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Donald Pohlers

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A HISTORICAL STUDY AND TRANSLATION OF JACOB ANDREAE'S  
"A SHORT AND SIMPLE STATEMENT CONCERNING THE LORD'S SUPPER  
AND HOW AN ORDINARY CHRISTIAN SHOULD CONDUCT HIMSELF IN  
THE LONG AND DRAWN-OUT CONTROVERSY  
WHICH HAS ARISEN OVER IT"

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A Thesis Presented to the Faculty  
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,  
Department of Historical Theology  
in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Master of Sacred Theology

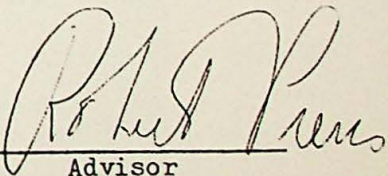
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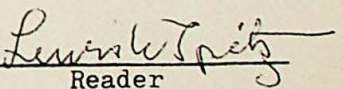
by

Donald Lee Pohlers

May 1974

Approved by:

  
Advisor

  
Reader

Short Title

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#### ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The achievement of this milestone is a reminder to praise Almighty God for the strength and endurance which He supplied this writer for this undertaking while serving in the full time ministry. The encouragement and support of a faithful mother and parents-in-law have been deeply appreciated. Finally, the extra labors and patience of wife and children have been of invaluable assistance in the completion of this thesis.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY MATERIAL

#### An Overview of the General Historical Situation

In September, 1555, the dream of Emperor Charles V came to an end, and his abdication followed quickly in 1556. It had been his great desire to effect religious unity under the protection of a strong Hapsburg empire. With the death of Luther (1546) and the military defeat of the Lutheran princes and estates (1547), which made Charles the apparent master of the empire, the Emperor hoped to effect his plan for religious unity. However, he did not consider the reactions that his proposals and deeds would cause among leaders of the Catholic forces. Pope Paul III feared Charles' plans for reforming the papacy and suspected Charles of complicity in the murder of his son, Pier Luigi Farnese.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Charles was also threatening a second sack of Rome. German allies resented Spanish troops enforcing the Augsburg Interim of June, 1548, as well as Charles' dynastic policies. Indeed, his religious policies showed how little he really understood the German people. Southern German leaders, such as Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, the imprisoned Philip of Hesse, and others accepted the Interim formally, but this meant very little. The people either neglected the Mass or the authorities circumvented the Interim's regulations, although

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<sup>1</sup>Harold J. Grimm, The Reformation Era (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1954), p. 256.

some leaders, such as Brenz, were forced into exile because of their refusal to comply.

In Northern Germany Melanchthon had worked out the compromise known as the Leipzig Interim (1548) on behalf of Elector Maurice. This was adopted on December 22, 1548, and became the substitute for the Augsburg Interim. Nevertheless, the majority of clergy still continued to preach and teach as before.<sup>2</sup> Thus, nothing was accomplished until the Peace of Augsburg (1555), which formally recognized the emergence of territorialism and the all-important principle of cuius regio, eius religio. It was this governing principle that aided the work of Jacob Andreae as he introduced the reformation into many areas.

The Peace of Augsburg legitimized the followers of Luther's doctrine, and, with formal recognition came the problems particular to the second generation in any struggle. New leaders vied for position and bitter struggles frequently ensued. Melanchthon's part in the Leipzig Interim appeared treasonable to the cause of the Reformation, and he fell from grace among many Lutherans.<sup>3</sup> The theologians of Wittenberg and Leipzig identified themselves with the Leipzig Interim,<sup>4</sup> and Wittenberg continued to support the compromise position attributed to Melanchthon and recognized as that of his son-in-law Casper Peucer,

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>3</sup>F. Bente, Historical Introductions to the Book of Concord (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), p. 107. According to Bente Andrew Musculus, who assisted in drafting the Formula of Concord, characterized Melanchthon as "a patriarch of all heresies."

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 98-99.

who was to enter into conflict with Andreae. Even Calvin claimed Melanchthon as his ally and urged him to testify publicly that the Calvinists and Zwinglians were teaching nothing contrary to the Augsburg Confession.<sup>5</sup> Melanchthon gave no reply, and his silence was construed as support for the Calvinists.

The issues came to a head in the controversy known to us as the Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy and actually became public shortly after the death of Luther. The foundation for the controversy was laid in the altered Augsburg Confession of 1540, where Melanchthon changed the wording concerning the real presence. The original version said, "Quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuuntur." In the altered version the following change was made: "Quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi."<sup>6</sup> It should be recognized at this point, however, that Melanchthon cannot be blamed fairly for the origin of the controversy, although he did sow the seeds which found ready soil in the minds of others who were his students. Nevertheless, although his specialty was not theology, his theological writings, reflections, and questions certainly influenced those committed to him who were later recognized as Philippists--that is, Pezel, Stössel, and others.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>6</sup>Chr. Moritz Fittbogen, Jacob Andreä: der Verfasser des Concordienbuches, sein Leben und seine theologische Bedeutung (Hagen i.W. und Leipzig: Verlag von Hermann Riesel, 1881), p. 2.



The problem was serious<sup>7</sup> when Joachim Westphal of Hamburg (1510-1574) first raised his voice against the Calvinistic view of the Lord's Supper in a publication entitled Farrago Confusaneorum et inter se Dissidentium Opinionem de Coena Domini (1552). In 1553 Westphal published a second work outlining the correct faith concerning the Lord's Supper. In 1555 Calvin published his Defensio Sanae et Orthodoxae Doctrinae de Sacramentis, in which he attacked Westphal. Others such as John Timann, Tilemann Hesshusius, Henry Bullinger, Theodore Beza, Johann Brenz (whose confession Melanchthon labeled as "Hechinger Latin"--that is, absurd and insipid teaching<sup>8</sup>), Martin Chemnitz, and Jacob Andreae soon entered the fray. The bitter struggle continued long after the Formula of Concord appeared and the original participants had expired. Due to the steadfast position held by both sides, many suffered dismissal from office, exile, imprisonment, and more--for example, Chancellor Crell was decapitated on October 9, 1601, after ten years in prison, although Hutter claims that his execution was not because of his religion<sup>9</sup> (this point probably could be debated).

Wittenberg became one of the centers for Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and one of Andreae's chief opponents was Casper Peucer, the son-in-law of Philip Melanchthon and professor of medicine and

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<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 4. Fittbogen claims that the princes were powerless to help, and the catholics mocked the situation. Emperor Ferdinand and his son Maximillian were offended by the Protestant bickerings, although they had been inclined toward it at first.

<sup>8</sup>Bente, pp. 179 and 183.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 192.

physician to the Elector. Peucer published the Corpus Doctrinae Philippicum in 1560 as the first step in establishing the Calvinist position, and Melanchthon wrote prefaces for the German and Latin editions. By 1568 the Calvinistic position was so firmly entrenched that, when students Conrad Schluesselburg and Albert Schirmer protested the deviations in the eucharistic doctrines of Professors Pezel and Peucer, they were expelled from the university, anathematized, and ejected from the city.<sup>10</sup> In 1570 the Wittenberg "Philippists" had hereticized Brenz, Andreae, and Chemnitz and thoroughly repudiated the Lutheran doctrine, and by 1573 the process of subordinating Electoral and Ducal Saxony was considered a fait accompli.

In 1574, however, the Crypto-Calvinists suffered a reversal that marked the end for them and their theological position. The Elector of Saxony was August, a god-fearing man of Lutheran persuasion, who had placed unwarranted trust in the theology and good intentions of the Wittenberg faculty and was, thereby, deceived. In good faith he had banished more than one hundred preachers and teachers in Ducal Saxony because they refused to adopt the Corpus Philippicum and respect the position of the Philippists. Among these were Wigand and Hesshusius. Undoubtedly, August would have continued in the same course if the notorious Exegesis Perspicua et Ferme Integra Controversiae de Sacra Coena had not appeared in 1574. The content of the work and the clear language indicated that its concern was nothing less than the eradication

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 186.

of the Lutheran theological position concerning the sacraments. Bente states that "It advocated a union of the Lutherans and Reformed based on indifferentism and a surrender in all important doctrinal points to Calvinism."<sup>11</sup>

At the same time Elector August was again urged by Lutheran princes, the King of Denmark,<sup>12</sup> and Duke Ludwig of Württemberg to stop the Calvinists and refuse all toleration of them.<sup>13</sup> The advice was unnecessary for August now saw the issue clearly. The Exegesis had helped him to understand what was really being said. Also, at this time Peucer tried to influence Anna, the wife of the Elector, through a letter and a prayer book. The letter fell into the hands of the court-preacher Lysthenius, a staunch opponent of the Crypto-Calvinists. He delivered it to the Elector. The result was the incarceration of Peucer, Schuetz, Stössel, and Cracow and the reestablishment of the Lutheran position under the leadership of Andreae, Chemnitz, and Selnecker. August also assumed a leading role in the larger movement to settle all controversies distracting the Lutheran Church.

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<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>12</sup>Fittbogen, p. 35. Andreae influenced the Queen of Denmark to write her daughter, the wife of Elector August, and ask for the dismissal of Peucer from the faculty of the University of Wittenberg.

<sup>13</sup>Bente, p. 190.

## The Role of Andreae in the Controversy

Jacob Andreae fits the role of a man who came to the kingdom for such a time as this. He was born to Jacob Endris<sup>14</sup> on March 25, 1528, and Anna, nee Wersskopf,<sup>15</sup> near Stuttgart, in Waiblingen of Württemberg, east of the Neckar River. His father had been a smith, who made weapons and accompanied the armies of Europe until 1527. Andreae attended the Gymnasium at Stuttgart and later enrolled at the Seminary at Tübingen in 1541. Two years later he earned his bachelor's degree. In 1545 he acquired his master's degree. In 1546 he began his service as a deacon at Stuttgart and earned a reputation as a preacher. His fame reached Duke Ulrich of Württemberg who had acquired the territory when Andreae was only six years old and had introduced the Reformation into this area. In 1546 Andreae married.

Trouble developed on April 24, 1547, when John Frederick lost his lands in the slaughter at Mühlberg. Ulrich was forced into exile, and the Protestants of southern Germany were compelled to come to terms with the catholic forces of Emperor Charles. Many preachers fled but Andreae remained faithfully at his post until he was forcibly removed because of his theological resistance during the Regensburg Interim of 1548.

On April 19, 1553, under pressure of Duke Christoph, Andreae passed his oral examinations, delivered his lectures on the minor prophets, and

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<sup>14</sup>Fittbogen, p. 4. According to Fittbogen Andreae changed his name when he matriculated at the University of Tübingen.

<sup>15</sup>He had two brothers, Georg and Philipp, and one sister. Cf. ibid.

earned his doctorate in theology.<sup>16</sup> He was barely twenty-five years old. Shortly before this he had been named Preacher and Superintendent at Göppingen. From this position, Andreae, who had entered into cooperative work with Johann Brenz some time before, began the work of a reformer, which was to secure him a firm place in the history of the Protestant Reformation.

The work began in 1556, when he was called by Count Ulrich of Helfenstein at Geislingen to reform the Church in his area. He soon received other calls from other leaders, such as Margrave Karl of Boden. He appeared at the Reichstags of Regensburg, Worms, and at Frankfurt a.M.

