaching.”

⁹ M.M. Knappen has argued strongly in favour of this view. Welsby, and others such as Bryan Spinks, Kenneth Stevenson, Francis Higham have also made claims of possible Puritan influence on Andrewes.

¹⁰ Peter McCullough (ed.), *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons & Lectures*, (OUP, 2005), 380. Dr. McCullough also makes the assertion that Andrewes held to what he termed Lutheran consubstantiationist view of presence. Also, see G.L.C Frank, ‘The Theory of Eucharist Presence in the Early Caroline Divines Examined in its European Theological Setting,’ University of St. Andrews, PhD, 1985. This is a dissertation that includes Andrewes’ relation to Continental Reformers and Dr. Frank also makes similar assertions though admits that there is no specific reference to Lutheran writers in general or Chemnitz specifically to argue this position.

travelled since time immemorial—always remembering, however, to hold several points off the path of Rome.¹¹

What has not been developed from the entirety of Andrewes' work is a careful examination of his Eucharistic theology in a way that analyzes his thoughts while also providing an answer to the mystery of how someone like him was able to exist within the ecclesiastical and political structures of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Church. I aim to show that it is precisely his Eucharistic theology which establishes him as one of the primogenitors of modern day Eucharistic ecumenism.

1.3 *The Ecumenical Dream in the Reign of King James I*

The ecumenical dream was as strong in Andrewes' day as it is in our own. The schism between the Church of Rome and England, as well as with the varying churches on the Continent, continued to cause great strife both politically and economically. Religious differences, both political and ecclesial, were posing a serious threat on both sides of the English Channel. In England, it was imperative that the crown do everything possible to hold off a Civil War between England and Scotland. Alliances needed protecting so as to keep various nations of the Continent and Catholics in Scotland from being formed into a foreign alliance that would threaten the crown of King James I.¹²

Much like his king, Andrewes viewed the Roman Catholic Church as the mother Church of England, which nonetheless needed to be cleansed from her errors. James I was willing to grant the Pope the title of Universal Bishop but not the authority to remove kings from their thrones. It was one of the strongest desires of James I to have a true reconciliation between the churches and he also hoped for an

¹¹ Maurice Reidy, S.J., *Lancelot Andrewes*, 74-75.

¹² W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*. (1997), 15-18.

ecumenical council where the churches could meet to openly discuss differences and seek ways of reunification.¹³ It is within this political environment that Andrewes' own ecclesial views found welcome and appreciation from this Scottish king. Like Andrewes, James I favoured the practices and doctrines of early Christianity that were found within the undivided Church of the first five centuries.

The evidence of James I's desire for ecumenism is seen in his treatment of Roman Catholics who were willing to submit their loyalty to the crown while maintaining their religious convictions concerning the mother Church of Rome. From Rome's understanding of the *Oaths*, there seemed to be a lot of confusion over the difference between *The Oath of Supremacy* of Queen Elizabeth I and the *Oath of Allegiance* of King James I. Within the latter, King James I did not deny the primacy of the spiritual authority of St. Peter in any way. This oath was merely a safeguard for the king ensuring his subjects' loyalty over and above any Papal claims of sovereignty. It was those who threatened the crown and his sovereign rights to rule England, unmolested by the Pope, which James dealt with most harshly. He was willing to allow peaceful Catholics to live without much interference. James I, it seems, was not interested especially in interfering with the ordinary devotional practices of Catholics, his concern was with the Pope's temporal power which he was anxious to curtail, leaving ordinary Catholics to continue with their lives relatively unaffected. Interestingly, it is the Puritans who seemed to exasperate James I the most.

The strong desire for a true ecumenical council was thwarted by the bitter European controversy that escalated in England at the discovery of the Gunpowder

¹³ W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, (1997) 31-74.

Plot (November 1605).¹⁴ When the threat of a Recusant revolt became apparent, James' measures to control them resulted in making the 'Sacrament of Unity' into a weapon of coercion.¹⁵ What the *Oath of Allegiance* actually accomplished was to keep the question of authority at the forefront of the people's minds. Authority became the dividing issue despite the fact that this oath did not deny the spiritual authority of the Pope, but rather limited his authority over a sovereign prince. It was to this very issue that James I turned to Andrewes to form a response to the leading Roman Catholic controversialist at the time, Robert Bellarmine.

Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) was a distinguished writer and theologian as well as a member of the Society of Jesus. Bellarmine came to the defence of Rome's strong opposition to King James I's work *Tripoli nodo triplex cuneus*, which defended the *Oath of Allegiance*, with his apology for Rome's temporal power entitled *Matthaeus Tortus*.¹⁶ It was in the *Tortura Torti* (1609) where Andrewes set out to refute what he described as Bellarmine's pretence that to lose the power to remove kings was in effect to take away the power to excommunicate.

Over all, in comparison with the sixteenth century and the latter part of the seventeenth century, the early seventeenth century proved to pave a smoother road for ecumenism. The English Church under James I, and the leadership of Lancelot Andrewes, sought closer ties with the 'Protestant churches abroad, established contact with the Orthodox to the East, and developed a conciliar theology which prepared the

¹⁴ This was the plot by the explosives expert, Guy Fawkes, a Catholic extremist, to blow up the Parliament and King James I and his family. This was to be executed on 5 November 1605 but was discovered through a tip-off that resulted in Guy Fawkes' apprehension. This halted any attempts to Catholic emancipation for two more centuries.

¹⁵ The main focus of this coercion was to make sure that everyone in the parish received the Eucharist from their parish church at least once a year. Those who did not so receive had their names put forth, were sometimes fined and at other times imprisoned.

¹⁶ See James Brodrick, *Robert Bellarmine: Saint and Scholar* (Westminster: Newman, 1961).

way for a possible rapprochement with the Church of Rome.’¹⁷ King James I ended his life not seeing the fulfilment of his desires for a united Church, yet his labours were able to produce a more peaceful existence between European princes and the Church in England.

1.3.1 *The Eucharistic Question and Challenges*

Concerning the Eucharistic controversy, James I seems to have listened closely to Bishop Andrewes, and his many sermons at Court, giving special attention to the nature of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist. W.B. Patterson directs us to a conversation between John Percy S.J. and the king regarding the nature of Christ’s presence in the Sacrament. In that discussion, James I denied the claim that the English Protestants rejected the substantial presence of Christ in the Eucharist. When asked specifically, James I replied, that he himself did believe that the substance of Christ inhered in the consecrated elements.¹⁸ Lasting peace in the Church was James I’s desire, as well as that of Lancelot Andrewes. The questions surrounding the sacrament of unity were at the heart of this ecumenical desire. Through the king’s leadership and that of Andrewes, better relations with the Eastern Orthodox, Reformed Churches in France, and in the United Provinces were able to take shape.¹⁹

¹⁷ W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, (1997), 153. According to Patterson, ‘James did not see the Church of England as a competitor to international Calvinism or an implacable foe to Roman Catholicism. Instead, like Hotman and de Thou, he wanted to include international Calvinism as well as the Church of Rome in a larger union. It was he who was chiefly responsible for fostering an intellectual and religious climate in England which was congenial to Casaubon, Calixtus, and Grotius. In this task, he was ably assisted by English scholars and bishops, especially Overall and Andrewes. To the extent that the Jacobean Church of England had an ecumenical outlook, it was James who was largely responsible for it. It is not surprising that some of the best spokesmen for the point of view James advanced were foreign visitors.’ 154.

¹⁸ W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, (1997), 343.

¹⁹ W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, (1997), 363-364. Within Patterson’s work, he has an interesting chapter (6) on the relations of the English Church with the Orthodox. James I offers to educate the Orthodox priests in England through scholarships that began to pave the way for ecumenical relationships today.

1.4 Andrewes in Formation

Before going much further into this chapter, it is important to outline something of Andrewes' own formation as a theologian. Born in 1555 in London in the parish of All Saints, Barking, Andrewes was the first of a generation that was entirely raised on the 1559 Book of Common Prayer.²⁰ Henry Isaacson notes that from a youth of tender years Andrewes was totally dedicated to his studies. He was educated by Master Ward of the Coopers' Free School in Radcliff, and then went on to the Merchant-Tailor's Free School in London. He continued his education at Cambridge and was a member of Pembroke Hall where he received a number of scholarships proving himself *lumen literarum et literatorum*.²¹ Within this education, Andrewes studied Classics learning the ancient languages of Latin, Greek and Hebrew and showed himself an expert in some fifteen modern languages together with six ancient ones.²² Between 1548 and 1634, at least one work from Calvin was printed almost every year in England and the *Institutes* were used as texts within Cambridge and Oxford, certainly bringing Andrewes within their influence.²³ As Calvin's influence was so extensive within sixteenth century English theology of the Eucharist, one can certainly argue that much of Andrewes' own writings were intended as something of a critique.²⁴ Moreover, there is a sense in which we will find in subsequent chapters of this thesis that Andrewes was not one who held to the Reformed 'true presence' doctrine that had found such popular acceptability within the Elizabethan years.

²⁰ This will be important later when we look at his notes on the Book of Common Prayer where later divines, like Bishop John Cosin, gleaned insight in developing their own thoughts on the Eucharistic liturgy.

²¹ Henry Isaacson, *An exact Narration of the Life and Death of...Lancelot Andrewes*, (London: 1650), L.A.C.T. XI (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1854) .

²² Paul, L. Welsby, *Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626s*, (London: SPCK, 1958) 10-12.

²³ G.L.C Frank, 'The Theory of Eucharist Presence...', 38-39.

²⁴ What one will discover when comparing someone like John Jewel and Lancelot Andrewes' view of presence is the difference between a 'Sacramentarian' and a 'Catholic'. See Chapter 3.

Andrewes was raised and educated within the context of an intense battle within a Church that was seeking to clarify its identity in the midst of divergent pressures. The Church in England, on the one hand, sought only credibility and catholicity but on the other was faced with enormous pressures from Recusants on one side and Puritans on the other. Some hoped to reclaim the English Church to Rome and others sought only to form the Church in England into the image of the Continental Reformed Churches.

These were extraordinary years likely to have impacted upon our young protagonist. Andrewes was in formation during the latter years of the *Council of Trent* and this Council met and determined Eucharistic doctrine for the Church of Rome whilst Andrewes was in the midst of his studies.²⁵ It was commonly known at the time that Cambridge was highly influenced by Puritanism and high Calvinism while Oxford remained committed to more of a Catholic ethos while maintaining its distance from Rome.²⁶ Andrewes arrived in Cambridge the year following the expulsion of Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) from Cambridge University. Cartwright, a leading Puritan, strongly criticised the hierarchy and the ecclesial constitution of the Church of England and orchestrated much of its Puritan systematisation. In fact, the year after Andrewes arrived at Cambridge University, news came of the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre in France. This only added to anti-papal attitudes that were the legacy of Queen Mary's reign that resulted in numerous Protestant martyrs. Andrewes' devotion to scholarship landed him in places

²⁵ For an outline of his life and studies see the works of Paul Welsby, *Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626*, (1958); Robert Ottley *Lancelot Andrewes*. (Boston, 1894); Florence Higham *Lancelot Andrewes*. (New York, 1952); Douglas MacLean., *Lancelot Andrewes and the Reaction* (London: George Allen 1910); Henry Isaacson *The Life and Death of Lancelot Andrewes in Andrewes' Works*, Vol. XI (L.A.C.T. 1854) iii-xxxviii. These will give the important biographical information that will be covered throughout the chapters here in relationship to his writings and an analysis of his Eucharistic thought. The session of Trent that I am referring to is in the year 1562 that set out to answer thirteen questions on the Mass. The two prior dates for the discussion on the Mass were 1547 and 1551/52.

²⁶ Paul Welsby, *Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626* (1958) 14.

of great influence. This dedication to scholarship has allowed his theology to continue shaping the Anglican Church.

In addition to these changes were those taking place in relations between Rome and England.²⁷ A lightening of Catholic hostility began to emerge. One's Protestant convictions, in that time, could be determined by one's hatred of Rome. A large degree of this hatred came about because of the 'schism', which took place in England at the formal 'cutting off' of Elizabeth I from the Church. In 1570, Pope Pius V declared Queen Elizabeth I excommunicated, assigned to the flames the *Oath of Supremacy* and the Prayer Book, and publicly released all of Elizabeth's subjects from their oath to her. From this point in Andrewes' life, to be a Roman Catholic was to be guilty of treason. This set of circumstances provoked executions for those who were convicted of remaining in the 'old Religion' and many suffered death from adhering to their convictions that, although primarily religious in nature, had now become tantamount to treason. It is worth noting, however, that when this violent hatred towards Rome was beginning to weaken, Andrewes was at his most influential period.²⁸ It becomes evident how turbulent the religious scene actually was in Andrewes' time and how confusing were the attitudes to both the 'new religion' of the godly and the new ways of ecclesiology.²⁹

1.5 Andrewes and the Puritans

What is one to make of the claim that, early in his career, Andrewes was influenced by Puritan theology? A number of scholars have advocated this view primarily due to several strands of evidence. Some cite his strict views of the

²⁷ Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: the Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600-1640*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 322-373.

²⁸ See W. B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, (1997), 31-74.

²⁹ Walter Howard Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I*, (1558-1625) (1904), 149-170; See also, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars, Traditional Religion in England (1440-1580)*, (Yale, 1993).

Sabbath,³⁰ others his time at Cambridge in discussion with Puritans, others his relationship with Sir Francis Walsingham and his employments by the Puritan Earl of Huntingdon.³¹ There is not enough internal evidence within Andrewes' own writings (neither early in his career at posts such as St. Giles of Cripplegate, nor later in his life when placed in a position of apologist for the catholicity of the English Church) to add the label of Puritan to him. Actually, there is much to the contrary.

Paul Welsby actually undermines his own claim that there may have been a very early influence of Puritanism in Andrewes' thought. One such example of this is that Welsby himself refers to the fact that Andrewes challenged the publication of his lecture on the Second Commandment that resulted in its distribution without his permission. Andrewes disavowed the notes from this lecture as imperfect collections from the mouth of an ignorant hand.³² Likewise, the case made by M.M. Knappen does not provide the necessary evidence to further this argument. Knappen seems to have reduced Puritanism to Sabbatarianism and concludes from this an influence of Calvinistic theology and a reverence for Presbyterian polity.³³ Lossky is correct that Andrewes' scholarly collaboration with Puritans and high views on the Sabbath does not automatically connote influence. As many others have noted when looking into this debate, refer to John Buckeridge's words in Andrewes' funeral sermon that described his own abilities. Buckeridge said, 'Andrewes was less indebted to his

³⁰Robert Ottley points out that after Andrewes' ordination in 1580; moral theology had special attractions for him, particularly as a cure of souls. See page 15.

³¹ Paul Welsby, *Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626*, (1958), 39.

³² Paul Welsby, *Lancelot Andrewes 1555-1626*, 22-23. Andrewes was merely following in the tradition of the *Act of 1552* and the *King's Book* that gave no sanction for the use of the Sabbath as a day of amusements. These views carried the authority of the State Church and it is to this order that Andrewes gave himself to in obedience and good faith. See Welsby *Lancelot Andrewes*, 23-24.

³³ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, n. 5, 11. For a discussion of the dualistic mind of the Puritan found within the apocalyptic hermeneutic of the day, see Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed* (1995)102-124. What Andrewes sought to accomplish was to not let this apocalyptic argument exert a stronghold over his doctrine of ecclesiology or sacramentology. This becomes a major point of contention during the Archbishopric of William Laud.

teachers in his university work than to his own efforts and his personal study.’³⁴

Andrewes had too much of the rigour of his own studies to accept Puritanism, and ultimately forced him to answer Sir Francis Walsingham that what Puritans taught ‘was not only against his learning, but his conscience.’³⁵

One of Andrewes’ ‘thorns’ were the Puritans who held to a high Calvinism concerning the doctrine of election and predestination and who prided themselves on being as far away from Rome as they could be.³⁶ In a sermon preached following the conclusion of the Synod of Dort, Andrewes comments on the above controversial doctrine saying,

I speak it for this, that even some that are far enough from Rome, yet with their new perspective they think they perceive all God’s secret decrees, the number and order of them clearly; are indeed too bold and too busy with them. Luther said well that every one of us hath by nature a Pope in his belly, and thinks he perceives great matters. Even though they believe it not of Rome, are easily brought to believe it of themselves. And out they come with their *comperis* [discoveries], with their great confidence propound them. But *comperi* is one thing; *in veritate comperi*, another: *compare*, they may say, and that may be doubted of, but *in veritate comperi*, that is it.³⁷

The real difficulty lies precisely with the overused term of Puritan. It is essential that this term is accurately defined and its limits identified. Puritanism in the Church of England at this time can be divided basically into three categories. One is what may be called the Nonconformist group; secondly would be termed the Separatist position, and finally what could be termed moderate Puritans who simply wanted to remove ‘Catholic’ ceremonies and vestments but would be willing to submit to an episcopal form of government. These later Puritans would be Calvinistic in their theology and have practical issues about the Prayer Book. The first category

³⁴ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, 11; see also John Buckeridge, *Sermon*, in *Works*, Vol. V., 290.

³⁵ From Sir John Harington’s tract, printed in Andrewes’ *Works*, XI, xxxvi.

³⁶ Andrewes’ views do not fall into line with most Western Augustinians on the doctrine of original sin but are more in agreement with the Eastern tradition. See Nicholas Lossky, *Andrewes*, 170-171, 347-351.

³⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 328.

of adherents, the Nonconformists, were willing to remain a part of the established Church but were conscientiously opposed to episcopacy and desired a Presbyterian form of government. Separatists, on the other hand, such as Robert Brown (1550?-1633), wanted to substitute a 'pure group' for the existing Church and saw it more in the role of 'spiritual' governance rather than a structural entity.³⁸

Determining precise boundaries for this movement is extremely difficult because of the wide variety of attitudes to ceremony, liturgical practice, and application of the regulative principle of worship, ecclesiology, conscience, and the like. Puritans typically objected to things such as kneeling for communion and indeed much ceremony at all. While there are occasionally Puritans who would see kneeling as *adiaphora*, they still objected to it being imposed upon the consciences of those who deemed it an erroneous posture for Communion. Certain Puritans did away with things such as the post-baptismal anointing and were minimalists when it came to liturgical vestments (though they did not reject all ministerial attire, but only 'vestments') and use of ceremony. In fact, some who were exiled to Geneva returned having been won over by the Genevan black gown, initiating a new dispute over vestments.

Despite the varied positions, there is a common thread of liturgical minimalism consistent within the movement such that it is hard to imagine calling Andrewes a 'Puritan.' Even if Andrewes was a strong Sabbatarian of some sort, that position was not uncommon in the pre-Reformation church, so it would hardly qualify one as a Puritan. In terms of church government, some Puritans accepted episcopacy provided that it was understood as a matter of human law. This latter category was

³⁸ Walter Howard Frere. *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James*, (1904), 202-203.

quite diverse and less defined. Nonconformists and Conformists could vacillate to either extreme depending on what was happening with particular Bishops.³⁹

A proponent of *de jure divino* episcopacy, as Andrewes was, would not qualify him for the title ‘Puritan.’⁴⁰ These ideas must be weighed together with those comments made within his sermons and writings criticising the novelty of Puritan ideas. To Andrewes, these novel ‘churchmen’ went against the first five centuries of the Church and therefore did not belong to the Catholic Faith. In a disapproving sermon that attacked the theology of the Puritans, preached at St. Giles in 1592, Andrewes not only gives evidence that he saw them as a menace to the Church, but he was also eager to make the point again of how it is that the Church arrives at an authoritative interpretation of the scriptures. With reference to the patristic authority that determines an authoritative interpretation of the sacred texts, Andrewes expounded the following:

Therefore the ancient Fathers thought it meet that they would take upon them to interpret “the Apostles’ doctrine,” should put in sureties that their senses they gave were no other than the Church in former time hath acknowledged. It is true the Apostles indeed spake from the Spirit, and every affection of theirs was an oracle; but that, I take it, was their peculiar privilege. But all that are after them speak not by revelation, but by labouring in the word and learning; are not to utter their own fancies, and to desire to be believed upon their bare word—if this be not *dominari fidei*, ‘to be lords of their auditors’ faith,’ I know not what it is—but only on condition that the sense they now give be not a feigned sense, as St. Peter termeth it, but such a one as hath been before given by our fathers and forerunners in the Christian faith. “Say I this of myself,” saith the Apostle, “saith not the law so too?” Give I this sense of mine own head? hath not Christ’s Church heretofore given the like? Which one course, if it were straitly holden, would rid our Church of many fond

³⁹ I am indebted to Dr. William Tighe for his further development of my own thoughts.

⁴⁰ I am indebted to Dr. Joel Garver for our discussion that helped me to better develop my thoughts here. In a final hope for ecumenism with all the Reformed Churches, Andrewes shares this hope with Du Moulin. Yet Andrewes maintains the stipulations for any ecclesial union must be episcopal in structure. ‘Which is likewise my earnest and hearty prayer: and I daily begg it humbly of God, that they may be united in the *same* Form of Church Policy, by the bond of Ecclesiastical Government; but that same which derives its pedigree from the very infancy of the Church; from which, the Reverend Antiquity of the First Ages; which whosoever opposeth himself to all Antiquity; which Saint James the Apostle began in the Church of Hierusalem, from whom the succession of Bishops in a long course defended; which condemned Aerius, for daring to oppose himself against the Consent and practise of the Catholik Church; which all Churches everywhere received.’ Andrewes, *Of Episcopacy*, Three Epistles of Peter Moulin answered by the Right Reverend Father in God Lancelot translated for the benefit of the publike., Du Moulin, Pierre, 1568-1658.[London: s.n.], (1647), 62, 63.

imaginations which now are stamped daily, because every man upon his own single bond is trusted to deliver the meaning of any Scripture, which is many times is nought else but his own imagination. This is the disease of our age.⁴¹

Throughout his sermons Andrewes offered references to the Fathers on most pages and there seems little doubt that it was upon the Fathers that Andrewes relied mostly for his doctrine.⁴² Welsby did point out that Andrewes had some involvement with what came to be known as ‘prophesyings’ by the Puritans. In a sermon preached on Isaiah 6 at St. Giles in 1598, Andrewes gave a hint to how he regarded these ‘prophesying’ meetings, over against a Catholic ecclesiology and liturgical theology. He once again lamented the fact that what was previously seen as the means for the forgiveness of sins, namely the Eucharist, had faded into the background. He expressed grief that in his day the novel idea of ‘preaching services’ in lieu of the Eucharist came to be viewed as the instrumental means for the removal of sins. In what would seem to be a more Catholic view of the instrumentality of the Eucharist, we find Andrewes saying,

Whereas the Seraphim, did not take the coale in his mouth, but with tonges; and applied it not to the Prophet’s eare, but to his tongue. We learn, that it is not the hearing of a sermon that can cleanse us from sinne; but we must taste of the bodily element, appointed to represent the invisible grace of God...therefore nothing is so avaleable to take away sinne, as the touching of bread and wine, with our lips.⁴³

Statements such as this one give reason for us to ask where Andrewes actually stood in relation to Reformed sacramentalism within his day. With such views of instrumentality, it could be asked, is Andrewes playing both sides of the ecclesial

⁴¹ Lancelot Andrewes, *Works*, V.,57.

⁴² Anthony Milton argues that ‘divines such as Andrewes, Overall and Montagu were moving beyond invoking patristic authorities simply as a polemical strategy or “containing tactic” (in Windsor’s words), and were more emphatically promoting the strict imitation of patristic doctrine and practice as normative for the present Church of England. In their eyes, the early Fathers of the church should play a far more significant role in guiding scriptural interpretation than the works of more recent Protestant divines.’ 274, 275.

⁴³ Andrewes, *Apospasmata Sacra, or A Collection of Posthumous and Orphan Lectures*. (London: printed by R. Hodgkinsonne, for H. Moseley, 1657), 520. Abbrev. Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, followed by page number will be the method of notation.

divide of the Continent and Rome concerning the doctrine of the Eucharist? It is to this question I now turn.

1.5.1 *Eucharist and the Via Media*

In his article, *The Myth of Anglicanism*, Nicholas Tyacke makes two claims: one that it is a myth to say that Andrewes is the father of Anglicanism, that is the *via media*, and two, that he only discovered *Ecclesia Anglicana* in the 1590's.⁴⁴ The period in question is not dissimilar to that of the last years of Henry's reign when Conservatives and Radicals were vying for ecclesiastic control. I think Tyacke is correct when he states that it is a myth that Andrewes was the father of Anglicanism, but my reason is that Andrewes was never interested in working out a *via media* between the Church of Rome and the Protestant Churches on the Continent. Rather, he consistently advocated continuity in Catholic faith and worship, especially as expressed in the first five centuries.

Tyacke goes on to argue that it is only in the mid 1590's that Andrewes discovers *Ecclesia Anglicana*. Perhaps, it is because he thinks that Andrewes was a Puritan in his early days, and only very gradually came to a sacramental understanding of the Church. If so, this position would misunderstand Andrewes' lifelong commitment to the Fathers as he expressed so clearly to Walsingham in 1589.⁴⁵ The issues concerning the nature of the Elizabethan Settlement are altogether

⁴⁴ Nicholas Tyacke, 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', in Peter Lake and Michael Questier (eds.), *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church c. 1560-1660* (Boydell Press, 2000), 5-33.

⁴⁵ One important point that is not brought out in this article of Tyacke is the fact that it is impossible to claim that the Elizabethan Settlement produced a monolithic Reformed/Calvinistic Church in England. I am indebted to Marianne Dorman for her reminding me of this point. For the following reference, I am indebted to Arthur Middleton. Queen Elizabeth I, herself, told Parliament in 1589 'that the state and government of this Church of England, as now it standeth in this reformation ... both in form and doctrine it is agreeable with the Scriptures, with the most ancient general Councils,

another debate and there is simply not enough space here to go into them. However, it is not as simple as Tyacke expresses it by claiming some sort of unified movement in the sixteenth century Elizabethan Church against which Andrewes expressed his pioneering views.

Tyacke goes on to argue that Andrewes' reluctance to put these sacramental views into full practice is a proof of their novelty. Unfortunately, this is precisely where he goes awry. Tyacke misses the recurring points found throughout the works of Andrewes, which show that his theology was anything but novel.⁴⁶ This simply begs the question of where Andrewes would be getting these 'novel' aspirations. Andrewes' sacramental views were not primarily the result of his critique of the Church of England, though Andrewes was not afraid of proposing certain criticisms. Neither were Andrewes' views merely some sort of *avant-garde* ecclesiology, or a type of political or expedient conformity wed to the policies of the crown. Rather, Andrewes' Eucharistic views were established clearly upon the methodology of an ecumenism built around an undivided Church.

Tyacke makes the claim that Andrewes' views represent a pioneering venture. Instead we have it clearly from Andrewes that he was adamant that nothing that he practised and put forth as his understanding concerning the English Church, was new.⁴⁷ The English Catholic Church that he embraced and sought to put into shape was the Sacramental Church found within the writings of the Fathers. It is in this sense that we should understand that Andrewes was not seeking a *middle way* but rather looked for that ecumenical and Catholic *way* of the first five centuries. Denying Tyacke's view of Andrewes' novelty is not diminishing the historical record; he

with the practice of the primitive Church, and with the judgements of all the old and learned fathers' (J.E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments* (London, 1953/7) II, 198.

⁴⁶ Nicholas Tyacke, 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism', (2000) 33.

⁴⁷ See Marianne Dorman, *Andrewes: Mentor of Reformed Catholicism in the Post Reformation English Church 1555-1626*, (Pittsburgh: RoseDog Books, 2005), 167.

simply chooses to ignore Andrewes' many claims and evidences that prove he was *not* a pioneer. What Tyacke failed to see, a point noted by Nicholas Lossky, is that within Andrewes' theology, and particularly his Eucharistic theology, is not a theology that is developed within the narrow context of the Church of England in his own time. Andrewes' way of going forward is rather set within the unity of the one 'Catholic' Church of all times.⁴⁸

1.5.2 Andrewes in Search of Catholicity

Walter Frere, who spoke of Andrewes' friend Isaac Casaubon, a leading classicist on the Continent, who was naturalised in 1610 as an English citizen, evidences one such example of Andrewes' determination to rediscover the catholicity of the English Church.⁴⁹ According to Frere's own account, it was Casaubon's study of the Fathers that moved him away from Calvinism, yet failed to make him a Papist. He turned, ultimately, to the English Church and found within Andrewes' ecclesiology precisely what he had studied in the Fathers.⁵⁰

Ultimately, it was Andrewes' balance of order and toleration that allowed him to be described by Harington as the prelate to heal the schism of the Church.⁵¹ One example can be found in his personal chapel at Ely, which is an indication of his tolerance and understanding.⁵² Ely chapel, though developed into a place of outward

⁴⁸ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1991), 326.

⁴⁹ Walter Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James*, (1904), 385-386.

⁵⁰ Robert Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1894) 'Andrewes, indeed, often displays, in other passages as in this, the true catholicity of spirit which corresponds to the solemn greatness of the Christian revelation, and the immeasurable range of Scripture. His aim is ever to bring out the full content of dogma; to exhibit its bearings on life; to give reality and vividness to men's apprehension of it. In this respect there is affinity, both in the structure and tone of his sermons, between him and the Father whom he so often quotes—S. Chrysostom.' 133

⁵¹ See page 14 *n.36*.

⁵² Robert Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1894), 125. Ottley stated, 'There is in Andrewes' references to the common people a compassionate tenderness, a gracious considerateness and respect, which more than any other trait appeals to our modern sympathies. An instinctive abhorrence of violent, harsh, coercive methods; faith in the attractive and winning power of truth clearly presented; a

dignity, filled with ritual and beauty along the lines of the ancient Church's ritual practices and symbolism, also encapsulated a standard of tolerance that began in the age of Elizabeth I by not enforcing all of these rituals upon those subjects of the Queen who found difficulty with them. This was a virtue of Andrewes' priestly approach to pastoral difficulties. These virtuous characteristics caused many to revere him. Though he could not be characterised as a Puritan, he was gracious enough to be able to see and draw from their outward forms of discipline. He stated that:

The Puritans have no religion peculiar to themselves, but only a particular form of discipline. They are excessively devoted to their own idea of regimen, but in their doctrine generally are sufficiently orthodox. I am aware that there are some among them of schismatic temper; as regards external form of government they are Puritans, but not as regards religion, which is and can be one and the same, even where the external form of governance is not identical.⁵³

1.6 *Eucharistic Imaginings in England*

He acknowledges that what he understands in scripture appears different from what he understood Rome's practice entailed in various areas. At the same time, he expresses scorn for the fact that the Church in England has her own imaginations with reference to the Eucharist.

Contrary to St. Luke here, who calleth it *fractionem panis*, and to St. Paul who saith, *Panis quem frangimus* [1 Cor. 10.16]. As these are their imaginations, so we want not ours. For many among us fancy only a Sacrament in this action, and look strange at the mention of a sacrifice; whereas we not only use it as a nourishment spiritual, as that it is too, but as a mean also to renew a "covenant" with God by virtue of that "sacrifice," as the Psalmist speaketh [Ps. 50.5]. So our Saviour Christ in the institution telleth us, in the twenty-second chapter of Luke and twentieth verse, and the Apostle, in the thirteenth chapter of Hebrews and tenth verse. And the old writers use no less the word sacrifice than Sacrament, altar than table, offer than eat; but both indifferently, to shew there is both.⁵⁴

vivid sense of the heightening of human relationships which Christianity has introduced; the motherhood of the Church, the sonship and brotherhood of man, the paternal regard and right of control that belongs to true kingship—all these are genuine elements in Andrewes' view of mankind, and give us a clue to his influence. He has the true heart of a priest; his thoughts about men are sober, yet hopeful; he does not expect too much, nor aim at too little.'

⁵³ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 161' Translated by Robert Ottley in *Lancelot Andrewes* (1894), 114, 115.

⁵⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, V., 66, 67.

He claimed that a mere symbolic view of the Eucharistic presence, or what some may refer to as a real ‘absence,’ is another imagination of the times. Here he is referring to the teaching of the Swiss Reformer in Zurich, Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531). It was particularly with reference to Zwingli’s view of memorialism that Andrewes reacts most strongly. For Andrewes the Eucharist was much more than mere sign or remembrance. For him the Eucharist demanded realist terminology - language and concepts strongly rejected by a Zwinglian theology of the Eucharist. Andrewes says,

And again too, that to many with us it is indeed so *fractio panis*, as it is that only and nothing beside; whereas the “bread which we break is the partaking of Christ’s” true “body” [1 Cor. 10:16]—and not of a sign, figure, or remembrance of it. For the Church hath ever believed a true fruition of the true body of Christ in that Sacrament.⁵⁵

Since we are receiving the whole Christ in the Eucharist, we must live out His life as the Mystical Body that is united to Him. Here again we find Andrewes relating his Eucharistic theology to the understanding of the principle *lex orandi, lex credendi*.

The corporate dimension of the Eucharist required a corporate response to what was received. It was not simply eaten for one’s own nourishment, though one truly received nourishment from it. For Andrewes, a Eucharistic way of life was inseparable from a real communion with Christ. The Eucharist was one liturgical act of the Body united. An individualised way of viewing the Sacrament came from what he saw as an ‘empty’ Communion.

Further, as heretofore hath been made plain, it is an imagination to think that this “breaking of bread” can be severed [Acts 2:42] from the other, which is Esay’s breaking of “bread to the needy.” Whereby as in the former Christ communicateth Himself with us, so we in this latter communicate ourselves with our poor brethren, that so there may be a perfect communion. For both in the sacrifice which was the figure of it was a matter of commandment, insomuch as the poorest were not exempt from God’s offerings [Deut. 16.10]; and our Saviour Christ’s practice was, at this feast, to command somewhat “to be given to the poor.” And last of all the *agapæ* or lovefeasts of the Christians for relief of the poor, do most plainly express that I mean. In place of which, when they after proved inconvenient, succeeded the Christian offertory.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, V., 67.

⁵⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, V. 67.

1.6.1 Roman Imaginations

While also condemning the Puritans for their novelties and imaginations, he is also prepared to point out what he sees as Roman imaginations.⁵⁷ Andrewes develops what he understands as the ‘imaginations’ of Rome’s treatment of Eucharistic theology, particularly Rome’s references to presence and the regular use of private masses. Having completed a discourse on the Apostles’ doctrine and a discourse on their society or fellowship, Andrewes addressed that aspect of the Apostles’ teaching that concerned the ‘breaking of bread’. *Fractio panis* is more than a Semitism that simply means ‘eating together’. However, Andrewes’ critique of Rome’s Mass where the people are spectators and not invited to eat is of deeper sacramental concern for him and his understanding of *fractio panis*. Stating what the ‘breaking of bread’ involved, Andrewes explained:

For by it is gathered the Communion, as may be gathered by conference with the twentieth chapter of the Acts, the seventh verse, and as the Syrian text translatheth it. For that as by the other Sacrament in the verse immediately going before they are “received into the body of the Church,” so by this they are made to “drink of the Spirit,” and so perfected in the highest mystery of this society.⁵⁸

Addressing what he saw as an ‘imagination’ in the teaching of Rome, Andrewes illustrated this in a reference to her ‘many times celebrating this mystery *sine fractione*, ‘without any breaking’ at all.’⁵⁹ In other words, the faithful watching the priest celebrating without participating themselves in the eating and drinking.

The final ‘imagination’ raises the issue of both the Second Commandment and the ‘breaking of bread’ and hence the frequency with which the Eucharist should be

⁵⁷ On a careful examination of Andrewes’ ‘Visitation Articles,’ (*Works*, XI, 113-140) one is able to see that, though he is concerned about the Recusants being shown favour, he is more concerned to focus his attention on Puritan practices. What one especially notes is Andrewes’ concern for decency, order and ceremony during the Eucharistic celebration.

⁵⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 66.

⁵⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 66.

received. One of the justifying reasons for the frequent celebration of the Eucharist is the call upon the Church to care for the poor of the world. For Andrewes, this had many implications, not least of which was his concern that the nature of the Offering (alms and such) be united to the Eucharistic celebration. There is a theological connection here that needs more exploration in order to better understand what is involved in Eucharistic ethics that was obviously so fundamental to Andrewes' thinking.⁶⁰ He did not separate the act of worthy receiving, from the act of devotion and prayer. If one is not fit to receive the Eucharist then one is not fit to offer prayer. According to Andrewes, one should become fit to do both.

And lastly, whereas we continue in the doctrine and prayers of the Church, we do many times discontinue this action a whole year together. These long intermissions—so that if it be *panis annuus*, once a-year received, we think our duty discharged—are also, no doubt, a second imagination in our common practice. For sure we should continue also in this part of frequenting of it, if not so often as the Primitive Church did—which either thrice in the week, or at the furthest once, did communicate—yet as often as the Church doth celebrate; which, I think, should do better to celebrate more often. And those exceptions which commonly we allege to disturb ourselves for that action, make us no less meet for prayers than for it. For except a man abandon the purpose of sin, and except he be in charity, he is no more fit to pray than to communicate, and therefore should abstain from the one as well as from the other; or, to say the truth, should by renewing himself in both these points, make himself meet for both, continuing no less in the “breaking of bread” than in “prayers” and “doctrine.”⁶¹

Andrewes' dislike of the Puritan causes, and what he saw as Rome's innovations, was consonant with his general dislike for excessive definition.⁶² The Eucharist, for Andrewes, was the liturgical action of the Church through which the people are corporately transformed into the image of Christ. The Eucharist as the centre of the liturgy was the 'breaking in' of God's kingdom in this world. Therefore the liturgical act of communing with Christ shapes what the Church is to become as the chosen instrument of God's mercy to the needy. For Andrewes, the Eucharist is the liturgy of the people. For him, it was the Eucharist that made the Church what she

⁶⁰ This will be developed further in subsequent chapters.

⁶¹ Andrewes, *Works*, V. 67, 68.

⁶² Robert Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1894) 23.

was and is to be. The Eucharist is the sacramental act *par excellence* because it is the Eucharist that is the transforming act of the Church. It was, therefore, not an act that was to be discussed as some sort of theory of abstract questions that could busy the Church with all sorts of intellectual exercises, but was, rather, to be lived out to the full in worship and devotion.⁶³

1.7 Authority and Catholicity

On 13 April, 1613, Andrewes preached a sermon in Latin before King James I that explained the theological methodology he used when seeking to frame his understanding of the Eucharist.

Walk about Zion and reflect upon her. One Canon reduced to writing by God himself, two testaments, three creeds, four general councils, five centuries, and the succession of Fathers in that period—the centuries, that is, before Constantine, and two after, determine the boundary of our faith.⁶⁴

This title to authority was noted above in Andrewes' sermon 'Of the Worshipping of Imaginations.' For Andrewes, the first five centuries were the authority and final court of appeal in all matters pertaining to the teaching of the Catholic faith. Novelties, then, were those doctrines introduced by Rome as *de fide* which were clearly not articles of the faith. He rejected the *Magisterium* of the papacy and vehemently argued for the divine right of kings in his answer to Robert Bellarmine.⁶⁵ What is

⁶³ Marianne Dorman, *Lancelot Andrewes...* (2005): 'Just as Christ was clearly visible to all whilst on earth, so is the Church, and just as He was present to His disciples so is He still through the sacraments. As these in turn are the "only visible part of religion," by their very nature they should be administered publicly when the people join the priest in their offerings. Indeed for Andrewes the celebration of the Eucharist not only assures the continual presence of Christ in this world, but the existence of the Church.' 164,165.

⁶⁴ Andrewes, *Concio Latine Hatita, Coram Regia Majestate XIII, Aprilis, A.D. MDCXIII*. (London: 1629) L.A.C.T. IX, (Oxford: J.H. Parker, 1852), 91. *Circumdate vero Sion et lustrate eam. [Rom. 11.24] Nobis Canon unus in Scripta relatus a Deo, Duo Testamenta, Tria Symbola, Quatuor Priora Concilia, Quinque saecula, Patrumque per ea series, trecentos ante Constantinum annos, ducentos a Constantino, regulam nobis Religionis figunt.*

⁶⁵ Andrewes, *Works, Tortua Torti*, VII; See also Lancelot Andrewes, *Of Episcopacy*. (London, 1647). Andrewes particularly makes the point that the Pope may have spiritual authority over his people but he does not have temporal authority over the king of a nation. Andrewes rejected the claim

found when reading the works of Andrewes, and particularly seen in his *Preces Privatae*, is that here was a man deeply grieved by the reality of ecclesial division. It was the ecumenical Andrewes that becomes most evident in these private devotions where he pours out his sincere desires for God to heal the divisions of East and West, together with those present within his own Church in England. It is within this framework of ecumenism that he develops his theology as a whole. Ultimately, for Andrewes, authority does not reside within the individual's interpretation of scripture but what was believed and taught when the Church was without division. He was committed to a deeper and more careful study of Tradition and relied upon the interpretation of the early Fathers. Nicholas Lossky describes what that approach meant in Andrewes' theology.

As for Andrewes, he forms a link between the two centuries [16th and 17th]. He was in fact one of the first Western theologians not simply to have read the Fathers. He truly re-established contact with them, essentially by his conception of theology, which he shared with them: theology understood as being at the service of the deification of man. It is in this sense that one can speak, in connection with his theology, of a veritable patristic renaissance. He integrated into his teaching the essence of what the Fathers had in common, because he shares with them the experience of relationship to the personal God as constituting the essential component of humanity. And this theocentrism, this 'theotropism' one might say, in man created after the image and likeness of God informs his whole understanding of the entirety of human existence.⁶⁶

The focus on the primacy of the Pope over against Andrewes' conception of what Lossky described as 'breathing with both lungs', a view to look equally at the East and West for Catholic authority, manifested itself by the continual debates with Rome about what it meant for Andrewes to be Catholic. One of Bellarmine's claims

of Rome that the Pope had the right to excommunicate kings from the Church and that it was the prerogative of the king to assemble Church councils. He also rejected the abuse of the Pope's power to justify violent rebellions against the crown. The thrust of his argument for the divine right of kings is found in the Old Testament and the manner in which they held rule over Israel as the Church of the Old Testament. He argued that if there are no bishops there is no king. So we find a very close political connection to hierarchy for Church and State together. Against papal supremacy, he also argued historically from the councils of the Church of the first five centuries where these assemblies were called by princes. Yet Andrewes made it clear, numerous times that the king was not to make spiritual decisions for the Church as that was left to the hands of those gifted by God to shepherd the Church, namely bishops.

⁶⁶ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1991) 345-346.

concerning the lack of catholicity of the English Church was its denial of Transubstantiation. According to Bellarmine, one could not be Catholic and deny the doctrine of Transubstantiation.⁶⁷ Naturally, this went against Andrewes' own defence of the English Church as being Catholic. Welsby is correct that when one compares the writings of Andrewes to Hooker, it is Hooker that maintained the claims of reason against the narrow Puritan method of private interpretation of Scripture. Yet it was Andrewes who went further and maintained that the catholicity of the English Church was due to its links with the primitive Church. Yet, both Rome and Geneva would have repudiated that this was true of the English Church as claimed by Andrewes.⁶⁸

Andrewes consistently returned to his methodology of authority by returning to the Church of the first five centuries. It is important to note, as I did earlier, that the Church in England was undergoing transformation during the early days of Andrewes' labours, especially noticeable in some of the significant events taking place at Cambridge University. One of the major issues that brought on this turning point was the *Nine Articles* sent to Cambridge by William Whitaker, the Regius Professor of Divinity, which he wished Cambridge University to accept as the standard of Church teaching. These articles reflected a high Calvinistic doctrine of predestination and it was precisely this move that provoked the need for a more mature conception of the English Church. Walter Frere acknowledged this transformation from high Calvinism and Puritanism and spoke of Andrewes as one of the leaders of this change. It is important to note Frere's reference to Andrewes' theological methodology as being instrumental in that change.

Theology had taken a new turn, with Hooker at Oxford and Andrewes and Overall at Cambridge as its leaders. These men not only led the revulsion against dominant Calvinism, but introduced a more mature conception of the position of the English Church, based upon the appeal to Scripture and the principles of the undivided

⁶⁷ This will be further considered in Chapter 3 on presence.

⁶⁸ Welsby, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1958), 156.

Church. The earlier theologians had been able to recognise in principle the soundness of this appeal, but they had not hitherto been able to work out in practice its detailed results.⁶⁹

The struggle that remained within the Church of England was seen clearly in the rule of Archbishop Bancroft⁷⁰ (1554-1610) and the shift that was beginning to take shape during that time. The Church was without a John Jewel (1522-1571) to defend the Church's justifications for its directions.⁷¹ This may have been in no small part due to the fact that there *was* no consensus as to what was required to be defended. What developed during Andrewes' time was an innovative churchmanship that had not been as prominent under the reign of Elizabeth I as it was beginning to be in the reign of James I. This growth of influence was due to the growing political power of the Puritans in Parliament. That power allowed for the success of the rebellion in 1640 but it was their weak churchmanship subsequently that allowed for the success of the Restoration in 1660.⁷² It was the churchmanship of the Puritans that was the driving-force behind Andrewes' return to a patristic catholicity within his Eucharistic theology. Frere noted Andrewes' enlightened difference in being able to make a critique of the English Reformation, something not evident among churchmen of the sixteenth century English Church.

How Andrewes came to determine the place of authority in the Church was a combined appeal to Scripture and to the authority possessed by the Church, with a present-day valuing of that past experience, particularly with reference to the

⁶⁹ Walter Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James*, 284.

⁷⁰ Richard Bancroft was Archbishop of Canterbury under James I from 1604 until his death in 1610. He was responsible for setting forth arguments to the government on behalf of the King and believed that Puritanism, if successful, would destabilise the country and hence he sought to suppress it.

⁷¹ There are some who would argue that Hooker took the place of Jewel and there is some truth to that claim. Yet, when one reads Hooker's defence of the nature of episcopacy over against Andrewes' defence of his churchmanship, the former is based upon reason and good order and the latter was based upon the conviction demands derived from scripture and tradition. See Jewel's *Work The Apology of the Church of England*, (London, 1562).

⁷² Walter Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James*, (1904), 322-323.

experience of an undivided Church.⁷³ As he saw it, this undivided Church was the Church of the ‘Fathers’ formed in a conciliar character with authority. This authority was not the result of the authority, personal or otherwise of any particular Church Father but rather because of what these Fathers in council upheld to be the Apostolic faith.⁷⁴ It was this type of churchmanship of Andrewes that, I submit, began to take shape, even as early as his time at Pembroke Hall as a student and Catechist. As a result, this made him the founder of an English Catholic theology, which until then had not emphasised sufficiently the fullness of Eucharistic catholicity now being expressed in this way; yet could be read in the English Church’s formularies, notably the *Book of Common Prayer*. Andrewes’ English Church, at least in his mind, was Catholic and founded upon the Vincentian canon *Quod semper, quod ubique quod ab omnibus*.⁷⁵ Andrewes always appealed to the example of primitive antiquity. This was the general rule for distinguishing the truth of the Catholic Faith from falsehood or heresy. Andrewes’ claim made to Bellarmine and du Perron (1556-1618)⁷⁶ was that the English Catholic Church, to which he and his king belonged, was part of the united Catholic Church that held to the faith that had been believed everywhere, always, and by all.⁷⁷

⁷³ Walter Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James*, (1904) 342.

⁷⁴ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1991), 339-340.

⁷⁵ The title “Vincentian canon” is derived from the work of St. Vincent of Lerins (written 434) *A Commonitory*, in the series *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers (NPNF)*, Vol. XI, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, reprint 1991), 132-133. St. Vincent writes there in Chapter II what Andrewes was to adopt as his own methodology of theological discourse: ‘I have often then inquired earnestly and attentively of very many men eminent for sanctity and learning, how and by what sure and so to speak universal rule I may be able to distinguish the truth of Catholic faith from the falsehood of heretical pravity; and I have always, and in almost every instance, received an answer to this effect: That whether I or any one else should wish to detect the frauds and avoid the snares of heretics as they rise, and to continue sound and complete in the Catholic faith, we must, the Lord helping, fortify our own belief in two ways; first, by the authority of the Divine Law, and then, by the Tradition of the Catholic Church.’

⁷⁶ Jacques Davy du Perron was a Calvinist who converted to the Roman Catholic Church and who wrote against the teachings of the Church of England. Andrewes interacted with du Perron by answering and refuting certain accusations from du Perron. See Andrewes *Works*, XI.

⁷⁷ St. Vincent of Lerins, *A Commonitory*, NPNF, Vol. XI, (1991), 132.

1.8 *Eucharist and Ecclesiology*

Andrewes' Eucharistic theology is the foundational hope of Eucharistic unity. Andrewes saw the Eucharist as the outward manifestation of the Church's unity. This was his highest hope though realising that the Church suffered from a monumental schism on the Continent, which found its way into the Church in England. In a sermon preached in the presence of King James I at Greenwich, in 1606, we find a clear example of how Andrewes establishes his Eucharistic theology within the theological context of his ecclesiology. For Andrewes, the day of Whitsun brings forth the seal and signature of God upon all that has taken place in the life and ministry of Jesus. Whitsun is the *in Quo signati estis*.⁷⁸ Quoting Ephesians 4.30 he expounds this text as the basis for making this feast the final signature of God for all that has happened in our redemption. The great mystery of *Filius datus est nobis* and *Spiritus datus est nobis* are the great mysteries of godliness. It is our union with Christ in His incarnation and our union with the Spirit wherein God is made manifest in the flesh as we become partakers of his divine nature (2 Peter 1.4). Andrewes says, 'Whereby, as before He of ours, so now we of His are made partakers.'⁷⁹ Just as the promise of the Old Testament looked forward to the Incarnation, and the promise of the New Testament to the sending of the Spirit, we therefore become *consortes divinae naturae* (2 Peter 1.4). Echoing Tertullian Andrewes says, 'the coming of Christ was the fulfilling of the Law, the coming of the Holy Ghost is the fulfilling of the Gospel.'⁸⁰

The result of receiving the Spirit is manifested by unity. The Spirit is the knot of unity between the community of the Trinity as well as the knot of unity of the

⁷⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 109.

⁷⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 109.

⁸⁰ *Christus Legis, Spiritus Sanctus Evangelii*.

hypostatic union. What makes us like God is when we manifest the spirit of unanimity.

Faith to the Word, and love to the Spirit, are the true preparatives. And there is not a greater bar, a more fatal or forcible opposition to His entry, than discord, and dis-united minds, and such as are “in the gall of bitterness;” they can neither give nor receive the Holy Ghost. *Divisum est cor eorum, jamjam interibunt*, saith the Prophet; [Hos. 10.2] “their heart divided,” their “accord” is gone, that cord is untwisted; they cannot live, the Spirit is gone too.⁸¹

Andrewes concluded that the rift that existed within the Church in England and on the Continent was a demonstration of a lack of credibility to the world. Andrewes found himself between the extremes of Popery on one side and Puritanism on the other and knew that someone had to be raised up to heal this division in the Church if there ever was going to be a great outpouring of the Spirit.

And who shall make us “of one accord?” High shall be his reward in Heaven, and happy his remembrance on earth, that shall be the means to restore this “accord” to the Church; that once we may keep a true and perfect Pentecost, like this here, *errant omnes unanimiter*.⁸²

The second point of this ‘accord’ included unity of place as well as unity of mind. It was uniformity that created ‘the bond of peace.’ This bond of peace is something that is outward and hence visible to the eye. Therefore, Andrewes invokes Hebrews chapter ten and the necessity of not removing oneself from the congregation. The call going out to the Church is built upon one foundation, namely Christ, and to live under one roof, thus being in one house. This is how the Apostolic life was set forth according to Andrewes’ understanding of what it meant for the Holy Spirit to be sent upon the Church. ‘Division of places will not long be without division of minds.’⁸³

⁸¹ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 113.

⁸² Andrewes, *Works*, III, 113.

⁸³ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 114. ‘*Qui facit unanimes, &c.*’ Andrews says, ‘Therefore it is expressly noted of this company here [referring to Acts 4.24, 8.6 and 2.46], in the text, where they prayed, ‘they prayed all together;’ when they heard, ‘they heard all together;’ when they broke bread, they did it all together. All together ever: not in one place some, and some in another; but all ‘in one and the self-same place.’

Andrewes fully believed that the Church was established by Christ to be a Body of unanimity and uniformity, though he was by no means naïve about the depth of the division in the Church. What he was certain of was the necessity to have Eucharistic fellowship under one roof while we work out the differences that we have. He notes that our being ‘in one and the self-same place’ must be our ground.⁸⁴ Andrewes adds his own additional thoughts from his reading of the Fathers that summed up how this unity ought to be approached by the phrase, *dum complerentur*. The Apostles were called to faithful waiting *until* they were perfected with the Spirit. In a predictive manner, Andrewes noted how, even in his own time, these words were despised, as even then very few wished to tarry and wait on the Lord, preferring to have things immediately. Andrewes’ call to patient waiting through the celebrating of the Feasts of the Church is a reminder to all that every detail of division will not be worked out immediately. Therefore, *dum complerentur*. Yet, in waiting, we come to the altar together while patiently labouring to firm up the unity we possess in Christ and that is seen in the Eucharistic offering.

1.8.1 *Communication of the Spirit of Unity*

The Holy Spirit is presented to both senses of ears and eyes: to the ears, the hearing of the Word, which is the sense of faith, to the eye, the sense of love. ‘The ear, that is the ground of the word, which is audible; the eye, which is the ground of the sacraments, which are visible.’⁸⁵ Here again is another place where we see

⁸⁴ Andrewes, Works, III, 114. Andrewes says, ‘The same Spirit, That loveth unanimity, loveth uniformity; unity even in matter of circumstance, in matter of place. Thus the Church was begun, thus it must be continued.’

