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"The Sermons of Lancelot Andrewes in their relation to the growth of Anglican theology, and to the impact of doctrinal ideas upon literature in the Jacobean period."

THESIS

submitted for the degree of
Bachelor of Divinity

- by -

ERNEST JOHN TINSLEY, M.A.,

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NOTE.

The edition of Andrewes' works used for this thesis is that in the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford 1841, and the foot-notes refer to this edition.

The foot-notes to the works of Hooker refer to the edition of Keble in three volumes. Oxford 1841.

I

The closing years of Elizabeth's reign brought to a close that distinctive period of development in the history of English religion and literature which began with the Renaissance and the Reformation; a period full of reminders that in England the Renaissance and the Reformation were simultaneous rather than successive movements, as on the Continent. This was to mean that the mediaeval scheme of thought was not immediately shaken; rather it was the point of departure for assimilation of the new ideas. The development in the two spheres of religion and literature may usefully be compared, since in both cases it was largely conditioned by the traditional 'world-view'.

Examining the situation of English drama at the end of Elizabeth's reign, Miss Ellis-Fermor writes:

"Even excluding Marlowe, the literature, and especially the drama, had reached a stage of its development in which some transition from wonder and discovery to assessment and criticism was inevitable; this would have happened had Elizabeth been immortal. As it was, the phase, within the drama itself, of testing and questioning the findings and methods of the earlier age coincided with a period of disillusionment and apprehension in the world from which that drama drew its themes and this, combined with the still living tradition of Marlowe's thought, set up a mood which resembles on one side that of English poetry in the second and third decades of the twentieth century, and on another, that of Seneca and his public in the first". 1.

That these words would apply equally well to the religious situation at the end of the sixteenth century is made clear by a passage from L. S. Thornton's "Richard Hooker":

"The Reformation had run its main course before Hooker began to write. There had been time enough for its good and bad elements to become clear to thoughtful minds and for that period of disillusionment to begin which characterises most great movements after their earliest successes. 2.

1. Una Ellis-Fermor: Jacobean Drama, p.10.

2. L. S. Thornton: Richard Hooker, p.13.

In the religious field too, then, there was transition from experiment and reform to assessment and criticism; there too the questioning of the findings and methods of an earlier age coincided with a period of disillusionment, governed by a fear of disruption.

The Church of England at the end of the reign of Henry VIII was in schism but not in heresy; the views of Cromwell and Cranmer were neither official nor popular. Under Protector Somerset the English Church moved towards Lutheranism, leaving as a legacy of this movement the Prayer Book of 1549. Under Northumberland the tendency was towards Calvinism, the testimony to this being the Prayer Book of 1552. The reforming movement thus officially initiated was checked at home by the accession of Mary, although important developments for the future of the Church of England were taking place among the English exiles on the Continent, notably at Frankfurt. Elizabeth did not therefore inherit a continuity of development in the progress of the English Reformation; her legacy was a state of acute tension between two rival groups, no third part having as yet sufficient articulation to give any hope of reconciliation. It was her achievement, for motives perhaps only fully known to herself, to foster the growth of such a third party; it is only in her reign that there appears a trend of thought which, in the light of subsequent history, can be called distinctively Anglican.

As the reign of Elizabeth proceeded two distinct and irreconcilable tendencies appear in Anglican thought, and upon the struggle between them was to depend the theology and structure of the Church of England. Both types of thought had certain things in common; both were striving for completeness of articulation and formulation; both were convinced that their position represented the whole truth.

"Through all the confusion and misunderstanding the ultimate question in the Puritan controversy of Hooker's day was not whether the Prayer Book should be altered here and there, nor whether larger allowance should be made for those who resented its requirements. It was a question which presupposes the conviction that the religious life of a nation must have a uniform expression; it was the question whether the religious life of England should be expressed in the continuance of the historic Church of England, or in a

system such as Calvin had established at Geneva". 1.

Toleration of the other view was not to be thought of; it would lead to disorder and dissolution in the State.

The first type of thought, represented by that body of men who must be designated 'Anglican' although no specifically Anglican position had yet been fully enunciated, wished to consolidate the gains of the Reformation. The Anglicans desired a period of assessment in which to formulate their conception of the Church, its authority and discipline. In an earlier age they would have ranged themselves alongside the moderates: Gardiner, Bonner, and Tunstall.

The second type of thought is characteristic of those who desired to complete the 'new' Reformation. They wished to discard all those things which reminded them of their old misguided allegiance, and to introduce those which declared their kinship with the advanced Continental Reformers. Their attitude marks the beginning of 'Puritan' thought, but as yet, apart from a very small minority, there was no suggestion of separatism. Both sides were concerned with the Church of England as established by the Royal Supremacy, and both sides wished their views to be adopted as the creed of that Church. In an earlier age these more advanced Reformers would have sided with Cromwell and Cranmer.

The main controversial issues between these two parties stand out clearly: the nature and source of authority in Church and State, the doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments, and the relation between Church and State.

A new self-consciousness is evident in their treatment of these questions. Previously the Reformers, whether of 'Anglican' or 'Puritan' sympathies, had been mainly concerned with the defence of their position against Rome, and this opposition to a common adversary gave them a feeling of being at unity among themselves.

1. F. Paget: Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, p.53.

"The cause in which they were engaged had not yet been so successful in its warfare against the power of Rome, as to afford them time for turning away their attention from the common enemy, and fixing it upon their own differences. Being a time of general danger, calling for their constant and united activity, it left no room for the exercise of curious and idle speculation; and the party zeal and bitter hatred, which gradually made their appearance, as the points in dispute were more narrowly examined, were still latent among the elements of the contest, and unknown and unsuspected by the parties that were engaged in it". 1.

After the alarm caused by the Papal Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth in 1570 had subsided, and still more after the defeat of the Armada in 1588 and the temporary removal of a direct threat from a Papal power, the Reformers became more conscious of themselves and their new position. If Rome did not cease to be the common enemy, she did not for a while at least appear so immediately dangerous, and the Reformers were inevitably led to consider what was this thing that they had done.

II

The Puritans were first in the field with a detailed defence of their position, and it was in controversy with their leaders that the specifically Anglican standpoint of the seventeenth century was evolved.

To the Puritans doctrine and discipline were closely linked together. They were not satisfied with the reformation of one or two points in doctrine and liturgy; they desired a new and complete ecclesiastical polity: doctrine and discipline forming a coherent and unified whole. Behind this system, sustaining and reinforcing it, was to be some universally acknowledged and ultimate Authority, a court of Appeal as definite and all-embracing as the Papal See.

The question of authority also exercised the minds of the Anglicans. They admitted some justice in the Puritan charge of reforming doctrine but leaving discipline to look after itself, and the seventeenth century was

1. E. Cardwell: Conferences, p.2.

to see attempts by one body of opinion in the Anglican church to provide a satisfactory system of doctrine and discipline which would involve no radical break with the past.

The Puritan party, true to its Calvinistic tenets, placed supreme emphasis on the personal response to God's will and God's laws. There was an absoluteness about their appeal to personal experience which made any idea of mediation by human means abhorrent. Their approach was empirical and not rational; there was no admission of different kinds of authority, and of the relative validity of each kind. Authority for the Puritan was an arbitrary thing; there must be one source of authority, an authority single and undivided. This supreme authority was the Divine Law, and no principle of sub-division or delegation was allowed. So absolute was this conception of the Divine Law that it denied any recognition of the place and validity of human law. The Papal system was indefensible because it was an usurpation of the Divine Law; it was a human law in radical opposition to the Divine. The place of human reason was little recognised in Puritan theology.

Having asserted the unique position of the Divine Law, Puritan theology proceeded to its location. The Divine Law was fully set forth in Holy Scripture. This is emphasised repeatedly in the Admonitions:

"Scripture is in such sort the rule of human actions, that simply whatsoever we do and are not thereunto by it directed, the same is sin".

This was an illegitimate extension of the realm of the Divine Law, and thus an upsetting of the balanced hierarchy of laws so dear to the Elizabethan mind still retaining its mediaeval loyalties, and such a disruption of an ordered scheme would inevitably lead to the complete disintegration of society and consequent anarchy.

From the Divine Law located in Holy Scripture was derived all that was necessary for the doctrine and organisation of the Church. The starting point was personal experience and private judgement; the fundamental ground of the Church was the predestination of individual souls. Hence

Christianity for the Puritan was not so much the religion of an Incarnation, as the religion of personal response to the Law of God set forth in Scripture. This lack of emphasis on an Incarnational theology was of profound importance for future developments; it was to separate the Puritans from the specifically Anglican theology of Hooker and especially Andrewes.

The lack of emphasis on the Incarnation inevitably led to a lower view of the Sacraments and the exaltation of the Ministry of the Word. In Calvinistic theology the Sacraments are separated from the Incarnation and related more definitely to preaching. In England this view finds full expression in the Puritan Admonitions:

"Prayers and Sacraments, forasmuch as they take effect by the preaching of the word, where that is not these do not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further damnation."

"The ministry of the word and sacraments cannot be pulled in sunder, which the Lord hath joined together from time to time".

The Puritan theory of Church and State was also based upon the Supreme authority of Scripture. Not only did Scripture contain a definite ecclesiastical polity, it also defined the relation between Church and State.

In defining the Scriptural teaching on this question Cartwright elaborates his "two-kingdom" theory. For him Church and State were separate entities albeit closely linked, and the nature of their association he tries to explain by the analogy of the twins of Hippocrates:

"And undoubtedly, seeing that the Church and commonwealth do embrace one another, and seeing that they be like unto Hippocrates' twins, which were sick together, laughed together and weeped together, and always like affected; it cannot be but that the breaches of the commonwealth have proceeded from the hurts of the Church, and the wants of the one from the lacks of the other, neither is it to be hoped for that the commonwealth shall flourish, until the Church be reformed". 1.

1. Works of Archbishop Whitgift, I p.23.

Although separate entities Church and State influence one another, and for Cartwright this influence should be predominantly in one direction: from the Church to the State. The Church should influence the form of government prevailing in the State, and not vice-versa:

"M. Doctor goeth about to desire both himself and others too, in that he thinketh that the Church must be framed according to the commonwealth and the church-government according to the civil government, which is as much to say, as if a man should fashion his house according to his hangings, when as in deed it is clean contrary, that, as the hangings are made fit for the house, so the commonwealth must be made to agree with the church, and the government thereof with her government. For, as the house is before the hangings, and therefore the hangings which come after must be framed to the house which was before, so the church being before there was any commonwealth, and the commonwealth coming after must be fashioned and made suitable unto the church". 1.

The magistrate, Cartwright admits, has a supreme and unique position, but he has no jurisdiction over the Church beyond acting as a servant of God, obedient to His laws:

"It is true that we ought to be obedient unto the civil magistrate which governeth the church of God in that office which is committed unto him and according to that calling. But it must be remembered that civil magistrates must govern it according to the rules of God prescribed in his word, and that as they are nurses so they be servants unto the church, and as they rule in the church so they must remember to subject themselves unto the church, to submit their sceptre, to throw down their crowns, before the church, yea, as the prophet speaketh (Isaiah xlix.23) to lick the dust of the feet of the church". 2.

The magistrate's function is to see that the laws of the church are obeyed, and that the laws of the state conform to God's law set down in Scripture.

III

These were the Puritan positions which Hooker set himself to contravert in the "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity", and in the process gave articulation to what was to become the distinctively Anglican attitude.

1. W.W. III p.189.

2. Ibid.

The starting point for Hooker's attack on the Puritans is a re-affirmation of the Thomist hierarchy of laws and the distinctive place occupied by each of the various laws within that hierarchy. Here indeed is proof, if proof were needed, that the Reformation in England by Hooker's time had by no means shaken off mediaeval philosophy. On the contrary the mediaeval hierarchy of laws was still retained as the necessary and fundamental framework to which the new ideas must be fitted. The allegiance to the Thomist system of laws, particularly as it represented the principle of 'order' in the universe, was one of the main constituents of the Elizabethan 'world-picture', and as such influenced the literature of the period as well as theology. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, as will be seen later, this principle of 'order' was at the basis of the 'metaphysical' movement in which Andrewes was a leading figure.

Hooker outlines the system of laws thus:

"A law therefore generally taken, is a directive rule unto goodness of operation. The rule of divine operations outward, is the definitive appointment of God's own wisdom set down within himself. The rule of natural agents that work by simple necessity, is the determination of the wisdom of God, known to God himself the principal director of them, but not unto them that are directed to do the same. The rule of natural agents which work after a sort of their own accord, as the beasts do, is the judgement of common sense or fancy concerning the sensible goodness of those objects wherewith they are moved. The rule of ghostly or immaterial nature, as spirits and angels, is their intuitive intellectual judgement concerning the amiable beauty and high goodness of that object, which with unspeakable joy and delight doth set them on work. The rule of voluntary agents on earth is the sentence that Reason giveth concerning the goodness of those things which they are to do". 1.

Each of the laws of God, then has its own sphere of authority, and the stability of the hierarchical scheme would be threatened by any attempt to extend any one of these spheres beyond its natural frontier appointed by God. That such an attempt was being made by the Puritans in their search for a supreme authority is the main burden of Hooker's criticism of the exclusiveness claimed for the Divine Law. The Puritan concentration on the Divine Law tended to exclude altogether the validity of the Law of

1. Hooker: Ecclesiastical Polity, I.viii.4, Vol. I. p.228.

Nature, the faculty of reason with which man is naturally endowed. "It has been maintained that the whole conception of natural law, conceived as a mediatorial element between God and man and a defence of the power and dignity of human nature, was out of place, and actually found little room, in the Reformers' theology. The Reformation, it is said, brings to fulfilment the work of Nominalism, in utterly destroying the hierarchical conception of the world and supplanting reason by will as the foundation of ethics; hence its insistence upon Scripture, the revealed law of God, as the sole rule of human action; hence its distrust of the whole mass of rational arguments embodied in the law of nature." 1.

Hooker's rehabilitation of the Law of Nature was thus an answer to the Puritan over-exaltation of the Divine Law. His adherence to the sanctity of 'order' was such as to issue in a denunciation of the Puritan view on the ground that, if accepted, it would upset such an order:

"Thus we see how even one and the self-same thing is under divers considerations conveyed through many laws; and that to measure by any one kind of law all the actions of men were to confound the admirable order, wherein God hath disposed all laws, each as in nature, so in degree, distinct from other." 2.

That any theory might in any way threaten the established hierarchy of order and 'degree' stood thereby self-condemned in Elizabethan and Jacobean times. The ineffable sanctity of 'order' and the fear of disorder and chaos inevitable from its overthrow is a dominant theme in both the theology and literature of the period. It runs right through Hooker's thought and even more strongly in Andrewes.

The Puritans were attempting to annex to Scripture, as the revealer of the Divine Law, spheres which were properly governed by laws of a different kind within the hierarchy:

"For whereas God hath left sundry kinds of laws unto men, and by all those laws the actions of men are in some sort directed; they (the Puritans) hold that one only law,

1. E. P. D'Entreves: *Mediaeval Contribution to Political Thought*, p.94.

2. Hooker: *E.P.*, I.xvi.7. Vol. I. p.285.

the Scripture, must be the rule to direct in all things, even so far as to the taking up of a rush or a straw." 1.

The observance of 'degree' therefore is essential:

"Some things she (Wisdom) openeth by the sacred books of Scripture; some things by the glorious works of Nature: with some things she inspireth them from above by spiritual influence; in some things she leadeth and traineth them only by worldly experience and practice. We may not so in any one special kind admire her, that we disgrace her in any other; but let all her ways be according unto their place and degree adored." 2.

The Scriptures, then, while they do possess their own proper authority, should not be so elevated as to undermine other types of authority, such, for instance, as are inherent in the Law of Nature or the Law of Nations. The authority of Scripture, moreover, is not dependent solely upon private judgement. The traditional teaching of the Church, the guardian of Scripture, should be our guide:

"By experience we all know that the first outward motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture is the authority of God's church. For when we know the whole church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the church to be of a contrary mind without cause. Afterwards the more we bestow our labour in reading or hearing the mysteries thereof, the more we find that the thing itself doth answer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former inducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath ministered further reason. If infidels or atheists chance at any time to call it in question, this giveth us occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our own persuasion which Scripture itself hath confirmed, may be a truth infallible." 3.

This was to attack the Puritan position regarding the interpretation of Scripture; a position which denied the relevance of the traditional teaching of the Church as merely man-made, and having, therefore, no binding authority. Andrewes was to follow up Hooker's attack still further, reinforced in his case by a more developed conception of the Church.

It has been noticed how in Puritan theology the emphasis was shifted

1. Hooker: E.P. II. 1.2, Vol. I. p.287.

2. Ibid. II.1.4, Vol. I. p.290.

3. Ibid. III.viii.14, Vol. I. p.376-7.

from the Incarnation to the ministry of the Word. In Hooker we find a re-affirmation of the centrality of the Incarnation in Christian theology, and an insistence upon the close and inevitable link between the Sacraments and the Incarnate and Glorified Christ. This was obviously to move away from the prevalent Reformed theology in England; this marks the beginning of the period of assessment and criticism which was to produce that specific type of Anglicanism in the Jacobean period, expressed by Andrewes and his followers.

Whereas the Puritan asserted that the Sacraments lost all significance if separated from the preaching of the word, Hooker maintains that the meaning of the Sacraments is intimately bound up with the Incarnation. In fact he refuses to treat of the Sacraments before he has first dealt with the Incarnation:

"Sacraments are the powerful instruments of God to eternal life. For as our natural life consisteth in the union of the body with the soul: so our life supernatural in the union of the soul with God. And forasmuch as there is no union of God with man without that mean between both which is both, it seemeth requisite that we first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ." 1.

This re-emphasis of the centrality of the Incarnation in Christian theology was rendered necessary by the tendencies of Reformed thought, both Lutheran and Calvinistic. Both Luther and Calvin emphasised, in different ways, features of the Incarnation which led to a blurring of necessary distinctions. Lutheran Christology, based on the personal experience of Luther himself, tended to obscure the full reality of the two natures, to blur the distinction between Godhead and manhood. Amongst the Calvinistic reformers there was a marked tendency to distrust the material and human, and pushed to its logical conclusion this attitude involved such a radical separation of the Divine and human natures as to make a real Incarnation impossible. This led to a revival of ancient Christological heresies amongst some of the more extreme reformed groups, notably the Anabaptists and Socinians.

1. Hooker: E.P. V. 1.3. Vol. II. p.219-20.

The idea that the material could be the means of entering into communion with God was frowned upon; all that an Incarnation implies as to the use of the material as a vehicle for the spiritual was unperceived or ignored. It is not surprising therefore that Hooker should see in contemporary reformed theology the possibility of a return to heresies which had troubled the Church in the third and fourth centuries. Consequently when he comes to reaffirm the centrality of the Incarnation, he reaffirms it in terms of the Chalcedonian formula, terms which were to be used by Andrewes, too, in his teaching on the Incarnation.

Having assigned central importance to the Incarnation Hooker turns to treat of the Sacraments, and in doing so marks a definite stage in the growth of the Anglican doctrine of the Eucharist. His work is important not for any precision of definition - he was too Anglican for that - but for the general attitude in which he approached the meaning of the Eucharist. The significant thing for the future of Anglican theology was his linking the Sacraments quite definitely with the Incarnation; the precise nature of this link he does not define, and it was left to a later age, that of Andrewes, to work out more definitely the standpoint tentatively advanced by Hooker. He hesitated to push the association of the Sacraments with the Incarnation to its logical conclusion. To do so would have been impossible for his generation, not far enough removed from the heat of the controversy to allow of a deeper assessment of the position the Church of England had then reached, and it would have involved preciser definition, and this Hooker wished to avoid. Consequently he confines himself to general statements.

He finds general agreement that by means of the Sacrament there is a real participation of Christ:

"But seeing that by opening the several opinions which have been held, they are grown for aught I can see on all sides at the length to a general agreement concerning that which alone is material, namely the real participation of Christ and of life in his body and blood by means of this sacrament" ¹.

1. Hooker: E.P. V.lxvii. 2, Vol. II. p.349.

The nearest he goes to defining the nature of this participation reveals some hesitation as to the use of the material for spiritual purposes:

"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." 1.

"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." 2.

"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 pleaseth God to bestow." 3.

A similar hesitation to deduce the full implications of the Incarnation is seen in Hooker's doctrine of the Church. Just as his doctrine of the Sacraments is not fully developed from the principles of the Incarnation, so his doctrine of the Church reveals a reluctance to accept the logical conclusion as to the relationship of the material to the spiritual. His conception of the Church is derived directly from reformed theology, based on the supremacy of personal faith. Hence the Church is linked not so much with the Incarnation as with the individual's act of faith. The true Church, the Church invisible, is the select company of the elect; between this church and the Church visible there is a great gulf. This radical divorce between the visible and the invisible, between the material and the spiritual is characteristic of Reformed thought, and springs from an inability to see the implications of the Incarnation, to see the visible and material as true vehicles of the invisible and spiritual. The more mature theological outlook of Andrewes was to influence his conception of the relation between the two, and produce a more adequately defined doctrine of the Church.

In dealing with the problems of Church and State Hooker reinforces the

1. Ibid. V. lxvii. 6. Vol. II. p.352.

2. Ibid. V. lxvii. 5. Vol. II. p.352.

3. Ibid. V. lxvii. 6. Vol. II. p.352.

Anglican position as expounded by Whitgift in his controversy with Cartwright. In refuting the latter's "two-kingdom" theory Whitgift enunciates the view which was to become characteristic of the Anglican apologetica. Church and State are not two separate entities, as Cartwright asserted, but rather two aspects of the one entity:

"I perceive no such distinction of the commonwealth and the Church, that they should be counted, as it were, two several bodies, governed with divers laws and divers magistrates, except the Church be linked with an heathenish and idolatrous commonwealth." 1.

"I speak of him (the magistrate) as one appointed by God to govern, not only in the commonwealth, but in the church also. Yea, I will go further with you; I make no difference betwixt a Christian commonwealth and the Church of Christ." 2.

Hooker takes up from Whitgift, but expounds the theory of Church and State as two aspects of the one body in more detail:

"With us therefore the name of a church importeth only a society of men, first united into some public form of regiment, and secondly distinguished from other societies by the exercise of Christian religion. With them on the other side the name of the church in this present question importeth not only a multitude of men so united and so distinguished, but also further the same divided necessarily and perpetually from the body of the commonwealth: so that even in such a politic society as consisteth of none but Christians, yet the Church of Christ and the commonwealth are two corporations, independently each subsisting by itself.

We hold that seeing there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth; nor any man a member of the commonwealth, which is not also of the Church of England; therefore as in a figure triangular the base doth differ from the sides thereof, and yet one and the self-same line is both a base and also a side; a side simply, a base if it chance to be the bottom and underlie the rest: so albeit properties and actions of one kind do cause the name of a commonwealth, qualities and functions of another sort the name of a Church to be given unto a multitude, yet one and the self-same multitude may in such sort be both, and is so with us, that no person appertaining to the one can be denied to be also of the other." 3.

This view is typical of the Anglican writers of the latter part of the sixteenth century; they were concerned to defend and uphold the Royal

1. W.W. III. p.313.

2. W.W. III. p.313.

3. E.P. VIII. i. 2. Vol. III. p.329-30.

Supremacy. There was definitely a doctrine of 'Divine Right' in the sixteenth century, but it was not the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings so much as the doctrine of the Divine commandment to obedience. The subject owed obedience to the duly constituted authority - authority divinely ordained. For the earlier defenders of the Reformation settlement the nature of this authority was not in doubt; it was that of monarchy. Hooker, however, refuses to dogmatise; he definitely asserts that it is not necessarily monarchical, and authority in the State must be based on the consent of the people "without which consent there were no reason that one man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another".¹ There is no one necessary kind of government:

"Howbeit not this (monarchy) the only kind of regiment that hath been received in the world. The inconveniences of one kind have caused sundry other to be devised. So that in a word all public regiment of what kind soever seemeth evidently to have risen from deliberate advice, consultation and composition between men, judging it convenient and behoveful."²

The origin of government, after the primary patriarchal stage, was based on a contract whereby ruler and ruled were to acknowledge the supremacy of the divinely ordered hierarchy of laws:

"At the first when some certain kind of regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the manner of governing but all permitted unto their wisdom and discretion which were to rule; till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a remedy did indeed but increase the sore which it should have cured. They saw that to live by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery. This constrained them to come unto laws, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them."³

In the Jacobean period we shall notice a marked emphasis on the divine right of kings rather than the Royal Supremacy, a hesitation about the full implications of the latter bringing about a significant modification of Hooker's conception of Church and State. All these characteristic

1. Ibid. I. x.4. Vol. I. p.243.

2. Ibid. Vol. I. p.242.

3. Ibid. l.x.5. Vol. I. p.243.

tendencies among the Jacobean Divines are fully exemplified in Andrewes who also departs from Hooker on the subject of the origin of government and the basis of its authority. All these themes are intimately connected with the prevailing 'world-picture', a subject briefly referred to previously when dealing with Hooker's conception of 'Laws', but of such outstanding importance for an understanding of both religious and secular thought in the Jacobean period, and exercising such a deep influence on the theology and style of Andrewes that a fuller treatment is now necessary.

IV

If there was one dominating influence upon Elizabethan and Jacobean thought, it was the conception of 'order' and 'degree'. This conception running right through the reign of Elizabeth and into that of James shows that the Reformation in England by no means involved a complete severance from mediaeval thought; confronted with the disruptive tendencies of new ideas the concern of statesmen and divines alike was to re-emphasise the old doctrine of order and unity. The conception of order was not just an idea; it was a definite creed, and upon the maintenance of that creed depended the whole structure of society, and also, for the Elizabethan, the stability of the universe. A good formulation of this creed is found in the Homily of Obedience in the Book of Homilies published in 1547, and it is as here expounded that the popular mind undoubtedly understood the doctrine of order. The later Homily on Wilful Rebellion enlarges the implications of this doctrine as it related to the duties of subjects.