In February, 1557, Andreae entered the arena of conflict which had become a raging struggle due to the writings of Joachim Westphal, John Calvin, and others, with his publication of the present work. In 1559 he wrote Expositio sententiae de Coena, to which Brenz again wrote a foreword. These early works of Andreae are mild and conciliatory, for he sought to bring about unity. His efforts resulted in suspicion and misunderstanding by friend and foe alike. Amsdorf criticized his first work,<sup>17</sup> and considered it dubiously Lutheran. As late as 1570 Wilhelm

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>17</sup>Nikolaus von Amsdorff, "Offentliche Bekentnis der reinen lere des Euangelii, und Confutatio der itzigen Schwermer" (on Jeremiah 14), Ausgewählte Schriften edited by Otto Lerche (Gütersloh: Verlag C. Bertelsmann, 1938), p. 81. In this work Amsdorf is addressing himself to all errors in Lutheranism which have developed since 1546. He says, "Etliche sagen, sie verdammen den Cinglianismum. Aber B. [Brenz] Vorrede uber D. Jacobs [Andreae] Buch zu Göppingen zeuget viel anders. Dann darinn wollen sie Luthertum, Gotteseligen, und Cinglium concordieren. Si diis placet. Quod plane impossibile est." Amsdorff does not pursue the issue, but we may conclude that his comments were occasioned by the Calvinist reaction to Andreae's work here translated, which were positive, at least in part.

Bidenbach, Professor at Tübingen, felt it necessary to issue a warning to Andreae in a letter, expressing concern over the latter's conciliatory position.<sup>18</sup>

The Calvinists, on the other hand, tried to show by his first writings that Andreae agreed with them in general. They appealed to Andreae's work entitled, Warum ein Christ nicht mehr zur Messe gehen soll, 1560, in which he writes:

When we speak of the Holy Supper, we are eating the body of Christ which is in heaven before the face of the Father. Indeed the Father is in Him. An angel may not bear Him up (into heaven), for Christ gives us His flesh out of heaven and in heaven. He may not travel up and down nor may He be carried to and from (heaven) by the angels.<sup>19</sup>

Fittbogen also feels that Andreae did indeed waver and feel the pressure to compromise in his early years.<sup>20</sup> However, due to the increased efforts of the Crypto-Calvinists to advance their position and influence at the expense of the Lutheran theological position, it soon became apparent that compromise was impossible and Andreae aligned himself completely with the position of Brenz and Luther.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Fittbogen, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 14. "So wir vom heiligen Abendmahle reden, so essen wir den Leib Christi im Himmel vor dem Angesichte des Vaters, ja in dem der Vater ist, und darf ihn nicht erst ein Engel hinauf tragen, denn aus dem Himmel und im Himmel giebt uns Christus sein Fleisch, der im Himmel ohne Unterlass uns verteilt und darf nicht auf--und abfahren, auf--und obgetragen werden von den Engeln."

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Jacob Andreae, "Bekändniss und kurtze Erklärung etlicher Zwiespaltiger Artickel nach welcher eine Christliche Einigkeit in den Kirchen der Christlichen Augspurgischen Confession zugethan, getroffen, und die ärgerliche langwierige Spaltung hingelegt werden möchte," Concordia Concors, edited by Leonard Hutter (Frankfort and Leipzig:

Andreae continued to be prominent in reform movements everywhere as he dealt with various doctrinal problems. He received the assignment from Duke Christoph to refute the views of Staphylus.<sup>22</sup> He introduced the Reformation into the lands of Johann von Liebenstein, a septuagenarian adherent of Roman Catholicism but a believer in the primacy of Scripture and a devotee of Andreae.

In 1559 his stand against Calvinism became more pronounced. Due to the Calvinistic preaching of Bartholomäus Hagen, a preacher in Württemberg, Andreae, at the request of Christoph, sent his confession regarding the Lord's Supper to the Synod at Stuttgart where it received endorsement. With Christoph's consent Andreae entered the lands of Duke Wolfgang of the Palatinate in order to purify the churches there of Calvinistic leanings.

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Joh. Christophorum Füllinger, 1690), p. 112. In Article V on the Lord's Supper Andreae writes as follows: "Concerning the Holy Sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, we believe, teach, and confess on the basis of God's Word and the content of the Christian Augsburg Confession that in it with the bread and wine, the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is present in a heavenly way, unfathomable by human reason, is distributed and received by all who use this sacrament according to His command and institution." Again he writes, "Thus the presence of Christ in the Sacrament does not depend on the worthiness or unworthiness of the individual who distributes or uses the Sacrament, but on Christ's word which established and instituted it, and we reject all who teach otherwise concerning this Sacrament." He goes on to imply that if this doctrine were relinquished the result would inevitably be the loss of Christ. This work dates from the year 1559.

<sup>22</sup>Fittbogen, p. 16. Staphylus was an apostate Protestant who had written "Epitome Trimembris theologiae Lutheranae." In this work he espoused sectarian views and claimed to find their origin in Luther. Three works of dispute arose among both factions over this matter.

In 1562 Andreae became the successor to Beuerlein (died October 28, 1561) as Preacher and Provost at the University of Tübingen. From this position he became more involved in the struggles of the Reformation on a national and international level. He took part in the conversations which led to the cessation of the persecution of the Huguenots (the agreements were broken by Francis of Guise at the bloodbath of Vassy). He attempted to mediate the serious Flacian-Strigel controversy. His involvement in this latter controversy convinced him of the intractable nature of the opponents of the solidly Lutheran position, and from this point onwards he was steadfast in his proclamation of Lutheran doctrine. He assisted the efforts of Reformers in Alsacs and Braunschweig, where Duke Henry had resisted all efforts to reform the churches. Andreae had led his son, Julius, to the evangelical position and this began a concatenation of events which culminated in the complete defeat of the Philippists. In Braunschweig Andreae worked closely with Martin Chemnitz, although they did not always agree.

The success of Andreae in introducing the Lutheran Reformation necessarily meant a confrontation with the Crypto-Calvinists. This happened in 1564, when Duke Christoph sent the writings of Brenz and Andreae to the Elector August of Saxony. August sent them on to the theologians at Wittenberg for an opinion. These theologians rejected, among other points, the communication of attributes in Christ.<sup>23</sup> Before Andreae could pursue the matter Christoph died in 1567 and Andreae was

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 27.



compelled to remain at his post until 1569. At that time, sponsored by Christoph's widow, Andreae turned his attention to Saxony, where he attempted to introduce a formula of concord. His efforts now became more significant, for Brenz had died in Stuttgart on September 11, 1570. Thus, Andreae considered himself the heir and leader of their joint work. Moreover, his work was threatened by the influence and power of the Crypto-Calvinists. Elector August was favorably inclined toward them, as was indicated above.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, in 1563 he had removed no less a person than Hesshusius from his position.

In 1573 Andreae preached six sermons over the issues which had developed in the Sacramentarian controversy. These were later developed into the Swabian Formula. Chemnitz, Chytraeus, and Westphal received copies, which they hesitated to accept. Under the influence of the Tübingen theologians, Schnepf and Haerbrand, they were improved and accepted in 1575.<sup>25</sup>

After the appearance of the Exegesis perspicua Controversiae de Coena Domini, August moved to end the dispute. He imprisoned the Philippists and began a thorough investigation which made it apparent that both new teachers and a new confession was needed.<sup>26</sup> Andreae,

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<sup>24</sup>Supra, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup>Fittbogen, p. 35.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 33, 47-48, and 72. In 1576 Peucer and other Philippists produced a new catechism which denied the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament. This they gave to August. August sent Andreae to deal with Peucer in prison but the meeting ended in hostility and Peucer refused to see Andreae again. Peucer ascribed all his troubles to Andreae and said, "Die Anfänge aller diesen Leiden. . . gingen von dem Apostel der Ubiquität Jacob Andreae aus."

Chytraeus, and Chemnitz were called upon to compose the new confession of faith. Chemnitz and Andreae were commissioned to approach the princes seeking their subscription. At the request of the Elector, Andreae settled in Saxony, which he did in the latter part of 1576. He remained in Saxony until December 21, 1580.

The work of the Reformation culminated in the Formula of Concord which divided the Lutherans so thoroughly from the Calvinists that Polycarp Leyser could write in 1602 that fellowship with the papists would be more desirable than with the Reformed.<sup>27</sup> Only Johann Casimir,<sup>28</sup> the Count of the Palatinate, the Prince of Anhalt, and Landgrave William of Hesse-Kassel refused to subscribe to the Formula. The Wittenberg theologians continued to cause disturbances to such an extent that the Elector was obliged to send them a stern warning on April 23, 1577.<sup>29</sup> Andreae also encountered opposition at Leipzig.

In 1585 Andreae participated in the Dialogue of Mömpalgard, which was requested by the Huguenots living in Württemberg. Conscious of his success in Saxony, Andreae is accused by Fittbogen of insulting the Swiss theologians present and insisting that the French could only receive communion if they adopted the Lutheran Confession.<sup>30</sup> After Andreae's departure, the French were permitted to commune. From that time on he continued to arbitrate doctrinal matters. His last attempt

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 44. Casimir later became an Imperial Elector and introduced Reformed theology into his lands.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 58.

at mediation brought him into dispute with Johannes Pistorius, the court physician of Margrave Jacob III of Baden.<sup>31</sup>

An overall assessment of Andreae's work reveals him to have been a man of great skill in disputations and refutations. He was a gifted and knowledgeable theologian, seldom depressed, very energetic.<sup>32</sup> He carried on extensive correspondence with men of all stations regarding the most serious issues of life. He held the respect of many political leaders. Fittbogen claims that Lutherans referred to him as a second Elias and equated him with the apostles, while the Reformed accused him of desiring to found a second papacy in Germany.<sup>33</sup>

Andreae died on January 7, 1590, at the age of 61 years, 9 months, 13 days, and 6 hours.<sup>34</sup> He had served as a preacher for 44 years and as Chancellor of the University at Tübingen for 28 years. He died confessing the faith, which he had proclaimed, in the presence of witnesses

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 63. Pistorius was the son of a Lutheran superintendent at Hesse. He was attempting to introduce Calvinistic doctrine at this court. The colloquium was abruptly terminated for unknown reasons, and Pistorius later entered the fellowship of the church of Rome.

<sup>32</sup>He is said to have participated in 48 theological disputations between 1564-1589, exclusive of the years 1576-1580. This is in addition to his writings, travels, preachings and the like.

<sup>33</sup>Fittbogen, pp. 40 and 69. Cf. D. Schmoller, editor, Zwanzig Predigten von Jacob Andreae (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1890), p. 13. Schmoller cites Heerbrand, who insisted that "Andreae besass die Gabe der Vorahnung der Zukunft, so auch seines Todes." According to Schmoller Andreae kept saying "Sobald die Erneuerung der Kirche, die Ausschmückung der Orgel, die Posaunen und die neue Uhr auf dem Kirchturm fertig sind, werde ich sterben."

<sup>34</sup>Fittbogen, p. 68.

and receiving the ministry of his son, Johannes. He had produced nine sons and nine daughters by his first wife. Nine children survived him. His second wife whom he married in 1585, the former Regina Prenginger, also survived him two and one-half years.<sup>35</sup>

It was a tribute to his greatness that his opponents felt the need to minimize his achievements by spreading rumors after his death. One such rumor claimed that before his death Andreae had repudiated all his teaching. A letter was spread which claimed that Andreae had requested a Jesuit priest to commune him before death and died in despair when the priest refused.<sup>36</sup> These rumors were unfounded and easily proven false. Andreae had feared just such an eventuality. Consequently, in the presence of Heerbrand on one occasion and before the Rector of the University, three deacons, and a few preachers at another time he affirmed his theology unequivocally.