⁸⁵ Andrewes, Works, III, 116. Anthony Milton rightly points out that ‘Whether or not it was depicted directly in opposition to a puritan emphasis on preaching, the Laudian period witnessed a more general concern among ministers to emphasize that justification was incomplete without the sacramental life of the church. Avant-garde conformity under James, and Laudianism under Charles, were notable for the emphasis which their protagonists placed upon the importance of liturgical

Andrewes' language of ecumenism could have appealed to the Calvinist mind, placing as he does the centrality of Eucharistic fruit on the work of the Spirit. For Andrewes, the Word is an audible sacrament and the sacrament is a visible word. In fact, both Calvin and Andrewes develop this language from Augustine.⁸⁶ According to Augustine's own thinking, the Word is to awaken us through *warning* of His coming, and the sacraments are to prepare us for the day of that visitation.

1.8.2 *Sacramental Conditionality*

Is the grace offered in the sacraments dependent upon the faith of those who receive? If so, then it would follow that the grace offered in the sacrament is dependent upon individual faith rather than a work of God. Such arguments will be considered in more detail in the next chapter. If Andrewes were really claiming man's faith for the determination of the efficacy of the sacraments, then one would question the ability to see him in an ecumenical position within his own day, other than with the Reformed church on the Continent. Andrewes in fact describes their efficacy as a result of Christ's work in them. For instance, he suggests, it is Christ who baptises and acts to communicate the grace in the sacraments. Furthermore, it is with reference to what Andrewes went on to say about the Eucharist as the sacrament of 'accord' that proves Andrewes did believe in the objectivity of sacramental grace. It is for this reason that Andrewes believes that the sacraments act with grace, not because of the righteousness of the priest nor of the recipient but because of the power of God graciously working through them. For Andrewes, there are three means that the

ceremonies and the sacraments as fountains of grace. The efforts expended in beautifying churches and instilling more reverential forms of public devotion reflected this set of priorities.' 470

⁸⁶ "The word is added to the element, and there results the Sacrament, as if itself also a kind of visible word." *NPNF VII*. St. Augustine: Homilies on the Gospel of John, Homilies on the First Epistle of John Soliloquies, 334.

Church is given for God's people to receive the Spirit: Prayer, the Word, and the Sacraments. Andrewes finishes the sermon already alluded to with an explanation of the sacraments as the means of communicating the grace of the Holy Spirit. But he adds an important qualifier. He says, 'if aright we receive it; in which respect he calleth it "the spiritual drink," because we do even drink the Spirit with it.'⁸⁷ His reference for this qualifier is 1 Corinthians 10.4 that reads, 'and all drank the same supernatural drink. For they drank from the supernatural Rock which followed them, and the Rock was Christ.'⁸⁸

What does Andrewes believe by the conditional clause "if aright we receive it?" Here, Andrewes is echoing 1 Corinthians Chapter 10. The context of 1 Corinthians 10 is the disobedience of Israel in the wilderness. Paul's point is that they indeed received Christ objectively in the 'spiritual waters' and therefore were under the condemnation that the grace offered and received was being rejected as they were tested in the wilderness. So, the point is not whether or not one has the right 'kind' of faith to make the sacraments efficacious, but whether one perseveres or not in the faith and Spirit received in the sacraments. More will be said on this in a subsequent chapter.

Like Paul, Andrewes believed the Israelites received Christ objectively in the 'waters' but spurned that reception of Him in their grumbling in the wilderness and walking away from the faith.⁸⁹ The rebellious were unable to enter because of unbelief, not because they had not received the Spirit. They received Christ in the spiritual drink but denied Him in their rebellion.

⁸⁷ Andrewes, Works, III, 128.

⁸⁸ RSV.

⁸⁹ Hebrews 3.16-19: 'Who were they that heard and yet were rebellious? Was it not all those who left Egypt under the leadership of Moses? And with whom was he provoked forty years? Was it not with those who sinned, whose bodies fell in the wilderness? And to whom did he swear that they should never enter his rest, but to those who were disobedient? So we see that they were unable to enter because of unbelief.' RSV. See Galatians 3.27.

1.8.3 *Eucharist and Peace*

In a Paschal sermon preached in 1609 shortly after the publication of the *Totura Torti*, Andrewes again displayed this aspect of peace in the Church. The peace-offering that the Church gives on this feast day of the Resurrection is the body and blood of Christ that is not only offered, but consumed. This is the law of the peace-offering as the one who offers also partakes.⁹⁰ Andrewes shows this connection of the Eucharist and Peace-Offering saying,

This day therefore the Church never fails, but sets forth her peace-offering;—the Body Whose hands were here shewed, and the side whence issued *Sanguis crucis*, “the Blood that pacifieth all things in earth and Heaven,” that we, in and by it, may this day renew the covenant of our peace.⁹¹

It is never more clear in Andrewes’ words than as stated here below that he sees the Eucharist as the meal of peace that not only brings peace and healing between us and God (as He is in our midst in this Sacrament) but between those in the Church as well. Speaking of the divisions that tear at the Christian’s heart he says,

Then can it not be but a great grief to a Christian heart, to see many this day give Christ’s peace the hearing, and there is all; hear it, and then turn their backs on it; every man go his way, and forsake his peace; instead of seeking it shun it, and of pursuing, turn away from it. We ‘have not so learned Christ,’ St. Paul hath not so taught us. His rule it is; ‘Is Christ our Passover offered for us’ as now He was? *Epulemur itaque*—that is his conclusion, ‘Let us then keep a feast,’ a feast of sweet bread without any sour leaven, that is, of peace without any malice. So to do, and even then this day when we have the peace-offering in our hands, then, to remember always, but then specially to join with Christ in His wish; to put into our hearts, and the hearts of all that profess His Name, theirs specially that are of all others most likely to effect it, that Christ may have His wish, and there may be peace through the Christian world; that we may once all partake together of one peace-offering, and ‘with one mouth and one mind glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.’⁹²

A careful reading of his sermons shows how the divisions in the Church tore at the fabric of Andrewes’ heart. He saw it as the highest contradiction to come and receive

⁹⁰ Leviticus 7:15

⁹¹ Andrewes, *Works* III, 251.

⁹² Andrewes, *Works*, III, 251. *Epulemur itaque*—Is Christ our Passover offered for us? Answer, yes, then dine sumptuously.

the peace-offering in the Eucharist, and then not to labour for the peace symbolised in it. Yes, the Church prays for it, Andrewes said, but it is altogether another thing to labour for it. Andrewes said, ‘*ut pro quo quis orat pro eo laboret,*’ what we pray for we should labour for, what we wish for we should stand for.⁹³ Andrewes recognised immediately and always that this would require sacrifice. As Christ displayed his feet and hands and what it took for peace between God and His people, so too we should be ready for the like if we wish to see peace in the Church.

1.8.4 *Eucharist and Catholicity*

In a very strong response to Bellarmine in his *Tortua Torti* Andrewes stated in what he understood the religion in England to consist. Once again we find his strong appeal to antiquity over against novelty.⁹⁴ Andrewes’ appeal to catholicity is within the framework that what England taught was neither more nor less than that which the primitive Church taught in the Fathers evidenced by their collective wisdom.

Andrewes quoted from Augustine more than any of the other Fathers but it was not through the use of one particular Father that Andrewes evidenced catholicity. Rather, it was within their uniformity and catholicity as a whole within the first five centuries that made for a unified and authoritative voice.

Andrewes claimed that the Church of England’s doctrine of the Eucharist was primitive. In a plea to Bellarmine to withdraw the doctrine of Transubstantiation, Andrewes made the comment that to do so would mean then there would be no

⁹³ Andrewes, *Works III*, 249.

⁹⁴ Andrewes, *Works, Tortura Torti*, VII., 96. “*Nobis vero opiniones novas? Imo narro tibi, si novæ sunt, nostræ non sunt. Provocamus ad antiques, ad antiquitatem usque ultimam. Quo novum quidque magis, eo minus gratum nobis; quo minus novum, eo magis; nec ulla auribus nostris gratior vox accedit quam illa Servatoris, Ab initio fuit sic.*”

difference between Rome and the English Church on the sacrifice of the Eucharist.⁹⁵

Yet the hopes of any reunion with Rome today must be realised by the spirit of candour that Andrewes was able to display; even with his greatest opponents. As one biographer has noted,

It scarcely seems probable that this forecast will be literally realised. But it is safe to assert that the best hope of reunion between the Churches of England and Rome lies in the cultivation on both sides of such a spirit of candour in dealing with history, of openness in acknowledging faults and shortcomings, of zeal for moral principles and religious truth, as we find in the controversial writings of Bishop Andrewes.⁹⁶

Within the methodology of Andrewes lies the necessary ingredient for building a true ecumenicity that is a result of not making secondary points of teachings and practices in Catholic diversity into primary issues of the faith. How the doctrine of the Eucharistic presence was to be stated with reference to the *modus* of that presence was not an issue of *de fide* or otherwise for Andrewes. On this view, Transubstantiation could be maintained as an opinion while not being made into dogma. There is no doubt that for Andrewes the reality of Christ's presence was necessary in maintaining the Catholic faith. Yet within his openness to differing opinions about the nature of that presence, there are clear distinctions in Andrewes' theology that determine matters of the faith and matters of opinion. In essence, the Creeds are the authoritative determinatives of the faith and issues such as the *modus* of presence remain within the category of opinion. When it comes to ecumenism and the Eucharist, Andrewes' sermons and writings offer a clear way that just might bring us back to that true path of peace and out of that maze of speculation.⁹⁷ It is within this framework, with a

⁹⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, *Responsio*, 251. "At vos tollite de Missa Transubstantiationem vestram; nec diu nobiscum lis erit de sacrificio."

⁹⁶ Robert Ottley, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1894), 175-176.

⁹⁷ A further example of Andrewes' dislike for deep speculation can be found in his response to the *Lambeth Articles* where he criticised them for being too narrow in their definitions of the deep mysteries of God. See Andrewes, *Works*, Vol. VI, 289-300.

view to the catholicity of the undivided Church, that Andrewes develops his Eucharistic theology.

1.9 *Eucharist: The Heart of Catholic Unity*

During his time as rector of the parish church of St. Giles Cripplegate, in London (1589-1605), Andrewes preached a series of sermons on the Eucharist.⁹⁸ Within one of these sermons, following the text 1 Corinthians 12.13, Andrewes develops his Eucharistic theology within a call for visible unity within the Church. Following Paul's argument from 1 Corinthians 10.16, Andrewes developed a correlation that joined the unity of the Body in receiving the sacrament with the unity that is to be lived out in the Church. While Baptism was the means of regeneration and life that is given in the Spirit, the Eucharistic celebration was the means of remaining in the vine that baptism engrafts us within. According to Andrewes, the Eucharist is the sign of our separation from the world but it is not intended to be a cause of division amongst ourselves. Andrewes desired unity with the Reformed churches throughout the Continent, Rome, and the churches of the East while particularly working for unity within his own Church in England. Yet, as we have seen, there were parameters both liturgically and in polity that are to be rooted in the framework of the undivided Church of the first five centuries as the foundation of this unity. He refers to the Eucharist as the sacrament of unity, love and concord.⁹⁹ The necessity of our being is to be in union with this Body. To be in the Church is to have

⁹⁸ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 515-21, 571-78, 594-600, 614-619.

⁹⁹ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 614.

life and salvation.¹⁰⁰ So to be out of the Church is to not be saved at all; it is to be like a dried twig. If the branch is separated from the vine there will be no fruit.’¹⁰¹

The Eucharist is the means by which our lives are nourished and strengthened to bear fruit and remain in the vine. To not receive the Eucharist is to dwindle like a dry branch. It is for this reason that Andrewes critiqued the infrequent celebration of the Eucharist and particularly was against what he termed the novel practice of communing only once a year. One will therefore find in almost all of his sermons relating to the major feast days of the Church Year an exhortation to come and partake of the mystery often.¹⁰² Without the Eucharist, the Church becomes irrelevant. Food is for the world and the world for food and in this one Eucharistic act we are joined together with all the saints throughout history and partake of this food that becomes our life. Therefore we must receive the bread and wine to confirm our faith in the body and blood of Christ as the seal of our eternal life in Him.¹⁰³

Andrewes encourages frequent communion and sees denial of communion to be a very serious thing. On that basis he cannot understand the Roman practice of going to Mass and not partaking. This he sees as being tantamount to the judgement upon Cain as will be explained below. As regards the Roman practice of receiving under one species only, Andrewes understands Rome to be disobeying God’s institution of this sacrament of eating and *drinking* which maintains the blessed life given to us in baptism. The Spirit is united to these elements in a powerful way through God’s elevation of them that, for Andrewes, to deny the cup to the laity is to

¹⁰⁰ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 615.

¹⁰¹ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 616. ‘Whereby we see that all shall not be saved, but only they that are gathered into the mysticall body of Christ, and as members of his body, doe live by his Spirit working in them.’

¹⁰² Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 616.

¹⁰³ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 616, 617. Andrewes stated, ‘Now the mediation of these elements are no lesse necessary to present and keep us as lively members of the mysticall body of Christ than bread and water are to maintain natural life.’

deny them access to the Spirit.¹⁰⁴ It was to deny the faithful the Spirit, not because Andrewes denied that the whole Christ was in each element, but because it was a violation of the command to eat and drink. Andrewes argued that Paul, unlike the Adversary's doctrine, spoke more generally about the Cup saying '*Nos omnes potati sumus*, not only the Clergy but lay men.'¹⁰⁵

In a sermon preached at St. Giles on 26 Aug 1599, Andrewes referred to God's judgment upon Cain for the murder of his brother Abel, describing this as the ultimate curse that one might face this side of the Day of Judgment, inasmuch as it resulted in Cain's expulsion from communion with God and Adam's children. Food is denied Cain and his person is shown to be accursed by God '*and hath no part in that blessed seed, in whom all the promises of God, touching this life and the life to come, are yea and amen.*'¹⁰⁶ To be removed from the sacrament is to be removed from the means of life and God's favour. Thus it is the sacrament of unity where the spirit of contention and envy is to be driven far from us and by our unity in the sacrament we may know if we have life in the Spirit.

For Andrewes, the Eucharist is the Church and the Church is the Eucharist. It is the nearest we can come to paradise on this earth. It is the life of paradise. As the Eucharist communicates the charity of God to His people from above, the Church celebrates the law of charity to one another. This is the highest expression of that eschatological hope that shall be accomplished at the gathering of the quick and the dead. Yet, this eschatological hope is not something that is something far off but experienced both now and then.

And even thus to be recollected at this feast by the Holy Communion into that blessed union, is the highest perfection we can in this life aspire unto. We then are at the highest pitch, at the very best we shall ever attain to on earth, what time we newly

¹⁰⁴ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 618.

¹⁰⁵ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*. 618. More to follow on this debate in a subsequent chapter.

¹⁰⁶ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 433.

come from it; gathered to Christ, and by Christ to God; stated in all whatsoever He hath gathered and laid up against His next coming. With which gathering here in this world we must content and stay ourselves, and wait for the consummation of all at His coming again. For there is an *ecce venio* yet to come.¹⁰⁷

So then, the Eucharist is a feast that is given by the Shepherd to gather His people again to Himself. There is a two-fold purpose in the gathering of Andrewes' Eucharistic theology that not only involves a covenant renewal between man and God but also between the members of the Body with one another. The symbols of the Eucharist make up the reality of what they are to give in the gathering and eating.

And as to gather us to God, so likewise each to other mutually; expressed lively in the symbols of many grains into the one, and many grapes into the other. The Apostle is plain that we are all "one bread and one body, so many as are partakers of one bread," so moulding us as it were into one loaf altogether. The gathering to God refers still to things in Heaven, this other to men to the things in earth here. All under one head by the common faith; all into one body mystical by mutual charity. So shall we well enter into the dispensing of this season, to begin with.¹⁰⁸

Andrewes spoke of the fullness being given to us in Christ and that the sacraments determine the richness of the liturgy. He said, 'No fullness there is of our Liturgy or public solemn Service, without the Sacrament. Some part, yea the chief part is wanting, if that be wanting. But our thanks are surely not full without the Holy Eucharist, which is by interpretation thanksgiving itself.'¹⁰⁹ It is the Eucharist that is not only the covenant that frees us from the demands of the Law, but more so, it is the very 'Cup of salvation' in which the

Cup is the Blood, not only of our redemption of the covenant that freeth us from the Law and maketh the destroyer pass over us; but of our adoption, of the New Testament also which entitles us and conveys unto us, testament-wise or by way of legacy, the estate we have in the joy and bliss of His Heavenly Kingdom whereto we are adopted.¹¹⁰

It is well-known that Andrewes prays the liturgy of the Church and speaks the Church's language in his writings and sermons. Like Chrysostom (347-407) or Basil

¹⁰⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, I., 283

¹⁰⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, I., 282-283.

¹⁰⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, I., 62.

¹¹⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, I., 62.

(329-379), Andrewes viewed the Eucharist as the sacrament of the Spirit. For Andrewes, receiving the Spirit was the summit of the Eucharistic celebration. The Eucharist and the Church are interdependent upon one another and it was the Spirit that held the two together. Andrewes gives us a hint of his focus on the Spirit in the Eucharist that is much like the prayer following the *epiclesis* in the Liturgy of Basil where he prays, ‘And to unite us all, as many as are partakers in the one bread and cup, one with another, in the participation of the one Holy Spirit...’¹¹¹ One could possibly presume that we have a hint of Calvin’s influence on Andrewes but it is not necessarily the case. It is understood that the Orthodox Church and the Western Latin Rite Church have debated whether it is the words of institution or the *epiclesis* that brings about the change in the elements. Andrewes is not establishing an either/or alternative nor is he necessarily echoing Calvin’s emphasis on the Spirit over against Rome. For Andrewes, the Spirit is the means by which the sacrifice of oblation is accomplished. It is for this reason that Lossky explains the insights of all that is involved in Andrewes’ theology that retains the Spirit as the summit of his Eucharistic thought. Lossky writes,

So far as the manner of the union between Christ and the elements is concerned, one can no more understand or explain it, that is submit it to human reason, than one can the hypostatic union of the two natures in Christ. Andrewes thus rejects the medieval doctrine of transubstantiation, on the one hand because it seeks to explain the unfathomable mystery, and on the other and above all—something that is entirely characteristic of his thought—because it verges on monophysitism and thus destroys the Chalcedonian purity of the Christological dogma. As for explanations of a ‘receptionist’ or ‘virtualist’ tendency, Andrewes dismisses them, implicitly but quite clearly, by saying that when, with St Paul, we call the Eucharist ‘spiritual food’ (I Cor. 10:3-4), it is because in it we receive the Holy Spirit. It is clear that for him *spiritualiter* indeed means *πνευματικῶς*. Now, if the Latin term has had a tendency, in the course of the centuries and in passing into European languages, to distance itself from *Spiritus*, the Greek adverb, in the whole of Christian literature in that language, immediately evokes Πνεῦμα.¹¹²

¹¹¹ *The Orthodox Liturgy being the Divine Liturgy of S. John Chrysostom and S. Basil the Great*, (London: SPCK, 1939), 75. See also, Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1991), 284,-285, 340-341.

¹¹² Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, 342.

The role of the Spirit in Andrewes' Eucharistic theology will be looked at much closer in subsequent chapters where Andrewes' uniqueness is established.

1.10 Conclusion

What one finds in the churchmanship of Andrewes is the result of a mature reflective catholicity that was able to develop in a way commensurate with the growth of English identity and her national interests. What Andrewes sought to portray within his ecclesiology was a more liberal and catholic view of the church that could quite naturally exist alongside the crown. Andrewes analyzed the English Reformation (in the Elizabethan establishment) within the declaration of nationalism that played a big part in her breach with Rome. Yet, he was unwilling to give up the catholicity of the Church to the novel aspirations of the Puritan party both in terms of constitutionalism and in terms of what Andrewes saw as their novelties with reference to liturgical practices, polity and sacramental theology. In Andrewes' mind, England was Catholic, even if she was not papal. The result of Andrewes' national balance concerning the place of the crown over the sovereign State and the churchmanship developed from the early Fathers, developed into a 'Catholic uniformity' that sought to restore order to the English churches.¹¹³ In Andrewes' mind, this methodology allowed him the freedom to draw from both East and West within his ceremonial practices that would wed the traditions of the undivided Church. This would make for an ecumenism that he hoped would shape the English Catholic Church into a silhouette of the kingdom on earth as it is in heaven.

For Andrewes, moderation became the key to determining what constituted heresy and what resulted as a matter of opinion concerning issues *de fide*. It is against

¹¹³ See Andrewes' Chapel arrangement in Vol. XI of his *Works*, Appendix F, xcvi-xcix.

this backdrop that I set out to lay the groundwork as we move on to consider in more detail the Eucharistic theology of Lancelot Andrewes. It is not my purpose to give an overview of all the contemporary theologians within Andrewes' own period but to periodically show where and how he was different from others in order to better understand his development of thought. Without trying to be too anachronistic with irrelevant labels, such as *Anglican* and *Via Media*, I have sought to establish the framework of how Andrewes approaches his doctrine of the Eucharist. There was nothing of innovation within his theology of the Eucharist if one means that he was seeking to create a theology and systematise it for a distinct new Church. Probably more clearly than any who had gone before him, Andrewes worked hard to prove, against many factions on either side of him, that the English Church was Catholic, episcopate *de jure divino* but was not papal and it was founded upon the Church's identity and continuity with the unbroken Church of the first five centuries.

Chapter 2 Sacrament and Symbol: Lancelot Andrewes and the Power of Sacramental Signification

2.1 Introduction

One of the important questions that we must ask when attempting to understand the theology of Andrewes' view concerning how the sacraments do 'their work' is to consider what view of instrumentalism Andrewes held to explain sacramental efficacy. There were numerous interpretations being developed on the Continent spanning from Rome's Thomistic view of secondary causes of grace to Zwingli's view described by B.A. Gerrish as a 'symbolic memorialist' and many nuanced views in between.¹ For instance, Bryan Spinks echoes B.A. Gerrish's views in his book on Calvin's Eucharistic theology, claiming that Andrewes was a 'symbolic instrumentalist' with a Calvinistic sacramental theology.² Did Calvin and Andrewes believe the same concerning instrumentalism? If not, where were they similar, and where were they different? What does this entail for Andrewes' views of Eucharistic instrumentalism? These are important questions in the larger scheme of the Eucharistic controversies coming out of the Reformation and the Council of Trent that continued into Andrewes' day. It is also important to understand Andrewes in light of the influence that the Continent was having on England and ended up having later in the sacramental life of the Church within England.

¹ B.A. Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude: The Eucharistic Theology of John Calvin*. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993)

² Brian Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines: Sacramental Theology and Liturgy in England and Scotland 1603-1662*.

2.2 *Instrumentalism Explored*

First, it is important to establish the definition that Gerrish wishes to use to define instrumentalism within the Reformed tradition and specifically with John Calvin. Gerrish puts forth three outlooks of instrumentalism to show the differences amongst Reformed theologians. He labels Calvin's position along the lines of what he termed 'symbolic instrumentalism' rather than 'memorial,' or 'parallel instrumentalism.'³ The three main proponents that Gerrish uses for each position are Zwingli as the 'symbolic memorialist', Heinrich Bullinger demonstrating 'symbolic parallelism' and John Calvin representing the 'symbolic instrumentalist' position.⁴ My purpose is not so much to define and interact with each of these three positions but rather to clarify the 'symbolic instrumentalism' of Calvin as defined by Gerrish, and Brian Spinks, who will be discussed further below, and then to place their definitions alongside Andrewes' to see if he can be rightly labelled within Calvin's category. Gerrish defines Calvin's view of 'symbolic instrumentalism' as a symbol or a sign that points to something else. However, that is not where the definition ends as that modest description could be applied to any of the three positions. What Gerrish goes on to say what differentiates the view of Calvin from the other two views mentioned above is that Calvin believed that the sacrament brings about 'a happening that occurs simultaneously in the present, or a present happening that is actually brought about through the signs.'⁵

It is true that Calvin met with some resistance from Bullinger and Luther on his views of the Eucharist, particularly his view of predestination and the efficacy of the sacraments defined by the doctrine of election. Bullinger's problem with Calvin

³ Brian Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude*: , (1993), 167.

⁴ Brian Gerrish, 'The Lord's Supper in the Reformed Confessions,' *Theology Today* 23, (1966.) These three representatives of each position are also set forth in *Grace & Gratitude*.

⁵ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1993), 167.

was the issue of the instrumentality that Calvin used to define sacramental efficacy. Zwingli denied Calvin's view of instrumentalism and was concerned that it was too close to the papal position of causality. One of the marks that define a sacrament for Calvin is the necessity of faith. Calvin protects the "integrity" of the sacrament via his view of the real grace offered (*offerre*) in the sacrament.⁶

2.3 *Sacraments and Salvation*

The next question that logically follows the objectivity of sacramental efficacy concerns the question of what the sacrament's efficacy provides. For Calvin, the Eucharist is efficacious in the confirming of faith. This is Calvin's primary use of the sacrament. Nevertheless, what Calvin seems to want to protect here is the 'integrity' of the sacrament given to those who do not in the end persevere, and so, he frames his understanding of the efficacy within the doctrine of divine election and predestination. Though Gerrish argues that Calvin held to a sacramental objectivity concerning its efficacy, it is also obvious that this was different from Andrewes' position. Andrewes believed that the sacraments are necessary for salvation whereas Calvin would say that one could have salvation without baptism or the Eucharist. In answering Cardinal du Perron concerning the necessity of Baptism Andrewes says, 'We hold the same necessity of Baptism that the Fathers did hold, which is, *Via ordinaria*: yet, *non alligando gratiam Dei ad media*, no more than the Schoolmen do.'⁷ Andrewes' point is that he believes in the necessity of the sacraments the same way the Fathers

⁶ Brian Gerrish, *Grace and Gratitude*, (1993), 161.

⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, XI, 14, 27. The reference in Andrewes' *Works* from the Schoolmen is noted as [S. Thom. Aquin. Sum. Theol. Par. Quaest. Lxxxiii] but I believe the reference ought to be *ST, 3a. 68.2, per quam Deus interius hominem sanctificat, cujus potential sacramentis visibilibus non alligator*. Through God, whose power is not restricted to visible sacraments, inwardly sanctifies a man. The point being that God is not bound to the sacraments and with whom Andrewes says Aquinas and a broad reference to the Schoolmen agree with this position.

describe their necessity by stating that ‘it is the ordinary way unto salvation; yet not obligating the grace of God to the means, any more than the Schoolman do.’

One of the conclusions at the Council of Trent was that the sacraments are necessary to salvation.⁸ Calvin would say that the sacraments are needed to sustain our weak faith and are a public act of our piety towards God.⁹ It is important to consider looking at the question of whether Calvin possibly needed to distance himself from Rome rhetorically and Andrewes, living some fifty years or more later, now needed to position himself more towards catholicity.¹⁰ The question becomes, (despite the obvious differences between Andrewes and some of the earlier Reformers) how much of those differences are matters of rhetorical context and how much are matters of substance. Certainly some of the rhetoric of the earlier Reformers had been taken up by the puritans and reified into a theological position, but was that the most authentic appropriation of those Reformers? There is also the difficulty, of course, that Calvin's own position shifts and develops and is differently expressed depending on audience and context—and this is true of other reformers as well—so that various parties can all legitimately lay equal claim to extending Calvin's position.

2.3.1 *Gerrish on Calvin's Eucharistic Offering*

⁸ The Council of Trent The Seventh Session *The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent*, Trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 53-67. Canon IV If any one saith, that the sacraments of the New Law are not necessary unto salvation, but superfluous; and that, without them, or without the desire thereof, men obtain of God, through faith alone, the grace of justification;-though all (the sacraments) are not indeed necessary for every individual; let him be anathema.

⁹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 4.14.6.

¹⁰ See W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom*, (1997), 50. I realise that the time of this sermon on Isaiah 6.6 referenced below is the eve of King James I coming to the throne; a renewed catholicity is in the air that begins within the Elizabethan period. James I was in the hopes of having an ecumenical council and settle issues of religion and particularly the papacy's claim to depose rulers. Nonetheless, the King's hope was a union of religion throughout Christendom.

In his chapter on the “Eucharistic Offering,” Gerrish clarifies what he understands is Calvin’s own views of the ‘uses’ of the sacrament that were defined in the 1536 edition of the *Institutes*. These three ‘uses’ are as follows: to confirm faith, to awaken thankfulness, and to encourage mutual love.¹¹ For Calvin, the primary use was to confirm faith. Quite often Calvin is writing within a context of polemics against the Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Roman Catholics. This is particularly true within the *Institutes*. Gerrish is correct to point out that those he is answering bury Calvin’s own Eucharistic theology. An example of how Calvin views sacramental efficacy that is distinctly different from Andrewes can be seen in how Calvin disregards the sacrifice of the Mass contra Andrewes. More of this is discussed in Chapter Four but here is an example as efficacy relates to the application of the sacrifice of Christ in the mass. Calvin spends a lot of time analyzing the Mass and particularly the understanding of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Calvin offers a view of sacrifice that is defined by praise and thanksgiving rather than a ‘re-presentation’ of the Body and Blood of Christ in a memorial to God for the forgiveness of sins. Calvin writes,

This kind of sacrifice has nothing to do with appeasing God’s wrath, with obtaining forgiveness of sins, or with meriting righteousness; but is concerned *solely* with magnifying and exalting God. For it cannot be pleasing and acceptable to God, except from the hands of those whom he has reconciled to himself by other means, after they have received forgiveness of sins, and he has therefore absolved them from guilt.¹²

For Calvin, the sacrifice is two-fold: Christ giving us his body at Calvary and the offering our bodies as living sacrifices to God. This takes place in more places than the sacrament. According to Gerrish Calvin’s point of the sacrament is that it promises our engrafting into Christ and us into him (*commutatio*) by picturing them.

¹¹ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 125.

¹² Calvin, *Institutes* IV. XVIII. 16, [Emphasis mine.] CO: IX. XVIII. 16. 386, *Haec sacrificii species nihil ad iram Dei placandam, nihil ad impetrandam peccatorum remissionem, nihil ad promerendam justitiam pertinet: sed in magnificando duntaxat & exaltando Deo versatur. Siquidem gratum acceptumque Deo esse non potest, nisi ex eorum manu quos jam accepta peccatorum remissione sibi aliunde reconciliavit, ideoque piaculo absolvit.*

Therefore, the sacrament serves as an ‘object lesson’ so that we come to grasp Christ’s death for us and our union with him. ‘The Sacrament signifies, or points to, this mysterious connection.’¹³ Consequently, what makes the Eucharist a sacrament for Calvin is not that it brings about a communion with Christ, or a reception of his body that is not available anywhere else, but rather that it graphically represents and presents to believers a communion they enjoy, or can enjoy, all the time.¹⁴ What Calvin defines as the sacrament is the symbol that sets forth the sign and pledge of our union with Christ. The issue of union with Christ is the key point of Calvin’s Eucharistic theology and how the sacraments effectually communicate to us the confirmation of that union. Gerrish concludes that the reason why the Eucharist was instituted ‘was not because something happens there that happens nowhere else, but because daily communion with the body and blood of the Lord is too mysterious to comprehend: it can only be attested and represented.’¹⁵

Gerrish gets at the heart of the issue concerning instrumentality through Calvin’s understanding and critique of the sacrifice of the Mass. According to Gerrish, ‘Calvin understands a sacrament to be by definition a gift, and therefore not an oblation to appease God—indeed, not a ‘work’ at all.’¹⁶ Calvin rejects any notion of an *opus operatum* when offering the Body and Blood of Christ sacramentally. This is because he sees that any notion of an *ex opere operato* formula within sacramental theology implies an impersonal causality that bypasses any need for faith.¹⁷ For Calvin the Eucharist is not something to be done at all but rather it is a gift to be received. Nevertheless, what Calvin seems to want to protect, he ends up denying.

¹³ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 127.

¹⁴ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 133.

¹⁵ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 133.

¹⁶ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 149.

¹⁷ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 150. This will be looked at more closely when I describe Andrewes’ view of sacramental instrumentality over against a ‘symbolic instrumentalism’ as defined by Gerrish and Bryan Spinks.

The concept of offering something and receiving in return does not imply merit. As baptised Christians we do not ‘work’ to receive God’s favour, we have God’s favour bestowed upon us in baptism. By offering ourselves in baptism we are engrafted into Christ and received as adopted children and do not have need of earning God’s favour; we already possess it. To do a ‘work’ or offer a gift with the expectation of receiving a ‘reward’ is not necessarily based upon merit. This is simply to state that the instrumental grace and working of the sacraments do not imply an impersonal causality when one sees the offering as an act of faith that trusts in the grace and promise of the Father to give that which is promised by means of the sacraments.

Calvin has a point when he describes some of the abuses of the sacrificial view of the sacrament and how it turned the Church away from the ecclesial celebration and the reception within the Eucharistic gatherings.¹⁸ Abuse of the Mass, (which were abuses and needed correcting) does not mean that what takes place via sacramental grace is somehow a human work alone. This is one of Calvin’s weaknesses and great differences between him and Andrewes. This is particularly evident when looking at Calvin’s description of the ‘uses’ of the sacrament.

Calvin’s understanding of sacrifice is seen in the offering of prayers; these are prayers of praise and thanksgiving. This will be discussed in more detail below. Gerrish brought up the red heifer passage from Numbers 19 in Calvin’s sermons, this reference shows some similarities between Calvin, and Andrewes but Calvin is quite distinct from how Andrewes describes the efficacy that flows from the sacrificial

¹⁸ See Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, (1993), 338-593, and John Jay Hughes, *Stewards of the Lord*, (London: Sheed and Ward, 1970). Hughes’ book is in response to Francis Clark’s, work on *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation* that shows how Clark simply fails to recognize that one cannot deny that what was popular and what was written concerning the theology of the Eucharistic Sacrifice were often two different things. Hughes does not see Roman theology properly responding to those abuses such as multiplication of masses, limited value of masses, mass fruits, and the question of whether strict orthodoxy is enough.

offering of Christ in the Eucharist. For Andrewes, we can conclude that it is the application of the forgiveness of sins. However, according to Gerrish, this interpretation on Eucharistic offering cannot be determinative of Calvin's explanation where he distinguishes between two offerings: one that is offered with the intention of the forgiveness of sin and the other that was used as a symbol of divine worship that was an attestation of our religion.¹⁹ For Calvin there has been one sacrifice for the forgiveness of sins and that was Calvary. Therefore, it is not the purpose of the Mass to forgive sins. Andrewes could not have disagreed more.²⁰ Concluding his chapter on Calvin's view of Eucharistic offering, Gerrish writes:

The distinction between a propitiatory and a eucharistic sacrifice helps even if it runs counter to our own usage, in which the "eucharistic sacrifice" commonly means the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. But, quite apart from this difficulty, the distinction perhaps obscures Calvin's own perception of the Sacrament as in fact the occasion for *two* acts of self-giving: Christ's giving of himself to the church and the church's giving of itself to God. It is this double self-giving that makes the Supper both embody and represent the perpetual exchange of grace and gratitude that shapes Calvin's entire theology. The sacred banquet prepared by the Father's goodness is the actual giving, not merely the remembering, of a gift of grace, and precisely as such it demands and evokes the answering gratitude of God's children.²¹

2.4 Calvin's Instrumentality of the Eucharist

We now move to consider Gerrish's chapter on "The Mystical Presence" and look at how Calvin viewed instrumentality of the Eucharist. Calvin agreed with Luther that there is no sacrament without faith. One of the controversial issues that was central to Calvin's thinking on sacramental efficacy concerned what the unbeliever received when partaking of the Eucharist. It is true that both Calvin and Andrewes had a strong dislike for the terminology of transubstantiation. Both agreed

¹⁹ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 154.

²⁰ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 515, 'The whole fruit of Religion is, *The taking away of sinne*, Isaiah the twenty seventh Chapter and the ninth verse, and the specially wayes to take it away, is the Religious use of this Sacrament; which as Christ saith is nothing else, *but a seale and signe of his blood that was shed for many for the remission of sinnes.*'

²¹ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991) 156.

to a real presence and a true partaking of Christ in the Eucharist. However, does the unbeliever feed on Christ objectively in the sacrament? Calvin argues against this position in the *Institutes*. ‘For they supposed that even the impious and the wicked eat Christ’s body, however estranged from him they may be.’²² He goes on to say,

For this we infer that all those who are devoid of Christ’s Spirit can no more eat Christ’s flesh than drink wine that has no taste. Surely, Christ is too unworthily torn apart if his body, lifeless and powerless, is prostituted to unbelievers...[John 6.56] This I grant, provided they do not repeatedly stumble over the same stone, that no one can eat his very flesh without any benefit.²³

What Calvin does here is distinguish between the offering of Christ in the sacrament and the receiving of Christ in the sacrament. For Calvin it is one thing for Christ to be offered and another thing altogether to be received. In his view, nothing can be taken away from the sacrament than can be gathered with the vessel of faith.²⁴ It seems that statements such as this warrant the accusation of his making the sacrament subjectively dependent upon one’s faith.

Weakness of faith is not determinative of how much grace is given in the sacrament. In Calvin’s interpretation of what Saint Paul is getting at in his letter to the Corinthian church, Calvin responds against Westphal’s *Recta fides de coena domini* where it is argued that Paul would not have made the Corinthians guilty of profaning the body and blood of Christ [1 Cor. 11.27] unless they received the body and blood. Calvin responds, ‘But I reply that they are not condemned because they have eaten, but only for having profaned the mystery by trampling underfoot the pledge of sacred

²² Calvin, *Institutes IV. XVII. 33*, 1406. *CO: IX.XVII. 33. 376. quia putarunt impios quoque & sceleratos edere Christi corpus, quamlibet sint ab eo alieni.*

²³ Calvin, *Institutes IV. XVII. 33*, 1406. *CO: IX. XVII.33. 376. Unde colligimus, quicumque vacui sunt Christi Spiritu, carnem Christi nihilo magis posse edere, quam vinum bibere cui non sit conjunctus sapor. Certe nimis indigne laceratur Christus, quum prostituitur incredulis emortuum & nullius vigoris ejus corpus...[John 6.56] , quod ego fateor, modo ne ad eundem scopulum subinde impingent, comedi carnem ipsam absque ullo fructu.*

²⁴ Calvin, *Institutes IV. XVII.33*, 1407.

union with God, which they ought reverently to have received.’²⁵ This interpretation of Calvin undermines what he says concerning the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. The point he makes there is for the eating of the feast rather than the adoring of the elements. In his response above he says that they are not condemned for eating but for undermining and profaning the mystery. But that is not what Paul says. ‘Whoever, therefore, eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord.’²⁶ I found this deficient after exegetical examination. The whole point of Paul’s admonition is eating and the manner in which they are coming to the Table to eat. They are not judging the Body rightly, which I understand to refer to the Church. The ‘unworthily’ defines their manner of eating not their lack of understanding or profaning the mystery of union with God. Calvin argues that Body is used as a synecdoche, i.e. a figure of speech describing the use of ‘body’ as a part for the whole that includes blood.²⁷ This is shown in that he sees the abuse as not discerning the body of the Lord in the sacrament rather than the discerning of the Body, i.e. the Church. I find this unlikely based upon the context of Paul’s sacramental objectivity that he sets forth in 1 Corinthians 10.1 ff and the use of the word τὸ σῶμα in the immediate context.²⁸ What

²⁵ Calvin, *Institutes IV. XVII.33*, 1408. *CO: IX. IV.XVII.33. 377. Objiciunt, non debuisse fieri à Paulo roes corporis & sanguinis Christi, nisi eorum essent participes. Ego autem respondeo, non ideo damnari quod comederint, sed tantum quod mysterium profanaverint, pignus sacrae cum Deo conjunctionis, quod reverenter suscipere debebant, calcando.*

²⁶ RSV. 1 Cor. 11.27 ὅστε ὃς ἂν ἐσθίῃ τὸν ἄρτον ἢ πίνη τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ κυρίου ἀναξίως, ἔνοχος ἔσται τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου.

²⁷ Calvin, John, *Commentary on 1 Corinthians*, Vol. XX, Trans. The Rev. John Pringle, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker reprinted 1993), 389.

²⁸ For similar exegetical positions, see William F. Orr and James Arthur Walther, *The Anchor Bible Commentary 1 Corinthians*, (Doubleday & Company, Garden City, New York, 1976), 274, ‘Failure to *discriminate* his *body* is the same as failure to *discriminate ourselves*. Thus, the *body* of the Lord equals ourselves, in this context distinguished by the common participation in eating his supper.’ ; F.F. Bruce, *New Century Bible Commentary, 1 and 2 Corinthians*, Ed. by F. F. Bruce, (Oliphants: 1971), 115, ‘But for certain members of the church to eat and drink their fill, in unbrotherly disregard of their poorer fellow-Christians, as some were doing at Corinth, was to eat and drink without discerning the body, without any consideration for the most elementary implications of their fellowship in Christ.’ ; Jerome Murphy-O’Connor, O.P., *New Testament Message: A Biblical-Theological Commentary Vo. 10, 1 Corinthians*, Ed. by Wilfrid Harrington, O.P. and Donald Senior, C.P., (Dublin:

the sacrament gives for Calvin is not an increase of power for the forgiveness of sins but the increase of faith that is already possessed by the one receiving the sacrament in faith. It is a pledge of God's promises and faithfulness. Gerrish does not see this as a collapse into subjectivity but I disagree.

Calvin's secondary use of the sacrament is to identify us with the Church. According to Gerrish, the efficacious means of grace in the sacrament for Calvin defines its efficacy by being dependent upon the sacramental word, and the sacrament's effect is by no means limited to the moment of reception.²⁹ The indispensable component in the sacramental action is not the sign but the word, 'which the sign confirms and seals; and we are not to imagine that a sacrament adds to the word an efficacy of a totally different order.'³⁰ According to Gerrish, Calvin is saying that the sacraments are efficacious as a form, though not the only form, of the word.³¹ However, what is apparent in reading Calvin is that he had more of a scholastic view of instrumentality than his followers such as Theodore Beza (1519-1605) or William Perkins (1558-1602) would allow. Whether or not he would go as far as a Thomist in his sacramentology or was merely within the Scotus camp of Franciscans is a debateable issue. Gerrish wrote: 'The Thomist position was that a sacrament was an instrumental caused by God, whereby God as the principal cause imparts grace to the soul. Scotus could only understand a sacrament as a sure sign that, by a concomitant divine act, grace was simultaneously imparted.'³² What is

Veritas 1979), 114, 'The discernment of the body which he demands in v. 29 is the affirmation in action of the organic unity of the community. Anyone who dares to participate in the eucharist without advertent to the Body is guilty of perpetuating the divisions which make the Lord's supper impossible (v. 20) and, in consequence, eats and drinks to his own damnation.'

²⁹ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 162.

³⁰ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 162.

³¹ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 162. It will be shown below how Andrewes seems to imply that a different and distinctive gift is given in the Sacrament. This is in contrast to Calvin's primary purpose of confirming faith.

³² Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, (1991), 168.

certain is that Calvin held to some sort of sacramental union of the sign and the thing signified. Describing the sacraments as the means of grace Calvin writes,

And the godly by all means to keep this rule: whenever they see symbols appointed by the Lord, to think and be persuaded that the truth of the thing signified is sure present there. For why should the Lord put in your hand the symbol of his body, except to assure you of a true participation of it? But if it is true that a visible sign is given to us to seal the gift of a thing invisible, when we have received the symbol of the body, let us no less surely trust that the body itself is also given to us.³³

Gerrish goes on to discuss the relationship of the problem that hangs over Calvin's entire system and it is the cloud of his doctrine of predestination discussed in Book III of the *Institutes*. For of all that Gerrish has said concerning the differences between 'symbolic memorialism', 'symbolic parallelism', and 'symbolic instrumentalism', one can see how Gerrish concluded that Calvin is characterised as one holding to 'symbolic instrumentalism.' The difficulty in coming to a true definition of Calvin's sacramental theology, particularly his views of the instrumental uses of the Eucharist, is due to his nuanced statements in different times and contexts of his writings. For instance, in a response to the Lutheran Joachim Westphal, Calvin defends himself against the charge of being a mere spiritualist.³⁴ Quoting from Calvin's response to Westphal, Lusk writes,

[Westphal] says, that the effect of baptism is brought into doubt by me, because I suspend it on predestination, whereas Scripture directs us to the word and sacraments, and leads us by this way to the certainty of predestination and salvation. But had he not here introduced a fiction of his own, which never came into my mind, there was no occasion for dispute. I have written much, and the Lord has employed me in various kinds of discussion. If out of my lucubrations he can produce a syllable in which I teach that we ought to begin with predestination in seeking assurance of salvation, I am ready to remain dumb. The secrete election was mentioned by me in passing, I admit. But to what end? Was it either to lead pious minds away from hearing the promise or looking at the signs? There was nothing of which I was more

³³ Calvin, *Institutes*, IV.XVII.10, 1371. CO: IX. IV. XVII. 10, 367. *Atque omnino isthaec piis tenenda regula est, ut quoties symbola vident à Domino instituta, illic rei signatae veritatem adesse certo cogitent, ac sibi persuadeant. Quorsum enim corporis sui symbolum tibi Dominus in manum porrigat, nisi ut de vera ejus participatione te certiore faciat? Quod si verum est præberi nobis signum visibile, ad obsignandam invisibilis rei donationem: accepto corporis symbolo, non minus corpus etiam ipsum nobis dari certo confidamus.*

³⁴ Calvin, 'Second Defense of the Pious and Orthodox Faith Concerning the Sacraments, in Answer to the Calumnies of Joachim Westphal,' in *Selected Works of John Calvin*, ed. Henry Beveridge and Jules Bonnet, tras. Henry Beveridge, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1983).

careful than to confirm them entirely with the word. What? While I so often inculcate that grace is offered by the sacraments, do I not invite them there to seek the seal of their salvation?³⁵

Calvin has similar language in his sermons on Deuteronomy that sounds more Thomistic than is often admitted by professed followers of Calvin. These sermons were preached towards the end of his life. These statements demonstrate Calvin's maturity of thought at or around the time of his death.³⁶ Calvin describes sacramental instrumentality in the Eucharist as the mystery that is set before the eyes, represented to us in physical signs that at the same time displays and confers through the symbols themselves the thing invisible.³⁷ By the symbols shown to us (bread and wine) Christ is truly shown first, for the purpose of our growth in Him; and secondly having been made partakers of Christ (substance) we may also feel his power in taking of all His benefits.³⁸ Therefore, what Calvin saw as the Eucharistic presence then was not something within the elements themselves (Bread and Wine); rather presence is made known in the Eucharistic action of eating and drinking. It is not a heavenly substance within an earthly substance but a divine liturgical act becoming present in the eating and drinking.³⁹ However, the question is to what end is the sacrament efficacious for Andrewes, and whether this is different from Calvin's view.

³⁵ Rich Lusk, 'Paedobaptism and Baptismal Efficacy: Historic Trends and Current Controversies,' in *Federal Vision*, (Monroe LA: Athanasius, 2004), 90.

³⁶ Calvin, *Sermons on Deuteronomy Facsimile of 1583 Edition*, (Carlisle, PA: Banner of Truth, 1987) 1244,1245.

³⁷ Calvin, *Institutes*, IV.XVII.11, 1371. CO: IX.IV. XVII.11. 367. *Dico igitur, (quod & semper in Ecclesia receptum fuit, & hodie docent quicumque recte sentiunt) duabus rebus constare sacrum Cœnæ mysterium: corporeis signis, quæ ob oculos proposita, res invisibiles secundum imbecillitatis nostræ captum nobis repræsentant: & spirituali veritate, quæ per symbola ipsa figuratur simul & exhibetur.*

³⁸ Calvin, *Institutes*, IV. XVII. 11, 1372. CO: IX.IV. XVII. 11. 367. *Per effectum autem, redemptionem, justitiam, sanctificationem, vitamque æternam, & quæcunque alia nobis beneficia affert Christus, intelligo.*

³⁹ Brian Gerrish, *Grace & Gratitude*, n. (1991), 74, 180. The problem that I find is that Calvin often seems inconsistent here and it is difficult to find his precise meaning. I find Gerrish most helpful when in this note he says, "Perhaps the expression that best captures his eucharistic doctrine is not so much 'real presence' as 'true communion'. This is one of the most fundamental differences between Calvin and Andrewes. This is seen below in Andrewes' sermon on Isaiah 6.

2.5 Andrewes: Eucharistic Efficacy and the Result

Brian Spinks⁴⁰ claims that Calvin and Andrewes were parallel in their views of Eucharistic instrumentality. In discussing Christopher Sutton's (1565-1629) understanding of sacramental instrumentality, Spinks characterises Andrewes and Calvin equally and says that Sutton was willing to go beyond Andrewes and Calvin alike for whom the Holy Spirit was the conduit pipe. Though Andrewes does use this language in his Whitsun sermons to communicate the place of the Spirit in the work of the believer's life, he also describes the sacraments as the conduit pipes of God's grace and forgiveness.

...by partaking these, the conduit-pipes of His grace, and seals of His truth unto us. Grace and truth not proceeding from word alone, but even from the flesh thereto united; the fountain of the Word flowing into the cistern of His flesh, and from thence deriving down to us this grace and truth, to them that partake of Him aright.⁴¹

What Andrewes said is that grace and union with the Word and flesh of Christ is channelled through the sacrament of the Eucharist to those that receive Christ, in the sacrament, aright. It is the means of obtaining grace and truth in Word and flesh delivered through the sacrament to the recipient. To celebrate the memorial of the sacrament is to celebrate the joining of flesh and Word that is not to be sundered by any.⁴²

The quotation from Sutton that Spinks used in order to illustrate his own account reads, 'For we do not celebrate a remembrance only of some thing past, but we are partakers also of grace present; which grace, though not from *ex opere operato*, by that work done, yet by the Sacrament (as water from the fountain by the conduit pipes) is conveyed and derived unto us.'⁴³ Having read all of Andrewes'

⁴⁰ Brian Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines: Sacramental Theology and Liturgy in England and Scotland 1603-1662*, (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2002), 49.

⁴¹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 100

⁴² Andrewes, *Works*, I.,100

⁴³ Brian Spinks, *Sacraments, Ceremonies and the Stuart Divines*: (2002), 49.

sermons on Christmas, Easter and Pentecost from the *XCVI Sermons* and in *Apospasmata Sacra*, I disagree that Sutton is going further than Andrewes but rather may very well not be going as far as Andrewes went on instrumentality. Surprisingly, Spinks makes no mention of the *Apospasmata Sacra* in his bibliography nor does he refer to the work anywhere in his text. I am convinced that if he had interacted with the four sermons within this work,⁴⁴ (which are distinctively expositions of the Eucharist), he would have come to another conclusion on Andrewes and Calvin and would not define them equally as ‘symbolic instrumentalists’.

The term ‘symbolic instrumentalist’ was created by Gerrish to show the inner-Protestant debates over the nature of sacramental signs and the matter of efficacy. Gerrish shows how the divine institution unites Calvin’s sacramental sign and reality and as a result, the sacraments work via the Holy Spirit. For Calvin, the sacraments are, instrumentally used, to bring about what they signify, which occurs in the present. They “point to” something. Much of what Andrewes says is not far from Calvin’s view of sacramental instrumentalism. Where the difference between the two lies is in the clear purpose of what is effectually applied, i.e. the forgiveness of sins actually committed.⁴⁵ This is more fully developed below in Andrewes’ explanation of Isaiah Six.

To argue that Calvin and Andrewes are not necessarily on an equal understanding of sacramental instrumentality is not to say that similarities are lacking in their perspective theologies. In one of Andrewes’ Resurrection sermons on the text from Colossians 3:1, 2 we find similarities with Calvin. Andrewes takes what was

⁴⁴ Andrewes, *Apospasmata Sacra*, 515, 571, 594, 614.

⁴⁵ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 515. 519. ‘By one bodily sacrament he taketh away the affection unto sin, that is naturally planted in us. By another bodily Sacrament he taketh away the habituall sins and the actuall transgressions which proceed from the corruption of our nature. And here we have matter offered us of faith; that as he used the touching of a cole, to assure the Prophet that his sinnes were taken away; so in the Sacrament he doth so elevate a piece of bread, and a little wine, and make them of such power; that they are able to take away our sinnes.’

said in the Gospel about Christ having been raised as the grounds of the feast and the Epistle as the explanation of the *agendum* that is to be a result of the feast. We are to search for the things from above and fix our minds on them. The Church fulfils her role by setting before the people the conduct of what the Church is faithfully to seek. She does this by setting forth the holy mysteries. Andrewes writes,

For these are from above; the “Bread that came down from heaven,” the Blood that hath been carried “into the holy place.” And I add, *ubi Christus*; for *ubi sanguis Chirsti, ibi Christus*, [where the blood of Christ is, there is Christ] I am sure. On earth we are never so near Him, nor He us, as then and there. There *in efficacia*, and when all is done, efficacy, that is it must do us good, must raise us here, and raise us at the last day to the right hand; and the local *ubi* without it of no value. He was found in the “breaking of bread:” that bread she breaketh, that there we may find Him. He was found by them that had their minds on Him: to that end she will call to us, *Sursum corda*, ‘Lift up your hearts;’ which, when we hear, it is but this text iterated, “Set your minds,” have your hearts where Christ is. We answer, ‘We lift them up;’ and so I trust we do, but I fear we let them fall too soon again. . . . But especially, where we may *sentire* [perceive] and *sapere quæ sursum* [to understand something on high], and *gustare donum cæleste*, ‘taste of the heavenly gift,’ as in another place he speaketh; see in the breaking, and taste in the receiving, how gracious He was and is; was in suffering for us, is in rising again for us too, and regenerating us thereby “to a lively hope.” And gracious in offering to us the means, by His mysteries and grace with them, as will raise also and set our minds, where true rest and glory are to be seen.⁴⁶

Andrewes would not have a problem with what Calvin wanted to say about the *Sursum corda* and its use in the liturgy of the Eucharist. There seems to be a close parallel between the Continental Reformer and Andrewes here. Calvin spoke of Christ not being brought down to us but our being lifted up to him.