The Homily of Obedience opens with a presentation of the all-embracing law of 'order':

"Almighty God hath created and appointed all things in heaven, earth, and waters, in a most excellent and perfect order. In heaven he hath appointed distinct and several orders and states of archangels and angels. In earth he hath assigned and appointed kings, princes, with other governours under them, in all good and necessary order. The water above is kept, and raineth down in due time and season. The sun, moon, stars, rainbow, thunder, lightning, clouds,

and all birds of the air, do keep their order. The earth, trees, seeds, plants, herbs, corn, grass, and all manner of beasts, keep themselves in order; all parts of the whole year, as winter, summer, months, nights and days, continue in their order: all kinds of fishes in the sea, rivers and waters, with all fountains, springs, sea, the seas themselves, keep their comely course and order: every degree of people in their vocation, calling, and office, hath appointed to them their duty and order: some are in high degree, some in low, some kings and princes, some inferiors and subjects, priests and laymen, masters and servants, fathers and children, husbands and wives, rich and poor; and every one have need of other; so that in all things is to be lauded and praised the goodly order of God, without the which no house, no city, no commonwealth can continue and endure, or last. For where there is no right order, there reigneth all abuse, carnal liberty, enormity, sin and babylonical confusion. Take away kings, princes, rulers, magistrates, judges and such estates of God's order no man shall ride or go by the high way unrobbed, no man shall keep his wife, children, and possessions in quietness, all things shall be common; and there must needs follow all mischief and utter destruction both of souls, bodies, goods and commonwealths." 1.

claim omitted

This passage contains most of the characteristic features of Elizabethan and Jacobean thought on the subject of order. There was a magical sound about such a phrase as "most excellent and perfect order" to judge from the regular way the homilist uses it as a chorus to punctuate the passage. 'Order' runs through the natural world and is, in fact, a pattern of what the ordered life of mankind should be like. Obedience to the principle of order is not merely a matter of expediency; it is to obey the decrees of God who has constructed the whole universe on that principle. Any attempt to undermine this ordered scheme in no matter what small sphere could not but result in the most inconceivable chaos and disintegration throughout the whole universe.

The same doctrine is proclaimed by Hooker; it is the basis of his whole conception of laws and their distinctive spheres. It lies at the back of his dislike of any tendency to blur necessary distinctions as has been noted in his treatment of the Incarnation and the authority of Scripture; in their over-simplification in dealing with these themes the Puritan doctrines constituted a threat to the hierarchical order with its distinctive 'degrees'. Hooker has the same fear of disorder which appears too in Andrewes:

1. Homilies, Oxford 1844, p.96.

"For we see the whole world and each part thereof so compacted, that as long as each thing performeth only that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preserveth both other things and also itself. Contrariwise, let any principle thing, as the sun, the moon, any one of the heavens or elements, but once cease or fail, or swerve, and who doth not easily conceive that the sequel thereof would be ruin both to itself and whatsoever dependeth on it? And is it possible, that man being not only the noblest creature in the world, but even a very world in himself, his transgressing the Law of his nature should draw no manner of harm after it." 1.

Any deviation from the 'natural' order of things in the sphere of any one of the divinely constituted 'Laws' brings about an epidemic of disorder which rapidly spreads to the other spheres. For Hooker, and later for Andrewes, to say that any course of action was 'unnatural' was to say the last word in its condemnation; it was a threat to the divinely appointed Law of Nature:

"God's commanding those things to be which are, and to be in such sort as they are, to keep that tenure and course which they do, importeth the establishment of nature's law. This world's first creation, and the preservation since of things created, what is it but only so far forth a manifestation by execution, what the eternal law of God is concerning things natural? And as it cometh to pass in a kingdom rightly ordered, that after a law is once published, it presently takes effect far and wide, all states framing themselves thereunto; even so let us think it fareth in the natural course of the world: since the time that God did first proclaim the edicts of his law upon it, heaven and earth have hearkened unto his voice, and their labour hath been to do his will: He "made a law for the rain"; He gave his "decree unto the sea, that the waters should not pass his commandment." Now if nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether though it were but for a while the observation of her own laws; if those principal and mother elements of the world, whereof all things in this lower world are made, should lose the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that heavenly arch erected over our heads should loosen and dissolve itself; if celestial spheres should forget their wonted motions and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it might happen; if the prince of the lights of heaven, which now as a giant doth run his unwearied course, should as it were through a languishing faintness begin to stand and to rest himself; if the moon should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of the year blend themselves by disordered and confused mixture, the winds breathe out their last gasp, the clouds yield no rain, the earth be defeated of heavenly influence, the fruits of the earth pine away as children at the withered breasts of their mother no longer able to yield them relief: what would become of man himself, whom these

1. Hooker: E.P. I.ix.1. Vol. I. p. 237.

things now do all serve? See we not plainly that obedience of creatures unto the law of nature is the stay of the whole world?" 1.

V

Keeping in mind these doctrinal ideas which engaged the minds of the divines of the late Elizabethan and early Jacobean periods, it is interesting to note that similar ideas were the concern of the dramatists.

Professor Alfred Hart² has pointed out, convincingly enough, the obvious link between the Homilies and those plays of Shakespeare which express the idea of 'order' and 'degree'. The influence of the Homilies, at times verbal, is most evident in the historical plays and the tragedies, and is clearly noticeable when, after reading the above mentioned passage from the Homily of Obedience, one next turns to the famous speech of Ulysses in "Troilus and Cressida":

"The heavens themselves, the planets, and this centre
Observe degree priority and place
Insisture course proportion season form
Office and custom, in all line of order;
And therefore is the glorious planet Sol
In noble eminence enthron'd and sphere'd
Amidst the other, whose med'cinable eye
Corrects the ill aspects of planets evil
And posts like the commandment of a king,
Sans check, to good and bad. But when the planets
In evil mixture to disorder wander,
What plagues and what portents, what muting,
What raging of the sea, shaking of the earth,
Commotion in the winds, frights, changes, horrors,
Divert and crack, rend and deracinate
The unity and married calm of states
Quite from their fixure. Oh, when degree is shak'd,
Which is the ladder to all high designs,
The enterprise is sick. How could communities,
Degrees in schools and brotherhood in cities,
Peaceful commerce from dividable shores,
The primogenitive and due of birth,
Prerogative of age, crowns sceptres laurels,
But by degree stand in authentic place?
Take but degree away, untune that string,
And hark what discord follows. Each thing meets
In mere oppugnancy. The bounded waters
Should lift their bosoms higher than the shores

1. Ibid. I.iii. 2. Vol. I. p.207.

2. Alfred Hart: Shakespeare and the Homilies. Melbourne 1934.

And make a sop of all this solid globe.
 Strength should be lord to imbecility,
 And the rude son should strike his father dead.
 This chaos, when degree is suffocate,
 Follows the choking." 1.

The imagery used here to describe 'unnatural' disorder: discord in music, the sea breaking over its limits, and the unnatural behaviour of man, occurs repeatedly in the drama of the period, especially Shakespeare, and is characteristic of Andrewes when dealing with the subject of "Order". In "King Lear" the established 'order' has been so overthrown that the final anarchy cannot be far off:

"If that the heavens do not their visible spirits
 Send quickly down to tame these vile offences,
 It will come,
 Humanity must perforce prey on itself,
 Like monsters of the deep."

The transition from excitement and confidence to disillusionment and doubt noticed in the thought of the English divines is characteristic of the drama too.

The first flush of excitement over the new discovery of man and his possibilities is faithfully reproduced in the early confident work of Greene, Peele, and especially Marlowe. The latter's "Tamburlaine" is the essence of the exultant certainty in the powers of man; the new discoveries in the physical world were symbols of the illimitable possibilities for conquest in the mind of man: But already in Marlowe there is a significant development. "Faustus", while in many parts it reflects Tamburlainian excitement, shows much less faith in the certainty that all was well with man. The period of disillusionment and assessment had set in; the period of the analysis of the individual. This preoccupation with the individual represented the stage which Reformation thought in England had reached at the time Marlowe was writing. Influenced by Continental Protestantism the Puritans were enunciating their Augustinian doctrine of human nature, and the necessity for justification by faith.

1. Troilus and Cressida: I. iii.11.85-108.

The exaltation of the individual, characteristic of Renaissance and Reformation thought, soon led to disillusionment when the results of unbridled individualism were seen, as, for example, in the Anabaptist movement. Pessimism was accentuated by the political situation at the end of the sixteenth century when the succession to the throne seemed uncertain. Hence the frantic search for a supreme authority to secure order. The later Elizabethan and early Jacobean drama reveals the stages of the search for certainty, following the cult of the individual. Reliance was first placed upon political power (Marlowe at the Tamburlaine stage), then upon the mind of man, (Faustus), then upon material wealth (The Jew of Malta), and finally upon the senses, (the tragedies of Middleton, Webster, and Tourneur). In theological thought in the same period the stages were: early enthusiasm over the personal faith of the believer (Puritans and Anglicans with Puritan leanings) a tentative and very hesitating appeal for a return to the view of the church as an organic and essentially corporate body, (Jewel and Whitgift); a more complete and unhesitating affirmation of the mediaeval system of laws and the authority of the Church as a corporate body (Hooker); and finally a fully articulated doctrine of order and authority, condemnation of unbridled individualism, and a return to the conception of the English Church as a Catholic body, (the 'reconstruction' under Bancroft and Andrewes).

VI

Lancelot Andrewes takes his natural place with the party of assessment and consolidation; his work marks the beginning of a reaction against Calvinistic theology, and of a more precisely defined and fully self-conscious Anglicanism. "His life and character", says W. H. Frere,¹ "we may

1. W. H. Frere: Lancelot Andrewes as a representative of Anglican Principles, 1898, Church Historical Society Publications No. 44. p.5.

proudly claim as the rich first-fruits of the working out of the principles of the Reformation." Born in 1555 and dying in 1626 his life covers the whole of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I; a period of reform and then retrenchment in theology and literature. He descends from the tradition begun by Jewel, Whitgift, and especially Hooker, and the latter's work is a necessary starting point for a study of Andrewes who proceeded from his basic principles, but pushed them to their logical conclusion, that logical conclusion becoming the foundation of the 'High' Anglican position of the early seventeenth century.

Andrewes is a good example of the mediaeval mind exercising an influence long after the Reformation had begun in England. In many ways he exhibits that blending of the mediaeval and the modern in the one personality which is more immediately obvious in his junior contemporary, John Donne. Andrewes is mediaeval in his conception of order, and in his desire to relate the whole of phenomena to a single unified system; he is modern in his attachment to the new nationalism and his acceptance of the break from the Roman Church necessitated by the Reformation.

The choice before the Church of England at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign was complete revolution or gradual evolution, and it was mainly due to the work of Hooker that the Anglicans eventually chose evolution. The line of subsequent development owes its direction to the new school of thought mainly associated with the name of Andrewes.

The new outlook was fairly well developed by 1595, when, at Cambridge, Peter Baro ventured to criticise the prevailing Calvinistic theology. Andrewes and Overall supported Baro, and condemned the Lambeth Articles, formulated by Whitaker, the Calvinistic Regius Professor of Divinity, and sanctioned by Archbishop Whitgift. By 1604 it had gathered strength to embark on the 'reconstruction of the English Church' initiated by the Canons of 1604, and owing its direction to Archbishop Bancroft. Behind this new movement there lies the mind and work of Lancelot Andrewes.

Andrewes does not give a connected systematic account of his theological

position; as with the Jacobean Divines in general, his theology is expressed mainly in sermons. These sermons have as their subjects the great doctrinal themes of the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Sending of the Holy Ghost, and in them the main characteristics of his theology are clearly evident.

VII

Like Hooker Andrewes accepted the contemporary 'world-picture' of 'order and degree', but the hierarchical principle had even deeper repercussions for him. Besides being the foundation for his acceptance of the Divine Right of Kings, it underlies his doctrine of the Incarnation, the Sacraments, the Church and the Ministry, and it is of special importance for assessing his position in the 'metaphysical' school of writers.

Andrewes' conception of 'order' has to be gathered from several short passages in the sermons; it was not his concern, as in the case of Hooker, to set out at length the whole scheme of Laws; rather it was a basic assumption underlying all that he wrote.

Preaching on I Corinthians xii. 4-7 Andrewes insists that the diversity of the gifts of the Holy Spirit is in no way incompatible with the unity of the Spirit:

"Which "one and the same Spirit" makes also against Paganism. For they had nine muses and three graces, and I wot not how many gods and goddesses besides. We go but to one. All ours come from one, from "the same Spirit". All our multitude is from unity. All our diversity is from identity. All our divisions from integrity; from "one and the same" entire "Spirit" ". 1.

The divisions of the Spirit's manifestations, in fact, constitute a hierarchy of laws in miniature, and just as Hooker insisted that the sphere of each law within the hierarchy should be scrupulously respected, so Andrewes insists that each manifestation of the Holy Spirit has its own jurisdiction upon which there must be no trespassing:

1. Andrewes: Sermons, Vol. III. pp.386-7.

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"Of which division the ground is that every man is not, hand over head, confusedly to meddle with every matter; but all is to be done *κατὰ τάξιν* "orderly". Each to know his own. The very word "division" implieth order. Where we read "divisions" some read "diversities". But it is not so well that. Things that are diverse may lie together confusedly on heaps, but each must be sorted to his several rank and place, else are they not divided. So as "division" is the better reading; and "division" is for order.

And order is a thing highly pleasing to God, as the three Persons in Trinity, we see, have put themselves in order, to show how well they love it. And order is a thing so nearly concerning us, as break order once, and break forth your "staves", saith God in Zachary; both that of "beauty", and that of "bands". The "staff" of "beauty"; for no *εὐκαταβολή* no manner of 'decency of comeliness' without it, but all out of fashion. The "staff of bands"; for no *στερεότης*, no kind of 'steadiness or constancy' but all loose without it. All falls back to the first TOHU (170) and BOHU (171). For all is TOHU, "empty and void", if the Spirit fill not with his gifts; and all is BOHU, "a disordered rude chaos of confusion", if Christ order it not by His places and callings. Everybody falls to be doing with every thing, and so nothing done; nothing well done, I am sure. Every man therefore, what ever his gift to be, to stay till he have his place and standing by Christ assigned him. It is judged needful, this, even in secular matters. Write one never so fair a hand, if he have not the calling of a public notary, his writing is not authentic. Be one never so deep a lawyer, if he have not the place of a judge, he can give no definitive sentence. No remedy then, there must be division of places; of "administration", no less than of "gifts". 1.

In this passage it is obvious how the idea of 'order' is influencing the presentation of the gifts of the Holy Spirit; the same rules are to be obeyed here as in the great scheme of laws. The rhapsody on the beauty of 'order', and the fear of chaos with its "confusion" springs from the same background of thought as inspired the passage from Hooker noticed above.

Preaching from Ephesians 1.10: "that He might gather together into one all things, both which are in Heaven, and which are in earth", Andrewes is soon led to sing the "high pleasingness" of order in the sight of God:

"Of which gathering into one, I know not what the things in Heaven have - the things in earth I am sure have good cause to be glad. In Heaven all is good. In earth, to say the least, there is much evil. Yet upon the reckoning, Heaven is like to come by the loss; we on earth are sensibly gainers by it. It is a good hearing for us, that both these shall be thus gathered together. For if Heaven and earth be so gathered, it is that Heaven may advance earth higher; and no

meaning, that earth should draw it down hither. *Magis dignum semper ad se trahit minus dignum*, is the old rule.

But well - between them both here is a great gathering toward, well expressed by the Apostle in the terms of a sum. For it is *summa summarum*, a 'sum indeed'; Heaven and earth, and the fulness of them both.

All these to be gathered, and well. Gathering God favours, for it ends in unity, to gather into one; and unity God loves. Himself being *principalis unitas*. God favours it sure. Himself is the gatherer. Scattering God favours not; that tends to division, and division upon division. Gathering is good for us; unity preserves, division destroys. *Divisum est*, be it house or be it kingdom, ever ends in *desolabitur*. God "delights not in destruction", "would have none to perish". The kite, he scatters; the hen, how fain she would gather!" 1.

The mere fact of orderly government is, for Andrewes, awe-inspiring; it has the same wonderful quality as it had for the Homilist:

"And indeed a miracle it (government) is, and whosoever shall look into the nature and weight of a Monarchy will so acknowledge it. The rod of government is a miraculous rod - both that of Moses, for it would turn into a serpent, and back again; and Aaron's rod too, for of a dry and sear stick it came to blossom again, and to bear ripe almonds; to shew, that every government is miraculous, and containeth in it matter of wonder, and that in two respects.

1. For whereas there is naturally in every man a seeking his own ease, to lie soaking in his broth, as Ezekial speaketh; not to be *custos fratris*, nor to afflict and vex his soul with the care of others; it is surely supernatural to endure that cark and care which the governors continually do - a matter that we inferiors can little skill of; but to read *Ea nocte dormire non potuit rex*, "Such a night the King could not sleep;" and again, such a night "no meat would down with the King, and he listed not to hear any music." To endure this, I say, is supernatural and it is God which above all nature, by His mighty Spirit worketh it in them.

2. Again, whereas there is in every inferior a natural wildness or unwillingness to brook any ruler or judge over them, as was told Moses flatly to his face, for by nature the people are not like sheep; it is not certainly any power of man, but a mere supernatural thing, to keep the nations of the earth in such awe and order as we see them in And very fitly from the wonder in appeasing the sea, in the last verse before, doth the Prophet pass in this to the leading of the people. Their natures are alike, himself in one verse matcheth them; "Thou rulest the raging of the sea, and the noise of the waves, and the madness of the people." That is no less unruly and enraged by nature is the multitude, than the sea. No less it roareth, *Dirumpamus vincula eorum*, and *Nolumus hunc regnare super nos*, when God unlooseth it. Of one and the same power it proceedeth, to keep them both within their banks. Thou that calmest the one, charmest the other.

Wherefore when we see that careful mind in a prince, I will use Moses' own words, to carry a people in her arms, as if she conceived them in her womb, as no nurse, nor mother more tender; and again, when we see this tumultuous body, this same sea of popularity kept in a quiet calm, and infinite millions ebbing and flowing as it were, that is, stirring and standing still, arming and disarming themselves, killing and being killed, and all at the monosyllables of one person, "Go and they go, Come and they come, Do and they do it;" let us see God sensibly in it, and the power of God, yea, the miraculous power of God." ¹.

Here is the same imagery of a river in flood used to describe disorder as in the speech of Ulysses.

Andrewes thus subscribes fully to the contemporary doctrine of the sanctity of 'order'; order, in fact, is a quality of the Godhead. Any undue exaltation of one division within the sacred hierarchy is the beginning of a radical upset and consequent chaos.

From the principle of order in the universe follows the necessity for an established order on similar lines in the State:

268 "Familiar it is and but mean, but very full and forcible, the simile of Esay; wherein he compareth the Prince to a "nail driven into a wall", whereon are hanged all, both the vessels of service and the instruments of music; that is he bears them up all. And great cause to desire God fast may it stick and never stir, this nail; for if it should, all our cups would batter with the fall, and all the music of our choir be marred; that is both Church and country be put in danger. Which God willing to show, saith Philo Judaeus, he did place the fifth commandment, which is the crown commandment, *ὡς ἐν μέσῳ* 'as it were, in the middle', and confines of both tables; those touching Religion, and those touching Justice; that with one arm he might stay Religion, and with the other stay Justice, and so uphold both.

And, where such support hath wanted, both have lain on the ground. For, both of Micah's idolatry, that is corrupt religion, and of the villany offered at Gibeah, and of the outrage committed by them on Dan, both in rifling houses, and sacking whole towns, that is, of open injustice, God rendereth no cause but this, non erat Rex; the pillars went down, ego wanted. Without which, that is, an established government, we should have no commonwealth, but a wild forest, where Nimrod and his crew hunt and chase all others; no commonwealth, but a pond where the great fish would devour the small; nothing but a sort of "sheep scattered without a shepherd," saith Moses. No more oves pascuae, "sheep of the pasture," when their governer is gone, but oves occisionis, "Sheep for the slaughter." Non populus, sed turba, 'no people, but a rout; no building, ner pillars, but a heap of stones. Therefore a joyful noise "is the shout of a king" among them." ².

1. II. pp.20-22.

2. II. pp.11-12.

The sermon from which this passage is taken was preached in March 1589, and the idea that once the established order was molested man would turn on himself is found again and again in the drama of the closing years of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth; Ulysses' speech which contains the same imagery is dated 1602-3, and the anonymous play of Sir Thomas More is of about the same period. More addressing the rebels uses the same imagery of fishes preying on one another as we find in Andrewes.

What had you got? I'll tell you: you had taught
 How insolence and strong hand should prevail,
 How order should be quelled; and by this pattern
 Not one of you should live an aged man,
 For other ruffians, as their fancies wrought,
 With self same hand, self reasons, and self right,
 Would shark on you, and men like ravenous fishes
 Would feed on one another.

Within the nation there is an ordered hierarchy wherein the divers positions of man are properly apportioned:

"Rulers not only come from God, but they come from him in particular; tibi in bonum, "for thy good", whosoever thou art. "Thy good", thou nobleman, thou gentleman, thou churchman, thou merchant, thou husbandman, thou tradesman. "Thy good", that is, for our good they come, and are sent for all our good, for the general good of us all; nay, even of all mankind. Mankind should be as a forest, saith Moses, the strong beasts would devour the weak; as a fish-pool, saith Habbakkuk, the great fish devour the small were it not for these. Without these mankind could not continue. They then that are enemies to them, mankind's enemies; and so of the serpent's seed certainly, to be cursed with the serpent's curse - conteratur caput eorum.

Now then, of this great monarchy of mankind, of the whole world the several monarchies of the world are eminent parts. What the estate of kings is in the whole, that is the person of every particular prince in his several sovereignty: David, in his of Jewry; ours, in his of Great Britain; the health and safety of the kingdom fast linked with the King's health and safety. "The head of the tribes", is David called; "the light of Israel;" tu pasces, "the shepherd of the flock;" the "corner stone" of the building. I will content me with these. If the head be deadly hurt, I would fain know what shall become of the body? If the "light" be put out, is aught to be looked for in Israel? "Smite the shepherd", must not the flock be in peril? If "the corner-stone" be shaken, will not both the walls feel a wrack? Verily, all our weal and woe dependeth on their welfare or decay. Therefore bless we them, and they that bless them, be blessed: and they that set themselves against them, accursed, even with the capital curse

the serpent's, all our enemy: as the first of all, so the chief of all, as from God's own mouth." 1.

This ordered hierarchy is the expression of the Law of God, and of its derivatives: the Law of Nature, and the Law of Nations:

"This is the Law of God, and that no judicial Law peculiar to that people alone, but agreeable to the Law of nature and nations, two Laws of force through the whole world. For even in the little empire of the body natural, principium motus, "the beginning of all motion" is in and from the head. There all the knots, or as they call them all the conjugations of sinews, have their head, by which all the body is moved. And as the law of nature by secret instinct, by the light of the creation, annexeth the organ to the chiefest part, even so doth the Law of nations, by the light of reason to the chiefest person; and both fall just with the Law here written, where, by Erunt tibi, the same organ and power is committed to Moses, the principal person in that commonwealth. The Law of nations in this point, both before the Law written and since, where the Law written was not known, might easily appear if time would suffer, both in their general order for conventions so to be called, and in their general opposing to all conventicles called otherwise." 2.

Thus upon the maintenance of the divinely appointed authority, with Andrewes always the monarchy of course, depends the whole structure of the nation, which itself is merely part of the great ordered scheme of God. Along with this reverence for the principle of order in all spheres there goes the fear of its overthrow. The fear of disorder in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries became an obsession, underlying the whole contemporary conception of order in Church and State. It is difficult to exaggerate the tremendous repercussions of this fear of disorder; we have noticed how certain images recur: they become almost technical for dealing with the question. Any doctrine which even remotely savoured of separatism or the exaltation of the individual was immediately condemned because it threatened the established order; and it could receive no greater condemnation. Whenever the idea of dissolution is suggested Andrewes at once becomes serious; the text from John i. 19. "Solvite Templum hoc," leads him to develop the idea of death as dissolution:

"First, by solvite, that is, dissolving, is meant death. Cupio dissolvi - ye know what that is; and Tempus dissolutionis meae instat, "the time of my dissolution," that is, my death,

1. IV. pp.15-16.

2. V. p.153.

"is at hand." For death is a very dissolution, a loosing the cement the soul and body are held together with. Which two, as a frame or fabric, are compaginate at first; and after, as the timber from the lime, or the lime from the stone, so are they taken in sunder again. But death is not this way only a loosing, but a farther than this. For upon the loosing the soul from the body, and life from both, there follows universal loosing of all the bonds and knots here; of the father from the son, and otherwhile of the son from the father first; of man from wife, of friend from friend, of prince from people - so great a solvite is death, makes all that is fast loose, makes all knots fly in sunder." 1.

The human body is a "little world made cunningly" exhibiting the same principle of order as in the macrocosm:

"I told you before, the callings were founded upon order, and to keep them so, have their ὁροθεσίας ; limits or bounds. And they do all ἀτακτως περιπατεῖν , "walk out of order", disorderly break the pales and over they go; that leaving their own become, as St. Peter's word is ἀλλοτριό-ἐπισκοπός , "Bishops of other men's dioceses;" do no good in their own, spend their time in finding fault with others. A thing not to be endured in anybody. Take the natural body for example, wherein the spirit, blood, choler, and other humours are to keep and contain themselves, to hold every one in his own proper vessel; as blood in the veins, choler in the gall. And if oncē they be out of them, the blood out of the vein makes an apostume; the choler out of the gall makes a jaundice all over the body. Believe it, this is an evil sickness under the sun, that the division of works is not kept more strictly. They are divided according to the callings; every work is not for every calling. For then what needs any dividing? But as the calling is, so are the works to be; every one to intend his own, wherein it is presumed his skill lies, and not to busy himself with others; for that is περιεργον ." 2.

VIII

From this dominant conception of order and the fear of disruption springs naturally Andrewes' position regarding the relation between Church and State. His adherence to the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings and his teaching on the nature of the Church are both intimately connected with this primary conception of order.

Down to the end of the sixteenth century it seems true to say that

1. II. pp.350-1.

2. III. p.392.

Anglican writers on the whole supported the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy rather than the doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings. They were concerned to justify the Henrician fait accompli against both Romanist and Puritan opponents. If they did preach a doctrine of Divine Right it was the Divine Right of duly constituted authority; the monarchical form of authority was usually assumed, Hooker being the exception.