#### Some Considerations Relevant to Andreae's Statement

Andreae wrote this work on behalf of Elector Otto Henry, who died on February 12, 1559. The Calvinists were attempting to spread their views, when Otto Henry called Tileman Hesshusius to Heidelberg as both professor and pastor and as superintendent of the Palatinate in 1557. In order to further the Lutheran cause Otto Henry also sought the present statement from Jacob Andreae in February, since many were confused about what they should believe and how they should conduct themselves

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<sup>35</sup>Schmoller, p. 10.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 68-69.

in the conflict. Andreae's statement apparently appeared too late; for, after the death of Otto Henry two years later and under the reign of his successor, Elector Frederick III, the Calvinists came out into the open, and soon the Palatinate was lost to the Lutheran confession.<sup>37</sup>

In this, his first statement, Andreae attempts to present the position of all parties. For purposes of classification he groups them into the following categories: papists, Calvinists, Lutherans, and unbelievers. He is extremely concerned about a fair presentation and even points out where the opposition is misquoted and misunderstood.<sup>38</sup> It is noteworthy that Andreae does not refer to any of the opposition by name, but the opponents of sound, Lutheran teaching are clearly described.

One of the most important characteristics of Andreae's work is his attempt to relate the doctrine of the Lord's Supper to the other doctrines of Scripture, and particularly to the person of Christ. All doctrine has a relationship to this sacrament, as Andreae shows by employing Lutheran beliefs in this way.

The work itself includes prefaces by Brenz and Andreae and is broken down into three major parts, which Andreae introduces in the form of questions. The first part deals with the question of whether the true body and blood of our Lord is given in the sacrament and how it is given. This forms the major portion of the work. In this section he contrasts the views of the Lutherans with those of the papists,

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<sup>37</sup>Bente, p. 185.

<sup>38</sup>Infra, p. 82.

Anabaptists, and Zwinglians. He draws on church history to clarify positions and painstakingly defines such terms as "bodily" and "spiritual." He goes to great lengths to show how this doctrine relates to other Scriptural teachings, such as Christ's omnipresence and omnipotence. His main contention appears to be that a denial of the real presence and its communication to men in the Sacrament is tantamount to a denial of the communication of attributes in the person of Christ. His contention is that in this Sacrament the finite is indeed capable of containing the Infinite.

In the second part Andreae deals with the question of whether the unbeliever receives our Lord's body and blood, if we may assume that these elements are indeed offered and given in the sacrament. He poses the major reasons why men say that they do not receive it. Men are concerned to honor Christ properly. In so doing they recognize that His body which gives life to the believer does not give life to the unbeliever. This prompts Andreae to discuss Christ's role as Judge as it contrasts with His role as Savior, and He offers a thorough explanation of how Christ can be both Judge and Savior to different individuals simultaneously. His major point is that the reception of the Lord in this sacrament does not rest upon our faith or unbelief but upon the Word of Christ. Andreae also considers in detail what it means to be a partaker or participant.

In the third part of his statement Andreae considers the correct use of the Sacrament. Here he deals with the question of receiving it in one or both kinds. He considers the approach of the papists to be a violation of the institution of Christ. Andreae considers the

veneration of the Sacrament in this connection also. He stresses the importance of recognizing that participation in the Lord's Supper is a witness to our faith and unity, as well as a memorial to our Lord's death and a source of strength. In participating we receive eternal life and find the means to offer our thanks to God. Andreae also addresses himself to the issue of when the Sacrament should properly be withheld from anyone, although he does not develop this idea to any length. He expresses grave concern for those who do not celebrate the Sacrament frequently or come regularly to the Lord's table and closes his discussion with words of comfort for those who fear to commune with those who may be false brothers.

This work appeared in seven editions, some in the original German and others in rather free Latin translation, often being more of a paraphrase than a translation. Since the original version appeared in German, the following translation is based on the oldest edition available in that language. Two editions of the Latin texts were used for comparison and clarification.<sup>39</sup> None of these editions has been marked in any distinguishable manner to identify them further.

Andreae's first work was hardly a classic. He felt compelled to write frequently concerning this topic, and his later efforts are more bold in testifying to the truth of the Bible. However, this work was the beginning of his active role in shaping Lutheran thought. It

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<sup>39</sup> Andreae's language is a mixture of Swabian German with some elements of a somewhat modernized middle high German. On more than one occasion the German text proved impossible either to translate or interpret adequately. In those instances the sense has been derived from the Latin versions.

gained him a name and provided him with a forum for publicly recognizing and proclaiming the truth, as well as instructing others in it.

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[The following text is also extremely faint and largely illegible, appearing to be a continuation of a report or document.]



## CHAPTER II

### THE FOREWORD BY JOHANN BRENZ

I gladly observed, helped, and offered advice so that this little booklet concerning the Supper of the Lord Christ written by my dear and amicable colleague, Doctor Jacob Andreae, might appear in print and find readership in the Christian Church. Due to the prolonged controversy concerning the sacrament of the communion of Christ, which has again erupted during these times,<sup>1</sup> it is profitable [for God's people] that a good, clear statement [of our theological position] be available. From such a statement many may discern the basis for the dispute and what the fundamental belief of each faction<sup>2</sup> is. Indeed, my reflections in this little booklet are sincerely offered to anyone who wishes to receive help [in order to understand the issues better].

Moreover, pursuant to this issue, many years have elapsed and much has happened [to modify the nature of the controversy]. Much has been said; many sermons have been preached. Blasphemies, quarrels, shameful and disgraceful incidents have occurred. Thus, it is now high time to set the matter in order once again.

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<sup>1</sup>This is clearly a reference to the controversial views on the sacrament of the altar which date primarily from the Marburg Colloquy (1529) and received further impetus from the teachings of the followers of Philip Melancthon, notably Casper Peucer. More details are given in chapter one of this study and in the following text of Andreae's "Statement."

<sup>2</sup>Andreae deals with the following three groups or factions as they relate to the Lutherans: the Papists, the Anabaptists, and the Zwinglians. Cf. his "statement," passim.

Furthermore, since no one wishes to entrust the judgment and decision [of the matter] to any living man, everyone should desist from bitter and toxic slanders and insults. Let us commend this judgment to the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, and to our posterity, which may render a more mitigated decision without such furious passion because it will view the issue as an observer and not as an active participant in the struggle.

Our foes are still alive and are becoming more extensive and courageous.<sup>3</sup> Day and night they compose and invent practical schemes by which they may extinguish the light of the holy Gospel and reintroduce the former darkness.<sup>4</sup>

In the meantime, we, who at the beginning preached the Gospel with one mind, by God's grace [now] attack one another<sup>5</sup> in this [very] proclamation [and provide] our enemies reason to ridicule [us]. They, in turn, find more consolation in their designs for our disunity than in the unsound foundation of their own position and in all their wiles and power. Thus, [by this disagreement] we neither seek to serve our Lord Christ with congenial and gracious love, nor do we endeavor to

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<sup>3</sup>The Colloquy at Worms (1557) clarified the serious nature of the differences and the total lack of unity among the Lutherans specifically and the Protestants generally. It was this Colloquy which convinced Canisius, the new Provincial in southern Germany, that no settlement could be reached. Thus, he began to formulate his plans for a Counter-Reformation. Cf. Harold J. Grimm, The Reformation Era (New York: the Macmillan Company, 1954), p. 487.

<sup>4</sup>This refers to the papist teaching on the Lord's Supper.

<sup>5</sup>This refers to the various controversies which disturbed the Lutherans until the Book of Concord appeared to unite them around one confessional standard.

spare either His elect Church or ourselves. [We act as though] we had better not be too loving toward Christ and our public enemies, who always are desirous of our temporal and eternal ruin. Accordingly, by our own disunity we provide the cause for their poisonous joy and jubilation.

Our Lord Christ said, "it must needs be that offenses come. . ." <sup>6</sup> Moreover, He is so good that He does not cause anything evil where He is unable to raise up something good from it. Therefore, those who are participants in the offenses and do not correct themselves shall receive their reward. Although the enemies of the Gospel employ enticing lures, the true Christian doctrine and Church will be preserved by the grace of God, the Father of our dear Lord Christ, against all the ingenuity and power of men and will be governed by the Holy Spirit. Consequently, the enormity of the offense notwithstanding, no one is able to pluck the sheep of the Lord Christ from His hands. <sup>7</sup>

In this hope let us console ourselves and render the service which we owe to Christ with all diligence and divine help. We commend [our cause] to God.

Johann Brenz

Stuttgart  
January 11, 1557

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<sup>6</sup> Matt. 18:7.

<sup>7</sup> John 10:28.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE PREFACE BY JACOB ANDREAE

To the most illustrious and noble born prince and lord, to his excellency, Otto Henry (1552-1559)<sup>1</sup>, at the forum of the Palatinate by the Rhine, Duke in Upper and Lower Bavaria, High Steward and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire, and my gracious sovereign.

Most illustrious and noble born prince, gracious lord:

I entertain no doubt that your electoral grace had desired nothing further from God, since the Almighty God permitted your electoral grace to come to the knowledge of the pure doctrine of the holy Gospel and turned our hearts to Jesus Christ, than that this doctrine might be widely disseminated without opposition.

Therefore, you are in no small way concerned [about the issues contained in this work], for from the very beginning [of the reformation movement] our predecessors and the most outstanding leaders of our Christian confession began to divide<sup>2</sup> over this article which is by no means the least [important]--namely, [the doctrine] of the holy supper. They have preached and written against one another violently<sup>3</sup> and in that way disturbed many pious hearts. The result of this was that

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<sup>1</sup>Otto Henry summoned Andreae to help with the introduction of the Reformation in his lands in 1555. Cf. Chr. Moritz Fittbogen, Jacob Andreae: der Verfasser des Concordienbuches (Hagen i. W. und Leipzig: Verlag von Hermann Risel, 1881), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>This is a reference to the split between Luther and Zwingli, as well as to the more recent developments brought on by the Crypto-Calvinistic Controversy.

<sup>3</sup>As Chapter I of the present study shows, the worst was yet to come.

through the lively imagination of our opposition some have acquired an aversion to our doctrine and confession. Others, however, have turned away from it because of an evil conscience.

For this reason our opposition is highly elated and as soon as definite notification (as they say) of an erroneous and heretical doctrine [in our theology] has been proclaimed vociferously among them, persons of high and low station [in life] have set their hearts against us; [they have tried] to exacerbate the pure doctrine and sustain their old and difficult error.

Furthermore, little mention has been made of how the enemy is accustomed to sow his evil seed among the good, rather than among the evil. Such harm and obstacles to the salvation of many poor souls should disturb all pious and godly people.

Thus, I have no doubt that your one wish and that of God is, wherever possible, to approach such evil with prayer and such worship<sup>4</sup> that the Son of God may offer help and advice. By this means this troublesome schism may be abolished and a permanent, Christian transformation and unity may be achieved in the salvific and pure doctrine. Undoubtedly, many Christian princes and potentates also graciously would have offered assistance [in the past], but at that time nothing fruitful could be achieved.

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<sup>4</sup>The German text has the word "Dienst," which leaves the meaning unclear. The German word "Gottesdienst" makes more sense in this context and thus has formed the basis for this translation.