But greatly mistaken are those who conceive no presence of flesh in the Supper unless it lies in the bread. For thus they leave nothing to the secret working of the Spirit, which unites Christ himself to us. To them Christ does not seem present unless he comes down to us. As though, if he should lift us to himself, we should not just as much enjoy his presence! The question is therefore of the manner, for they place Christ in the bread, while we do not think it lawful for us to drag him from heaven. Let our readers decide which one is more correct. Only away with that calumny that Christ is removed from his Supper unless he lies hidden under the covering of bread! For since this mystery is heavenly, there is no need to draw Christ to earth that he may be joined to us.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Andrewes, *Works* II, 322.

⁴⁷ Calvin, *Institutes* IV. XVII. 31, 1403. *CO: IX. IV. XVII. 31. 375. Longe autem falluntur qui nullam carnis Christi præsentiam in Cæna concipiunt nisi in pane sistatur. Ita enim arcanæ Spiritus operationi quæ nobis Christum ipsum unit, nihil reliquum faciunt. Christus præsens illis non videtur nisi ad nos descendat. Quasi vero si ad se nos evehat, non æque potiamur ejus præsentia. Ergo*

Calvin specifically speaks of the Eucharist as a spiritual mystery and refers to the *Sursum corda* as the proof that the early Fathers would dismiss an adoration of the elements after the consecration. In order for pious souls to apprehend Christ in the Supper, according to Calvin, they must be raised up to heaven, not seek to bring Christ down. He specifically argues in this way:

And for the same reason it was established of old that before consecration the people should be told in a loud voice to lift up their hearts. Scripture itself also not only carefully recounts to us the ascension of Christ, by which he withdrew the presence of his body from our sight and company, to shake us from all carnal thinking of him, but also, whenever it recalls him, bids our minds be raised up, and seek him in heaven, seated at the right hand of the Father [Col 3:1-2]. According to this rule, we ought rather to have adored him spiritually in heavenly glory than to have devised some dangerous kind of adoration, replete with a carnal and crass conception of God.⁴⁸

Interestingly, there is a similar interpretation and reference to the *Sursum corda* where both Calvin and Andrewes use Colossians 3:1-2 in an identical fashion. Both Calvin and Andrewes are more than likely resonating Cyprian's treatise on the Lord's Prayer⁴⁹ where he defines prayer as that point where the priest calls upon the people *Sursum corda* [lift up your hearts] and they respond *habemus ad Dominum* [we lift them up to the Lord]. Andrewes maintains the *praesentia Christi physica in caelo* [the presence of Christ physically in heaven] which was just pointed out in the above quotation.

The question that still remains unanswered fully concerns the issue of the influence of Continental thinking of the Eucharist and its impact on Andrewes. What

tantum de modo quaestio est: quia Christum ipsi in pane locant, nobis autem non ducimus fas esse eum è caelo detrahere. Utrum rectius sit judicent lectores. Tantum facessat calumnia illa, auserri Christum à sua Cæna nisi sub panis integumento lateat. Nam quum mysterium hoc caeleste sit, necesse non est Christum elicere in terras ut nobis sit conjunctus.

⁴⁸ Calvin, *Institutes*, IV. XVII. 36, 1412. CO: IX. IV. XVII. 36. 378. *Nec alia causa institutum olim fuit ut ante consecrationem populus alta voce admoneretur habere sursum corda. Ipsa quoque Scriptura, præterquam quod Christi ascensionem diligenter nobis enarrat, qua corporis fui præsentiam à conspectu nostro consuetudineque subduxit: quo nobis omnem de eo carnalem cogitationem excutiat, quoties ipsius meminit, mentibus sursum erigi jubet, & ipsum in caelo quaerere sedentem in Patris dextra. Secundum hanc regulam erat potius spiritualiter in caelesti gloria adorandus, quam exoitandum istud tam periculosum adorationis genus, plenum carnalis crassæque de Deo opinionis.*

⁴⁹ Cyprian, *Treatise on the Lord's Prayer*, ANF, 455.

influence did the Reformation a hundred years earlier have on him? At times, there seems to be a number of analogous ideas in the writings of Andrewes concerning the sacrifice of the Eucharist with other Continental Reformers' positions. It is argued by Francis Clark, S.J., that England was very much affected by the writings and teachings of the Continental Reformers early on in the English Reformation under Archbishop Thomas Cranmer. Francis Clark asks the judicious question and one that warrants a response.

When the English Reformers repeated the objection that the Mass derogated from the atonement made on Calvary is it possible that they, unlike their continental allies, really misunderstood the contemporary Catholic teaching on this vital point? Did they fail to appreciate that the propitiatory efficacy claimed for the Mass was by way of application and instrumentality, not by way of a new redemption?⁵⁰

To answer Clark's question we turn to a passage from Isaiah 6 where we compare Calvins and Andrewes' instrumentalism from their analogies of the coal and the sacrament of the Eucharist.

2.5.1 Calvin and Isaiah 6

In Calvin's commentary on Isaiah 6:6, 7, he understands Isaiah receiving of the coal upon his lips with sacramental implications as did Andrewes. There are both similarities and differences between the two of them. The question that Andrewes addressed was how Isaiah's lips were made clean. That is the question for both Calvin and Andrewes in this passage. Both writers acknowledge that Isaiah's lips were impure. For Calvin the sign is given to aid the understanding of God's grace to the individual recipient.⁵¹ The coal for Calvin did not possess any virtue, as what he

⁵⁰ Francis Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, (London: Darton, Longman & Todd LTD, 1960) 147.

⁵¹ Calvin, *Isaiah, 7-8* : Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House 1979), 210. *CO: III. Commentari in Jesaiam Prophetam, 42. Atque hic est sacramentorum usus, ut not pro radiate nostra confirmet; neque enim sumus Angeli, qui mysteria Dei sine ullis adminiculis contemplerur: ideoque paulatim quasi vehiculus nos ad se attollit.*

would term magical arts or superstitions. Calvin is very concerned that he ascribes to God alone the power to cleanse and this is not to be given to another. This guarding of God's perfect power is Calvin's framework for discussing his instrumentality of the coal in this passage and it is what keeps him cautious from going further than 'symbolic instrumentalism' when discussing the instrumentality of the Eucharistic efficacy. The visible sign in Calvin's theology is 'useful for the confirmation of proof of the fact' of God's cleansing. This, for Calvin, is the 'use' of the sacraments; 'to strengthen us in proportion to our ignorance; for we are not angels, that can behold the mysteries of God without any assistance, and therefore he raises us to himself by gradual advances.'⁵²

Calvin's 'symbolic instrumentalism' is not without effect. His position is not a bare memorialism such as what is found within Zwingli's theology of 'sacramental memorialism'. Calvin does believe that the sign is given with effect at the same time that it is received and it is for the purpose of 'confirming' to Isaiah that he had not been deceived.⁵³ For Calvin, the *res* is given along with the sign 'for when the Lord holds out a sacrament, he does not feed our eyes with an empty and unmeaning figure, but joins the truth with it, so as to testify that by means of them he acts upon us efficaciously.'⁵⁴ Now, this comes very close to Andrewes' explanation of *signum* and *res* but there is a clear distinction between the two writers. It must be remembered that the efficacy of the sign for Calvin is for the purpose of our ignorance, as stated above, and for Andrewes, it is for the forgiveness of sins as noted above. That said Calvin is also careful to make sure that the sign and the thing signified are distinct but never separated. Concerning the application of Eucharistic efficacy Calvin writes,

⁵² Calvin, *Isaiah*, 211.

⁵³ Calvin, *Isaiah*, 211. *CO: III*, 42. *Ostendit confirmationem quae signo allata est, inanem non fuisse, sed rem quae significabatur simul praestitam, ut se minime delusum esse sentiret Jesaias.*

⁵⁴ Calvin, *Isaiah*, 211. *CO: III*. 42. *nec inem Dominus sacramentum porrigens, fascit oculos nuda & inani figura, sed veritatem ipsam conjungit, ut efficaciter in nobis per ea se agere testetur.*

We perceive and feel a sign, such as the bread which is put into our hands by the minister in the Lord's Supper; and because we ought to seek Christ in heaven, our thoughts ought to be carried thither. By the hand of the minister he presents to us his body, that it may be actually enjoyed by the godly, who rise by faith to fellowship with him. He bestows it, therefore, on the godly, who raise their thoughts to him by faith; for he cannot deceive.⁵⁵

What immediately follows from Calvin's explanation here is his qualification of the *signum* and *res* as they relate to the unbeliever. This is another difference between Calvin and Andrewes.⁵⁶ What Calvin believes concerning presence within the elements is that Christ only makes himself present to the faithful. Christ is not objectively present within the elements and therefore the unbeliever receives only a sign.⁵⁷ Since the unbeliever cannot raise his thoughts to Christ in heaven, he is not able to partake of Christ. For Calvin, it is faith alone that opens the gate of the kingdom of heaven and the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Therefore, 'whoever wishes to eat the flesh of Christ must be carried by faith to heaven beyond human conception. In short, it is the Spirit of God alone who can make us partakers of that fellowship.'⁵⁸ Immediately, Calvin realises that his position here will call into question the truth of the sacramental character by its efficacious dependency upon the faith of the recipient. Calvin explains this by telling us that the sacrament is a spiritual matter and since wicked men treat it with scorn, they cannot receive Christ though he is offered to them. Andrewes would say that they do objectively receive Christ though they do so to their judgment.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Calvin, *Isaiah*, 211. *CO: III*, 42. *Signum enim conspicimus & sentimus, veluti panem qui nobis à ministro porrigitur in Cæna; jam quia Christus in cælo quærendus est, eo quoque mens nostra attolli debet. Corpus tamen suum porrigit(ministry: fix this) manu, ut vere eo fruantur pii, qui fide sursum ad ejus societatem adspirant. Ipsum igitur præstat piis, qui fide ad ipsum mentes erigunt; nec enim falsus esse potest.*

⁵⁶ See Chapter 3 on Andrewes' theology of presence.

⁵⁷ Calvin, *Isaiah*, 211. *CO: III*, 42. *Cæterum infidelis signum quidem percipient: sed quia manent in mundo, neque ad regnum cæleste Christi, pertingunt, expertes sunt veritatis. Cui enim deest fides, is mentem attollere ad Deum nequit, ideoque nec Christi particeps esse potest.*

⁵⁸ Calvin, *Isaiah*, 211. *CO: III*, 42. *Denique solus Dei Spiritus nose jus communionis particeps reddere potest.*

⁵⁹ I refer the reader to Chapter Three on Andrewes' theology of Eucharistic presence.

Finally, we come to learn of Calvin's chief part of the sacrament. For him, it is the word. The word and the sacrament cannot be separated. Doctrine concerning the sacrament is necessary for its efficacy as well as the faith of the recipient. Calvin writes,

Let us therefore learn that the chief part of the sacraments consists in the word, and that without it they are absolute corruptions, such as we see every day in popery, in which the sacraments are turned into stage-plays. The amount of the whole is, that there is nothing to prevent Isaiah, who has been perfectly cleansed, and is free from pollution, from appearing as God's representative.⁶⁰

I now give attention to Andrewes' explanation of the identical passage from Isaiah where the justification for the differences stated is more fully substantiated.

2.5.2 *Andrewes and Isaiah 6*

Andrewes uses the touching of the coal that brought the forgiveness of sins in Isaiah 6:6 as the analogy of what the Eucharist does when it touches our lips. The text reads, 'Then flew one of the Seraphims vnto me with an hote cole in his hand, which he had taken from the altar with the tongs.' Andrewes uses this sermon to show forth the efficacy of the sacrament of the Eucharist. His theme is the forgiveness of sins. Unlike his *XCVI Sermons*, the following sermon's theme is the exposition of the Holy Eucharist. Though he uses Eucharistic themes within his published sermons edited by Laud and Buckeridge, the themes within those sermons are not particularly Eucharistic but rather are themes within the Church Year where Andrewes often draws an application for the Eucharist.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Calvin, *Isaiah*, 212. *CO: III*, 42. *Proinde sciamus praecipuam partem sacramentorum in verbo consistere; absque eo, meram esse corruptelam: qualem in Papatu hodie passim cernimus, ubi sacramenta in actionem histrionicam vertuntur. Summa autem est, nihil jam fore obstaculo, uo minus Jesaias perfecta munditiae praeditus, omnique purus inquinamento, Dei personam sustineat.*

⁶¹ I will intersperse this sermon on Isaiah 6 from *Apos. Sacra* with some from the *XCVI Sermons* for more detail in order to fill in the arguments made within this particular sermon being used as the test case for Andrewes' instrumental theology of the Eucharist.

Andrewes begins the sermon establishing his interpretation within the tradition of the Fathers and particularly Basil. The direct fruit of Eucharistic efficacy for Andrewes is the forgiveness of sins. He calls this the whole fruit of Religion.

Echoing Basil he says,

That at the celebration thereof, after the Sacrament was ministered to the people, the Priest stood up and said as the Seraphin doth here, *Behold this hath touched your lips, your iniquity shall bee taken away, and your sinne purged.* The whole fruit of Religion is, *The taking away of sinne*, Isaiah the twenty seventh Chapter and the ninth verse, and the specially wayes to take it away, is the Religious use of this Sacrament; which as Christ saith is nothing else, *but a seale and signe of his blood that was shed for many for the remission of sinnes*, Matthew the twenty sixth Chapter and the twenty eighty verse...⁶²

For Andrewes the Sacrament of the Eucharist's principal purpose is the instrumental means of removing sin. Continuing with this theme of sacramental efficacy Andrewes says,

For the Angell tells the prophet, that his sinnes are not only taken away, but that it is done sacramentally, by the touching of a Cole, even as Christ assureth us, that we obtain remission of sinnes by the receiving of the Cup: Now as in the Sacrament, we consider the Element and the word; so we are to divide this Scripture.⁶³

However, this has a two-fold use that is to bring comfort through the word. As the washing with water is for the taking away of original sin, the receiving of the Eucharist is for the taking away of actual sin. He argues this, not from the doctrines and teachings of the Reformation, but rather from the ancient Church's teaching. Predominantly we find Andrewes echoing the Cappadocian Fathers and particularly on this passage he repeats the theology of Basil. Andrewes understands that Eucharist and the sacrifice of Christ at Calvary are the same offering.⁶⁴ He writes, 'That our sinnes are no lesse taken away by the element of bread and wine, in the Sacrament,

⁶² Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 515.

⁶³ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 515.

⁶⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 300, 301. This is explored in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Andrewes states, '...there is but one only sacrifice, *vere nominis*, 'properly so called,' that is Christ's death. And that sacrifice but once actually performed at His death, but ever before represented in figure, from the beginning; and ever since repeated in memory, to the world's end. That only absolute, all else relative to it, representative of it, operative by it...So it was the will of God, that so there might be with them a continual foreshewing, and with us a continual shewing forth, the 'Lord's death till He come again....'

then the Prophet's sinne was by being touched with a Cole.⁶⁵ Andrewes' is careful to reiterate that the sacrament does not take away and forgive sin on its own as if it were magic.⁶⁶ He affirms that it must be acknowledged that 'none can take away sinne but God only, wee must needs confesse that there was in this Cole a divine force and virtue issuing from Christ, who is the only reconciliation for our sins without which it had not beene possible that it could have taken away sin.'⁶⁷ What is obvious here is that Andrewes is in agreement with a Thomistic instrumentalism that views the sacrament as an 'instrumental cause' by which God, the principal cause or agent, imparts grace to the soul. Thus, Christ is both the Cole and the Altar from which it comes. Once the sacrament touches the lips, sins are forgiven. The Altar represents the Cross where Christ takes away the sin of the world through his sacrifice. Andrewes discusses the possessing of 'a perfect sense of this coal,' i.e. Christ.⁶⁸ Therefore, as we eat of the blessed bread and wine corporally we know inwardly or spiritually our sins are forgiven. This means we all share in the blood of Christ and of his body. It is this partaking that enables one to have eternal life. Throughout this sermon, one is conscious of the sacramental teachings of Andrewes – God can take anything and use it to be an instrument of whatever he wishes, but by His divine counsel and wisdom he has determined the creatures of bread and wine for this means.

Echoes of Irenaeus' teaching surrounding the "hypostatical union" of Christ are evident throughout.⁶⁹ He relates his teaching of the hypostatical union to describe

⁶⁵ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 516.

⁶⁶ Andrewes does speak about sin getting in the way of God's grace. See Andrewes *Works*, I, 425.

⁶⁷ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 517.

⁶⁸ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 517. 'for hee is the Cole by which our sinnes are taken away.'

⁶⁹ Irenaeus, *Adv. Heres. IV. 18*, ANF, Vol. I, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, reprint 1993) 486. 'For we offer to Him His own, announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and Spirit. For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly....' This

the two natures of the Cole. The Cole is a dead thing, yet it has a burning force symbolising the force of the divine nature of Christ. Therefore, as the human nature is dead in itself the divine nature, which is inseparably united to it, brings the life-giving force that is needed to fulfil the purposes of God. Andrewes describes this in the following way, ‘So the element of bread and wine is a dead thing in it selfe, but through the grace of God’s spirit infused into it hath a power to heate our Soules: for the elements in the Supper have an earthly and a heavenly part.’⁷⁰ This analogy used by Andrewes leads him to show how the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist differ in the results of their instrumentality. Setting forth his understanding of human nature and its relationship to original and actual sins, he says,

The sinnes of Commission came by reason of the force of concupiscence, and from the lusts that boyle out of our corrupt nature, and the grace that takes them away is the grace of water in Baptisme; but the sinnes of omission proceede of the coldnesse and negligence of our nature to doe good, such as was in the church of *Laodicea*, Rev. the third chapter and fifteenth verse, and therefore such sinnes must be taken away with the *fiery Grace of God*.⁷¹

Relating the Eucharist to the fiery love that Christ had for us symbolised in the burning coal, Andrewes shows how he understands the Eucharistic instrumentality to work. This love is set forth in the sacrament of the Eucharist and accomplishes the forgiveness of actual sins.

The love which hee shewed unto us in dying for our sinnes is set out unto us most lively in this Sacrament of his Body and Blood, unto which wee must come often, that from the one wee may fetch the *purging of our sinnes*, as the Apostle speaks, and from the other qualifying power *si in luce* [if on account of the light] *John* the first chapter & the seventh verse; wherefore as by the mercy of God we have a fountain of water alwise flowing, to take away originall sin, so there is in the Church fire always burning to cleanse our actual transgressions; for if the Cole taken from the Altar, had a power to take away the Prophet’s sinne, much more the body and blood of Christ, which is offered in the Sacrament; *If the hem of Christ’s garment can heal*, the ninth chapter of *Matthew* and the twentieth verse, much more the touching of Christ

concept of Irenaeus and Andrewes’ analogy of the hypostatic union and the nature of presence is developed in Chapter Three on presence.

⁷⁰ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 517.

⁷¹ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 518.

himself shall procure health to our soules; here we have not something that hath touched the Sacrifice, but the Sacrifice itself to take away our sins.⁷²

What are the themes here? Firstly, we have the view to sacramental presence of Christ in the bread and wine. Secondly, we have the frequency of receiving the Eucharist for the *purging of our sinnes*. Thirdly, we have the instrumentality that is effective due to the causality of sacramental grace. Fourthly, there is the specific instrumentality and the work of the Eucharist to cleanse us from actual transgressions and the power of the sacrament to take away sins. Fifthly, there is the union of the one sacrifice of Christ on the Altar of the Cross and the offering of the sacrament of Bread and Wine being one and the same sacrifice to take away sins. This shows that Andrewes believed that the sacrament of the Altar of the Body and Blood and the one sacrifice of Christ were one and the same sacrifice of propitiation but not independent from the cross.⁷³

2.5.3 *Mystery and Eucharist in Andrewes*

Andrewes is determined that the hearer become aware of the greatness of this mystery by understanding its efficacy. He differentiates between a ceremony that can be displayed by anyone in the world and a mystery that is efficacious. The difference between a ceremony and a mystery is that a ceremony can signify something but does not necessarily 'work' something. A mystery on the other hand not only signifies, but the sacrament 'works' in providing the grace it contains. Andrewes writes,

There is this difference between a ceremony and a mystery. A ceremony represents and signifies, but works nothing; a mystery doth both. Beside that it signifieth, it hath this operation; and work it doth, else mystery is it none. You may see it by the mystery of iniquity; that doth *operari*, 'was at work' in the Apostles' time; and it is no way to be admitted, but that the "mystery of godliness" should have like operative force. If you ask what it is to work? It is to do, as all other agents; *ut assimulet sibi passum*, 'to make that it works on like itself;' to bring forth in it the very same quality.

⁷² Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 518.

⁷³ See note 63 above in the present chapter.

This the rather, for that this day being a birth-day, and the mystery of it a birth or generation; in that, we know, the natural and most proper work is *sui simile procreare*, 'to beget and bring forth the very like to itself.'⁷⁴

A mere ceremonial understanding, according to Andrewes, allows the sacrament to become no more than an empty act appended to the end of the liturgy rather than the very operative means of salvation and the forgiveness of sins being applied to the recipients afresh. It is apparent that Andrewes holds a view of instrumentality closer to Aquinas that becomes further evident in how he interprets the Apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:27. This is where Paul writes 'Whoever, therefore, eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord.'⁷⁵ It would be nonsense to argue that one would be guilty of profaning the body and blood of the Lord if one was not in some sense partaking of the body and blood of the Lord objectively. Hence, here is the *great mystery* of the sacrament.

This great mystery is not a hidden mystery and the physicality of the sacramental elements is verification that faith is more than an abstract proposition for Andrewes. Rather faith is something that is seen, handled, touched, and able to be measured to a degree as stated in Hebrews Chapter 11 concerning those who have displayed great acts of faith. As the Eucharistic mystery accomplishes its telos, the humanity and divinity of Christ is applied to us and we are made partakers of it.

By which I understand the mystery of godliness, or exercise of godliness—call it whether ye will—which we call the Sacrament; the Greek hath no other word for it but *Μυστηριον*, whereby the Church offereth to initiate us into the fellowship of this day's mystery. Nothing sorteth better than these two mysteries one with the other; the dispensation of a mystery with the mystery of dispensation. It doth manifestly represent, it doth mystically impart what it representeth. There is in it even by the very institution both a manifestation and that visibly, to set before us this flesh; and a mystical communication to infeeble us in it or make us partakers of it. For the elements; what can be more properly fit to represent unto us the union with our nature, than things that do unite themselves to our nature? And if we be to dispense the mysteries in due season, what season more due than that His flesh and blood be

⁷⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, I., 41-42

⁷⁵ RSV

set before us that time that He was "manifested in flesh and blood" for us? Thus we shall be initiate.⁷⁶

To be initiated into the mystery of the Incarnation is to be initiated in the sacrament of the body and blood. Andrewes believed that something authentic happened in the dispensing of the sacraments that created a real objective living union with Christ and his Church.

2.6 *Andrewes and Symbol*

Nicholas Lossky accounts of Andrewes' ascription of objectivity to the sacraments by echoing the early Church Fathers in how they viewed the nature of a symbol. Lossky points out that

When the Fathers of the Church speak of a symbol, it is very often a matter of an 'objective' reality founded on a vision universally accepted by the Catholic Church. According to this conception, which is at the basis of the whole eucharistic and thus ecclesiological theology of the period of the great Ecumenical Councils, the symbol, or the sign in a strong sense of the world, or better still the image, is, so to speak, the coexistence of two realities: that of what signifies and that of what is signified. That which signifies, the image for example, participates in the reality signified. A symbolic name of Christ is an image of Christ, but an image not all in the abstract sense of a reminder, by certain conventionally recognized traits, of the existence of an abstract reality; it is an image in the concrete sense of participation in the reality of what it represents by the likeness of the representation to that which is represented.⁷⁷

It was this approach to sacramental 'objectivity' that Andrewes adopts in relation to the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. The sacraments are signs that bear two realities, a human reality and a divine reality.⁷⁸ Lossky rightly points out how Andrewes understands 'symbol' as the sacred character that symbolises and evokes objective realities revealed and grasped by the movement of faith. Andrewes used symbolic expressions that defined the reality of the incarnation and the hypostatic union and compared this doctrine with the 'objectivity' of the sacraments. Lossky

⁷⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 43 'infeoffe' has another spelling 'enfeoffe' which means to transfer possession of something concrete or abstract to somebody.

⁷⁷ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes* (1991), 62-63

⁷⁸ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1991), 63

shows Andrewes' conception of symbolism as seen within *Sermon XVI* on the Nativity when Andrewes says, "And the gathering or vintage of these two in the blessed Eucharist, is as I may say a kind of hypstatistical union of the sign and the thing signified, so united together as are the two natures of Christ."⁷⁹ What Andrewes always makes clear when speaking of the Eucharist in this manner is that he sees no difference between '*figura et veritas*'. This is described by Alexander Schmemmann and it is my understanding of Andrewes' way of explaining symbol.

The Fathers and the whole early tradition, however—and we reach here the crux of the matter—not only do not know this distinction and opposition, but to them symbolism is the essential dimension of the sacrament, the proper key to its understanding. St. Maximus the Confessor, the sacramental theologian *par excellence* of the patristic age, calls the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist *symbols* ("symbola"), *images* ("apeikonismata") and *mysteria* ("mysteria"). "Symbolical" here is not only not opposed to "real," but embodies it as its very expression and mode of manifestation. Historians of theology, in their ardent desire to maintain the myth of theological continuity and orderly "evolution," here again find their explanation in the "imprecision" of patristic terminology. They do not seem to realize that the Fathers' use of "symbolon" (and related terms) is not "vague" or "imprecise" but simply different from that of the later theologians, and that the subsequent transformation of these terms constitutes indeed the source of one of the greatest theological tragedies.⁸⁰

The symbol is the means of *participation* in the reality. Andrewes said, 'the Sacrament is the antetype of *caro*, His flesh. What better way than where these are actually joined, actually to partake them both? Not either alone, the word or flesh; but the word and flesh both, for there they are both.'⁸¹ Schmemmann concludes this thought saying, 'The institution means that by being referred to Christ, 'filled' with Christ, the symbol is fulfilled and becomes sacrament.'⁸² Lossky elaborated to make this point when he described the objective reality as something that was personal but not 'individual' since the sacraments do not separate men but join them together with

⁷⁹ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1991), 64 quoting from Andrewes *Works*, I, 281.

⁸⁰ Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*, (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1998), 138, 139.

⁸¹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 100.

⁸² Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*, (1998), 140. See also Arthur Middleton, *Fathers and Anglicans* (2001), 114-117.

their joining to Christ.⁸³ The application of the divine grace given in the sacrament is applied through an office that, according to Andrewes, is divine, priestly and human in its nature. He is quick to make his qualifications and distinguishes instrumentality and causality by saying,

It is more fit for Angells than men, to concurre with God for taking away sinnes, but for that it pleaseth God to use the service of men in this behalfe, they are in Scripture called *Angells*, *Job* the thirty fifth chapter and the twenty third verse. *Malachi* the second and the seventh verse, *The priests lips preserve knowledge, for hee is the Angell of the Lord of Hosts*, and the Pastors of the seven Churches in *Asia* are called *Angells*, *Apoc.* the first chapter and the first verse; for the same office that is here executed by an Angell is committed to the sonnes of men, to whom, as the Apostle speaks, *Hee hath committed the ministry of reconciliation*, *2 Cor.* the fift[h] chapter and the eighteenth verse, to whom hee hath given his power, *that whose sinnes soever thy remit on earth shall bee remitted in heaven*, the twentieth chapter of *Saint John* and the twenty fifth verse. So when *Nathan*, who was but a man, had said to *David*, *the LORD has also put away your sin*,⁸⁴ the second book of *Samuel* the twelfth chapter and the thirteenth verse; it was as available as if an Angell had spoken to him; And when *Peter* tells the Jews *that if they amend their lives and turn, their sinnes shall be done away*, their sinne was taken away no lesse than the Prophets was when the Angell touched his lips, *Acts* the third chapter and the nenteenth verse, for not hee that holds the Cole, but it is the Cole it selfe that takes away sinne; and so long as the thing is the same wherewith wee are touched, it skills not who doth hold it; but wee have not only the Cole that touched the Altar, but the Altar it selfe, even the Sacrifice of Christ's death represented in the Supper, by partaking whereof our sinnes are taken away.⁸⁵

According to Andrewes, he understands that the priest is used as the 'instrument' to carry out the forgiveness of sins that the Cole itself provides. The priest, though he declares this forgiveness as if he was the one providing it, is not the source of forgiveness. Rather it is the Christ of the sacrament offered on the Altar and represented by that offering whereby sins are taken away. The Cole provides the forgiveness of sins not in and of itself but as it is infused with the Spirit and

⁸³ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1991), 63. It is also interesting to note that Nicholas Lossky (*Lancelot Andrewes*, 64) points out that "the use in this context of the adjective 'hypostatic' instead of 'personal', for it seems to indicate that Lancelot Andrewes is aware of the ambiguity conveyed already in the seventeenth century by the use of the word 'person', which tends to be identified with the word 'individual', and he tries to suggest a notion close to that which has been mentioned above. Indeed, in the patristic tradition, since the precisions introduced by the Cappadocian Fathers, hypostasis or person is conceived precisely as a recapitulation of the whole, which is exactly Andrewes' intention here."

⁸⁴ *etiam Jehova transtulfit peccatum tuum*

⁸⁵ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 518, 519.

‘hypostatically’ united to the divine or heavenly nature of the Sacrament that is offered and united to the one and same sacrifice of Christ on the Cross.

2.6.1 *Symbol and Reality in Andrewes*

Sins are taken away not only by the word spoken but also by the touching to the lips the sacrament of the Eucharist. Andrewes makes a comment that, in his day, preaching has become the primary means of forgiveness of sins. Yet in the divine scheme of things preaching was not intended as the primary instrument to apply forgiveness of sins rather it was the rightful use of the Eucharist, according to Andrewes. In the sermon on Easter Day 1612 Andrewes comments on what it is to ‘remember’ Christ. What do we memorialize? *Mortem Domini*, His death. ‘It is not mental thinking, or verbal speaking, there must be actually somewhat done to celebrate this memory. That done to the holy symbols that was done to Him, to His body and His blood in the Passover;...’⁸⁶ ‘We learn that it is not the hearing of a sermon that can cleanse us from sinne; but we must taste of the bodily element, appointed to represent the invisible grace of God.’⁸⁷ Andrewes refers to the story of the Leper who was cured not only by the word, but also by the touching of Christ that made him whole. Yet, he also shows how the Centurion was made well only by the word. The point for Andrewes is that God can use either word or sacrament but is pleased to take away sins by the touching of the sacrament to the lips. Andrewes mentions that God can do what he will with his word.

It pleased God to take away the Prophets sinnes by touching his lips. And albeit he can take away our sins, without touching of bread or wine, if he will; yet in the councell of his will, he commandeth unto us the sacramental partaking of his body and blood. It is his will, that our sins shall be taken away by the outward act of the sacrament: The reason is, not only in regard of ourselves, which consists of body and

⁸⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 300.

⁸⁷ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 520.

soul, and therefore have need both of bodily and Ghostly meanes, to assure us of our Salvation; but in regard of Christ himself, who is the burning Cole.⁸⁸

Andrewes supports this with an explanation of how this happens through the sacrament by use of the analogy of the hypostatic union concerning the two natures of Christ, both divine and human, joined together without confusion or separation as the God-man. The quotation is lengthy but it is necessary to come to the fullness of Andrewes' understanding of the sacramental efficacy of the Eucharist and its propitiatory qualities that are further developed in the chapter on sacrifice.

As Christ became himself a man, having a bodily substance; so his actions were bodily. As in the Hypostasis of the Son, there is both the Human and Divine nature; so the Sacrament is of an Heavenly and Earthly nature. As he hath taken our body to himself, so he honoureth bodily things, that by them we should have our sinnes taken away from us, By one bodily sacrament he taketh away the affection unto sin, that is naturally planted in us. By another bodily Sacrament he taketh away the habituall sins and the actual transgressions which proceed from the corruption of our nature. And here we have matter offered us of faith; that as he used the touching of a cole, to assure the Prophet that his sinnes were taken away; so in the Sacrament he doth so elevate a piece of bread, and a little wine, and make them of such power; that they are able to take away our sinnes: And this maketh for Gods glory, not only to believe that God can work out Salvation, without any outward means of his creatures; not only the hemme of a garment, but even a strawe, (if he see it good) shall be powerfull enough, to save us from our sinnes. As Christ himself is spirituall and bodily; so he taketh away our sinnes, by means not only spirituall but bodily; as in the Sacrament.⁸⁹

2.6.2 *Symbol and Faith in Andrewes*

Is there a 'touching' of the sacrament in Andrewes' view that is not efficacious of the grace offered in the sacrament? This is answered in his Resurrection sermon when he explains his view concerning those who would eat without faith.⁹⁰ St Augustine's position that 'Christ warned Mary Magdalene from earthly touching,'

⁸⁸ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 519.

⁸⁹ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 520. Here we find Andrewes echoing Irenaeus' words: 'For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity.' ANF Vol. I, *Against Heresies*, IV.18.c.5.

⁹⁰ Andrewes develops this with more detail in *Apos. Sacra* in a sermon on John 6.37 preached on October 7, 1599 at St. Giles without Cripplegate, London 594-601.

since there was a better touch for He had not yet ascended to Heaven. The new touch is to touch the ascended Christ by faith. However, what is interesting, and a bit perplexing, is how Andrewes tied Augustine's view here to John 6:62 where the Apostles stumbled at the thought of eating His flesh and drinking His blood. Andrewes argues that Augustine's view of Mary Magdalene's touch was a touch primarily for the fingers or a corporal touching only. Andrewes explains that it is not even of Rome's teaching that the corporal touching of Christ does any good in the sacrament as it profits nothing on its own. Andrewes explains what it is rightly to eat, saying, 'The words He spake, were spirit; so the touching, the eating, to be spiritual.'⁹¹ To be spiritual is not a reference to an absence of reality. As the eating that Christ referenced in John 6 was spiritual, so our touching, i.e., our faith is the right touching of Christ. His point is to show that a mere corporal touching without faith does no good at all. Andrewes knows of no one of a Catholic mind who would say otherwise. Andrewes' primary concern in arguing Augustine's position is that the ascension cannot hinder the touch of Christ as faith reaches up to Heaven and faith elevates itself and those who believe ascend in the Spirit and touch Him and take hold of Him.⁹² This may sound quite Calvinistic but not so even in the mind of Andrewes who says, 'Do but ask the Church of Rome: even with them it is not the bodily touch in the Sacrament, that doth the good. Wicked men, very reprobates, have that touch, and remain reprobates as before.'⁹³ His ascension to Heaven is not an absence but rather a different sort of touch that is not only a continued touching of Christ but an eschatological touching that is even superior to having Christ remain on earth. Here Andrewes shows his understanding of two realities of Heaven and earth meeting

⁹¹ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 37.

⁹² Andrewes, *Works*, III, 38.

⁹³ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 37.

together to close off what would otherwise be an eternity of distance between Christ and his people. Andrewes concludes,

So do we then; send up our faith, and that shall touch Him, and there will virtue come from Him; and it shall take such hold on Him., as it shall raise us up to where He is; bring us to the end of the verse, and to the end of all our desires; to *Ascendo ad Patrem*, a joyful ascension to our Father and His, and to Himself, and to the unity of the Blessed Spirit. To Whom, in the Trinity of Persons, &c.⁹⁴

2.6.3 *Sacrament, Word, and Symbol*

Andrewes' explanation of sacramental instrumentalism amid the place of the preached word and its relationship to the forgiveness of sins shows that much more is offered in the sacrament than the complete preaching of the word. The sacrament is the place where word and prayer come together to effect the cleansing and forgiveness of sins unite in this efficacious instrument.

For if there be a cleansing power in the Word, as Christ speaketh in the fifteenth chapter of *John* and the third verse: If in prayer, as *Peter* sheweth to *Simon Magus*, *Pray to God, that (if it be possible) the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee*, in the eighth chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the twenty second verse: If in shewing mercy, and giving almes, sinnes shall be forgiven, as *Salomon* saith in the sixteenth chapter of the *Proverbs*, and the sixth verse, by mercy sinnes are being forgiven⁹⁵ much more in the Sacrament, wherein both the word and prayer and the works of mercy doe concur, to the cleansing of sinners from their sinnes: Whereas the Seraphim, did not take the coale in his mouth, but with tongues; and applied it not to the Prophet's eare, but to his tongue. We learn, that it is not the hearing of a sermon that can cleanse us from sinne; but we must taste of the bodily element, appointed to represent the invisible grace of God. It is true, that meditation privately had, *will kindle a fire in the hearts of many*, in the thirty ninth *Psalme* and the third verse: And the word *as it is a fire*, *Jeremie* the twenty third chapter, and the twenty ninth verse, will also *kindle a man, and heat him inwardly*: But because in the Sacrament all those doe meete together, therefore nothing is so available to take away sinne, as the touching of bread and wine, with our lips.⁹⁶

What follows from this sermon on the theme of forgiveness of sins, per the instrumental means of the Eucharist, is the effect that this Eucharistic action has on those who rightly receive it. This is the most obvious difference between Calvin and

⁹⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 38.

⁹⁵ *Per misericordiam purgantur peccata.*

⁹⁶ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 520.

Andrewes. Andrewes deals with the efficacy of this action, the certainty of the action, and the temporal aspect of the action that defined the time when this forgiveness takes place. Regarding this third effect mentioned by Andrewes, the Reformers were saying that the effect is not necessarily tied to the moment of administration and it will become obvious that this was not Andrewes' position. Here he differed from Calvin and this will be considered below. The efficacy of the Eucharist is the taking away of sin and the purging away of sin. For Andrewes this taking away and purging has two uses.

First the efficacy of this action. Secondly, the certainty; that as sure as this coale hath touched thy lips; so surely are thy sinnes taken away. Thirdly, the speede, that so soon as the coale touched, presently sinne was taken away and purged. The efficacie standeth, of the removing, or taking away of sinne, and of the purging away of sinne. The taking away, and the purging of sinnes, have two uses: Some have their sinnes taken away, but not purged; for something remaineth behind: Some have *Adams figge* leaves to hide sinne that it shall not appeare for a time; but have not *Hezekiah his plaister to heal it*, in the thirty eighth chapter of *Isaiah* and the one and twentieth verse. But by the touching of this Coal, that is, of the body and blood of Christ, we are assured that our sins are not only covered, but quite taken away as with a plaister; as the Lord speaks, *I have put away thy transgressions like a cloud, and thy sins as a mist*, *Isaiah* the forty fourth and the twenty second verse, whereby the Lord sheweth that our sinnes are scattered, and come to nothing, when it pleaseth him to take them away. The other sense gathered from the word *purging* is, that God doth not forgive our sinnes, as an earthly Judge forgiveth a malefactor, so that he goeth away with his pardon, without any farther favour shewed him; but that likewise becometh favourable unto us, and willing to doe us all the good he can...⁹⁷

This qualification is to show that when he describes what could be termed as a Roman view of instrumentality as he has done in this sermon, Andrewes is aware of the charge that has been made to Rome that the Mass bestowed satisfaction and merit upon individuals by a purely mechanical operation (*ex opere operato*). His view of the necessity of the sacraments needs to be carefully examined along with the definitions offered in Roman theology and particularly at the Council of Trent. We have already seen the necessity of the Eucharist for the taking away of sins actually committed that is to be perpetually offered whereas the sacrament of baptism is once administered.

⁹⁷ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 520, 521,

What is important here is how Andrewes shows that God's whole disposition changes towards us through the sacramental grace that is exhibited and offered via the instrumental causality as a result of the objective presence of Christ in the elements of consecrated bread and wine. What I found interesting within Andrewes' explanation of this was how he spoke of that love and change of disposition towards us with a reference to the offering that Christ gives the Father.

Christ doth not only take us away from God, that he should not proceed to punish us for our sinnes, but offers us up to God, as an acceptable sacrifice, as *Peter* witnesseth, *Christ once suffered for sinnes, the just for the unjust, that he might offer us up to God*, in the first of *Peter* the third chapter and the eighteenth verse;...⁹⁸

2.7 *Sacrament and Holy Spirit*

There are three means that the Church has for God's people to receive the Spirit: Prayer, the Word, and the Sacraments. Andrewes concludes one of his Whitsun sermons with an explanation of the sacraments as the means of communicating the grace of the Holy Spirit.⁹⁹ What it means for Andrewes concerning the baptism of the Spirit is to be made to drink of the Spirit. He has a qualifier to this. He says, 'if aright we receive it; in which respect he calleth it 'the spiritual drink,' because we do even drink the Spirit with it.'¹⁰⁰ What he means is that the Spirit makes possible the particular effect of Christ. His reference for this qualifier is 1 Corinthians 10:4 that reads, 'and all drank the same supernatural drink. For they drank from the supernatural Rock which followed them, and the Rock was Christ.'¹⁰¹ What does Andrewes believe by the conditional clause 'if aright we receive it?'¹⁰² Is the grace

⁹⁸ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 521.

⁹⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 128.

¹⁰⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 128.

¹⁰¹ RSV.

¹⁰² This was also briefly mentioned above but we visit it again here to illustrate what happens when the wicked receive the sacrament in comparison with Calvin's view also mentioned above. It is

offered in baptism, or the Eucharist for that matter, dependent upon the faith of those who receive? If so, then the grace offered in the sacrament is dependent upon an individual's response rather than a work of God. The context of 1 Corinthians 10 is the disobedience of Israel in the wilderness. Paul's point is that the Corinthians indeed received Christ objectively in the "spiritual waters" and therefore were under the condemnation due to the grace *offered* and *received* that was being rejected as the Israelites were tested in the wilderness. Receiving the sacrament 'aright' was not contingent up their receiving Christ by a proper display of faith or some sort of propositional statement of belief. They received him objectively in the sacrament but spurned that reception of him in their grumbling in the wilderness and walking away from the faith.¹⁰³ The rebellious were unable to enter the Promised Land because of unbelief, not because they had not received the Spirit. They received Christ in the spiritual drink but denied him in their rebellion.

It is my understanding of what Andrewes went on to say about the Eucharist as the sacrament of "accord" that continues to affirm for me what Andrewes meant when he expressed his belief in the objectivity of sacramental grace. Andrewes believes that God is free to use any of these three means (Word, Sacrament and Prayer) to communicate his Holy Spirit to us as the arteries in our bodies act as the instrument to move the blood within us. It is Andrewes' position that our obedience to use the gifts given to us of Word, Sacrament and Prayer are the means by which our lives will come to manifest the grace of the Holy Spirit given through them.

also important to see that in Andrewes' theology of instrumentality of the Eucharist, prayer and the preached word are not undermined as means of God's grace.

¹⁰³ RSV Hebrews 3.16-19: 'Who were they that heard and yet were rebellious? Was it not all those who left Egypt under the leadership of Moses? And with whom was he provoked forty years? Was it not with those who sinned, whose bodies fell in the wilderness? And to whom did he swear that they should never enter his rest, but to those who were disobedient? So we see that they were unable to enter because of unbelief.'

2.8 *Symbol and Change*

In the Isaiah sermon Andrewes takes this ‘effectual instrumental’ view of the sacramental grace to discuss the changes that take place within us as a result of receiving the sacrament. There is not only a purging and an accepting but a divinisation of our nature. Andrewes says, ‘So after sinne is taken away from us, our nature is most acceptable to God, because there remaineth nothing but his own nature.’¹⁰⁴ What Andrewes means by this is our acceptability before God. This is in context of our being refined by taking the ‘drosse from the silver, and there shall proceed a vessel for the refiner.’¹⁰⁵ The certainty mentioned above is the guarantee of our feeding upon Christ. Andrewes explains the relationship of the presence to the elements in a real but ‘spiritual’ way. What he means by ‘spiritual’ is a sacramental way. Andrewes distinguishes the *res* and the *signum* but he does not separate them.

As thou hast a perfect sense of the touching of this coal, so certainly are thy sinnes taken away; which assurance we are likewise to gather to ourselves, in this sacrament; that as surely as we corporally doe taste of the bread and the wine, so sure it is, that we spiritually feed on the body and blood of Christ, which is communicated unto us by these elements, as the Apostle sheweth, in the first to the *Corinthians*, the tenth chapter, and the fifteenth verse, *that the bread broken is the communion of the body of Christ, that the cup blessed is the communion of his blood*; that by partaking of this spiritual food we may be fed to eternall life.¹⁰⁶

Andrewes went on to give a fuller explanation of the temporal aspect of the efficacy of the Eucharist. Using the example of the flying Seraphin who came with effectual power to take away Isaiah’s sin, he develops the nature of what was brought about that included a full transformation of life. This text is brought forth to explain the benefits of the Eucharist.

Whereby we learn, that the touching with the coal thus taken from the Altar, and the participating of the body and blood of Christ, hath a power not only to purge, and heal

¹⁰⁴ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 521.

¹⁰⁵ Andrewes quoting from Proverbs 25.4.

¹⁰⁶ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 521.

the sore of our nature; but that it giveth a willingness to serve God more cheerfully and carefully than we did before, it maketh us *serventes spiritu*, fervent in spirit *Rom.* the twelfth and the eleventh verse[s]; so that we care for nothing nor count our lives precious, *that we may finish our course with joy, Acts* the twentieth and the twenty fourth verse.¹⁰⁷

The argument that the Church (Rome or the East) ever believed that sacramental instrumentality meant that the grace offered and received was something mechanical or magical and impediments were of no recourse to the grace given was rejected by Andrewes quite clearly in this sermon and within Roman Catholic theology alike.¹⁰⁸ Andrewes makes this point saying,

...that albeit we have lived ever so upright a life, yet if have been silent, when we should have spoken to his glory if we have omitted never so little a duty, which we ought to have performed, for all that, our case is miserable, until it please God by the burning coale of his Altar and, by the sacrifice of Christ's body, offered up for us upon the crosse, to take away our sinnes: and that if we truly humble our selves before God, and acknowledge our sinnes, then our sinnes shall be purged by the death of Christ, and by partaking of the sacrament of his bodie and blood; the rather, because in the sacrament we doe touch the sacrifice it self, whereas the Prophets sinne was taken away with that which did but touch the sacrifice.¹⁰⁹

The result of this rightful receiving is to form within us a love towards God as we find the fire of God's love for us in Christ within this sacrament. However, for Andrewes that is not the end. The Eucharist, as he has explained it, touches the sacrifice of Christ and it is one and the same sacrifice.¹¹⁰ That sacrifice touches our lips and our sins are forgiven and the love of Christ fills us to go and live out all that this sacrifice represents. Placing the Eucharistic ethic within the redemptive life in Christ, via the sacrament, enables us to fulfil the sacrificial duty of living out the love we received in the sacrament. This love goes beyond the love that we have for immediate family or even the family created in the washing of the waters of regeneration. The extension of this love, says Andrewes, even goes to our enemies. As God has fed the poor in spirit

¹⁰⁷ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 521.

¹⁰⁸ For further arguments see Francis Clark, S.J., *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*.

¹⁰⁹ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 521, 522.

¹¹⁰ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 597, *Works*, II, 301,302. See Chapter Four of this thesis [4.6.1] for a fuller explanation on the oneness of the offering of the Eucharist and Calvary.

the sacrament of His body and blood, so we are called to feed others. Andrewes concludes his exposition with the practical duty required from our reception of the sacrament when he said,

We must not only shew forth the heat of our love to our needy and poor Brethren, by doing the works of mercy; but even to our enemies, as both *Salomon* and the Apostle teach, *If thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirst give him drink; for so thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head*, *Proverbs* the twenty fift[h] chapter and the twenty first verse; and *Romans* the twelfth chapter and the nineteenth verse; For so as thou art a burning coale in thy self; so thou shalt kindle in him the coals of devotion to God, and of love to thy self.¹¹¹

2.9 Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, I would like to mention a few quick thoughts on this controversial subject and offer my own opinion on how we can go forward in our understanding of sacramental instrumentality. First, it is always important to distinguish between the views of the theologians and the popular piety of the Catholic Church. Thomas Aquinas may well say X, but popular piety and preaching says Y. Calvin, *et alia*s, may be responding to other things than the theologians. Secondly, along similar lines, I am confident that the Reformers would say that the Catholic affirmation of Christ's bodily presence *in loco caelum* means little when the 'bread' is the object of devotion and veneration. Often the practice belies the theology. Thirdly, I wonder—though I am not sure, if there were post-Thomistic currents to that which the Reformers were responding.¹¹²

Calvin's whole point of sacramental instrumentality is the *confirmatio* of our faith not the forgiveness of sins. He understands that the forgiveness of sins is effected through the sacramental word. Andrewes goes further than Calvin in arguing that the Eucharist gives assurance of faith and the giving of Christ himself; though

¹¹¹ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 522.

¹¹² I am indebted to Dr. Joel Garver for a discussion we had on this issue.

Calvin does make a similar point in the *Institutes in IV.XVII.10*. Nevertheless, Calvin makes a strong dichotomy between the thing signified and the *res* when dealing with the forgiveness of sins (*IV.XIV.14, 15*.) Calvin actually reveals his hermeneutical grid for sacramental instrumentality as it is framed in the context of election. It is my opinion that this makes Paul's statements in 1 Corinthians 11.27 and 1 Corinthians 10.15 lose its intended force. As seen above, Calvin's exegesis here is inadequate. I do not understand Calvin embracing an objective reality in the sacraments unless and until the recipients, who would be in his understanding, express faith numbered amongst the elect. This seems to empty the sacrament of its objective power that brings the real blessing or real cursing that Paul speaks of in 1 Corinthians 11. Calvin admits this accusation raised against him in the *Institutes IV.XIV. 15* in the last two sentences but does not answer it to my satisfaction. Whereas Andrewes on the other hand, says quite a bit more than Calvin and uses language and theology that Calvin would not be altogether comfortable. As a result of all that Andrewes says in this sermon on Isaiah 6 about the Eucharist in giving a renewed forgiveness of sins and taking away actual sins committed, the difference between Calvin and Andrewes is clear when Calvin actually criticised this application of the Eucharist in the *Institutes IV.XVII.6*.

Can Roman Catholics and non-Roman Catholics alike understand the sacraments to work *ex opere operato*? Is there a sense in Andrewes' theology or in other analogies that can help us to see this more positively rather than giving knee-jerk reactions to instrumental causality due to hatred for anything that seems like Roman theology? I think we can. The debates between Protestants and Catholics have generally circulated around the teaching of sacramental efficacy. Andrewes is not a 'symbolic instrumentalist' in the same sense in which Calvin is defined, rather he is

what I have characterised as an ‘effectual instrumentalist’¹¹³ who defines instrumentality based upon the continuity of the sacrament with the symbol. There is no *hiatus*, the Eucharist is the Body and Blood and the Sacrifice offered on behalf of the sins of the whole world. There is no doubt in the mind of Andrewes about the reality of the whole Christ in the sacrament. The Eucharist contains and communicates the reality of all that Christ is for his people. The sacrament gives us the knowledge of and *participation* in the life of Christ. This participation is in the understanding of an objective view of Eucharistic presence to which we now turn our attention.

¹¹³ Kenneth Stevenson lends support to my conclusion regarding Andrewes going further than Calvin in ‘Worship and Theology: Lancelot Andrewes in Durham, Easter 1617’, *International Journal for the Study of the Christian Church*, (October 2006), 229.

Chapter 3 Andrewes: Transelementation, an Incomprehensible Certainty

3.1 Introduction

Sorting through all the history, philosophy and theological nuances in describing what it means for Jesus to be present in the Eucharist would be a tome in and of itself. This is because there is such a plethora of interpretations of what is meant and understood when the words, '*This is My Body, This is My Blood*' are spoken. With the passing of time and the diverse and controversial ways of conveying presence has resulted in such multiplicity of views that we face the real danger of formulating discussions on the presence of Jesus in the Eucharist in anachronistic ways. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is not to give a long exposition of the history of Eucharistic presence since there are many works that already do well in setting that forth. Yet it is imperative that I place Andrewes within his own context as we develop his theology of presence.

Our task is to get to the heart of what Andrewes meant when he spoke of Jesus being present in the Eucharist. Who did Andrewes depend on to help shape and describe this presence and how did he word it within his own context? I have structured this chapter in the way I have in order to get to the heart of Andrewes' view of presence that is not always understood. I compare and contrast Andrewes' view of presence not only in relationship to the Catholic position but also look at him in comparison within in own ecclesial circles. Then I describe Andrewes' view of presence within the Nicæan Christology from which he develops his own Eucharistic theology.

Andrewes could only express the Eucharist in the terms he knew. What we will find in Andrewes' views of presence anticipates much of where modern

scholarship describes as a realist understanding. In the least, we will find Andrewes describing the presence of Christ within the parameters of his understanding of sacramental signification seen in the previous chapter. Hence we will find Andrewes speaking of an objective presence and transformation of the elements themselves and not merely a presence within the worthy receiver as a result of faith.

There is a real conversion of the elements for Andrewes. He responds to Bellarmine by saying,

Now Ambrose says nature is changed: and indeed it is changed. For there is one nature of the element and another of the Sacrament (which the Cardinal is not ignorant); we ourselves do not deny that by the blessing the element is changed: that now bread having been consecrated may not be bread, which nature fashioned; but, that benediction consecrated it and even changed it by the act of consecration.¹

The passage of time allows us to ask new questions about past dogmatic statements. Andrewes was able to ask questions about the wording of the definitions immediately preceding him concerning how controversial issues surrounding sacramental instrumentality, Eucharistic presence and sacrifice of the Mass as three significant divisive issues of the Reformation. Andrewes was unique in that he was able to find less controversial ways of interpreting prior dogmatic definitions in the context of the ecumenical visions of King James I. In light of the changes taking place in society at large—due to the Puritan party’s advancing popularity—Andrewes was able to enter the controversy with Rome and the Puritans in order to discover what he defined as the ‘Catholic way’ of wording presence within the language of the first five centuries. Yet in so doing, he was also able to speak of those historical formulations with contemporary significance that allowed for what was described in antiquity to remain a living affirmation of the faith in the present. The question for us to answer in this

¹ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII. 263. *Jam Ambrosius, naturam mutari, dicit: et quidem mutatur. Est enim (quod non nescit Cardinalis) alia elementi natura, Sacramenti alia; neque nos, elementum benedictione mutari, contradicimus: ut panis jam consecratus non sit panis, quem natura formavit; sed, quem benedictio consecravit, et consecrando etiam immutavit.*

chapter is: What is accomplished in the Eucharist with regard to the elements themselves for Andrewes? The answer to this question is rooted in the liturgy of the Church as will become evident as we survey the framework in which he discusses the presence of Jesus in the Eucharist.