The turn of the century saw a significant development of Anglican opinion on the subject of Church and State: the Royal Supremacy gave place in emphasis to the Divine Right of Kings. In the controversy with Cartwright, Whitgift had repudiated the idea that the Church was a body quite separate from the State; the Jacobean Divines on the other hand put forward a position which was, in principle, not far removed from that of the Puritan leader:

"Whatever may have been in the mind of James himself, or of Bancroft, it was a claim on behalf of the clergy to make law for the Church that was asserted by the Jacobean Divines. In the view, of at least the ablest among them, it was essentially Convocation that made the law: the king could do little more than give it legal sanction. There can be traced in their writings a movement away from Elizabethan Erastianism and towards a new, and an older, conception of the Church. Very distinctly there appears a tendency to conceive of the Church as a society radically distinct from the State, even though included within it; a society standing on its own separate base and properly and rightfully governed by its clergy." 1.

Whitgift, semi-Calvinistic as he was, no longer represented the Anglican temper.

What Professor D'Entreves says about Tudor political theory is substantially true of the Jacobean Period:

"The Doctrine of obedience was certainly the real pivot of Tudor political theory, and the strength of the English conviction of the wickedness of rebellion is to be attributed much less to religion or to any theory of divine right than to immediate expediency and to the growth of patriotic sentiment." 2.

The support given by the Jacobean Divines likewise was not so much a matter of theology as of expediency; the main motive was certainly fear,

1. J. W. Allen: English Political Thought 1603-60, p.129.

2. E. P. D'Entreves: Mediaeval Contribution to Political Thought. p.97.

fear of the consequences of unbridled individualism. The support given by Andrewes and his followers to the doctrine of Divine right seems to have been a last stand against the challenge of Puritanism. Above all things they desired order; order would ensure peace and time for a proper assessment of their position. They sensed the logical outcome of Puritanism: the loss of valuable traditions and a Church so reformed as to be beyond recognition as a Catholic body.

These are the considerations to bear in mind when approaching the teaching of Andrewes on the Divine Right of Kings, which is mainly to be found in the series of sermons on the Gowrie Conspiracy and the Gunpowder Plot preached in the years 1606-1623.

Kingship is a divine institution and kings owe their allegiance to God alone:

"They are by God, of or from God, for or instead of God. Moses' rod, God's; Gideon's sword, God's; David's throne, God's. In His place they sit. His person they represent, they are taken into the fellowship of the same name. Ego dixi, He hath said it, and we may be bold to say it after Him, They are gods; and what would we more? Then must their enemies be God's enemies. Let their enemies know then they have to deal with God, not with them; it is His cause, rather than theirs; they, but His agents. It standeth Him in hand, it toucheth Him in honour. He can no less than maintain them, than hold their enemies for His own. St. Paul is plain, "He that resisteth them, resisteth God:" he that the regal power, the divine ordinance." 1.

Andrewes insists again and again on this close bond between kings and God:

"But they that rise against the king, are God's enemies; for God and the king are so in a league, such a knot, so straight between them, as one cannot be enemy to the one, but he must be to the other. This is the knot." 2.

"For kings being from God, saith Gamaliel, we cannot set ourselves against them, but we must be found even *θεομυχευ* "to fight against God". Being "ordained of God", saith Gamaliel's scholar, St. Paul, to resist them is to resist "the ordinance of God;" and as good put ourselves in the face of all the ordinance in the Tower of London, as withstand God's ordinance." 3.

1. IV. p.14.

2. IV. p.13.

3. IV. 19.

"In another place he calleth them "gods"; here christos Domini. So they participate with the name of God, and with the name of Christ, Anointed; and if they be anointed, it is "with the Holy Ghost and power" from above. Which all shew a near alliance between God and them, Christ and them, the Holy Ghost and them, so as they are not to be harmed the least way, if God, or Christ, or the Holy Ghost, can keep them from it." 1.

"And it cannot but weigh much with all that shall weigh this one point well, that Princes are to be taken into the society of God's name in the psalm before, and here now into the society of Christ's name in this, and so made synonymi, both with God and with Christ; especially, since God Himself it is That so styleth them, for He flatters not, we are sure. God Himself is a King, "King of all the earth", and Christ is His Heir of all, as appeareth by His "many crowns on His head". Those whom God and Christ vouchsafe to take into the charge of any their kingdoms, them they vouchsafe their own names of God and of Christ. They two the first Kings, to these other the after Kings, ruling under them and in their names." 2.

These passages recall the statement of the Homilist:

"As the name of a King is very often attributed and given unto God in the Holy Scriptures; so doth God himself in the same Scriptures sometime vouchsafe to communicate his Name with earthly Princes, terming them gods; doubtless for that similitude of government which they have or should have, not unlike unto God their King." 3.

And the same idea is extremely common in Shakespeare: in 'Richard II' Bolingbroke is addressed as "a God on earth", and in 'Pericles' "Kings are earth's gods".

Andrewes is equally at pains to make clear that the authority of Kings is in no way derived from, or dependent upon, the consent of the people. In this he departs from Hooker for whom the basis of sovereignty was "Composition and agreement" between ruler and ruled. The general trend of Puritan thought seems to have filled Andrewes and his followers with a horror of government being in any way dependent upon popular approval. Orderly government is a divine institution and so wonderfully arranged that it could not possibly be the work of human minds:

1. IV. p.33.
2. IV. p.55.
3. Homilies, p.493.

817 "This then we find first, that Kings were of God's finding at the first. God we see, takes it to Himself - "I have found." They are then no human inventions, devised or taken up by man, but "found" by God. They came not out of man's brain, but ex cerebro Jovis, inventum Dei, of God's finding forth.

" As of His finding in this verse, so of His exalting in the very next before; "I have exalted one, one chosen out of the people." "Look you, there comes two at once; "exalted" and "chosen". Neither "chosen" nor "exalted" by the people, but by God out of the people. Not they, out of themselves; but God, out of them. Mark that point well." 1.

817 "So filius Dei he is, primogenitus Dei; And what would we more? Then is not David filius populi - God forbid. Never father him upon them. No adoptive, no foundling of theirs. His finding, choosing, exalting, adopting, God takes them all to Himself So then, neither people nor Saints, nor Prophet nor Priest, but God it was, of Himself and by Himself. He to have the honour of the invention.

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And if Kings be the invention of God, then are not their inventions of God - these I mean that have been broached of late - that find Kings upon any but God; that make Prophets, Priest or people, King-finders, or King-founders, or ascribe this invention to any but to Him in the text." 2.

The contractual origin of society was rejected by the Jacobean Divines as a safeguard against what was thought to be the anarchical development of Puritanism. In a sermon preached on the anniversary of James' accession Andrewes uses the text from Judges xvii. 6. "In those days there was no King of Israel" to portray the chaos of the state of nature, and at regular intervals comes, as a dolorous refrain, the reason for this: "Non erat Rex in Israel." The view of Andrewes and his school is well summed up in the second Canon of Overall's Convocation Book:

"If any man shall therefore affirm that men at the first, without all good education, or civility, ran up and down in woods, and fields, as wild creatures, resting themselves in caves, and dens, and acknowledging no superiority over one another, until they were taught by experience the necessity of government; and that thereupon they chose some amongst themselves to order and rule the rest, giving them power and authority so to do; and that consequently all civil power, jurisdiction, and authority, was first derived from the people, and disordered multitude; or either is still originally in them, or else is deduced by their consents naturally from them; and is not God's ordinance originally descending from Him, and depending upon Him, he doth greatly err." 3.

1. IV. p.79.

2. IV. p.80.

3. Overall's Convocation Book. p.3.

Since Kings are divinely appointed and owe allegiance to God alone, they are not to be removed, even though they be unjust or tyrannical:

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 ↗ "One thing more of Christos meos, for I should do you wrong certainly, if I should slip by it and not tell you what this appointing is, and leave a point loose that needeth most of all to be touched. Upon misconceiving of this point some have fallen into a fancy, His "anointed" may forfeit their tenure, and so cease to be His, and their anointing dry up, or be wiped off, and so kings be un-christed, cease to be christi-Domini, and then who that will may touch them.

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 They that have been scribbling about Kings' matters of late, and touching them with their pens, have been foully mistaken in this point. Because anointing in Scripture doth otherwhile betoken some spiritual grace, they pitch upon that, upon that taking of the word; and then anointing, it must needs be some grace, some gratia gratum faciens, making them religious and good Catholics, or some gratia gratis data, making them able or apt for to govern. So that if he will not hear a Mass, no Catholic, no "anointed." If after he is "anointed" he grow defective, to speak their own language, prove a tyrant, fall to favour heretics, his anointing may be wiped off, or scraped off; and then you may write a book De justa abdicatione, make a holy league, touch him or blow him up as ye list. This hath cost Christendom dear, it is a dangerous sore, a Noli me tangere; take heed of it, touch it not It is for ever. God's claim never forfeits; His character never to be wiped out or scraped out, nor Kings lose their right, no more than Patriarchs did their fatherhood allegiance is not due to him because he is virtuous, religious, or wise, but because he is christus Domini." 1.

Kings are to be obeyed no matter how unworthy they may be of such obedience:

91
 R "Caesar and God then will stand together: descend yet one degree further, we may put the case harder yet. For I demand, What Caesar was this for whose interest Christ here pleadeth? To quicken this point somewhat more; it is certain it was Tiberius, even he under whom our Saviour was (and knew He was to be) put to death; a stranger from Israel, a heathen man, uncircumcised, an idolater, and enemy to the truth. So were Augustus and the rest you will say; but even in moral goodness he nothing so good as they. The roman stories are in every man's hand; men know he was far from a good prince or good man either, as good went even among the heathen. Yea even this Caesar, and such as he; any Caesar will stand with God, and God with them for all that." 2.

And so rebellion against the divinely appointed King can never be justified:

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1. IV. p.57.
 2. V. p.132.

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"A king by nature is Rex Alcum, saith Solomon, one against whom there is no rising: so God would have it. Subjects, saith the Apostle, to lie down before them: rising up against is clean contrary to that, and so contrary to God's will; He would have no rising. The thought to rise, voluerunt insurgere in Regem is said of Bēgthan and Teresh, two of Ahasuerus' chamber, (mark that voluerunt insurgere), was enough to attain them; the rising but of the will, to bring them to the gallows. Nor the tongue is not to rise, or lift up itself. Korah did but gainsay, his tongue was but up, and he, and all that took his part, perished in their gainsaying, "the gainsaying of Korah". But chiefly none, either with Judas to "lift up his heel" to betray, no part of any party to rise against the King. Yet, rise they will, and do; both the thought swell, and exsurgēt e vobis, saith the Apostle, perversa loquentes, yea, and perversa facientes; lewd speech used, and worse than speech, presumptuous deeds too." 1.

As in the Book of Homilies and Shakespeare, rebellions are regarded as the work of the Devil:

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"Treason is in Hebrew called רֶבֶד, a binding together. Two there must be to be bound, at least; two, to conspire, or put their breaths together to make a conspiracy. Upon the point there is in all never less than three, for inter duos preditores diabolus est tertius. All that do conjure, conjure up a third to them; the Devil makes them up three, for he is one still, he the faggot-band that binds them, he the spirit that inspires all conspirators. For indeed, these unnatural treasons do not so much steam or vapour up out of our nature, bad though it be, as they be imissiones per angelos malos, sent into it by some messengers of Satan himself. Postquam misit Satanus in cor Judae, "after Satan had put it in his heart". For he it is that puts in their hearts to seek to do it; and to do it, if God break not the hand, choke not the breath of them, as here He did choke it in these, with suspensi sunt." 2.

Andrewes' attachment to the doctrine of the Divine Right of kings is thus obvious enough; an attachment due to his desire for order and his fear of disruption if the monarchical system were overthrown. Alongside this assertion of the Divine Right, however, there is a marked hesitation to dwell on the unconditional prerogative of the Crown to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs. The need for the Church of England shyly to apologise for herself had passed; by the time of Andrewes she had changed from the mood of apology to a more assertive self-consciousness. It was time for consolidation and for the codifying of her teaching and discipline.

1. IV. p.11.

2. IV. p.133.

Such a codification was attempted in the Canons of 1604; the more confident attitude owes much to the work of Andrewes.

Once again Hooker is the starting point for Andrewes' attitude to the problems of Church and State; Andrewes accepts the theory that Church and State are not completely separate entities but rather two aspects of the one entity:

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/ "From this happy conjunction of these two great lights, Caesar and God, here met together, linked with this copulative, Caesari and Deo, and both in compass of one period; against the Gaulonite of our age, the Anabaptist, who thinketh they are in opposition, the whole heaven in sunder, and that God hath not His due unless Caesar lays down his sceptre; that Caesar and God, Christ and a Christian magistrate, are ἀνευρετά, 'incompatible', that they stand aloof and will not come near another; here is a systasie, a consistence, they will stand together well - both they and their duties - as close as one verse, one breath, one period can join them.

To see then this pair thus near, thus coupled, thus as it were arm in arm together is a blessed sight." 1.

Behind this denunciation of the views of Cartwright there obviously lies the doctrine of 'order'; by subjecting the State to the Church Cartwright was upsetting the balanced hierarchy, extending the authority of the Church beyond its proper bounds. Hence Cartwright's views are equated with the worst type of Elizabethan 'bolshivism' - Anabaptism, in spite of the fact that Cartwright spent the greater part of his debate with Whitgift defending himself from this very charge. The condemnation of Cartwright on the grounds that he dangerously over-emphasised one sphere of the hierarchical system is well set forth in the same sermon "Of the giving Caesar his due":

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x "This is enough to show God impeacheth not Caesar, nor God's due/Caesar's right. Either permitteth other's interest, and both of them may jointly be performed. That as God's law supporteth the law of nations, so doth Christ plead for Caesar; His religion for Caesar's allegiance. His Gospel for Caesar's duty, even to a penny. It was but a penny was shewed; not so much as a penny of Caesar's, but Christ will speak, he may have it. This against the Gaulonite, that steps over quae Caesaris, the first part, and is all for quae Dei, the latter. And against the Herodian too, by whom quae Caesaris is stood on alone, and quae Dei slipped over. Two duties are set forth; there is a like regard to be had of both, that we make not Christ's answer serve for either alone. I know not how an

evil use hath possessed the world; commonly one duty is singled out and made much of, without heed had of the other. Quae Caesaris audibly and with full voice, Quae Dei drowned and scarce heard. And it is not in this alone but in many others; we cannot raise the price of one virtue but we must cry down all the rest." 1.

Preaching on Numbers x. 1-2, (Moses' two trumpets of silver) Andrewes returns to the same theme:

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"They are to be "of the whole piece" both of them, not of two diverse; and that must needs have a meaning... For unless it were for some meaning, what skilleth it else though they had been made of two several plates, but only to show that both assemblies are unius juris, both 'of one and the same right'; as the trumpets are wrought and beaten out, both of one entire piece of bullion." 2.

Such a conception of Church and State did not involve for Andrewes the acceptance of one legislative authority for the two spheres of the commonwealth. He takes the view that the King should act as the upholder of the Church's laws and authority; he should be the protector of the Church. Here he comes near to the view of Cartwright who, as we have seen, regarded Kings as the "nurses and servants" of the Church. For Andrewes too the King is a "nurse" of the Church:

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"They that persecute her (the Church) persecute Him; they that touch her, touch the apple of His eye. Now they that are enemies to David are enemies to Him; so near neighbourhood between David and Sion, the King and the Church, as there is between his palace and the temple; both stand upon two tops of one and the same hill. The King is nutritius Ecclesiae: if enemies to the nurse, then to the child, it cannot otherwise be. Experience teacheth it daily, when the child hath a good nurse, to take such a one away is but to expose the child to the evident danger of starving or pining away. I know not, men may entertain what speculations they will; but sure in praxi, how much the Church's welfare hath gone by the good and blessed inclination of Kings, it is too plain." 3.

But Andrewes' view of the King as overseer was far from being identical with that of Cartwright whose admission of the King's office of Custodian was a concession about which he did not feel really happy. He regarded it as an interim measure pending the 'presbyterianisation' of the monarchy.

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1. V. P. 131.
 2. V. p.147.
 3. IV. p.16..

He wanted a separation of Church and State because in his view they were two incompatible orders. Andrewes would admit no such incompatibility; his whole position is that to advance any theory which conflicted with the law of nations (for him the monarchy) was to rebel against the great hierarchy of law:

777 "Now of these that thus rise, two sorts there be. For either they rise against the very state itself of Kings, the very authority they exercise, that is, would have no Kings at all, saying with them Quis est Dominus noster, "who is Lord over us", as much as to say as, by their good will none; or such as only rise against their persons, as he in the twentieth chapter that said, "We have no part in David;" and they in the Gospel that say Nolumus hunc, "We will not have this man." Rule they would not have quite taken away, but not this person to rule over them. Of the first sort of these risers, are the Anabaptists of our age, by whom all secular jurisdiction is denied. No law-makers they, but the Evangelists; no courts but Presbyteries; no punishments, but Church censures. These rise against the very estate of Kings; and that should they find and feel, if they were once grown enough to make a party.

for k/ A second sort there be that are but bustling themselves to rise; not yet risen, at least not to this step, but in a forwardness they be; proffer at it, that they do. They that seek to bring parity, not into the commonwealth by no means, but only into the Church. All parishes alike, every one absolute, entire of itself. No dependency, or superiority, or subordination. But this once being had, do we not know their second position? Have they not broached it long since? The Church is the house, the Commonwealth but the hangings. The hangings must be made to fit the house, that is, the Commonwealth fashioned to the Church, not the house to the hangings; no, take heed of that. And when they were taken with it, and charged with it, how slightly in their answer do they slip it over. These, when they are got thus far, may rise one step higher; and as Aaron now must not, so perhaps neither must Moses then exalt himself above the congregation, seeing that all God's people are "holy", no less than he." 1.

Thus Andrewes' doctrine of Church and State is based primarily on his conception of 'Order'. Granted there was a theological basis underlying it, this was secondary. The Puritan position as expounded by Cartwright was condemned as being incompatible with the hierarchical system of laws; it would necessarily have led to the overthrowing of that divinely ordered system and consequent dissolution and chaos.

IX

Although, as we shall notice later, Andrewes' doctrine of the Church and the Ministry was closely linked with his conception of the Incarnation, it was by no means uninfluenced by his devotion to the hierarchical system of 'order.'

The Church's sole right to legislate in her own affairs is upheld by the authority of antiquity, but Andrewes reinforces it by an appeal to the necessity of 'order':

223 "This I may say for this cum (Cum autem jejunatis Matt. vi.16), it is no custom lately taken up, no law of the Church our mother that now is. She is grown old, and her senses fail her; she errs, or at least is said to err, at everybody's pleasures. It is a custom this of the Church while it was a Christo recens, 'yet fresh and warm from Christ'; the Church which was the mother of the Apostles themselves at all times kept, every where observed then and ever since. Some to shift it, frame to themselves a fear of I wot not what superstition, where no fear is. Before any superstition was stirring, any Popery hatched, it was, this fast was. Lex abstinendi in Quadragesima semper fuit in Ecclesia, saith the oracle of antiquity, Theophilus Alexandrinus. Lent was ever in the Church. Nos unam Quadragesimam secundum traditionem Apostolorum, 'we have but one Lent', the Montanists had three, 'but that one was delivered us by the Apostles,' saith St. Hierome. Why should I weary you with reckoning them up? What one more ancient writer than other is there, but you shall find it in him expressly, even up to Ignatius, who lived with the Apostles themselves. Apostolic then it is, and for such St. Hierome avows it; and when that is said enough is said for it I think. . . .

this And sure in general, that his power should remain in the Church to prescribe us set times was most behoveful. Every man, so we would have it, to be left to himself for prayer, fasting, Sacrament, nay for religion too now and all? For God's sake, let it not be so, let us not be left altogether to ourselves, no, not in prayer! Private prayer doth well; but let us be ordered to come to church, and do it there. Pharisees, Publicans, Peter and John, and all; let us have our days appointed and our hours set for it. If all were left to us, God knows I durst not promise what should become of prayer itself. The like I say for the Sacrament; let us have a cum when to come to that too: and so for fasting; fast privately in God's name, but, hear you, let not the Church trust to that. Nor she hath not held it wisdom so to do; but as in both them, prayer and the Sacrament, so in this holds us to our order of days and times established. Them if we keep, so it is: otherwise, were it not for the Church's

times, I doubt there would be taken scarce at any time at all. Now yet somewhat is done; but leave us once at liberty, liberty hath lost us some already, and will lose us the rest if it be not looked to in time." 1.

Thus although Andrewes is following on from Hooker who had asserted the Church's right to legislate in matters ecclesiastical, the actual expression of this view is coloured by his fear of the consequences of unbridled individualism; just as his fear of disorder in the state moulds his expression of the doctrine of Divine Right.

The Church holds such a definite place in the hierarchy of 'order' that a threat to destroy the Church constitutes a threat to the whole system, just as rebellion against the monarchy, which held an equally definite place in the divinely ordered scheme, was sure to bring dissolution:

" 'Let them be confounded and turned backward,' saith the Prophet, 'so many as have evil will at Sion.' Utinam abscondantur, saith the Apostle, qui vos conturbant. Against them well may we pray, that malign the peace and prosperity of the Church, in which and for which we and all the world to pray, as that for which all, world and all was made and is still upholden; for were the Church once gathered, the world dissolves straight. God is too high, as for any our good, so for any our evil or enmity, to come near Him. He reckoneth of no enemies but His Church's. They that persecute her, persecute Him; they that touch her, touch the apple of His eye." 2.

The Church has her own definite government, and the laws applying to all governments, apply to hers:

"Now it is plain, there can no society endure without government, and therefore God hath appointed in it (the Church) governors and assistants, which seeing they have power from God to reject or "receive Accusations," and to "judge those that are within" and of the fellowship, it is an idle imagination that some have imagined, to hold the Church hath not her judgement-seat, and power to censure her disobedient children. It hath ever been holden good divinity that the Church from Christ received power to censure and separate wilful offenders. Both, with the heathen man's separation, who might not so much as enter into the Church door, (which is the greater censure); and with the publican's separation, (which is the less) who might enter and pray in the "temple", but was avoided in common

1. I. p.392-3.

2. IV. p.16.

conversation, and in the fellowship of the private table, and therefore much more of the altar. Of which twain, the former the Apostle calleth "cutting off"; the latter, "abstaining from." The Primitive Church calleth the former excommunicatos, the latter abstentos. So that, to fancy no government is an imagination. A government there is." ¹.

The hierarchical conception of order more obviously lies behind Andrewes' exposition of the doctrine of the Ministry. If a properly ordered commonwealth reflected the great principle of 'degree' pervading the universe, no less so did the divinely ordered Ministry. Although Andrewes does base his teaching to some extent on the doctrine of Episcopacy and the Priesthood, the more obvious influence is the 'theology' of 'Order':

"Touching the form of which government (of the Church) many imaginations have lately been bred, in these our days especially. At the writing of this verse (Acts ii.42), it is certain that the government of Christian people consisted in two degrees only - of both which our Saviour Christ was the Author: 1. of the Twelve, 2. of the Seventy; both which were over the people, in things pertaining to God.

These two were, one superior to another, and not equal. And that the Apostle established an equality in the clergy, is, I take it, an imagination. No man could perish in the "gainsaying of Korah" under the Gospel, which St. Jude saith they may, if there were not a superiority in the Clergy; for Korah's mutiny was, because he might not be equal to Aaron, appointed his superior by God. Which very humour, observe it who will, hath brought forth most part of the heresies since the time of the Gospel; that Korah might not be Aaron's equal. Now of these two orders, the Apostles have ever been reckoned the superior to the other, till our times; as having, even under our Saviour Christ, a power to forbid others. And after exercising the same power; Silas, one of the Seventy, receiving a commandment, ἐπέταλν, from St. Paul an Apostle to come unto him. As the auditory had their "room" by themselves, so among the persons ecclesiastical the Apostles had a higher seat, as may be gathered; and in the very place itself were distinguished. Now in the place of the Twelve, succeeded Bishops; and in the place of the Seventy, Presbyteri, Priests or Ministers, and that by the judgement of Irenaeus, who lived immediately upon the Apostles' age, of Tertullian, of St. Augustine. And this, till of late, was thought the form of fellowship, and never other imagined." ².

The Puritans' idea of the Ministry is attacked on precisely the same ground as their view of Church and State: they wanted that horrible

1. V. pp.62-3.

2. V. pp.63-4.

thing, parity and equality; they would admit no superiority, they were overturning the ordered system.

Just as the King was divinely called to his office, so was the Bishop, Priest, or Deacon, and there must be no attempt to alter or widen their allotted spheres. The important thing was that the King should be the rightful ruler, properly anointed:

"Unxit in Regem, Royal unction gives no grace, but a just title only, in Regem, 'to be King'; that is all, and no more. It is the administration to govern, not the gift to govern well; the right of ruling, not the ruling right. It includes nothing but a due title, it excludes nothing but usurpation." 1.

And the same is true of the Church's officers:

"But the Holy Ghost may be received more ways than one. He hath many spiramina; *πολυτροπως* "in many manners" He comes; and *multiformis gratia* He comes with. He and they carry the name of the cause; and to receive them, is to receive the Spirit. There is a *gratum faciens*, the saving grace of the Spirit, for one to save himself by, received by each without respect to others; and there is *gratis data*, whatever become of us, serving to save others by, without respect to ourselves. And there is *χαρις διακονιας* "the grace of a holy calling:" for it is a grace, to be a conduit of grace any way. All these, and all from one and the same Spirit.

That was here conferred, was not the saving grace of inward sanctimony; they were not breathed on to that end. The Church to this day gives this still in her ordinations, but the saving grace the Church cannot give; none but God can give that. That came by the tongues, both the gift of speaking divers languages, and the gift of *ἁποφθεγγεσθαι*, speaking wisely, and to the purpose; and we know, none is either the holier or the learned, by his ordination" 2.

Authority is from God not from the people, and so the puritan idea of "callings" is to be resisted:

"We say again; it is accipite, no assumite. Assumit, qui nemine dante accipit, 'He assumes, that takes that is not given.' But nemo assumit honorem hunc, "this honour no man takes unto him, or upon him, till it be given him." As quod accipitur non habetur in the last, so quod accipitur datur in this. And both these are against the voluntaries of our age, with their taken-on callings. No accipite, no receiving; take it up of their own accords, make themselves what they are; sprinkle

1. IV. p.58.

2. III. pp.276-7.

their own heads with water, lay their own hands on their own heads, and so take that to them which none ever gave them. They be hypostles - so doth St. Paul well term them, as it were the mock apostles - and the term comes home to them, for *ἡ ἀποστολὴ* they be filii subtractionis right; work all to subtraction, to withdraw poor souls, to make them forsake the fellowship, as even then the manner was. This brand hath the Apostle set on them, that we might know them and avoid them.