Now, however, it appears that [the controversy], which has troubled and terrorized the spirit of many Christian souls--although some consider it a dead issue, will cause still greater division and disunity and will erupt again. We have, unfortunately, discovered what happens, when people become incensed and bitter over against one another. Through all of this, the common people (among whom little understanding or judgment prevails) have been hurled into great and dangerous doubtings. Indeed, many eminent people of no little understanding are disturbed. They are completely convinced regarding the errors and misuse [of the sacrament] as it has been celebrated and practiced under the papacy. They claim that they know quite well what is not right in the papists' [celebration of the] sacrament, but they still stand in great doubt due to the schism raging among us. To which group should they adhere? To be sure, where the issue is now and never existed before in the Church, pious hearts may certainly be offended.

However, when we read the chronicles and consider how things were in the early Church after the Ascension of Christ, we will not be so greatly distressed over the discord. [At that time] could not a heathen have also said, "I know very well that our idolatry is unrighteous. However, to which group [of Christians] should I convert?" Epiphanius describes eighty heresies which arose within three to four and one-half centuries after the Ascension of Christ.<sup>5</sup> Next to these we know that nothing new [has developed].

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<sup>5</sup>Epiphanius, "Adversus Octoginta Haereses," Patrologiae: Patrum Graecorum, edited by J. P. Migne (Paris: n.p., 1863), LXI-LXIII.

Thus, we have the consolation of St. Paul, who said that the Lord will not permit His people to be tempted beyond their ability but with the temptation provides the way out.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, although you undergo much temptation, nevertheless it is still certain that the Son will lose none of those whom the Father has given to Him.<sup>7</sup> Also, none of those, whom the Father has given to the Son, may come to the Son unless the Father draws him.<sup>8</sup> Again, He will permit none of His sheep to be plucked from His hand,<sup>9</sup> for He desired them before the foundation of the world was laid.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, in conclusion, we discover that St. Augustine said that if God does not know how to use evil in the service of good, nothing evil may occur in the world.<sup>11</sup> Consequently, division, schism, and disunity are evil, but, in spite of the will and intention of troublesome Satan something good must come from it.

It was evil that the heretic Arius (ca. d. A.D. 336) set himself against the divinity of Christ and by this denial created a great division, apostasy, and offense in the Church. Yet not one of the elect was led astray through this great apostasy, for from [this

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<sup>6</sup> 1 Cor. 10:13.

<sup>7</sup> John 10:28; John 17:12.

<sup>8</sup> John 6:44. The marginal note in the German text cited the source of this passage as John 14. The Latin text in the marginal note offered John 19 as the source. Neither note appears to be correct.

<sup>9</sup> John 10:28.

<sup>10</sup> Eph. 1:4.

<sup>11</sup> St. Augustine, The City of God, edited and translated by Marcus Dods (New York: Random House, Inc., n.d.), Book XI, Question 18, p. 361.

heresy] a good thing happened. Every witness to the divinity of the Messiah in the Old and New Testament was clarified and underscored by the sainted fathers. Otherwise, who would have remained in faith?

Therefore, it is evil when men divide and quarrel over the communion of Christ and intimate that Satan will destroy the holy supper. Rather, God who can make good come from evil, has another plan. [Moreover,] since the holy supper has been so thoroughly obfuscated by the papacy, the scholars [of the church] should cleanse one another [of wrong notions]. Finally, [we see] that the Church gained as the correct understanding became more clear and widespread--namely, that we are fed and given to drink of the true flesh and blood of Jesus Christ in the holy supper, in which we receive either life or judgment. I believe firmly that it [the understanding of the sacrament] brings us to such a position regardless of what appears to be happening.

Now frequently [in retrospect] I would gladly have seen learned and God-fearing people in times past become involved with the issue in order that they might have attempted to come to an agreement regarding this matter in a Christian spirit with the help of God wherever possible. (Both factions complain no little bit that to each party is that [very thing] unjustly and unfairly attributed which they seek to avoid as most troublesome.<sup>12</sup> The books produced by both factions attest [this claim], and a major portion [of these works] adduce such exculpatory positions that it is easy to see that their meaning either

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<sup>12</sup>The German text is most unclear at this point. The sense of the English was derived from the Latin text, which appears to be more of a paraphrase than a translation.



is not understood [at all] or is not correctly [comprehended]. Their meaning is applied against their will, as if they meant [what was said] in another way.)

Consequently, I have been able to conclude that, just as danger is incurred when one puts his finger between the door and the hinge, [in similar fashion] up until now many people are more misprinted because of the complaints and sighs [of others] than because they have ventured to make explanations [for what they believed]. Thus, I never permitted myself to enter into the struggle at that time, for it was my opinion that I would receive little thanks from both sides.

However, not only did I read the [pertinent] books during this controversy, but I also saw from daily conversations how blessed Dr. Martin Luther--and our belief, as we teach in agreement with him--was regarded by so many people as evil and a wrong interpretation was placed upon [his beliefs and ours.] He spoke with great candor on behalf of the common people, whose comprehension is unpolished, as we shall hear later. Consequently, it did not seem out of place for me to compose a short and simple statement, as part of my ecclesiastical activity, in order that you might perceive the correct and simple understanding of the words of Christ and be informed how to conduct yourself in this difficult controversy.

I have seen no small number of the pious folk and have heard with pain how they sigh and complain and say that they just do not know what they should believe and hold regarding the Supper of the Lord. This is due to the proliferation of scholars and the manifold beliefs which are current.

They have finally come to a point where they wish simply to trust the words of the Lord and believe that in the holy supper the body and blood of Christ is given and transmitted to them as true food and drink. Most want to leave the quarrels to those who enjoy bickering. This, indeed, is the safest way that I could take [not to reach these people--namely, by bickering]. Thus, almost the [entire] content of this short little booklet is concerned with the instruction of all Christians in order that in the simplicity of their hearts they may lack no truth. If, in addition, this little booklet might also serve the cause of peace, as many scholars and God-fearing people have determined and with petitions and requests have assigned this goal to me in order that I complete it for publication, I would gladly and heartily wish to see [that very thing].

My intention herein has not been to obfuscate anything or [to present the issue] wrongly. Much less is my purpose to awaken controversy and disunity. Rather, it is my purpose to present the opinion of both sides simply in a Christian statement which does injury to no one.

I wanted to write down my simple thoughts, your Electoral Grace, because I have often received reports from his Grace, Court preacher Master Michael Diller, regarding how seriously your Electoral Grace is investigating the basis and truth of this part of our Christian doctrine, over which so many learned people, dignified with singular gifts of the Holy Spirit, disagree. I do not suppose that I am advancing anything better [new] than [the points for each theological position] which have [already] been written [by men] against one another in books. However, for the sake of the cause [of Christ] I

hoped that it would not be unpleasant for your Electoral Grace that I have treated the subject by drawing books together from the several factions and explained them simply. I have omitted all violent and hateful expressions which have been [applied] to specific persons or served precious little purpose [in clarifying the issue].

In this way the simple folk might necessarily and sufficiently perceive enough of the intention of both factions without some of the weighty prejudice of love or hate. Otherwise, it might happen that the feelings [of one faction] might become embittered through such odious and violent writing to such a degree that they [those involved in the controversy] either read books of the opposition with a great and deep prejudice or lay them aside and throw them out without indeed understanding them. This is what I have wished to avoid with this simple, yet true and fundamental statement (as much as that is possible).

Secondly, I have also written this because your Electoral Grace has a special inclination toward peace and unity in religion, even though I would not venture to offer examples here. Thus, from this [writing] your Electoral Grace will gladly determine and judge rather easily how far both factions have separated themselves from one another and in what manner Christian unity might be accomplished (to which the finger [of the entire Church] is pointed). Indeed, one can find no small number of people who do not expect to die until their eyes someday see such an agreement (not prohibited by the truth). Therefore, I believe your Electoral Grace would consider it to be the greatest joy, if they [those expecting to see a true Christian unity] could experience this blessed hour. Your Electoral Grace, along with many pious

Christian hearts, is imploring the Almighty without ceasing [for this day also].

However, in case we may not experience this unity and must leave it for the future, as [the hope] came down to us, because of the evil of the world and its ingratitude, then I hope some help [toward a future solution] may be afforded through this small service of mine to many simple people greatly upset by doubt. [I hope] that their consciences may be set at rest from all subtle and indiscreet questions. May they remain in the simple Word of our Lord Jesus Christ.

May the Almighty graciously grant to your Electoral Grace His divine grace and Holy Spirit so that your Electoral Grace may continue to grow in the knowledge of His dear Son, Jesus Christ (Who is eternal life) and by the truth, which you recognize, remain firm against every error, mob, or sect and endure until the end.

Dr. Jacob Andreae

Goeppingen  
February 3, 1557

## CHAPTER IV

### ANDREAE'S STATEMENT CONCERNING THE LORD'S SUPPER

#### Part One

According to the specially joyful sermon on the holy Gospel, there can be nothing more consoling for troubled and worried consciences than [the certainty] that Christ is offered to them in the holy Supper and that [it] is offered for their use. By themselves they would not recall how Christ atoned and paid for all of their sins with His suffering and death. He thereby also feeds them with His flesh and gives them to drink of His blood in order that by this means they may become assured of their salvation.

Consequently, the most-horribly crafty enemy of the human race has undertaken either to confuse this mystery for mankind or to obfuscate it so that men may derive less and less consolation from it. Furthermore, beyond this (which is no small thing to complain about) [the situation] is brought to such a point that this Supper of Christ, which along with being a consolation, is supposed to be a bond of Christian unity and brother love, is instead set up as a sign of hateful quarreling, in which fraternal love quite often has been forgotten. Those who believe correctly certainly have been troubled [by this matter]. [These are] pious and good-hearted Christians who treasure it [the sacrament] highly. This is especially so because such schismatic division and disunity among them raises up more factions, which, without unanimity over against the true worship of God, faithfully struggle against idolatry.

Moreover, since it unfortunately appears as though this controversy and disunity will not decline but increase<sup>1</sup> many pious and simple people will be offended because of it and made to err to the point that finally they do not know what they should believe and hold regarding the Supper of the Lord; for everyone offers his opinion in the light that it is the belief of the Lord Christ and in accord with the sacred Scriptures. In this vein they have also written long books very much against one another without really comprehending [the theological position of the opposition] and being still less able to pronounce judgment [over that position]. In these books the main controversy is handled in academic terms, which are totally incomprehensible to the common man.

In view of all this [and] because of the manifold and fervent petitions and desires of many pious scholars and peace-loving Christians, who have an ardent love and sincere zeal for the truth, I have briefly drawn together the whole issue and controversy over the holy Supper of Christ. Thus, as the grace of God was communicated to me, I have composed and clarified (as I am hoping) [the controverted issues] so that one may not only easily understand the foundation for the divisions but also may receive a pure, very clear, and truthful statement [of the issues] in order to grasp the correct understanding of the words of Christ and this mystery (as much as it may be understood in this life). From this time onward [one should] know how to conduct

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<sup>1</sup>In view of the Colloquy at Worms and the serious disagreements which were to follow--especially in Saxony--the assessment of the situation by Andreae was most correct.

and deport oneself over against some of the offenses and obstacles in this difficult and tedious controversy concerning the Lord's Supper.

For that reason I have assumed this task somewhat happily and without constraint. I have just [recently] taken the sixth chapter of John the Evangelist in hand and explained it to the simple folk, who were divided [regarding its meaning]. One group does not wish to understand this [passage] in reference to the Supper of the [Lord]. The majority, however, ventures to prove its belief from this section [of Scripture]. Indeed, it is my opinion that the attempt is not worth the effort.<sup>2</sup> However, since I am involved in this [study], I also find that the Lord reveals such genuine comfort in it [this statement on the Lord's Supper] that the controversy is clarified and every cross of the Elect is lightened as they gain [more] acquaintance with this mystery.