3.2 *Andrewes and Richard Hooker*

What we find throughout Andrewes' thoughts on Eucharistic presence is the continual reminder that there is an irreducibility of that presence to man's rational abilities. It is not that he is agnostic about presence but continually refers to our inability to comprehend the mode of that presence or how it comes about. Quoting from Peter Lombard on the inability to know the *modus* of the presence Andrewes makes it clear that it cannot be determined. 'And this still, (whether there is a conversion of the substance) not long before the Lateran Council the Master of the Sentences himself says, *I am not able to define.*'² This does not mean that he lacked clear opinions on the reality of presence or was silent about the best way it was to be defined. Far from it, and contrary to Reidy³ and Dugmore⁴, a careful look into Andrewes' theology of the Eucharist and its connection with the incarnation will give us a clearer picture of what Andrewes believed about presence. Both Reidy and Dugmore say that it is not easy to come to terms with Andrewes' view of presence. But E. C. Messenger observes that Andrewes held to an objective view of Christ's

² Andrewes, *Works*, VIII., 262. Referencing Peter Lombard Sentences. Lib. iv. [Dist] 11. [pp. 352. col. 2; 353. col. 1 Col. Agrip. 1576.] 'Si autem quaeritur; quails sit illa conversion; an formalis, an substantialis, vel alterius generis? Definire non sufficio. Formalem tamen non esse cognosco: quia species rerum, quae ante fuerant, remanent, et sapor et pondus. Quibusdam esse videtur substantialis, dicentibus sic substantiam converti in substantiam, ut haec essentialiter fiat illa. Cui sensui praemissae auctoritates consentire videntur.'

³ Maurice Reidy, S.J. *Lancelot Andrewes*, (Chicago: LUP, 1955), 137. I am indebted to Reidy for the note on Messenger's observation of Andrewes' commitment to an objective presence. See E.C. Messenger *The Reformation, the Mass, and the Priesthood*, (London: 1937), Vol. 2, 385.

⁴ C.W. Dugmore, *Eucharistic Doctrine in England from Hooker to Waterland*, (London: SPCK, 1942), 29.

presence in the elements. I find Messenger's conclusions to be consistent with the statements made by Andrewes himself.

Richard Hooker in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* maintains the Reformed position of instrumentality of the elements which communicate the Body and Blood of Christ to the faithful.⁵ He writes that the 'bread and cup are his body and blood because they are causes instrumental upon the receipt whereof the *participation* of his body and blood ensueth.'⁶ Remaining close to the Thomist view of cause and effect by way of sacramental instrumentality, he states that every cause is in the effect from which it comes. For Hooker, this is a mystical kind of union, which makes us one with Christ as he is one with the Father. Where Hooker differs from Andrewes on presence is when he says, 'The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not therefore to be sought for in the sacrament, but in the worthy receiver of the sacrament.'⁷ His argument is from the manner in which Christ gave the words of institution at the Last Supper. Jesus first gave the elements and then recited the words, 'This is my Body,' and 'This is my Blood'. The true body and blood of Jesus is communicated to the faithful as an effectual instrument of grace. The cause of the communication is the presence of Christ in the elements (Christ in the cratch; Christ in the sacrament⁸) which is communicated by means of what transformation took place at consecration. The following sentence is the clearest example of where Hooker and Andrewes differed. Hooker writes, 'As for the sacraments, they really exhibit, but for aught we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really nor do really contain in themselves that grace which with them or by them it

⁵ Richard Hooker, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, Book v. [4], (Dutton: Everyman's Library, 1964), 322.

⁶ Richard Hooker, *Laws*, v. [5], 322.

⁷ Richard Hooker, *Laws*, v. [6], 322.

⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, I. 213.

pleaseth God to bestow.’⁹ Hooker maintains the argument against objective presence using baptism as the example where that sacrament is not changed into the grace it gives. The promise is given and therefore the *res sacramenti* is not necessary in order for the grace to be in us who receive it.

Hooker does not see any necessity of arguing for any change in the elements themselves since they can be the instruments without any change of either consubstantiation or transubstantiation. This is because the presence is communicated by Christ’s omnipotent promise. Though Hooker readily admits what all wish to maintain about the effects from the sacrament—even maintaining that the bread and cup which he gives us is truly the thing promised—he does not say it is communicated by what the sacrament is as a result of consecration but rather by way of promise. Like Andrewes, Hooker is not seeking to enquire too deeply within the mystery that would explain the *how* the presence is communicated instrumentally by the bread and wine. Yet where he differs from Andrewes is seen in that Andrewes did say that there was a transformation, transmutation, transelementation of the elements that allowed them to become for us the body and blood of Jesus.¹⁰ The same power of promise that Hooker maintains, Andrewes says is found within the power of the words of Jesus rehearsed at the consecration of the bread and wine transforming them into the objective presence of Christ to be communicated to the faithful. The same power is embraced but for a different purpose. Andrewes embraces what John of Damascus described in echoing Gregory of Nyssa (d. 386) as a *transelementation* of

⁹ Richard Hooker, *Laws*, v. [6], 323.

¹⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII. 262. *Testes vero omnes, pro mutatione, immutatione, transmutatione, loquuntur. Substantialis autem ibi, vel substantiae, mention nulla. At et nos praepositionem ibi trans non negamus: et transmutari elementa damus. Substantialem vero quaerimus, nec reperimus usquam.*

the bread and wine.¹¹ As does Hooker, Andrewes maintains the mysteriousness of the *how* this *trans-elementation* takes place and does not pry any further than scripture or the Fathers of the first five centuries allow.

But Andrewes does not hold, as does Hooker, that it is merely by the promise and the power of Christ's words that his body and blood are communicated to us absent of the objectivity of presence in the elements. The body and blood are communicated to us because the body and blood are in the *trans-elemented* bread and wine and thus so united to them—like the hypostatic union of Christ—that the divine and creaturely elements in the sacrament cannot be separated. For Hooker, the elements are transformed into mystical instruments and really work our communion or fellowship with the person of Jesus Christ.¹² Hooker will use the term transubstantiation provided it is understood that it is something that happens to us and not the elements.¹³ He denies both transubstantiation and consubstantiation and describes the presence of Christ in the sacrament as a mystical union going no further with definitions or language that would communicate an objective presence of Christ in the elements themselves.

One concern when looking closely at Hooker's position is his description of transubstantiation as an '*abolishing the substance of bread and substituting in the place there of the Body and Blood of Christ.*'¹⁴ In fact, it is questionable whether or not this is what the Tridentine conclusion (1551) defined as transubstantiation or what Aquinas meant when he described it. The question here is whether or not in the

¹¹ Gregory of Nyssa *Orat. Catech*, *NPNF*, second series, vol. v., 506. 'By dispensation of His grace, He disseminates Himself in every believer through that flesh, whose existence comes from bread and wine, blending Himself with the bodies of believers to secure that by this union with the Immortal man, too, may be a sharer in incorruption. He gives these gifts by virtue of the benediction through which He "trans-elements" [*metastoi-cheiōsis*] the natural quality of these visible things to that immortal thing.'

¹² Richard Hooker, *Laws*, v. [11] 327, 328.

¹³ Richard Hooker, *Laws*, v. [11] 328.

¹⁴ Richard Hooker, *Laws*, v. [12] 329.

doctrine of transubstantiation there is an *abolishment* of the substance of bread. Trent did not use the language of abolishment when describing what takes place in transubstantiation. They used the language that was meant to communicate a conversion. William McGarvey points out that the Council of Trent falls quite short of a ‘natural’ or ‘local’ presence of Christ in the Eucharist.¹⁵ After a close examination of the Council’s session XIII, c. I., III., and IV., it is evident that nowhere in these chapters is there any hint that the substance of bread is annihilated or that there is any sort of a materialistic change in the sacramental appearances. As pointed out by McGarvey, the Council made it clear that Christ was present in heaven after a natural mode of existence, and that his presence in the Eucharist is sacramental, illuminated by faith, which is the language of Thomas Aquinas.¹⁶ This is a metaphysical distinction being made by Aquinas to emphasis that there is not a local presence of the body of Christ in the dimensions of bread as in a place. Aquinas uses the term *conversio* and not annihilation when describing the substantial change.¹⁷ This is something happening to the bread (*conversion*) only and nothing happening to the body of Christ as localised in heaven. For Aquinas, mystery is used, ‘not in order to rule out factual reality, but to show that it is hidden.’¹⁸ What happens is not an annihilation of the substance of bread but rather a conversion where bread and wine no longer remain substantially. The Body and Blood is there in a *spiritual* way but not only as a mystical symbol; it is there spiritually, i.e. really though invisibly by the

¹⁵ William McGarvey, ‘The Doctrine of the Church of England on the Real Presence Examined by the Writings of Thomas Aquinas,’ (Milwaukee: The Young Churchman, 1900), 12. McGarvey (1861-1924) was formally an Episcopal priest who converted to the Catholic Church in 1907.

¹⁶ Aquinas *ST*, 3a., 76, 5. ‘*Et ideo non oportet quod Christus sit in hoc sacramento sicut in loco.*’ See also *ST*, 3a. 78.5. ‘*...qua re manifestum est quod non materialiter, sed significative sumebantur.*’

¹⁷ Aquinas, *ST*, 3a. 75, 3. ‘*Dicendum quod, quia substantia panis vel vini non manet in hoc sacramento, quidam, impossibile reputantes quod substantia panis vel vini in corpus vel sanguinem Christi [convertatur], posuerunt quod per consecrationem substantia panis vel vini resolvitur in praeiacentem materiam, vel quod annihilatur.*’

¹⁸ Aquinas *ST*, 3a. 78, 5.

power of the Spirit.¹⁹ To state this simply and to the point I intended to make at the outset, it is in fact an error of interpretation for Hooker to make any claim that either Trent or Aquinas taught any sort of an annihilation of the substance of bread or wine in the doctrine of transubstantiation.

What we should learn from this is that the crass realism of the Middle Ages that often found its way into the devotional life of the Church was not employed in the Tridentine formula of transubstantiation. Though the Council was emphatic about its realism and its use of the term transubstantiation with regards to a real objective conversion of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, it was not language that implied any sort of ‘materialistic view’ of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. They seem to be content on maintaining the use of the language of Aquinas and leaving further speculations of the conversion to mystery and faith. With regards to the substance of bread and wine not being annihilated Aquinas writes,

After the consecration the substance of bread and wine is neither under the sacramental appearances nor anywhere else. But it does not follow that it is annihilated; for it is changed [*convertitur*] into the body of Christ. Likewise, if the air from which fire has been made is no longer here or there, it does not follow that it has been annihilated.²⁰

Andrewes uses language that describes his realistic view of presence in its relationship to the fractioning of the elements by stating that what happens to the elements happened to Christ at Calvary.²¹ Here again, we find a similar use of language in Aquinas who said ‘And just as the sacramental species is the sign of the real body of Christ, so the fraction of these species is the sign of our Lord’s passion

¹⁹ Aquinas, *ST, 3a. 75. 1.*

²⁰ Aquinas, *ST, 3a. 75. 3.* [trans by William Barden O.P. unless stated otherwise]

²¹ Andrewes, *Works II*, 300, 301. ‘Nay, it must be *hoc facite* [do this]. [It is not mental thinking, or verbal speaking, there must be actually somewhat done to celebrate this memory. That done to the holy symbols that was done to Him, to His body and His blood in the Passover; break the one, pour out the other, to represent *κλώμενον*, how His sacred body was ‘broken,’ and *ἐκχυρόμενον* how His precious blood was ‘shed.’ And in *Corpus fractum*, and *Sanguis fusus* there is *immolatus*.]’

which he endured in his actual body.²² What we see from this language of Aquinas is that there is not a change in the outward signs so neither is there annihilation in the substances but rather a conversion of bread and wine into the Body and Blood. This means that Christ is locally in heaven and he is not local on the altar in Thomas' view. 'So it does not follow that the body of Christ is in this sacrament as localized.'²³ Thomas will go so far as to use language that our eating of Christ's Body and Blood is a spiritual eating without any sort of a materialistic manducation of Christ's Body. 'But wherever this sacrament is celebrated he is present in an invisible way under sacramental appearances.'²⁴ Christ is there in a real way as is proper to the sacrament. Aquinas follows this view with a quotation from Augustine saying, 'if you have understood in a spiritual way the words of Christ about this flesh, they are spirit and life for you; if you have understood them in a carnal manner, they are still spirit and life, but not for you.'²⁵

What we find after a very close look at Andrewes and Aquinas is that when either speak of the eating of Christ in the sacrament by faith, neither of them imply that Christ becomes present in the sacrament by faith. Here, it is important that we recall Aquinas' point that the bodily eye cannot see a substance and so the substance of Christ is not something perceived as the object of any sense.²⁶ He is present objectively in the sacrament and by faith he is received effectually. To receive Christ objectively is to receive him in the sacrament. McGarvey has very helpfully pointed out a clear distinction in Thomas' writings concerning his use of the terms (*suscipit*)

²² Aquinas, *ST*, 3a.77.7

²³ Aquinas, *ST*, 3a. 76.5

²⁴ Aquinas, *ST*, 3a. 75.1

²⁵ Aquinas, *ST*, 3a. 75.1

²⁶ Aquinas, *ST* 3a. 76.7

receive and (*percipit*) partake.²⁷ There is such a thing as receiving of Christ objectively and not receiving the effects. Aquinas writes,

Since then the embryonic and the full-grown are contrasted, so the sacramental eating, in which the sacrament is received without its effect, is contrasted with the spiritual eating in which is received the sacramental effect whereby a person is spiritually joined to Christ in faith and charity.²⁸

Aquinas is very careful to make the distinction between the wicked receiving and the faithful receiving the sacramental species. Both receive Christ objectively and those who do so with faith receive the spiritual blessings of Christ for life and the wicked to their judgment per Augustine as quoted above. This is the sense found within the writings of Andrewes and what is apparent of Aquinas' thought.

3.3 *Andrewes and Robert Bellarmine*

Andrewes was thrust into the Roman Controversy with Bellarmine by King James I, resulting in what is actually the definitive theology of his view of presence.²⁹ Written in 1610, it was this response of King James to Bellarmine that offers the clearest representation on the most significant points of difference and similarities between Andrewes and his understanding of Rome's Eucharistic position. However, this response is anything but a systematic arrangement of his theology but is rather a polemical response to specific questions and issues that are the most controversial for Andrewes and that of his King. His answer is an attempt at refuting Bellarmine's claims about King James' claim to catholicity. The basic thrust of Andrewes'

²⁷ William McGarvey 'The Doctrine of the Church of England on the Real Presence Examined by the Writings of Thomas Aquinas,' 26.

²⁸ Aquinas, *ST*, 3a. 80, 1. '*Sicut igitur perfectum contra imperfectum dividitur, ita sacramentalis manducatio, per quam sumitur solum sacramentum sine effectu ipsius, dividitur contra spirituales manducationem, per quam quis percipit effectum huius sacramenti, quo spiritualiter homo Christo coniungitur per fidem et caritatem.*

²⁹ See James Broderick, S.J. *Robert Bellarmine: Saint and Scholar*, 283, 286-289. Broderick shows how Andrewes, who had a very sensitive conscience, was not behind some of the sharp rhetoric in the final copies of his defense of the King's views. Rather Andrewes was the victim of Lord Salisbury, King James' "Little Beagle," according to Broderick, who could be brazen and more than likely did make Andrewes' writings sharper than Andrewes would have written himself.

response is that the English church asserts Christ's real presence in the sacrament of the Eucharist no less than Rome. It is the method of *how* this presence comes about that is the controversial point.

Underlying Andrewes' focus in regards to presence is the use of the term transubstantiation and its primary focus of making it dogma that was established in the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and reaffirmed at the Council of Trent. Here begins Andrewes' claim to novelty concerning the dogma of transubstantiation. The assertion that it is now dogma means that it has no authority for Andrewes since it is not more than five hundred years old.³⁰ According to Andrewes and drawing from John Duns Scotus [d.1308], he asserts that the dogma of transubstantiation was not declared as such within the first 1,200 years of the Church, the point being that the term is not heard before 1215. But, does that necessitate what Andrewes says about Christ's objective presence as taught by the Catholic Church that it is untrue or that it is different from what he believes? Surely, Andrewes would embrace Article XX *Of the Authority of the Church*, which simply reiterates the power of the Church to decree rites or ceremonies and authority in controversies of Faith; though it is not lawful to ordain anything contrary to God's word written. That is the issue Andrewes must prove. Is transubstantiation contrary to the word written and is Rome acting contrary to the authority she possesses to decree dogmas in order to protect her theology by making such declarations, especially on matters relating to the sacraments? The fuller question for Andrewes is his assertion that Rome stepped across the line making a theory of presence to be believed for the necessity of salvation, for those clerics, according to Trent, who denied transubstantiation were an *anathema*.

³⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 7.

Andrewes does reply that the Fathers did not know of the name or the matter of transubstantiation.³¹ In the very least, transubstantiation is an uncertainty because it is something not known or even understood. If not understood or known, how can there be any certainty by way of adoration of the Host he asks.³² The uncertainty of form or faith in Andrewes' argument calls into question the nature of idolatry by those who offer the Host *latria* when it is merely a small cake. But Andrewes' point about the certainty or the uncertainty of an individual does not change the reality in the Catholic understanding of transubstantiation. As stated in Session XIV concerning the sacrament of penance, Trent was lucid that erroneous priests maintain the power of consecration not as something possessed within them but by the power of the Holy Spirit conferred in ordination. The same is true for any doubts about the reality of transubstantiation held by a certain priest. The aim for Andrewes is that even the words of Institution do not make clear the teaching of transubstantiation in the sense of making it a dogma. About the real presence in the Eucharist Andrewes claims to believe it to be real and that is no less than the Cardinal. He writes,

Presence (I say) we rightly believe, in real presence no less than you. About the mode of presence we define nothing rashly, I add, we do not anxiously investigate; which is not more than, in our baptism, how the blood of Christ cleanses us; which is not more than, in the incarnation of Christ, how the human nature is united to the Divine nature in the same hypostasis. We place it amongst the mysteries, and indeed the Eucharist is a mystery itself as elegantly put amongst the first Fathers, it should be worshiped by faith and not discussed by reason.³³

Andrewes makes his argument contingent upon what he sees as the negative aspects of scholasticism that asked too many inappropriate questions about the nature

³¹ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII., 9. *Et, qualem ergo Cardinalis hic nobis pingit fidem Christianam, cujus Patres neque rem attigerunt, neque nomen audierunt?*

³² Andrewes, *Works*, VIII., 10-11.

³³ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 13-14. *Praesentiam (inquam) credimus, nec minus quam vos, veram. De modo praesentiae nil temere definimus, addo, nec anxie inquirimus; non magis quam, in baptismo nostro, quomodo abluat nos sanguis Christi: non magis quam, in Christi incarnatione, quomodo naturae Divinae human in eandem hypostasin uniat. Inter mysteria ducimus, (et quidem Mysterium est Eucharistia ipsa) cujus, quod reliquum est, debet igne absumi; (id est) ut eleganter in primis Patres, fide adorari, non ratione discuti. Andrewes is commenting on Durandus' quotation he uses that states, 'Verbum audimus, motum sentimus, modum nescimus, praesentiam credimus.'*

of the sacrament, which made it more confusing than was meant to be. Andrewes looks to Gabriel Biel Lecture Forty in *Canon of the Mass* of 1488 who said that the expression of what is remaining of the substance is not an expression found within the canon of scripture. Yet, said Andrews, ‘the words, *This is my body* are found within the canon of scripture.’³⁴ Andrewes mentions what he understands are doubts concerning the mode of presence by theologians of the Catholic Church and the diversity of opinion on the matter in Session 13 c. 4 concerning the transformation of the bread and wine into the substantial body and blood of Jesus by the use of the term transubstantiation. This is the Council’s reiteration that by the consecration of the bread and wine a change is brought about in the whole substance of the bread into the substance of the body of Christ and the whole substance of wine into the substance of his blood. In response to the Council’s teaching in his exchange with Bellarmine, Andrewes readily affirms the the reality of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist while maintaining the inability to reduce our comprehension of that presence to reason. Since there is no word from Christ on this matter or in the ancient tradition in regards to a substantial change, transubstantiation should be removed as dogma to be held *de fide*; although he maintained his liberal position of transubstantiation as a legitimate opinion of the Schoolman, he added that the speculation furthered the complication of the mystery.

Transubstantiation for Andrewes was a recent dogma that created more division within the Church than necessary. In opposition to the language of Trent, Andrewes believed that the denial of the theory was of no consequence to Christianity or the Mass-event itself being that the name is merely derived not before the Fourth

³⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII. 15. At this stage, Andrewes brings in Duns Scotus (1265-1308), William Durandus (1237-1296), Gabriel Biel (1425-1495), Thomas Cajetan (1469-1534), claiming that there is some doubt about what they believed concerning the mode of presence. His attempt is to discredit transubstantiation as something that can be absolute in a sacrament that is such a great mystery.

Lateran Council. Saying that Andrewes denied the use and portion of the reasoning underlying the doctrine of transubstantiation is not to say that he denied a realistic view of presence. He emphatically confirmed a real *conversion* of the nature of the elements. What I intend to suggest is that there was more to the transformation of the elements than a merely functional role for Andrewes.

Most often Andrewes was focused on what the elements *become*. In a direct challenge to Bellarmine, Andrewes turns to Peter Lombard in defence of his view of conversion leaving out the *how* it is accomplished. He quotes from the *Sentences* where Lombard wrote about the conversion as, ‘*Definire non sufficio.*’³⁵ We find this in Andrewes’ response to Bellarmine about the appropriateness of the preposition *trans*, when he writes,

Indeed, all witnesses speak about an *alteration* [*mutacione*], a *replacement* [*immutacione*], a *change about* [*transmutacione*]. But in the Substance or of the substance there is nothing mentioned. But also the preposition there *trans* we do not deny; we also allow for the elements to be changed. We truly look for Substantial, we discover it nowhere.³⁶

Andrewes clearly admits the historical/patristic language of a real change in the elements and further identifies the ‘orthodoxy’ of his views to coincide with those of Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386), Ambrose (337-397), Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Theodoret (d. 466) and Gelasius I (d. 496). Yet he maintains that the ‘breadness’ of bread remains within the one sacrament as a two-part reality of heaven

³⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 262. Referencing Peter Lombard *Sentences*. Lib. iv. [Dist] 11. [pp. 352. col. 2; 353. col. 1 Col. Agrip. 1576.] ‘Si autem quaeritur; qualis sit illa conversio; an formalis, an substantialis, vel alterius generis? Definire non sufficio. Formalem tamen non esse cognosco: quia species rerum, quae ante fuerant, remanent, et sapor et pondus. Quibusdam esse videtur substantialis, dicentibus sic substantiam converti in substantiam, ut haec essentialiter fiat illa. Cui sensui praemissae auctoritates consentire videntur.’

³⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 262. ‘Testes vero omnes, pro *mutacione*, *immutacione*, *transmutacione*, loquuntur. *Substantialis* autem ibi, vel *substantiae*, mentio nulla. At et nos praepositionem ibi *trans* non negamus: et *transmutari elementa* damus.’

and earth via Irenaeus' words.³⁷ What is important for us now is to see that it is arguably possible that Andrewes is taking his understanding of a substantial change within the Tridentine description of presence beyond the metaphysical and interprets their conclusions to be something they are not, i.e. physical. This makes Andrewes' arguments for a real *immutation* of the elements appear contradictory. He could be charged with arguing for change and yet so as not to be in conflict with his king who denied transubstantiation, in effect denying a real change at all. He thus ends up coming across as conflicted.

Andrewes is weak here on Cyril of Jerusalem who speaks of a real objective change within the elements, where the bread is no longer bread and wine is no longer wine all discernable by faith and not the senses. Cyril says, 'for even though sense suggests this to thee [bread and wine], yet let faith establish thee. Judge not the matter from the taste, but from faith be fully assured without misgiving, that the Body and Blood of Christ have been vouchsafed to thee.'³⁸ Andrewes appears inconsistent here in how he distinguishes between nature and substance with regards to change. He is quick to agree with Ambrose that there is a change in the nature of the elements but not in the substance of the elements. Ambrose describes the conversion where the blessing of the bread and wine changes in nature after the consecration making the elements the real body and blood of Christ by the efficacious power of Jesus' words.³⁹ Andrewes' argument with Bellarmine is that the '*transmutation of the substance of*

³⁷ Irenaeus, ANF Vol. I *Adv. Haer.*, IV. XVIII, 6, 'For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly;...' There is more on this point below.

³⁸ S. Cyril of Jerusalem xxii. (Myst. iv) 2. Op., p. 320. B.] NPNF, Vol. VIII 5, 6 p. 152; xxiii, (Myst. V) 7 p. 154. See this in reference to Mystery iv and our partaking of the divine nature of 2 Peter 1.4. Cyril uses the word *metaballo-* to change or alter one's condition.

³⁹ Ambrose, de Myst. (al. De iis qui mysteriis initiantur) cap. ix. (sect. 50.) Op. tom. ii. col. 338 D.] 'And what evidence shall we make use of? Let us prove that this is not what nature made, but what the blessing consecrated, and the power of blessing is greater than that of nature, because by blessing nature itself is changed.' NPNF, 'Of the Mysteries', Vol. X. cap. IX., 324. See Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 263.

*bread into the substance of the Body of the Lord is done by the power of consecration*⁴⁰ is nowhere found in Ambrose's argument.

The only problem Andrewes seems to really have is with the use of the word transubstantiation and is conflicted about the use of nature and real change in his defence against the absence of the word in the Fathers. For Andrewes, grace works contrary to nature and changes the nature of something into some other thing but substantially a sacrament is not changed into the said object as a picture cannot be said to be the very someone it portrays. What Andrewes wishes to maintain is something that is not denied, though is often brushed aside in polemics. That something in regards to the sacrament is Andrewes' push to maintain the sacrament as a sign. This comes out clearly in his defence of the Eucharist as a sacrifice. Perhaps Robert Sokolowski can come to help us here in our understanding of what it is that Andrewes wants to protect with his theology of the sacrament as a sign. Sokolowski describes the nature of the sign that the Eucharist is in terms of a theology of disclosure. As this relates to the Eucharist as a sign Andrewes would be sympathetic to how he describes the importance of the aspect of the signification and efficacy of the Eucharist as we guard the characteristic of it as a sign. Sokolowski writes,

The fact of being a sign takes on particular importance in the Eucharist, because the Mass can be considered a true and proper sacrifice each time it is offered only if the sacramental appearance brings an increase in identity and being. If the new appearance did not have something entitative about itself—in the way in which manifestation in all its forms is a dimension of being—the present celebration would fail to distinguish itself appropriately from the event that occurred only once. The necessary range of differences would not be available to allow the sacramental re-enactment of the original action.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 263.

⁴¹ Robert Sokolowski, *Eucharistic Presence: A Study in the Theology of Disclosure*, (Washington D.C., The Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 32.

How this element of ‘newness’ is present in each Mass, Sokolowski suggests that shows us that Trent left this theological issue open for further explorations.⁴² As the sacrifice in the Mass is new and not new, the protection of the Mass as a ‘sign’ is crucial to our understanding of what Andrewes is aiming to protect. With his aim to protect the sacrament as a sign he becomes incoherent at times in how he explains an objective presence and a real change in the nature of bread and wine while still maintaining something more substantially of bread than the mere accidents of bread. But one could also argue that Andrewes retreats from being more explicit to avoid obvious contradictions, while Trent is being more explicit lapsing into incoherence. Yet it is important for us to understand that as far as Andrewes believed in the real presence he describes the presence as real, objective and historical as an event identical to that event of the cross when made present on the altar. This is where Andrewes is so different with the Reformers such as Luther who were in opposition to the Eucharist being a Christian sacrifice.

It would certainly be odd to claim categorically that the Fathers defined their position on presence from a purely Aristotelian philosophy. But it could be argued that what we find within someone like Gregory of Nyssa is a transmutation or transelementation that is similar to what was later philosophically characterised by transubstantiation. It is within these parameters that I find Andrewes speaking with regards to his position. In a further response to Bellarmine, Andrewes draws from this sort of transmutation language to describe his understanding of presence. Bellarmine defends his view using Gregory of Nyssa who speaks of the power of benediction to change the nature of bread and wine. Andrewes says, ‘And we ourselves believe with Nyssa, *by power of the benediction, the nature of bread and wine to be transformed,*

⁴² Robert Sokolowski, *Eucharistic Presence*, (1994) 32. See also James O’Connor, *The Hidden Manna*, (San Francisco: Ignatius, 1988), 235.

neither he nor we believe that they are transubstantiated. They are *immutated* but not *transubstantiated*.⁴³ Gregory's view does not equate with the Scholastic view of transubstantiation in medieval philosophy and it would in any case be odd to say it would. Many of the Fathers were in some form or another neo-Platonist. Yet what they are saying, and this is why Andrewes gravitates to them for their language, is that by the power of the benediction the bread is at once changed into the body by means of the Word, as the Word itself said, 'This is my Body.'⁴⁴

What we find Andrewes continuously distinguishing between are the words nature and substance. The fact that the word has the power to change the bare elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ is not denied. When answering Bellarmine's use of 'Saint Cyprian,' that is not the well-known Martyr Cyprian, he quotes from the text Bellarmine uses in order to discount his argument. Bellarmine writes,

I will add also one Author who bears the name Saint Cyprian, but yet is not that well-known Martyr Cyprian, he is still important and very ancient... 'Bread...is made flesh, not in likeness but it is changed in nature by the omnipotence of the word.'...he says, that nature, i.e., substance to be changed and the likeness, i.e., accidentals are not changed.⁴⁵

Here is where Andrewes makes a very strong case against Bellarmine and his use of this Saint Cyprian. He unequivocally states that the 'bread is changed in nature, not in likeness; that we ourselves do not deny.'⁴⁶ The problem for Andrewes is Bellarmine's replacing the terms nature and likeness with substance and accidents. For Andrews, the nature is changed from what was bare before and that now becomes the divine

⁴³ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 263. Et nos, cum Nysseno credimus, *vertute benedictionis, panis et vini naturam immutari*, nec tamen vel ipse, vel nos *transubstantiari*.

⁴⁴ Gregory of Nyssa, *Catech. Orat.* Cap. xxxvii. NPNF Vol. V. 505-506.

⁴⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII., 264-65. *Addam et unum Scriptorem qui nomen [S.] Cypriani gerit, sed quanquam non [est] ille [Cyprianus] Martyr [notissimus], est tamen gravis, et [valde] antiquus... 'Panis...non effigie, sed natura mutates omnipotentia verbi factus est caro.'* ...*Naturam, id est substantiam, mutari dicit; [et] effigiem, id est accidentia, non mutari.*

⁴⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII., 265. ...*mutatum dicit natura panem, non effigie: quod neque negamus nos.*

sacrament, yet the substance remaining that which it previously was. Andrewes accuses the Cardinal of ‘cheating’ by replacing the words nature and likeness with substance and accidents. Certainly, for Andrewes there is a union between the visible sacrament and the invisible matter of the sacrament but he goes on to argue that unless Bellarmine wants to admit to Eutychianism, humanity is not transubstantiated into divinity when understood Christologically. Andrewes points Bellarmine to the well-known passage from 2 Peter 1:4 that speaks of our sharing in the divine nature, which cannot be understood as substance since Peter denies that this unity can attain to the consubstantiality of Christ.⁴⁷

Towards the conclusion of Andrewes’ answering of Bellarmine’s use of the Fathers, he examines Bellarmine’s quotations from Theodoret and Gelasius, both of whom Andrewes says denies the change of substance in the elements. Theodoret was a student of Theodore of Mopsuestia who lived in the latter part of the fourth century. What becomes apparent is the consistent use within his Antiochene school of thought is how Eucharistic presence is spoken of within the framework of hypostatic union and the use of the word ‘symbol’. This sort of language was used to defend Catholic doctrine on the person of Christ against Monophysitism which taught that Christ only had one nature and that was divine. This led to Eutychianism which taught a fusion of the two natures into one new single nature and Andrewes uses these heresies to argue against transubstantiation’s understanding that this fusion is what happens when the

⁴⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII., 265. ‘Certainly this union between the visible Sacrament and the invisible matter of the Sacrament, which there is between the humanity and divinity of Christ, where, unless you wish to resemble Eutychus, humanity is not transubstantiated into divinity. But, so that you know nature is not understood by the word substance, where Peter says, *we are to be sharers of the divine nature*, that author denies (and thus far by the same sentence) that this unity can attain to the consubstantiality of Christ.’ *Et sicut in persona Christi humanitas videbatur, et latebat divinitas; ita Sacramento visibili divina se infudit essentia. Ea nempe conjunctio inter Sacramentum visibile, et rem Sacramenti invisibilem, quae inter humanitatem et divinitatem Christi, ubi, nisi Eutychem sapere vultis, humanitas, in divinitatem non transubstantiatur. At, ut naturam ibi scias de substantia non intelligi, ubi ait Petrus divinae naturae fieri nos consortes, negat Auctor ille (et eadem adhuc periodo) usque ad consubstantialitatem Christi unitatem hanc pervenire.*

material substance of bread and wine is taken away and transformed into a divine substance.

Andrewes uses Theodoret to show that he taught the substance of bread and wine remains and is affirmed after the transmutation. Using his *Dialogue*, the Bishop of Cyrrhus speaks of the mystic symbols which are offered to God as symbols that ‘are not deprived of their own nature; they remain in their former substance figure and form; they are visible and tangible as they were before [consecration].’⁴⁸ What is clear from Theodoret is his understanding of the objective presence within the elements as they are worshipped as being what they are believed to have become.⁴⁹ Andrewes will readily agree with that line of thought as we will see in his use of Pope Gelasius I who was Pope in the latter part of the fifth century. Gelasius⁵⁰ believed, according to Andrewes, that the elements change into the divine substance with the Holy Spirit having carried out this work and yet the bread and wine do not cease to exist in their substance. This means that the transmutation in the sacrament is not substantial. Both arguments, from Theodoret and Gelasius, are a result of their defending the Catholic doctrine of the two natures of Christ against heresies.

The sacrament consists of the type, and the antitype is the Body and Blood of Christ. The context of both arguments are Christological primarily and sacramental secondarily and it is obvious how the comparison can be made. Both authors are lucid

⁴⁸ Theodoret, *Dialogue II*, NPNF, Vol. III, 200-201.

⁴⁹ Theodoret, *Dialogue II*, NPNF, Vol III, 200-201 .

⁵⁰ Pope Gelasius (Pope 492-496) quoted in O’Conner *The Hidden Manna* (1988), 72. Gelasius writes, ‘Certainly the sacraments of the Body and Blood of Christ that we receive are a divine reality, because of which and through which we “are made sharers of the divine nature” (2 Pet. 1.4). Nevertheless the substance or nature of bread and wine does not cease to exist. And certainly the image and likeness of the Body and Blood of Christ are celebrated in the carrying out of the Mysteries. Therefore it is shown to us with sufficient clarity that we ought to think about Christ himself as we think about that which we profess, celebrate, and receive in his image, namely, that by the work of the Holy Spirit they pass over into the divine substance while nevertheless remaining in their own nature [Lat. *In hanc, scilicet divinam, transeant sacto Spiritu perficiente substantiam, permanentes tamen in suae proprietate naturae*]. Thus, they show us that this principal Mystery, Christ himself, whose efficacy and power they truly represent, remains one, because he is entire and true, in the duly remaining [natures] in which he exists.’ I am broadly aware that some scholars question whether or not this is Gelasius or pseudo-Gelasius.

in their responses that the Eucharist is Christ. According to O'Connor, neither of the two may have been clear enough in their comprehension of the profundity of the transformation that occurs from the Spirit's work on the bread and wine.⁵¹ Whatever the place of these two Fathers in Catholic thinking today, it is arguable that Andrewes has proved his point in his use of what these particular Fathers wrote. What is interesting is Gelasius' language that the elements maintain their nature and Andrewes was keen to admit that the natures of the elements were transmuted but the substance remained. It is for this reason that I believe that an argument can be made that the substance of what the Catholic Church wanted to preserve is indeed held within Andrewes' understanding of objective presence in the elements. Nevertheless, perhaps this raises the question whether there is a difference that is more than semantics.

3.4 *Presence and Adoration*

The answer to that question is yes. We know what one believes about the nature of presence by how their body responds by way of gesture towards what is present now on the altar after the consecration. In his notes on Holy Communion in the Book of Common Prayer, Andrewes gives us an illustration of this as he quotes from Augustine concerning what is done at the reception of the Eucharist. He writes, 'When they receive it to say, Amen. And although Schismatics balk at the rite of genuflexion, what other gesture should there be for those praying except supplication?'⁵² So, the question of Eucharistic adoration is raised with Bellarmine towards the King. Andrewes responds that Christ is the *res* of the sacrament in and

⁵¹ O'Connor, *The Hidden Manna*, (1988) 73.

⁵² Andrewes, *Works*, XI, 157. *Cum accipiunt dicere, Amen. Et quamquam Schismatici cavillantur debitum genuflexionis ritum, orantibus quis alius gestus usurpandus, nisi supplicatorius?*

with the Sacrament, beyond and without the Sacrament, and wheresoever he is he should be adored. He acknowledges that the king thinks that Christ is present in the sacrament and is adored, but not the earthly part of the sacrament, per Irenaeus, but Christ in the sacrament.⁵³ What he is referring to in Irenaeus is that the Eucharist consists of two realities, earthly and heavenly.⁵⁴

Andrewes continues in this support of adoration looking to Ambrose. He writes,

We ourselves also truly adore the flesh of Christ in the mysteries, with Ambrose: but we worship not *it* but *who* is praised on the altar. Namely the Cardinal wrongly asks what should be worshipped there he ought to ask who should be worshipped: with Nazianzus, he [the king] says him, not it. Nor do we *chew the flesh*, unless we have previously adored, in line with Augustine. And yet none of us adores the Sacrament.⁵⁵

Ambrose in his book on the Holy Spirit⁵⁶ acknowledges that the Church adores the flesh of Christ in the mysteries, as the apostles themselves adored the Lord Jesus when in their presence. No one doubts Ambrose's doctrine of real presence as is seen in his works *De Fide* and *De Mysteriis*. Andrewes speaks of his strong affinity with Ambrose on presence and adoration of Christ in the sacrament. For Andrewes, and for Ambrose, Christ is worshipped as God and man in the sacrament. The custom of 'carrying around' the sacrament is where Andrewes finds problems due to his understanding of the Eucharist as sacrifice. His conclusion of what it means for the Eucharist to be a sacrifice is that what was received was to be adored and then eaten

⁵³ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII., 267. *Imo Christus ipse Sacramenti res, in, et cum Sacramento; extra, et sine Sacramento, ubi est, adorandus est. Rex autem Christum in Eucharistia vere praesentem, vere et adorandum statuit, rem scilicet Sacramenti; at non Sacramentum, terrenam scilicet partem, ut Irenaeus; visibilem, ut Augustinus.*

⁵⁴ Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*, Book iv. cap. xviii.6 ANF, Vol. I., 486. 'For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity.'

⁵⁵ Andrews, *Works*, VIII., 267. *Nos vero et in mysteriis carnem Christi adoramus, cum Ambrosio: et non, id, sed Eum qui super Altare colitur. Male enim, quid ibi colatur, quaerit Cardinalis, cum quis, debuit: Cum nazianzenus, Eum dicat, non id. Nec carnem manducamus, quin adoremus prius, cum Augustino. Et Sacramentum tamen nulli adoramus.*

⁵⁶ Ambrose, *de Spirit. Sanct. Lib. III. Cap. 11*. NPNF, Vol. X, (1989), 146. 'And so, by footstool is understood earth, but by the earth the Flesh of Christ, which we this day also adore in the mysteries, and which the apostles, as we said above, adored in the Lord Jesus...'

and not to be concealed and carried around in ciborium as that was beyond the purpose of the sacrament and the command given, ‘do this as my memorial.’⁵⁷ We will look at the issue of sacrifice in more detail in the following chapter.

I believe we could conclude from Andrewes’ statements here that he understood there to be an objective change in the bread and wine while retaining their empirical properties. Bread and wine are not annihilated in any way but transmuted to become the Body and Blood of Christ. Jesus therefore becomes true food and true drink for believers. A possible critique that could be levelled against Andrewes was that in his efforts to protect the Eucharist from ‘sacramental Eutychianism’ he was in danger of embracing what could be termed ‘sacramental Nestorianism’. In his strong distinctions between what he calls the earthly and heavenly part it is reasonable to see how he could be charged with seeing two different things in the sacrament rather than a sacramental unity of the one Christ who gives himself fully to the recipients in transelemented bread and wine. What Andrewes could be charged with doing is what Nestorius did that practically made two Christs. To maintain an objective presence within the elements one must maintain the unity of the subjects in the sacrament. What I understand to be the case here is that due to the necessity of Andrewes’ conformity to the *Articles of Religion* he had to maintain his position within these limits. What is important for us now is to turn to a more positive approach to Andrewes’ Eucharistic theology of presence that is developed through his understanding of the memorial offering that is a result of Andrewes’ Nicene redemptive theology consisting of Incarnation, Resurrection, and Pentecost.

⁵⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII., 267. *Institutum enim tum Sacrificii, ut absumi; tum Sacramenti, ut accipi, manducari, non recondi et circumferri. Extra Sacramenti finem, extra praecepti vim, usus haud ullus. Fiat, quod fieri voluit Christus cum dixit, Hoc facite; nihil reliqui fiet, quod monstret Sacerdos, quod adoret populus, de pyxide.*

3.5 *Eucharist and Incarnation*

I think it is fundamental that we understand Andrewes' thinking on presence in light of his framing the doctrine of presence within his Christology. It is here that we see how much the Eastern Fathers were influential in Andrewes' rejection of transubstantiation as the dogmatic term to explain the *how* of Christ's presence in the Eucharist. Andrewes speaks of the presence of the body and blood within the whole context of the Eucharistic action and the mystery celebrated whereas we find some ninth century writers concerning themselves exclusively with the elements. For Andrewes, the Eucharist confronts us with the mystery of the Incarnation with more multiplicity than any other sacrament. The Eucharist holistically symbolises and conveys the embodiment of Jesus in the heart of the community that he formed on that night of the Passover Seder. For Andrewes, '*this do*' was not about a scholastic exercise in abstract theology, rather it took him to the heart of the Christian experience. The presence of Christ in the Eucharist is about a lived-out Christian gospel. The Eucharist is an unexplained reality of the presence of Christ with us in the elements of bread and wine that are transformed by the Holy Spirit to become for us the Body and Blood of Jesus.

Andrewes brings out the element of mystery in the Incarnation. We get an insight into how mystery works in his theology. He distinguishes between a story set in history by the Evangelist and a mystery described by Paul. Mystery for Andrewes requires a cleansing of the hands and the heart metaphorically speaking. Mysteries for Andrewes also points to a fellowship. However, there are different levels of mystery both little and great '*minus and magis*,'⁵⁸ not all are equally great. Yet according to Andrewes there is no controversy about the *manifeste magna* of the Incarnation. It is

⁵⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 34.

in the Incarnation and the greatness of the mystery that it represents that Andrewes is able to find ecumenical relations across the many differences and controversies of old and in the present.⁵⁹ Andrewes is able to find a source for peace with the doctrine of the Incarnation for the Church. With reference to the Church hearing the greatness of this mystery every day in the *Benedictus* he says,

A way of peace then there shall be whereof all parts shall agree, even in the midst of a world of controversies. That there need not be such ado in complaining, if men did not delight rather to be treading in mazes than to walk in the ways of peace. For even still such a way there is, which lieth fair enough, and would lead us sure enough to salvation; if leaving those other rough labyrinths, we would but be “shod with the preparation of the Gospel of peace.”⁶⁰

Andrewes’ desire for ecclesiological peace without controversy is clearly seen in his words following the depth of the mystery of the Incarnation. His emphasis on the respect for conscience is clear. He describes peace through the mystery of the Incarnation by saying, ‘That is, He [Christ] maketh no controversy but controversies would cease, if conscience were made of the practice of that which is out of controversy.’⁶¹ Perhaps Andrewes could be interpreted as saying that controversies would be avoided if there was more humility all around. God who is love manifests this love in the humility of the flesh of which he assumed. ‘God that is “love” was “manifested in the flesh”.’⁶² The end of this mystery i.e. God assuming flesh is presented as hope given in the flesh. The connection of Eucharist and Incarnation is developed out of the good to come from Christ assuming human flesh in the humble and disgraced manner in which he assumed it. It is in the condescension of the love of God manifested in the Incarnation. Andrewes says that

We are put in hope that the end of this manifesting God in the flesh will be the manifesting of the flesh in Him, even as He is; and that which is the end of the verse

⁵⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 34, 35.

⁶⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 35,36.

⁶¹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 36.

⁶² Andrewes, *Works*, I, 40.

be the end of all, “the receiving us up into His glory.” To this haven arriveth this mystery of the manifestation of it.⁶³

3.5.1 *Recapitulation and Mystery*

It is by the recapitulation of the mystery of the Eucharist that we get into partnership with this mystery of the Incarnation.⁶⁴ Because of the recapitulation, Andrewes describes the difference between a ceremony and a mystery. As briefly touched on in the previous chapter, Andrewes speaks of the mystery in the following way. A ceremony, he says,

Represents and signifies, but works nothing; a mystery doth both. Beside that it signifieth, it hath his operation; and work it doth, else mystery it is none. You may see it by the mystery of iniquity; that doth *operari*, ‘was at work’ in the Apostles’ time; and it is no way to be admitted, but that the ‘mystery of godliness’ should have like operative force.⁶⁵

The work that is to be done is to bring forth the ‘very same quality.’⁶⁶ The mystery of the Eucharist is to beget and bring forth the very like to itself. Andrewes references Basil’s work here by exploring the term *ἀσκητικὰ* [practice]. The mystery of the Incarnation which is the mystery of godliness is to be practised. Since mysteries do not all go by hearing but by practice and dispensation this mystery of godliness is seen in us and dispensed to us in the Eucharist. The mystery of godliness is the sacrament and refers to the Greek Church’s use of the word *Μυστήριον*, which is the Church offering to initiate us into the fellowship of the Incarnation.⁶⁷ Andrewes, uniting the Eucharist and the Incarnation as one united mystery is discovered in his treatment of how the mystery of the Incarnation is dispensed through the sacrament that requires the use of realistic language.

⁶³ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 41.

⁶⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 41.

⁶⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 41.

⁶⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 41.

⁶⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 43.

Nothing sorteth better than these two mysteries one with the other; the dispensation of a mystery with the mystery of dispensation. It doth manifestly represent, it doth mystically impart what it representeth. There is in it even by the very institution both a manifestation, and that visibly, to set before us this flesh; and a mystical communication to infeoffe us in it or make us partakers of it. For the elements; what can be more properly fit to represent unto us the union with our nature, than things that do unite themselves to our nature? And if we be to dispense the mysteries in due season, what season more due than that His flesh and blood be set before us that time that He was ‘manifested in the flesh and blood’ for us? Thus we shall be be initiate.⁶⁸

3.5.2 *Eucharist, Incarnation and Reality*

The sacrament is the antetype of His flesh [*caro*].⁶⁹ It is through the sacrament where we are enabled to abide in Christ [John 6:56]. These are the ‘conduit pipes of His grace, and seals of His truth unto us.’⁷⁰ Andrewes says, ‘Grace and truth now proceeding not from the Word alone, but even from the flesh thereto united; the fountain of the Word flowing into the cistern of His flesh, and from thence deriving down to us this grace and truth, to them that partake Him aright.’⁷¹ Andrewes describes Jesus as ‘consubstantial, as the “Son;” coeternal, as the “Brightness;” coequal, as “the Character;” against the new heads of the old hydra sprung up again in our days.’⁷² Therefore, it is Christ as man and God who has ‘made a bath of the water that came out of His side to that end opened, that from thence might flow a Fountain for sin, and for uncleanness—Water, and mixed with His Blood; as forcible to take out the stains of the soul, as any herb Borith in the world to take away the soil of the skin.’⁷³ The purging of our sins he makes his own body an ‘electuary’. That electuary or what is defined as ‘medicine of life’ given for the forgiveness of sins is in his very own body really communicated in the taking, eating, and drinking of him. The

⁶⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 43.

⁶⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 100.

⁷⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 100.

⁷¹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 100.

⁷² Andrewes, *Works*, I, 109.

⁷³ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 113.

‘eternal Spirit in the sacrament is able to effectually purge the conscience from dead works or actual sins, and from the deadly effect of them; no balsam or medicine in the world like it.’⁷⁴

The work of Christ was not only to purge us from our sins but to glorify us with him as well. He was not in need of any further glory for he had glory from all eternity prior to his assuming a human nature. He did this for our behalf. In so doing, Christ becomes our Alpha food and our Omega reward. He is the eschatological hope of our glory which is now and is to come in its fullness. He is first and last for all he does for us and this eschatological hope is given in the Eucharistic elements. It is the Alpha and Omega meal that moves us to the exaltation of the throne of God.⁷⁵ For Andrewes, Word and Flesh go together and should not be parted. Therefore, by way of analogy, Word and flesh go together in the liturgy of the Church and Word and flesh in the unity of the sacrament. He said,

There is a correspondency between word and His brightness, and between the Sacrament and His character. The word giveth a light, and His brightness seweth in it *ad horam*, and not much longer. The parts of the Sacrament they are permanent, and stick by us; they are a remembrance of the characters made in His skin and flesh. And if ye seek to be rid of your sins—‘this was broken for you,’ and ‘this was shed for you,’ for that very end, ‘the remission of sins.’ And so ye receive His Person, even *Semet Ipsum*; and in *Semet Ipso*, in His Person it was, ‘He purged our sins.’ And so, that a sure way.⁷⁶

Here we see that though the characters or elements of the sacrament are remembrances of his body and blood, we do not have the radical separation of the reality of what they are and what they do as we find in the neo-Nominalism of Cranmer’s expressions. The elements for Andrewes were more than mere names to describe certain things. Rather for him, to partake of the characters of the Eucharist was to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ. Partaking of the Eucharist was to

⁷⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 113.

⁷⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 114.

⁷⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 116.

partake of the oneness of the reality of Christ who was word and flesh, God and man. The reality of the God-man was inseparable and therefore the realistic nature of presence with the characters was also inseparable. These material things do not stand in the way of understanding for Andrewes but actually communicate the reality of which they represent. The elements are not an *approximation* of the flesh and blood but are the flesh and blood of Christ. Andrewes is not looking beyond the elements to find Christ, rather Christ, for Andrewes, is within the elements themselves. Just as we do not look beyond the real flesh of Jesus to find God, rather we find God in the flesh of Christ. It is in this light that Andrewes spoke of the relationship between Incarnation and the presence of Christ's person in the elements.

3.5.3 *Eucharist and Immanuel*

As a result of Andrewes' description of the name Immanuel and all that this name means for us as creatures that are fitted to the oneness of God—a oneness only now experienced in the presence of the flesh of Christ in the Eucharist—it is evermore realised in the Christian feast. Andrewes describes this oneness in relationship with the Incarnation saying,

Namely, that we be so with Him, as He this day was 'with us;' that was in flesh, not in spirit only. That flesh that was conceived and this day born, (*Corpus aptasti Mihi*,) that body that was this day fitted to Him. And if we be not with Him thus, if this His flesh be not 'with us,' if we partake it not, which was soever else we be with Him, we come short of the *Im* [with, beside, or among] of this day. *Im* otherwise it may be, but not that way which is proper to this feast.⁷⁷ This, as it is most proper, so it is the most straight and near that can be—the surest being withall that can be. *Nihil tam nobiscum, tam nostrum, quam alimentum nostrum*, 'nothing so with us, so ours, as that we eat and drink down,' which goeth, and growth one with us. For *alimentum et alitum do coalescere in unum*, 'grow into an union;' that union is inseperable ever after.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Is. 8.8

⁷⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 151. Explanation of 'Im' in Andrewes' quote above in brackets.

For us to be ‘with God’ now is for us to discover his ‘with us’ in the sacrament of his Body—the Body in the sacrament is the Body that was conceived and brought forth from the Virgin’s womb and Andrews emphasises that the Eucharist is especially for God’s being with us. The doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist is communicated in the shadows of the Incarnation that describe what it means for God to be with us.

This then I commend to you, even the being with Him in the Sacrament of His Body—that Body that was conceived and born, as for other ends so for this specially, to be “with you;” and this day, as for other intents, so even for this, for the Holy Eucharist. This, as the kindest for the time, as the surest for the manner of being with.⁷⁹

3.5.4 *Signum and Signatum*

In a very interesting analogy of how Andrewes understood *signum* and *signatum*, we find him using the ‘work of the day’ of Christmas ‘to find’ [*invenietis*,] Christ as the way we seek Christ in the sacrament of the Eucharist. For Andrewes, ‘signs never come amiss, but are then so necessary, as we cannot miss them, when we should miss without them; when no sign, no *invenietis*, as here.’⁸⁰ The reason that Christ could not have been found without the sign of the Angel directing the Magi is compared to the sacramental sign of the elements. Andrewes says, ‘for some kind of proportion there would be between *signum* and *signatum*, and if the sign be a place as here, between *locus* and *locatus*.’⁸¹ Never would anyone naturally go to a stable to find the Saviour of the world and neither does the world look for Christ in the elements of Bread and Wine but that is where he is to be found. As unlikely as the sign given to the shepherds in how they were to find the Christ in the stable, so also is

⁷⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 151-152

⁸⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 199.