We may be sure, Christ could have given the Spirit without any ceremony; held His breath, and yet sent the Spirit into them without any more ado. He would not; an outward ceremony He would have, for an outward calling He would have. For if nothing outward had been in His, we should have had nothing but enthusiasts - as them we have notwithstanding; but then we should have had no rule with them; all by divine revelation: into that they resolve. For sending, breathing, laying on of hands, have they none. But if they be of Christ, some must say, *mitto vos*; sent by some, not run of their own heads." 1.

As with any attempt to tamper with the ordered system, ignoring or dismissing the 'divisions' and 'degrees' of the Ministry is bound to lead to disruption:

"We have set down the order. Will you now reflect upon it a little, and see the variation of the compass, and see how these divisions are all put out of order; and who be in, and who be out at every one of them? First, whereas the gift and the calling are, and so are to be, relatives, neither without the other; there are men of no gifts to speak of that may seem to have come too late, or to have been away quite, at the first of the Spirit's dealing - no share they have of it; yet what do they (the Puritans)? Fairly stride over the gifts, never care for them, and step into the calling over the gifts, and so over the Holy Ghost's head. Where they should begin with the gift, the first thing they begin with, is to get them a good place. Let the gift come after, if it will; or if do not, it skills not greatly. They are well, they lie soaking in the broth in the meantime ...

What say you to a gift without a calling? Some such there are, no man must say but gifts they have, such as they be; but they care not greatly for troubling themselves with any calling. They are even as well without. Hop up and down as grass-hoppers, hither and thither, but place they will have none; yet their fingers itch, and they cannot hold them, doing they must be; and if they have got the fag end of a gift, have at the work; be doing they will of their own heads, uncalled by any so that have right to call; and for default of others even make no more ado, but call themselves, lay their own hands upon their own heads, utterly against Christ's mind and rule. And so over Christ's head they come, from the gift to the work, without any calling at all

1. III. p.273.

What say you to them that have neither (gift nor calling), but fetch their run for all that, and leap quite over gift and calling, Christ and the Holy Ghost both, and chop into the work at the first dash? That put themselves into business, which they have neither fitness for, nor calling to? Yet no man can keep them, but meddle they will, and in Church matters specially - there soonest of all; and print us Catechisms and compose us treatises, set out prayers and new psalms, as if every foreigner were free, and might set up with us. Good Lord what the poor Church suffers in this kind!

So have you 1. a calling and no gift; 2. a gift and no calling; 3. neither gift nor calling, but work for all that; 4. both gift and calling, and no work, not for all that. All awry, all in obliquity, for want of observing the order here established. These obliquities to avoid." 1.

X

It has been noted that Hooker re-emphasised, in face of the contemporary Protestant outlook, the centrality of the Incarnation in Christian theology, and that this was linked with his treatment of the Sacraments and the Church. In Andrewes this re-emphasis of the Incarnation is even more marked, and its influence on his doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments is more profound and logical. Not that Andrewes treats of the Incarnation in any systematic way, any more than he does the relation of Church and State; his theology of the Incarnation is revealed in the whole tenor of his sermons, particularly in the three great series on the Nativity, the Resurrection, and the Sending of the Holy Ghost.

Preaching on the text from Isaiah ix. 2. "for unto us a child is born, and unto us a son is given", Andrewes emphasises the centrality of the Incarnation in the divine redemption of mankind:

|| "We have two words, "Child", and "Son;" neither waste. But if no more in the second than in the first, the first had been enough, the second superfluous. But in this Book nothing is superfluous. So then two diverse things they import.

Weigh the words: "Child" is not said but in humanis, 'among men'. "Son" may be in divinis, 'from heaven'; God spake it, "This is My Son"; may, and must be, here.

Weigh the other two; 1. "born", and 2. "given". That which is born beginneth then first to have his being. That which is given presupposeth a former being; for be it must that it may be given.

12 Again, when we say "born", of whom? of the Virgin His mother; when we say "given", by whom? by God His Father.

Essay promised the sign we should have should be from the "deep" here "beneath", and should be from the "height above"; both "a Child" from "beneath", and "a Son" from above. To conclude; it is an exposition decreed by the Fathers assembled in the Council of Seville, who upon these grounds expound this very place so; the Child, to import His human; the Son His divine nature.

All along His life you shall see these two. At His birth; a cratch for the Child, a star for the Son; a company of shepherds viewing the Child, a choir of Angels celebrating the Son. In His life; hungry Himself, to shew the nature of the Child; yet feeding five thousand, to shew the power of the Son. At His death; dying on the cross, as the "Son of Adam"; at the same time disposing of Paradise, as the "Son of God".

If you ask, why both these? For that in vain had been the one without the other. Somewhat there must be borne, by this mention of shoulders; meet it is every one should bear his own burden. The nature that sinned bear his own sin; not Ziba make the fault, and Mephibosheth bear the punishment. Our nature had sinned, that therefore ought to suffer; the reason, why a Child. But that which our nature should, our nature could not bear; not the weight of God's wrath due to our sin: but the Son could; the reason why a Son. The one ought but could not, the other could but ought not. Therefore either alone would not serve; they must be joined, Child and Son. But that He was a Child, He could not have suffered. But that He was a Son, He had sunk in His suffering, and not gone through with it. God had no shoulders; man had, but too weak to sustain such a weight. Therefore, that He might be liable He was a Child, that He might be able He was the Son; that He might be both, He was both

The Person, briefly. The "Child," and the "Son" these two make but one Person clearly; for both these have but one name, "His Name shall be called", and both these have but one pair of shoulders, "Upon His shoulders". Therefore, though two natures, yet but One Person in both. A meet person to make a Mediator of God and man, as symbolising with either, God and man. A meet person if there be division between them, as there was, and "great thought of heart" for it, to make union; ex utroque unum, seeing He was unum ex utroque. Not man only; there lacked the shoulder of power, Not God only; there lacked the shoulder of justice; but both together. And so have ye the two supporters of all, 1. Justice, and 2. Power. A meet Person to cease hostility, as having taken pledges of both Heaven and earth - the chief nature in Heaven, and the chief on earth; to set forward commerce between Heaven and earth by Jacob's ladder, "one end touching earth, the other reaching to Heaven;" to incorporate either to other, Himself by His birth being become the "Son of man", by our new birth giving us a capacity to become the "sons of God." 1.

This passage is typical of Andrewes' thought on the Incarnation; for him it is essentially the means of the reconciliation of God and man. Hence his insistence on the reality of the two natures in the one Person; like Hooker before him, he interprets the Person of Christ in terms of the Chalcedonian definition:

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"Why then, factum est caro, "the Word is made flesh"; this makes up all. For, factum est, ergo est; 'He is made flesh, therefore is flesh'. Fieri terminatur ad esse, 'the end of making is being'. And per modum naturae (so is ἐγένετο, the Greek word:) 'this being is natural'; et nativitas est via ad naturam, 'and nativity is the way to nature'. So, to be born; as this day He was. Venit per carnem, sanat per verbum, "that all flesh may see the salvation of God." "Made" it was; against Manicheus holding that He had no true body; as if factum had been fictum, or making were mocking. Made it was, but how made? Not convertendo, 'the Word converted into flesh', as Cerinthus; or 'flesh converted into the Word', Verbum caro facta est, as Valentinus; for the Deity cannot be changed into anything, nor anything into it. Nor made conciliando, as friends are made, so as they continue two several persons still; and while the flesh suffered the Word stood by and looked on as Nestorius. That is cum carne, not caro; 'made with flesh', not flesh'; and never was one person said to be made another. Nor made by compounding; and so a third thing produced of both, as Eutyches. For so, He should be neither of both, Word nor flesh, neither God nor man.

But "made" He was; St. Paul tells us how; assumendo, "by taking the seed of Abraham". His generation eternal, as Verbum Deus, is as the inditing the word within the heart. His generation in time, Verbum caro, is as the uttering it forth with the voice. The inward motion of the mind taketh unto it a natural body of air, and so becometh vocal: The inward it is not changed into it, the word remaineth still as it was, yet they two become one voice. Take a similitude from ourselves. Our soul is not turned into nor compounded with the body, yet they two though distinct in natures grow into one man. So, into the Godhead was the manhood taken; the natures preserved without confusion, the person entire without division." 1.

The Incarnation for Andrewes is not only the means whereby God and man are reconciled; for him it implies the reconciliation of the spiritual and the material. Reformed thought, and especially the Calvinistic type, had been very chary of the use of the material for spiritual purposes, and Andrewes' reaction against such tendencies is nowhere more strong than in his development of the implications of the Incarnation. For him the use of the material was sanctioned by the very fact of an Incarnation, where human nature is taken by God as the means of revealing Himself and

redeeming mankind. Hence we find that in Andrewes the Incarnation and the Sacraments are intimately linked together; indeed, in many ways the Eucharist is for him an Incarnation writ small. Thus just as in the Incarnation there is the union of the two natures, divine and human, so in the Sacrament of the Eucharist there is an "incarnation" of the "sign" and the "thing signified", the bread and wine, and the body and blood of Christ:

"For there (in the Eucharist) we do not gather to Christ or of Christ, but we gather Christ Himself; and gathering Him we shall gather the tree and fruit and all upon it. For us there is a recapitulation of all in Heaven and Earth in Christ, so there is a recapitulation of all in Christ in the Holy Sacrament. You may see it clearly: there is in Christ the Word eternal for things in Heaven: there is also flesh for things in earth. Semblably, the Sacrament consisteth of a Heavenly and of a terrene part, (it is Irenaeus' own words); the Heavenly - there the word too, the abstract of the other; the earthly - the element.

And in the elements, you may observe there is a fulness of the seasons of the natural year; of the corn-flour or harvest in the one, bread; of the vine-press or vintage in the other, wine. And in the Heavenly, of the "wheat-corn" whereto He compareth Himself - bread, even the "living bread" (or, Bread of Life) "that came down from heaven"; the true manna, whereof we may gather each his gomer. 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 aptasi Mihi of this day.

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. And even from this Sacramental union do the Fathers borrow their resemblance, to illustrate by it the personal union in Christ: I name Theodoret for the Greek, and Gelasius for the Latin Church, that insist upon it both, and press it against Eutyches. That even as in the Eucharist neither part is evacuate or turned into the other, but abide each still in his former nature and substance, no more is either of Christ's natures annulled, or one of them converted into the other, as Eutyches held, but each nature remaineth still full and whole in His own kind. And backwards; as the two natures in Christ, so the signum and signatum in the Sacrament, e converso. And this latter device, of the substance of the bread and wine to be flown away and gone, and in the room of it a remainder of nothing else but accidents to stay behind, was to them not known, and had it been true, had made for Eutyches and against them. And this for the likeness of union in both." 1.

1. I. pp.281-2.

Each of the sermons of the Nativity leads up to a specific reference to the Eucharist as the most obvious illustration of the Incarnational theology expounded in the main body of the sermon; as, for instance, this from a sermon on the text from Luke ii. 12-14: "Ye shall find the Child swaddled, and laid in a cratch etc."

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"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 but 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." 1.

Andrewes develops the statement of Hooker that in the Sacrament we participate in the Body and Blood of Christ; the Eucharist is pre-eminently the means whereby we partake of the benefits of the Incarnation:

"It is very agreeable to reason, saith the Apostle, that we endeavour and make a proffer, if we may by any means, to 'apprehend' Him in His, by Whom we are thus in our nature 'apprehended', or, as He termeth it, 'comprehended', even Christ Jesus; and be united to Him this day, as He was to us this day, by a mutual and reciprocal 'apprehension'. We may so, and we are bound so; vere dignum et justum est. And we do so, so oft as we do with St. James lay hold of, 'apprehend', or receive insitum verbum, the "word which is daily grafted into us". For "the Word" He is, and in the word He is received by us. But that is not the proper of this day, unless there be another joined unto it. This day Verbum caro factum est, and so must be 'apprehended' in both. But specially in His flesh as this day giveth it, as this day would have us. Now "the bread which we break, is it not the partaking of the body, of the flesh, of Jesus Christ"? It is surely, and by it and by nothing more are we made partakers of this blessed union. A little before He said, "Because the children were partakers of flesh and blood, He also would take part with them" - may we not say the same? Because He hath so done, taken ours of us, we also ensuing His steps will participate with Him and with His flesh which He hath taken of us. It is most kindly to take part with Him in that which He took part in with us, and that, to no other end, but that he might make the receiving of it by us a means whereby He might "dwell in us, and we in Him"; He taking our flesh, and we receiving His Spirit; by His flesh which He took of us receiving His Spirit which He imparteth to us; that, as He by ours became consors humanae naturae, so we might by His become consortes

Divinae naturae, "partakers of the Divine nature". Verily, it is the most straight and perfect 'taking-hold' that is. No union so knitteth as it. Not consanguinity; brethren fall out. Not marriage; man and wife are severed. But that which is nourished, and the nourishment wherewith - they never are, never can be severed, but remain one for ever." 1.

Andrewes does not hesitate to use the word 'sacrifice' of the Eucharist; it is not only a participation in the benefits of the Incarnation: It is the means whereby we appropriate to ourselves the redemption wrought by the sacrifice of Christ on Calvary:

16 "He is given (to) us in pretium, 'for a price'. A price either of ransom to bring us out de loco caliginoso; or a price of purchase of that where without it we have no interest, the kingdom of heaven. For both he is given; offer we Him for both. We speak of quid retribuam? We can never retribute the like thing. He was given us to that end we might give Him back. We wanted, we had nothing valuable; that we might have, this He gave us as a thing of greatest price to offer for that which needeth a great price, our sins, so many in number, and so foul in quality. We had nothing worthy God; this He gave us that is worthy Him, which cannot be but accepted, offer we it never so often. 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.

He is given us, as Himself saith, as "the 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." 2.

XI

The most significant feature of Andrewes' treatment of the Eucharist is certainly his conception of the connection between the Ministry of the Word and the Ministry of the Sacraments. His re-affirmation of the centrality of the Incarnation did not involve for Him sole concentration on the Eucharist; on this he is most insistent, for such an isolation of the Eucharist would be a very denial of the implications of the Incarnation.

1. I. pp.16-17.

2. I. p.30.

The Incarnation was an Incarnation of the totality of human nature; hence response to the Incarnation must be the response of one's whole being, body, mind, and spirit. The Eucharist is the crowning act of the liturgy; it must be seen as the summing-up of the various responses of man's faculties. In this emphasis on completeness and fullness of worship there is again evident the influence of the contemporary idea of order. Just as there must be no overbalancing in the ordering of Church and State, no confusing of the two separate and distinct natures in the Person of Christ, so there must also be no upsetting the balance of the ordered liturgy. The various acts of worship constitute a hierarchy of laws, and the rules pertaining to such a system must be observed. If the Puritans by concentrating solely on the Authority of Scripture were upsetting the balance, giving an 'unnatural' bias to the Divine Law as against the Law of Nature, any one who isolated prayer, or preaching, or the Sacraments, was equally guilty of the unforgivable crime: threatening the 'order' of things.

Some assessment of the relation between preaching and the Sacraments was most necessary for the Anglicans of Andrewes' time since Reformation Doctrine had tended to bring about a complete divorce between the two. Hooker marks the beginning of an attempt to set the Sacraments in their proper perspective, as being intimately connected with the Incarnation, but he did not go much beyond asserting the fact of the connection, and he did not in any way attempt to work out the connection of preaching with the Incarnation in general or with the Sacraments in particular. It was the work of Andrewes which helped to set the Ministry of the Word and the Ministry of the Sacraments on their proper level: both were intimately connected with the Incarnation. Andrewes is one of the finest exponents of the liturgic use of the sermon.

He begins by deploring the contemporary isolation of the sermon in the worship of the Church:

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 "There is not any time, but this caution ("Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only") of St. James is needful; but the special time for it is, when hearing of the word is growing into such request, as it hath got the start of all the rest of the parts of God's service. So as, but that sure we are

the world will not like any one thing long, it might justly be feared lest this part eating out the rest should grow indeed the sole and only worship of God; which St. James by no means would have it.

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Now if this be a proper text for such times, our times are such; this way our age is affected, now is the world of sermons. For proof whereof, as if all godliness were in hearing of sermons, take this very place, the house of God which now you see meetly well replenished; come at any other parts of the service of God, (parts, I say, of the service of God no less than this) you shall find it in a manner desolate. And not here only, but go any whither else ye shall find even the like.

And this, to speak with Solomon, "is an evil disease under the sun", which hath possessed the world; or, with St. James, a strong illusion of our ghostly enemy. Who, when he cannot draw us wholly from the service of God, maketh us single out some one part of it from the rest, and to be superstitiously conceited of that part, to make much of it, and to magnify it highly, nay only, with neglect and even as it were with some disgrace to all besides it.

Of which I may well say with St. James, the third chapter following, at the tenth verse, "My beloved, these things ought not so to be;" nor they cannot so be, without manifest impeachment of the wisdom of God, Who hath appointed all the rest as well as this, and would have us make a conscience of all the rest no less than of this. And we cannot so sever out one as we do, but this will follow, that God did well and wisely in appointing that one, but not so in the rest. For as for them, they might well have been spared; we can serve God without them well enough.

Truly, though we cannot turn the stream or torrent of the time, (for that men will not hear of ought against hearing) yet sure it is this is "utterly a fault;" hearing is not the only thing, and so much we must and do testify unto you, though our witness be not received." 1.

Such isolation means an over-stressing of one of man's faculties to the detriment of the rest:

"At Athens they said to St. Paul; nova quaedam infers auribus nostris. It is our case right - infers auribus, but is an infers without a proffers, any proffers at all. In at our ears there goes I know not how many sermons, and every day more and more if we might have our wills. Infers auribus, into the ears they go, the ear and all filled and even forced with them, but there the ear is all.

It puts me in mind of the great absurdity, as St. Paul reckons it. What, "is all hearing?" saith he. All hearing? Yes; all is hearing with us. But that all should be hearing is as much as if all one's body should be nothing but an ear; and that were a strange body! But that absurdity are we fallen into. The corps, the whole body of some men's profession,

1. V. p.187.

all godliness with some, what is it but hearing a sermon? The ear is all, the ear is all that is done, and but by our ear-mark no man should know us to be Christians. They were wont to talk much of Auricular Confession; I cannot tell, but now all is turned to an auricular profession. And, to keep us to proferte, our profession is an in-ing profession. In it goes but brings nothing out, nothing comes from it again." 1.

No worship can be complete if the Eucharist is neglected:

"And with this to begin, to consecrate this first day of this fulness of time even with our service to Him at the full; which is then at the full when no part is missing, when all our duties of preaching, and praying, of hymns, of offering, of Sacrament and all, meet together. No fulness 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. Fully we cannot say. Quid retribuam Domino? but we must answer, Calicem salutaris accipiam, "we will take the Cup of salvation," and with it in our hands give thanks to Him, render Him our true Eucharist, or real thanksgiving indeed." 2.

In worship, therefore, there must be completeness of response; worship is not something so entirely inward that externals are to be ignored. In fact it is only through externals that the inward can be fully expressed. Here Andrewes' conception of the implications of the Incarnation is obviously influencing his idea of worship; the Incarnation, was a true Incarnation, full human nature being assumed by the Divine Logos, and that same nature with all its faculties is to be fully engaged in worship:

"If He breathed into us our soul, but framed not our body, but some other did that, neither bow your knee nor uncover your head, but keep on your hats, and sit even as you do hardly. But if He hath framed that body of yours and every member of it, let Him have the honour both of head and knee, and every member else.

Again, if it be not that He gave us our worldly goods but somebody else, what He gave not, that withhold from Him and spare not. But if all came from Him, all to return to Him. If He send all, to be worshipped with all. And this in good sooth is but reasonable obsequium, as the Apostle calleth it. No more than reason would, we should worship Him with all.

1. I. pp.420-1.

2. I. p.62.

Else if all our worship be inward only, with our hearts and not our hats as some fondly imagine, we give Him but one of three; we put Him to His thirds, bid Him be content with that, He gets no more but inward worship." 1.

The balanced 'order' of the liturgy is to be observed:

"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." 2.

Such is Andrewes' idea of the fullness of worship - an extension of the principles of the Incarnation, and the same principles underlie his treatment of the link between preaching and the Sacraments.

The sermon for Andrewes is the preparation for the Eucharist. In the sermon the personal is necessarily predominant; human personality is used as a means of conveying of the Gospel of the Incarnation. But the matter cannot end there; there is the necessity for doing something about it, and unless we do do something about it we are thrown back on ourselves. Instead of losing the self we are left with a heightened self-reference which cannot achieve any 'catharsis' through some significant action, through self-offering. But if from the sermon, where the element of self is predominant, one proceeds to the Eucharist where that now heightened self-consciousness is lost in a corporate act of self-giving, then worship is complete: the personal and the impersonal, the inward and the outward, the material and the spiritual, are all fused in the one great act of worship.

The full liturgy of sermon and Eucharist is thus for Andrewes an Incarnation in miniature:

51 / "But the Fathers press a farther matter yet out of Verbum caro factum; that we also are after our manner verbum carnem facere, 'to incarnate the word'. We have a word - we may do it too - which is the type or abstract of the every Word, or

1. I. p.262.

2. III. p.128.

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wisdom of God; and that is the word which is preached unto us. That word we may, and are to incarnate according to this day's pattern. That we so do. That word is then incarnate, quando verbum in opus, Scripturas in operas convertimus, 'when into a real work'. The word with us turneth to nothing but wind. To give it St. John's flesh, and St. James' vidimus, make it both felt and seen. Especially, since our Saviour Himself saith, "He reckoneth of this as His second birth, and, of every one that so doth, esteemeth as His mother." That is the duty properly belonging to this day, the day of His birth." 1.

This being so sermon and Eucharist are not to be separated:

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"But though there be in the word a saving power, yet is not all saving power in that, nor in that only; there is a press beside. For this press is going continually among us, but there is another that goes but at times. But in that, it goes at such times as it falls in most fit of all the rest. For of it comes very wine indeed, the blood of the grapes of the true Vine, which in the blessed Sacrament is reached to us, and with it is given us that for which it was given, even remission of sins. Not only represented therein but even exhibited to us. Both which when we partake, then have we a full and perfect communion with Christ this day; of His speaking righteousness in the word preached, of His power to save in the holy Eucharist ministered. Both presses run for us, and we to partake them both." 2.

"It were a folly to fall to comparisons, committere inter se, to set them at odds together these two ways, as the fond fashion now-a-days is, whether is better, Prayer or Preaching; the Word or the Sacraments. What needs this? Seeing we have both, both are ready for us; the one now, the other by-and-by; we may end this question soon. And this is the best and surest way to end it; to esteem of them both, to thank Him for both, to make us of both; having now done with one, to make trial of the other. It may be, who knows? if the one will not work, the other may. And if by the one or by the other, by either if it be wrought, what harm have we? In case it be not, yet have we offered to God our service in both, and committed the success of both to Him. He will see they shall have success, and in His good time, as shall be expedient for us, vouchsafe every one of us as He did Mary Magdalene in the text, "to know Him and the virtue of His resurrection; "and make us partakers of both, by both the means before remembered." 3.

The Eucharist following the sermon constitutes the necessary significant action; the whole liturgical movement forming a parallel with the Incarnation:

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1. I. p.99.
 2. III. p.77.
 3. III. p.22.

II 136

"To be a doer of the word, is, as St. Gregory saith well, *convertere scripturas in operas*, to change the word which is audible into a work which is visible, the word which is transient into a work which is permanent.

Or rather not to change it, but, as St. Augustine saith, *accedat ad verbum*, unto the word that we hear let there be joined the element of the work, that is, some real elemental deed; *et sic fit magnum sacramentum pietatis*, and so shall you have "the great mystery" or sacrament of "godliness." For indeed godliness is as a sacrament; hath not only the mystery to be known, but the exercise to be done; not the word to be heard, but the work also to be performed: or else, if it be not a sacrament it is not true godliness.

Which very sacrament of godliness is there said to be the manifesting of the word in the flesh; which itself is lively expressed by us when we are doers of the word, as is well gathered out of our Saviour Christ's speech to them which interrupted Him in His sermon, and told Him His mother was without. "Who is my mother?" saith He. These here, that hear and do My words are My mother, they "travail" of Me till I am fashioned in them. Hearing, they receive the immortal seed of the word; by a firm purpose of doing they conceive, by a longing desire they quicken, by an earnest endeavour they travail with it; and when the work is wrought, *verbum caro factum est*, they have incarnate the word. Therefore, to the woman's acclamation, "Blessed be the womb that bare Thee;" "True, saith Christ, but that blessing can extend but only to one, and no more. I will tell you how you may be blessed too; blessed are they that so incarnate the written word by doing it, as the blessed Virgin gave flesh to the eternal Word by bearing it." 1.

Since such significant action is part of the full response to the Incarnation, it necessarily involves the body:

475 "That God, though he have so exalted it (the name of Jesus) yet reckons it not exalted, unless we do our parts also, unless our exaltation come too. At which words comes in our duty, the part that concerns us. Thus to esteem it *Super omne nomen*, "above all;" and in Sign we so do, to declare as much. And therein He leaves us not to ourselves, but prescribes the very manner of our declaration, how He will have it, namely, these two ways: "The knee to bow to it," "the tongue to confess it."

Now these are outward acts, both. So then, first we are to set down this for a ground that the exalting of the soul within (us) is not enough. More is required by Him, more to be performed by us. He will not have the inward parts only, and it skills not for the outward members, though we favour our knees, and lock up our lips. No, mental devotion will not serve, He will have both corporal and vocal to express it by.

Our body is to afford her part, to His glory; and the parts of our body, and namely, these two, the knee, and the tongue. Not only the upper parts, the tongue in our head,

but even the nether also, the knee in our leg. The words be plain, I see not how we can avoid them." 1.