Consequently, for God's sake, I request all the more sincerely that all good-hearted Christians neither be offended nor err so that both factions either write or carry on the struggle against one another bitterly and hatefully. Instead, let them busy themselves in understanding the controversy; for both factions have produced such bitter and hateful writings and actions against one another. Then they, without all bitterness of spirit, will be able to speak in an amicable and gentle spirit with those who either proclaim their confession regarding this article or who wish to subscribe to it publicly. Thus, there is no doubt that the God of peace, Who is also a Spirit of truth, will grant

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<sup>2</sup>Infra, passim, especially pp. 91-92.

to His believers [the proper] doctrine and instructions, which flows out of His eternal Word and sufficiently assures the conscience.

Therefore, by God's grace, my feeling is that I desire to quarrel or dispute with no one. Rather, I wish simply to adduce my belief regarding this great mystery without doing anyone injury. Moreover, I am prepared to adopt a better and more fundamental statement from the Holy Scripture when such is brought forward based on the truth. In the meantime, it is my hope that ordinary people (those who do not brood about God's mysteries with a meddlesome attitude but simply believe) will content themselves with this statement until we either see the mystery after this life in the revelation or until we may acquire more extensive information here on earth in this life through the Word of God.

Although the whole matter of this controversy is far-reaching, it can still be compressed into a short and succinct account and thereby be comprehended. In our times nearly all questions arise out of three points which relate to the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ. These have caused the scholars to disagree and to teach, preach, and write against one another. Now, where these are simply clarified, there is no doubt that the others [related questions and issues] will also be easily resolved.

The first question is [this]: In the holy supper is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ transmitted with bread and wine and in what way is it extended or are bread and wine merely symbols of the grace of God?



The second [question]: If the body and blood of Christ is present and transmitted, do the unbelievers and godless become partakers of the body and blood of Christ, since they eat externally with their mouth the blessed Bread and drink out of the blessed chalice?

The third [question]: What is the correct use of the Supper of Christ?

Indeed, not just one kind of division concerning the substance and essence of the Supper of Christ has emerged [among us] and we do not find a consensus of teaching. The first split is between the Baptists and their opponents. The second is between the Anabaptists and the Lutherans. The third is between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians, as they are usually called.

Now, so that ordinary people might have a clear conscience and a true statement concerning how they ought to speak, hold, and believe regarding the Supper of Christ, I wish to offer plain and systematic information concerning the three questions written above. Through this [statement], if God wills, not only the true understanding and belief regarding the words of Christ will be presented, but many erring and despairing consciences may either be delivered from their misunderstandings or be preserved from these and similar errors. Moreover, [in view of the issues facing us] at this time, if they might be offended by reading books which either were written in the past or are to be written [concerning these matters], [I wish to help them] to resist more effectively the offense and to bring [them] into the Bible, that is, into the Holy, Divine Scripture.

## The First Question

Is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ given and in what way is it offered?

In reply to the first question regarding whether the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ is offered and given in the holy Supper [we answer that] not only the holy Evangelists give us a unanimous testimony, but also the holy Apostle Paul teaches us very well what our understanding should be and how we should receive the words of the Lord, which have been written by the Evangelists.

Consequently, in order that many might comprehend thoroughly the following interpretation and explanation from the words of the Evangelists, we wish at the beginning to set forth in an orderly fashion the words with which the holy Evangelists and St. Paul have described the institution of the Supper of the Lord Christ.

The holy Evangelist Matthew describes it [the institution of the sacrament] with these words:

And as they were eating, Jesus took bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, "Take, eat; this is My body."

And He took the cup, and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, "Drink ye all of it;

"For this is My blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins."

"But I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Matt. 26:26-29.

The holy Evangelist Mark described it [the institution of the sacrament] with the following words:

And as they did eat, Jesus took bread and blessed, and brake it, and gave to them, and said, "Take, eat: this is My body."

And He took the cup, and when He had given thanks, He gave it to them: and they all drank of it.

And He said unto them, "This is My blood of the new testament, which is shed for many."

"Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God."<sup>4</sup>

St. Luke described it [the institution of the sacrament] in this manner:

And He took bread, and gave thanks, and brake it, and gave unto them, saying, "This is My body which is given for you: this do in remembrance of Me."

Likewise also the cup after supper, saying, "This cup is the new testament in My blood, which is shed for you."<sup>5</sup>

The holy Evangelist John does not describe the institution of the Supper of Christ, because the other three Evangelists depicted it with diligence. However, what he taught concerning the food and drink of the flesh and blood we wish to note later.<sup>6</sup> St. Paul writes thus of the institution of the Supper of Christ:

For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, That the Lord Jesus the same night in which He was betrayed took bread:

And when He had given thanks, He brake it and said, "Take, eat: this is My body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of Me.

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<sup>4</sup>Mark 14:22-25.

<sup>5</sup>Luke 22:19-20.

<sup>6</sup>Infra, pp. 91-95.

After the same manner also He took the cup, when He had supped, saying, "This cup is the new testament in My blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of Me."<sup>7</sup>

From these four witnesses it is unanimously shown what Christ spoke and commanded in the institution of the Supper. From their testimony it may be easily understood what is extended and transmitted to us in the holy Supper of Christ--namely, two different things which, when taken together, make one sacrament. The earthly [elements] are bread and wine, as the four Evangelists clearly indicate. The Lord took bread and had the fruit of the vine, which is wine. The heavenly [elements] are the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which were taken from the essence, that is, from the body and blood of Mary, the highly praised virgin, by the working of the Holy Ghost. Indeed, Christ said, "This is My body, this is My blood" (as the Evangelists testify).

We clearly perceive, therefore, that Christ in the last Supper gave to His disciples not only bread and wine, but also His true body and blood. Because of which [the presence of His body and blood in the gift] the bread and wine received a new name in that they were called the body and blood of Christ. This happened not only because they bore a similarity to the body and blood of Christ, but because by this means the body and blood of Christ is truly transmitted and extended [to us].

We have to point out that [fact] here because the Evangelists have not described the institution of the holy Supper with the same kind of words. They are unanimous in their minds and belief regarding this

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<sup>7</sup>1 Cor. 11:23-25.

mystery and about what should be believed concerning the consecration, that is, the dedication of this highly-worthy sacrament--namely, that they [the words of consecration] stand in the institution, command, and ordinance of our Lord Jesus Christ [as the means by which the sacrament is valid] and not in the simple speaking of the words of Christ. Up until now this was the usual belief of a large number [of people]. [Such people thought that] when the words were spoken over the bread and wine, the bread and wine then either became the body and blood of Christ in its substance, that is, in its essence, or it became a sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.<sup>8</sup>

These opinions are clearly and convincingly proven by the words of the Evangelists to be erroneous and incorrect. If the power were ascribed to the simple words, one could ask which words from the four Evangelists ought to be used. If the words of Matthew do the trick, then the words of Luke would be ineffective; for Luke uses other words than those used by St. Matthew. Again, St. Paul uses other words than both of the Evangelists. For that reason, wherever the power of the consecration stands in a recital or speaking of the words of Christ, we must have an expressed command [from Christ] which corresponds to the description [of the celebration of the sacrament] given by the Evangelists or Apostles. Otherwise, we would have to set the words of all the Evangelists together so that no word would be omitted. However,

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<sup>8</sup>It is uncertain what Andreae means by this last possibility. Apparently he understands this option to mean a representation of the sacrament, for in the following context he calls it an erroneous viewpoint.

this would be completely absurd, and it might also create a doubt as to whether the dear Apostles had not consecrated similarly.

We do not indicate this fact without reason, as all know who have been reared under the papacy, where the strange command has been given to the priests celebrating the Mass that they emit no word from the quiet Mass, when that is in order. Moreover, a peculiar danger is posited here, if one had not spoken the words correctly. People have grown accustomed to calling this "wandering."

Thus, we should know that the Evangelists have not wished to describe the institution of the Supper of Christ with one kind of words (as shown here). [Rather, they are] indicating by these words and teaching us that one should pay attention chiefly to the sense and meaning and not to the simple Word--namely, how, along with the bread and wine, Christ feeds us with His true flesh and wishes to give us to drink of His blood. [By these means He] promotes and sustains His life in us.

Therefore, the words of the Evangelists are not of one kind; for St. Luke speaks in this way: "This is My body which is broken for you."<sup>9</sup> St. Paul says: "This is My body which is broken for you."<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Matthew and Mark declare: "This is My blood of the new testament."<sup>11</sup> Again, St. Luke says: "This cup is the new testament

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<sup>9</sup> Andreae incorrectly quotes Luke 22:19 here.

<sup>10</sup> 1 Cor. 11:24.

<sup>11</sup> Matt. 26:28; Mark 14:24.

in my blood."<sup>12</sup> St. Paul [on the other hand, states]: "This cup is a new testament in My blood."<sup>13</sup> In like fashion, Luke adds: "This is My body which is given for you."<sup>14</sup> St. Matthew, however, and St. Mark omit these words: "which is given for you." Thus, in the words and their number huge dissimilarities are to be seen. Nevertheless, their meaning is one in kind. In the case of both--of the Lord Christ, who spoke them and of the disciples who described them--[the fact remains] that He not only gave us bread but His true body. Moreover, [He gave] not only wine to drink but also His true blood.

For that reason, so that many might understand what the true consecration is, the words of the institution of the Supper of Christ are not omitted [from the celebration of the sacrament] among us. Rather, these words are always used as often as we wish to receive the holy sacrament. Thus, we should be aware that, as the servant of the Church recites the words of the institution of the Supper before the table or altar [in which he says], "The Lord Jesus. . ." et cetera, he is not conversing with bread and wine. This is true though bread and wine lie before his eyes or [though he] has these elements in his hands. Instead, he is speaking to the people who will hold the holy Supper with him, to whom he is indicating how Christ once instituted and established it

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<sup>12</sup>Luke 22:20.

<sup>13</sup>1 Cor. 11:25. Cf. The Greek New Testament, edited by Kurt Aland et al. (New York: The American Bible Society), p. 604. This version reads "the new testament" instead of Andreae's reading of "a new testament."

<sup>14</sup>Luke 22:19.

[for the purpose] of eating His body with the bread and drinking His blood with the wine.

Consequently, at His [Christ's] command, they should approach it. The Word, His [Christ's] command and institution shall endure and remain unto the end of the world. Moreover, they should not doubt that they are being fed with the true body of Christ and being given to drink of His blood, as He once promised. Thus, we speak the words through which we point men to the Words of Christ. He once spoke [the same] Words and through them we in this mystery of the holy Supper have everything which is given to us by the bread and wine--namely, His body and His blood with all His goods.

In a later section we wish, with the help of God, to explain how the words of St. Augustine are to be understood, when he says that the word comes to the element and it becomes a sacrament.<sup>15</sup> By this means, all who have a love for the truth may better understand wherein the power of the consecration of the bread and wine for [becoming] a sacrament of the body and blood of Christ subsists.