⁸¹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 199.

it unlikely for Christ to be given in bread and wine and yet that is exactly Andrewes' point. Unlike so many Reformers, including Hooker and Cranmer, Christ was not to be sought after in the elements but that is exactly where Andrewes says he is to be found.

Andrewes is not speaking of a hierarchy of signs by discussing how great or how simple the sign is. It is the *signatum* that matters. We are given the elements of bread and wine but they are not empty elements just as the shepherds were not sent to an empty cratch. Andrewes sees this way of speaking about the nature of the mystery of Christ's presence in the Eucharist as the way Christ has determined that we must take him. The realism in Andrewes' theology of presence is seen clearly in the words that describe how we now find this Child amongst us.

The Sacrament we shall have besides, and of the Sacrament we may well say, *Hoc erit signum*. For a sign it is, and by it *invenietis Puerum*, 'ye shall find this child.' For finding His flesh and blood, ye cannot miss find Him too. And a sign, not much from this here. For Christ in the Sacrament is not altogether unlike Christ in the cratch. To the cratch we may well liken the husk or outward symbols of it. Outwardly it seems little worth but it is rich of contents, as was the crib this day with Christ in it. For what are they, but *infirma et egena elementa*, 'weak and poor elements' of themselves? Yet in them we find Christ. Even as they did this day *in praesepe jumentorum panem Angelorum*, 'in the beasts' crib the food of Angels; which very food our signs both represent, and present unto us.⁸²

Andrewes defends his realism by way of Tradition found within the ancient ritual of the Church where in the cover of the ciborium, '...there was a star engraven, to shew us that now the star leads us thither, to His body there.'⁸³ Therefore, we find the clear connection that Andrewes makes between the recapitulation of all things in Christ and a recapitulation of Christ in all things by way of the sacrament. The sacrament is therefore of two parts, that of a heavenly nature and an earthly nature. Here Andrewes gives a footnote to Irenaeus' own words in *Adversus Haereses* 4.18. c.5. For Irenaeus

⁸² Andrewes, *Works*, I, 213.

⁸³ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 247.

the heavenly is the word too, the abstract of the other and the earthly is the element.⁸⁴

Andrewes takes his hearers to John 12:24 and John 6:49, 51 to show the fullness of seasons that the sacrament portrays in connection with the fullness of seasons and time for the Incarnation.

And again, of Him, the true Vine as He calls Himself—the blood of the grapes of that Vine. Both these issuing out of this day’s recapitulation, both in *corpus autem aptasti Mihi* of this day.⁸⁵

3.6 *Earthly and Heavenly Nature of the Sacrament*

Andrewes goes on to speak of union of the heavenly and earthly elements in the Christological terminology of the hypostatic union. He is not speaking as an impanationist by way of his view of presence but within the framework of Nicæan orthodoxy. Is there a possibility that Andrewes’ view of presence in the Eucharist was that of impanation? Impanation teaches that Christ is really present in the Eucharist, but rejects the idea of Transubstantiation. Rather there is a presence by a kind of impanation (*Christum quodammodo impanari*). This position teaches that ‘Christ’s person is impanated in the bread, just as God is incarnated in the human flesh.’⁸⁶ It is akin to Consubstantiation but focuses more on a sort of ‘hypostatic’ union of the bread and wine with the Body and Blood of Christ. Impanation teaches that in the Eucharist, Christ, through his human body is substantially united with the substances of bread and wine, and thus really present as God, made bread: *Deus panis factus*. Impanation is a word that was coined to imitate the language of the Incarnation. There is an ‘interchange’ that takes place between the Son of God and the substance of bread, though only through the mediation of the body of Christ. Luther denied the

⁸⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 281.

⁸⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 281. Cf. Psalm 40:6.

⁸⁶ New Catholic Dictionary. *Dicunt ita personaliter in pane impanatum Christum sicut in carne humanâ personaliter incarnatum Deum.*

hypostatic union of the unchanged substance of bread but did teach that the body of Christ penetrated it. One of the aspects of Andrewes' Eucharistic theology for scholars has been the difficulty to actually define where Andrewes is concerning his view of presence. He clearly denied Transubstantiation; yet for him presence was more than a receptionist's position. Neither was he a Lutheran that taught that the presence is 'in with and under the bread'—*in, cum et sub pane*;⁸⁷ really present though only at the moment of reception by the faithful—*in usu, non extra usum*.⁸⁸ But there was a Lutheran who held to a view of what is known as impanation. He is the controversial Lutheran, Andreas Osiander (d. 1552). The term 'impanation' does not appear until the controversy of Berengarius of Tours at the end of the eleventh century.

Andrewes related the coming together of these two realities (heaven and earth) as a sort of hypostatical union of the elements and what is actually received in the elements; namely the body and blood of Christ. He stated that, 'And the gathering or vintage of these two in the blessed Eucharist, is as I may say a kind of hypostatical union of the sign and the thing signified, so united together as are the two natures of Christ.'⁸⁹ He went on to defend his sacramental theology of union of signs and things signified from the Fathers. Andrewes is lucid when he argues that when receiving the Eucharistic elements we are receiving the whole Christ consisting of his divine and

⁸⁷ I realise there is considerable scholarly debate about Luther's position on Consubstantiation and the 'with' *cum* is more directed towards Melancthon's position. In addition, see G.L.C. Frank's Dissertation on 'The Theology of Eucharistic Presence in the early Caroline divines, examined in its European theological setting' 1985 University of St Andrews. Frank believes there is a hint of Lutheran influence on Andrewes. In addition, in private conversations with Peter E. McCullough, author of *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons and Lectures*, (2005), he revealed that he too believes there is a Lutheran influence on Andrewes, but nowhere in his writings does Andrewes ever refer to Lutheran influences on his thinking.

⁸⁸ This can be shown by Andrewes' position of reservation for the sick and adoration in worship of the Eucharist. His three genuflections in his notes on the Prayer Book prove this point.

⁸⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, I. 281. 'And the gathering or vintage of these two in the blessed Eucharist, is as I may say a kind of hypstactical union of the sign and the thing signified, so united together as are the two natures of Christ.'

human natures. It is from the writings of Irenaeus, that Andrewes claims as the source of these insights. He echoes this quotation from *Adversus. Haereses* Book IV. 18. It reads:

But our opinion is in accordance with the Eucharist, and the Eucharist in turn establishes our opinion. For we offer to Him His own, announcing consistently the fellowship and union of the flesh and Spirit. For as the bread, which is produced from the earth, when it receives the invocation of God, is no longer common bread, but the Eucharist, consisting of two realities, earthly and heavenly; so also our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of the resurrection to eternity.⁹⁰

It is quite obvious how it is that Andrewes interprets Irenaeus in this manner as he speaks of the Eucharist as possessing two realities; that of a heavenly and an earthly reality. This was his theme throughout the relevant sermon focusing on the Nativity. Andrewes argues that he comes to this resemblance of the hypostatic union of Christ and the elements *via* the Fathers. While impanation is not Andrewes' position, given that there are some similarities it is right to ask whether some version can continue to be entertained. My honest doubts are a result of Andrewes' very favourable view of Eucharistic sacrifice as something 'we' offer to God and what we receive in return the forgiveness of sins. This will be argued further in Chapter Four.

The Son of God came into being by the *Dominus dixit*, so that the begetting of the Son of God was 'not by any fleshly way, to abstract it from any mixture of carnal uncleanness.'⁹¹ It is in this manner that the Son of God was begotten. Christ was present in the instant or centre of the day; not past nor future but in the *hodie* of eternity.⁹² All of eternity past and future are brought into the present at the conception of Jesus in the Virgin's womb and brought forth in his birth. Time and eternity make up the two natures of Christ who exists in two natures; eternal and temporal. Through this we are able to understand Andrewes' use of Christological formulations to

⁹⁰ Irenaeus, *Adv. Heres. IV. 18.*

⁹¹ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 293.

⁹² Andrewes, *Works*, I, 295.

describe the presence of Christ in the sacrament. For Andrewes when the word and Spirit are joined together in the Eucharistic prayer, time and eternity meet and the two natures of Christ become present in the elements of bread and wine and are converted into the true body and true blood of Christ forever changed as history is forever changed by God entering the temporal world and taking on human flesh.

3.7 *Presence and Resurrection*

Andrewes takes what was said in the Gospel about Christ having risen as the reason of the feast and the Epistle as the explanation of the *agendum* that is to be a result of the feast. We are to search for the things from above and fix our minds on them. The Church fulfils her vocation by setting before the people the *agendum* of what the people are dutifully to seek after. She does this by setting forth the holy mysteries. Andrewes writes,

For these are from above; the “Bread that came down from heaven,” the Blood that hath been carried “into the holy place.” And I add, *ubi Christus*; for *ubi sanguis Christi, ibi Christus*, I am sure. On earth we are never so near Him, nor He us, as then and there. There *in efficacia*, and when all is done, efficacy, that is it must do us good, must raise us here, and raise us at the last day to the right hand; and the local *ubi* without it of no value. He was found in the “breaking of bread:” that bread she breaketh, that there we may find Him. He was found by them that had their minds on Him: to that end she will call to us, *Sursum corda*, ‘Lift up your hearts;’ which, when we hear, it is but this text iterated, “Set your minds,” have your hearts where Christ is. We answer, ‘We lift them up;’ and so I trust we do, but I fear we let them fall too soon again...But especially, where we may *sentire* and *sapere quæ sursum*, and *gustare donum caeleste*, ‘taste of the heavenly gift,’ as in another place he speaketh; see in the breaking, and taste in the receiving, how gracious He was and is; was in suffering for us, is in rising again for us too, and regenerating us thereby “to a lively hope.” And gracious in offering to us the means, by His mysteries and grace with them, as will raise also and set our minds, where true rest and glory are to be seen.⁹³

Andrewes makes the point that the sacraments are more than mere signs but rather exhibit the very thing they signify. There is a sacramental union with the reality of Christ who is the greater Jonah.

⁹³ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 322.

In Christ this sign is a sign, not betokening only, but exhibiting also what it betokeneth, as the Sacraments do. For of signs, some shew only and work nothing; such was that of Jonas in itself, *sed ecce plus quam Jonas hic*. For some other there be that shew and work both—work what they shew, present us with what they represent, what they set before us, set or graft in us. Such is that of Christ. For besides that it sets before us of His, it is farther a seal or pledge to us of our own, that what we see in Him this day, shall be accomplished in our own selves, at His good time. And even so pass we to another mystery, for one mystery leads us to another; this in the text, to the holy mysteries we are providing to partake, which do work like, and do work to this, even to the raising of the soul with “the first resurrection.”⁹⁴ And as they are a means for the raising of our soul out of the soil of sin—for they are given us, and we take them expressly for the remission of sins—so are they no less a means also, for the raising of our bodies out of the dust of death. The sign of that body which was thus “in the heart of the earth,” to bring us from thence at the last. Our Saviour saith it *totidem verbis*, “Whoso eateth My flesh and drinketh My Blood, I will raise him up at the last day”—raise him, whither He hath raised Himself. Not to life only, but to life and glory, and both without end.⁹⁵

The greater sign between Jonah and the Eucharist is found in the above quotation.

Andrewes juxtaposes incarnation and redemption when he describes how presence influences the life-giving grace in the sacraments. The sacraments are not bare signs but give the ‘reality’ of what they signify. They are both sign and thing signified at the same time. This has reference to their use as instruments of mercy and grace as discussed in the prior chapter. They not only signify but also work the grace that they represent in sign. They set the reality of Christ’s death and resurrection before us.

They graft us into his death and resurrection by uniting us to Christ. They accomplish the great eschatological hope of what we see now of Christ through the scriptures that will be true of us as well and they are more than pledges and promises but give us the hope of the mystery in the second resurrection. These instruments are the means by which God has chosen to raise our souls out of the soil of sin. Andrewes shows the absolute necessity of these tangible means to raise us up at the last day. This is done by eating the Flesh of the Son of Man and drinking his Blood.

In a sermon on John 20:17, Andrewes takes the Latin phrase *Noli Me tangere* which were the words of Jesus to Mary Magdalene after His resurrection and makes

⁹⁴ Revelation 20.5.

⁹⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 402, 403.

them the nucleus of his sermon. The question that Andrewes sets out to answer in this sermon is why Christ would allow Mary to touch him prior to his resurrection but now at the resurrection she could not. He brings forth reasons from Chrysostom, Augustine and Gregory of Nyssa to explain his own conclusion to this question. Andrewes concludes that it is the manner in which we are to touch Christ and sets it forth in the context of our worship. There is a hint of a censure to some of the Puritans lack of reverence in worship when he says, ‘And as not with the foot of pride, nor the hand of presumption, so along through the rest; neither with a scornful eye, nor a stiff knee; all are equally forbidden under one, all to be far from us.’⁹⁶ Far more than anything else, this *tangere* is related to the sacrament. It is in reference to the reverence in coming to the Blessed Sacrament that Andrewes expounds these words of Jesus. Commenting on this relationship Andrewes states Chrysostom’s view, saying,

I know not how they would touch Christ, if they had Him; that which on earth doth most nearly represent Him, His highest memorial, I know not how many both touch and take otherwise than were to be wished. But thus are we now come to the day, the very day it was given on. Christ gave this *noli Me tangere*, that it might be *verbum diei*, ‘a watch-word for this day.’ Take heed how you touch, for He easily foresaw this would be *tempus tangendi*, ‘the time whereon touch we must;’ nay, more than touch Him we must, for “eat His flesh, and drink His blood” we must; and that we can not do, but we must touch Him. And this we must do by virtue of another precept, *Accipite et manducate*. How will *Accipite et manducate*, and *noli Me tangere* cleave together? “Take, eat,” and yet “touch not?” If we take we must needs touch, one would think; if we eat, *gustus est sub tactu* [tasting is under touching], saith the philosopher; so that comes under touching too.⁹⁷

Finally, Andrewes offers Augustine’s position that it was to wean Mary Magdalene from sensual touching as there was a better touch since he had not yet ascended. Andrewes argues that Augustine’s view was that her touch was a touch primarily for the fingers or a corporal touching. Andrewes explains that it is even not of Rome’s teaching that the corporal touching of Christ does any good in the

⁹⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 34.

⁹⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 34, 35.

sacrament, as it profits nothing. Andrewes then explains what it is to rightly taste of Christ's presence and says, 'The words He spake, were spirit; so the touching, the eating, to be spiritual.'⁹⁸ Andrewes argues that the proper touching of Christ is of the essence of faith more so than the corporal touching. Andrewes' point here in arguing Augustine's position is that the ascension cannot hinder the touch as faith reaches up to Heaven and faith elevates itself for those who believe and they ascend in the Spirit and touch Him and take hold of Him.⁹⁹ Andrewes concludes:

So do we then; send up our faith, and that shall touch Him, and there will virtue come from Him; and it shall take such hold on Him., as it shall raise us up to where He is; bring us to the end of the verse, and to the end of all our desires; to *Ascendo ad Patrem*, a joyful ascension to our Father and His, and to Himself, and to the unity of the Blessed Spirit.¹⁰⁰

3.8 *Presence and Spirit*

'The ear, that is the ground of the word, which is audible; the eye, which is the ground of the Sacraments, which are visible.'¹⁰¹ For Andrewes, the Word is an audible sacrament and the sacrament is a visible word. The Word is to awaken us through warning of his coming, and the sacraments are to show us the day of that visitation of our salvation.

As was discussed in the preceding chapter, Andrewes believes that God is free to use any of these three means to communicate his Holy Spirit to us as the arteries in our bodies communicate the blood throughout us. It is Andrewes' view that our obedience to use the gifts given to us of Word, Sacrament and Prayer whereby we will come to manifest in our lives the grace of the Holy Spirit given through them. Andrewes sees great benefits of these three means being used but does not exalt one

⁹⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 37.

⁹⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 38.

¹⁰⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 38.

¹⁰¹ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 116.

over the other but calls upon the Church to be faithful to partake of all three together. In concluding this sermon¹⁰², Andrewes calls upon the Church not to have prayer only, solitary services of preaching only, or the Eucharist without the other two. He finds the benefits of all three communicating the fullness of grace to the Church. Though this quotation is long, it is necessary to quote from it in full in order to understand how he weds these gifts as a means of communicating the grace of the Spirit of God to the Church.

Howsoever it be, if these three, 1. Prayer, 2. the Word, 3. the Sacraments, be every one of them as an artery to convey the Spirit into us, well may we hope, if we use them all three, we shall be in a good way to speed of our desires. For many times we miss, when we use this one or that one alone; where, it may well be God hath appointed to give it us by neither, but by the third. It is not for us to limit or appoint Him, how, or by what way, He shall come unto us and visit us, but to offer up our obedience in using them all; and, using them all, He will not fail but come unto us, either as a wind to allay in us some unnatural heat of some distempered desire in us to do evil, or as a fire to kindle in us some luke-warm, or some key-cold affection in us to good. Come unto us, either as the Spirit of truth lightening us with some new knowledge; or, as the Spirit of holiness, reviving in us some virtue or grace; or, as the Comforter, manifesting to us some inward contentment, or joy in the Holy Ghost; or, in one or other certainly He will come. For a complete obedience on our part in the use of all His prescribed means never did go away empty from Him, or without a blessing; never did, nor never shall... Only let us dispose ourselves by the use, not of this one or that one, or two, but of all the means, to receive it by. Inwardly, by unity and patient waiting His leisure, as these here; outwardly, by frequenting those holy duties, and offices, all which, we see, succeeded with those there in the three places remembered. And in these, the blessed Spirit so dispose us, and in them so bless us, as we may not only by outward celebration, but by inward participation, feel and find in ourselves, that we have kept to Him, this day, a true feast of the coming of His Spirit, of the sending down the Holy Ghost!¹⁰³

The way we taste this goodness is through the celebration of the Eucharist as the vehicle of His Spirit.

And even that note hath not escaped the ancient Divines; to shew there is not only comfort by hearing the word, but we may also “taste of His goodness, how gracious He is,” and be “made to drink of the Spirit.” That not only by the letter we read, and the word we hear, but by the flesh we eat, and the blood we drink at His table, we be made partakers of His Spirit, and of the comfort of it. By no more kindly way passeth His Spirit than by His flesh and blood, which are *vehicular Spiritus*, ‘the proper carriages to convey it.’ *Corpus aptavit Sibi, ut Spiritum aptaret tibi*; Christ fitted our

¹⁰² Andrewes, *Works*, III, 108-129.

¹⁰³ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 128, 129.

body to Him, that He might fit His Spirit to us. For so is the Spirit best fitted, made remeable, and best exhibited to us who consist of both.¹⁰⁴

What is very interesting here about Andrewes' language is how he is communicating a real presence in the receiving of the flesh and blood of Christ in the Eucharist that is united to the Spirit. The Spirit is the knot of the hypostatic union as he implies earlier in this sermon. In relationship to the psychosomatic nature of humanity, Andrewes expresses the same unity of the body and blood communicated in the Eucharist as it is united to the Spirit. So, in the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ there is a true sense of objective life communicated to us through the vehicles of the Spirit. Those vehicles are the bread and the wine transformed into the body and blood of Christ. The sacrament conveys the life it represents since it carries the Spirit of Christ to the communicants. This means that there is an objective operative aspect of the Eucharist in the theology of Andrewes' sacramental celebrations. This implies, very importantly, a belief in real presence in the sacramental elements. Since there is a real presence of body and blood then there is naturally for Andrewes a presence of the Spirit since they both are united to the body of Christ. He is not a spiritless being. And so, Andrewes continues,

This is sure: where His flesh and blood are, they are not *examines*, "spiritless" they are not or without life, His Spirit is with them. Therefore was it ordained in those very elements, which have both of them a comfortable operation in the heart of man. One of them, bread, serving to strengthen it, or make it strong; and comfort cometh of *confortare*, which is 'to make strong.' And the other, wine, to make it cheerful [Psalm 104.15] or "glad;" and is therefore willed to me ministered to them that mourn, and are oppressed with grief. And all this is to shew that the same effect is wrought in the inward man by the holy mysteries, that is in the outward by the elements; [Hebrews 13.9] that there the heart is "established by grace," and our soul endued with strength, and our conscience made light and cheerful, that it faint not, but evermore rejoice in His holy comfort.¹⁰⁵

For Andrewes the flesh and blood is present in the elements as well as the Spirit and this was ordained by God to be present as a result of the transelemented bread and

¹⁰⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 162.

¹⁰⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 162.

wine. The Christian faith for Andrewes was not a mere auricular profession as we have seen in the opening chapter. The prayer of the Eucharist and the giving of the Spirit via the elements is where we encounter communion with Christ and a pouring out of the Spirit. What is certain is that Andrewes steered well enough away from any form of a ‘receptionist’ view of the Eucharist. As Nicholas Lossky rightly observes in a similar denial, quoting Andrewes’ own words:

where, in connection with the Eucharist, the use of the word ‘spiritual’ is clearly freed of any ‘receptionist’ sense: it is called ‘spiritual food’ (1 Cor. 10:3): ‘so called spiritual, not so much for that it is received spiritually, as for that being so received it maketh us, together with it to receive the Spirit, even *potare Spiritum* [1 Cor. 12:13]—it is the Apostle’s own word.¹⁰⁶

3.9 *Concluding Remarks*

I remain convinced that Andrewes made every effort to maintain a realist view of presence within the elements of bread and wine within his Eucharistic theology. After a careful reading of Andrewes, I believe I have shown that in union with the reality of Christ’s flesh in the Incarnation there is an inseparable reality of the Incarnation and the flesh of Christ received in the elements. His language of Eucharistic presence is realistic. Perhaps, had the Tridentine formula and those who wanted to maintain the orthodox teaching of Christ’s real presence in the signs of bread and wine been more careful in how they expressed this presence while understanding some legitimate concerns held by the Reformers there might have been less confusion. On the other hand, if Andrewes had been more clear in indicating the errors of those Reformers who came before him and some of his own contemporaries in showing that the orthodox position of Eucharistic presence was one of an objective presence in the elements, this could make him more of a catalyst for ecumenism. Yet,

¹⁰⁶ Nicholas Lossky, *Andrewes*, (1993) 285 n. 253. See *Andrewes Works*, III., 144.

a careful reading of Andrewes' sermons and polemical works surely allows even the hostile critics to see that he never intended to deny that God works through a material universe in using these effective signs of Christ's self-gift to the Father and transformative food and drink for humanity. Had the Tridentine Church been more careful to express the ontological change of bread and wine, perhaps this could have gotten us to a place where the discussion of Eucharistic sacrifice could be easier to understand and dialogue on the basis of Andrewes' approved more fruitful. Kereszty writes:

The church's teaching on ontological transformation (transubstantiation) presupposes that Jesus becomes really present but under the real sign of bread and wine. Bread and wine, then are not annihilated (analogously to the human person who offers himself to God through Christ) but rather reach their ultimate, God-intended perfection in becoming the effective signs of Christ's presence in the eucharistic consecration. Therefore, Catholics should be more careful in defining the meaning of the word "appearance" in eucharistic theology. God does not intend to deceive us by false appearances: the empirical qualities of bread and wine are real and they must remain in order to express Christ as true food and true drink for the believers who still live in the world of sense experience. In this way we could do justice to a legitimate Protestant objection while, at the same time, articulating better the Catholic dogma of transubstantiation in such a way that it might appear as an organic development of scripture and patristic doctrine rather than the outdated creed of what Luther called the "Aristotelian Church."¹⁰⁷

In the same manner there is quite a bit more understanding needed from those who oppose an ontological transformation. They need to hear what is being said and not said by those who hold to such a position. What is essential for a realist view, such as that upheld by Andrewes, is that there is clarity needed when describing the ontological transformation of the elements. Andrewes' realist approach to presence shows how the recipients are able to receive the whole Christ through the effective signs of his self-gift to the world so clearly expressed in his theology of Eucharist and Incarnation. It is this realist approach to presence that allows Andrewes to also hold an orthodox understanding of the Eucharist as the Christian offering

¹⁰⁷ Roch Kereszty, 'The Eucharist of the Church and the Offering of Christ', in *Rediscovering the Eucharist: Ecumenical Conversations*, Ed. By Roch A. Kereszty, (New York: Paulist Press, 2003), 254.

which was so vehemently opposed by the Reformers preceding Andrewes and after. This particular issues which is from a Catholic perspective is where we now turn to examine his understanding of the union of Christ's one offering on the cross and the offering made by the Church to the Father.

Chapter 4 Andrewes: Eucharistic Re-presentation, Immolation and the Oneness of Christian Sacrifice

4.1 *Introduction*

The sacrificial nature of the Eucharist was one of the most controversial theological issues between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the West during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This controversy has not gone away and different branches of the Church continue to possess divergent views on this doctrine. As a result of the nature of the Atonement and the sacrifice of Christ once and for all on Calvary, Protestants and Anglicans alike have been rather tentative about using sacrificial language to define what happens at the altar/table when the Church gathers to celebrate the Eucharist. Interestingly, we do not find Lancelot Andrewes denying the language or discounting the theology of sacrifice when speaking of the Eucharistic offering. What I am looking to accomplish within this chapter is to define Andrewes' doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice in a way that in turn offers a critique of some sixteenth century Reformers, in particular, Cranmer and Calvin.¹ The reason is my conviction that Andrewes moved away from the more extreme Continental Reformed positions of the sixteenth century. Andrewes does not systematize any specific formulation in his notion of sacrifice but approaches the underlying theology within the context of the liturgy of the Church. Theologians have struggled to determine Andrewes' Eucharistic theology of presence. In the preceding chapter, I characterised

¹ Concerning Andrewes' lack of time for Zwinglian views, he replies to Cardinal du Perron by saying, 'It is well known whither he leaned; that, to make this point straight, he bowed it too far the other way. To avoid *Est* in the Church of Rome's sense, he fell to be all for *Significat*, and nothing for *Est* at all. And whatsoever went further than *significat* he took to savour of the *carnal presence*. For which, if the Cardinal mislike him, so do we.' Andrewes, *Works*, XI., 14.

Andrewes as a ‘trans-elementationist.’ Andrewes was committed to a realist view of presence, from which Eucharistic sacrifice might seem a necessary deduction.

There are a number of issues surrounding Eucharistic sacrifice that will be looked at in this chapter. I begin with a statement from Andrewes to Robert Bellarmine in his work *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini* that brings us to the heart of the issue.² Andrewes is responding to Bellarmine’s response to King James I’s theology of transubstantiation and Eucharistic sacrifice in addition to other differences between Rome and the Church of England. The disagreement was not about the Eucharistic sacrifice; it concerned Rome’s requiring a definition of the ‘*how*’ of Eucharistic presence which became dogma that he strongly reacted against.

And you do remove your Mass of Transubstantiation; and there will no longer be a quarrel with us about the sacrifice. A memorial of the sacrifice there made, we allow not reluctantly. That your Christ be made from bread to be sacrificed, never will be allowed.³

At first glance, this quotation would not seem all that different from Cranmer with regards to the use of the word ‘memorial’. But what will become significantly evident is the difference between Cranmer’s and Andrewes’ understanding of what this ‘memorial’ meant. Where the mature Cranmer eliminated any sort of propitiatory nature to eucharistic sacrifice or a realist view of presence within the elements, Andrewes maintains a propitiatory view of the Eucharist as a result of his realist position of presence.⁴ We find Andrewes using such language as ‘Let us offer Him’⁵, ‘Christ was given that we might give him back,’⁶ which is much different from what was acceptable to the mature Cranmer or Calvin. For Cranmer, every person was to

² Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 251.

³ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 251. *At vos tollite de Missa Transubstantiationem vestram; nec diu nobiscum lis erit de sacrificio. Memoriam ibi fieri sacrificii, damus non invite. Sacrificari ibi Christum vestrum de pane factum, nunquam daturi.*

⁴ See Peter Brooks, *Thomas Cranmer’s Doctrine of the Eucharist*, (London: Macmillan, 1965), 74-75.

⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 30.

⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 30.

receive the sacrament for their declaring that [they] remember what benefit was received by Christ's death. Cranmer writes 'but his holy supper was ordained for this purpose, that euery man eating & drinking therof, shuld remembre that Christ died for him, and so shuld exercise his faith, and comforte him selfe by the remembraunce of Christes benefits, and so giue vnto Christ most hartly thanks, and giue himselfe also clearly vnto him.'⁷

What becomes obvious to the careful reader of Andrewes is the centrality the place of the Eucharist held in his theology. The Eucharist was the liturgy *par excellence*. For Andrewes—and this is important in determining what the Eucharistic rite meant for him as the liturgy *par excellence*—the sacrifice offered was not limited to that of praise and thanksgiving. Within the very same discourse from the quotation immediately above from the *Responsio*, he showed his commitment to embrace the Augustinian theory that the Eucharist is a Sacrament and a Sacrifice.⁸ He offers what he believes is a clear rebuttal of the doctrine of transubstantiation without denying real presence. The theology of sacrifice as a 'memorial offering', which we give to God as gift, provides the Church with the benefits of Christ's one offering. The memorial is the means by which the cross is applied to the faithful in the present. Andrewes' methodology, which shaped his conclusions that defined the Eucharist as the Christian sacrifice, is seen in his exegetical approach to scripture and his commitment to the tradition of the early Fathers. Andrewes does not rely upon earlier

⁷ Cranmer, *A defence of the true and catholike doctrine of the sacrament of the body and bloud of our sauour Christ with a confutation of sundry errors concernyng the same, grounded and stablished vpon Goddes holy woorde, [and] approved by ye consent of the moste auncient doctors of the Churche*. (Imprinted at London : Anno Domini. 1550), 113.

⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 250. *Credunt enim, institutam a Domino Eucharistiam in sui commemorationem; etiam Sacrificii sui, vel (si ita loqui liceat) in sacrificium commemorativum; non autem in Sacramentum modo, vel alimoniam spiritualem*. This emphasis is also found in Aquinas *ST*, 3a, 79, 5. '*Dicendum quod hoc sacramentum simul est sacrificium et sacramentum; sed rationem sacrificii habet in quantum offertur, rationem autem sacramenti in quantum sumitur.*' See also Lawrence Frankovich's Ph.D thesis *Augustine's Theory of Eucharistic Sacrifice*, facsimile (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1978).

Reformers from the Continent or those in England to defend his theology of sacrifice in the Eucharist. As a result of what he saw as the Protestant failures in the Reformation in England, Andrewes returned to the theology of antiquity that held to the teaching of the Eucharist as the Christian sacrifice—a view that included something more than a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.⁹ Where Calvin claims the Church fathers deviated from the divine institution¹⁰, Andrewes embraces the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice that one finds, for instance, in Cyril of Jerusalem. Cyril writes,

In the same way we, when we offer to Him our supplications for those who have fallen asleep, though they be sinners, weave no crown, but offer up Christ sacrificed for our sins, propitiating our merciful God for them as well as for ourselves.¹¹

4.2 *Andrewes, Sacrifice, and Sixteenth Century Reformers*

Space will not allow for a full discussion of such an important theological figure as Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), despite the importance of the theological dialogue between himself and Stephen Gardiner (1483-1555) regarding the nature of the Eucharist.¹² My purpose in mentioning Cranmer in this instance is to show further why I believe Andrewes was offering what I call a ‘Catholic’ critique of the sixteenth century English Reformation. For example, in Cranmer’s *Answer*, there is a denial of any need of an offering of Christ in the Eucharist.

Wherefore it is an abominable blasphemy, to geue that office or dignitie to a priest; which pertaineth onely to Christ: or to affirme that the Church hath neede of any such sacrifice: as who should say: that Christes sacrifice were not sufficient for the

⁹ Calvin, *Institutes* 4.18.17, ‘This kind of sacrifice is indispensable in the Lord’s Supper, in which, while we show forth his death, and give him thanks, we offer nothing but the sacrifice of praise.’

¹⁰ Calvin, *Institutes* 4.18.11, 1439. ‘But I observe that the ancient writers also misinterpreted this memorial in a way not consonant with the Lord’s Institution, because their Supper displayed some appearance of repeated or at least renewed sacrifice.’

¹¹ Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures xxiii. 10*, *NPNF Vol. VI*, 153.

¹² Thomas Cranmer, *Defence* (1550).

remission of our sinnes: or els that his sacrifice should hang vpon the sacrifice of a priest.¹³

Cranmer's reply begs the question. Were there voices that actually argued for the insufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ once offered? Did the Eucharistic offering add anything to Christ's offering? Was there something lacking in Trent's response to the Reformation that allowed for this conclusion to carry on into the seventeenth century? Where does Andrewes fall within this sixteenth century impasse? We have already seen that Andrewes, like Cranmer, denied transubstantiation. Cranmer not only denied transubstantiation but any real objective presence in the sacrament at all but a presence by faith in the worthy recipient.¹⁴ Cranmer viewed the presence of Christ as adhering within the recipient of the Eucharist who possessed genuine faith. He claimed that the sacrifice of the Eucharist was exclusively that of 'praise and thanksgiving.' Much of the theology of Cranmer's Eucharistic thought, in relationship to the liturgy of the Church of England, is critiqued in Dom Gregory Dix's work *The Shape of the Liturgy*. Dix argues that Cranmer was formed by Zwingli's theology where the doctrine of Christ's presence is reduced to mere memorialism.¹⁵ Dix gives a clear example from Cranmer's *Defence* where he defines the Christian sacrifice as one that consists of *Laud, Praise and Thanksgiving* only.¹⁶ Cranmer concluded that any

¹³ Cranmer, Thomas, *Answer*, (1551), 374. For Cranmer, sacrifice was narrowly defined by a death and since Christ could only die once, there could be no other offering of him. See Cranmer, *Defence*, 107.

¹⁴ Peter Brooks, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist*, (1965), 45-46. Brooks describes Cranmer's view of presence to be limited to *in usu sacramenti*.

¹⁵ This view has been challenged by some who believe that Dix has gone too far in his assessment. I do not believe he has and he proves my point by revealing Cranmer's position of sacrifice. G.B. Timms, M.A., 'Dixit Cranmer: A Reply to Dom Gregory,' *Alcuin Club Papers*, May 1946 (London). Dom Gregory Dix responded to this in 'Dixit Cranmer Et Non Timuit: A Supplement to Mr. Timms,' *The Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. cxlv. 1948, pp.145; Jun 1948, Vol. cxlvi, pp. 44. These articles are an exchange concerning the conclusions of Dix in his *Shape of the Liturgy* where he defines Cranmer as one who is more in agreement with the Zwinglian views concerning his doctrine of the Eucharist.

¹⁶ Cranmer, *Defence*, 106. 'An other kynde of sacrifice there is, whyche dothe not reconcile vs to God, but is made of them that be reconciled by Christe, to testifie our dueties vnto god, and to shew our selues thankfull vnto hym. And therefore they be called Sacrifices of laude, praise and thankes geuyng.'

language which described the Eucharist as the sacrifice of the Mass possessing propitiatory qualities was a great injury against Christ.

The greatest blasphemye & iniury that can be against Christe, & yet uniuersally vsed through the Popishe kyngdom, is this, that the priestes make their Masse a sacrifice propitiatory, to remit the synnes aswell of theim selues, as of other both quicke and dead, to whom they list to apply the same. Thus vnder pretence of holynes, the Papistical priestes haue taken vpon them to be Christes successours, and to make suche an oblacion and sacrifice, as neuer creature made but Christe alone, neither he made the same any mo tymes than ones, and that was by his death vpon the crosse.¹⁷

Therefore, contrary to what we find in Andrewes, there is no propitiatory virtue of the Eucharistic offering in Cranmer's thought. According to his own traditional commitments, Andrewes echoed the views of early Fathers such as Cyril of Jerusalem (315-386) *On the Sacred Mysteries*. We find echoes of Cyril's language of realistic presence in Andrewes when he speaks of consecration, sacrifice, propitiation, and the Christian sacrifice benefiting the living and the dead.¹⁸

This day therefore the Church never fails, but sets forth her peace-offering;—the Body Whose hands were here shewed, and the side whence issued *Sanguis crucis*, 'the Blood that pacifieth all things in earth and Heaven,' that we, in and by it, may this day renew the covenant of our peace.¹⁹

This will be explained in greater detail below. Realist ways of describing the Eucharist found within the Fathers were given great prominence in the seventeenth century than was the case in the sixteenth century.²⁰

As was established in the opening chapter, Christian tradition was not to be seen as a dead letter for Andrewes but was the standard to keep the Church from all spurious novelties whether coming from Pontiff or Puritan. The question for us to answer is whether or not what Andrewes saw as a true revival of Eucharistic sacrifice within his own theology was more than mere antiquarianism. Louis Bouyer believes that it was nothing more than an accomplished *via media* that had little to no success

¹⁷ Cranmer, *Defence*, v. 104. See Dom Gregory Dix, *Shape of the Liturgy*, (London: Continuum 1945) 654-55.

¹⁸ Cyril, 'On the Sacred Mysteries,' Lecture xxiii, NPNF Vol. VII., 153.

¹⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 251; Ps. 50:5.

²⁰ H.R. McAdoo and Kenneth Stevenson, *The Mystery of the Eucharist*, 17-18.

due to an artificial reconstruction of history and a ‘highbrow aristocracy’ that appealed only to a small elite.²¹ Why these ‘high views’ of Eucharistic sacrifice and other liturgical ceremonial acts were not successful in Andrewes’ own day is worthy of further reflection. My point in drawing the reader’s attention to this now is to show that Andrewes was offering a critique of the mid-sixteenth century Reformation in England by returning to what he understood as the theologically rich past of the undivided Church. Andrewes chiefly relies on Augustine in numerous places in his attempt to reconstruct the language of Eucharistic offering. Similar to Augustine, Andrewes explains that the one sacrifice of Christ ‘is also commemorated by Christians, in the sacred offering and participation of the body and blood of Christ.’²² The *symbolon* of this one sacrifice is daily offered in the sacrifice of the Church.²³

4.3 *The Sacrifice of the Mass and the Reformers*

We must now begin to consider what sort of understanding Andrewes applied to the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist. His view of Eucharistic sacrifice was synthesised in his teaching with the whole of the Christian life. In Andrewes’ funeral sermon, John Buckeridge (1562-1631) spoke of Andrewes’ sacrificial life as one that followed a pattern, which reflected the Eucharist as the model of the Christian sacrifice. This language echoes that of Augustine who said, ‘And He designed that there should be a daily sign of this in the sacrifice of the Church, which, being His

²¹ Louis Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1954), 46, 47. See also Nicholas Tyacke ‘Lancelot Andrewes and the Myth of Anglicanism’ in *Conformity and Orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560-1660*, ed., Peter Lake and Michael Questier, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000) 5-32; and Peter McCullough, ‘Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626-1642’, *Historical Journal* 41 (1998), 401-24. Tyacke notes that Andrewes ‘by 1590 was already in the process of abandoning more generally the Protestantism established in England from the mid-sixteenth century; hence the hesitancy with which he sometimes voiced his novel views and even more the tentativeness of his translating them into practice.’ 32.

²² Augustine, *Faust.*, xx. 18, 261. NPNF, Vol. IV, (1989). See J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, Second Edition, (London: Haper & Row, 1960) 454-55.

²³ Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, x.20, NPNF, Vol. II, (1993) 193.

body, learns to offer herself through Him.²⁴ The Eucharist shaped Andrewes' entire life according to Buckeridge and he relates how this idea of Eucharistic sacrifice resulted in ethical implications for how Andrewes saw the Church's vocation as 'self-gift' to the world. Buckeridge connected Andrewes' theology of Eucharistic sacrifice to the manner of life he lived.

And if this text were ever fully applied in any, [Hebrews 13.16] I presume it was in him; for he was *totus in his sacrificiis*, 'he wholly spent himself and his studies and estate in these sacrifices,' in prayer and the praise of God, and compassion and works of charity, as if he had minded nothing else all his life long but this, to offer himself, his soul and body, a contrite and a broken heart, a pitiful and compassionate heart, and a thankful and grateful heart, 'a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God by Jesus Christ, which is our reasonable service' of Him.²⁵

This definition of sacrifice is in agreement with one given by Augustine in *The City of God* where he wrote, '*Tota redempta civitas est unum sacrificium quo seipsam offert Deo Patri*'; 'The whole city of the redeemed is one sacrifice through which it offers itself to God the Father.'²⁶ For Andrewes, much like Augustine, true sacrifice is offered in every act that is to unite us to Christ. Gerald Bonner comments that Augustine's approach to sacrifice is determined by his christocentricity and that he will have understood the tradition of the Eucharist and this great action as the Christian sacrifice.²⁷ This theme of christocentric sacrifice also runs throughout the theology of Andrewes' sermons and writings as we will see below. Andrewes puts great stress on Christ who fulfilled the ancient sacrifices in the Old Covenant. For Andrewes and Augustine, the theme of 'victimhood' is found within their theology of sacrifice as well as the analogy of Christ's sacrifice as the Christian *Pascha*. In his commentary on John's Gospel, Augustine notes the connection of *Pascha* and the

²⁴ Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, x.20, 193.

²⁵ Andrewes, *Works, Funeral Sermon*, 288.

²⁶ Cited in Louis Bouyer, *Liturgical Piety*, 77.

²⁷ Gerald Bonner, 'The Doctrine of Sacrifice: Augustine and the Latin Patristic Tradition' in *Sacrifice and Redemption*, Durham Essays in Theology, ed. S. W. Sykes (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 101.

Christian Eucharist as offering and describes the offering of the Church as the Christian *Pascha*.

That celebration was a shadow of the future. Why a shadow? It was a prophetic imitation of the Christ to come, a prophecy of him who on that day was to suffer for us. Thus the shadow would vanish and the light would come; the sign would pass away, and the truth would be retained...The Lord therefore came in the victim's place so that the true Passover might be ours when we celebrate his passion as the real offering of the lamb.²⁸

We should not overestimate Andrewes' originality when he spoke of the Eucharist as the Christian sacrifice. He was not out to explain away the language of the early Church that defined the Eucharist as sacrifice. Rather, Andrewes was keen to make the richness of what was spoken of in the past a new reality in the present.²⁹ It was this conscious effort to return to viewing the Eucharist as the fullness of Christian sacrifice that makes Andrewes so unique.

4.3.1 *Controversial Issues Andrewes Faced*

In order that we may move deeper into Andrewes' view of Eucharistic sacrifice, it is necessary to remember that he is working in relation to the Tridentine formulations of sacrifice defined at the Twenty-Second Session under Pope Pius IV, in 1562. Obviously the rising apprehension surrounding the Eucharistic sacrifice goes further back than Trent and into the early and mid-sixteenth century. This row can be found in the writings of Martin Luther, John Calvin, Martin Bucer, Johannes Eck, and so on.³⁰ Interestingly, the radical contesting of the notion of Eucharistic sacrifice only

²⁸ Cited in Frankovich, *Augustine's Theory of Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 134. (Augustine, *Commentary on John*, 50.2.) Frankovich observes how Augustine saw victimhood not as a God who looks for human blood in order to be appeased but to destroy that which was sinful, the likeness of sinful flesh. *Augustine's Theory of Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 135.

²⁹ Gerald Bonner, 'The Doctrine of Sacrifice:' 101.

³⁰ See Nicholas Thompson, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and Patristic Tradition in the Theology of Martin Bucer 1534-1546*, (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 33-71. Here Thompson supplies us with the historical debate that set in motion the Reformation controversy concerning Eucharistic sacrifice between Johannes Eck and Martin Luther. Thompson gives a careful analysis of both the Protestant and Catholic responses to the debate. See also Kenneth Stevenson, *Eucharist and Offering*, (New York:

first came to prominence in the sixteenth century. The foremost issue for these early Reformers—that was carried into the seventeenth century and is still presently debated—was the question of how the Eucharistic sacrifice is justified when the scriptures speak of the one offering of Christ given once for all, which is never to be or can be repeated (Heb. 7.27; 9.25; 10.10). However, it could not be denied by Luther or others that the tradition of the Church had spoken of the Eucharist as the sacrifice of Christians from very early on.³¹

Luther was unyielding about denying what he considered a novelty in regards to sacrifice that surrounded the Words of Institution over the bread and cup. Luther maintained that the real presence of the body and blood is received in the sacramental elements as the self-offering of Christ made once and for all. He actually argued for retaining the elevation of bread and wine as an illustration of what he believed about the *Sanctus*.³² Therefore, many of the Reformers were willing to see the Eucharist as a sacrifice provided it be interpreted as a sacrifice of ‘praise and thanksgiving’ only. Any sense of offering Christ as ‘Victim’ to the Father as a ‘work’ was vehemently denied by all sixteenth century Reformers. This was especially so in regard to the Eucharistic words over the bread and cup as the ‘offering’ up of Christ. This view of sacrifice was seen as an encroachment on the gospel and an affront to the priesthood of every believer (1 Pet. 2.9). The offering that is made in Luther’s theology was the offering of the Christian who offers him/herself fully to God in self-abasement. For

Pueblo, 1986), 129-172; Lee Palmer Wandel, *Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Liturgy*, (CUP: 2006), 139-260; James T. O’Connor *The Hidden Manna: A Theology of the Eucharist*, (1988), 206-267; Joseph A. Jungmann, S.J., *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, Trans. by Francis A Brunner, C.S.S.R., Two Volumes, (Benziger Brothers Inc.1950); Darwell A. Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, Two Volumes, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1909), Volume Two of Stone’s work covers the Reformation to the twentieth century.

³¹ Felix Circlot, *The Early Eucharist*, (London: SPCK 1939) 101-21.

³² Mark Chapman, ‘Sacrament and Sacrifice in the Theology of the Mass According to Luther 1513-26,’ *One in Christ*, 28. 1992, 248-266. Chapman cites the following quotation from Luther’s *Works*, 53, pp. 69-84: ‘We do not want to abolish the elevation, but retain it because it goes well with the German Sanctus and signifies that Christ has commanded us to remember him.’

Luther, what is offered is a remembrance of that one offering because to offer Christ in sacrifice for Luther means he would suffer again.³³ In the words of William Cavanaugh, Luther could not get beyond the quarantining of gift from the logic of exchange.³⁴ Therefore, what we receive from God is received passively and not something that we have offered lest it destroy the nature of gift. On the other hand, praise and thanksgiving for Luther is the sheer effect of the gift received from God and the sacrifice of Christ at Calvary, which cannot be returned. Yet the gift is expressed to others in actions of self-offering. Therefore, in the words of Cavanaugh's critique of Luther, we can only speak of sacrifice outside of the sacrament itself.³⁵

Powers clearly explains the particular problems the Reformers had with the sacrifice of the Mass or as they understood it. These were as follows:

- (a) they raised problems about an apparently automatic application of Christ's satisfaction, i.e., without faith or devotion in the one to whom the application was made;
- (b) they objected to the idea that the eucharist could benefit non-communicants, not only among those present at the mass but also among the absent, not only the living but also the dead;
- (c) they objected to the importance given to the act of the celebrating priest, where it looked as if this act was effectively divorced from the community's participation and the mass took on the form of a private celebration;
- (d) they questioned the propitiatory character of the mass as such, seeing in this idea an instance of 'works' theology, so that even when the objections over the dispositions required in the recipients of satisfaction were answered a more fundamental problem remained;
- (e) they took exception to the invocation of the saints and to the celebration of masses in their honour, finding in these practices a substitution of the works of the saints for the satisfaction of Christ.³⁶

³³ Chapman cites (p. 254) Luther's *Works* 29, pp. 219-20 where Luther commented on the Eucharistic words 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' and said, 'For he does not suffer as often as he is remember to have suffered.'

³⁴ William T. Cavanaugh, 'Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Social Imagination in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31, 2001, 597. Further reference will be Cavanaugh, 'Eucharistic Sacrifice' followed by page number(s).

³⁵ William T. Cavanaugh, 'Eucharistic Sacrifice,' 597.

³⁶ David N. Powers, *The Sacrifice We Offer: The Tridentine Dogma and Its Reinterpretation*, (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, (1997) 48.

The problems listed above with sacrifice were due to the claim by the Reformers that it was by the *mere performance (ex opere operato)* in the sacrifice of the Mass that guilt and what was due sin was satisfied. Presence by the people at the Mass or actual reception was not required in order to receive the effects of the Eucharistic offering. This resulted in the Reformers' hostility towards private Masses and the acceptance of infrequent communion. The Mass was alleged to teach a propitiatory sacrifice 'meriting' the grace of God for those who offer it, the priest, and for those whom it is offered (people) whether they be living or dead. It was inferred by the Reformers that this movement of grace came *ex opere operato* whether there was repentance from mortal sin or not. Yet the Church of Rome clearly taught that the 'Churchly performance' of this rite conveys grace to the recipient provided that the recipients not place an impediment (*obex*) in the way of that grace.

Faith was also required in Andrewes' theology of the Eucharist for the positive fruits to be effectual unto life. But faith did not supersede the sacraments as the means of receiving the priestly benefits of Christ objectively. The Reformers allowed their stress on faith alone of the individual to supersede Christ who acts within and through the sacramental communion of his Body and Blood. For Andrewes, the priestly intercession of Christ was communicated to the faithful by the 'conduit pipe' of grace; namely, the sacramental objectivity and not as a result of the activity of faith offered by the individual. The Reformers rejected the notion of the sacraments having a *virtus operativa* or operative power. It was in and through the sacraments that Andrewes spoke of the power of God given unto salvation. The merit of salvation is applied, not by the faith of the individual, but by the act of Christ in and through the Eucharist and not through the private effort of the mind. For Andrewes, faith embraces what is really present in the sacrament.

What was more problematic in the Reformers' eyes was what they referred to as the so-called abuse of this 'work' that purchased souls from purgatory through the Mass stipend. Rather than the Mass being equally effectual for all, the calculation of the fruit of the Mass was varied. This created disparity between the sacrifice and the sacraments for the Reformers. The result was that the infinite price of the Victim was paid out in a measure proportioned to the devotion of those who offered.³⁷ Hence the debate on the 'value' of each Mass offered and the number of those for whom it was offered was alleged to be of less value if a 'full' Mass stipend was not offered by each individual. As a result, if the Mass was said for an individual alone, so as not to have shared the value of the offering with another, more 'value' was awarded the recipient. De la Taille summed it up in the following way:

(I) The greater number of titles under which one Mass is offered by a member of the faithful for one and the same person, the more fruitful is the Mass for that person. (II) The greater the number of those on whose behalf a member of the faithful offers a Mass under a certain title, and with a certain intensity of devotion, the less fruit is available for each one of that number from that Mass, in so far as it is offered by that one of the faithful: because the fruit of such Mass is measured in proportion to the devotion of the offerer; hence, as there is only a certain measure of this fruit available, it cannot be as great for many as it would be for only one.³⁸

Another matter of controversy was the use of the terms 'propitiation' and 'praise and thanksgiving.' The latter was able to be used for the Eucharist (according to sixteenth century Reformers) but the former was only to be used of the work accomplished on the cross. The abuses during this period are admitted by Francis Clark, S.J., in his work *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*. He acknowledges,

The traditional and orthodox concept of the Mass as a potent means to supplicate God's blessings, both spiritual and temporal, was presented in exaggerated forms in the period we are considering, which in this respect compares unfavourably with the high middle ages.³⁹

³⁷ M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith*, Regarding The Most August Sacrament And Sacrifice Of The Body And Blood Of Christ, Book I, (Sheed and Ward, 1941) 269.

³⁸ M. de la Taille, *The Mystery of Faith*, (1941) 270.

³⁹ Francis Clark, S.J., *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, (1960), 60.

And further on he divulges more on the *praxis* of the Roman Mass system that led to the gross multiplication of Masses.

The multiplication of low Masses for stipends; the 'private Masses', as Luther called them, which were said great numbers at side altars, doubtless contributed to a loss of the sense of the liturgy as the corporate action of the people of God. So too the neglect of holy communion was an inveterate defect (originating long before the middle ages and common in the East as well as in the West) which has been successfully remedied only in modern times.⁴⁰

I am in agreement with Clark here and think that the present emphasis of Mass in modern times that encourages frequent communion has remedied a defect to which Andrewes would have welcomed. We will see below that Andrewes understood the completion of the sacrificial offering should include the communion of Christ by the people. What we discover as a result of the theology of the early Reformers who rejected a sacrifice that was more than praise and thanksgiving became a concerted effort of pitting scripture against tradition, which set the stage for establishing the sacred texts to have supreme authority over tradition. This became the main Protestant hermeneutic and authoritative characteristic. The received doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice had been well maintained for over a millennium but was now being challenged. Andrewes is quite aware of how the early Fathers spoke of the teaching about the Mass as sacrifice and claims to be a defender of it as described by Augustine and Chrysostom. Andrewes challenged the Reformers who argued that the Church could not view the Eucharistic sacrifice as a sacrifice *in natura* lest she be guilty of offering another sacrifice in the place of the cross of Christ. Though the sacrifice *in natura* was only once offered, the sacramental sacrifice offered is united in figure to the one offering so that the sacrifice of the Eucharist and that of the cross remain one. While this offering is made in many places, it remains only one offering. We will find Andrewes expounding this view below. That which is offered in the

⁴⁰ Francis Clark, S.J., *Eucharistic Sacrifice*, (1960) 62.

sacrifice of the Eucharist is the sacrifice that was once offered. This is the eternal sacrifice of Christ made present to God in memorial.⁴¹

4.4 *The Council of Trent on Eucharistic Sacrifice*

Andrewes is quite aware of the sixteenth century debate and rejection of the sacrifice of the Mass. It is his scholarship as a patristic theologian that allowed him to see that the English Church was advancing into novelty by rejecting what he believed the Church held in its undivided history.⁴² In order to place Andrewes' teaching on Eucharistic sacrifice in context, it is imperative that we understand what the Council of Trent determined as the Catholic Church's teaching on the sacrifice of the Mass.⁴³ Andrewes reminded the 'Papists' that they could not read the Tridentine understanding anachronistically into the Fathers. Yet what one finds in a close examination of Andrewes' theology of sacrifice, relying as he does on the Fathers, is not in many ways contradictory to Trent's decrees. It is in the finer details of the 'effects' provided by the Mass and the 'manner' of sacrifice in relationship to what Andrewes defined as a 'natural' sacrifice, i.e. 're-offering' of Christ in each Mass where he suffers 'anew' that becomes the underlying issue.