The manifestation of God in the Incarnation and the sending of the Holy Spirit are represented in miniature in the receiving of the word and the Sacraments:

453 "The two types He came in being bodily, serve to teach us we are not to seek after means merely spiritual for attaining it, but trust, as here He visited these (the apostles at Pentecost), so will He us, and that per signa corporea, saith Chrysostom. For had we been spirit, and nothing else, God could and would immediately have inspired us that way; but consisting of bodies also as we do, it hath seemed to His wisdom most agreeable, to make bodily signs the means of conveying the graces of His Spirit into us. And that, now the rather, ever since the Holy One Himself and Fountain of all holiness, Christ, the Son of God, partaketh of both body and Spirit, is both Word and flesh. Thus it is; that "by the word we are sanctified," et per linguam verbi patrem, saith Chrysostom, even by those tongues here; but no less, by His flesh and body. And indeed, this best answereth the term filling, which is proper to food; et Spiritus est ultimum alimenti, 'the uttermost perfection of nourishment.' In which respect He instituted escam spiritualem, "spiritual food," to that end; 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 - it is the Apostles own word.

In a word; our Pentecost is to be as these types here were. They were for both senses; 1. the ear which is the sense of the word; 2. and the eye, which is the sense of the Sacrament, visibile verbum, so it is called. Meant thereby, that both these should ever go together, as this day; and as the type was, so the truth should be." 2.

Since the Eucharist is the necessary significant action in the total response of worship, Andrews does not hesitate to use the word sacrifice. The Eucharist is, not a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ on the Cross, but a "showing forth" of it, an appropriation of the benefits wrought for all mankind.

453 "Celebremus, and epulemur. There be that refer celebremus to the day, epulemur to the action, and so it may well; both day and action have interest in this text. And then the text is against them that have never an Easter-day in their calendar. But the Fathers usually refer both to the action. Their reason, because in truth the Eucharist now in the Gospel is that the Passover was under the Law, the antitype answering to their type of the Paschal lamb. It is plain by the immediate passage

1. II p.333.

2. III pp.143-4.

of it from the one to the other, that no sooner done, but this began. Look how soon the Paschal lamb eaten, presently the holy Eucharist instituted, to succeed in the place of it for ever. And yet more plain, that this very Scripture of my text was thought so pertinent, and so proper to this action, as it was always said, or sung at it. And I know no cause but it might be so still. Two things Christ there gave us in charge: 1. ἀναμνησῆς, "remembering," and 2. λαψῆς "receiving." The same two, St. Paul, but in other terms, 1. καταγγεῖλαι "shewing forth;" 2. κοινῶναι "communicating." Of which, "remembering" and "shewing forth" refer to celebremus, "receiving" and "communicating" to epulemur here.

loc | The first, in remembrance of Him, Christ. What of Him? Mortem Domini, His death, saith St. Paul, "to shew forth the Lord's death." Remember Him? That he will and stay at home, think of Him there. Nay, shew Him forth ye must. That he will by a sermon of Him. Nay, it must be hoc facite. 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 κλωμενον, how His sacred body was broken," and ἐκχυόμενον, 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 praefigurationem, 'do this in prefiguration of Me:' to us it is, "Do this in commemoration of Me." 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, there is but one only sacrifice, veri 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. The Lamb, but once actually slain in the fulness of time, but virtually was from the beginning, is and shall be to the end of the world. That the centre in which their lines and ours, their types and our antitypes do meet. While yet this offering was not, the hope of it was kept alive by the prefiguration of it in theirs. And after it is past, the memory of it is still kept fresh in mind by the commemoration of it in ours. So it was the will of God, that so there might be with them a continual fore-shewing, and with us a continual shewing forth, the "Lord's death till He come again." Hence it is that what names theirs carried, ours do the like, and the Fathers make no scruples at it - no more need we. The Apostle in the tenth chapter compareth this of ours to the immolata 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 ejusdem generis." 1.

Every sermon in the great series on the Nativity and the Resurrection ends with an explicit reference to the Eucharist. The sermon for Andrewes

is a preparatory exposition of some aspect of the Incarnation, whereby there is instilled into the heart and mind of the hearer the desire to express his response in the significant action of the Eucharist. This is the characteristic note of his teaching on the Eucharist in the sermons, and only occasionally does he indicate his attitude to the controversial issues of the day, as, for example, the sense in which the Eucharist could be termed a sacrifice. In relating the sermon to the Eucharist, and showing how both were inevitably linked with the Incarnation, he paved the way for a more organic conception of worship in the Church of England; in insisting on the total response of the human personality, body as well as mind and spirit, he saved Anglicanism from that divorce between the spiritual and the material which was the logical conclusion of Puritan thought.

If the Sacraments were closely connected with the Incarnation the same is true of the Church. The principle of the Incarnation lies behind the being of the Church; it is the extension of that principle, it is the body of Christ:

"They came to embalm Christ's body natural; that needs it not, it is past embalming now. But another body He hath, a mystical body, a company of those that had believed in Him, though weakly; that they would go and anoint them, for they need it." 1.

"We can add nothing to Him by our Benedictus; say we it, say we it not, He is blessed alike. True; to Him we cannot wish - not to His person, but to His Name we can, and He is blessed when His Name is blessed; we can wish His Name more blessedly used, and not in cursing and cursed oaths, as daily we hear it.

And to His Word we can, we can wish it more devoutly heard, and not as a few strains of wit as our manner is.

Yea, even to His person we can. There is a way to do that, inasmuch as He and His Church are now grown into one, make but one person; what is said or done to it, is said and done to Himself. Bless it, and He is blessed." 2.

The Church of England is a reformed body, but not so reformed as to be past recognition as part of the Catholic Church; her worship must not be shorn of the essentials established by tradition:

1. II. p.236.

2. II. p.368.

"That we set ourselves to drive away superstition, it is well; but it will be well too that we so drive it away, as we drive not all reverent regard and decency away with it also. And are we not well toward it? we have driven it from our head, for we keep on of all hands; and from our knees, for kneel we may not - we use not, I am sure. Sure heed would be taken, that by taking heed we prove not superstitious we slip not into the other extreme before we be aware, which of the two extremes religion worse endureth, as more opposite unto it. For believe this, as it may be superstitiously used, so it may irreligiously be neglected also." 1.

XII

The basic assumption of Andrewes' conception of the Church of England, - the "new Anglicanism" of the seventeenth century - was her essential continuity with the ancient Catholic Church, holding fast to Apostolic practice and the teaching of the Fathers. The English Church was a reformed Catholic Church, not hastily casting off doctrines and practices which had the support of long tradition. In many ways the ideal of the reformed Church of England as conceived by Andrewes and his followers constituted a return to the outlook of earlier reformers, especially Cranmer. "It was not the pursuit of a phantom primitive Protestantism, ever eluding the historian's grasp and finally disappearing into the dim decades of the close of the first century, but a purified Catholic Church, the old historic, visible, familiar household of faith, healed of its wounds and returning to its higher earlier self. A reformed Catholicism would be such as Chrysostom or Alfred could feel at home in, and David, Boniface, Chad or Anselm not repudiate as alien." 2.

The authority of the Fathers achieved a new pre-eminence in the work of Andrewes of his 'school'. They were read now not so much for polemical purposes, but because they were the acknowledged custodians of the traditional teaching of the Church. Whereas the earlier Anglican apologists like Jewel, Whitgift, and Hooker, tended to use the Fathers primarily as

1. II. p.337.

2. D. Maclean: 'Lancelot Andrewes and the Reaction', p.2.

authorities to controvert their opponents, Andrewes and his followers read the Patristic works as the repositories of sound doctrine. The popularity of the works of the Reformers had waned for members of the new Anglican movement, being now confined to their Puritan opponents. The Fathers and the Vulgate were the text-books of the 'High' Anglicans; Calvin and the Genevan version of the Puritans.

The use of the Fathers naturally influenced the content of the sermons: a series on the great doctrines of the Incarnation, the Resurrection, and the Holy Spirit, backed up by quotations from their favourite authorities, is a feature of all preachers of the Andrewes school. More significantly this close attention to the theological teaching of the Fathers profoundly influenced the structure and style of the sermons. The Fathers did not merely expound doctrine, they expounded it in a certain way, and a man like Andrewes wished, not only to demonstrate the continuity of the Anglican Church with the traditional doctrine of the Fathers, but to make his sermons echo the authentic ring of Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrose or Bernard. Andrewes did not merely copy various stylistic tricks of the Fathers; he took some feature which appealed to him, for example the characteristically patristic use of imagery, and moulded to his own purpose, the result being a style essentially his own. It is in this moulding process that we see the influence not only of his doctrinal ideas, but of the contemporary 'world-view.'

We have noticed how closely the thought of Andrewes is linked with the 'world picture' of his times, especially with the hierarchical conception of 'order.' In the Jacobean period this 'world-view' issued in what has become known as the 'metaphysical' outlook. The 'metaphysical' movement in the early seventeenth century found its most important expression in the poetry of John Donne, Herbert and Vaughan, and later Crashaw. The significant thing is that the main features of 'metaphysical' writing as they appear in Donne, are already evident in Andrewes, and it is to be remembered that Donne, Herbert and Vaughan belong definitely to that new outlook the great representative of which is Andrewes.

Andrewes is pre-eminently a 'metaphysical' preacher. His sermons exhibit all the marks of a conscious experimenter with language; his 'metaphysical' style is at times quite crude, depending upon merely verbal effects, but at its finest it affords some of the best illustrations of perfect 'metaphysical' writing.

XIII

'Metaphysical' writing in the seventeenth century seems to have arisen from a definite world-view, from a conception of the ultimate harmony, interconnection and interdependence of all things. Hence in many ways it had affinities with mediaeval thought, but although the mediaeval metaphysics underlie it, the characteristic features of this type of writing are due to the special circumstances prevailing in the early seventeenth century. The most obvious of these is the influx of new knowledge, geographical and scientific. The 'metaphysical' movement represents an attempt to relate the new revelations of thought to the old world-scheme; the metaphysicals' refused to countenance any suggestion that the new knowledge was ultimately destructive of the all-inclusive 'order': rather it illuminated the old hierarchical conception. Within this framework of the ultimate harmony and interconnection of all things there developed that distinguishing feature of 'metaphysical' writing, the 'metaphysical' image. Since all things were ultimately related to the cosmic process, no analogy could ever be completely irrelevant or inappropriate. Indeed the deeper one saw into the ultimate unity of all things, the more one realised that the most startling and unexpected analogy was the right one. Hence 'metaphysical' writing was not just a literary movement; it was primarily an intellectual and philosophical movement based on a definite world-view; a definite conception of 'order' and the relativity of all things to that 'order'. It is thus distinguished from both the Elizabethan conceit and Euphuistic writing, which were primarily literary fashions, expressing self-conscious delight in the dexterous manipulation of a newly discovered language.

With Andrewes this 'metaphysical' outlook is closely connected with his theological position, particularly his conception of the Incarnation. The fact of the Incarnation destroyed any radical cleavage between the material and the immaterial, the visible and the invisible, the bodily and the spiritual. Rather all material was the vehicle of the immaterial, all the visible the proclaimer of the invisible, all the bodily the means of attaining to the spiritual. Hence there could be no hesitation in taking the whole of phenomena as a storehouse for illustrating Divine truth; there could be no question of irreverence or inappropriateness since the two spheres of the material and the spiritual were ultimately united; the Incarnation in fact was a guarantee of such union.

Thus Andrewes' theology of the Incarnation coalesced with his 'theology' of 'order'; both elucidated the ultimate harmony and union behind seeming distinction, both produced the 'poetical view' of existence:

"His theological explanations show the connection of one great doctrine with another, the bearing of one great fact of Christianity upon another, with admirable decision and completeness. He is so quick and varied, so dexterous and so rich in his combinations; he brings facts, types, prophecies, and doctrines together with such rapidity; groups, arranges, systematises, sets and re-sets them with such readiness and multiplicity of movement, that he seems to have a kind of ubiquity and to be everywhere and in every part of the system at the same time

In other instances, the poetical character consists in a certain conception of things at the bottom, which being understood, colours and interprets the forms and phraseology which proceed from it. Man, for example in Bishop Andrewes' idea, human society, his country as an object of prayer, is not the mere human mass, a number of individuals, but man and woman in certain relations to each other, high and low, rich and poor, king and subject, noble and dependent, all living together in the system of God's ordinance. These objects combine in his mind and form into that whole conception which we call the poetical view of society." ¹

It is especially in his exposition of the meaning of the Incarnation that Andrewes utilises 'metaphysical' language and the 'metaphysical' image. For this purpose it was most appropriate. The paradoxical themes of the Gospel spring from the seeming paradox of the Incarnation: God the Almighty

1. J. B. Mozley: "Bp. Andrewes' Sermons", British Critic and Theological Review. Vol. xxxi. 1842. pp.173, 192.

Father becoming God Incarnate in Jesus Christ, the shameful death on the Cross leading to the triumphant and glorious Resurrection, the lowest descent (to earth) culminating in the highest ascent (to heaven). The 'metaphysical' image proclaiming the seeming paradox which on further examination proves to be no paradox at all but a true statement of fact, was ready to hand to be used by Andrewes. This was the method used by the Fathers to expound the same doctrines, and it was thus most appropriate for demonstrating the continuity of Anglican teaching with that of the Catholic Church. The paradoxes of the Incarnation are found in a lesser degree in the Eucharist, and the use of 'metaphysical' methods is no less apposite there.

Thus the new conception of the Anglican Church and its doctrine was expressed in a new language, and as the century proceeded the 'High' Anglican outlook and 'metaphysical' writing were regarded as inseparable. The attack on the High Anglican view began not so much with an attack on its doctrines, as upon 'metaphysical' preaching. The attack on metaphysical language goes hand in hand with development of Broad Churchmanship.

The origin of metaphysical writing, then, is to be sought in the new outlook represented by Andrewes. The study of the Fathers, begun with the idea of consolidating the doctrine of the Church of England and basing it firmly on traditional interpretation, ended by not only determining the subject matter of the preaching but its very language. The methods of the great preaching Fathers were reinforced by the contemporary background of ideas, which happened to be such as transform the basic material of patristic stylistic features into a new specific genre of writing.

Andrewes' use of 'metaphysical' language was greatly aided by his view of Scripture. The acceptance of the Puritan theory that the literal sense was alone the valid one would have made 'metaphysical' preaching impossible. Tyndale's words represent the typical Puritan standpoint:

"The Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense, and that literal sense is the root and ground of all, and the anchor that never faileth, whereunto if thou cleave thou canst never err or go out of the way. And if thou leave the literal sense, thou canst not but go out of the way." 1.

1. Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises. p.304.

In practice, however, the Puritan did use 'metaphysical' language, but always with an explanation or apology. Their ideal was far removed from that of the 'metaphysicals':

"What distinguished the Puritan preachers even more than their doctrinal position was the manner and purpose of their preaching. Discountenanced by those in authority but bent upon saving the world through religious revival and ultimate ecclesiastical reform, they were compelled to seek support wherever it might be found among the people. They asserted, as did others, that man could be saved by faith alone. They endeavoured to do this, however, in terms that common men might understand, in expressive images that would move men to repent, believe, and begin the new life at once under the leadership of the preacher.

Preaching of this type soon came to be called 'spiritual' in contradiction to the 'witty' preaching of the more conservative churchmen." ¹.

Hence the use of 'metaphysical' language was, apart from anything else, an attack on the Puritan position, as direct as reasoned arguments: it was an integral part of Andrewes' new apologia for the Church of England.

As with so much else, Andrewes' view of Scripture is a development from Hooker. He assigns a unique position to the authority of Scripture, but with Hooker denies that this excludes all other authorities such as the Law of nature. He acknowledges the place of reason in the interpretation of the Bible, giving special emphasis to the traditional teaching of the Fathers.

He attaches great importance to the relevance of Patristic interpretation since the alternative was the authority of private judgement, and this he feared for the same reason as he feared the upsetting of the hierarchical system of laws and the theory of popular sovereignty: it would lead to dissolution and chaos:

"Now from these two sorts of persons (Pharisees and philosophers) proceeded those two several means whereby, as it were in two moulds, all imaginations have been cast, and the truth of God's word ever perverted. 1. From the Pharisee, that piecing out the new garment with old rags of traditions, that is adding to and eking out God's truth with men's fancies, with the phylacteries and fringes of the Pharisees, who took upon them to observe many things beside it. 2. From the philosopher; that wresting and tentering of

1. W. Haller: The Rise of Puritanism. p.19.

the Scripture, which St. Peter complaineth of, with expositions and glosses newly coined; to make them speak that they never meant; giving such new and strange sense to places of Scripture, as the Church of Christ never heard of. And what ^{words} are there or can there be, that - being helped out with the^A Pharisees' addition of a truth unwritten, or tuned with the philosopher's wrest of a devised sense - may not be made to give colour to a new imagination? Therefore, the ancient Fathers thought it meet that they that 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 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 nought else but his own imagination. This is the disease of our age. Not the Pharisee's addition, which is well left; but, as bad as it, the philosopher's gloss, which too much aboundeth. And I see no way but this to help it." 1.

Andrewes accepts the traditional four senses of Scripture; preaching on Psalm lxxviii.18. he gives the four meanings which may be drawn from the text:

663 "Our books tell us, the Scripture will bear four senses; all four be in this, and a kind of ascent there is in them.

1. First, after the letter and in due consequence to the word immediately next before this, the last words of the verse, which is Sinai. It is a report of Moses' ascending thither. For he, from the bottom of the Red Sea, went up to the top of Sinai, leading with him the people of Israel that long had been captive to Pharaoh; and there "received gifts", the Law, the Priesthood, but above all, the "Ark of the covenant", to be the pledge of God's presence among them. This is the literal.

2. This of Moses, by analogy, doth King David apply to himself; to his going up to mount Sion, and carrying the ark up thither. For all agree, this Psalm was set upon that occasion. The very beginning of it, "Let God arise", etc., sheweth as much; - the acclamation ever to be used, at the

ark's removing, as is plain by the tenth of Numbers, verse thirty-five. Now this was done immediately upon his conquest of the Jebusites; whom a little before he had taken captives and made tributaries there. What time also, for honour of the solemnity, dona dedit, he dealt "bread" and "wine to all the people", gift-wise, as we find the first of Chronicles, sixteenth chapter, and the third verse. This is the analogical; as Moses to Sinai, So David to Sion.

3. From these two we arise to the moral sense, thus. That, as whensoever God's people are carried captive and made thrall to their enemies; as then God seemeth to be put down, and lie foiled for a time, that one may well say, Exurgat Deus, to Him: so when He takes their cause in hand and works their deliverance, it may well be said, Ascendit in altum, "He is gone up", as it were, to His high throne or judgement-seat, there to give sentence for them. Ever the Church's depressing is, as it were, God's own humiliation; and their deliverance, after a sort, His exaltation. For then He hath the upper hand. And this is the moral.

4. Now from this we ascend to the Prophetical sense, "to the testimony of Jesus, which is the spirit of all prophecy." For if in any captivity, as of Egypt, of Babylon, God be said to be down; and in any strange deliverance, such as those were, to be got up on high: in this of Christ, of all other, it is most pregnantly verified. That the highest up-going, higher than Sion or Sinai far; that the most gracious triumph that ever was. When the principalities and powers that had carried, not Israel but mankind, all mankind into captivity; they as captives were led before His chariot, attended, as it is in the next verse before, with "twenty thousands of angels". What time also the gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost were shed forth plenteously upon men, which was this very day; and God, not by a wooden ark but by His own Spirit, came to dwell among them.

And in this sense, the true prophetical meaning of it doth the Apostle deliver it to us, and we to you." 1.

This acceptance of the four meanings of Scripture enabled Andrewes to treat the text of the Bible in a 'metaphysical' way: it contained a vast storehouse of imagery waiting to be developed. For him not a single word in Scripture was superfluous:

"Of which words there is not any one waste or to spare. Every one of them is verbum vigilans, as St. Augustine speaks, 'awake all'; never one asleep among them. Each hath his weight. Nor never an one out of his place, but as Solomon speaks, 'upon his right wheel', standing just where it should." 2.

"There is no tautology in Scripture: "The parties are, 1. first, the King's enemies; 2. then, those that rise up

1. III. pp.222-3.

2. I. p.420.

against him, that is, the King's rebels. Two divers kinds; neither superfluous. For there be no tautologies in Scripture; no doubling the point there, but with some advantage ever." 1.

"There be texts, the right way to consider of them is to take them in pieces, and this is of that kind. And if we take it in sunder, we shall see as it is of fullness so a kind of fullness there is in it, every word more full than other; every word a step in it whereby it riseth still higher, till by degrees it cometh to the top and so the measure is full." 2.

An example of the result of this view of Scripture in Andrewes' sermons is seen in the following passage:

"Which name, as you see is compounded of three words. 1. Jehova, 2. justitia, 3. nostra; all of them necessary, all of them essential. And they all three concurring, as it were three twists, they make "a threefold cord", like that which the preacher mentioneth, "that cannot be broken". But except it be entire, and have all three, it loseth the virtue, it worketh nothing. For sever any one of them from the rest, and the other are not of moment. A sound, but not a name; or a name, but not hoc Nomen, "this Name", a Name qualified to save them that call on it. Take Jehovah from justitia nostra, and justitia nostra is nothing worth. And take justitia from Jehovah, and though there be worth in Jehovah, yet there is not that which we seek for. Yea, take nostra from the other two, and how excellent so ever they be, they concern us not, but are against us rather than for us. So that together we must take them or the Name is lost." 3.

These then are the strands in the metaphysical thought of Andrewes: study of the Fathers yields an influence not only doctrinal but literary; the seed of the 'metaphysical' movement is sown there. This is aided and matured in its growth by the contemporary theory of order and made serviceable for religious uses by its obvious ability to elucidate his conception of the Incarnation. 'Metaphysical' language becomes sacramental, set aside for the conveying of Divine truth.

XIV

Andrewes' discussion of the value of comparison provides a good insight into the 'metaphysical' method:

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1. IV. p.7.
 2. I. p.46.
 3. V. p.108.

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1. "Now the masters of speech tell us that there is power in the positive if it be given forth with an earnest asseveration, but nothing so full to say, 'I will never forget you', as thus to say it; "can a mother forget the child of her own womb? well, if she can, yet will not I forget you." Nothing so forcible to say thus, 'I will hold my word with you', as thus, "Heaven and earth shall pass, but My word shall not pass". The comparative expressing is without all question more significant; and this here is such. Theirs, the angels', nusquam, 'at no hand' He took, but ours He did.

2. Now the comparison is, as is the thing in nature whereunto it is made; if the thing be ordinary, the comparison is according; but then is it full of force, when it is with no mean or base thing, but with the chief and choice of all the creatures as here it is, even with the angels themselves; for then it is at the highest. 1. That of Elihu in Job, that God "teacheth us more than the beasts, and giveth us more understanding than the fowls of the air"; that is, that God hath been more gracious to us than to them, being made of the same mould that we are; that yet He hath given us a privilege above them - this is much. 2. That of the Psalmist, "He hath not dealt so with every nation", nay, not with any other nation, in giving us the knowledge of His Heavenly truth and laws; even that we have a prerogative, if we be compared with the rest of mankind; more than the beasts much; more than all men besides, much more. 3. But this here, nusquam angelos, etc. that He that He hath not granted the angels - that is a comparison at the very highest and farther we cannot go.

3. One degree yet more; and that is this. As in comparisons making it skilleth much the excellency wherewithal it is compared, so doth it too the manner how the comparison is made, the pitch that is taken in it. It is one thing to make it in tanto, another in toto. One thing when it is in degrees - that more, this less; this not so much as that, yet that somewhat though - another, when one is, the other is not at all. So is it here; assumpsit; non assumpsit; 'us He did take; the angels, not in any wise'; not in a less, or a lower degree than us, but them 'not at all'. So it is here with the highest, and at the highest. So much is said here, and more cannot be said." 1.

The 'metaphysical' style for Andrewes was far from being a mere literary habit; it was closely linked with his theology. The use of reason required by the 'metaphysical' habit, was part of that totality of response involved by the Incarnation itself. Sir Herbert Grierson, speaks of the "more intellectual, less verbal character" of metaphysical writing in the seventeenth century, and this is true of the first stage of its development in Andrewes:

17 "And even to this day, saith divinity, doth the "tree of knowledge" still work in the sons of Eve; we still reckon

the attaining of knowledge a thing to be desired, and be it good or evil, we love to be knowing, all the sort of us, knowing; but what? Not such things as every one knoweth that goeth by the way, vulgar and trivial; tush those are nothing. But metaphysics that are the arcana of philosophy; mysteries that are the secrets of divinity; such as few besides are admitted to; those be the things we desire to know. We see it in the Bethshemites, they longed to be prying into the ark of God; they were heathen. We see it in the people of God too, they pressed too near the Mount; rails were fain to be set to keep them back. It is because it is held a point of a deep wit to search out secrets, as in Joseph. At least of special favour to be received so far as *Vobis datum est nosse mysteria*. All desire to be in credit. The mention of mysteries will make us stand attentive; why then, if our nature like so well of mysteries, *Ecce ostendo vobis mysterium*, "Behold I shew you a mystery", saith the Apostle.

"A mystery of godliness." The world hath her mysteries in all arts and trades, (yea, mechanical, pertaining to this life); which are imparted to none but such as are *fili scientiae*, 'apprentices to them'. These have their mysteries; have them, nay are nothing but mysteries. So they delight to style themselves by the name of such and such a mystery. Now *Pietas est quaestus*, and *ad omnia utilis*, "a trade of good return", to be in request with us; whether we look "to this life present", saith he, "or to that to come". Therefore, to be allowed her mysteries; at least as all other trades are. The rather, for that there is *mysterium iniquitatis*. And it were somewhat hard that there should not be *mysterium pietatis*, to encounter and to match it; that "Babylon" should be allowed the name of a "mystery", and Sion not. It were an evident *non sequitur*, that there should be *profunda Satanae*, "deep things of Satan"; and there should not be "deep and profound things of God and godliness, for the Spirit to search out". But such there be - mysteries of godliness. And we will, I trust, stand affected as in all other trades, so in this, to be acquainted with these; and as the Apostle speaketh, to pierce *ad interiora velaminis* "to that which is within the veil", to the very "mystery of godliness." 1.

This apologia for methods he was to use throughout his sermons shows that, for Andrewes there was no sense of incongruity in the use of 'metaphysical' imagery for religious purposes; so all-inclusive was the ultimate "wholeness" of things that complete incongruity would be impossible.