Now, enough has been said to eliminate many useless questions which previously occupied people before this time, as when one asked:

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<sup>15</sup>St. Augustine, "John 15:1-3, part 3, Homily LXXX," Homilies on the Gospel according to St. John and his First Epistle, translated by members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker; London: F. and J. Rivington, 1849), II, 827. The actual quotation refers to baptism and in its totality reads as follows: "The word is added to the element, and it becomes a sacrament, itself, as it were, a visible word." Andreae treats this in more detail later. Cf. Infra, p. 100.



Whether a priest may omit one little word without danger, as Matthew and Mark did, when they omitted the words about the body which was given for you. Luke adds this [phrase];<sup>16</sup>

Whether, if [a priest] were thinking of something else while speaking the words of institution, he actually consecrated [the elements];

Similarly, concerning the particle which remains after the distribution of the sacrament: is it a sacrament or not?

Again, when wine remains [unused], should one reserve it, consume it, or put it back with the other [unused portion];

Again, whether one should speak the words as often as one pours into the chalice that it [the new contents] also [may] be consecrated.

These questions all grow out of the incorrect understanding of the consecration or dedication through which many people have been made to err.

[Indeed], the words of the Lord Christ, spoken once by Him and also with a loud and clear voice before the congregation extend to the use of the [whole] holy Supper. Therefore, we should know that all the bread and wine which is used in this mystery for the distribution of the body and blood of Christ is not merely a sign [symbolized by] bread and wine, but a sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. The Lord Christ Himself transmits and offers this through the service of the servant [of the Church] for the lives of all who go to it in true faith.

However, so that we do not lose the natural understanding of the words of Christ and stray too far from the truth--either to the right or to the left sides--St. Paul distinguished the two elements very clearly for us. [His purpose was] that we might not intermix them with

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<sup>16</sup>Matt. 26:26; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19.

each other or separate them from one another and delineate which of the two is set against this mystery. He says, "The blessed<sup>17</sup> cup which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ. The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ."<sup>18</sup> These words of St. Paul, spoken irrefutably of the Supper of Christ, show, therefore, quite distinguishably what is imparted to us in the Supper and what we receive. He wishes us to understand by this that the bread has not been transformed into the body, nor the wine into the blood of Christ. Nevertheless, whoever becomes a partaker of the wine and of the bread makes himself also a partaker of the body and blood of Christ.

From this [fact] a Christian reader can indeed also perceive [the reason] why I have isolated the testimony of each Evangelist. [The reason is] that even when the same [the Evangelists] are set against one another, one can still be very certain of this understanding. Thus, the Evangelists Matthew and Mark write, "This is My blood of the new testament,"<sup>19</sup> while Luke and Paul say, "This cup is the new testament of My blood"<sup>20</sup> and "This cup is the new testament in My blood."<sup>21</sup> These two elements are to be distinguished in the Supper--namely, with bread and wine the body and blood of Jesus Christ is [offered].

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<sup>17</sup> Greek New Testament, p. 600. The word "blessed" is not in the Greek text.

<sup>18</sup> <sub>1</sub> Cor. 10:16.

<sup>19</sup> Matt. 26:28; Mark 14:24.

<sup>20</sup> Luke 22:20.

<sup>21</sup> <sub>1</sub> Cor. 11:25.

Consequently, when one says the bread is the body of Christ and the cup or the wine is the blood of Christ, one should not understand it in such a crude fashion that bread and wine are no more present or that they have been transformed into the body and blood of Christ. Such an understanding is incorrect and contrary to the words of Christ. Rather, they [the words of Christ] should be understood as St. Irenaeus wrote of them: that the bread, which is from the earth, as soon as it receives the calling of God--that is, when God ordains it to His mysteries, [calling] it above the usual and natural use to another purpose (which really [is what] the calling of God is)--it is no longer common bread but the eucharist--that is, a bread expressing thanks.<sup>22</sup> (Or, as St. Paul described it) [it is] a blessed bread,<sup>23</sup> which there [in the communion] grasps hold of two elements--one earthly and one heavenly. The earthly is bread and wine; the heavenly is the body and blood of Christ.

From this [presentation] we have most simply proven and shown that in the Supper of Christ there are two distinguishable elements--namely, bread and wine and the body and blood of Christ. This [doctrine] and nothing else is taught and preached in our churches concerning the substance of the Supper and what the holy Supper is.

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<sup>22</sup>St. Irenaeus, Against Heresies, translated by members of the English Church (Oxford: James Parker and Company, 1872), Chapter XVIII, Section 5, page 361. The actual quotation reads as follows: "as bread from the earth, receiving the summons of God, is no longer common bread, but an Eucharist composed of two things, both an earthly and an heavenly one; so also our bodies, partaking of the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of eternal resurrection."

<sup>23</sup>This is evidently a reference to 1 Cor. 10:16.

Now, we wish to consider the first division [in the Church]-- namely, the struggle in which the papists and their adversaries clearly disagree. The papists teach that in the Supper neither bread nor wine [remain] but bread and wine are transformed into the body and blood of Christ<sup>24</sup>--that is, out of the essence of the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ is manufactured (as some in our times so crudely and impurely speak about it in a confused manner). The opponents of the papists teach and confess that bread and wine are not transformed into the body of Christ; rather, the essence of the bread and wine remain unchanged. However, the true body and blood of Christ, as the heavenly food and drink, are transmitted and distributed with it.<sup>25</sup> Here [then] is the question: which belief is more like and more according to the Words of Christ.

Let a simple Christian take this as an answer to the statement presented above against those who opine or say that the essence of the bread and wine are made or transformed into the essence of the body and blood of Christ. Our Christian faith teaches us as we confess [the following faith] concerning Christ: born of Mary the virgin, the Lord Christ [took] His body and blood from the substance and essence of the

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<sup>24</sup>The Fourth Lateran Council of A.D. 1215, under the leadership of Pope Innocent III, gave the first official sanction to the doctrine of transubstantiation. Cf. Reinhold Seeberg, Text-Book of the History of Doctrines, translated by Charles E. Hay (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1964), II, 78.

<sup>25</sup>Andreae is here defining what was to become the official Lutheran position. Cf. Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), Konkordienformel, Epitome, VII, Affirmativa, Nr. 1, p. 797.

body and blood of Mary, the highly-favored virgin and mother of God. That is why He is called the seed of the woman.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the epistle to the Hebrews says that He took upon Himself the seed of Abraham.<sup>27</sup> This flesh He thus, in unity of person, took upon Himself and keeps forever and ever. He does not daily adopt to Himself a new body out of a new substance nor is He daily transformed. Rather, as He said it, He preserves it at the right hand of God eternally.

Therefore, now, the body of Christ, which hung on the cross, is given to us to eat in the holy Supper. The body, however, which hung on the cross, He received from Mary. Thus, it naturally follows from this that the body and blood of Christ cannot be manufactured out of the substance of bread and wine. Consequently, whoever persuades the people that through the puffing of the priest (by which he huffs the words of institution of the Supper, for they speak [these words] not as other words. They aspirate them in the fashion of an incantation) the substance of the bread is transformed into the substance of the body of Christ, [such a person] gives in the place of the body of Christ a newly manufactured idol and not the true body of Christ, which was created and taken out of the flesh and blood of the pure Virgin Mary.

The pious and simple Christians are not unreasonably amazed that the priest, after his purported consecration, no longer has bread but the natural body of Christ, which he shows to those standing around

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<sup>26</sup>This is evidently a reference to Gen. 3:15.

<sup>27</sup>Heb. 2:16.

and elevates that it might be revered. Then he lowers it again and breaks it into three parts, two of which he casts into the chalice. He eats the third, which he has broken. Indeed, the presiding priest at the mass cannot [truthfully] say he breaks the bread; for, since his purported consecration should endure [perpetually], there remains-- according to his opinion--no substance of the bread any longer. Rather it has become the body of Christ, that he breaks the same body into three parts; for he cannot break the appearance. He must have a substance--that is, something essential--to break.

Concerning this [practice of consecration] the peasants have [customarily] said, "The priests break apart<sup>28</sup> our Lord God in the mass. However, since the body of Christ does not permit itself to be broken, how shall His body be broken [in this action]? According to the Scripture, not a bone of Him shall be broken."<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, the appearance in itself cannot be broken. Thus, it irrevocably follows from this [fact] that bread and wine are not transformed into the body of Christ. Rather, both parts of the sacrament--bread and body, wine and the blood of Christ--remain unchanged according to their substance. Yet both are distributed and transmitted with each other in the Supper. Furthermore, although they invent a

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<sup>28</sup>Cf. Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch, achter Band (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1893), pp. 43-44. This word is most significant for this context. The word implies a violent breach. It originated in reference to something broken on a wheel and came to include the concept of torture.

<sup>29</sup>John 19:36.

a miracle and say that the appearance is broken, their fantasy and lies are equal in value [and of no value].

Accordingly, everyone sees that the opinions of the papists concerning the Supper of Christ, as they now at this time teach and write in so far as the substance [of the sacrament] is concerned, are not correct but are diametrically contrary to the Words of Christ and our Christian faith. The papists seek all kinds of subterfuges concerning the form of the bread and wine so that they may veil their understanding. However, where they persist in their opinionated attitude concerning the transformation of the bread and wine, Christians should hold for certain and indisputable that they have no other Christ in their purported Supper and mass than that which is shown--namely, something which is concocted out of bread and wine against the faith and institution of Christ.

For that reason, those who believe correctly, [but have been] taught concerning the Supper in this papist manner [as described] above, ask no questions concerning it, when it is distributed to them in one or two forms. It is idolatry if it is given in three forms, about which Christians know nothing;<sup>30</sup> for they are acquainted with no other body and blood of Christ than that taken from Mary, the Virgin. They are not acquainted with a new body and blood made out of the transformation or consecration of bread and wine, as is here adduced. Consequently, they [those Christians who believe correctly concerning

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<sup>30</sup>The reference here is evidently to his comments on the appearance which is broken and distributed. Cf. supra, p. 49.

the sacrament] flee such a Supper--whether it be in one or two forms-- and wish neither to honor with their presence nor to receive this idolatry and perverted doctrine. At this point [I] have not intended to say anything regarding the outrage of the sacrifice of the mass.

Here I should also warn the simple Christian that when he hears the sacrament named among us in both forms, [he should recognize] that our preachers use the word F O R M in another sense than the papists. Among us the form of the bread and wine is [in fact] and is called nothing else than bread and wine itself, completely unchanged in essence but employed for another usage. To the papists, however, it is not the essence of the bread and wine but only appearance<sup>31</sup>--just as color, shape, and taste are only appearance. This is what they teach to the simple and foolish people. You see nothing, taste nothing other than bread or wine, but you should believe that it is no longer bread and wine. Rather, [you should believe that] the bread in its essence has become the body of Christ; the wine has been transformed into the blood of Christ. Yes, everything has become blood. Therefore, the chalice is full of the blood of Christ [as they opine].

Consequently, they have spoken so superstitiously concerning the blood of Christ; and, therefore, for that reason they have withdrawn from the laity for other reasons, but also on account of this matter, the one part--or, as they say, the one form of the sacrament--so that

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<sup>31</sup> Andreae uses the German word "Gestalt" in two conflicting ways, which do not facilitate accurate translation. In one case he means "form" and in other he means "appearance." The Latin word "forma," which is used in the Latin text (e.g. p. 18) is also ambiguous.



not one little drop of blood may be spilled or caught on the joint of the beard<sup>32</sup> [and chin] of the peasants, as Gerson testifies.<sup>33</sup> Again, the earth [must] be scraped, on which a small drop has fallen; for they suppose that the blood of Christ is [able] to be scratched or scraped up again. Again, because of that reason [superstition] the one form, as the bread, also [may] not be preserved, for they have the concern that the blood of Christ might become vinegar.