There were a number of groups present at Trent that focused on different aspects of the sacrifice and how it was related to the cross. Powers separates these

⁴¹ John Chrysostom, NPNF Vol. XIV. Homilies on the Gospel of Saint John and Epistle to the Hebrews, Ed., by Phillip Schaff, (1996), 449. This paragraph is a summary of the echoes of Chrysostom found in Andrewes' writings and sermons.

⁴² It is noted by Reidy, that even though Andrewes did not embrace the entire doctrine of the Medieval Church, he did embrace the devotional implications of the full Catholic position. Reidy S.J., *Andrewes*, 138.

⁴³ For more detail on the background of Trent, see David N. Power, *The Sacrifice We Offer*: (1987) 27-49. Here Powers offers a background to Trent, which describes the late medieval theology of the Mass. Also, see J.F. McHugh, 'Sacrifice of the Mass at the Council of Trent,' in *Sacrifice and Redemption*, Durham Essays in Theology, ed., S.W. Sykes, (Cambridge: CUP, 1991), 157-179.

groups into three basic categories. He explains that the apologists related the sacrifice in these ways:

One group related it more directly to the Last Supper, or to the offering which Christ made of himself at the supper, before suffering on the cross. For them, it was this offering that was sacramentally represented in the mass, but because of the real presence it could be said that it was the victim of the sacrifice of the cross that was offered. For another group, it was the offering on the cross itself that was mystically represented on the altar through the action of the priest, so that consecration and offering coincided. For still a third group, it was the heavenly offering of Christ, the eternal high-priest, that was sacramentally represented, that continuous offering which he makes of himself to the Father, in virtue of the once-for-all spilling of his blood on the cross. For the majority of the apologists, therefore, there is no sense in which an oblation or work of the church could be separated from the once-for-all sacrifice of Christ on the cross.⁴⁴

What is important for us here is to see that in the debate at Trent in 1551/52 there was a tremendous amount of emphasis put on the unity of the sacrifice of the cross and the sacrifice of the Mass. The Council set out to show how precisely the ‘effects’ of the cross were applied to the faithful. Rome laboured to protect its priestly offering and the Protestant churches worked to protect their free gift of grace.⁴⁵ Hence, the two could not hear what the other was saying. McHugh concluded in his essay that what Trent required from a Catholic was that they hold fast to the doctrine that in the Mass a sacrifice is offered. This sacrifice is more than ‘praise and thanksgiving’ and includes an expiation of sins and an abundant source of grace that profited not only the living but the dead. Therefore, this Eucharistic sacrifice is offered primarily by Christ himself and secondarily by the Church in union with him; it is Christ’s one offering of Calvary memorialised by the Church.⁴⁶ Christ offers this in his intercessory role as eternal priest. The priest acts in union with Christ who brings the offering to the Father by the instrumental agency of the office. These sacrifices are not two separate offerings but one and the same, which is eternally before the Father in heaven. Where Trent and Andrewes are of one spirit is in the sacrifice of the Mass

⁴⁴ David N. Powers, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, 44, 45.

⁴⁵ David N. Powers, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, 116-133.

⁴⁶ McHugh, J. F., ‘Sacrifice of the Mass at the Council of Trent,’ 179.

consisting of the formal liturgical offering given to God (*immolatio*) as gift and accepted by him for the forgiveness of sins actually committed.⁴⁷

For the desired result of unity, there must be a way for the Church to keep together the ‘propitiatory offering’ and ‘the free gift of grace’ at the centre of the whole worshipping experience. The problem of Eucharistic sacrifice is tied up in the liturgical act of the Church. The main problem stems from multiplicity of views concerning what the Church ‘does’ when it is gathered together. The affirmation, which must first of all be recognised, is that neither Rome's nor the Reformers views are in opposition to the gospel, though they may be in opposition to one another. And Rome and the Reformers may not necessarily be directly opposed. The uniqueness of what Andrewes was able to accomplish was the ability to see this dilemma in the liturgical act of the Church and respond to an over-correction given by the sixteenth century while at the same time not denying the substance of sacrifice. He understood the necessity of holding the liturgical act of ‘praise and thanksgiving’ along with the expiatory qualities of the one offering of Christ united in the Eucharistic offering as a way of maintaining a fuller sense of the gospel.

The majority of the Tridentine fathers showed themselves to be reluctant to yield to excessive definition on issues pertaining to sacrifice. One issue left open as a result was the efficacy for the dead in the sacrifice of the Mass; it was stated but not defined.⁴⁸ Trent accommodated a variety of views on many points, even notions like ‘sacraments cause grace’ and allowed for a variety of theories on the nature of this ‘causation.’ This is due to the variety of opinions amongst the Council fathers. Some Cardinals were positive towards a number of concerns the Reformers had and it is this

⁴⁷ This is discussed in fuller detail below in 4.5 and 4.6.

⁴⁸ David N. Powers, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, 136-161.

acknowledgment that allows one to see how closely Andrewes' theology of Eucharistic sacrifice answers the concerns of the Council.

4.5 *The Eucharistic Offering of Christ as a Conduit of Grace*

In Chapter One, Session twenty-two on the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Council communicated the relationship between the one sacrifice of Christ on the cross and the offering of him in the Mass. Why was it necessary for there to be a continued sacrifice by the Church? The Tridentine answer was due to the nature of man whose actual sins require the *unbloody* sacrifice of the Church so that those sins may be forgiven. They focused, not on the insufficiency of Christ's work, but on the nature of fallen man who needed to have the one sacrifice of Christ memorially brought before the Father so that the mercy of the cross is made effectual for the present. Andrewes does not differ with this continued need for sacrifice for the very same reasons.

For we have need of a Sacrifice, both in respect of the grinding and upbraiding of our consciences for the sinnes we have committed, and by reason of the punishment we have deserved by them. This sacrifice we are put in minde of in this Sacrament, that Christ hath offered himself to God an oblation and sacrifice of a sweet smelling savour, wherein we have planted in our hearts the passive grace of God, for the quieting of our consciences against sinnes past, by the taking of the cup of Salvation makes us say, *Return into thy rest O my soul, Psalm the hundred and sixteen;*⁴⁹

Andrewes' language 'we are put in minde of in this Sacrament,' is not to be confused with a Cranmerian view of memorial as seen above. Further on in this same sermon Andrewes describes this bringing to mind as the offering we are to give. In the offering of Christ there is a giving and receiving. Having described the necessity of sacrifice in the above quotation, Andrewes expounds for us how our disposition is

⁴⁹ Andrewes *Apos. Sacra*, 597. Council of Trent Session 22, Chapter 1, Ed. and Trans. by J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848), 153. Trent stated, '...that He may leave, to His own beloved Spouse, the Church, a visible sacrifice, such as the nature of man requires, whereby that bloody sacrifice, once to be accomplished on the cross, might be represented, and the memory thereof remain even unto the end of the world, and its salutary virtue be applied to the remission of sins which we daily commit...'

changed in our receiving. We come to Christ in offering for we are not to appear empty.

...we never have more confidence in prayer than at that time; when [receiving the sacrament] is the love of God most of all shed in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost, Rom 5:1, by which we are received not only to give, for no man is to appear empty, but also to forgive, as Christ willeth...⁵⁰

For Trent, the offering of Christ was not a sacrifice in a bloody manner or a suffering again of the glorified and risen Christ since he is now *impassible*. Rather the union of the cross, where Jesus was *passibile*, and the sacrifice of the Mass contain the very same redemptive quality. Andrewes interpreted the offering on the cross as the consummation of the offering made at the Last Supper. The Eucharistic offering, in union with the cross, fulfils every shadow of the cross within the Law under the Old Covenant. The prominent Tridentine views of ‘offering’ described by Powers above is actually brought together as a whole by Andrewes who spoke of the Eucharistic offering as the offering which united Christ’s offering at the Last Supper with the suffering on the cross. The union of Christ’s Eucharistic offering and its consummation on the cross was a fulfilment of all the sacrifices in the Old Covenant.

Did Andrewes correctly understand the nature of Trent’s explanation when it defined the Eucharistic sacrifice as a ‘proper’ sacrifice? In Canon One on the Sacrifice of the Mass, Trent concluded ‘If any one saith, that in the Mass a true and proper sacrifice is not offered to God; or, that to be offered is nothing else but that Christ is given us to eat; let him be anathema.’⁵¹ What Andrewes termed the ‘proper’ sacrifice was Christ’s suffering and death on the cross. The Eucharist is not a ‘proper’ sacrifice since there was no death or any sort of change in Christ as he now exists in his glorified state. That ‘proper’ sacrifice could only once ‘naturally’ be offered but

⁵⁰ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 598.

⁵¹ CT, 22, Canon 1. 158. *The Council of Trent The Twenty-Second Session: The canons and decrees of the sacred and oecumenical Council of Trent*, Ed. and trans. J. Waterworth (London: Dolman, 1848)

the effects could be commemorated in the Eucharistic offering. Powers and McHugh both concluded that what Trent meant by a ‘proper’ sacrifice was that it must have ‘propitiatory’ value:⁵² that is, an offering presented before God to appease him for sins committed. Andrewes responded to du Perron that there is no difference on *sacrifice* between Rome and what he believes the Church in England to hold, since there is no difference about an *Altar*.⁵³ The difference between the two is a result of what Andrewes understood Trent to mean when the Council stated that the Eucharist is a proper sacrifice. Andrewes defines the sacrifice as an ‘application’ of the one offering and according to Powers and McHugh the Tridentine fathers came to the same conclusion.⁵⁴ What is interesting is that du Perron defined the propitiatory sacrifice in exactly the same terms that Powers and McHugh stated as the intention of Trent. du Perron, in his work *Replique a la Response du Roy*, writes,

A Church which believed that the Eucharist was a true, full and complete sacrifice, the only successor to all the sacrifices of the law: the new oblation of the new testament, the external worship of the Christians: and not only Eucharistic sacrifice but also propitiatory sacrifice *by applying that [sacrifice] of the Cross*: and in this capacity offered it as much for those who were absent as for those present, as much for the living as for the dead.⁵⁵ (Italics mine)

⁵²David N. Powers, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, 64. If this is all that Trent really meant about the Eucharist being a ‘proper’ sacrifice, then Andrewes and Trent would not be in fundamental disagreement despite a misunderstanding about what Trent meant by a ‘proper’ sacrifice and what Andrewes meant. It could be that Trent merely had a poor choice of words in this canon or Andrewes simply could not get away from the language of ‘proper’ that to him meant suffering and death. McHugh also argues for this view in his essay on the ‘Sacrifice of the Mass in the Council of Trent.’

⁵³ Andrewes, *Works*, XI., *Answer to du Perron*, 20.

⁵⁴ David N. Powers, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, 50. ‘In 1551/52 on the contrary, speakers tended to demonstrate how the mass had its efficacy precisely as an application of the offering of the cross.’ In other words, in the second debate the sacramental relation between mass and cross was more directly discussed and perceived than in the first.’ See Powers’ detailed discussion on pp 50-58. See also J.F. McHugh, ‘Sacrifice of the Mass at the Council of Trent’ (1991) 157-181 but in particular page 178.

⁵⁵ Du Perron, *Replique à la Response du serenissime Roy de la Grand Bretagne, à Paris*, 1620, p. 83 cited in Andrewes *Works*, XI ‘*Une Eglise qui croyoit que l’Eucharistie estoit un vray, plein & entire sacrifice, succedant seul à tous les sacrifices de la loy: la nouvelle oblation du nouveau testament, le culte externe de latrie des Chrestiens: et non seulement sacrifice Eucharistique, mais aussi sacrifice propitiatoire par application de celui de la Croix: & en ceste qualité l’offroit tant pour les absents que pour les presents, tant pour les communions que pour les absents que pour les presents, tant pour les communions que pour les non communians, tant pour les vivants que pour les morts.* Translation by Dr. Chris Joby.

In response to du Perron Andrewes agrees with the propitiatory value that applies the sacrifice of the cross.

The holy Eucharist being considered as a *Sacrifice*, (in the representation of the breaking of bread, and the pouring forth the cup,) the same is fitly called an *Altar*; which again is as fitly called a *Table*, the *Eucharist* being considered as a *Sacrament*, which is nothing else but a distribution and an application of the *Sacrifice* to the several receivers...So that the matter of *Altars*, makes no difference in the *face* of our Church.⁵⁶

Andrewes' position in relation to the Altar is a result of his understanding of the twofold purpose of the Eucharist as Sacrifice and Sacrament. The Church offers Christ in the sacrifice and the benefits of his one offering are applied to the faithful in the present. What is essential for Andrewes is the application of forgiveness for sins actually committed.

In his sermon on Isaiah 9:6, 'A Son was given to and for us,' Andrewes gives a description of the Eucharist as sacrifice that was contrary to the sixteenth century Reformers. 'He [Jesus] was given for a price and all that he has given and offered is ours. Christ was given to us that we might give Him back.'⁵⁷ All that we have that is valuable before God was given to us in the Son. We have nothing to offer for retribution so Christ wilfully offered himself who unites us to his very own offering. Andrewes spoke of this 'giving' as an offering that was made at a great price. The price was the offering of his flesh for our sins. Nothing that we possessed in and of ourselves was worthy of God. As a response to God, Andrewes says, 'Let us then offer Him, and in the act of offering ask of Him what is meet; for we shall find Him no less bounteous than Herod, to grant what is duly asked upon His birth-day.'⁵⁸ This view is completely inconceivable with Calvin. He comments that the sacrifice of the Church 'has nothing to do with appeasing God's wrath, with obtaining forgiveness of

⁵⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, XI., *Answer to du Perron*, 20, 21.

⁵⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 30.

⁵⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 30.

sins, or with meriting righteousness; but is concerned solely with magnifying and exalting God.’⁵⁹

Andrewes presents us with an illustration of his theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice in relation to the sacrificial giving of the Son. Christ gives himself to us and we give back to him the offering of the sacrifice in the sacrament that the sacrifice of Christ may be applied to us for the forgiveness of sins. For Andrewes, the ‘re-enactment’ or ‘re-actualisation’ of the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist is the rendering present (*repraesentatio*) of Christ’s eternal sacrifice which was acceptable to the Father.

He is given us, as Himself saith, as ‘living Bread from Heaven,’ which Bread is His ‘flesh’ born this day, and after ‘given for the life of the world.’ For look how we do give back that He gave us, even so doth He give back to us that which we gave Him, that which He had of us. This He gave for us in Sacrifice, and this He giveth us in the Sacrament, that the Sacrifice may by the Sacrament be truly applied to us. And let me comment this to you; He never bade, *accipite*, plainly ‘take,’ but in this only; and that, because the effect of this day’s union is no way more lively represented, no way more effectually wrought, than by this use.⁶⁰

The ‘living Bread from Heaven’ is the flesh that was born on Christmas Day and later offered for the life of the world. It is the incarnate flesh that we are offering back to God in memorial from that which Christ gave of himself to us in the Eucharist. It is not the glorified and risen Christ who is offered in the Eucharist. Rather, we share in the glorified and risen Christ’s offering up of himself as the eternal high priest who intercedes for the Church by offering the once bloody sacrifice eternally before the Father. The Church is caught up in that offering in our union with Christ. So, it is by this use of the Eucharist as Sacrifice and Sacrament that all the benefits procured by his death once offered are represented in the liturgical rite of the Church and become effectually presented to the faithful.

⁵⁹ Calvin, *Institutes*, iv. xviii.,16, 1444.

⁶⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 30-31.

The above gives us a view into Andrewes' understanding of *memorial* as it is balanced between our remembering and our showing forth, in a God-ward direction, Christ's work and death and presenting Christ to God in that offering of bread and wine.⁶¹ Andrewes referred to the offering as a 'commemorative sacrifice.' So, for Andrewes it is more than a sacrament for our spiritual nourishment; it is a sacrifice of commemoration whereby the works of Christ on the cross are offered in commemoration of his own sacrifice and death. This offering is not an 'automatic' work done by the priest defined in the crudest terms of *ex opere operato*. To the contrary, McHugh explained the meaning of the offering given by the Tridentine fathers in similar terms, interpreting it as 'a divine summons to unite oneself, by prayerful participation and especially by Holy Communion, with the total self-dedication of Jesus Christ the Redeemer in his obedience unto death, even death on a cross.'⁶² The sacrifice of the Eucharist is so closely united to the sacrifice of Christ for the price of our sins that when Andrewes spoke of the sacrament he naturally spoke of it as a sacrifice. In this giving and receiving that takes place in the Eucharistic offering the Church receives back that which is offered to and for us; that is the flesh of Christ and the efficacy of that offering. That which was given to us in the flesh by way of sacrifice is received by us by means of the sacrament.

4.5.1 *Conception Integral to Offering: Eucharist and Peace-Offering*

One of the charges against Rome was that they held to a Eucharistic sacrifice that was independent of that of the cross. Calvin rejected the 'application of the one sacrifice argument', which he concluded was a mere quibbling of words.

⁶¹ This understanding of Andrewes is also confirmed by C.W. Dugmore in his work *Eucharistic Doctrine in England From Hooker to Waterland*, (London: SPCK), 1942, pp. 36, 37. See also Andrewes *Works* II, 300-301.

⁶² J.F. McHugh, 'Sacrifice of the Mass in the Council of Trent,' 180.

They [Papists] say that the Mass is not a new sacrifice, but only an application of the sacrifice of which we have spoken. Although they colour their abomination somewhat by so saying, still it is a mere quibble. For it is not merely said that the sacrifice of Christ is one, but that it is not to be repeated, because its efficacy endures for ever. It is not said that Christ once offered himself to the Father, in order that others might afterwards make the same oblation, and so apply to us the virtue of his intercession. As to applying the merit of his death, that we may perceive the benefit of it, that is done not in the way in which the Popish Church has supposed, but when we receive the message of the gospel, according as it is testified to us by the ministers whom God has appointed as his ambassadors, and is sealed by the sacraments.’⁶³

Francis Clark points us to John Johnson (a late seventeenth century Anglican divine who followed in the school of Andrewes) as an example of one who insists that the Eucharistic propitiation is by way of application of the one sacrifice offered on the cross.

’Tis agreed on all hands that the merit and satisfaction whereby our sins are forgiven flow purely from the Grand Sacrifice; but I am now speaking of ‘the actual application of these merits and this satisfaction, which was the end for which all Sacrifices under the Law, and the Eucharistical Sacrifice under the Gospel, were appointed by God.’⁶⁴

As noted, Andrewes said the very same concerning the notion of how the Eucharist is a sacrifice. ‘This He gave for us in Sacrifice, and this He giveth us in the Sacrament, *that the Sacrifice may by the Sacrament be truly applied to us.*’⁶⁵ Contrast this with William Perkins (1558-1602) who said,

To helpe the matter they [Rome] say, that this sacrifice serues not properly to make any satisfaction to God, but rather to apply vnto vs the satisfaction of Christ beeing already made. But this answere still maketh against the nature of a sacrament, in which God giues Christ vnto vs: whereas in a sacrifice God receiues from man, and man giues something to God: a sacrifice therefore is no fit meanes to apply any thing vnto vs, that is giuen of God.⁶⁶

It is in the application of the one sacrifice on the cross that Andrewes interprets the Eucharist as a propitiatory sacrifice. The words of John 20:19 when Christ enters the

⁶³ Calvin, John, *Treatises on the Sacraments*, ‘Short Treatise on the Lord’s Supper,’ Trans. by Henry Beveridge, (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books), 2002. 184.

⁶⁴ Cited in Clark, S.J., *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation* 236. For a complete theological defence of Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Anglican tradition, see John Johnson’s two volume work *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar, Unveiled and Supported*, (Oxford: L.A.C.T. Parker, 1847). This is a school of thought that finds its source in Andrewes’ theology passed on to William Laud, and found in the Jeremy Taylor and the writings of other Non-Jurors.

⁶⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 30, 31.

⁶⁶ William Perkins, *Reformed Catholic*, (Cambridge, 1598), 211.

room where the disciples gathered and offered the peace, (*pax vobiscum*), moved Andrewes to speak of the Eucharist as our ‘peace-offering’ to God. The peace-offering that the Church gives on the feast day of the Resurrection *is* the Body and Blood of Christ that is not only *offered*, but *consumed*. This is the law of the peace-offering as the one who offers also partakes (Leviticus 7:15).⁶⁷ To not eat the flesh of the peace-offering is to ‘evacuate the offering utterly, and lose the fruit of it.’⁶⁸ For Andrewes, the peace-offering and the Eucharist are similar in that they renew the covenant of peace with God, man and creation.

This day therefore the Church never fails, but sets forth her peace-offering;—the Body Whose hands were here shewed, and the side whence issued *Sanguis crucis*, ‘the Blood that pacifieth all things in earth and Heaven,’ that we, in and by it, may this day renew the covenant of our peace.⁶⁹

In what became one of Andrewes’ most controversial sermons, preached on Easter-Day, 1612, based on 1 Corinthians 5: 7, 8. It is in this sermon that we find the greatest amount of clarity in Andrewes’ theology of Eucharistic sacrifice and the relationship of that oblation to the Passover as the New *Pascha* for Christians.

Andrewes begins this sermon by drawing out two points of view. First, there is the news that Christians have a Passover. Secondly, that ‘in memory’ of it a feast is kept. Christ is our Passover but he is not that until he is offered (*Et oblatus est*). Christ was offered in sacrifice, i.e., (*immolatus*) the ‘proper’ sacrifice on the cross. Christ is the Lamb slain, said Andrewes, “and the sprinkling of His blood in Baptism, maketh the destroyer pass over us.”⁷⁰ As there are many offerings in scripture, Andrewes sees Christ as the peace-offering upon whom we must feast (Leviticus 7:16-17).⁷¹

Speaking to the essence of sacrifice in the Eucharist, Andrewes said, ‘Christ’s blood

⁶⁷ This will prove to be a very important point of Andrewes’ interaction with Cardinal Bellarmine concerning the novelty of participating in the Eucharist by participating in the prayers only. This is discussed below.

⁶⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, II., 298, 299.

⁶⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 251; Ps. 50:5.

⁷⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 296.

⁷¹ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 296.

not only in the basin for Baptism, but in the cup for the other Sacrament. A sacrifice—so, to be slain; a propitiatory sacrifice—so, to be eaten.⁷² In light of what Andrewes has said in numerous places, it is here that we come to a better understanding of what he means when he says, *Eucharistia est simul Sacrificium et Sacramentum*.⁷³ Andrewes unites the offering of Christ as a type of Passover where the destroying Angel, i.e. Christ, passes over our sins and those sins are transferred to him (*transferendo abstulit*).

The action of the passing of our sins to Christ and the wrath of God removed by the ‘passing over’ makes this feast-day a memorial. Therefore we are called to celebrate. Andrewes understood that the word ἐορτάζω was used in two ways: 1. *celebremus*, or 2. *epulemur*. The Greek word he uses refers to a Jewish festival that is celebrated, which included eating. The point, for Andrewes, is that the feast is not celebrated without the solemn banquet of eating.

If Christ be a propitiatory sacrifice, a peace-offering, I see not how we can avoid but the flesh of our peace-offering must be eaten in this feast by us, or else we evacuate the offering utterly, and lose the fruit of it. And was there a Passover heard of and the lamb not eaten? Time was when he was thought no good Christian, that thought he might do one without the other. No *celebremus* without *epulemur* in it.⁷⁴

The offering is directly united to the eating and drinking in order for the sacrifice to be fulfilled and efficacious. Below we will see where in particular Andrewes differed with Rome when we look at his polemical response to this controversy in his reply to Cardinal Bellarmine. But what Andrewes is doing presently, by drawing the parallel with the Eucharistic offering and the peace-offering of Leviticus chapters three and seven (as well as the *Pascha*), is to show the unity of the Law of the offering that emphasises the requirement of the actual feasting on that which is offered by the worshipper. Out of all of the sacrifices of the Old Covenant, it was these two

⁷² Andrewes, *Works*, II, 296.

⁷³ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 299, 300; V., 66, 260-262; VIII., 250-251; XI, 19, 20.

⁷⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 298, 299.

sacrifices (*Pascha* and Peace-offering) that required the worshippers to also be partakers of the offering made to God.

There are three parts of the peace-offering in Leviticus: the slaughtering, the offering, and the meal (Lev. 7:11-18). Andrewes appears to be using this three-fold aspect of the peace-offering to describe what he views as essential to the Eucharist. The *immolatus* is Christ properly killed on the cross, yet the Church shares in that offering in the Eucharistic rite. The free will offering, which was also a type of peace-offering,⁷⁵ was the offering of Christ to the Father in prayer or the *celebremus*, and the meal is what we are to feast on with God, *epulemur*, namely communion. The meal with God was to be the goal of the offering. It represents wholeness and harmony, being re-established on the basis of God's covenant, and this peace-offering is a sign that harmony now exists between God and humanity. There is not only peace between God and humanity but our unity with one another is celebrated in this offering as well (1 Cor. 10:16-17). The fullness of the offering is a reconciliation of humanity's relationship to all of creation. The creation becomes a means for fellowship with God rather than a curse to man (*renovatio foederis* Ps. 50:5).⁷⁶ The Church partakes of the sacrifice by eating of it and not by the mere response of an 'amen' to the priest's sacrificial prayer.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ See Lev. 7:16 which is in the context of Andrewes' reference to the eating found in verse 15 of Leviticus 7. For an extensive overview of this peace offering, see J.H. Kurtz, *Sacrificial Worship of the Old Testament*, Trans. by James Martin, (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1980) 249-280.

⁷⁶ Alexander Schmemmann, *The Eucharist: Sacrament of the Kingdom*, (Crestwood: SVS, 1987), 101-131, and see further Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World*. It is within this view of a renewal of all creation that Andrewes understands the Eucharistic offering to be a covenant renewal with God and creation. See Andrewes *Preces Privatae*, Works, X, 243.

⁷⁷ See Andrewes, *MS 3707*, Introduced and Edited by Marianne Dorman, Lecture 14 'Christ as Intercessor,' (Tucson: Wheatmark, 2007), 230-231.

4.6 *Sacrifice of Propitiation: The Heart of the Controversy*

In a Christmas sermon on Galatians 4:4, 5, Andrewes uses language of sacrifice in connection with Passover imagery when speaking of the blood in the ‘Cup of our Salvation.’ His language again shows itself to be expiatory in the sense of a ‘passing over’ of sins committed after having received the ‘Cup of Blood.’ He uses the imagery from the Passover act to describe what happens in the receiving of the Cup of blessing. By it, we are spared the consequences of sins actually committed. ‘The Cup is the Blood,’ he says, ‘not only of our redemption of the covenant that freeth us from the Law and *maketh the destroyer pass over us*; but of our adoption,...’⁷⁸ Such language applied to the Eucharistic offering caused great controversy in the sixteenth century and with many of Andrewes’ own contemporaries.⁷⁹

What Andrewes was able to recognise was due to his theological framework developed from his careful reading of Old Testament history and a commitment to a theology of renewal through the liturgy of the Church sealed in the sacrifice and meal offered in the Eucharist. For example, when there was a ‘covenant renewal’ celebration in scripture—the rite to bring about restoration following a breaking of the covenant—there was also a meal to renew the bond of love and fellowship between God and humanity as well as between two human parties.⁸⁰ It is known as the

⁷⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 62. [emphasis mine]

⁷⁹ It is very interesting to note that the silence about Eucharistic sacrifice in Richard Hooker’s *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* may be saying more about Andrewes’ unique position.

⁸⁰ The offering is a sacrifice that is brought before God where he remembers his promises and acts on behalf of his people. Even lifting up of the covenant name of God (Yhwh) was viewed as a memorial in the sacred literature, e.g., Exodus 6:5; 20:7; 23:13. The theology of memorial and renewal of a covenant is also found in the liturgical memorials, e.g., the Passover, Exodus 13:9; 30:12; Leviticus 2.2; 5:11, 12; 6:15 as well as a few New Testament passages, e.g., Luke 1:54; Acts 10:4 Hebrews 10:3,4; and specifically the Eucharistic words of Jesus at the Last Supper. In the Law of the Old Covenant where the cutting of the animals in half at the offering or the cereal offering where the sacrifice is also cut in two were anticipatory of the fracturing and pouring out of the elements of bread and wine in the Eucharist. The Eucharist reminds God to keep the covenant, i.e., the forgiveness of sins and the relationship between God and humanity is renewed through this rite. I am indebted to James B. Jordan’s work, *Through New Eyes, Developing a Biblical View of the World*, Wipf & Stock Publishers

covenant-cutting rite.⁸¹ Jesus uses this language in reference to his giving of the chalice in the Upper Room. He says this [the chalice] is the ‘new covenant in my blood.’⁸² The new covenant is also sealed in blood and is conferred in the sacrificial nature of the offering being made at the Last Supper. The seal of the covenant was made between Christ and the Father at the Last Supper. It was at this moment that Jesus ‘covenantally’ inaugurated the offering that was to be made on the cross. There was no turning back once Jesus spoke these words of Institution. His passion, to be fulfilled on the cross, was inaugurated in such a way that metaphorically it was as if the sacrifice had actually occurred.

I believe one example of inaugurating the covenant—that included sanctions—is found in Genesis 2:15-17. It is the story of Adam in the Garden, which parallels the story of Christ’s offering at the Last Supper. We read that Adam did not immediately die after eating from the ‘forbidden tree’ even though he was told he would. Yet, when God appeared to him and cast him out of the garden it was as if he were dead, i.e. covenantally speaking.⁸³ Similarly, the covenant bond was established by Jesus when he spoke of the wine as ‘the blood of the new covenant’ in the institution narrative of the Eucharist. This was Jesus’ initial self-offering for the life of the world. This means that there is a correlation framed by the covenantal approach to the Last Supper—as I understand Andrewes to interpret it when he speaks of the Eucharist as being the fulfilment of the old *Pascha*—and argue that the covenantal approach to Jesus’ offering at the Last Supper provides a helpful framework to move

(2000) and reflections for many of my own thoughts here. Though Jordan does not believe there is any propitiatory or expiatory qualities in the Eucharistic rite, I have to disagree since a covenant renewal rite would demand what Andrewes referred to as ‘passing over’ of our sins actually committed.

⁸¹ See Genesis 31:54 as an example of a covenant-cutting between men. I am indebted to Dr. Peter Leithart for this reference.

⁸² Luke 22:20. λέγων, Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

⁸³ Andrews, *Apos. Sacra.*, ‘for as there was a death of the soul by sinne, before God inflicted a death of the body; so answerable to that first death of sinne, there must be in us a life of grace, which is the root of that tree from whence we shall, in due time, receive the life of glory.’ 577.

the Church beyond the impasse with this controversy. For Andrewes, the Eucharist was the reality responding to the figure of what had happened before in the ancient *Pasch*. This meant that the Passion and the Supper are part of the same sacrifice.⁸⁴

Below I will show where Andrewes gives an explanation of the Passover and its connection to the Eucharist—pointing out that there was more to the sacrifice than the killing of the offering. What fulfilled the ‘passing over’ was the complete eating of the male lamb that was offered. The killing and the eating were equally important for the sacrifice to be whole. The meal was the sign of perfect harmony between God and humanity and showed God’s satisfaction with the offering. Paul brings our attention to this notion of sacrifice and eating in 1 Corinthians 10:18-22. To eat at the altar of animals sacrificed to demons is to partake of the table of demons and become ‘partners’ (κοινωνοὺς) with them. Therefore Paul exhorts the Corinthians that to take part in the Christian sacrifice is to take part in the Body and Blood of Jesus (1 Corinthians 10.16-17) and to have κοινωνία with Christ. We can see by the quotation below from Andrewes that this is the sense in which he understood what was taking place in the Eucharistic gathering.

Again, will we lay *immolatus* to *epulemur*? That the Passover doth not conclude in the sacrifice, the taking away of sin only, that is, in a pardon, and there an end, but in a feast, which is a sign, not of forgiveness alone, but of perfect amity, full propitiation. Ye may *propius ire*, ‘draw near unto Him;’ [Heb. 10:22] ye are restored to full grace and favour, to eat and drink at His table. Besides, there was an offering in *immolatus*, and here is another, a new one, in *epulemur*. Offered *for* us there, offered *to* us here. There *per modum victimæ*, here *per modum epuli*. To make an offering of, to make a refreshing of. For us in the Sacrifice, to us in the Sacrament. This makes a perfect Passover. We read both in the Gospel, *πάσχα θύειν* ‘to sacrifice the Passover,’ and *πάσχα φαγῆν*, ‘to eat’ it. It was eaten, the Paschal Lamb, and it was ‘a sacrifice;’ it cannot be denied, there is a flat text for it. Both propounded here in the terms of the text: 1. the Sacrifice in *immolatus*, 2. the Supper in *epulemur*.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Cf., Maurice de La Taille, S.J. *The Mystery of Faith*, Vol. I, (1941), 81.

⁸⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 299. In reference to this particular reading of sacrifice and eating of the new Passover, Andrewes refers to Luke 22.7; Matthew 26.17; John 18.28; and Exodus 12.27.

It is within the above quotation from Andrewes where we find a very interesting juxtaposition of perfect amity and full propitiation. The juxtaposition shows how the Eucharistic action is the instrument by which the historic act in the past is made an available living reality in the present. Each offering has a twofold offering within it. First is the *immolatus* where the Church offers Christ, the Passover Lamb, in ‘commemoration’⁸⁶ and secondly the *epulemur*, (the feast) where Christ offers himself to us in Bread and Wine. The *immolatus* and the *epulemur* make for the true Passover and define the *celebremus*. The satisfaction, namely the propitiation, is a mark of God’s acceptance of the offering.

4.7 *Anamnesis and Mystery*

What did Christ give us to do at this celebration? Andrewes further describes what the action of the Eucharist is. Christ has given the Church a charge in the sacrament to 1. ἀνάμνησις, ‘remembering,’ and 2. λήψις ‘receiving.’ For Andrewes the *celebremus* is in the sacrifice and the *epulemur* is in the sacrament. What we remember is *Mors Domini*, Christ’s death. It is here that Andrewes becomes perfectly clear about what he means when he speaks of the sacrament of the Eucharist as a ‘commemorative’ sacrifice.⁸⁷ Initially, as Andrewes speaks of the *celebremus*, he returns to that ancient way of looking at the Eucharistic ἀνάμνησις. As Lossky has

⁸⁶ The initial offering for Andrewes is Christ’s offering on the cross and it is that offering which gives value to any offering of the Church. In a dialogue with Cardinal Bellarmine, Andrewes makes it clear that he accepts the terminology of the Fathers that the Eucharist is a Sacrament and a Sacrifice. It is more than a Sacrifice of thanksgiving and it is more than spiritual nourishment. Andrewes says, ‘Whereas this is which our men wonder at: not that which the Cardinal thinks they wonder at. Namely they believe, that the Eucharist is instituted by the Lord for his commemoration; even for [commemoration of] his sacrifice, or (if it may be permitted thus to speak) with a sacrifice of commemoration; however not only with regard to the Sacrament, or spiritual nourishment.’ *Atque hoc est quod mirantur nostril homines: non quod mirari ibi eos fingit Cardinalis. Credunt enim, institutam a Domino Eucharistiam in sui commemorationem; etiam Sacrificii sui, vel (si ita loqui liceat) in sacrificium commemorativum; non autem in Sacramentum modo, vel alimoniam spiritualem.* Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 250.

⁸⁷ In response to Bellarmine he speaks of the sacrifice as ‘Eucharistic.’ *Sacrificium, quod ibi est, Eucharisticum esse.* Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 250.

pointed out, he anticipates the theological reflection of the twentieth century ‘that has allowed Christians of diverse and opposed traditions to escape from the impasse which, since the sixteenth century, have immobilized debate on the Eucharist, both concerning the presence of Christ and the problem of sacrifice.’⁸⁸

What Lossky says becomes evident below. A careful look at his choice of words should make it obvious to the reader that Andrewes took a view of memorial that kept him from sinking into an Aristotelian debate about the nature of presence. Andrewes’ understanding of memorial is closely tied to his awareness of the Eucharist as *mystery*. There is no repetition of the cross, yet neither is it a picture of what is merely in the past. The memorial is the renewal of the cross-event just as if it were happening in the present.⁸⁹ The traditional impasse is thus escaped through Andrewes’ framing the discussion of *anamnesis* from the prospective of what Lossky called ‘*anamnesic realism*.’⁹⁰ This is to replace what Spinks⁹¹ has defined as ‘symbolic realism.’ In a sermon on Ephesians 1:10, preached on Christmas-Day, Andrewes illustrates this connection for us. The emphasis that Andrewes makes with regards to *anamnesis* is derived from the Greek word ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι ‘to unite,’ or ‘recapitulate.’ The sermon is devoted to making certain the hearer understands that all things are to be summed up in Christ both in heaven and on the earth. Andrewes understands the unity of what takes place on the earthly altar as the mystery combined

⁸⁸Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1993) 344. For more contemporary treatments of the theology of memorial see Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, Trans. by Norman Perrin, (Fortress, 1966), 84-88, 204-262; Max Thurian, *Eucharistic Memorial Part I*, Ed. by J.G. Davies & A. Raymond George (London: Lutterworth, 1959); Max Thurian, *Eucharistic Memorial Part II*, Trans. by J.G. Davies, (Richmond: John Knox, 1961); Max Thurian, *The Mystery of the Eucharist*, Trans. by Emily Chisholm, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1981); Louis Bouyer, *Eucharist: Theology and Spirituality of the Eucharistic Prayer*, Trans. by, Charles Underhill Quinn, (Notre Dame: NDP, 1968), 103-105; Yngve Brilioth, *Eucharistic Faith and Practice*, trans by A.G. Herbert, (London: SPCK, 1930), 206-211.

⁸⁹ P.J. Fitzpatrick, ‘On Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Middle Ages,’ 146. If it merely meant thinking of the past event, then there would be no need to do anything. Merely thinking of Calvary would be a Mass.

⁹⁰ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1993), 344.

⁹¹ Bryan Spinks, *Sacraments and Ceremonies*, (2002) 49.

with the heavenly altar. Where Andrewes is so helpful to us in this theological impasse is that he shows us how to move beyond the historical to the eschatological. In the words of Cavanaugh, Andrewes was able to capture the human participation in the sacrifice of Christ ‘because the historical imagination is superseded by the eschatological imagination.’⁹² The Eucharist is the means to unite the Church’s celebration of this ‘recapitulation’ of time and eternity through the liturgical rite. He describes the memorial showing how the elements of bread and wine are brought together in heaven and earth as the memorial offering and says, ‘Both these issuing out of this day’s recapitulation, both in *corpus autem aptasti Mihi* of this day.’⁹³ ‘Remembering’ is not simply recalling a historical event in one’s mind. Andrewes describes the unity of what happens at the Eucharistic offering pointing us to the eschatological sense concerning the glory to come. Lossky notes Andrewes’ use of ‘recapitulation’ and draws our attention to Andrewes’ use of memorial as it takes shape in the Eucharistic liturgy.

This ‘remembrance’ of the Church, which is not a simple remembering of events that have taken place, but which actualizes and makes simultaneous, in a recapitulation of time, what is past and what is to come, is of the utmost importance for Andrewes, as we have seen in connection with the Passion-Resurrection. This ‘liturgical’ conception of time quite naturally takes root in his thought in the conception he has of the liturgy *par excellence*, that is to say the Eucharist.⁹⁴

⁹² William Cavanaugh, ‘Eucharistic Sacrifice’, 599. This is a linking of not only the past and present horizontally, according to Cavanaugh, but also vertically there is a link of past, present and future within the liturgy of the divine Trinity.

⁹³ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 281. Andrewes goes on to reference Irenaeus [4.18 c.5. ed. Par. 1710] Speaking of what the Sacrament consists of he writes, “Semblably, the Sacrament consisteth of a Heavenly—terrene part, (it is Irenaeus’ own words); the Heavenly—there the word too, the abstract of the other; the earthly—the element.” 281. See also *Works* I, 1. Here Andrewes speaks of the Christmas Day feast as the Christian memorial.

⁹⁴ Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1993) 340-41.

4.7.1 *The Eucharist as Mystical Offering*

Francis Clark is interested in Anglicans answering the question of whether there really was a misunderstanding of the Catholic viewpoint on sacrifice.

When the English Reformers repeated the objection that the Mass derogated from the atonement made on Calvary is it possible that they, unlike their continental allies, really misunderstood the contemporary Catholic teaching on this vital point? Did they fail to appreciate that the propitiatory efficacy claimed for the Mass was by way of application and instrumentality, not by way of a new redemption?⁹⁵

From what we have seen in Andrewes' writings and sermons that is exactly how he understands the Eucharistic sacrifice to be defined. We have also seen above that Calvin understood exactly what Rome was saying by describing the offering as the means of applying the sacrifice once offered. It is an oversight by Clark not to mention Andrewes' theology of the Eucharistic sacrifice in his work at all. Had he done so, he would have discovered that Andrewes did hold to a Catholic understanding of the Eucharistic sacrifice in the manner in which Clark explains the substance of what is meant in Roman Catholic theology—especially what came out of the Council of Trent.

Whether or not Clark is being fully accurate with his assessment in respect of the abuses of the Medieval Church readers will have to decide on their own.⁹⁶ Clark viewed the pre-Reformation statements on Eucharistic sacrifice with such rose coloured glasses that one begins to question how something as radical as the Reformation could have ever taken place. One of the questions that warrants more probing when looking into Francis Clark's view of Eucharistic sacrifice in the Reformation is the issue that he sweeps aside when he refuses to give much attention

⁹⁵ Francis Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation*, 147.

⁹⁶ For a detailed interaction with Francis Clark see John Jay Hughes, *Stewards of the Lord*, (1970). This work of Hughes', contrary to Clark's, argues for the validity of Anglican orders. The notion of Eucharistic sacrifice comes up in Clark's work in order to prove that through the Edwardian Ordinal and the liturgy of the Eucharist in the BCP, Anglican Orders are invalid. Hughes argues to the contrary and shows that one can receive the theology of the Eucharist in the BCP whilst at the same time denying Cranmer's views of the Eucharist.

to the dreadful practices that were common during the time leading up to the Reformation. The prominent issue for Andrewes was not Eucharistic sacrifice but the doctrine of real presence and the particular sort of wording that was prescribed to define presence. Andrewes frames his emphasis on the Eucharist as *immolation* within the paradigm of ritual, in very similar ways to what one finds in Aquinas.⁹⁷

Since the offering is within the paradigm of worship, according to Aquinas as well as in Andrewes' theology, why was the Eucharist removed from the people? What accounts for the proliferation of 'private masses?' What of buying masses? Indeed, 'private masses' were more common than congregational masses. And there is more to refute Clark's claims are that there is little to nothing said by the Reformers that can be accurately proven in the orthodox dogma of Rome's view of Eucharistic sacrifice. After all, they were themselves at one time part of the Roman Church so their own (mis)understanding must bear some kind of witness to what was going on in the Roman Church of the late middle ages. Controversy rarely gets stirred by written and formulated doctrinal statements but is rather fuelled by what is popularly coming forth from pulpits, books and articles. It is the popular theology of Eucharistic sacrifice within the sixteenth century that helped to ignite the controversy.

On another level in reformed theology, the sacraments only affect the intellect. One finds such language in William Perkins who defined Christ being present in the sacraments as an 'intellectual object' to be grasped as true, since sacraments for him

⁹⁷ Aquinas, *ST*, 3a. 79.1- 5. 19. What Aquinas says in *ST*, 3.a., 82.10 is that the sacrifice is offered to God in the consecration. '*Sed hoc sacramentum perficitur in consecratione Eucharistiae, in qua sacrificium Deo Offeritur, ad quod sacerdos obligatur Deo ex ordine jam suscepto.*' Though there are oblations that are not sacrifices, for Aquinas, there are no sacrifices which are not oblations. Andrewes would view that the oblation in the offering is a part of the consecration since what was done to Christ on the cross is done to the elements of bread and wine. See below for references to this point about sacrifice. Andrewes, *Works*, II, 300. '*That done to the holy symbols that was done to Him, to His body and His blood in the Passover; break the one, pour out the other, to represent κλώμενον, how His sacred body was 'broken,' and ἐκχυνόμενον how His precious blood was 'shed.'* And in *Corpus fractum*, and *Sanguis fusus* there is *immolatus*.'

are primarily visible words, namely a teaching tool similarly found in Calvin's writings. Perkins writes, '[When] the elements of bread and wine are present to the hand and to the mouth of the receiver; at the verie same time the body and bloud of Christ are presented to the minde: thus and no otherwise is Christ truly present with the signes.'⁹⁸ As a result of this explanation in Perkins' theology of the Eucharist, I find Andrewes unique and most helpful in moving the Church beyond the impasse. The quotation below gives another example of Andrewes' critique of the voices against the notion of the Eucharist as sacrifice in the Church of England.

Remember Him? That we will and stay at home, think of Him there? Nay, shew Him forth ye must. That we will by a sermon of Him. Nay, it must be *hoc facite* [do this]. [It is not mental thinking, or verbal speaking, there must be actually somewhat done to celebrate this memory. That done to the holy symbols that was done to Him, to His body and His blood in the Passover; break the one, pour out the other, to represent κλώμενον, how His sacred body was 'broken,' and ἐκχυνόμενον how His precious blood was 'shed.' And in *Corpus fractum*, and *Sanguis fusus* there is *immolatus*.] This is it in the Eucharist that answereth to the sacrifice in the Passover, the memorial to the figure. To them it was, *Hoc facite in Mei præfigurationem*, 'do this in prefiguration of Me:' to us it is, 'Do this in commemoration of Me.' [1 Cor. 11.26] To them *prenuntiare*, to us *annuntiare*; there is the difference. By the same rules that theirs was, by the same may ours be termed a sacrifice. In rigour of speech, neither of them; for to speak after the exact manner of Divinity [Heb. 10.4] there is but one only sacrifice, *vere nominis*, 'properly so called,' that is Christ's death. And that sacrifice but once actually performed at His death, but ever before represented in figure, from the beginning; and ever since repeated in memory, to the world's end. That only absolute, all else relative to it, representative of it, operative by it.... So it was the will of God, that so there might be with them a continual foreshewing, and with us a continual shewing forth, the 'Lord's death till He come again....' The Apostle in the tenth chapter [of 1 Corinthians] compareth this of ours to the *immolate* of the heathen; and to the Hebrews, *habemus aram*, matcheth it with the sacrifice of the Jews. And we know the rule of comparisons, they must be *eiusdem generis*.⁹⁹

The language Andrewes uses here concerning the actions in the Eucharist in the *Corpus fractum* and the *sanguis fusus*, and within the action there being an *immolatus*

⁹⁸ William Perkins, *Reformed Catholic*, (1598) 186. I am indebted to Dr. Joel Garver for reminding me of what Perkins said here.

⁹⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 300, 301. [My emphasis]. With the language and theology that Andrewes puts forth here makes me believe that Peter McCullough, in his book *Lancelot Andrewes: Selected Sermons & Lectures*, (2005) 380, gets Andrewes wrong when he claims that Andrewes is mostly indebted to Luther and Chemnitz for his Eucharistic theology. Though there are numerous parallels between Luther, Chemnitz and Andrewes, (especially Chemnitz's concerns about intercession to saints) the clear difference between them is Andrewes' very strong sense of Eucharistic sacrifice that included propitiatory qualities.

is contrary to what was coming forth from the Continental Reformers and some Reformers of the English Church, among them Cranmer. Andrewes' language is very similar to that of Aquinas where the *immolatus* is made in the consecration via the power of the words of Christ and the action of the priest.¹⁰⁰ The Passion is commemorated in the breaking of the bread and the pouring of the wine. This is only within the sacramental appearance and not actual. Andrewes writes above that what is done to the elements was done to Christ and in breaking the bread and pouring out the cup there is *immolatus*.¹⁰¹

The celebration (*oblatus*) is not the final action in the offering for Andrewes. One must come to the *telos* by actually receiving the Body and Blood that was offered in the rite. The following quotation is long, but necessary; in order to help us see Andrewes' point about the fulfilment of the sacrifice not being complete until it is also eaten. Andrewes would agree with William Perkins that eating and drinking are the principal actions in the Eucharist but for very different reasons.¹⁰² For Andrewes, it is the manner in which the sacrifice of Christ is applied for the forgiveness of sins. For Perkins, man does not participate in the heavenly offering of Christ because a sacrifice is offered to God and is not something received. Andrewes is lucid with regards to what is happening in the offering and receiving.

From the Sacrament is the applying the Sacrifice. The Sacrifice in general, *pro omnibus*. That Sacrament in particular, to each several receiver, *pro singulis*. Wherein that is offered to us that was offered for us; that which is common to all, made proper to each one, while each taketh his part of it; and made proper by communion and union, like that of meat and drink, which is most nearly and inwardly made ours, and is inseparable for ever. There, *celebremus* passeth with the representation; but here *epulemur*, as a nourishment, abideth with us still. In that we 'see, and in this 'we taste, how gracious the Lord is,' and hath been to us. Will ye

¹⁰⁰ Aquinas, *ST*, 3a. 83, 7.

¹⁰¹ 1559 BCP: ... Likewise after supper he toke the cuppe, and when he had geven thanks, he gave it to them, saying: Drinke ye all of this, for this is my bloude of the new Testament, whiche is shedde for you and for many, for remission of sinnes: doe this as oft as ye shall drinke it in remembrance of me. Andrewes finds room to hold his Catholic view of sacrifice in the words of institution found within the words of the 1559 BCP.

¹⁰² William Perkins, *Reformed Catholic*, 210-211.

mark one thing more, that *epulemur* doth here refer to *immolatus*? [To Christ, not every way considered, but as when He was offered. Christ's body that now is. True; but not Christ's body as now it is, but as then it was, when it was offered, rent, and slain, and sacrificed for us. Not, as now He is glorified, for so He is not, so He cannot be *immolatus*, for He is immortal and impassible.] But as then He was when He suffered death, that is, passible and mortal. Then, in His passible estate did He institute this of ours, to be a memorial of His *passible* and *Passio* both. And we are in this action not only carried up to Christ, (*Sursum corda*) but we are also carried back to Christ as he was at the very instant, and in the very act of His offering. So, and no otherwise, do we represent Him. By the incomprehensible power of His eternal Spirit, not He alone, but He, as at the very act of His offering, is made present to us, and we incorporate into His death, and invested in the benefits of it. If an host could be turned into Him now glorified as He is, it would not serve; Christ offered is it, [John 3.14] thither we must look. To the Serpent lift up, thither we must repair, even *ad cadaver*; we must *hoc facere*, do that is then done. So, and no otherwise, is this *epulare* to be conceived. And so, I think, none will say they do or can turn Him.¹⁰³

It is important to make a brief comment about the use of the *Sursum Corda* in the above quotation. One could assume that Andrewes is following the Reformed version had he not mentioned being 'carried back.' Andrewes is not following Calvin here which we have seen from the prior chapter on presence. Calvin's liturgy gives us his interpretation of the *Sursum Corda* with which Andrewes does not completely concur

¹⁰³ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 301, 302. Bishop Buckeridge who preached Andrewes' funeral sermon clarifies what Andrewes would have been referring to in this quotation with the somewhat obscure point about *ad cadaver*. Andrewes comments that, 'Christ's body that now is. True; but not Christ's body as now it is, but as then it was, when it was offered, rent, and slain, and sacrificed for us. Not, as now He is glorified, for so He is not, so He cannot be *immolatus*, for He is immortal and impassible.' Buckeridge adds, 'For Christ cannot be offered truly and properly no more but once upon the cross, for He cannot be offered again no more than He can be dead again; and dying and shedding blood as He did upon the cross, and not dying and not shedding blood as in the Eucharist, cannot be one action of Christ offered on the cross, and of Christ offered in the Church at the altar by the priest by representation only, no more than Christ and the Priest are one person: and therefore, though in the cross and the Eucharist there be *idem sacrificatum*, 'the same sacrificed thing,' that is, the body and blood of Christ offered by Christ to His Father on the cross, and received and participated by the communicants in the sacrifice of the altar; yet *idem sacrificium quod actionem sacrificii, or sacrificandi*, 'it is impossible there should be the same sacrifice, understanding by sacrifice the action of sacrifice.' See Andrewes, *Works*, v., 260. I am not entirely convinced that what Buckeridge defines as sacrifice with regards to the representation of an action not being the action itself is actually equal to what Andrewes holds. For Andrewes, the oneness of the act in the Eucharistic memorial is one and the same mystery. Buckeridge makes a much clearer qualification than Andrewes does on this point. The language of Andrewes is much more realistic and is more descriptive of the mutual bond between the offering of Christ and that of the Church as in the quotation below from Chrysostom. This will be revisited in the final chapter that gives further evidence of Andrewes' ability to be seen as a catalyst for ecumenism today.

as we have seen in his understanding of presence.¹⁰⁴ Calvin's liturgy would make the following qualification to the *Sursum Corda*:

Therefore lift up your hearts on high, seeking the heavenly things in heaven, where Jesus Christ is seated at the right hand of the Father; and do not fix your eyes on the visible signs, which are corrupted through usage...'

Calvin in fact uses the *Sursum Corda* as a means to discredit any objective presence in the elements.¹⁰⁵

4.8 *The Effects of the Eucharistic Offering as Passover*

Not only do we find Andrewes' understanding of offering to be a memorial offering of Christ to the Father—in the sense of 'showing forth'—but it is when approaching the altar and receiving Christ that actual sins committed are forgiven. The propitiatory value of the offering is that we come to Christ and receive him so that the judgment due from sins may be 'passed over.' Note the language in the following paragraph that is analogous to the Tridentine view concerning the effects of the Eucharistic offering and why it is necessary to be made.