A recurrent expression in Andrewes to convey this 'metaphysical' sense of the 'wholeness' of things is that we are not to "serve God by synecdoche", we are not to take a part for the whole. This is precisely what the Puritans are doing in giving undue prominence to the Divine Law, Scripture, to the exclusion of other Laws, or to preaching, and ignoring the other equally important parts of the liturgy. Preaching on Psalm lxxxv. 10, 11.

"Mercy and Truth shall meet; Righteousness and Peace shall kiss one another"
 the 'metaphysical' mind is at once attracted by all that is implied in the
 word 'meet':

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"Set this down then; Christianity is a meeting. One cannot meet. Two there must be, and they may. But it is not a meeting of two, but of two with two; so no less than four. As Christ Himself was not one nature, so neither doth Christianity consist in any one virtue; not under four. There is a quaternion in Christ; His 1. Essence and His 2. Person, and Hypostasis, in Divinis, His 3. Flesh and His 4. reasonable Soul, in humanis. Answerable to these four are these here, these four to His four.

And as it is a meeting, so a cross meeting of four virtues that seem to be in a kind of opposition, as hath been noted. No matter for that. They will make the better refraction; the cool of one allay the heat, the moist of one temper the drought of the other. The soft virtues need to be quickened, the more forward to be kept from altum sapere. So are the elements of which our body, so are the four winds of which our breath does consist which gives us life. And those in the text have an analogy or correspondence with the elements, observed by the ancients. 1. Truth as the "earth, which is not moved at any time". 2. Quasi fluvius pax, saith Esay, "peace as a water-stream", "the quills whereof make glad the city of our God". 3. Mercy we breathe and live by, no less than we do by air; and 4. Righteousness, she ventura est judicare saeculum per ignem, in that element.

You may happen to find one of these in Scripture stood much upon, and of the other three nothing said there, but all left out. Conceive of it as a figure, Synecdoche they call it. As ye have here man called earth; yet is he not earth alone, but all the other three elements as well. No more is Christianity any one but by Synecdoche, but in very deed a meeting of them all four.

It deceived the gnostic, this place; "This is eternal life to know thee," knowledge, saith he, is it, as if it were all; and so he bade care for nothing else but to know, and knowing live as they list. The Encratite, he was as far gone the other way; he lived straightly, and his tenet was, Non est curandum quid quisque credat, id curandum modo quod quisque faciat, 'So that ye hold a straight course of life, it skills not what ye hold in point of faith'. No meeting with these, single virtues all.

Yes, it skills. For both these were wrong, both go for heretics. Christianity is a meeting, and to this meeting there go pia dogmata as well as bona opera - Righteousness as well as Truth. Err not this error then, to single any out as it were in disgrace of the rest; say not one will serve the turn, what should we do with the rest of the four. Take not a figure, and make of it a plain speech; seek not to be saved by Synecdoche. Each of these is a quarter of Christianity, you shall never while you live make it serve for the whole." 1.

Completeness of worship is as much an obsession as was obedience to the established system of 'order' and 'degree'; in fact for Andrewes the one seems to have involved the other:

"In work, and "in every good work." We must not slip the collar there, neither. For if we be able to stir our hand but one way and not another, it is a sign it is not well set in. His that is well set, he can move it to and fro, up and down, forward and backward; every way, and to every work. There be that are all for some one work, that single some one piece of God's service, wholly addicted to that, but cannot skill of the rest. That is no good sign. To be for every one, for all sorts of good works, for every part of God's worship alike, for no one more than another, that sure is the right. So choose your religion, so practise your worship of God. It is not safe to do otherwise, nor to serve God by synecdoche; but ἐν παντι, to take all before us." 1.

The Incarnation demonstrates the essential unity of two distinct natures; it is a phenomenon which obviously fits into the great scheme of 'order' and unity behind superficial separateness. The ancient Christological heresies clearly illustrate the folly of tampering with the divine 'order' just as much as many of the Puritan tenets:

"Among the profunda Satanae, this was one: when he could not κωλυει, keep Him out, by a new stratagem he sought λυει τον Ἰησοῦν, solve Jesus (as the Fathers read the verse of the chapter next before) that is, 'to take Him in pieces'. When he could not prevail in setting up a false, he set some on work to take in sunder the true.

Was it not thus? Did they not solve, 'dissolve', take in sunder His natures; made Him come only as man, as Samosatenus; made Him come, as only God, as Sabellius? Dissolved they not His person; made Him come in two, as Nestorius? And is not this here a plain dissolving also? He coming entirely in both, to take Him by halves, take of Him that they list, what they think will serve their turns, and leave the other, and let it lie? So take pars pro toto, a piece of Jesus for the whole, as if they meant to be saved by synecdoche." 2.

The problem of the two natures, in fact, is most suitable for the 'metaphysical' mind with its love of the juxtaposition of seemingly irreconcilable opposites. The stupendous fact of the Incarnation, defying full human analysis, justifies the use of 'metaphysical' analogy and image:

1. III. pp.97-8.

2. III. p.349.

"His Divine nature hath no less than three (names) to express it. 1. Son, 2. Brightness, and 3. Character. And two to prove it the 1. making, and 2. supporting of all.

I have heretofore remembered you that the high perfections of that nature are such and so many, as no one term will suffice to set it forth: we are glad to borrow from many to do it, and yet not any resemblance translated from the creatures though never so excellent that will hold full assay, yet withal this we are to think, that since the Holy Ghost hath made choice of these terms, they are no idle speculations that are drawn from them." 1.

The essence of 'metaphysical' writing is its peculiar use of analogy; one thing is compared with something else which seems irrelevant, if not completely alien, but to the 'metaphysical' all things, however diverse, are ultimately reconcilable within the great harmonious macrocosm. For Andrewes this conception of the ultimate unity and harmony of things was enhanced by the Incarnation: the perfect recapitulation, the perfect demonstration of the whole scheme of 'order':

153 "If then we be to proceed by way of recapitulation, then are we to reduce all to heads. So let us reduce these things to these two heads; 1. First, Heaven, and all in it, to God; earth, and all in it, to man. Gather these two into one, and there is the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις in short. To conceive it the better, you shall understand this was on a good way one-ward, before. You have heard man called the little world, the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις of the great one, a compendium of all the creatures. And so he is of both. He participates with the angels, and so with things in Heaven, by his soul; he participates with the elements, and so with things on earth, by his body. The poet had it by the end; Fertur Prometheus etc. That to the making of man's body there went a piece of every of the creatures. So there was in man a kind of recapitulation before.

But that was not full, yet lacked there one thing. All in heaven were not gathered into man. Of God we say, Quis es in Coelis. He was one of the things in Heaven, and He was out all the while. But if He could be gathered in too, then were it a full gathering indeed. All in heaven recapitulate into one, that is God; all in earth recapitulate into one, that is man. Gather these two now, and all are gathered, all the things in either. And now at this last great recollection of God and man, and in them of all in Heaven and earth, are all recapitulate into the unity of One entire Person, And how? Not so as they were gathered at first; not as the κεφαλαιώσις, 'the first gathering', so the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις, 'the second gathering'. When things were at the best, God and man were two in number; now God and man are but one Christ. So the gathering nearer than before, so surer than before, so every

way better than before.

In man there was one-ward an abridgement of all the rest. Gather God and him into one, and so you have all. There is nothing, not any thing, in heaven and earth left out. Heaven is in and earth, the creatures in Heaven and earth, the Creator of Heaven and earth. All are in now; all reconciled, as it were, in one mass, all cast into the sum; recapitulate indeed truly and properly.

Therein is the fulness, that God Himself comes into this κεφάλαιον. The Apostle, where the Psalm saith, "He hath put all things in subjection under His feet" - "it is manifest" saith the Apostle, "that He was excepted That so put them under". But here it is manifest, say we that He is not excepted that did gather; but He the very Collector is in this collection Himself and all.

For "God was in Christ reconciling the world". "The world", that is all things, all in heaven, all in earth. And in Christ did dwell the fulness of the Godhead bodily when He did so "reconcile them in the body of His flesh". In a word, certain it is that by virtue of this recapitulation we are one with Christ, Christ as man. God is one with Christ - Christ as God. So in Christ God and man are one. And there is good hope they that are one, will soon be at one; where unity is, union will be had with no great ado.

And even besides this there is yet another recapitulation; that well might it have that name. For if you mark it, it is not recapitulation, but recapitulation; and that comes of capitum, which is a diminutive. So was it: Verbum in principio, "the eternal", mighty, great "Word" became Verbum abbreviatum, as the Apostle saith, to bring this to pass. He that "the Heavens are but His span", abbreviate into a child of a span long; He that Caput, "the Head" of men and Angels, principalities, and powers, became Capitulum; He that κεφαλή, κεφάλαιον, 'a little diminutive Head'. Head? Nay, became the Foot, Pes computi the text is, 'the Foot, the lowest part of the account', and of the lowest account." 1.

This passage is a good example of the 'metaphysical' manner as found in Andrewes. The whole sermon is worked out from the word recapitulation and its ramifications; there is the verbal wit - recapitulation and recapitulation, the child of a span long etc. - which, on analysis, is obviously more than just verbal wit; and, as we have seen, the 'recapitulation' of the Incarnation is reproduced in the 'recapitulation' of the Eucharist.

From this background of the ultimate interdependence and relativity of all things Andrewes developed his use of the 'metaphysical' image, and

1. I. p.275-6.

so unconditional was his acceptance of this final harmony of things, that even in dealing with the most sacred of themes no analogy, no matter from what sphere of life it was drawn, could ever be irrelevant, inappropriate, or even irreverent. The preacher was at liberty to draw his illustrations from all branches of knowledge; the Incarnation made a radical cleavage between 'religious' and 'secular' thought impossible:

"There is no truth at all in human learning or philosophy that thwarteth any truth in Divinity, but sorteth well with it and serveth it, and all to honour Him who saith of Himself Ego sum Veritas, "I am the Truth." None that will hinder this venerunt, keep back any wise man, or make him less fit for coming to Christ." 1.

One of the vainest of 'imagination's' is to think that the preacher's choice of illustration should be limited:

II 31

"Imaginations touching the manner of delivery. For even in it also, for failing, men must imagine something, that when they can take no exception to the matter yet they may itch after a new manner, and hear it after such and such sort delivered, or they will not hear at all, and therefore after their own liking "get them a heap of teachers". 1. They must hear no Latin, nor Greek; no though it be interpreted. A mere imagination. For the Apostle writing to the Corinthians which were Grecians, hath not feared to use terms as strange to them, as Latin or Greek is to us - "Maranatha", "Belial", "Abba", All which he might easily enough have expressed in their vulgar, but that it liked him to retain his liberty in this point.

2. Nor none of the Apocrypha cited. Another imagination; for St. Jude in his Epistle hath not feared to allege out of the book of Enoch, which book hath ever been reckoned Apocrypha. And by his example all the ancient writers are full of allegations from them; ever to these writings yielding the next place after the Canon of the Scriptures, and preferring them before all foreign writers whatsoever.

3. Nor anything out of the Jews' Talmud; a third imagination. For from their records, St. Paul is judged to have set down the names of the sorcerers that "withstood Moses" to be "Jannes and Jambres"; which in Exodus, or the whole canon of Scriptures, are not named. As many other things in the New Testament from them receive great light. And the Jews themselves are therein clearly confuted.

4. But especially no heathen example or authority - for with allegation of the ancient Fathers I have often dealt - a matter which the Primitive Church never imagined unlawful. For Clemens Alexandrinus by allusion to Sarah and Agar teacheth the contrary. So doth Basil in a set treatise; and Gregory Nyssen, out of the twenty-first chapter of Deuteronomy, by the rites touching the

marrying of heathen women taken captive; and last of all, St. Augustine most plainly. And these all reckoned the contrary, as a very imagination. Which they did the rather, for that besides other places not so apparent, they find St. Paul in matter of doctrine alleging Aratus a heathen writer, in his sermon at Athens. And again, in matter of life, alleging Menander, a writer of Comedies, in his Epistle; and thirdly, in matter of report only, without any urgent necessity, alleging Epimenides, or as some think, Callimachus.

And surely, if it be lawful to reason from that which "nature teacheth", as St. Paul doth against men's wearing long hair, it is not unlawful neither to reason from the wisest and most pithy saying of natural men. Especially, with the Apostle, using them - as in a manner they only are used - thereby to provoke Christian men to emulation, by shewing them their own blindness in matter of knowledge, that see not so much as the heathen did by the light of nature; or their slackness in matter of conversation, that cannot be got so far forward by God's law, as the poor pagan can by his philosophy. That if grace will not move, shame may." 1.

XIV

It is not surprising therefore that an analysis of the imagery used by Andrewes in his sermons shows how diverse were the sources he used; and always, however startling the image used may appear, there is no sense of any need for apology or explanation - for reasons now sufficiently apparent.

The excitement over the new voyages is pressed into the service of the 'metaphysical' preacher for his own purposes; preaching on II. Corinthians xii. 15, "And I will gladly bestow, and will be bestowed for your souls, though the more I love you, the less I am loved," Andrewes writes:

322 "The thing loved is the Corinthians' souls. And as Corinth itself was situate in a narrow land between two seas, so are they in the verse; having on the one side, the sea of self-love, in the former part; and on the other, the gulf of unkindness, in the latter. Through either of which St. Paul maketh a first and second navigation, if haply he may so adire Corinthum, gain their souls to Christ, more precious to him than Corinth and all the wealth in it." 2.

The coming of the Holy Ghost is like the discovery of a "new passage" into Heaven:

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1. V. pp.61-2.
 2. II. p.100.

665 "In that He is ascended into Heaven, Heaven is to be ascended to; "by the new and living way that is prepared through the veil of His flesh", a passage there lieth thither. They talk of discoveries, and much ado is made of a new passage found out to this or that place: what say you to this discovery in altum, this passage into the "land of the living"? Sure it passes all. And this discovery is here, and upon this discovery there is begun a commerce, or trade of intercourse, between Heaven and us. The commodities whereof are these gifts, we shall after deal with them - and a kind of agency; Christ being there for us, and the Spirit here for God; either, agent for other. It is the happiest news this, that ever came to mankind." 1.

Men taken captive by the "powers of darkness" are in the same plight as a Turkish ship, having Turks and Christians aboard, when captured by an English vessel:

667 "For all the world as an English ship takes a Turkish galley, wherein are held many Christian captives at the oar. Both are taken, Turks and Christians; both became prisoners to the English Ship. The poor souls in the galley, when they see the English ship hath the upper hand are glad, I dare say, so to be taken; they know it will turn to their good, and in the end to their letting go. So was it with us, we were the children of this captivity. They to whom we were captives, were taken captives themselves, and we with them. So both came into Christ's hands; they and we His prisoners both." 2.

Like Donne after him, Andrewes ransacks his medical knowledge for striking imagery; the phrase, "hath by Himself purged out sins", from Hebrews i. 3. suggests the image of Christ the perfect Physician, worked out with the thoroughness typical of a 'metaphysical' writer:

59 t/ "And seventhly, not any Blood of His; not a vein - one may live still for all that - but His best, most precious, His heart-blood, which bringeth certain death with it. With that blood He was to make the medicine. Die He must, and His side be opened, that there might issue both the Water and the Blood that was to be the ingredients of it. By Himself, His Ownself, and by Himself slain; by His death, and by His Blood-shedding, and by no other means; quis audivit talia? The Physician slain, and of His Flesh and Blood a receipt made, that the patient might recover!

And now, we may be at our choice whether we will conceive of sin as of some outward soil in the soul; and then, the purging of it to be per viam balnei, 'needs a bath' with some cleansing ingredients, as the Prophet speaks of the herb Borith, and this way purged He us; 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,

1. III. p.226.

2. III. p.230.

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.

Or, whether we will conceive of sin as of some inward pestilent humour in the soul and conscience, casting us into peril of mortal, or rather immortal, death; then, the purging of us to be by way of electuary or potion; and so He purgeth our sins too. To that end He hath made an electuary of His own Body, "Take, eat it" - and tempered a Cup with His own Blood. "Drink ye all of it" - which by the operation of His eternal Spirit in it is able effectually to "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." 1.

The text from Matthew ii. 7, 8, and especially the phrase, "Bring forth fruits meet for repentance", suggests a similar medicine image. The 'metaphysical' mind starts from the word 'fruits', is led on naturally to think of a tree, which suggests in its turn the forbidden tree and its poisoned fruit, and so to the antidote, fasting:

238 / "Repentance is here broughtⁱⁿ and presented to us as a tree with (a) fruit upon it. The tree of God's planting, the fruit medicinale, of the nature of a counter-poison against our bane taken by the fruit of another tree. The fruit of the forbidden tree had envenomed our nature, the fruit of this tree to expel it, to recover and cure us of it

This medicine is to be taken fasting, as the rules of physic are, and as medicine use to be. Men come neither eating nor drinking to take physic; when we will take that, we take nothing else. Thus fasting is a friend to physic both of soul and body. When we repent no man will advise us to do it upon a full stomach, but cum jejunitis." 2.

The medicine imagery is closely linked with the conception of order; man is a microcosm, composed of the four elements, and reproducing on a small scale the 'order' of the great macrocosm. If the balanced action of these elements is once upset the whole organism is thrown into disorder - a theme we have repeatedly found in Andrewes' sermons. This idea of man as a microcosm, representing the constitution of the macrocosm in miniature, was probably derived from the speculations of the Kabbalists with which Andrewes was obviously acquainted. It is a frequent theme in the literature of the period: in the 'humour' plays of Ben Jonson, and in John Donne.

1. I. p.113.

2. I. p.418.

Preaching on Colossians iii. 1, 2, and using as was his custom the Vulgate text: "Igitur, si con-surrexistis cum Christo, quae sursum sunt Quaerite, ubi Christus est in dextera Dei sedens. Quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae super terram", Andrewes insists that the balance be kept between heart and mind:

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"So that both would be kept together, quaerite, and sapite both. For as in the body natural it fareth between the stomach and the head - a rheumatic head spoils the stomach with distillations, and a distempered stomach fills the head with raw vapours, and soon mars the other, so it is here. Our mind out of frame. That in sunder they would not be, but joined ever. Sapere without quaerere will not rise, but lie still; and quaerere without sapere will rise, but lead you astray." 1.

The cloven tongues on the Day of Pentecost, "as of fire", soon suggests the analogy of the element of fire:

605

"Where, first, we are to observe again the conjunction of the tongue and fire. The seat of the tongue is in the head, and the "Head of the Church" is Christ. The native place of heat, the quality in us answering to this fire, is the Heart and the Heart of the Church is the Holy Ghost. These two join to this work, Christ to give the tongue, and the Holy Ghost to put fire into it. For as in the body natural the next, the immediate instrument of the soul is heat, whereby it worketh all the members over, even so in the mystical body, a vigour there is like that of heat, which we are willed to cherish, to be "fervent in Spirit", "to stir" and to blow it up; which is it that giveth efficacy to all the spiritual operations." 2.

The words from Isaiah lxi. 1, "heal the broken-hearted", and quoted in Luke iv. 18, suggest to Andrewes the analogy of medicinal healing, again worked out in full detail:

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"I have been too long in the cause; but the knowledge of the cause, in every disease, we reckon half the cure. To the healing now.

The word for heal in Esay, where this text is, signifies to bind up. The cure begins with ligature, the most proper cure for fractures, or aught that is broken, Nay, in wounds and all, as appeareth by the Samaritan. The flux is so stayed, which, if it continue running on us still, in vain talk we of any healing. It is not begun till that stay and run no longer. The sin that Christ cures He binds up, He stays - to begin with. If He cover sin, it is with a plaister. He covers and cures together, both under one.

1. II. p.314.

2. III. p.124.

This word "broken-hearted" the Hebrews take not as we do; we, broken for sin; they, broken off, or from sin. And we have the same phrase with us; to break one of the evil fashions or inclinations he hath been given to. So to break the heart. And so must it be broken, or ever it be whole. Both senses: either of them doth well, but both together best of all.

This done, now to the healing part. The heathen observed long since: *ψυχῆς νοσοῦσης εἰς ἄρα λόγος*, 'the soul's cure is by words'; and the angel saith to Cornelius, of St. Peter, "He shall speak to thee words" by which thou and thy household shall be saved.

And by no words sooner, than by the sound of good tidings. Good news is good physic sure, such the disease may be, and a good message a good medicine

Two proclamations here are, one in the neck of another, of which the former, in the three branches of it, applieth in particular a remedy to the three former maladies, is the topic medicine, as it were; the latter is the panacea, makes them all perfectly whole and sound." 1.

The bone setting image, just introduced at the beginning of this passage, plays an important role in Andrewes' 'metaphysical' method. It obviously appealed to him as being most apt for driving home his conception of 'order'. The word *καταρτῆσαι*, meaning to 'set in joint' introduces a bone-setting image worked out in the detail born of obvious knowledge:

"Now, if I shall tell you, what manner of fitness it is the Apostle's word *καταρτῆσαι* here doth import, it is properly the fitness which is in setting that in, which was out of joint, in doing the part of a good bone-setter. This is the very true and native sense of the word; "set you in joint" to do good works. For the Apostle tells us that the Church and things spiritual go by joints and sinews whereof they are compact, and by which they have their action and motion. And where there are joints, there may be, and otherwhiles there is a disjuncting or dislocation, no less in things spiritual than in the natural body. And that is when things are missorted, or put out of their right places.

Now that our nature is not right in joint is so evident, that the very heathen men have seen and confessed it.

And by a fall things come out of joint, and indeed so they did; Adam's fall we call it, and we call it right. Sin which before broke the peace, which made the going from or departure which needed the bringing back; the same sin, here now again, put all out of joint. And things out of joint are never quiet, never at peace and rest, till they be set right again, but when all is in frame, all is peace; and so it refers well to "the God of peace" Who is to do it?

And mark again. The putting in joint is nothing but a bringing back again to the right place whence it slipped,

that still there is a good coherence with that which went before; the peace-maker, the bringer-back, the bone-setter, are all one.

The force or fulness of the Apostle's simile, out of joint, you shall never fully conceive, till you take in hand some good work of some moment, and then you shall for certain. For do but mark me then, how many rubs, lets, impediments, there will be, as it were so many puttings out of joint, ere it can be brought to pass. This wants, or that wants; one thing or other frames not. A sinew shrinks, a bone is out, somewhat is awry; and what ado there is ere we can get it right! Either the will is averse, and we have no mind to it; or the power is shrunk, and the means fail us; or the time serves not; or the place is not meet; or the parties to be dealt with, we find them indisposed. And the misery is when one is got in, the other is out again. That the wit of men could not have devised a fitter term to have expressed it in. This for the disease.

What way doth God take to set us right? First, by our ministry and means. For it is part of our profession under God, this same *καταρτισμος*, to set the church in, and every member that is out of joint. You may read it in this very term, *προς καταρτισμον*. And that we do, by applying outwardly this Testament and the blood of it, two special splints as it were to keep all straight. Out of the Testament, by "the word of exhortation", as in the next verse he calls it, praying us to suffer the splinting. For it may sometimes pinch them, and put them to some pain that are not well in joint, by pressing it home. But both by denouncing one while threats of the Old Testament, another while by laying forth the promises of the New, if by any means we may get them right again. This by the Testament, which is one outward means. The blood is another inward means. By it we are made fit and perfect, (choose you whether) and that so, as at no time of all our life we are so well in joint, or come so near the state of perfectness, as when we come new from the drinking of that blood. And thus are we made fit." 1.

The division of the works of the Holy Ghost is like the skilful cutting of a joint:

"Dividing implies skill to hit the joint right; for that is to divide. To cut at venture, quite beside the joint, it skills not where, through skin and bones and all; that is to chop and mangle, and not to divide. Division hath art ever. And this for God's division of works." 2.

Many of Andrewes' images are drawn from mediaeval herbals and bestiaries, such as are known to have been in his library; the atonement is compared with the principle lying behind immunisation:

1. III. pp.96-7.

2. III. p.393.

"To this question, Can the resurrection of one, a thousand six hundred years ago, be the cause of our rising? it is a good answer, Why not, as well as the death of one, five thousand six hundred years ago, be the cause of our rising? it is a good answer, Why not, as well as the death of one, five thousand six hundred years ago, be the cause of our dying? The ground and reason is, that there is like ground and reason of both. The wisest way it is, if wisdom can contrive it, that a person be cured by mithridate made of the very flesh of the viper bruised, whence the poison came, that so that which brought the mischief might minister also the remedy; the most powerful way it is, if power can effect it, to make strength appear in weakness; and that he that overcame should by the nature which he overcame, be "swallowed up in victory". The best way it is, if goodness will admit of it, that as next to Sathan man to man oweth his destruction, so next to God man to man might be debtor of his recovery. So agreeable it is to the power, wisdom, and goodness of God this, the three attributes of the blessed and glorious Trinity." 1.

Those eager to participate in the benefits of Christ's atoning work without any act of penitence are described as horseleeches sucking His blood:

"But the greater number by far are those in the other extreme, that are nothing timorous, far enough from that; dissolute, and care not how many foul blotches they have, so they may have the guilt and punishment taken away; hear there is remission of sins in His "blood"; so lie at His veins continually like horse-leeches, so as if it were possible they would not leave a drop of blood in Him." 2.

An instance of the typically 'metaphysical' skill in finding analogies which at first seem merely striking, but on further examination prove to be most apposite, is provided by Andrewes' treatment of the Gunpowder plot in the following passage. The text of Isaiah xxxvii. 3, "The children are come to the birth, and there is not strength to bring forth", suggests the image of a woman in travail, and the conspiracy is worked out in terms of a birth:

974 "To begin with the soul, then, of these children (the conspirators). For there is not only fructus ventris, there is partus mentis; the mind conceives as well as the womb, the word conceiving is alike proper to both. Men have the womb, but it lieth higher in them as high as their hearts; and that which is there conceived and bred is a birth. So I find the Holy Ghost in the Psalm calleth it, "Behold, he travaileth with mischief, he hath conceived sorrow and brought forth ungodliness." And that is when an evil man in the evil womb of his heart shall hatch or conceive some devilish device,

1. II. p.214.

2. III. p.351.

and go with it as big as any woman goes with her child, and be even in pain till he have brought it. This is the birth here meant; and there in the heart is the matrix or conceptory place of all mischief. Thence, saith our Saviour, de corde exeunt, "from the heart they come" all.

Usually they say in schools, Conceptus, conceptio; partus opus; 'The concept is a kind of conception, and the work a kind of birth'; the imagination of the heart is an embryo conceived within, the work now brought to pass is a child born into the world. Nay they go further, to more particularities, and carry it along through all the degrees of child-bearing.