From this the faithful see what kind of Christ the papists have and distribute in their mass and supper. Moreover, [the faithful see] what kind of a fearful error lies hidden within this single word F O R M. Thus, it is reasonably suspect and should accordingly be omitted. The word P O R T I O N should be used in its place, or, if one uses it for the sake of the common man, it would be well to differentiate why and in what kind of understanding one has used it. If one compares the bread and the body of Christ with one another, the bread may well be called a form, although it remains unchanged in its essence.

Therefore, a genuine sympathy should indeed be felt for all those who still are under the papcy; for the poor people suppose that they

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<sup>32</sup>None of the German dictionaries consulted in the bibliography offered any explanation of the origin or significance of the German word "Knobelbart." The Latin text did not offer a translation of it.

<sup>33</sup>Mathoud, Monachi Benedictini, congregationis S. Mauri, "Observationes ad libros sententiarum Roberti Pulli," Patrologia: Cursus Completus . . . Series Latina, edited by J. P. Migne (Paris: Garnier Fratres, n.d.), CLXXXVI, 1134-1135. Gerson is listing the dangers which can contaminate the sacrament and make it impure. The one mentioned here is fourth in his listing. Cf. also Julius Smend, Kelchversagung und Kelschspendung in der abendländischen Kirche (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck und Ruprecht, 1898), p. 29.

are receiving the body of Christ, when [actually] the presiding priest gives them a manufactured body and blood and they eat of that.

The other division has arisen between the Lutherans--as they are called--and the Anabaptists. Since, through the witness received from the Holy Scripture and the sainted fathers [it] has been shown [that] the bread and wine are not transformed into the body and blood of Christ, the Anabaptists have gone too far to the right and have taught and believed that in the Supper there is nothing else than the breaking of bread, which they have termed breaking the bread of the Lord. However, they do not permit themselves to dream of a fellowship of the body and blood of Christ, which they are supposed to receive as a heavenly meal with bread and wine.

Nevertheless, in order to give a semblance [of authenticity] to their opinion, they draw [from the Bible] at that place in Acts where it is written: "they (the Apostles) continued steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread . . ." <sup>34</sup> At this place, because only the breaking of bread was conceived and there is no mention of the body and blood of Christ, they have pounced upon [the conviction] that it must follow from this that in the Supper there is no food or drink apart from the visible bread which is broken. Accordingly they hereby encourage one another to fraternal love and unity, because all eat of one bread and drink from one cup. Moreover, they proclaim the suffering and death of Christ, that He died for them

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<sup>34</sup>Acts 2:42.

and commended His love to them. By this means, they are recognized as His disciples.

Against these [people] Dr. Luther offered strenuous opposition. Moreover, for the above mentioned reasons [he] demonstrated that in the Supper not only the bread was broken but [also] the true body and blood of Christ; and a spiritual and heavenly food has been distributed, by which His life in us is furthered and sustained.<sup>35</sup>

Consequently, the Anabaptists err in [their] understanding and exegesis of the phrase "breaking of bread" just as do the papists in the words "This is My body; this is My blood." Indeed, just as the papists grasp the plain words [and claim that] nothing other than the body of Christ and nothing more of [the essence of] bread is present, because it is written: "This is My body," in like fashion, the Anabaptists seize upon the little phrase "breaking of bread" [and understand it to mean] that nothing other than bread is present, which they should break with one another in love.

At this point it ought to be reiterated, as was stated above,<sup>36</sup> that the bread is a fellowship of the body of Christ. Accordingly, not only bread and wine could be present. Rather, there is distributed here with these signs the true body and blood of Christ, which is present. Among them, however, only the one element is thought of. [Yet,] this is even said concerning baptism. The disciples baptized in the name of

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<sup>35</sup>Martin Luther, *Kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1909), XXVI, 392-396. Hereafter the Weimar Edition shall be referred to as WA. Cf. also WA XXIII, 102 and especially WA XVIII, 166.

<sup>36</sup>Supra, p. 53.

J E S U S<sup>37</sup> and they did not change the manner of baptizing, which Christ prescribed to them--[namely,] to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.<sup>38</sup> However, in Acts only the name of Jesus was named, which would demonstrate more what had been given and transmitted to them (the baptized). [This indicates] what they have put on--namely, the Lord Jesus Christ--with all His piety and righteousness.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, [this happened] with whatever form they were baptized, [a fact] which is to be ascertained from the command of Christ. Similarly, they think of only the bread. However, since they hold the Supper of the Lord, which exists by His institution [of it], for that reason it is to be determined what the Lord therein has given to His faithful as a meal--namely, along with the bread and the wine, His body and blood.

Thus, the faithful can test for themselves [the particular belief and practice in question] so that they do not step too far off onto the right side and lose the best and main part of the holy Supper--namely, the body and blood of Christ. Indeed, he who seeks nothing more in the Supper than bread and wine should eat and drink--according to the advice of Paul--at home.<sup>40</sup> Here at this heavenly

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<sup>37</sup>There is a marginal reference in the German text to Acts 3, but nothing in this chapter refers to baptisms in the name of Christ.

<sup>38</sup>Matt. 28:19.

<sup>39</sup>This is a reference to Gal. 3:27.

<sup>40</sup>1 Cor. 11:34.

mystery more is dispensed than simply bread and wine, as we shall soon hereafter hear.<sup>41</sup>

In summary, we have briefly exposed both the papists and the Anabaptists, who are leading us [astray] either too far on the right or on the left side. The papists leave us no bread and wine in the Supper; the Anabaptists, however, recognize neither the body nor the blood of Christ to be present. The orthodox take the middle road. They believe and confess that not only bread and wine, not only the body and blood of Christ are given and distributed.

The third division is between the Zwinglians and the Lutherans, as both factions are called. This [split], in so much as the substance and the essence of the Supper is concerned, is the most violent, the most far-reaching, and the most confusing of all. This [matter] we also wish to take in hand, and, endowed with divine grace, venture to point a way to ordinary people as to how they ought to deport themselves in this controversy so that they may not be lacking the truth.

This controversy, according to my simple understanding, does not really arise over the question of whether in the holy Supper the true body and blood of Christ are distributed (as it is often explained at this time by both sides). Not only Dr. Luther of blessed memory confessed the presence of the body of Christ, but also the Zwinglians have never denied [this truth]. (They say and write) [as follows]: what kind of a Supper of the Lord would that be, if the Lord Himself were not present. He is simultaneously the host [and] the food and

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<sup>41</sup>Infra, pp. 65-66.

drink of His called and elected [people], and, [as such,] is eaten. Actually, the question is really this: how and in what manner are the body and blood of Christ present and transmitted in the holy Supper with bread and wine?

At this question Dr. M. Luther of blessed [memory], together with all who taught according to his understanding, interpreted the Words of Christ ("This is My body") [in this fashion]: with the bread, next to the bread, in the bread, by the bread, His body is given to us--speaking of it in four kinds. However, he did not wish to indicate anything else in truth than the true presence of the flesh of Christ which with the bread makes one sacrament.

The Zwinglians, on the other hand, have explained the Words of Christ ("This is My body") [in this way]: that means My body. That is a figure of My body. That is a token of My body, showing thereby either no presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy Supper (as they are accused by many) or the difference between the bread and body of Christ. Thus, this bread, according to its substance, is not held to be the natural body of Christ. This [opposes the belief] of the pope and was demonstrated previously and simply to be contrary to the truth.<sup>42</sup>

Now, to blessed Doctor Luther a [false] interpretation is wickedly [attributed], as though he included the body of Christ in the bread or fastened it to the bread--[something] which neither he nor his [followers] confessed. Rather, he intended to teach and demonstrate

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<sup>42</sup>Supra, p. 53.

solely in the plainest and simplest manner the presence of the body and blood of Christ. This belief he did not conceive within himself but learned it from St. Paul, who says, "The bread which we break, isn't it a mystery of the body of Christ."<sup>43</sup>

However, (says Luther)<sup>44</sup> the fathers and we at times speak thus: Christ's body is in the bread. The simple belief is stated because our belief wishes to confess that Christ's body is there. Therefore, we might permit one to say, "He is in the bread; He is the bread; He is there where the bread is, or as one wishes. We do not wish to quarrel over words as long as the sense remains that the bread which we eat in the Supper of Christ is not simply bread but the body of Christ.

Now, the bread is considered thus, since no other view is possible. Indeed, Luther wished to show to the simple folk most clearly and plainly that with the bread, among the bread, in the bread, and next to the bread He [Jesus] gave us His body. Since he did not say this in just one way, many can discern that it should not be so crudely understood, as some interpret and explain it [the papists], as though he [Luther] had again become a papist after having so strenuously disputed against them in this point.

The Zwinglians have drawn the words of Christ into one meaning: [they say], "This signifies My body, this is a sign of My body, this

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<sup>43</sup><sub>1</sub> Cor. 10:16.

<sup>44</sup>A marginal note in the German text reads as follows: "Doctor Luther [says this] in the book in which the words stand firm." No further identification is given.

is a figure of My body." Such talk has been explained and interpreted [to mean that] they denied in every way the presence of the body of Christ. However, they wish in no way to be doing this.

Accordingly, it is necessary that we indeed mention these two beliefs most briefly so that we might encounter the foundation for the truth. At the beginning pious and God-fearing people may [have] permitted one to say and teach [that] the bread signifies the body of Christ, the bread is a figure of the body of Christ, the bread is a sign of the body of Christ, only if [these terms] are correctly understood and interpreted and the belief designated above takes away nothing from the Words of Christ.

Indeed, who wishes to deny that the bread signifies the body of Christ? Who wishes to deny that it is a sign or figure of His body? The sainted fathers have also spoken in that way--especially St. Augustine, when he says, "If the sacraments did not have a similarity with those things which are a sacrament, they would not be sacraments."<sup>45</sup> He has also described the sacrament as a sign of holy things quite often.

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<sup>45</sup>Andrae appears to be referring to St. Augustine, "Homily XXVI on John 6:41-59," Homilies on the Gospel according to St. John and His First Epistle, translated by members of the English Church (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1848), I, 408. The reference appears to apply especially to verse 50. It reads as follows: "Those were sacraments: in signs they are diverse, in the thing signified they are alike . . . They [ate and drank] one thing; we another; but others only in the visible object, which however should signify this second thing in its spiritual virtue." In footnote b on p. 408 the better accredited reading of the Benedictine editors seems to say, "Let the manna and the Christian altar . . . alike signify the Bread of heaven."



However, should one wish to say that it were only a sign, figure, or signification of the body of Christ and not of the body which is present but absent, this understanding will neither correspond nor agree either with the words of the Lord Christ nor with those of St. Paul. We have proven and shown above sufficiently that the true body and blood of Christ is present in the holy Supper as the most essential and chief part.

However, since this is a mystery--all the ancient teachers called it "mysterion," that is, a secret--no one should be surprised that all teachers did not at once understand and comprehend it in one way. [This was true] especially at the beginning, when the sun of the holy Gospel first arose. At that time no part of the Christian doctrine was more highly obfuscated or blasphemously perverted than this institution and command of the Lord Christ and of His holy Supper. Indeed, it would be a great boldness to set oneself up as a judge or referee in so deep a mystery and dispute where so many highly learned people [are involved].