First, there is reason we should come to Christ, in regard of our sinnes already past: For we have need of a Sacrifice, both in respect of the grinding and upbraiding of our consciences for the sinnes we have committed, and by reason of the punishment we have deserved by them. This sacrifice we are put in minde of in this Sacrament, that Christ hath offered himself to God an oblation and sacrifice of a sweet smelling savour, wherein we have planted in our hearts the passive grace of God, for the quieting of our consciences against sinnes past, by the taking of the cup of Salvation makes us say, *Return into thy rest O my soul, Psalm the hundred and sixteen*; [and for the turning away of deserved punishment,] as *the blood of the Paschal Lamb sprinkled upon the dores, saved the Israelites, from destroying, Exodus the twelfth chapter*. So in this true passover we receive the blood of the immaculate Lamb Christ, to assure us of peace with God, [*and to deliver us from the destroying Angel.*] As the Heathen had their Altar, whereupon they offered to their gods; so we have an Altar, that is, the Lords Table, where we celebrate the remembrance of that oblation *once made by Christ, Hebrews the thirteenth chapter and the twelfth verse.*¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Bard Thompson's, *Liturgies of the Western Church*, (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1961), 187.

¹⁰⁵ Calvin, *Institutes*, xvii.36, 1412.

¹⁰⁶ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 597. [Emphasis mine]. The language of delivering from the destroying Angel seems to contain a strong sense of propitiatory qualities to it. At least it could be interpreted this way. He also uses the language of the blood 'turning away the deserved punishment

What is clear from this quotation is Andrewes' uniting of the historic act of Christ's oblation with the offering of the Church. Within his view is the point that the Christian *Pascha* is both eucharistic and peaceable. The offering of Christ turns God away from what our sins deserve and we give thanks for the grace received. In this twofold effect of praise and peace applied to the faithful, the Eucharist is a 'Passover' where the blood of the immaculate Lamb is received and judgment due for sins committed is 'passed over'. The Church's offering is united to that one oblation of Christ at Calvary in such a way that the historical act of Christ offering himself transcends time and is effectual for forgiveness in the present and future.

This language is in fact none other than the language of Chrysostom in his homily on the epistle to the Hebrews 9:24-26. Chrysostom comments on the sacrifice offered at Calvary and the unity of it with the daily sacrifice of the Church, i.e. the Eucharist. It is not a 'new sacrifice' of Christ since he is now *impassible*, but it is the same sacrifice as when Christ was offered then *passible*; yet it is a memorial offering. Chrysostom observes,

What then? do not we offer every day? We offer indeed, but making a remembrance of His death, and this remembrance is one and not many. How is it one, and not many? Inasmuch as that Sacrifice was once for all offered, and carried into the Holy of Holies. This is a figure of that sacrifice and this remembrance of that. For we always offer the same, not one sheep now and to-morrow another, but always the same thing: so that the sacrifice is one. And yet by this reasoning, since the offering is made in many places, are there many Christs? but Christ is one everywhere, being complete here and complete there also, one Body. As then while offered in many places, He is one body and not many bodies; so also [He is] one sacrifice. He is our High Priest, who offered the sacrifice that cleanses us. That we offer now also, which was then offered, which cannot be exhausted. This is done in remembrance of what was then done. For (saith He) 'do this in remembrance of Me.' (Luke xxii. 19.) It is not another sacrifice, as the High Priest, but we offer always the same, or rather we perform a remembrance of a Sacrifice.¹⁰⁷

due sin,' which would also be a very clear move away from the denials made by Calvin and other continental Reformers that the Eucharist was an offering with these results.

¹⁰⁷ John Chrysostom, *NPNF Vol. XIV. Homilies on the Gospel of Saint John and Epistle to the Hebrews*, Ed., by Phillip Schaff, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, reprint 1996), 449.

Characteristically of the language of Chrysostom, Andrewes explains that the one sacrifice of the cross and that of the rite of the Church is the very same sacrifice. That 'bloody sacrifice' is only to be accomplished once on the cross and the Council in its twenty-second session said the same.¹⁰⁸

The Eucharistic offering is also given as a means of grace to help keep us from any future sins that we may be tempted to commit. Andrewes explains the sanctifying effect of the sacrifice in the following way:

In respect of sinne to come likewise, we have need to come to Christ; for thereby there is wrought in us active grace, whereby we are enabled to resist sinne: For the endowing of our souls with much strength, *Psalm* the hundred and thirtieth eighth, and with much power from above, is here performed unto us that come aright, *Luke* the twenty fourth chapter: And therefore the Apostle would have us to *stablish our hearts with grace, the spirituall food, and not with meat, Hebrews* the thirteenth chapter: For by this means we shall be made able both to indure the conflict of sinne, and to be conquerors over Satan and our own corruptions. Thirdly, For that the eating of the flesh of Christ and the drinking of the blood, is a pledge of our rising up at the last day, the fifty fourth verse; and that after this life we which come to the Lord's Supper shall be invited to the supper of the Lamb, of which it is said, *Apocalyps* the nineteenth chapter and the ninth verse *blessed are they which are called the Lambs Supper.*¹⁰⁹

Andrewes demonstrates his holistic approach to the Eucharist where he defines what Jesus meant by his Eucharistic words, 'Do this as my memorial.' Fitzpatrick makes an important point in his essay touching on the Eucharistic sacrifice in the middle ages.

In regards to how Aquinas spoke of the nature of sacrifice, Fitzpatrick interprets

Aquinas in a way that closely parallels what we want to say about Andrewes.

Fitzpatrick observes in Aquinas the ritual emphasis placed on sacrifice.

We are sent back to the ritual reality, a reality which represents the saving actions of Christ. The answer offered by Aquinas is in its austerity less specious than the other theories: it does not pretend to point to some definite if disguised process; it directs us to the ritual itself.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ CT/22. I., 153.

¹⁰⁹ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 597-98.

¹¹⁰ P.J. Fitzpatrick, 'On Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Middle Ages.' (1991), 149.

Andrewes, like Aquinas, does not describe the sacrifice and immolation as an act that stands outside worship; neither is it independent of the ritual.¹¹¹ In his response to du Perron, Andrewes writes that ‘a Sacrifice is proper and applicable only to *divine worship*.’¹¹² Each time we offer the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist, the past and the present are mysteriously united to the cross-event whereby we receive what we ourselves cannot possibly give. Andrewes’ decision to express the nature of Eucharistic sacrifice in this way eliminates any ambiguities about the nature of Christ’s ‘proper’ offering.

4.9 *The Eucharist as Sacrifice of the Community*

Andrewes often stressed that keeping, by eating and drinking, the Eucharistic feast is a command given by God to be observed by the community as a whole. But how is it to be kept? What is obviously in the forefront of Andrewes’ thinking is the alleged abuse of the Roman Church when it took that which was sacramentally offered in the rite away from the people where the priests celebrated by offering and partaking alone and the people looked on as spectators.

But in the mean time, there is no trifling with this conclusion, there is no dispensing with the Apostle; there is no wanton wilful disabling ourselves will serve. *Itaque* will not be so answered; not, but with *epulemur*. It layeth a necessity upon every one, to be a guest at this feast.¹¹³

This gives us a clear indication that Andrewes believed that the offering at the Eucharist was the offering of the whole Church. The reason that Andrewes is so emphatic on the communion of the people is that they share in what they already are as members of the body. The Church’s sharing in eating and drinking shows their

¹¹¹ P.J. Fitzpatrick, ‘On Eucharistic Sacrifice in the Middle Ages.’ (1991), 150.

¹¹² Andrewes, *Works*, XI, 19.

¹¹³ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 302; VIII, 250, *Nam participare impetrando, nuperum id quidem et novitium participandi genus; ac multo etiam magis quam Missa ipsa privata*. ‘For, to participate by entreaty, indeed that is recent and a novel kind of participating; and it is much more even than a private mass itself.’

participation in the symbolic action as a body and hence Andrewes illustrates the definitive nature of communal sharing in the cross-event and the future hope given through Christ's resurrection.

4.9.1 *Eucharistic Sacrifice as Eschatological Vindication*

Within the notion of offering, Andrewes moves us into the eschatological event as well as the historical act made present in the offering. He does this by explaining that in the sacrament we offer back from that which we have received and Christ is given back again as the offering *in præmium*; as a reward, prize or recompense. According to Andrewes Christ is 'our final reward,' when 'where He is we shall be,' and 'what He is we shall be; in the same place, and in the same state of glory, joy, and bliss, to endure forevermore.'¹¹⁴ The sacrifice of the Eucharist is the breaking in of God's kingdom into the present. In summary, Christ will bring with him an everlasting glory that will be given to us to share with him. It is this prize of eschatological glory that we await with hope in anticipation of it being fulfilled, which is placed before the Church in the rite and for which the Church offers as *Corpus verum*. Andrewes gleaned this eschatological anticipation from Augustine in his explanation of the Church's sacrifice. Andrewes concluded one Christmas sermon by quoting from Augustine:

Sequamur 1. *exemplum* ; *offeramus* 2. *pretium* ; *sumamus* 3. *viaticum* ; *expectemus* 4. *præmium* ; 'let us follow Him for our pattern, offer Him for our price, receive Him for our sacramental food, and wait for Him as our endless and exceeding great reward,' &c.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 31.

¹¹⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 31.

For Andrewes there is no repetition by the priest of ‘that sacrifice but once actually performed at His death.’¹¹⁶ Yet Andrewes united the offering of Christ on the cross with the offering up of himself at the Last Supper and the rite is a representation of that one offering on the cross. In his Christmas sermon from Luke 2.10, 11, Andrewes uses language that demonstrates he viewed the first Eucharist as Christ offering himself as our eschatological hope. The benefits of the offering that are continuously shown forth are received by the instrumental efficacy as a ‘conduit pipe’ which is given to convey the reality of the fruits of Christ’s suffering into us. He observes:

How is that? How shall we receive Him? Who shall give Him us? That shall One That will say unto us within a while, *Accipite*, ‘Take, this is My Body,’ ‘by the offering whereof ye are sanctified [Matt. 26.26, 28].’ ‘Take, this is My Blood;’ by the shedding whereof ye are saved.’ Both in the holy mysteries ordained by God as pledges to assure us, and as conduit pipes to convey into us this and all other benefits that come by this our Saviour. Verily, upon His memorable days, of which this is the first, we are bound to do something in memory, or remembrance of Him. What is that? Will ye know what it is? *Hoc facite*, ‘Do this in remembrance of Me.’¹¹⁷

The above metaphorical language of the Eucharist as ‘a conduit pipe to convey into us the efficacy of Christ’s one oblation on the cross’ illustrates how Andrewes understood the offering—and particularly the eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ offered—as the means by which we receive God’s blessings of forgiveness and the assurance of our future hope to share in Christ’s resurrection life of glory. For Andrewes, this is what is meant by our being drawn into the divine life of God where ‘He by ours became *consors humanae naturae*, so we by His might become *consortes Divinae naturae*.’ (2 Peter 1:4)¹¹⁸ By the rite of the Eucharist we become partakers of the blessed union of apprehending God and being apprehended

¹¹⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 301.

¹¹⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 83. [emphasis mine]

¹¹⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, I, 16. See Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition*, (OUP, 2004).

by him. Following in the shadow of Gregory of Nyssa¹¹⁹, Andrewes teaches that the Eucharist enables us to participate in the divine life and effect of the hypostatic union of Christ. For Andrewes, this is our *viaticum* as we make our way towards union with God in Christ.¹²⁰ Unlike Luther, there is no dichotomy between gift and exchange but rather we are taken up in the divine life of the Trinity's self-offering.¹²¹

4.9.2 *The Priest and Sacrifice*

This brings us to look at one of the key issues at the Council of Trent concerning the nature of the sacrificing priesthood.¹²² The Tridentine decree was explained by way of succession of power and authority given to the priest to consecrate, offer and administer the holy sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Jesus. What role does the priest have in the sacrifice of the Eucharist for Andrewes? The priest is necessary for the consecration of the sacrament. In a sermon on Whitsun, Andrewes described the nature of the power given to the priest to remit sins as well as the authority to consecrate the sacrament that resulted in the right to perform the sacrificial oblation. He speaks about the authority of the priests in terms of the validity of Rome's orders, particularly their keeping the 'sacramental' words 'Receive the Holy Ghost; whose sins ye remit, &c.'

Were to them, and are to us, even to this day, by these and by no other words; which words had not the Church of Rome retained in their ordinations, it might well have been doubted, for all their *Accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis*, whether they had any Priests at all, or no. But as God would, they retained them, and

¹¹⁹ Gregory of Nyssa (*Or. Cat. 37, PG 45. 97B*, Strawley, 152. I; trans. Strawley), said, '...in accordance with his plan of grace, in all believers by means of that flesh, which derives its subsistence from both wine and bread, mingling himself with the bodies of believers in order that, by union with that which is immortal, man also might participate in incorruption.' Cited in Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification*, 228.

¹²⁰ See Nicholas Lossky, *Lancelot Andrewes*, (1993), 345 and for more on the notion of deification in the Fathers see, Jules Gross, *The Divinization of the Christian According to the Greek Fathers*, (A & C Press: 2003).

¹²¹ William Cavanaugh, 'Eucharistic Sacrifice', 599-600.

¹²² *CT/23, I*, 'Instituting the New Priesthood.'

so saved themselves. For these are the very operative words for the conferring of this power, for the performing of this act.¹²³

The words conveying the authority of sacrifice joined with the receiving of the Holy Spirit ‘*Accipe potestatem sacrificandi pro vivis et mortuis,*’, and ‘Receive the Holy Ghost’ establish the ordination to the priesthood. The Holy Spirit was the instrumental authority underlying the offering of the sacramental sacrifice. This undoubtedly shows that Andrewes saw this particular ritual act of sacrifice as a task given only to priests. Andrewes was willing to grant the name ‘Sacrament’ to the Office of Holy Orders provided that it was understood in its liturgical context. He acknowledges that the term sacrament had been used in a narrow as well as a broad way; under the latter of which authority is given to consecrate the sacrament of the Eucharist and to remit sins.¹²⁴ Priests receive in measure what was given to Christ.¹²⁵ Andrewes acknowledges first and foremost that God is the primary cause of forgiveness but that there are secondary causes or ‘instruments’ by which sins are forgiven. The effect of this forgiveness is offered through the Church via the office of ordination.¹²⁶ A priest is required for the consecration of the sacrament, to perform baptisms, the right use of power to remit sins in the Holy Institution of the Eucharist, in addition to absolution in private confessions. Moreover Andrewes notes,

Further, there is to the same effect a power in prayer and that in the priest’s prayer. ‘Call for the priests,’ saith the Apostle [James 5.14], ‘and let them pray for the sick person, and if he have committed sin it shall be forgiven him.’ All and every of these are acts for the remission of sins; and in all and every of these is the person of the minister required, and they cannot be despatched without him.¹²⁷

¹²³ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 263; see also, *Works*, V, 95.

¹²⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 263.

¹²⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 63. I am indebted to Marianne Dorman for this reference in her book *Lancelot Andrewes: Mentor of Reformed Catholicism in the Post Reformation English Church 1555-1626*, (2005), 185. This book is an excellent academic resource of an overview of much of Andrewes’ thoughts on the many issues that faced the C16 and C17 Church of England and Andrewes’ role in the midst of it.

¹²⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 94, 95.

¹²⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 95. See also *Works*, V, 231. This latter reference addresses the efficacy of the priest’s prayers.

In Andrewes' sermon, *A Preparation to Prayer*, he describes how the priests of Christ have a role as *angeli Domini exercituum*.¹²⁸ In the same sermon he illustrates what this role of angel is.

If angels, then they must not only descend to the people to teach them the will of God, but ascend to the presence of God to make intercession for the people; and this they do more cheerfully, for that God is more respective to the prayers which they make for the people than the people are heedful to the Law of God taught by them.¹²⁹

It is for this cause, says Andrewes, 'that priests are called the Lord's remembrancers, because they put God in mind of His people, desiring Him continually to help and bless them with things needful;...' ¹³⁰ The priest's role as both liturgist and shepherd is to be a memorial to God who is to bring the people before him as the representative who is ordained to act and offer on the Church's behalf. The priest is not removed from the people of God, but he is given a function within that body.

As a disciple of Andrewes, it is important for the reader to note the three-fold nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice that is explained by William Laud (1573-1645). Laud's practical outworking of his theology of sacrifice was a direct result of his following in the school of Andrewes. Laud mentions Andrewes in his trial when he is asked about the ritual celebrations in his chapel. Laud responds that what he did was not different at all from that of Andrewes. This detail of Laud's—'not-so-popular' outworking of Andrewes' theology—is also pointed out by Trevor-Roper who described him as a 'practitioner' of Andrewes' theology.¹³¹ Concerning the three-fold offering, Laud speaks of the role of priest and community and thus writes,

For, at and in the Eucharist we offer up to God three sacrifices: One by the priest only, that is the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's death, represented in bread

¹²⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 355. The true Asceticism in Andrewes' devotional life is seen when he goes on to speak of the number of times that priest ought to pray and concludes that it is 'seven times a day.' This is another example of his Catholic asceticism where he embraces the Office of the Hours as a way of life for the priest.

¹²⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 355-56.

¹³⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 356.

¹³¹ H.R. Trevor-Roper, *Archbishop Laud 1573-1645*, (London: MacMillan, 1940), 31. It is important to remember that it was Laud and Buckeridge who edited the *Works* of Andrewes.

broken and wine poured out. Another by the priest and the people jointly, and that is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for all the benefits and graces we receive by the precious death of Christ. The third, by every particular man for himself only, and that is the sacrifice of every man's body and soul, to serve Him in both all the rest of his life, for the blessing thus bestowed on him.¹³²

What is essential for us is to note is that the 'sacrifice of commemoration' was to be done by the priest alone. Thus, there was a school of thought within the seventeenth century Anglican divines that followed Andrewes and held to a theology of sacrifice which was united to the sacramental ministry that belonged to the priest. The theology within the Tridentine view of the priesthood is explained by Powers to be the distinctive characteristic of propitiation as the act of the priest separate from all else that occurred in the Mass.¹³³ It is where the Tridentine explanation went beyond this fundamental role of the priest to defend what Andrewes viewed as novel regarding the sacrifice of the private Mass that he disagreed. What the Eucharist proclaims for Andrewes is the self-offering of Christ, not as a mere commemoration in the sense of bringing the Christ-event to mind, but rather the actualisation of the cross-event by Christ himself who is both Priest and Victim. This actualisation is represented by the actions of the priest in the Eucharistic offering. The priest functions for the community and makes available the cross-event through the 'shared offering' of the community as a whole.

4.9.3 *Issues with Rome on the Sacrifice*

There are two primary points of conflict with Rome in Andrewes' thinking.

Andrewes believed that what Rome teaches concerning the doctrine of concomitance

¹³²Cited in Darwell Stone, *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 269. It is originally found in William Laud's *Works*, ii., in L.A.C.T. 339-41. See Laud *Works*, iv., 210 where Laud defends his views following Andrewes' treatment of the Eucharist and the liturgical furniture. Laud also follows Andrewes in the use of unleavened bread and upholds Andrewes' name as a standard for this teaching in the English Church.

¹³³David N. Powers, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, (1997), 65.

mutilates the Christian sacrifice. Andrewes made it obvious to Bellarmine that there was no disagreement with the terms ‘sacrifice’ and ‘oblation’.¹³⁴ The difficulty was what Andrewes described as a mutilated sacrament and sacrifice with the laity receiving in one kind only. The second leading impasse is the so-called private Mass where the priest alone received while the congregants merely watched the priest elevate the Host.

Bellarmino said that the sacrament is whole under each of the species.¹³⁵ Andrewes responded claiming that the sacrifice is not complete by taking only one of the elements.¹³⁶ Andrewes’ reply was a challenge to Bellarmine for him to prove concomitance from the first five hundred years in the writings of the Fathers who understood the Christian sacrifice and feast in the same manner. Andrewes concluded that Bellarmine’s teaching actually destructive of the sacrifice of the Eucharist. It is this doctrine of concomitance that King James I rejects as a novel thing.¹³⁷ Yet, Andrewes acknowledges to du Perron that the Eucharist can be *reserved* in order to carry it to the sick.¹³⁸ One would assume that when the Eucharist was taken to the sick it would have been received in one kind only since the precious blood was never reserved for this purpose. The practice is noted in Canon 13 of the Council of Nicaea. But more importantly, Andrewes’ difficulty is not the communing of the sick with one

¹³⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 251. ‘*Veritatis testimonium non rejicimus. Nec a voce vel Sacrificii, vel Oblationis, abhorremus. Placeret ergo loca videre, quae citat, nisi vocem, propter quam citat, videret (Lector) nobis non displicere.*’

¹³⁵ Cited in Andrewes’ *Works*, VIII, 252. *Proinde Sacramentum sub specie panis, est verum atque integrum Sacramentum, et Sacramentum sub specie vini, verum atque integrum Sacramentum est. Nec tamen sunt do Sacramenta, quando simul sumuntur per modum unius refectionis.* [Bell. Apol. Pro Resp] p. 102. [Op. tom. vii col. 761 D.]

¹³⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 251-52. ‘*Christus instituit Eucharistiam, qua Sacrificium, in utroque elemento: qua Sacramentum, in utrovis. Ad essentiam Sacrificii, utrumque requiritur, abesse non potest alterum, si absit, mutilum Sacrificium: Ad essentiam Sacramenti, alterutrum satis, quodlibet ex duobus sufficit, utrumvis abesse potest, nec mutilum tamen Sacramentum. Satis hoc magistraliter. Sed haec placita Crardinalis sunt. Quis Patrum haec ita asserit? Ubi nobis anni quingenti.*’

¹³⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 252-53.

¹³⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, XI, 18, 19.

kind only but the making this practice of concomitance the rule for the Eucharistic feast for the gathered assembly.

The following quotation is long but necessary in order to appreciate Andrewes' reasoning behind his strong rejection of concomitance. Receiving in one kind only was seen as good enough for the people yet not good enough for the priest.

Yet it pleases the Roman Church to give gratitude to him, about the increased number of sacraments. For if the Cardinal had made it a true and whole sacrament under the species of bread, then it would still be true however and whole under the species of wine: (by adding these two to the remaining six) now the number of sacraments will rise to eight, which the Church will accept, thanks to the Cardinal. Truly the Sacrament is nothing unless there is partaking of the sacrifice. Indeed a sacrifice is peaceable and Eucharistic. Consider Israel next [in regard to flesh], are not they who eat the sacrifice participants in the altar?¹³⁹ But also the sacrifice is not whole unless the Body has been broken, as well as the Blood having been poured out, but is a mutilation (admitted by the Cardinal); therefore the participation of the sacrifice is not whole unless anyone is a participant in both parts on the one hand the broken Body and the other the poured out Blood. The Apostle denotes the Symbol of the Body, by the bread, which we break, of the Blood, with the chalice, which we bless. The bread, a participation of the Body, the Cup, a communication of the Blood. He repeats afterwards, you are not able to drink the chalice of the Lord and the chalice of demons. Just as he is concerned about the chalice which should be drunk, likewise he is concerned about the bread that should be eaten. But if on the other hand, under the species of bread thus, (as you say) the Sacrament is whole; when the Priest descends on the Sacrament, why is he not content with the whole? More than the whole why is it necessary that he takes? Why is what is whole for the people, not whole for him? Why does he order that they are happy and he himself is not? Because (as you know) he considers the envy that should be brought about. I think him to be an avaricious priest for whom it is more necessary than it is enough.¹⁴⁰

The Church has the authority given her by Christ to carry out his commands and institute rites and ceremonies which are not repugnant to the word of God. However,

¹³⁹ I Cor. 10:18

¹⁴⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 253-54. *Gratulari tamen hic libet Romanae Ecclesiae, de aucto jam ei Sacramentorum numero. Nam si concinnavit jam ei Cardinalis Sacramentum verum atque integrum sub specie panis, verum autem etiam et integrum sub specie vini: (accedentibus duobus his ad reliqua sex) consurget jam Sacramentorum numerus octonarius, quem Cardinalis beneficio Ecclesia acceptum ferat. Saramentum vero, nihil nisi sacrificii participatio. Sacrificium enim pacificum ibi, et Eucharisticum. Videte Israel secundum carnem, Nonne qui edunt hostias, participes sunt altaris? Atque, ut sacrificium non integrum, nisi Corpus fractum, nisi et fusus Sanguinis compos fiat. Notat ibi Apostolus Symbolum Corporis, pane, quem frangimus: Sanguinis, calice, cui benedicimus. Panis, participatio Corporis: calix, communicatio Sanguinis. Repetit post, Non potestis calicem Domini bibere, et calicem Daemoniorum. Perinde de Calice bibendo sollicitus, quam de pane manducando. Quodsi autem, sub specie panis sic, (ut ais) integrum Sacramentum est; cum ad Sacramentum descendit Sacerdos, cur integro contentus non sit? Plus integro quid opus est sumat? Cur quod populo integrum est, illi itidem non sit? Aut quo illos contentos esse jubet, ipse non sit? Quod (uti scis) ad conflandam invidiam spectat. Avarum enim esse Sacerdotem, cui plus opus sit, quam sit satis. In a similar argument see Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra.*, 618, where he invokes John 6:53 of eating and drinking.*

she does not have the authority to go against the explicit commands of Christ. With regards to keeping the chalice away from the laity, Rome was guilty of usurping the authority of Christ and mutilating the Christian sacrifice. Andrewes responds to the Cardinal's argument with an example where the Church used the freedom given her to baptise by immersion three times in the name of the Trinity or only once in the name of the Trinity. The rationale that followed was where there is no law there is freedom. True enough, Andrewes would say, but neither the Cardinal, nor the Church of Rome has the freedom to go against the direct command of Christ in the institution narrative of the Eucharist that says, 'drink!'

But according to the rule of Christ and whereby he uses the voice to be commanded, the law of the Church is null: where the law is strong, where (as in immersion) it leaves things hanging in the air. For if, he had said on one time immerse, or if he had said three times, I believe the Church would not have altered it; and I believe that the Cardinal was not the author of it since he changed it. But he said, *Eat up*, and he said, *drink*, and at the same time, and as for the latter as for the former, *this do*. With this having been said, *Christ did not abandon freedom*: for the Church does not have the right to leave free what Christ commanded, nor does it have the right to order that one species alone be received where Christ has commanded (so that he might take under two kinds): nor, where Christ in each place he added, *This do*, there to expunge in one place, or to forbid them to do it. The place of freedom is where a command is silent: where he commands, *Drink, drink all of you, this do*, nor the whole now, nor liberty, not to be seen. But I believe, by the sin of the age, that these things had escaped the memory of the Cardinal or that he was driven to these new things, lest he had the need to make known that this custom of his was a novelty.¹⁴¹

Andrewes' point on the nature of the Church's authority demonstrates that he is not with the Puritans who would have demanded an explicit command from scripture or a particular rite was to be forbidden. Rather, Andrewes takes a more liberal position in that what is not commanded in scripture the Church has the right and freedom to

¹⁴¹ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 255. . 'At, in Christi praecepto, et ubi imperandi voce utitur, Ecclesiae jus nullum est: ibi forte jus est, ubi (ut in mersione) rem in medio relinquit. Nam si, semel tantum mergite dixisset, vel si ter, credo non mutasset Ecclesia; nec Cardinalis, ut mutaret, auctor fuisset. Dixit autem Comedite, dixit et Bibite, et similiter, et tam huic, quam illi, Hoc facite. Quo dicto, Christus liberum non relinquit: nec jus habet Ecclesia, quod Christus imperavit, liberum relinquenti; vel jubendi, ut una species tantum recipiatur, ubi duplici praecepto (ut sub duabus sumeret) edixit Christus: vel, ubi Christus in utroque, Hoc facite, subjunxit, ibi in uno expungere, vel ibi ne faciant interdicere. Libertati locus est, ubi silet imperium: ubi imperat, Bibite, Bibite omnes, Hoc facite, nec integrum jam, nec liberum, non parere. Credo autem, vitio aetatis, Cardinali excidisse haec, vel ad novitia haec adactum, ne morem hunc suum necesse haberet novitium confiteri.'

institute. But for Andrewes, the Cardinal has usurped this freedom by explicitly going against the command from Christ to drink with the effect of mutilating the sacrifice of the Eucharist (Matt. 26:27-28). For the Eucharistic sacrifice to be complete, all present at the *Synaxis* must partake of both elements since both are offered in the sacrifice.

This theme of Eucharistic sharing in the Christ-event by table-fellowship is a result of Andrewes' commitment to Augustinian thinking. In his work on Augustine's theology of Eucharistic sacrifice, Frankovich notes that, 'For him [Augustine], the high point of the cultic action is the celebration of man's oneness with the cross-event. This sharing was cultically expressed not in an elevation of the bread and wine but in table-sharing.'¹⁴² Andrewes believed that the people take part in the Eucharistic offering by partaking in the food and drink. Andrewes could also appeal to Cyprian who wrote to Cacaelius explaining the symbolism of mixing the water with the wine.¹⁴³ As the water and the wine were inseparable, which represented our union with Christ, so the wine was inseparable from the sacrifice to make it complete. Mutual partaking of priest and people in both kinds was what completed the sacrifice and sacramental action at the altar.

The abuse of the Mass in the mind of Andrewes was the fault of the priest. The priest who prayed silently and communicated alone entered into the Eucharistic offering unaccompanied and left the people without sacramental assurance. The words of consecration did not complete the sacrifice for Andrewes who assumed the pattern of the peace-offering and new *Pascha* where the worshippers ate the meal with God. Andrewes' argument results in the conclusion that taking the elements away from the people is a complete novelty and goes against what Paul delivered to

¹⁴² Frankovich, *Augustine's Theory of Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 140.

¹⁴³ Cyprian, Epistle to Caecilius lxii 'On the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord,' in the ANF Vol. v., 358-364.

the Church in 1 Corinthians 10:16, 17. For Paul, the nature of the Eucharist is communal. It was established in the context of community, it symbolises community, and it is offered for the community of the *Synaxis*, where the bread and the chalice are to be received by the whole gathering in order for the oblation to be a fruit-bearing sacrifice for the Church (1 Corinthians 10:16-22). It was when the elements touched the lips in the ‘outward act’ of administration that sins were forgiven. Andrewes states it clearly.

It is his will that our sins shall be taken away by the outward act of the sacrament: The reason is not only in regard of ourselves, which consists of body and soul, and therefore have need both of bodily and Ghostly meanes, to assure us of our Salvation; but in regard of Christ himself, who is the burning Cole.¹⁴⁴

The actual eating and drinking provided the worshipper with assurance that peace and harmony became a living reality in the present between God and the ones who take part in the offering of the sacrifice. When the priest celebrated the *Mystery* alone, the assurance of peace was lacking in the worshipper who merely looked on as a spectator. For Andrewes, it was not only a theological problem but a pastoral matter as well. In *MS 3707* Andrewes writes on Christ as the intercessor and we find him juxtaposing the language of covenant and sacrifice, where he explains how the covenant renewals in scripture taught that ‘agreements and pacificacions had their confirmacion by sacrifice.’¹⁴⁵ Though the priest offered the commemorative sacrifice, all the worshippers who received the Body and Blood were made partakers of the altar of the cross (1 Cor. 10:18). Andrewes concluded that this Pauline verse proved that the people declared the sacrifice to be theirs by eating of it.¹⁴⁶ On the other hand, Trent argued that since the priest was a public minister no such thing as ‘private masses’ existed. The priest celebrated as ‘representative’ of the community and

¹⁴⁴ Andrewes, *Apos. Sacra*, 519.

¹⁴⁵ Andrewes, *MS 3707*, 230.

¹⁴⁶ Andrewes, *MS 3707*, 230, 231.

therefore, nothing was private. For Andrewes, the ecclesial aspects of the sacrament are lost sight of by Rome's practice of private Masses. The Eucharist is an ecclesial action of a living community so that from the Body and Blood the community is made one in Christ. Andrewes would agree that the priest is a public minister but he knows nothing of a 'spiritual' communicating¹⁴⁷ of the people and it could be argued that the Tridentine way of speaking here is more along the lines of the Zwinglian memorialist view.¹⁴⁸ What is unique about Andrewes when compared to sixteenth century Reformers is that he was able to see that the concept of sacrifice need not be opposed to the importance of communion. Therefore, for Andrewes, sacrifice cannot be separated from the ritual action of breaking bread and sharing the chalice (1 Cor. 10:16, 17).

4.9.4 *Eucharistic Oblation: for the Living and the Dead*

The question for whom the sacrifice of the Eucharist is available was another controversial issue for the Reformers. The level of this opposition is found in the words of Calvin.

And this has not been accepted only as a popular notion, but the very action itself has been so framed as to be a kind of appeasement to make satisfaction to God for the expiation of the living and the dead. The words which they use also express this notion; and we can infer nothing else from its daily use. All know how deeply this plague has taken root, how much it lurks under the appearance of good, how it displays the name of Christ, and how numerous persons believe that in the one word 'Mass' they embrace the whole sum of faith. But when it is most clearly proved by the Word of God that this Mass, however decked in splendour, inflicts signal dishonour upon Christ, buries and oppresses his cross, consigns his death to oblivion, takes away the benefit which came to us from it, and weakens and destroys the Sacrament by which the memory of his death was bequeathed to us—will any of the roots be too deep for this most sturdy axe (I mean the Word of God) to slash

¹⁴⁷ *CT 22/vi.*

¹⁴⁸ Nicholas Lossky contrasts Andrewes' spiritual realism: 'Let us recall here that this 'spiritual presence' of the Body of Christ does not for Andrewes signify in any way that it is 'unreal' or 'immaterial'. It signifies that the reality of the Body of Christ is manifested by the Holy Spirit in matter sanctified by the Incarnation. The fact that this is a 'spiritual nourishment' signifies the same, not that it only nourishes the mind or spirit of man, but that in receiving the Body and the Blood of Christ, the communicant receives at the same time the Holy Spirit, inseparable from the Body that He has conceived.' Lossky, *Andrewes*, 333.

and upturn? Is there any covering so dazzling that this light cannot disclose the lurking evil?¹⁴⁹

The Tridentine response sustained this controversial position that many of the Reformers despised. The conclusions of the twenty-second session on this matter read as follows:

The fruits indeed of which oblation, of that bloody one to wit, are received most plentifully through this unbloody one; so far is this (latter) from derogating in any way from that (former oblation). Wherefore, not only for the sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of the faithful who are living, but also for those who are departed in Christ, and who are not as yet fully purified, is it rightly offered, agreeably to a tradition of the Apostles.¹⁵⁰

In a very interesting and even somewhat surprising response to Cardinal du Perron, Andrewes makes some remarks about the availability of the fruits of the sacrifice of Christ via the Eucharistic oblation that is to be made available to the dead as well as the living.

The *Eucharist* ever was, and by us is considered, both as a *Sacrament*, and as a *Sacrifice*. A *Sacrifice* is proper and applicable only to *divine worship*. The *Sacrifice of Christ's death did succeed to the Sacrifices of the Old Testament*. The *Sacrifice of Christ's death is available for present, absent, living, dead*, (yea, for them that are yet un-born.) When we say the *dead*, we mean it is available for *the Apostles, Martyrs, and Confessors*, and all (because we are all members of one body:) these no man will deny. In a word we hold with Saint Augustine in the very same chapter which the Cardinal citeth, *as far as this Sacrifice of the flesh and blood, before Christ's coming, by means of the likeness of the repayment that was promised; according to the suffering of Christ, by means of the true sacrifice of himself being handed over; after Christ's coming [ascension], by means of the memorial celebrated in the Sacrament.*¹⁵¹

Again, what we find as in Augustine's language quoted above is that the Eucharist is the 'application' of the one sacrifice and oblation of Christ. And Andrewes quotes

¹⁴⁹ Calvin, Institutes, IV. xviii. 1., 1429-30.

¹⁵⁰ CT/22. Chapter 2.

¹⁵¹ Andrewes, *Answer to du Perron*, XI, 19, 20. *quod Hujus Sacrificii Caro et Sanguis, ante adventum Christi, per victimas similitudinum promittebatur; in passione Christi, per ipsam veritatem reddebatur; post adventum [leg. Ascensum] Christi, per Sacramentum memoriae celebratur*. Reference cited by Andrewes from Augustine (S. Aug. contra Faustum. lib. xx. cap. 21. Op. tom. viii. col. 546 B.C.). See Augustine, Sermon 172.2 where preaching at a commemoration service of the dead. Augustine says, 'It is not to be doubted, though, that the dead can be helped by the prayers of holy Church, and the eucharistic sacrifice, and alms distributed for the repose of their spirits; so that God may deal with them more mercifully than their sins have deserved.' *Sermons III,5 (148-183)* Trans. Edmund Hill, O.P., ed., John E. Rotelle, O.S.A. (New Rochelle: New City Press, 1992), 252.

him to indicate his full allegiance to the language that he finds in the Fathers.¹⁵² The use of this language would also undoubtedly echo the words of Chrysostom in *Homily XLI* on the first letter to the Corinthians. Andrewes' language is at the very least a paraphrase from Chrysostom if not a direct quotation.

Let us not then be weary in giving aid to the departed, both by offering on their behalf and obtaining prayers for them: for the common expiation of the world is even before us. *Therefore with boldness do we then entreat for the whole world, and name their names with those of martyrs, of confessors, of priests. For in truth one body are we all, though some members are more glorious than others; and it is possible from every source to gather pardon for them, from our prayers, from our gifts in their behalf, from those whose names are named with theirs.* Why therefore dost thou grieve? Why mourn, when it is in thy power to gather so much pardon for the departed?¹⁵³

Andrewes does not thoroughly explain what all of these benefits are for the departed. However one might deduce that it was the same for the living as well as the dead. One aspect of the controversy surrounding the fruits of the Mass that Andrewes rejected, as not being a part of the Catholic faith, was that satisfaction by the Mass could be applied for the debt of punishment not yet paid by the souls in purgatory. Andrewes was not saying something negative about the efficacy of the Mass, rather he rejected that purgatory was a place where the guilt of sins were further remitted. He did not believe that compensation could be made by suffrage for those in need of satisfaction. This satisfaction was made once and for all on the cross and applied by means of the sacrament. The Eucharist brought us back to the point of what we lost in our baptismal gift that washed away original sin.¹⁵⁴ The Roman Catholic understanding of the Mass for the dead is not a propitiatory offering that moves one who is dead and

¹⁵² Cyprian's Epistle to Caecilius lxii 'On the Sacrament of the Cup of the Lord,' in the ANF Vol. v., 358-364. In this letter, Cyprian uses the language of sacrifice, oblation, offering, and sacrament (*sacramentum* and *sacrificium*) when referring to the Eucharist. It is undoubtedly the language of Andrewes throughout his own writings. This reference was pointed out by the editor of Andrewes' response to du Perron in Andrewes' *Works*, XI, 19.

¹⁵³ Chrysostom *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers Vol. XII*. 254.: Homilies on the Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians. Reference cited by the editor of Andrewes' *Works*, XI, 20, note y. [emphasis mine]

¹⁵⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 219.

outside the state of grace into a state of grace. Andrewes understood the official teaching of purgatory and sacramental efficacy for the dead to be a means of appeasing God with regards to someone outside the state of grace. Purgatory from the Tridentine dogma was a place of hope. It was a place of hope, though punitive, due to the fact that it was preparatory for one's going to heaven and grace was received as the people were prayed for in the intentions of the Mass.

4.9.5 *The Problem of Purgatory*

Purgatory has implications for Andrewes' understanding of the application of the one death of Christ by means of the Eucharist being applied to the departed.¹⁵⁵ Andrewes shows signs of some of his reformed methodology when he writes against purgatory as a doctrine not found in the sacred literature or the Fathers and as a result rejects it as a dogma of the Church. Eamon Duffy gives us a clear picture of the cult of saints in relation to the pains of purgatory and how it was viewed in early sixteenth century England. Souls were in every posture of torment and it was not viewed as place of comfort but rather a painful purification from sins that had not properly been addressed either in confession, works of mercy, proper penance, or devotion. Some visitors through visions claimed to see people in purgatory 'suspended by meat-hooks driven through jaws, tongue, or sexual organs, frozen into ice, boiling in vats of liquid metal or fire.'¹⁵⁶ These visions used by preachers in England during this time was a means to keep people chaste, to bring them to repentance or to offer Mass stipends for loved ones who may be undergoing such pains and torment for purification. This

¹⁵⁵ For a modern 're-thinking' of the tradition of purgatory, see N.T. Wright, *For All the Saints?: Remembering the Christian Departed*, (London: S.P.C.K., 2003). Here we find a similar challenge to purgatory that is found in Andrewes to Bellarmine where the questioning of this teaching in light of the resurrection and the issue of the place of Hell are discussed. David Brown has a convincing refutation of Tom Wright's position of not praying for the dead in his book, *Through the Eyes of the Saint: A Pilgrimage Through History*, (Continuum: 2005) 13-19.

¹⁵⁶ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, 338-39.

torment was a result of engaging in deadly sins. A close examination of medieval art during this period gives us a clear depiction of what purgatory was to the people in England in the sixteenth century, which later resulted in strong critiques by men such as Andrewes in light of the gospel narrative and hope of the resurrection in Paul's theology found in 1 Corinthians 15. Andrewes makes the point that there is no mention of any preparatory place between death and resurrection. Rather this 'waiting' is in the glorious presence of Christ and not in a place of torment.

Andrewes' most extensive argument against purgatory is his claim that there is no real basis for it in scripture. Bellarmine mentions passages (Gen. 23; 2 Kings 1; 3; Ps. 37; 65; Zach. 9; Mal. 3; 2 Macc. 12; Matt. 12; 1 Cor. 3.15; 15) that he believes teach the doctrine of purgatory and Andrewes points out the fact that these are interpreted and expounded in various ways.¹⁵⁷ For Andrewes this is not a fixed teaching of the faith and ought to be rejected as dogma. In spite of his argument against purgatory, Andrewes is willing to allow purgatory to be amongst the opinions of the Schools, but not to be defined as one of the articles of faith.¹⁵⁸ However, there is clear evidence of an intermediary state of humankind in Andrewes' teaching. He simply does not pry too deeply into this other than to say that the cloud of witnesses in heaven pray for the Church and that they are examples to us who also look to Christ as the author and perfecter of our faith.¹⁵⁹ He uses the metaphor of sleep from 1 Corinthians 15:20 as a peaceful rest awaiting the resurrection in hope but does not hold to *Psychopannychia*.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 285. The passages referred to by Bellarmine are viewed by Andrewes as sandy and slippery places (*arenosa/lubrica*).

¹⁵⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 287.

¹⁵⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 159.

¹⁶⁰ The term derived from Greek words which signify "the sleep of the soul;" the soul sleeps in a state of insensibility from death to the Day of Judgment when it will awake from its sleep.

Had Andrewes pointed out that the reference to the text of 1 Corinthians 3:15 has implications for the final judgment and not a day of purification it would have strengthened his argument. The text refers to ‘The Day,’ which would parallel Jesus’ words in Matthew 25:31-46. All the while, Andrewes continues with the ancient practice of prayers for the dead as is abundantly evident from the writings of the Fathers.¹⁶¹ As noted above, Andrewes is sympathetic with a number of the representatives at Trent who were not given to excessive definition. Perhaps this is another place that could be revisited to see if the language of dogmatics reached more conclusions than the practice of faith requires.

4.10 *Concluding Remarks*

Throughout our present examination of Andrewes’ theology of Eucharistic sacrifice, we have come to see that he was not within the school of thought that was often found in the sixteenth century English Reformers. He did not view the sacraments as rites simply for the worship or honouring of God, as some Reformers defined them to be. Rather they are the means of access to God’s grace—the way to receive the forgiveness of sins and ultimately God’s salvation. The Eucharist was not a mere ritual but is effectual for the forgiveness of sins and the assurance of salvation. In light of his sacramental principle, we see the uniqueness that Andrewes offers to the ongoing ecumenical discussion on Eucharistic sacrifice offered in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Many in his own day—as well as earlier Reformers in the sixteenth century—were in opposition to seeing the Eucharist

¹⁶¹ It is important to note here that Andrewes takes the view of the prayers of the Roman Church to be of great imaginations and superstitions, particularly as he addresses the issue of acts such as praying the rosary. Andrewes sees acts of devotions such as these as parallel to the acts of the Pharisees. See *Works*, V, 68.

as the Christian sacrifice other than as a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. As a result of the pendulum swinging too far against sacramental realism, however Andrewes is able to offer a counter-balance to the sixteenth century Reformation view—though it was not a monolithic view—of the Eucharist. It was his desire to maintain the English Church’s catholicity with respect to the theology of Eucharistic sacrifice as he understood it to be found in the writings of the Fathers. This proved his key theological point: seeing the Eucharistic memorial as the mystery offered by the Church for the forgiveness of sins. The effects of the offering of Christ are applied by way of the instrumental efficacy of the Eucharistic offering that is mysteriously united to the one offering on the cross. Whilst Andrewes uses very controversial language of Eucharistic oblation in his own writings and sermons, there remained a fair amount of hostility towards such teaching from his Puritan contemporaries. What resulted from Andrewes’ understanding of *anamnesis* as a memorial that is offered to God for the purpose of applying the forgiveness of sins actually committed effects the language now used by the Catholic Church when she speaks of the Eucharist as the Christian sacrifice. Our revisiting of Andrewes’ theology of sacrifice has then the potential of helping to heal the deep divisions in the Church over this issue. All Christian sacrifice in Andrewes’ theology is to be found in union with the one oblation offered by Christ on the cross. Andrewes is a theologian who anticipated the ecumenical discussions in the twentieth century concerning the Eucharistic offering of the Church. His theology of the Eucharistic offering was the catalyst for the Catholic renewal during the Carolinian period under Charles I, though history proves that this renewal of the Catholic vision of the Eucharistic offering did not succeed in becoming the dominant position in the early seventeenth century. As a result of his return to a more patristic and theologically holistic view of sacrifice within the worshipping community of the

Church, Andrewes did, however, become the progenitor of the Catholic revivals in England from the Restoration of 1661 to the present. As a result of what we have seen pertaining to the development of sacrifice in Andrewes' theology of the Eucharist, we can now proceed to an examination of the present-day dialogue of Eucharistic sacrifice with a view to seeing how far Andrewes can act as a catalyst for further theological and ecumenical explorations.

Chapter 5 Sacrament of the Sacrifice of Christ: Andrewes a Catalyst for Ecumenism

5.1 *Introduction*

It is the aim of this final chapter to test the thesis as a whole concerning Andrewes' suitability to be a catalyst for ecumenism today in its focus on the area of Eucharistic sacrifice. The fuller exposition of Andrewes' Eucharistic theology was necessary in order to frame his understanding of sacrifice within an ecumenical hope that might get us beyond the impasse of the sixteenth century regarding the nature of the sacrifice of Christ in the Mass. Having identified Andrewes' theology of sacrifice in the preceding chapter, we can now explore how Andrewes' own theology essentially helps us in finding an acceptable way to explain how the Eucharist can be seen as the Christian offering but yet not obstruct nor lessen the efficacy of the one offering of Christ in history. The question raised whether Andrewes' theological description of the Eucharist as the Christian sacrifice resembles the Catholic Church's position today is one that will also be explored. It is answering this question, in the context of what we have already seen in Andrewes, that we will seek to move the ecumenical statements between Anglicans and Roman Catholics forward.

In *Part I: Growing Together in Communion and Mission*¹ the Common Declaration of Pope John Paul II and Archbishop Robert Runcie made on 2 October 1989 stated that baptism was the bond of unity between the two communions even though they recognised that there remain impediments to full communion on important doctrinal issues. Yet what is noteworthy is that many impediments concerning the Eucharist as sacrifice have been openly discussed with very positive results towards a common understanding. It is the work of ARCIC (Anglican Roman

¹ *Growing Together in Unity and Mission: Building on 40 years of Anglican—Roman Catholic Dialogue*, Feast of Saint Francis, 4 October 2006, n38, 14.

Catholic International Commission) and the return to Andrewes that I will argue jointly offers promise to both sides of the divide. It was theologians like Andrewes the Anglican, prior to the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century, that essentially held to an understanding of Eucharistic sacrifice that was not altogether distant from the reforms of Trent.

5.2 *Andrewes and the Sacrifice of Unity*

It was Andrewes' understanding of the Eucharist as the symbol of unity that moved him to open his mind beyond the scope of his present time to see the great need for Eucharistic unity. We have already seen that he was not one to look to the Continental Reformers to shape his theology of the Eucharist; rather, he looked to the Fathers of the first five centuries and a time when ecclesial division over the issue of sacrifice was not prominent. Describing this in a sermon preached at St. Giles Cripplegate, Andrewes calls the church to unity saying

Which words (And I have all been made to drink of one spirit) cannot have any other reference but to the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, which he calls The cup of blessing, the 1. to the Corinthians the 10th chapter. The end of the Apostle in taking arguments from the Sacrament, is double, First to perswade Christians to cleanness of life, which he doth, in the first to the Corinthians the tenth chapter 'Ye cannot be partakers of the Lords table, and the table of Devils.' Secondly, bending himself here against Schismes and contentions that were amongst the Corinthians, he takes another argument from the nature of this Sacrament, to exhort them to the unity of the spirit; that forasmuch as they all are partakers of one Sacrament, and drank all of one spirit, therefore they should seek to be at unity and concord with themselves:²

For Andrewes, unity in the sacrament of the sacrifice was the summit of the Christian life. In the unity of the Eucharist, the Church finds the source of life and love in the one bread and one cup. The preparation for the receiving of the Spirit is manifest in unity. From the text³ considered in one sermon it is unity of mind and unity of place

² Andrewes, *Apos sacra*, 614.

³ Acts 2.1-4.

that marks out the unity of the sacrifice of Christ.⁴ The Spirit is the knot of unity between the community of the Trinity and the knot of unity of the hypostatic union and God's union with man; it is what makes us like God when we manifest the spirit of unanimity. Andrewes says,

Faith to the Word, and love to the Spirit, are the true preparatives. And there is not a greater bar, a more fatal or forcible opposition to His entry, than discord, and dis-united minds, and such as are "in the gall of bitterness;" they can neither give nor receive the Holy Ghost. *Divisum est cor eorum, jamjam interibunt*, saith the Prophet; [Hos. 10.2] "their heart divided," their "accord" is gone, that cord is untwisted; they cannot live, the Spirit is gone too.⁵

The "harmony" of unity in the Church would bring the blessing of God's Spirit upon his people in Andrewes' view. During Andrewes' day, the Church found itself greatly out of accord. This was not only true of the divide between the Church of England and Rome but divisions faced Andrewes' communion as well. Andrewes' desire was to see the Church of one mind again. The fissure that existed within the Church in England and on the Continent was a display of a lack of credibility to the world. Andrewes found himself between the extremes of Popery on the one side and Puritanism on the other and knew that someone had to rise up to heal this division in the Church if there ever was going to be a great outpouring of the Spirit. With evident distress in his heart over this rift he says,

And who shall make us "of one accord?" High shall be his reward in Heaven, and happy his remembrance on earth, that shall be the means to restore this "accord" to the Church; that once we may keep a true and perfect Pentecost, like this here, all men cordially go astray.⁶

The second point of this accord was not only in mind but also of the need to be in one place. What Andrewes meant by being of "one place," was being of uniformity. It was uniformity that created "the bond of peace." This bond of peace is something that is outward and hence visible to the eye. Therefore, he invokes

⁴ Andrewes, *Apos sacra*, 618.

⁵ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 113.

⁶ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 113. 'errant omnes unanimiter.'

Hebrews chapter ten and the necessity of not removing oneself from the congregation. The call from Andrewes is to be built upon one foundation, who is Christ, and to live under one roof, that of being in one house. This is how the Apostolic life is set forth according to Andrewes' understanding of what it meant for the Holy Spirit to be sent upon the Church. 'Division of places will not long be without division of minds.'⁷ It is this way that the Church had begun and it is this same way of unanimity and uniformity that the Church must continue.⁸

To this hope of unity Andrewes adds a third aspect that he gathers from the Fathers, which are found in the words, *dum compleverentur* [provided that it has been fulfilled]. The Apostles were called to faithful waiting until they were perfected with the Spirit. These words, says Andrewes, are despised by us as we wish not to tarry and wait on the Lord but to have things now. The Holy Spirit is presented to both senses of ears and eyes. To the ears, the hearing of the word, which is the sense of faith; to the eye, which is the sense of love. 'The ear, that is the ground of the word, which is audible; the eye, which is the ground of the Sacraments, which are visible.'⁹ For Andrewes, the word is an audible sacrament and the sacrament is a visible word. One might possibly conclude a parallel here between Andrewes and Calvin. Yet that is not necessarily the case. Rather it is more likely that Andrewes and Calvin both are drawing from Augustine who spoke of the sacraments as visible words. In Augustine's writings *Contra Faustus* 19.16 he describes the sacraments as visible words saying, 'what else are certain bodily sacraments but certain visible words – sacred, of course, but still changeable and temporal.'¹⁰ The word is to awaken us through warning of His coming, and the sacraments are to show us the day of that

⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 114.

⁸ The nature of the bond of affection created with one another was also one of Calvin's themes within his Eucharistic theology.

⁹ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 116.