1. When a device is intended, then is, say they, the child conceived as it were.
2. When projected and plotted handsomely, then the child articulate.
3. When once actuated, and set in hand, then is it quick.
4. When so far brought as all is ready, then the child is come to the birth.
5. And when, actum est, all is done, and despatched, the child is born.
6. But if it fall out otherwise than was looked for, no strength to bring it forth, then have you a dead-born child.
7. And look with the natural mother what joy there is when "there is a man-child born into the world", the same for all the world is there with these bad men when their imaginations prosper. And what grief the poor woman hath at the perishing of the fruit of her body, the like in a manner is there with them when their powder will take no fire. So have you the soul, or spiritual part to begin with.

Will ye see the body also in the birth of this day? You may, even ad oculum, have it laid out before you. In imitation of the natural womb wherein we lay, and whence we come all, there is by analogy another artificial, as art doth frame it. Such, I mean, as was the Trojan horse, of which the poet - *Uterumque armato milite complent*, the belly or womb, when it was full of armed men; and so many armed men as there were, so many children, after a sort, might be said to be in it. And if that, may we not affirm as much of the vault or cellar, with as good reason? The verse will hold of it too- *Uterumque nitrato pulvere complent*. The uterus, or womb of it, crammed as full with barrels of powder, as was the Trojan horse with men of arms. This odds only: every one of these children, every barrel of powder, as much, nay more force in it to do mischief, than twenty of those in the Trojans horse's belly.

The more I think of it, the more points of correspondence do offer themselves to me, of a birth and coming to a birth, and that in every degree: 1. The vessels first give forth themselves, as so many embryos; 2. The vault as the womb, wherein they lay so long; 3. They that conceived this device were the mothers, clear; 4. the fathers were the fathers, as they delight to be called though oft little more than boys - but here right fathers, in that they persuaded it might be, why not? might be lawful, nay meritorious then: so it was they that did animate, give a soul, as it were, to the treason; 5. the conception was, when the powder as the seed was conveyed in; 6. the articulation, the couching of them in order just as they should stand; 7. the covering of them with wood and faggots, as the drawing a skin over them; 8. the *Venerunt ad partum*, when all was now ready, train and all; 9. the midwife, he that was found with the match about him for the purpose; 10. the partus, the birth should have been upon the giving

2) fire. If the fire had come to the powder, the children had come to the birth, inclusive, had been born. But non erant vires, which I turn, there was no fire given; and so, partus they wanted, as God would." 1.

Andrewes finds imagery drawn from medical sources peculiarly apt for illustrating his exposition of the Eucharist; the idea of the Sacraments as "arteries" of Divine Grace occurs frequently:

"Lastly, as the word and the Spirit, so the flesh and the Spirit go together. Not all flesh, but this flesh, the flesh that was conceived by the Holy Ghost, this is never without the Holy Ghost by whom it was conceived; so that, receive one, and receive both. Ever with this blood there runneth still an artery, with plenty of Spirit in it, which maketh that we eat there escam spiritualem, "a spiritual meat", and that in that cup we be "made drink of the Spirit." 2.

"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." 3.

Astronomy and astrology, assuming greater importance in the sixteenth century through the discoveries of Copernicus, often provide Andrewes with the basic image, which is then developed with 'metaphysical' subtlety:

101 "To us they (Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace) meet this day at the Child-house. For these great lights could not thus meet but they must portend some great matter, as it might be some great birth toward. The astrologers make us believe, that in the horoscope of Christ's nativity there was a great trigon of I wot not what stars met together. Whether a trigon or no, this tetragon I am sure there was, these were all in conjunction, all in the ascendant, all above the horizon at once at orta est "the birth of" veritas "the truth" de terra "from the earth", the occasion of drawing these four together." 4.

"Being Ode natalitia, if we consider it as a nativity, they that calculate or cast nativities in their calculations stand much upon triplicities, and trigons, and trine aspects. And here they be all, a triplicity of things. 1. Glory, 2. Peace, 3. and Goodwill. A trigon of parties; 1. God, 2. Earth and 3. Men. And a trine aspect, referendo singula singulis; 1. To God glory, 2. to earth peace, 3. to men favour, grace or goodwill." 5.

1. IV. pp.346-50.

2. III. p.199.

3. III. p.128.

4. I. p.185.

5. I. p.216.

The metaphysicals were peculiarly attracted towards imagery derived from geometry; there was something of a mathematical precision about their thought even when exercised on imaginative subjects. Bodily affection is marked off from spiritual love as by a compass:

"Which first draweth the diameter that maketh the partition between the two loves; the love which St. Paul found, and the love which St. Paul left at Corinth." 1.

If we wish to circumscribe the evidence for the Church's right to ordain her own customs the foot of the compass must be fixed in Apostolic times:

"One foot of our compass we fix in the Apostle's times. The other where? They appoint us Gelasius' time who was fast upon the five hundredth year. Be it so." 2.

Christ is in a sense the centre of a circle:

"All recapitulate in Himself, and from Him as a centre lines of joy drawn to all, and every part of the circle." 3.

The words from Job xix. 27, "Whom I shall see for myself" constitute a diameter separating salvation from damnation:

"This very word is it which draweth the diameter between the resurrection of life and the resurrection of condemnation, the right hand and the left, the sheep and the goats." 4.

Donne's poem "A Valediction: forbidding Mourning" makes use of the same kind of image, but in such a way as to reveal a more mature 'metaphysical' mind of work:

"Our two souls therefore, which are one,
Though I must go, endure not yet
A breach but an expansion
Like gold to aery thinness beat.

If they be two, they are two so
As stiff twin compasses are two
Thy soul the fixed foot, makes no show
To move, but doth, if th' other do.

And though it in the centre sit,
Yet when the other far doth roam,
It leans, and hearkens after it,
And grows erect, as that comes home."

1. II. p.110.

2. II. p.414.

3. I. p.71.

4. II. p.264.

From the contemporary methods of water-supply, especially conduit-pipes, was derived an imagery which is used again and again by Andrewes, and by the metaphysical writers, particularly the poets, after him. In the case of Andrewes such imagery has added interest since, while Master of Pembroke, he is supposed to have instigated the erection of Hobson's conduit in Cambridge. The methods of water-supply in his own day were taken by Andrewes as the crude ore from which he extracted the material he needed. In his hands it was refined and applied most aptly for his own theological purposes. Once again we find him using apparently startling imagery to illustrate the Incarnation or the Sacraments, this time it is the conduit-pipe:

"The Father, the Fountain; the Son, the Cistern; the Holy Ghost the Conduit-pipe, or pipes rather, (for they are many) by and through which they are derived down to us." 1.

"And not this day only but all the days of our life, even as long as Thy Mercy endureth, and that "endureth for ever" - for ever in this world, for ever in the world to come; per, 'through the cistern and conduit of all Thy mercies, Jesus Christ.'" 2.

"Acceptit dona. All this while, there hath been nothing but going up. Here now, there is something coming down, even love with his handful of gifts, to bestow them on us - which is the second part; even His largess or bounty, as it were the running of the conduits with wine, or the casting abroad of His new coin among the lookers on." 3.

"And there is *χαρις δακρυιδας*, "the grace of a holy calling"; for it is a grace, to be in a conduit of grace any way. All these, and all from one and the same Spirit." 4.

The conduit-pipe imagery is no less appropriate for elucidating the meaning of the Sacraments than that of arteries; if the Incarnation is a conduit of God's grace, the Sacraments are conduits of the salvation wrought by the Incarnate Son:

"How is that? How shall we receive Him? Who shall give Him us? That shall One that will say unto us within a while,

1. III. p.362.

2. IV. p.340.

3. III. p.231.

4. III. p.276.

Accipite, "Take, this is My Body", by the offering whereof ye are sanctified. "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." 1.

"If it be grace and truth we respect, how may we better establish our hearts with grace, or settle our minds in the truth of His promise, than by partaking these the conduit-pipes of His grace, and seals of His truth unto us? 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." 2.

"Now the parties for whom all these; Hominibus. Ascendit, duxit, dedit, all for hominibus, "for men"! "For men" He "ascended up on high"; "for men" He "received" these "gifts". They the cistern into which all these three streams do flow." 3.

Once again the 'metaphysical' image is used to illustrate the two natures in the one Person of Christ:

"And may we not also find the two natures of Christ here? Effundam is fundam ex. "I will pour out"; out of what? what the cistern into which it first comes and out of which it is after derived to us? That is the flesh or human nature of Christ, on which it was poured at His conception, fully to endow it, for "in Him the fulness of the Godhead dwelleth bodily"; mark that "bodily". And it was given to Him without measure, and of His fullness we all receive. From this cistern this day issued the Spirit by so many quills or pipes, as it were, as there are several divisions of the graces of the Holy Ghost." 4.

The validity of the Sacraments does not depend upon the worthiness of the minister; like a conduit he is a conveyor, and not the source of what he conveys:

"Fond ignorant men! for hath not the Church long since defined it positively, that the baptism Peter gave was no better than that which Judas; and exemplified it, that a seal of iron will give as perfect a stamp, as one of gold? That as the carpenters that built the ark wherein Noah was saved, were themselves drowned in the flood, that as the water of baptism that sends the child to Heaven, is itself cast down the kennel; semblably is it with these: and they that by the word, the Sacraments, the keys, are unto other conduits of grace, to make them fructify in all good works, may well so be, though themselves remain unfruitful, as do the pipes of

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1. I. p.83.
 2. I. p.100.
 3. III. p.234.
 4. III. pp.307-8.

wood or lead, that by transmitting the water make the garden to bear both herbs and flowers, though themselves never bear any. And let that content us, that what is here received, for us it is received; that what is given them, is given them for us, and is given us by them. Sever the office from the men; leave the men to God to whom they stand or fall; let the ordinance of God stand fast. This breath, though not into them for themselves, yet goeth into and through every act of their office or ministry, and by them conveyeth His saving grace into us all." 1.

We have seen how in Andrewes the doctrine of the Ministry is closely connected with his conception of 'order'; the gift of the Holy Spirit is according to 'order', like an ordered water-system with cistern and conduit-pipes; there is no running over, no breaking the duly appointed limits:

"Effundam tells us farther, the Spirit came not of Himself, not till He was thus poured out. It is no effluet, but effundam. Sic oportet implere, that so order might be kept in Him, in the very Spirit, and we by Him taught to keep it. Not to start out till "we be sent", nor to go on our own heads, but to stay "till we be called". Not to leak out or to run over, but to stay till we be poured out in like sort. Seeing Christ would not go unsent, misit Me, last year; nor the Holy Ghost run unpoured this year; it may well become us to keep in till we be poured and sent, any year. And yet the Spirit is no less ready to run than God is to pour it. One of these is no bar to the other. Ecce ego, mitte me. Ecce ego, "Behold I am ready", saith Esay, and yet mitte me, "send me", for all that. Effluence and effusion, influence and infusion, will stand together well enough.

Lastly, effundam is not as the running of a spout. To pour is the voluntary act of a voluntary agent, who hath the vessel in his hand, and may pour little or much; and may choose whether he will pour out any at all, or no. As shut the heaven from raining, so refrain the Spirit from falling on us.

And when He pours, He strikes not out the head of the vessel and lets all go; but moderates His pouring, and dispenses His gifts. Pours not all upon every one; nay, not upon any one, all; but upon some in this manner, upon some in that; not to each the same." 2.

The office of the Ministry is not to be exercised until the Holy Spirit has been allowed to work within:

"First, a word of the dependence of repleti and locuti: they were filled, and then "they began to speak". It is well they began not before, but were filled first and then spake after. This is the right order. Somewhere, some fall a speaking, I will not say before they be full or half full, but while they be little better than empty, if not empty quite.

1. III. p.278.

2. III. p.306.

There is not repleti sunt, et coeperunt loqui: coeperunt loqui begins the verse with them, repleti sunt is skipped over. Ever, emptying presupposeth filling; repleti hath reference to the cistern, locuti to the cock. The cistern would be first looked to, that it have water store, before we too busy to ply the cock; else follow we not the Holy Ghost's method. Else it may be coeperunt loqui, but not sicut dedit Spiritus; He giveth leave to none to speak empty." 1.

Also linked with the contemporary picture of order is the imagery drawn from music, harmony in the latter being an illustration of the wonderful harmony manifest in the well-ordered universe. The song of the angels at the Nativity suggests to Andrewes the idea of perfect all-embracing harmony, and he analyses in elaborate detail its component parts:

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"Ita canunt in Nativitate quae per Nativitatem, 'Thus sing they at His Nativity of those things that came by His Nativity'. Came to Heaven, to earth, to men. Glory to Heaven, peace to earth, grace and favour to men.

To take a song right it behoveth to know the parts of it. And they are easily known; they divide themselves into the number blessed above all numbers, because it is the number of blessed Trinity; and the mystery of the Trinity do the Fathers find in the parts of it. 1. In God on high, the Father; 2. In peace, Ipse est Pax nostra, the Son; 3. And in good-will, the Holy Ghost, the essential love and love-knot of the Godhead, and this day of the manhood and it.

Being Ode natalitia, if we consider it as a nativity, they that calculate or cast nativities in their calculations stand much upon triplicities, and trigons, and trine aspects. And here they be all, a triplicity of things. 1. Glory, 2. Peace, 3. and Good-will. A trigon of parties; 1. God, 2. Earth, and 3. Men. And a trine aspect, referendo singula singulis; 1. To God glory, 2. to earth peace, 3. to men favour, grace or goodwill.

But if, as it is most proper, we consider the parts as in a song, the three will well agree with the scale in music. 1. in excelsis, on high, hypate; 2. on earth, nete; 3. and men, howsoever they come in last, they make mese, 'the mean'. Most fitly; for they, as in the midst of both the other, partake of both; 1. their soul from on high, 2. their body from the earth. Not the Heathen but did confess the soul Divinae particulam aurae. And for the body there needs no proof that the earth it is; "earth to earth" we hear, we see before our eyes every day.

Of these three parts then asunder. And after, as the nature of a song requireth of their 1. conjunction, 2. order, and 3. division. 1. Conjunction; glory on high, and in earth peace. 2. Then the order or sequence; but first glory, then peace. 3. And last the division, sorting them suum cuique, 'each to his own'. 1. To God glory; 2. peace to the earth;

3. εὐδοκία to men. 4. Last of the singing of the hymn.
1. When, the time; 2. and by whom.

There are in this hymn as the Greeks read and we with them, three rests. The ground of which three are (the) three parties. 1. In excelsis Deo, "God on high"; 2. In terra, "earth"; 3. and hominibus, "men". To these three other three; 1. "glory", 2. "peace", 3. "good-will", as it were three streams having their head or spring in Christ's cratch, and spreading themselves thence three sundry ways, having their influence into the three former; one of these into some one of them. Glory upward in excelsis; peace downward to the earth; good-will to men in the midst between both, compound of both.

You will mark, the Child here is God and Man. God from on high, Man from the earth. To Heaven whence He is God, thither goeth glory; to earth whence Man, thither peace. Then as God and Man is one Christ, and as the reasonable soul and flesh is one man; so Christ consisting of these two brings εὐδοκία ✓ "the fulness of God's favour", the true and real cause of both; yielding them peace while here on earth, and assuring them of glory when there on high; as thither on high we trust to be delivered after our time here spent in procuring Heaven glory and earth peace. Thus three rests." 1.

David's use of the psalm is an admonition to men to lead the life of harmonious fullness:

"In which holy and Heavenly use of his harp, he doth, by his tunes of music, teach men how to set themselves in tune. How not only to tune themselves, but how to tune their households. And not only there, but here in this psalm, how to preserve harmony, or, as he termeth it, how to sing ne perdas, to a commonwealth." 2.

Preaching from the text in 1. Peter i. 3, 4: "Blessed be God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which according to His abundant mercy hath begotten us again unto a lively hope", Andrewes uses imagery drawn both from music and geometry:

497 "According" is well said. For that indeed is the chord, to which this and all our Benedictusses are to be tuned. That the centre, from which all the lines are drawn. The line of Christ's birth in Zachary's Benedictus, "through the tender mercies of our God, whereby the Day-spring from on high did" lately "visit us". The line of Christ's resurrection, in St. Peter's Benedictus, "according to His manifold mercies", whereby this Day-spring from on high doth now visit us. The line of all the rest, if we had time to go through all the rest." 3.

The song of Moses and the Lamb (Rev. xv. 3,4.) is the harmonious chant of those who fear the Lord; the man who does not is out of tune, he is outside

1. I. pp.216-7.

2. II. p.3.

3. II. p.371.

the Divine harmony just as the man who rebelled against the duly constituted authority was outside the Divine 'order':

"So then, this of fear is not Moses' song only, it is "the song of Moses and the Lamb" both. Made of the harmony of the one as well as the other. A special star in that "song of Moses and the Lamb" you shall find this, "Who will not fear Thee, O Lord?" He that will not may sibi canere, make himself music; he is out of their choir, yea the Lamb's choir, indeed out of both." ¹.

The text from John xx. 22: "And when He had said that, He breathed on them, and said unto them, Receive the Holy Ghost" suggests to Andrewes the startlingly apposite image of the Apostles as "wind-instruments", and the 'metaphysical' mind then hurries on to link this breathing of Holy Spirit with the other breathing of the serpent which necessitated it:

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"For this breath of Christ was it by which the "cloven tongues", after, had their utterance. He spake by the Prophets; and the Apostles, they were but as trumpets, or pneumatical wind-instruments; they were to be winded. Without breath they could not; no breath on earth able so to wind, that their "sound might go into all lands, be heard to the uttermost parts of the earth". None but Christ's so far - so that was to be given them. This breath hath in it, you see, to make a good symbol for the Spirit; and Christ's breath, for the Holy Spirit.

It may be, at large, all this; but how for the purpose it is here given for, remission of sins? What hath breath to do with sin? not nothing. For, if you be advised, per afflatum spiritus nequam it came, 'by an evil breath'; and per afflatum Spiritus Sancti it must be had away. The breathing, the pestilent breath of the serpent, that blew upon our first parents, infected, poisoned them at the first: Christ's breath entering, cures it; and, as ever His manner is, by the same way it was taken cures it - breath, by breath." ².

'Metaphysical' wit as perfected in the poetry of Donne, Herbert and Vaughan, revealed its peculiar quality in the short arresting phrase containing an unexpected image or analogy, but one so pregnant that on reflection it turns out to be right and apposite. This feature, the most obvious and characteristic, of 'metaphysical' writing is already present in Andrewes, and is so inextricably bound up with his whole stylistic method, that we are justified in regarding him as the first exponent of the typically seventeenth century 'metaphysical' method in England. He is a master of the short 'metaphysical' sentence:

1. III. p.337.

2. III. p.266.

144 "But when we do it (adore God), we must be allowed leisure. Ever veniemus, never venimus; ever coming, never come. We love to make no very great haste. To other things perhaps; not to adorare, the place of the worship of God. Why should we? Christ is no wild-cat. What talk ye of twelve days? And if it be forty days hence, ye shall be sure to find His Mother and Him; she cannot be churched till then. What needs such haste? The truth is, we conceit Him and His birth but slenderly, and our haste is even thereafter. But if we be at that point, we must be out of this venimus; they like enough to leave us behind. Best get us a new Christmas in September; we are not like to come to Christ at this feast." 1.

Works of repentance during Lent are the sour herbs, which made into sauce, will be served with the Paschal Lamb at Easter:

"And we now at this time to set those sour herbs and see them come up wherewith the passover is to be eaten, which are nothing else but these "fruits of repentance". Now to set them, that then we may gather them to serve us for sauce to the Paschal Lamb." 2.

The cross of Christ is a professorial chair from which He speaks the words: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do":

"None ever so fully or so fitly spake or can speak them, as the Son of God on the cross, from the chair of His profession." 3.

Christ's passion and Crucifixion is a book, complete with black lettering and rubrics:

"He is Liber charitatis, wherein he that runneth by may read, Sic dilexit, and Propter nimiam charitatem, and Ecce quantam charitatem; love all over, from one end to the other. Every stripe as a letter, every nail as a capital letter. His livores as black letters, His bleeding wounds as so many rubrics, to shew upon record His love toward us." 4.

Christ on the cross is a magnet drawing all men unto Himself:

"And He loving us so, if our hearts be not iron, yea if they be iron they cannot choose but feel the magnetical force of this loadstone. For to a loadstone doth He resemble Himself, when He saith of Himself, "Were I once lift up", omnia traham ad me. This virtue attractive is in this sight to draw our love to it." 5.

Death, for the Christian believer is, among other things, like the "fall" of a man into bed from which he expects to rise in the morning:

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1. I. p.258.
 2. I. p.434.
 3. II. p.112.
 4. II. p.180.
 5. II. p.182.

"This then we know first; that death is not a fall like that of Pharaoh into the sea, that "sunk down like a lump of lead" into the bottom, and never came up more; but a fall like that of Jonas into the sea, who was received by a fish, and after cast up again. It is our Saviour Christ's own simile. A fall not like that of the Angels into the bottomless pit, there to stay for ever; but like to that of men into their beds, when they make account to stand up again. A fall, not as of a log or stone to the ground, which where it falleth there it lieth still; but as of a wheat-corn into the ground, which is quickened and springeth up again." 1.

The bill of complaint against us (The ragman roll) was torn up by Christ and nailed to the Cross:

"He seized upon the chirographum contra nos, the ragman roll that made so strong against us; took it, rent it, and so rent "nailed it to His Cross"; made His banner of it, of the law cancelled, hanging at it banner-wise." 2.

Isaiah through his prophecies acts as a kind of registrar of the characteristics of the Messiah:

"To return to our Saviour, Who standing now with His loins girt, ready to go about the errand He came for, as the manner is, He was first to read His commission. This it is, the words I have read, drawn and ready penned for Him long before by the Prophet Esay here, who had the honour to be the registrar of this, and divers other instruments, touching Christ's natures, Person, and offices. And upon the reading of this, He entered in His office." 3.

The sermons of Andrewes are important examples of how the 'metaphysical' outlook determined the use made of Scripture, and the style he developed exercised a powerful influence upon seventeenth century preaching, especially that belonging to his school of thought.

So far we have been dealing with 'metaphysical' images drawn from non-Scriptural sources; images which illustrate the 'metaphysical' conception of the interrelation of all things, and its opposition to the idea of an irreconcilable cleavage between the material and the immaterial, the secular and the religious. The characteristic features of 'metaphysical' thinking are also evident in Andrewes' treatment of the Scriptures. From the Bible he derives his basic image and then proceeds to develop it in his own way.

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1. II. p.192.
 2. III. p.66.
 3. III. p.282.

Separated from the conception of the Incarnation held by Andrewes some of these images would seem irrelevant if not blasphemous, but the passionate sincerity behind their use, and the obvious appositeness revealed by closer analysis, makes such a suggestion short-sighted and ridiculous.

The words from Romans vi. 12: "Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body" are not sufficient for the 'metaphysical' mind; it at once proceeds to convey the scene suggested by the word "reign":

"For till we be free from death, which in this life we are not, we shall not be free from sin altogether; only we come thus far, ne regnet, that sin "reign not", wear not a crown, sit not in a throne, hold no parliaments within us, give us no laws; in a word as in the fourth verse before, that we serve it not." 1.

The eagle as a symbol for the fourth gospel evokes a characteristic elaboration, and the 'metaphysical' mind, ever quick to link one thing with another, immediately finds two texts about eagles, and then develops them:

44 "There is in the Old Testament, in the tenth of Ezekial, and in the New, in the fourth of the Revelation, a vision of four sundry shapes, a man, a lion, an ox, and an eagle. It hath been usually received to apply these four to the four Evangelists, and of them the eagle to St. John. The nature of the eagle is by God Himself described by two properties; 1. elevare ad ardua, no fowl under Heaven towereth so high; 2. and ubicunque fuerit cadaver statim adest; none so soon or so suddenly down upon the body as he. Both these do lively express themselves in St. John, and no where more lively than in this Gospel. Wherein, as an eagle in the clouds, he first mounteth wonderfully high beyond Moses and his in principio, with an higher in principio than it; beyond Genesis and the world's creation: that "the Word was then with God, and was God". This may well be termed the eagle's flight, so exceeding high as the clearest eye hath much ado to follow him. Yet so far as they can follow him, the very philosophers have been driven to admire the penning of this Gospel. But after this, as an eagle again, (ubi corpus, ibi aquila,) down he cometh directly from the height of Heaven, and lights upon the body of His flesh, the mystery of His incarnation; and tells us that He that, "in the beginning was apud Deum and Deus" - He "in the fullness of time" was apud homines and homo. He dwelt not long aloft, he knew it was not to purpose; Verbum Deus is far above our reach. Verbum caro, that concerns us." 2.

1. II. p.200.

2. I. p.86.

From the text in John ii. 19: "Destroy this Temple, and within three days I will raise it up again" Andrewes works out in detail the conception of Christ's body as a temple:

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now see
"And thus you have heard what He saith. Will ye see now what they did, what became of this solvite of His? Solvite, saith He, and when time came they did it. But He said "solvite", that is "loose", and they cried "crucifige" at the time, that is fasten, "fasten Him to the Cross"; but that fastening was His loosing, for it lost Him and cost Him His life, which was the solutum est of this solvite.

For indeed, solutum est Templum hoc, this Temple of His body, the Spirit from the flesh, the flesh from the blood was loosed quite. The roof of it, His head, loosed with thorns, the foundations, His feet, with nails. The side aisles as it were, His hands both, likewise. And His body of the Temple, and His heart in the midst of His body as the Sanctum Sanctorum, with the spear loosed all. What He said they did, and did it home." 1.

Mary was not altogether mistaken in thinking Christ was the gardener on the Resurrection morning:

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"Of which her so taking Him, St. Gregory saith well, profecto errando non erravit. She did not mistake in taking Him for a gardener; though she might seem to err in some sense, yet in some other sense she was in the right. For in a sense, and a good sense, Christ may well be said to be a gardener, and indeed is one. For our rule is, Christ as He appears, so He is ever; no false semblant in Him.

1. A gardener He is then. The first, the fairest garden that ever was, Paradise, He was the gardener. It was of His planting. So a gardener.

2. And ever since it is He that as God makes all our garden green, sends us yearly the spring, and all the herbs and flowers we then gather; and neither Paul with his planting, nor Apollos with his watering, could do any good without Him. So a gardener in that sense.