¹⁰ Augustine, *Contra Faustus*, 19.16, NPNF, Vol. I First Series.

visitation of our salvation. One finds Augustine speaking in the same manner in his reply to Faustus the Manichaean. The very wine itself is the Spirit of unity as we are all made to drink of one Spirit, ‘kneaded together, and pressed together into one—as the symbols are, the bread, and the wine—so many as are partakers of one bread and one cup...’¹¹

5.3 *Social Order and the Sacrificial Priesthood*

What was an important part of the concern the Reformers was the sacrificing priesthood. In western Catholic theology the priest offers Christ sacramentally and the people offer praise and thanksgiving in their response; both receive the free gift of grace. However, the priest is acting on behalf of the people and the people offer sacramentally in and through the priest. This brings us to enquire into the social changes taking place in the midst of the Tridentine gathering. What role does social change and social order play in getting to a better understanding of Eucharistic sacrifice?¹² Were the differences between Rome and Geneva due to social change and social ordering? What role did social order have on the way the priesthood was viewed? It is clear that there is some relationship between the changing views of priesthood and the changing order in society at large. Were those new ideas in conflict with the priestly nature of worship? Powers makes note of these important questions in his work *The Sacrifice We Offer*. Andrewes developed his theology of Eucharistic sacrifice in the midst of radical changes of social order from ‘Papal throne’ to the ‘throne in England’ (*caesaropapism*) while maintaining a Catholic ecclesiology and sacramentology the absence of the Pope notwithstanding. The early Church modelled itself on imperial Rome in various respects but after Rome fell and society changed,

¹¹ Andrewes, *Works*, III, 239.

¹² David N. Powers, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, (1997) 138-146. Powers shows the indirect connection between social order and the changes in dogma.

Church order evolved too. One can see the strong threat and the reason Trent came down on these dogmatic statements the way it did. The early modern era often spawned opposite trends e.g., absolute monarchy (representation by a single person for the whole) and emerging parliamentary systems (strong emphasis on individualism), which then came into conflict and there is perhaps a parallel in the relation between Rome and the Reformers. There is no time here to expand this important point in any great detail but I see a close connection between what Rome's fears were in relationship to caesaropapism and King James I's and Andrewes' concerns with the individualism found in the political structures and ecclesiology of Puritanism. One very important point that Powers mentions is the fundamental perception that faith in Christ is assimilated to the way in which a believing people orders society, or seeks to change that order, in the face of new interests and in the light of new faith perceptions.¹³ So the question, how do we acknowledge this change and maintain dogma and its meaning? Roman Catholics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were maintaining an 'ahistorical' and 'decontextualised' understanding of Trent as the authentic interpretation of the Council while others were saying, 'well, wait a minute...the Council itself had a context and besides, the early Fathers were not Tridentine.' Nevertheless, even with such acknowledgements taken into account the question of the Mass as sacrifice remains within the doctrinal issues that divide Anglicanism from Roman Catholicism, and so the question of an acceptable notion of sacrifice continues to present a problem.

¹³ In addition to Daly (see next footnote), see William T. Cavanaugh, 'Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Social Imagination in Early Modern Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*: (2001), 585-605.

5.3.1 *Unveiling an Acceptable Notion of Sacrifice*

Since the Christ-event has done away with a need for a new sacrifice, we need initially to understand sacrifice from a Trinitarian and liturgical perspective. This perspective focuses primarily on the self-offering of the Father in the gift of his Son and Jesus' self-offering in his humanity, and the Spirit's offering in unity with us as we are taken up into that relationship.¹⁴ One key element noted within Robert Daly's article 'Sacrifice Unveiled' is that the definition of sacrifice is no longer universally agreed to require the destruction of a victim as constitutive of the sacrifice.¹⁵ What happened in the sixteenth century Eucharistic controversy, according to Daly, is that discussion started from the wrong end, possibly even asking the wrong question. One of the difficulties of looking for a definition of sacrifice is that even in such important councils such as Trent, they refrained from giving a careful definition of sacrifice.

Daly observes:

See canon 1 (DS 1751) of the 22nd session of the Council of Trent, promulgated in 1562. With 'sacrifice' (*offerre*), as Kilmartin pointed out, Trent referred both to the transcendent Christ-event, the self offering of Christ, and 'the liturgical-ritual sacrificial act of the eucharistic celebration' which it tended to see in history-of-religions types of categories. This confusion, as already noted, was resolved for the worse in the post-Tridentine Protestant and Catholic polemics.¹⁶

In the post-Tridentine polemics according to Daly, both sides started from the wrong end and with the wrong question. Daly writes,

Instead of trying to learn from the Christ event what it was that Christians were trying to express when, at first quite hesitantly in earliest Christianity, they began to speak of the Christ event in its special presence in the celebration of the Eucharist as sacrificial, they instead looked to the practice of sacrifice in the different religions of the world, drew up a general definition of sacrifice, and then looked to see how it was present, or not present in the Catholic Sacrifice of the Mass. The definition, which unfortunately they both took for granted as the one to be applied, ran something like this: [emphasis mine] *Sacrifice is a gift presented to God in a ceremony in which the gift is destroyed or consumed. It symbolizes the internal offering of commitment and*

¹⁴ Robert J. Daly S.J. 'Sacrifice Unveiled or Sacrifice Revisited: Trinitarian and Liturgical Perspectives' *Theological Studies* (64) 2003, 24-42.

¹⁵ See Joseph Henninger, 'Sacrifice,' *Encyclopaedia of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1987) 544-57, at 544.

¹⁶ Daly, 'Sacrifice Unveiled', n. 11, 28.

*surrender to God. The purpose is primarily for the offerers to acknowledge the dominion of God, but also to bring about the reconciliation of themselves (and possibly others) with God, to render thanks for blessings received, and to petition for further blessings for oneself and others.*¹⁷

Daly sees this definition of sacrifice for what he terms ‘the religions of the rest of the world’ to be reasonable enough for them but for Christianity, he sees the definition as disastrous.

Is it possible to call the Eucharist a sacrifice? That is the question Daly answers throughout the rest of the article. Following Kilmartin’s work in his book *The Eucharist of the West*, Daly answers three questions through the theological framework and hermeneutic of the Trinity and the worship of the Church, making use of the concept *lex orandi lex credendi*. The liturgical celebration has an impact on the whole Christian life. This is not a new thought as this notion runs throughout the theology of Andrewes who was known for his view that a sacrificial way of life was the result of sacrificial worship.¹⁸ Daly in his exploration of the issue looks at the dialogue of the Eucharistic prayer of the assembly and answers these three questions: Who is doing what? Who is saying what? What is taking place?

Taking the first question, Daly points out that the speaker (in the Prayers of the Roman Catholic Church’s liturgy) never speaks in his own voice alone, save for some private prayers that have crept in. The speaker speaks in the first person plural as one of the assembly. Now, what does this have to say about the Medieval notion of “priestly power” that is so central in the Church during that time? Daly brings up the case where the renegade priest ran through the baker’s shop and consecrated all his bread, which left the baker in a moral dilemma. This issue was an issue of justice as well as sacrilege.

¹⁷ Daly, ‘Sacrifice Unveiled,’ 25.

¹⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 259-298. A Funeral Sermon.

Secondly, the prayer is addressed to God. Nevertheless, according to Daly, the Eucharistic transformation does not come about by the power of the priest but rather the epicletic or what he terms petitionary cast.¹⁹ The words in Daly's view are not of themselves performative. Then the question of where the epiclesis is to be placed is raised. Presently its position is different in the East and the West—the East *after* the words of institution and in the Roman Rite *before* the words of institution. In the present Roman rite from Pope Paul VI we find a more explicit epiclesis that has a long tradition in the patristic era and is still used in the Eastern rites today. So, according to Daly, what that reform makes clear is that it is *not the presider who consecrates but the Holy Spirit through the presider of the entire assembly*.

Thirdly, concerning the question of what is taking place, Daly answers this on three levels: 1) the here-and-now level of human ritual action; 2) the transcendent level of divine action; 3) the eschatological level that combines the two levels in the already/not yet of the eucharistically celebrated Christ event.²⁰ So, to look at the first level, we find Daly saying that the entire assembly is acting under the “presidency” of one chosen by the Church (ordained) to lead in the prayer. What this comment addresses is the Church's use of the phrase *in persona Christi* that Daly says has neglected the full axiom that goes on to include the words *capitis ecclesiae*. ‘*In the person of Christ the head of the Church.*’ So, this points to the important ecclesial dimension of the Eucharistic celebration. Daly therefore concludes that ‘the role of the priest is not that of a mediator between Christ and the Church, the role of the priest is embedded in the Christ/Church relationship that brings about the Eucharist.’²¹

¹⁹ Daly, ‘Sacrificed Unveiled’, 34.

²⁰ Daly, ‘Sacrificed Unveiled’, 36.

²¹ Daly, ‘Sacrifice Unveiled’, 36.

Turning now to the second question concerning the *transcendent level of divine action*, members of the Church receive sacramentally what by virtue of their baptisms they already are, the Body of Christ. Why does this happen? Daly observes:

This happens for us, that we may become more fully and more truly the Body of Christ. Eucharistic real presence exists not for its own sake—it is not happening just so that the body of Christ can be found on this or that altar—but for the purpose of the eschatological transformation of the participants. Take that away the Eucharist becomes (even blasphemy) meaningless.²²

This level brings us to the issue of the relationship of the sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Mass. There is a real presence of this sacrifice but the question is how. According to Daly there are two approaches to this: 1) is to see the sacrifice of Christ as made present to the faithful. 2) to see the faithful as made present to the sacrifice of Christ. The first approach is the traditional approach to which most present-day theologians ascribe. But for Daly, the second approach is much more reasonable since he does not find in the first approach an agreed upon solution to the philosophical question of how a historical event is made present. Neither does he see it as something required by scripture, nor does he find it in classic Scholastic teaching or Aquinas himself. However, I do not think a choice between the two necessarily needs to be made about the ‘reasonableness’ of either position. I find the first position supported by the Passover-event and a making present of that historical reality while the second position is represented liturgically as we come to the altar to receive the Body and Blood. Therefore, I would not think the Church needs to decide between the two but rather both could be said to take place in the liturgical celebration. The transformation takes effect in the participating faithful because of what it is that we partake *of* and *in*. Yet the one very positive aspect about the second position is the reiteration that *we* are the ones changed, not God the Father or the person of Christ by the Church’s sacrificial offering. This ought to do away with any notion of the post-

²² Daly, ‘Sacrifice Unveiled’, 37.

Tridentine emphasis of looking for some form of ‘destruction’ of the victim due to the very narrow way of defining sacrifice. Therefore, I appreciate Daly’s definition of the sacrifice as *the person-constituting event par excellence—interpersonal event*.²³

Thirdly, there is the level attending to *the eschatological level of this eucharistically celebrated Christ event*. Now, Daly raises a very important question here: is there a transformation of the elements if there is not a transformation of the participants? In fact the transformation of the gifts are the absolute condition for the transformation of the person. In postmodern terms, where there is no real change there is no reality. Daly asks the question this way, ‘If Christian sacrifice means the conjoined self-offerings of the Father, the Son, and human beings, can the sacrifice of Christ be present if there is no self-offering ‘response’ from the human side?’ Here is where his third level comes into the equation. Particularly pertinent is the reality that the transformation of the human being can never be complete in this life and therefore the issue of the already/not yet and the eschatological aspect of the celebration comes into view. This process of the human involvement is only completed on the Last Day.²⁴ The problem here with Daly’s hypothetical questions raises a doubt about the objectivity of Christ’s presence in his theology. His point is on the interrelationships in the Eucharistic sacrifice of the Father, the Son and human beings. However whether or not there is a transformation of a human being at a Mass or not does not determine the objectivity of Christ present in the elements but answers the question about the faith of those present at the offering.

In his book *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, Michael McGuckian²⁵ helps to discover an acceptable notion of sacrifice that does not have as its primary focus the

²³ Daly, ‘Sacrifice Unveiled’, 39.

²⁴ Daly, ‘Sacrifice Unveiled’, 40.

²⁵ Michael McGuckian, S.J., *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass: A Search for an Acceptable Notion of Sacrifice*, (Gracewing: 2005), 29-33.

destruction of a victim. In the book, he presents a three-part model of sacrifice discerned from the sacrifices of Israel and fits that model into the structure of the Eucharist. What is very helpful is how my approach answers some of the concerns that Andrewes brought to the attention of Bellarmine in their exchange, as well as Andrewes' exchange of letters with du Perron noted in the previous chapter. The model put forth by McGuckian takes the Offertory and Communion as essential elements of the Eucharistic prayer that make up the Eucharistic sacrifice. We have seen how importantly Andrewes viewed the need for communion of the faithful when he spoke of participation of the sacrifice finding its climax in receiving Jesus in the gifts. This is briefly looked at below in discussion of the meal theory of sacrifice. It is important to note that there is a debate on whether or not the Offertory is an essential part of the Eucharist. It is in fact treated as a ritual oblation by the faithful in the present liturgy of the Latin Church. The sacramental sacrifice of the Mass includes a communion sacrifice of bread and wine and it is the New Passover where the new Lamb, Jesus, is eaten.²⁶ McGuckian's position is in fact justified by the words of Pope Paul VI who decided the issue concerning the Offertory and the people's participation in the Eucharistic sacrifice by way of the Offertory in this way.

It is a long-established tradition in the Church that the faithful, desiring in a religious and ecclesial spirit to participate more intimately in the Eucharistic Sacrifice, add to it a form of sacrifice of their own by which they contribute in a particular way to the needs of the Church and especially to the sustenance of its ministers (1 Tim. 5:18, 1 Cor. 9:7-14). This practice by which the faithful unite themselves more closely with Christ offering himself as a victim, thus deriving more abundant fruit from the sacrifice, has not merely been approved but has been positively encouraged by the Church. It is a sign of the union of the baptised person with Christ and of the faithful with the priest who exercises his ministry for their good.²⁷

²⁶ Cf. 4.8 and 4.9 of this thesis. This notion brought out by McGuckian is comparable to Andrewes' understanding. See also David N Power, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, 58-64. Power noted that there was a rephrasing of the question at Trent (1551) which put a greater emphasis on the sacramental character of the Eucharist, i.e. the sacramental relationship of the Cross and the Eucharist.

²⁷ Pope Paul VI, *Firma in Traditione*, 13 June 1974. See a fuller discussion of the liturgical reforms concerning the debate in McGuckian, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, (2005), 70-75.

The question of whether the Offertory destroys the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist is a question that has been debated within the Catholic Church from numerous angles. Joseph Ratzinger attempted to unravel any confusion in his work *God is Near Us*.²⁸ Ratzinger concluded that the sacrifice was not located in the Offertory but in the Eucharistic Prayer, the Canon. Yet, the entire Christ-event is looked upon from the Offertory as the Advent progressing towards the Easter event and Ratzinger concludes that the Offertory prayers are a new treasure that has entered the Liturgy.²⁹ He says, ‘We start, as it were, with Nazareth, in the act of preparation, and from there we move—in the middle of the Canon—toward Golgotha, and finally on into the Resurrection event of Communion.’³⁰ This brings us to think about the role the meal has to play in sacrifice that was a major concern for Andrewes.

As noted in the previous chapter, Paul writes to the Corinthian Church making the comparison with Christian sacrifice and the meal eaten at the altar (1 Cor. 10:18). Space does not allow me to go into detail regarding the biblical evidences for the meal theory. This theory describes God’s ‘eating’ his portion of the sacrifice placed on the altar by fire as the holocaust, proper regard being thus given to God’s taking part in the offering (Cf. Judges 6:17-24 when Gideon sees fire springing forth from the rocks and ‘consuming’ the meat and unleavened cakes.). McGuickian succeeds in advancing this debate by looking at the inter-relationship of the sacrifice in the three sacrifices of Israel, the sin offering, the holocaust, and the communion sacrifice.³¹ Relevant here is how we saw Andrewes speak of the sacrifice not being a completed sacrifice if the people who come for the offering do not consume it.³² What is apparent in the meal theory is the serious consideration of the sacrifices of Israel and

²⁸ Joseph Ratzinger, *God is Near Us*, (Ignatius: 2003).

²⁹ Joseph Ratzinger, *God is Near Us*, (2003), 69.

³⁰ Joseph Ratzinger, *God is Near Us*, (2003), 69.

³¹ Michael McGuickian, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, (2005), 85-89.

³² Cf. Chapter 4: 4.5.1.

the concept of sacrifice associated with the notion of a sacred meal shared with God.

McGuickian concludes his search for a valid understanding of sacrifice by reminding us of this theological discussion and the ongoing debate.

In theology, however, what will be important is whether the overall concept makes sense of the data of revelation and Christian experience. When we apply this notion of sacrifice to the Last Supper, the Cross, and the Eucharist, its ability to explain the affirmations of faith and to resolve problems that have hitherto resisted previous attempts will be determinative. In the meantime a choice has to be made, and the validity of otherwise of the choice will only become clear in the end. No other understanding of sacrifice has yet satisfied the *sensus fidei*, and we will only finally know what sacrifice is when the mind of the Church finds the one that fits.³³

We will consider more on the points of convergence surrounding the notion of *anamnesis* but with its relationship to the meal theory discussed above it is important to note an inter-faith dialogue that notes the celebratory character of meal theory.

Richard Taylor responds to Rabbi David E. Stern concerning the topic of remembering and redemption, saying,

In divine remembering it is not that distant or forgotten facts are simply being called to mind, but rather that a contemporary application of the significance of those facts is being made. This is an important feature of what it means in the biblical sense to remember.³⁴

This is where we see the redemptive moment of the Cross being realised in our world and being made applicable in such a way that the Cross-event becomes a part of us and we become a part of it. Rabbi Stern provides a very helpful backdrop to the way scripture speaks about remembrance. The Passover-Seder is the best ‘example of memory as redemptive re-experience’ as Stern notes in his paper.³⁵ Remembrance, in the Greek scriptures, finds its implicit meaning in Hebrew vocabulary of *zekher* and *zikkaron*.³⁶ The issue that Taylor raises is the thesis put forth by Gese³⁷ that the

³³ Michael McGuickian, *The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, (2005) 89.

³⁴ David Stern, ‘Remembering and Redemption’, *Rediscovering the Eucharist: Ecumenical Conversations*, Ed. by, Roch A. Kereszty, (Paulist Press 2003), 18.

³⁵ David Stern, ‘Remembering and Redemption’, *Rediscovering the Eucharist*, (2003) 3-6.

³⁶ Richard Taylor, ‘A Response to David E. Stern’, *Rediscovering the Eucharist*, 19.

³⁷ Sited in Richard Taylor’s ‘A Response to David Stern’, *Rediscovering the Eucharist*, 22-24.

Eucharist is connected with the *Todah*³⁸ offering in the Old Testament and so praise and thanksgiving from deliverance finds its fullest meaning in the Eucharistic word *anamnesis*. It was more of a celebratory meal than one of atonement so the issue of the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist and that of *Todah* may have resemblances and even inclusion of the thanksgiving offering for deliverance from peril in the offering of Christ in the Eucharist.

In conclusion, Daly and McGuickian express the serious pastoral problem of sacrifice when it is only described with negative connotations of suffering. Yet, they are both correct that the notion of victimhood does not get at the heart of what sacrifice is all about as understood within the Trinitarian framework of God's self-giving love that Christians should experience and do experience with one another. Sacrifice often does involve a giving up of something or someone very dear but the negative aspect is not the heart of sacrifice. The heart of sacrifice is the self-giving love that is often veiled by the negative connotations expressed by sacrifice. Daly's aim is for us to recognise the problem that using the word sacrifice to talk about the Sacrifice of the Mass causes many (which is mainly due to a narrow definition and the misunderstood concept of what sacrifice is all about), based as it is on a wrong view of sacrifice. I agree that the Church can only properly speak of the Eucharistic celebration as the sacrifice of Christians when understood within the framework of the self-giving love of God seen within the Godhead itself. The Eucharistic sacrifice is not what we do to something or someone, but rather is the process of our being transformed by what has been done on account of the self-giving love of God made present to us and our being made present to the sacrifice of the Cross. It is this view that I have argued is found within Andrewes—a common concern and identifiable

³⁸ The *Todah Offering* is Hebrew for "thanksgiving," although it also connotes a confession of praise in addition to gratitude. The Greek word *eucharistia* would describe the meaning of *Todah*.

approach to the impasse of how we communicate the deep theological truth of the sacrifice of the Mass and its unity with that of the one sacrifice of Christ on Calvary.

5.3.2 *Andrewes and Ecumenical Dialogue: the Presence of a Gift*

Our discussion now returns to consider how in Andrewes' foundations of the Eucharist one could not possibly interpret that anything was added to the Christ-event in the Mass nor was the sacrifice explained away. It is this combination that allows one to see how much of a catalyst for ecumenical dialogue on Eucharistic sacrifice Andrewes is able to be. What we have seen in his expounding the notion of the Eucharistic sacrifice as a memorial offering (*anamnesis*) in the previous chapter is not anything less than what Trent wanted to guard nor less than what the Catholic Church says in its post-Vatican II documents on the offering of Christ in the Eucharist or the way this theme is being interpreted in a number of contemporary Catholic theologians.³⁹ We have also seen that Andrewes denied that the offering of Christ in the Eucharist was merely a subjective act of remembering but was rather the salvific act of Jesus being made objectively present on the Altar and presented to the Father for the purpose of forgiving sins. Being very much in line with the thought of Walter Kasper we found Andrewes to speak in a similar way concerning his description of the memorial offering of Christ in the Eucharist. Kasper observes:

The salvific deed, which belongs to the past, is rendered present by means of the liturgy so that it may be placed before God: appeal is made to what God has done in the past so that he too may remember it and bring his own deed to its eschatological fulfilment. The remembrance which looks back to the past, in order that the past event may be actualized in the present, is thus linked to an exchatological look ahead to the future fulfilment: all three temporal dimensions are brought together in a synthesis by the biblical "memorial."⁴⁰

³⁹ This will be discussed in more detail below.

⁴⁰ Walter Kasper, *Sacrament of Unity: The Eucharist and the Church*, (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 2004), 92.

We have discovered in Chapter Four that Andrewes understood the sacrament to be the effectual applying of the temporal dimensions of the offering from the past, into the present and towards the eschatological fulfilment that is made effectual in the Eucharistic offering. What Andrewes has been able to do to help us get beyond the sixteenth century controversy was to revisit the notion of sacrifice in the Fathers and to present a unified opinion that was lost in the course of the controversies of the Middle Ages. Kasper rightly admits this problem of detachment of the sacrament and the sacrifice of our salvation in the one Eucharistic offering of the Christ-event made present. Kasper concluded:

In order to ward off the danger of a pure “symbolic understanding” and to hang onto the doctrine of the reality of Jesus’ presence in the Eucharist, the real presence of his flesh and blood was separated from the anamnestic-symbolic making-present of the sacrifice of the cross; in this way, it remained possible to explain the presence of the person who brought salvation and of the fruit of his salvation, but it was no longer possible to explain the presence of the event of salvation itself. The sacrament and the sacrifice of the Eucharist had to be detached from one another: since it was no longer possible to understand the Eucharist as a sacramental real symbol of the passion of Christ, the sacrificial character of the Eucharist and its relationship to the sacrifice of the cross presented an utterly insoluble problem.⁴¹

It is my opinion that the Council of Trent did succeed in its explanation of the sacrifice of the Mass by its rebuttal of Protestants concerning the accusation that the Catholic Church made the sacrifice of the Eucharist into a sacrifice that was independent to that of the Christ-event on Calvary. But Kasper is correct that ‘the many theories about the sacrificial character of the Mass in the post-Tridentine period show how little this dogmatic clarification had actually succeeded in furnishing an adequate theological clarification of the *repraesentatio passionis*.’⁴²

What we have accomplished in the twentieth century through the biblical/theological⁴³ approach to the questions surrounding Eucharistic sacrifice is

⁴¹ Walter Kasper, *Sacrament of Unity*, (2004) 93, 94.

⁴² Walter Kasper, *Sacrament of Unity*, (2004) 94.

⁴³ See Matthew Levering, *Sacrifice and Community: Jewish Offering and Christian Eucharist*, (Blackwell, 2005).

that the door has been opened for further ecumenical explorations and understanding. The Eucharistic sacrifice for Andrewes is the setting forth of the death of Christ who was pierced through and through for our sins, in body and soul. With love he offered himself once and for all but Christ did not leave his community without the means of embodying the grace effected by his death. As Kasper explains, ‘Just as the Jewish prayers at meals were anamneses of God’s salvific deeds, so the Eucharist is a memorial in words and actions of the death and resurrection of Jesus which makes these events present, together with the prayer for his coming: *Maranatha!* (1 Cor. 16:22).⁴⁴

5.3.3 *Andrewes and ARCIC*

We now come to the important task of examining Andrewes’ theological statements on Eucharistic sacrifice in relation to those of ARCIC (Anglican Roman Catholic International Commission). The agreed statement on Eucharistic doctrine of 1971, meeting at Windsor, on 7 September, was not a ratified statement when published.⁴⁵ These statements were offered with the aim of preparing the way for the restoration of intercommunion between the Anglican Church and the Catholic Church. The final document was agreed upon in 1982, which was later sent to the Congregation for the Doctrine of Faith (CDF) who followed the statement with a response. The final statement on the Eucharist is very brief and touches on a couple of points raised in our prior examinations of Andrewes. The statement is clear that the sacrifice of Christ’s redeeming death took place once for all in history. This sacrifice was the one perfect sacrifice for the whole world. The statement read that there can be

⁴⁴ Walter Kasper, *Sacrament of Unity*, (2004), 95.

⁴⁵ *An Agreed Statement on Eucharistic Doctrine*, Windsor 1971, first published 1972. Published by SPCK 1975.

no repetition of or addition to what was accomplished once and for all by Christ. Therefore, in any attempt to describe the Eucharist as the sacrifice offered by the Church she must never obscure those facts. The portion of the statement that is pertinent for our concerns reads:

The notion of *memorial* as understood in the Passover celebration at the time of Christ—i.e. the making effective in the present of an event in the past—has opened the way to a clearer understanding of the relationship between Christ's sacrifice and the eucharist. The Eucharistic memorial is no mere calling to mind of a past event or of its significance, but the church's effectual proclamation of God's mighty acts. Christ instituted the eucharist as a memorial (*anamnesis*) of the totality of God's reconciling action in him. In the Eucharistic prayer the church continues to make a perpetual memorial of Christ's death, and his members, united with God and one another, give thanks for all his mercies, entreat the benefits of his passion on behalf of the whole church, participate in these benefits and enter into the movement of his self-offering.

What we find in the above statement is that it roots its conception of the Eucharistic offering within the Jewish notion of memorial in order to address the notion of sacrifice. As previously noted, Andrewes resorted to the same theological category when addressing the issue of *anamnesis*. What this notion thus does is to allow discussion to continue without the fear of any notion of a new sacrifice that somehow improves on the one sacrifice of Christ, with the prospect of keeping the theological categories of sacrifice and sacrament firmly together. This allows ecumenical dialogue to speak about the sacramental sacrifice of the Eucharist that Andrewes had already unpacked in his own theological discourse on the topic. The result of the use of this concept is the security that there is no possibility of any offering made over and above the Christ-event on Calvary. Such a clear understanding of the relationship between Christ's sacrifice and the Eucharist constitutes undeniable progress in ecumenical dialogue. What we have observed in our exposition of Andrewes on sacrifice is how he clearly pre-empted this dialogue by his own theological insights that manipulated the concept of *anamnesis* as a key theological idea with pastoral implications to communicate a real living union with Christ.

On 27 March 1982, the CDF responded to the ARCIC document noting both positive accomplishments and doctrinal difficulties with the formulations. Notably absent in the ARCIC statement regarding the Eucharist was any reference to Anglican identity where cases of incompatibility occur. The particular concerns of the CDF are as follows:

It would have been helpful, in order to permit Catholics to see their faith fully expressed on this point, to make clear that this real presence of the sacrifice of Christ, accomplished by the sacramental words, that is to say by the ministry of the priest saying “in persona Christi” the words of the Lord, includes a participation of the Church, the Body of Christ, in the sacrificial act of her Lord, so that she offers sacramentally in him and with him his sacrifice. Moreover, the propitiatory value that Catholic dogma attributes to the Eucharist, which is not mentioned by ARCIC, is precisely that of this sacramental offering.⁴⁶

In regards to these two concerns of the CDF (Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith), I find them to be particular areas in which I found Andrewes helpful in advancing the discussion. There is no doubt hesitancy in the ARCIC statements on the specific role of the priest in prayer in the offering and in the propitiatory nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Concerning the role of the priest in prayer, as someone distinct from the laity, Andrewes describes priests as the Lord’s remembrancers.

For this cause the priests are called the Lord’s remembrancers, because they put God in mind of His people, desiring Him continually to help and bless them with things needful; for God hath a greater respect to the prayers of those that have a spiritual charge, than to those that are of the common sort.⁴⁷

Andrewes may have quibbled over using his high view of priestly ministry in this way but one could argue that, if Andrewes were willing to speak about the liturgical role of the priest to place God’s people within his mind, is it not true that this is also what happens in the offering of Christ in the Mass? The one sacrifice of Christ is offered and placed in the mind of God (*anamnesis*) and the result is the propitiatory value

⁴⁶ Sacra Congregatio Pro Doctrina Fidei, ‘Animadversiones,’ I. 1, *Eucharist as Sacrifice*, 27 March, 1982.

⁴⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, V, 356. Cf. section 4.9.2 of Chapter Four. I am not arguing that Andrewes believed in a full sacrificial notion of the sacred priesthood within the Tridentine formulations but he did go beyond ARCIC and its statement on the Ordained Ministry. Cf. David N. Powers, *The Sacrifice We Offer*, (1987), 21-26.

applied to the faithful. The propitiatory value of the sacrifice of the Eucharist is clearly absent from the statements and again this is where we have found Andrewes to be a catalyst for ecumenical dialogue. In Chapter Four, 4.6, we saw how Andrewes held to the propitiatory value of the Eucharistic offering that makes him a more relevant conversation partner. Andrewes stated this propitiatory value quite clearly. ‘Christ’s blood not only in the basin for Baptism, but in the cup for the other Sacrament. A sacrifice—so, to be slain; a propitiatory sacrifice—so, to be eaten.’⁴⁸ What Andrewes does is to help us in the ecumenical understanding of the value of the propitiatory sacrifice of the Eucharist as an application of the Christ-event for sins actually committed. He also saw the usefulness of the sacrificial offering for the living and the dead that we observed in Chapter Four (4.9.4). These understandings, if considered, enable the Church to progress further than the discussions in the sixteenth century allowed. What remains a serious issue for dialogue is the role of the priest in the offering of the Mass for the living and the dead. Establishing these discussions within the ecclesial context will help us to face the problem and look for further prospects.

5.3.4 *Problems and Prospects*

These statements do not solve all the controversies regarding the Eucharist. Andrewes would be in sympathy with some concerns found in notes eight and nine of the *Elucidation to Eucharistic Doctrine* (1979) document concerning the reservation and adoration of the sacrament.⁴⁹ Joseph Ratzinger raised numerous problems within

⁴⁸ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 296.

⁴⁹ *Elucidation to Eucharistic Doctrine*, 1979, 8 and 9. See Chapter Three, 3.4.

the Anglican-Catholic dialogue that are worthy of reflection.⁵⁰ The underlying issue of authority is the real issue when coming to a decision about how the churches go about making ‘authoritative’ decisions about doctrinal issues. The whole nature of the structure of the Anglican Communion comes into question, and what sort of authority it has to make or not make doctrinal statements is causing an identity crisis presently over the issue of same-sex relationships. The Anglican Communion is presently struggling to make themselves accountable to its own members or remain committed to how it functions as an ecclesial body and this causes many problems when trying to come to decisions on intercommunion and doctrinal statements. This issue surrounding authority is not mentioned in the final documents and yet it is pertinent to any decision on doctrinal statements. The problem arises, according to Ratzinger, when the essence of authority is not concrete and actual authorities are not named whereby clarifications can be made rather than merely theoretical statements about authority.⁵¹ In order for real ecumenical dialogue to progress here, Ratzinger brings up the very important notion of a hermeneutic of unity. He writes,

Unity is a fundamental hermeneutic principle of all theology, and hence we must learn to read the documents that have been handed down to us according to the hermeneutics of unity, which gives us a fresh view of many things and opens doors where only blots were visible before. Such hermeneutic of unity will entail reading the statements of both parties in the context of the whole tradition and with a deeper understanding of the Bible. This will include investigating how far decisions since the separation have been stamped with a certain particularization of both language and thought—something that might well transcend without doing violence to the content of the statements. For hermeneutics is not a skilful device for escaping from burdensome authorities by a change of verbal function (though this abuse has often occurred), but rather apprehending the word with an understanding that at the same time discovers new possibilities.⁵²

This hermeneutic of unity would include the notion of the authority of tradition.

Solving the problem that surrounds the issue of authority and tradition would be to

⁵⁰ Joseph Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism, & Politics: New Endeavors in Ecclesiology*, Translated by Michael J. Miller et al, (Ignatius: 1987) 69-99.

⁵¹ Joseph Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism, & Politics*: (1987), 71.

⁵² Joseph Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism, & Politics*: (1987), 84.

solve the fundamental problem of unity. With regards to the Eucharistic doctrine and the authority of tradition, Ratzinger observes that authority in this case carries no less weight than the councils and their creeds, through a constant living enactment of the Eucharist instead of by conciliar decree.⁵³ The medieval Church lost some of this unity of enactment that Ratzinger speaks about in his critique. Yet, I would agree with him that ‘if the basic form of the liturgy in the early Church were accepted as a lasting heritage, ranking with conciliar creeds, this would provide a hermeneutics of unity that would render many points of contention superfluous.’⁵⁴ It is true that the documents presented by ARCIC are opinions of theologians and it is only when these opinions are transferred to ‘we believe’ that unity can result. Ratzinger is right in his assessment here that doctrinal statements have to become the essence of faith actualised in the Church’s community if unity is to happen.

These reservations that are addressed by Ratzinger are reservations from one side of the argument. The Church of England maintains some of its own reservations and difficulties to ecumenical convergence in Eucharistic doctrine as well.⁵⁵ The paper, ‘The Eucharist: The Sacrament of Unity’, lists numerous issues that cause reservations in the way the Catholic Church approaches ecumenical dialogue. These items include: the naming of bodies outside of communion with the Catholic Church as ‘ecclesial communities’, the lack of validity of Anglican orders, Apostolicity and Succession, the integral relationship between baptism and the Eucharist where the Catholic Church accepts Anglican baptism but not Eucharist, and that Eucharistic communion must be reserved for full ecclesial communion. The Church of England

⁵³ Joseph Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism, & Politics*: (1987), 86.

⁵⁴ Joseph Ratzinger, *Church, Ecumenism, & Politics*: (1987), 86.

⁵⁵ *The Eucharist: Sacrament of Unity*: An Occasional Paper of the House of Bishops of the Church of England, (Church House Publishing, 2001). For an evangelical assessment and critique, see John Stott, *Evangelical Anglicans and the ARCIC Final Report: An Assessment and Critique*, (Bramcote: Grove Books, 1982).

desires a full interchangeability of ministers, but that proved impossible for the Catholic Church with the ordination of women to the priesthood and the future prospects of the ordination of women to the episcopate. There is clearly a lot of discussion for the future in regards to the ecclesial dimensions of ecumenism and space here will not allow this important discussion to take place. The heart of the problem lies within the statement that ‘Anglicans would be unwilling to press lay people for an explicit form of doctrinal assent with regard to Eucharistic theology.’⁵⁶ This obviously raises questions of Eucharistic communion and Ecclesial communion in any unified identity. The Church of England bishops argue that the Anglican Church has a history of not looking too deeply into the ‘how’ Christ becomes present in the Eucharist but this statement cannot itself further the discussion if there is any denial by the Anglican Church of an objective presence of Christ in the elements. Andrewes held to the view of an objective presence and in the very least, some form of assent would need to be maintained if intercommunion was ever to be a possibility. Benedict XVI speaks to the important question raised by the bishops of the Church of England concerning using intercommunion as a way to grow into unity. He writes:

...the respect we owe to the sacrament of Christ’s Body and Blood prevents us from making it a mere “means” to be used indiscriminately in order to attain that unity. The Eucharist in fact not only manifests our personal communion with Jesus Christ, but also implies full *communio* with the Church. This is the reason why, sadly albeit not without hope, we ask Christians who are not Catholic to understand and respect our conviction, which is grounded in the Bible and Tradition. We hold that Eucharistic communion and ecclesial communion are so linked as to make it generally impossible for non-Catholic Christians to receive the former without enjoying the latter.⁵⁷

This would even become more of a problem if there were concelebrations taking place as it would communicate something that was not real about Eucharistic and Ecclesial communion as the Church is the living sacrament for the world.

⁵⁶ *The Eucharist: Sacrament of Unity*, (2001). 47. The argument here is an affirmation of identity that in effect lessens the notion of the communion that the Bishops are claiming to desire. It begs the question of what assent to anything actually is.

⁵⁷ Benedict XVI, *Sacramentum Caritatis*, Post Synodal Exhortation on the Eucharist, (Catholic Truth Society: 2007), 56. Cf. John Paul II, Encyclical Letter, *Ut Unum Sint* (25 May 1995), 8.

As we observed in Chapter Four, Andrewes was able to see that the Church spoke of the Eucharist as the saving effect for the faithful. Andrewes was able to speak of the Eucharist as sacrifice because he understood it to be part of the one sacrifice of Christ with Christ's body, the Church, in union with him. The problem of separating the acts of Christ from the acts of the Church as 'self-offering' disassociates the movement of Christ as Head and the Church as Body. It is here that the issue of the Church as Sacrament⁵⁸ is raised and worthy of further exploration if there is going to be a proper understanding of ministry. Without a view of objective presence, there can be little agreement on sacrifice. However, if we move Andrewes into the ecumenical dialogue as a catalyst for understanding how the Eucharist is the sacrifice of the Christian Church, something more than praise and thanksgiving, perhaps a more robust attempt to find points of convergence about sacrifice may resume. It is therefore important that we now conclude by itemising the points of convergence between Andrewes and the Catholic Church concerning the Eucharist and Calvary.

5.4 *Andrewes and the Points of Convergence*

The concept of sacrifice was central to the theology of the Eucharist until the sixteenth century when Luther denied the Church's ability to offer a sacrifice for the forgiveness of sins and for that offering to have any salvific affect on the living and the dead. Many Reformers followed his lead. They deemed that any forgiveness of sins was reserved for the self-offering of Christ on Calvary, to be accepted based on faith alone. We have already looked at Andrewes in relation to Calvin and others in the previous chapters and his differences with some of the Protestant theologians of

⁵⁸Benedict XVI, *Sacramentum Caritatis*, (2007) no. 16 and Cf., the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen Gentium*, 48.

the sixteenth century on the Continent and within the realm of his own land.

Andrewes was unique in his not negating the tradition of the Eucharist as sacrifice when for so long throughout the Church's teaching the Church stressed its sacrificial nature. Kenneth Stevenson is right to say,

Sacrifice, so far from being an outdated understanding of the Eucharist, lies at the very heart of what we are doing at the Lord's Table. More than that, the variations of faith and practice that we see all around us in contemporary Christianity are signs of hope and life. They also indicate that we *need* the view of communion-sacrifice for good liturgies, healthy pieties – and a better world.⁵⁹

The Early Christian tradition is very clear on the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist and for those who deny its validity the burden of proof remains on them. What I discovered about the uniqueness of Andrewes was that many concerns surrounding the nature of the sacrifice of the Eucharist that were denied by the Reformers were upheld and conveyed in Andrewes' writing and teaching. I now intend to show forth these convergences on the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist found within Andrewes' theology and that of the present-day official teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. My approach will limit itself specifically to authoritative teaching on the sacrifice of the Eucharist as it is found in John Paul II's encyclical *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* and Benedict XVI's encyclical *Sacramentum Caritatis*.⁶⁰ The reason for this limitation to official Catholic Church teachings is to guard against any accusations that might surround my earlier use of Eucharistic theologians and their personal views of sacrifice.

⁵⁹ Kenneth Stevenson, *Accept This Offering: The Eucharist as Sacrifice Today*, (The Liturgical Press: 1989), viii.

⁶⁰ John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia: The Eucharist and Its Relationship to the Church*, (17 April 2003).

5.4.1 *Eucharistic Sacrifice and Calvary: the Propitiatory Gift*

In the introduction to *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, John Paul II makes the statement that the intended purpose of the letter is to ‘effectively help to banish the dark clouds of unacceptable doctrine and practice, so that the Eucharist will continue to shine forth in all its radiant mystery.’⁶¹ In order to speak to the Catholic Church through the voice of an Anglican bishop like Andrewes, it is essential that the comparison between Andrewes and the official teaching of the Catholic Church be considered together so that the ‘dark cloud’ of the ecumenical convergence on sacrifice might not become eclipsed by outside voices. It is for reason that I argue Andrewes to be such a positive voice.

What we offer to God in the Eucharist is the one sacrifice of Christ on Calvary. The question of what we memorialise in the Eucharistic celebration is at the heart of the Christian faith. In the ministry ordained by Christ in the Church, Jesus offers his sacrifice before the throne of the Father in heaven. We are brought back, in the words of John Paul II, to ‘the dramatic setting in which the Eucharist was born.’⁶² Andrewes sees the memorial offering as the recapitulation of the dramatic event of Calvary and said, ‘there is but one only sacrifice, *vere nominis*, properly so called, that is Christ’s death. And that sacrifice but once actually performed at His death, but ever before represented in figure, from the beginning; and ever since repeated in memory, to the world’s end.’⁶³ Here we see Andrewes and John Paul II speaking about the love of God, which goes to the end of the world as the Eucharist is united to the one offering of Christ. Andrewes connected the Christ-event with the Eucharist by the use of realist language stating, ‘That done to the symbols that was done to Him, to His body and His blood in the Passover; break the one, pour out the other, to represent

⁶¹ John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, (2003) 10.

⁶² John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, (2003) 11.

⁶³ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 301.

how his body was broken and how his precious blood was shed. And in *Corpus fractum*, and *Sanguis fusus* there is *immolatus*.⁶⁴ Here we see full agreement that when the Church celebrates the Eucharist, the memorial of her Lord's death and resurrection becomes really present and carried out for the human race. Therefore, it would be no exaggeration to say that we find echoes of Andrewes' ideas in the statement made by John Paul II that 'The Mass is at the same time, and inseparably, the sacrificial memorial in which the sacrifice of the Cross is perpetuated and the sacred banquet of communion with the Lord's body and blood.'⁶⁵

From this Eucharistic sacrifice, the Church draws her life from the redemption put forth in the offering of Christ. This sacrifice is presented ever *anew* for the applying of the sacrifice of Christ. John Paul II said, 'The Eucharist thus applies to men and women today the reconciliation won once for all by Christ for mankind in every age. The sacrifice of Christ and the sacrifice of the Eucharist are *one single sacrifice*.'⁶⁶ In a similar vein Andrewes writes, 'From the Sacrament is the applying the Sacrifice... And we are in this action not only carried up to Christ, (*Sursum Corda*) but we are also carried back to Christ as he was at the very instant, and in the very act of His offering... By the incomprehensible power of His eternal Spirit, not He alone, but He, as at the very act of His offering, is made present to us, and we incorporate into His death, and are invested in the benefits of it.'⁶⁷ From these words, it can be seen that both the teaching of the Catholic Church and that of Andrewes would readily confirm that the sacrifice of Christ in the Eucharist does not add to nor take away from the one sacrifice nor multiply it.⁶⁸ This makes the presence of Christ's sacrifice definitive in time for both Andrewes and John Paul II. It is for this reason

⁶⁴ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 300.

⁶⁵ John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, (2003) 12.

⁶⁶ John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, (2003) 12.

⁶⁷ Andrewes, *Works*, II 302.

⁶⁸ John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, (2003) 12.

that both Andrewes and John Paul II will categorically conclude that we cannot understand the Eucharistic mystery to be something separate and independent of the Cross or merely refer to Calvary indirectly.

When John Paul II defines the Eucharist as a sacrifice in the ‘strict sense’ this is stated in such a way that it takes the sting out of calling the Eucharist a ‘proper’ sacrifice in a way that suggests ideas of holocaust. John Paul II moves the language from one of destruction and violence to the place of gift to the Father.⁶⁹ This sort of language changes the landscape around this discussion and it is a result of the ecumenical dialogue that has taken place. The correction of language and the teaching of the Second Vatican Council concerning all the faithful taking part in the Eucharistic sacrifice is a reform that Andrewes called for and would have welcomed. Andrewes commented on the offering that it was necessary for all to partake. He said, ‘It layeth a necessity upon every one, to be a guest at this feast.’⁷⁰ In a statement to which Andrewes would offer full agreement it was made very clear by John Paul II what the propitiatory value of the Mass was when he said, ‘What is repeated is its *memorial* celebration, its ‘commemorative representation’ (*memorialis demonstratio*), which makes Christ’s one, definitive redemptive sacrifice always present in time.’⁷¹ Andrewes made this response to Bellarmine that does not seem in any way to contradict what John Paul II wrote.

..., that the Eucharist is instituted by the Lord for his commemoration; even for [commemoration of] his sacrifice, or (if it may be permitted thus to speak) with a sacrifice of commemoration; however not only with regard to the Sacrament, or spiritual nourishment... [We say] the sacrifice, which is there, is Eucharistic: this rule of his sacrifice [they] might participate in it, as he offers it, but one ought to participate: by receiving and by eating (as the Saviour commanded).⁷²

⁶⁹ John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, (2003) 13.

⁷⁰ Andrewes, *Works*, II, 302, Cf. Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 250.

⁷¹ John Paul II, *Ecclesia de Eucharistia*, (2003) 12.

⁷² Andrewes, *Works*, VIII, 250.

As we previously noted in Chapter Four, Andrewes' problem was not with sacrifice but with the absence of that sacrifice being distributed amongst all the faithful. This practice has changed in the Catholic Church and is especially noted has since the Second Vatican Council and the words of John Paul II emphasise the communicative aspect of the sacrifice.

In the present practice of the Catholic Church regarding reception of both kinds and a daily Mass where the gift is offered to the faithful along with her theological statements on the ecclesial nature of Eucharistic sacrifice there are many areas of reform that Andrewes would welcome. Though he quibbled with transubstantiation, a term still very much held by the Catholic Church along with the language of substance, Andrewes would have welcomed the emphasis of talk of the Eucharist as the 'causal principle of the Church.'⁷³ The reform of authentic participation of the faithful was emphasised in the Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) that spoke about the full and fruitful participation of the entire People of God in the Eucharistic celebration.⁷⁴ The language of full participation, not as silent spectators or silent strangers is the critique we saw Andrewes level against Bellarmine that have now become the words of exhortation from the Catholic Church to the faithful in the Conciliar Constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. What one finds in the exploration of Eucharistic sacrifice in the theology of Lancelot Andrewes is not altogether distinct from the emphasis and redemptive application of the sacrifice of the Cross in its application as held by the Roman Catholic Church.

⁷³ Benedict XVI, *Sacramentum Caritatis*, (2007) 14.

⁷⁴ Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*) 14-20 and in the document presented by the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, Instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum* (25 March 2004) 36-42.

5.5 *Concluding Remarks*

The saving efficacy of the sacrifice of the Eucharist is the heartbeat of both Andrewes and the Catholic Church. This saving efficacy is mystically realised when the Lord's Body and Blood are received in Holy Communion. Andrewes was the unique prelate of his day who paved the way for what the Church in the twentieth century has been able to accomplish in points of convergence particularly in the recent rediscovery of *anamnesis as sacrifice*. The Catholic Church in its long history has linked together Calvary and the Eucharist and it is the theology of Andrewes, who tirelessly searched the Fathers and rediscovered the grace and self-gift of Christ in the Eucharistic oblation, that can now be considered as an ecumenical partner to further dialogue on the nature of the Eucharist as the Christian offering for the forgiveness of sins. He stressed the propitiatory nature of the Eucharist as the application of the one sacrifice of Christ united to the Eucharistic offering that made the flesh and blood of Jesus real food and real drink in preparation for the eschatological banquet of the Lord. For both Andrewes and the Catholic Church, God is self-giving in the Eucharistic offering to which we are united to live as the sacramental gift to the world of bread broken and wine outpoured. What happened in much of the history of Eucharistic theology in the seventeenth century concerning the nature of the effectual application of Christ's presence in this rite was often nothing more than hopelessly bogging us down in old disputations. If we take Andrewes at his best and return to the origins of the Eucharistic theology of the Early Church in conversational dialogue as Andrewes sought within his own studies and think through together and afresh the issues that have divided us, we may begin to tackle once more the problem of the divided Church. In the meantime, let us take the best from what we see in both Eucharistic theologies of the Roman Catholic Church and that of Lancelot Andrewes

in order to take us that much further down the road in developing a coherent Eucharistic theology of sacrifice that gets to the heart of its purpose—that is, the Sacrament of Unity.

FINAL CONCLUSION

What has proven to be a very controversial issue over the past five hundred years has the potentiality of becoming less divisive when we revisit it with new and fresh eyes of faith and understanding. The underlying issue of ecclesiology and authority remain divisive enough to keep Christians separated from one another even at the memorial of love where the sacrificial death of Christ is made present and effectual for the people of God. I hope that a more *kenotic* image of the ecclesial body will not long be obstructed by the divisiveness that permeates the Christian faith. It is the intended hope of this thesis to reignite that discussion of sacrifice once again, particularly through looking at the question of what it means for the Eucharist to be a *real* sacrifice where the reconciliation of humanity and God can come together in one sacrificial meal. Sacrifice must come into the understanding of a Church that is called to witness to the Body and Blood of Christ broken and poured out on behalf of the world. It is not primarily just the death of Christ that we see at Calvary but rather the self-emptying love of God poured out for all humanity whose love is vindicated once and for all in his resurrection and ascension into heaven. Theology of sacrifice must include the entire Christ-event of self-emptying love and vindication if there is going to be further progress towards unity in this area.

We have discovered Andrewes' more liberal and catholic view of the Church that was not papal nevertheless developed into a Catholic Eucharistic theology that provided a unique approach, going further than many before him or who followed in his path until the Catholic revivals in the Church of England of the nineteenth century. This revival landed its most prominent member, John Henry Newman, in the arms of the Catholic Church and as such powerfully reminds us of those earlier Catholic

antecedents. What Andrewes accomplished was a liberal drawing from both East and West within his ceremonial and sacramental realism that would wed the traditions of a broken Church in the unity seen in the first five centuries. Andrewes' high sacramentalism that characterised him as an 'effectual instrumentalist' makes possible further agreements on the reality of sacrificial instrumentality as a result of his seeing the application of the one sacrifice of Calvary graciously applied through the instrumental reality found within the elements. Though denying the theory of Transubstantiation, Andrewes held to an objective view of presence that allows him to be characterised as a Transelementationist. This view protected Andrewes from being accused of denying any objective presence within the elements or that they were merely signs pointing to something in the past rather than the reality of what they are as sacrament and symbol. In the exploration of sacrifice, Andrewes helps us to see that there is no need to look beyond the cross for an additional sacrifice but that does not mean that the Eucharist is not a real sacrifice. What Andrewes believed was transmuted on the altar and consumed by the faithful is nothing less than the unified offering of the sacrifice of Christ being made effectual for the forgiveness of sins committed. Falling short of ecclesial realism, Andrewes returned to a sacramental realism where the offering in the Eucharist is the one sacrifice of Christ in which the fruits of his redemptive sacrifice were effectually applied to the faithful and grace received. It was this perspective that allowed us to see so clearly the prospects of viewing Andrewes as a catalyst for ecumenism with the Roman Catholic Church.

It was acknowledged in the thesis that how sacrifice was communicated and judgements and actions rendered at the time of the Reformation did not allow a favourable dialogue to take place. Like all divisive acts in life, the passing of time allows for the healing of deep wounds. This is not to take away from the seriousness

of what divides Anglicans and Catholics on Eucharistic sacrifice but it shares the reality of the human aspect that often stands in the way of commonality. I find John Paul II's words in *Ut Unum Sint* a valuable reminder in this regard. He stated:

For this reason, the Council's Degree on Ecumenism also emphasizes the importance of "every effort to eliminate words, judgments, and actions which do not respond to the condition of separated brethren with truth and fairness and so make mutual relations between them more difficult." The Decree approaches the question from the standpoint of the Catholic Church and refers to the criteria which she must apply in relation to other Christians. . . It is necessary to pass from antagonism and conflict to a situation where each party recognizes the other as a *partner*. When undertaking dialogue, *each side must presuppose in the other a desire for reconciliation, for unity in truth*. For this to happen, any display of mutual opposition must disappear. Only thus will dialogue help to overcome division and lead us closer to unity.¹

What I believe we have discovered in Andrewes is a fresh ecumenical voice that is to be added to the on-going discussion and understanding of the Eucharistic offering of Christ by the Church. Eucharist and sacrifice must be held together if we are to understand the memorial that Jesus instituted by his self-offering of love and how his Body, the Church, is to live as the same self-offerer of love, equally as bread broken and wine outpoured on behalf of the world. In the words of Jeffrey Vanderwilt, I conclude this thesis as I look forward to the new pioneering work of others that will hopefully further the Christian communities along in such a labour of love. Love alone provides the necessary platform to preach the Cross-event in the divine kenosis and powerlessness there exhibited.

If the Eucharist is a sacrifice, it is an act of ecclesial powerlessness before God. At the altar, the entire Church, in a certain sense, "genuflects" before the saving and loving will of God. If the Cross was the location of the passion of Christ, then the Eucharist is the location of the passion of the Church. It is the place where the Church rests in self-abandoning faith on the saving deeds of Christ. The sacrificial character of the Eucharist is the worst possible basis for a triumphalist ecclesiology. If the Church is a communion in the sacrifice of Christ, it must also be a communion in his powerlessness. The Church must be the place where humankind is emptying itself in complete accord with kenotic design of God's love.²

¹ John Paul II, *Ut Unum Sint*, (1995), 29.

² Jeffrey Vanderwilt, *A Church Without Borders: The Eucharist and the Church in Ecumenical Perspective*, (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998), 89.

Andrewes can, and should be, an additional voice placed alongside Vanderwilt's that moves us beyond the impasse and makes for a worthy catalyst for ecumenism between Anglicans and Catholics. In further rounds of such dialogue Andrewes could be used very effectively and get beyond the current impasse on the language of Eucharistic sacrifice into a truly creative use of the term that has become an inspiration to all Christians and not just Catholics and Anglicans.

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