3. But not in that alone; but He it is that gardens our "souls" too, and makes them, as the Prophet saith, "like a well-watered garden"; weeds out of them whatsoever is noisome or unsavoury, sows and plants them with true roots and seeds of righteousness, waters them with the dew of His grace, and makes them bring forth fruit to eternal life.

But it is none of all these, but besides all these, nay over and above all these, this day if ever, most properly He was a gardener. Was one, and so after a more peculiar manner might take this likeness on Him. Christ rising was indeed a gardener, and that a strange one, Who made such an herb grow out of the ground this day as the like was never seen before,

a dead body to shoot forth alive out of the grave.

I ask, was He so this day alone? No, but this profession of His, this day begun, He will follow to the end. For He it is That by virtue of this morning's act shall garden our bodies too, turn all our graves into garden plots; yea, shall one day turn land and sea and all into a great garden, and so husband them as they shall in due time bring forth live bodies, even all our bodies alive again." 1.

Given the image of Christ as the "true Vine" Andrewes fills in the details:

"To pursue this of the winepress a little. The press, the reading in it, is to make wine; calcatus sum is properly of grapes, the fruit of the vine. Christ is the "true Vine", He saith it Himself. To make wine of Him, He and the clusters He bare must be pressed. So He was. Three shrewd strains they gave Him. One, in Gethsemane, that made Him sweat blood; the wine or blood, all is one, came forth at all parts of Him. Another, in the Judgment hall, Gabbatha, which made the blood run forth at His head, with the thorns; out of His whole body, with the scourges; out of His hands and feet with the nails. The last strain at Golgotha, where He was so pressed that they pressed the very soul out of His body, and out ran blood and water both. Haec sunt Ecclesiae gemina Sacramenta, saith St. Augustine, out came both Sacraments, 'the twin Sacraments of the Church'. 2.

The conception of Christ as the "true Bread" is treated in a similar way:

"As likewise, when He calls Himself granum frumenti, "the wheat-corn", these four, 1. the sickle, the 2. Flail, the 3. millstone, 4. the oven, He passed through; all went over Him before He was made bread; "the shew-bread" to God, to us "the Bread of life". 3.

The twelve disciples at Ephesus who had not heard of the Holy Ghost suggest a jury unable to reach a decision:

639 "And they were twelve, it is said at the seventh verse, that is, a full jury; and yet put the Holy Ghost upon their verdict, that they return is an ignoramus." 4.

The Scriptural likeness of the Holy Ghost to a dove is the start of a series of developments of the idea:

1. III. pp.15-16.
2. III. p.70.
3. III. p.71.
4. III. p.181.

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t/ "The Holy Ghost is a Dove, and He makes Christ's spouse, the Church, a Dove; a term so oft iterate in the Canticles, and so much stood on by St. Augustine and the Fathers, as they make no question, No Dove, no Church. Yea, let me add this: St. Peter, when the keys were promised, never but then, but then I know now how, he is called a new name, and never but there, "Bar-jona", that is, Filius columbae, but so he must be, if ever he will have them. And his successors, if they claim by any other fowl, painted keys they may have, true keys they have none. For sure I am, extra Columbam, out of that Church, there is no Holy Ghost, and so no remission of sins. For they go together, "Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye remit, they are remitted."

be/ And what shall we say then to them that will be Christians, that they will, and yet have nihil columbae, nothing in them of the dove; quit these qualities quite, neither bill, nor eye, nor voice, nor colour; what shall we say? This, that Jesuits they may be, but Christians, sure they are none. No dove's eye, fox-eyed they; not silver-white feathers, but party-coloured; no gemitus columbae, but rugitus ursi; not the bill or foot of a dove, but the beak and claws of a vulture; no spirit of the olive-branch, but the spirit of the bramble, from whose root went out fire to set all the forest on a flame.

h/ Ye may see what they are, they even seek and do all that in them lies to chase away this Dove, the Holy Ghost. The Dove, they tell us, that was for the baby-Church, for them to be humble and meek, suffer and mourn like a dove. Now, as if with Montanus they had yet Paracletum alium, 'another Holy Ghost' to look for, in another shape, of another fashion quite, with other qualities, they hold these be no qualities for Christians now. Were indeed, they grant, for the baby-Christians, for the "three thousand" first Christians, this day; poor men they did all in simplicitate cordis. And so too in Pliny's time: harmless people they were, the Christians, as he writes, did nobody hurt. And so to Tertullian's who plainly tells what hurt they could have done, and yet would do none. And so all along the primitive Churches, even down to Gregory, who, in any wise would have no hand in any man's blood. But the date of these meek and patient Christians is worn out, long since expired; and now we must have Christians of a new edition of another, a new-fashioned Holy Ghost's making; Gregory the Seventh, St. Gregory the Seventh forsooth, who indeed was the first that, instead of the Dove, hatched this new misshapen Holy Ghost, and sent him into the world.

For do they not begin to tell us in good earnest, and speak it in such assemblies and places as we must take it for their tenet, that they are simple men that think Christians were to continue so still; they were to be so but for a time, till their beaks and talons were grown, till their strength was come to them, and they able to make their party good; and then this dove here might take her wings, fly whither she would, "and take her ease"; then a new Holy Ghost to come down upon them that would not take it as the other did, but take arms, depose, deprive, blow up; instead of an olive-branch, have a match-light in her beak or a bloody knife.

h/ Methinks, if this word go on, it will grow a question problematic, in what shape it was most convenient for the Holy Ghost to have come down? Whether as He did, in the meek shape

of a dove? or whether, it had not been much better He had come in some other shape, in the shape of the Roman eagle, or of some other fierce fowl de vulturino genere." 1.

Much of Andrewes' 'metaphysical' wit depends upon verbal effects.

At its weakest this verbal wit is simply a literary mannerism; at its best it is an effective method of exposition, the verbal dexterity reflecting the greatest precision of thought.

For this more purely verbal 'metaphysical' wit Andrewes makes great use of the Hebrew and Vulgate texts. Speaking of Deus nobiscum he draws upon both:

"Our fear most-what groweth, both in sin and in danger, that we look upon ourselves as if it were only nobis; as if never a cum; or that cum were not El, "the mighty God". As if with that great El all the inferior Els were not attendant, Micha-el, and Gabri-el; and if He will, "twelve legions of Angels". Or as if He alone with one word of His mouth, one Ego sum, could not blow them all down, could not make them all as those in the text, as the tails of a couple of fire-brands that have spent themselves, smoke a little, and there is all. No; if He be "with us", we need not fear what those two, nay not what all the fire-brands in hell can do against us." 2.

The most remarkable example of this verbal 'metaphysical' wit is the famous passage in the ninth Nativity sermon, on the word Immanuel. Here while the delight in the witty manipulation of words is obvious, a closely reasoned argument and a passionate earnestness lie behind the word-play:

75 "And now, to look into the name. It is compounded, and to be taken to pieces. First, into Immanu and El; of which, El the latter is the more principal by far; for El is God. Now, for anything yet said in concipiet and pariet, all is but man with us; not "God with us" till now. By the name we take our first notice that this Child is God. And this is a great addition, and here, lo, is the wonder. For, as for any child of a woman to "eat butter and honey", the words that next follow, where is the Ecce? But for El, for God to do it - that is worth an Ecce indeed.

El is God; and not God every way, but as the force of the word is, God in His full strength and virtue; God, cum plenitudine potestatis as we say, 'with all that ever He can do'; and that is enough I am sure.

For the other, Immanu; though El be the more principal, yet I cannot tell whether it or Immanu do more concern us.

1. III. pp.254-5.

2. I. p.149.

For as in El is might, so in Immanu is our right to His might, and to all He hath or is worth. By that word we hold, therefore, we to lay hold of it. The very standing of it thus before, thus in the first place, toucheth us somewhat. The first thing ever that we look for is nos, nobis, and noster, the possessives; for they do mittere in possessionem, 'put us in possession'. We look for it first, and lo, it stands here first: nobiscum first, and then Deus after.

I shall not need to tell you that in nobiscum there is mecum; in nobiscum for us all a mecum for every one of us. Out of this generality of "with us", in gross, may ever one deduce his own particular - with me, and me, and me. For all put together make but nobiscum.

The wise man out of Immanuel, that is nobiscum Deus, doth deduce Ithiel, that is mecum Deus, "God with me" - his own private interest. And St. Paul when he had said to the Ephesians of Christ, "Who loved us, and gave Himself for us", might with good right say to the Galatians, "Who loved me and gave Himself for me."

This Immanu is a compound again; we may take it in sunder in nobis and cum; and so then have we three pieces. 1. the mighty God; 2. and anu, we, poor we - poor indeed if we have all the world beside if we have not Him to be with us; 3. and Im, which is cum, and that cum in the midst between nobis and Deus, God and us - to couple God and us; thereby to convey the things of the one to the other. Ours to God; alas, they be not worth the speaking of. Chiefly, then, to convey to us the things of God. For that is worth the while; they are indeed worth the conveying.

This cum we shall never conceive to purpose, but carendo; the value of "with" no way so well as by without, by stripping of cum from nobis. And so let nobis, "us", stand by ourselves without Him, to see what our case is but for this Immanuel; what, if this virgin's Child had not this day been born us: nobiscum after will be the better esteemed. For if this Child be "Immanuel, God with us", then without this Child, this Immanuel, we be without God. "Without Him in this world", saith the Apostle and if without Him in this, without Him in the next; and if without Him there - if it be not Immanu-el, it will be Immanu-hell; and that and no other place will fall, I fear me, to our share. Without Him this we are. What with Him? Why, if we have Him, and God by Him, we need no more; Immanu-el and Immanu-all. All that we can desire is for us to be with Him, with God, and He to be with us; and we from Him, or He from us, never to be parted. We were with Him once before, and we were well; and when we left Him, and He no longer "with us", then began all our misery. Whensoever we go from Him, so shall we be in evil case, and never be well till we be back with Him again.

Then, if this be our case that we cannot be without Him, no remedy then but to get a cum by whose means nobis and Deus may come together again. And Christ is that Cum to bring it to pass. The parties are God and we; and now this day He is both. God before eternally, and now to-day Man; and so both, and takes hold of both, and brings both together again. For two natures here are in Him. If conceived and born of a woman, then a man; if God with us, then God. So Esay offered his

"sign from the height above, or from the depth beneath": here it is. "From above", El; "from beneath", anu; one of us now. And so, His sign from both. And both these natures in the unity of one Person, called by one name, even this name Immanuel." 1.

The meaning of Bethlehem in Hebrew, "house of bread", is not overlooked:

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"Beth is a house, lehem bread, and Ephratah is plenty; "bread", plenty". And there was in Bethlehem a well of such water as King David, we read, longed for it - the best in all the country. Bethlehem then sure a fit place for Qui pascet to be born in, and Qui pascet as fit a Person to be born in Bethlehem. He is not meet to be ruler, saith Esay, that saith in domo mea non est panis. He can never say that Bethlehem is his house, and that is domus panis, and in domo panis semper est panis. Never take Him without bread, His house is the house of bread, inasmuch as He Himself is Bread; that in the house or out of it - wheresoever He is there is Bethlehem. There can no bread want." 2.

Naturally the literal meaning of Bethlehem is used again for the eucharistic ending to the sermon:

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"We speak of (the) transeamus usque Bethlehem, "going thither". That may we even locally do and never go out of this room, inasmuch as here is to be had the "true Bread of life that came down from Heaven". Which is "His flesh" this day born, which "He gave for the life of the world", called by Him so, the true Bread, the Bread of Heaven, the Bread of life - and where that Bread is, there is Bethlehem ever. Even stricte loquendo, it may be said and said truly, the Church in this sense is very Bethlehem no less than the town itself. For that the town itself never had the name rightly all the while there was but bread made there, bread (panis hominum) 'the bread of men'. Not till this Bread was born there, which is Panis Angelorum, as the Psalm calleth it, "and man did eat Angel's Food". Then, and never till then, was it Bethlehem; and that is in the Church, as truly as ever in it. And accordingly the Church takes order we shall never fail of it. There shall ever be this day a Bethlehem to go to - a house wherein there is bread, and this bread. And shall there be Bethlehem, and so near us, and shall we not go to it? Or, shall we go to it, to the House of Bread, this Bread, and come away without it? Shall we forsake our Guide leading us to a place so much for our benefit?" 3.

Similarly a sermon on the Resurrection from Matthew xii. 39, 40.

elaborates in great detail the parallel of Jonah in the whale's belly and Christ in the tomb.

We have seen how the conception of the historical continuity of the

1. I. pp.144-5.

2. I. pp.237-8.

3. I. pp.247-8.

Church of England emphasised by Andrewes had as one of its characteristics a closer study of the subject matter and style of the great preaching Fathers. When we examine the use made of the Fathers in the 'metaphysical' preaching of Andrewes it seems clear that we are near the immediate origin of the movement in England. The 'metaphysical' methods so far noted: the use of startling and apparently incongruous imagery, the development of a basic image suggested either directly or indirectly in Scripture, the puns and verbal wit, are to be found in the great preaching Fathers, Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and Bernard; Fathers to whom Andrewes paid most attention. Granted that such a style of writing fitted in very well with the contemporary world-view, it is rather significant that Andrewes, one of the earliest, if not the earliest, exponent of the 'metaphysical' method, should have been the originator of a movement which looked back to the Fathers of the Church, not as formerly, for polemical purposes, but as providing a body of teaching authenticated by tradition, and expressed in a particular way. That way was undoubtedly what would have been known in seventeenth century England as 'metaphysical'. Along with a changed conception of the Church of England, then, went a new style of preaching. Andrewes went to the Fathers as authoritative interpreters of the traditional teaching, and in the process adopted the style in which that teaching was expressed, and adopted it all the more readily since the contemporary background of thought made it only too likely that his mind would be attracted to such a style.

It will have become clear that it is in the great series of sermons on the Nativity, the Resurrection, and the Sending of the Holy Ghost, that Andrewes is at his most 'metaphysical'; and it is precisely in this series that he draws most heavily on the works of the Fathers, and the Fathers most frequently drawn upon are just those noted for their witty 'metaphysical' imagery: Augustine, Chrysostom, Ambrose and Bernard.

A basic image is selected by Andrewes from one of the Fathers and then elaborated in his own way. Taking the words of John the Baptist "Bring for therefore fruits meet for repentance", Andrewes works out the theme of repentance and fasting in terms of a tree and its fruits, in due course coming to the leaves. Here, to hand, he finds a suitable image from Augustine which

he adapts to his own use:

24) "Will you know what these leaves be? St. Augustine tells us, no man can do it better; It is to hear a sermon, and to praise the preacher: there comes somewhat, some leaves. His words are: Audistis, laudastis; Deo gratias! semen accepistis, verba reddidistis, Laudes vestrae gravant nos potius, et in periculum mittunt. Toleramus illas, et tremimus inter illas. Tamen fratres mei, laudes vestrae folia sunt; modo fructus quaeritur. 'You hear, and you commend', saith Augustine 'well, thanks be to God! good seed you receive, good words you give back. These good works profit us not, peradventure do us hurt otherwhile. Bear with them we must, tremble at them we should. Yet when all is done, good brethren, good words are but leaves, and it is fruit, fruit is it we preach for..' Not the fruits of your lips, they be but leaves; but fructus operis, that fruit.

Now if you mark what it is our best sermons bring forth, we shall easily observe the most is a few good words of some point or other in the sermon, handled peradventure not amiss; and, hear you, well if that; but if that, look for no more, there is all. And this leaf it lasts not long neither, fades quickly, as did the leaves of Jonah's gourd; one day green, the next dry.

And is this the fruit of our labours? Is not this the Pharisees' accepistis mercedem vestram? If the fruit of our labours be but the fruit of men's lips, we are like to make but a cold reckoning of it, "to inherit the wind". As if we came hither to bring forth a leaf of praise, to preach art and not spirit; art to draw from men a vain applause, and not spirit to bring forth the fruits of the Spirit, fructifying to newness of life by fructus facite, fruit that may abound to your account and ours, yours that did, ours that preached to have them done And it is no good sign in a tree when all the sap goes up into leaves, is spent that way; not in an auditor, when all is verbal that comes and nothing else - no reality at all." 1.

Speaking of Lot's wife being turned into a pillar of salt Andrewes finds a congenial image in Augustine who had written:

"She was made a pillar of salt as a warning to men not to do likewise, and to season as it were their hearts, lest they become corrupt."

And so we find in Andrewes:

"For our sakes he erecteth a pillar; and not a pillar only to point and gaze at, but a "pillar or rock of salt", whence we may and must fetch wherewith to season whatsoever is unsavoury in our lives." 2.

Chrysostom explains the words in John xx. 17, "Touch Me not", as intended to teach reverence:

1. I. pp.422-3.

2. II. p.71.

"Mary wished to be as familiar with Christ now, as she was before His Passion; forgetting in her joy, that His body was made much more holy by its resurrection. So "Touch Me not", He says, to remind her of this, and make her feel awe in talking with Him."

Andrewes develops in his own 'metaphysical' way the borrowed suggestion:

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"I tell you plainly I did not like her "Rabboni", it was no Easter-Day salutation, it would have been some better term expressing more reverence. So her offer would have been in some more respective manner, her touch no Easter-day touch; her tangere had a tang in it, as we say. The touch-stone of our touching Christ, is with all regard and reverence that may be. Bring hers to this, and her touch was not the right touch, and all for want of expressing more regard; not for want of toto but tanto; not of reverence at all, but of reverence enough." 1.

From the Fathers also was derived that dramatic quality in Andrewes' sermons which is a feature of 'metaphysical' writing. In Andrewes it is closely linked with his deep perception of the nature of the Incarnation: an intimate and complete union of the two natures in the person of Christ, the fullness of the human nature assumed only emphasising the great condescension of God.

The dramatic quality in Andrewes' sermons seems to owe much to the method of Ambrose and Bernard. The sermon on the text, "Mercy and Truth shall meet; Righteousness and Peace shall kiss one another", is almost a complete dramatisation with the four virtues taking the leading parts, acting and speaking in character. Before the coming of Christ, Mercy and Peace had not been able to agree with Righteousness and Truth about the plight of man; the court-scene is borrowed from Bernard:

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"Mercy began, for out of her readiness to do good she is here, she is ever foremost. Her inclination is, or rather she herself is an inclination, to pity such as are in misery, and if she can to relieve them, yea though they deserve it not. For, which is the comfort of the miserable sinner, she looks not to the party, what he is or what he hath done or deserved, but what he suffers, in how woeful and wretched a case he is. And her plea is, nunquid in vanum? "What hath God made all men for nought"? "What profit is in their blood"? It will make God's enemies rejoice Thither it will come, if God cast them clean off. What then, "Will He cast them off for ever, will He be no more entreated? Hath God forgotten to be gracious? With these and such like pii susurri, as he calls them, did she enter into God's bowels, and make them yearn

and melt into compassion. And certainly, if there were none to stand against us, there were hope Mercy had prevailed.

But Truth must be heard too, and she lays in just matter of exception; pleads *Deus erat Verbum*; what is God but His Word? and His word was - as to Adam, *morte morieris*, so to his sins, *anima quae peccaverit*, "the soul that sinneth that soul shall die". God may not falsify His word; His word is the truth. Falsify the truth? That may not be.

And then steps up Righteousness and seconds her. That God as He is "true in His word", so is He "righteous in all His works". So, to *reddere suum cuique*, to every one that is his due; and so to the sinner, *stipendium peccati*, "the wages of sin", that is "death". God forbid, the Judge of the world should judge unjustly! That were, as before to make truth false, so here to do right wrong.

Nay, it went farther, and they made it their own cases. What shall become of me, said Righteousness? What use of justice if God will do no justice, if He spare sinners? And what use of me, saith Mercy, if He spare them not? Hard hold there was, inasmuch as *perii nisi homo moriatur*, said Righteousness, 'I die, if he die not'. To this it came; and in those terms brake up the meeting, and away then went one from the other. Truth went into exile, as a stranger upon earth:-- *Terras Astraerae relinquit*, she confined herself in Heaven, where so aliened she was as she would not so much as look down hither upon us.

Mercy, she stayed below still. *Ubi enim Misericordia esset*, saith Hugo well, *si cum misero non esset*? 'Where should Mercy be, if with misery she should not be?'

As for Peace, she went between both, to see if she could make them meet again in better terms. For without such a meeting, no good to be done for us¹

Harmony and concord are established at the Incarnation.

The passage on the journey of the Magi, used by T. S. Eliot in "The journey of the Magi", is a good example of Andrewes' dramatic narrative, and seems to owe something to part of the Homily against Wilful Rebellion:

"To look a little on it. In this their coming we consider, 1. First, the distance of the place they came from. It was not hard by as the shepherds - but a step to Bethlèhem over the fields; this was riding many a hundred miles, and cost them many a day's journey. 2. Secondly, we consider the way that they came, if it be pleasant, or plain and easy; for if it be, it is so much the better. 1. This was nothing pleasant, for through deserts, all the way waste and desolate. 2. Nor secondly, easy neither; for over the rocks and crags of both Arabias, specially Petraea, their journey lay. 3. Yet if safe - but it was not, but exceeding dangerous, as lying through the midst of the "black tents of Kedar", a nation of thieves and cut-

1. I. pp.180 ff.

throats; to pass over the hills of robbers, infamous then, and infamous to this day. No passing without great troop or convoy. 4. Last we consider the time of their coming, the season of the year. It was no summer progress. A cold coming they had of it at this time of the year, just the worst time of the year to take a journey, and specially a long journey in. The ways deep, the weather sharp, the days short, the sun farthest off, in solstitio brumali, 'the very dead of winter'.¹

The latter part of this passage is reminiscent of the description of the Virgin Mary setting out to be taxed, in the Homily:

"Neither repined she at the sharpness of the dead time of winter, being the latter end of December, an unhandsome time to travel in, specially a long journey for a woman being in her case."²

Andrewes also reveals the influence of the Fathers, and especially Bernard, in the frequent concentration on the physical aspects of the Passion. Preoccupation with the physical is also a marked feature of the sermons and poetry of Donne. Andrewes examines the physical aspect of the Passion in full detail:

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1. I. p.257.

2. Homilies. p.505.

opening of a vein, but it was blood and pain both. The tearing and mangling of His flesh with the whips, thorns, and nails, could not choose but be exceeding painful to Him. Pains we know are increased much by cruel, and made more easy by gentle handling, and even the worst that suffer, we wish their execution as gentle, and with as little rigour as may be. All rigour, all cruelty was shewed to Him, to make His pains the more painful. In Gabbatha they did not whip Him, saith the Psalmist, "they ploughed His back, and made", not stripes but "long furrows upon it". They did not put on His wreath of thorns, and press it down with their hands but beat it on with bats, to make it enter through skin, flesh, skull, and all. They did not in Golgotha pierce His hands and feet, but made wide holes like that of a spade, as if they had been digging in some ditch." 1.

Christ's body is an anvil:

"Our very eye will soon tell us no place was left in His body, where He might be smitten and was not. His skin and flesh rent with the whips and scourges, His hands and feet wounded with the nails, His head with the thorns, His very heart with the spear-point; all His senses, all His parts laden with whatsoever wit or malice could invent. His blessed body given as an anvil to be beaten upon with the violent hands of those barbarous miscreants, till they brought Him into this case of si fuerit sicut." 2.

From Bernard Andrewes adopts the idea of Christ's body as a house to be inspected:

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"And we may well look into Him; Cancellis plenum est corpus, 'His body is full of stripes', and they are as lattices; patent viscera per vulnere, His wounds they are as windows, through which we may well see all that is within Him. Clavus penetrans factus est mihi clavis reserans, saith St. Bernard; 'the nails and spear-head serve as keys to let us in'. We may look into the palms of His hands, wherein, saith the Prophet, He hath graven us, that He might never forget us. We may look into His side, St. John useth the word "opened". Vigilanti verbo, saith Augustine, 'a word well chosen, upon good advice': we may through the opening look into His very bowels, the bowels of kindness and compassion that would endure to be so entreated. Yea that very heart of His, wherein we may behold the love of our salvation to be the very heart's joy of our Saviour." 3.

XV

The sermons of Lancelot Andrewes mark the beginning of the 'metaphysical'

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1. II. pp.168-9.
 2. II. p.143.
 3. II. p.178.

movement in English literature. From Andrewes is descended the school of Donne, Herbert, and Vaughan, their followers and imitators. It was a movement which began within the Church of England, following the changed outlook at the end of the sixteenth century. Donne, Herbert, and Vaughan were essentially of the Andrewes school in thought and method.

'Metaphysical' writing was the expression of a specific philosophy, of a conception of the ultimate unity and harmony of all things amid seeming chaos, which we have called the "theology of order". It reveals the mediaeval type of mind trying to grapple with new and disturbing ideas and to impose some kind of order on them. In Andrewes and his followers, especially Donne, this was so reinforced by a conception of the Incarnation as revealing in its fullness the reconciliation of the material and the spiritual, the human and the divine, that these new and disturbing ideas from the "secular" world were used with no hesitation to elucidate the most sacred of themes. Their doctrinal background influenced and determined the nature of their literary expression, its most characteristic result being the use of the 'metaphysical' image.

The 'metaphysical' style is arresting, witty, "shocking" to those for whom only a few specially selected and closely guarded spheres of human thought and experience may be termed "religious", but it is a style most suitable for a true Incarnational theology, which holds that complete human nature has been redeemed. The Incarnation for the 'metaphysicals' means completion and inclusiveness, and just as in their worship they aimed at completeness of response, so their literary style knew of no one "special language" or image for the expression of Divine truth. Theirs was the "poetic" view of existence: the visible, tangible and measurable were only feeble shadowings of the Reality beyond.

But as the seventeenth century proceeded a new view of reality was adopted, and it found expression in a new language. The movement was towards the plain direct prose of Tillotson, and it led through the founding of the Royal Society, and the establishing of the "scientific" view of truth and reality. The mediaeval outlook was at last being cast off. Andrewes and

his 'metaphysical' sermons now belonged to a past age; the 'metaphysical' image was not "true" according to the new canon of truth, and its use in the sermon therefore illegitimate. The age of poetry was indeed giving place to the age of prose; seventeenth century Anglicanism was passing. Andrewes belonged to an age when the Divine 'order' was perceived and obeyed, all things were indeed seen sub specie aeternitatis, and the possibility of chaos was taken seriously.

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