Moreover, since this mystery was instituted and established for the simple and immature, as well as among those of penetrating comprehension, it is my hope that no one will be offended by me or think it evil, if I offer to them [sic] a simple statement. This can neither judge nor condemn the writings of the highly learned, [which are] publicly published against one another; for the longer they read, the more erring they become--not that the scholars have not sufficiently put their belief into adequate German, but that all kinds of ideas have converged upon it [their belief]. Thus, something is attributed

to the one side, which that side would not claim. Consequently, they cannot so easily see or judge.

Therefore, in this controversy I have not ventured to compare both sides. [If I did that] I could surely expect to receive no great [expressions of] gratitude from either side. Rather, I wish to instruct the simple folk briefly, in case they would have the desire to read the books to determine how they should deport themselves. If they wish to use their time better and desire to read the Bible, [I wish to instruct them] so that they do not permit themselves to err over against this controversy.

To be sure, I do not at all despair [when people read the Bible]. As Doctor Luther himself complained and admonished: Both factions should rather spend the time which they turn to writing on the sacred, divine Scripture of the Bible. By writing they consume [one another] and by this means [cause] the simple folk to be drawn away from the sacred Scripture. There are, without doubt, many [who study the Bible for a solution to this issue] who hope not to die until a Christian settlement in these points comes about. Indeed, through [a settlement] many might be broken off from the kingdom of the Antichrist (since, unfortunately, through this controversy the course of the Gospel is hindered in many places.)

I also entertain no doubt [that] the Christian princes who would [be willing to] offer advice and help according to their great ability are not in the minority. Nevertheless, this [controversy] will run its course. Therefore, the Lord wishes to receive our prayers. He will also hear their [the Christian princes] sighs and at the least will not

leave them stranded in doubt, but will found them in the truth and love and will permit them to enter into eternal concord with [a] peaceful spirit.

In so far as this struggle between the Lutherans and the Zwinglians concerns the Supper of the Lord, I would like to receive books from both sides. I have read with diligence and held that the understanding, clarification, and discussion of this disunity and delusion stand in these five little words: B O D I L Y , S P I R I T U A L L Y , I N T H E S A C R A M E N T , I N F A I T H , T O B E P A R T A K E R S , that is, to eat and to drink. To be sure, although both factions indeed confess with the mouth the presence of the body of Christ, yet they both do not speak [of it] in the same way.

Doctor Luther of blessed [memory] always used the word "bodily" to demonstrate the presence of the body. Its opposite, however, is the word spiritual; just as also the words "in faith" [are set] over against the Lutheran [phrase] "in the sacrament." Both factions also do not understand nor explain alike the words "to be partakers of."

Since these above mentioned words may not be understood nor interpreted in one way, we have the reason for the outgrowth of the quarrel and dispute. They are always interpreted differently [by one side] than they are understood by the other. Accordingly, we wish to adopt the little words mentioned above and to explain them fundamentally since they may not be understood uniformly [when used by everyone]. By this means Christian hearts might be set for peace, after [sufficient] thought.

The word "bodily" may be understood in three ways in the present controversy concerning the Supper of the Lord. First of all, [it may be understood] according to the common and natural understanding which reason accords us. This is and means the manner in which a thing is eaten and drunk according to the mode, kind, and nature of this natural life.

The Capernaïtes took the words of our Lord Christ in this way. [They refer to] where He speaks concerning the eating of His flesh and the drinking of His blood,<sup>46</sup> when they say: That is a hard saying; who can hear it. Indeed, they opine [that], should the body of Christ be eaten and His blood be drunk, it must thus be naturally and bodily eaten. Thus, Nicodemus also speaks concerning the new birth, which he hears from Christ, [and thinks] we should be newly born. He [Nicodemus] believes it could not happen otherwise than that he again would enter into the womb of his mother, since Christ indeed is speaking of a true, essential birth. However, this birth would happen in another manner than in the way which Nicodemus was able to understand.<sup>47</sup>

According to this the little word (bodily) is used and thereby it is demonstrable that a simple sign, figure, or signification of the body of Christ is not present but [Christ] is given to us with the bread bodily--that is, the very body which was given for us on the cross concerning which the Word of the Lord says, "This is My body, which is

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<sup>46</sup>This is a reference to John 6:48-58.

<sup>47</sup>This is a reference to John 3:3-7.

given for you;"<sup>48</sup> and "This is the blood of the New Testament, which is shed for you and for many for the forgiveness of sins."<sup>49</sup> Indeed, outside of this essential body no other body of Christ is to be imagined. Furthermore, outside of His body, which He placed at the right hand of the Father, no other body is to be sought or found in the Supper. Therefore, St. Paul also uses the word (bodily) in his letter to the Colossians in chapter two: "In Him (Christ) dwells all the fullness of the Godhead bodily."<sup>50</sup>

Thirdly, the little word (bodily) is also understood and interpreted in this matter so that it refers to the outward bodily sign of the bread and wine. [This means] that Christ gives us His body bodily (Thus, it is a spiritual food), that is, with bodily elements or signs. Indeed, bread and wine are bodily food but along with it, however, the spiritual food and drink are distributed and transmitted.

Thus, Doctor Luther and all who agree with him teach and confess that the body of Christ is eaten bodily in the holy Supper. He uses the word (bodily) not in the first understanding, according to the opinion of the Capernaïtes, which is, consequently, eating in a fleshly and natural way. He clarifies this in all his writings and answers. It is not good and is incorrect, when people attribute to him or us that we teach such a crude eating of the body of Christ in the holy Supper after the fashion of the Capernaïtes.

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<sup>48</sup>Luke 22:19.

<sup>49</sup>Matt. 26:28; Mark 14:24. Andreae quotes these passages rather freely evidently in order to be all-inclusive.

<sup>50</sup>Col. 2:19.

Rather, he uses the little word (bodily) in the second understanding, so that he might point out nothing else than the true fellowship of the body and blood of Christ, which we have in the holy Communion along with the visible signs of bread and wine. This feeding is a deep and unsearchable mystery; and it may not be grasped with human reason, which easily turns itself to its own way, where it is not captive in the obedience of Christ.

In order that the people might not immediately come [to the idea] and hold [that] nothing other than bread and wine is present, Luther employed the word (bodily) so that the people might have more regard for this food than reason permits [one] to comprehend.

One cannot be a partaker of the body of Christ in another way apart from these two ways: spiritually or bodily. Again, this bodily fellowship cannot be visible nor touched with the senses; otherwise no bread would be remaining there. Again, it cannot be simply ordinary bread; otherwise it would not be a bodily fellowship of the body of Christ, but of the bread. Therefore, where the broken bread is, there must the body of Christ also be truly and bodily present, although invisibly.

Consequently, the word (bodily) is still to be adopted by Christians according to this last understanding of it, though it sound as crude as it may to the spiritual understanding. This is now evident from the above manner of speaking, which we heard before. The body of Christ is in the bread, [a fact] which the reason immediately grasps [wrongly], as though in a crude manner the body of Christ were present or enclosed in the bread spatially.

Thus, Luther of blessed [memory] wished to present [the proper understanding] to the rough and common folk, so that they [might] know what Christ gives to them as a heavenly food along with the bread, by which the soul is refreshed and the body is strengthened for immortality. Briefly, so much needs to be understood concerning the word (bodily), as it appears in Luther's books and in our sermons.

The word (spiritual) is also not understood and interpreted in one way, but in five ways. First of all, when one says the body and blood of Christ are present in the Supper [in a] spiritual [fashion], some wish to understand from that that it is a memorial. [They understand] that the body of Christ was given for us on the cross and His blood was shed on the cross for the sake of our sins, which happens in the spirit. Thus, when a man then eats of this bread and drinks from this cup, it is said of him that he eats and drinks the body and blood of Christ spiritually; for bread and wine come [together with] these thoughts about the flesh and blood of Christ. [It is as] if I am remembering Rome, Jerusalem, or St. Paul. Then Rome, Jerusalem, or St. Paul are present as we have a common [pattern of] speech [where] one says to another: you were with us yesterday--that is, we thought of you or spoke of you.

Such an opinion and understanding, however, will not agree with the Words of the Lord, in which He speaks not of our thoughts, which we may have concerning His body and blood, but of His true and life-providing body and blood [and] how these same are communicated in this mystery to us. (John 6 [:55] states: "My flesh is truly a food. My

blood is truly a drink." Matthew 26 [ :26 ] says: "This is My body, which is given for you.")<sup>51</sup>

Thus, the little word (spiritual) may be understood as though Christ no longer has His body according to its substance and essence, which was called a natural body before His glorious resurrection from the dead (although [it] nevertheless was conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of a virgin). This [body], not only in its transfiguration, but also in its substance and essence, has become nothing less than God. Therefore, the same spiritual body is given to us in the Supper.

With no less an understanding does St. Paul now write in 1 Corinthians 15 [ :44 ] concerning our bodies: "It is sown a natural body and will be resurrected a spiritual body." Therefore, for that reason, we should not think that such a spiritual body is changed in its substance, although it has put on a spiritual and heavenly transfiguration.

Thus we do not need to spiritualize and deify the body of Christ in its substance in order to preserve His true presence in the Supper. The humanity of Christ, however, would necessarily be denied more than the fact that we are being offered a food in the holy Supper.

Indeed, although the body of Christ has been divinely transfigured and (so to speak) has been transformed into divinity and taken up into God, as Athanasius says,<sup>52</sup> nevertheless it has still remained that

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<sup>51</sup>Andreae has added a quotation from Luke 22:19 in this phrase, the source for which he does not acknowledge.

<sup>52</sup>"Symbolum Athanasii," Die Bekenntnisschriften, p. 30.



which in truth is called the body of Christ. With this true body or flesh we have fellowship in the holy Supper.

Thirdly, the word (spiritual) is understood [in such a manner] that we are fed internally, along with bread and wine, with the Holy Spirit, as He works faith in us, multiplies love, and sustains hope and patience in us. This working is ascribed to the Holy Spirit, without the presence of the body of Christ, which has become the Life through unification with the eternal Word. However, since Christ is speaking, not concerning the essence of the working of the Holy Ghost, but concerning the essence and working of His body [when He says,] "This is My body; this is My blood," everyone can easily understand that this interpretation does not successfully deal with this mystery, although it does indeed say something [about the work of the Holy Ghost]. Therefore, it is not in accord with the Words of Christ (since it grants too little). Indeed, students know full well that the Spirit, body, and blood of Christ are not one kind of thing; nor are they one kind of essence and nature. (We are speaking of the substance) so that our words might not be perverted by anyone.

In the fourth place, this word spiritual was attributed to the comprehension and interpretation of some that they held and understood it [in this way]: the body of Christ becomes spiritual in the faith, which [is to say that it] is distributed in a subtle manner [by faith] but in the holy Supper (bodily), that is, in a crude manner. However, such a view is unfairly ascribed to them, as we have sufficiently shown in the interpretation of the word (bodily); for in the Supper nothing crude, fleshly, or natural should be conceived. Yet, everything [is to be] considered in the reality of the true body of Christ, as it

brings with it the mystery [of the sacrament]. Thus, we shall also hereafter hear, how the essence of the body of Christ does not change, although the elements and use of the sacrament change.<sup>53</sup>

To eat spiritually, says Doctor Luther, is nothing else than to recognize correctly the body of Christ and to remember Him. He [Luther] also understands the word "spiritual" differently than his opponents; for it is not only a concept but a fellowship and presence of the true body of Christ.<sup>54</sup>

In the fifth place, a heavenly, divine, supernatural, and spiritual manner of the presence of the body and blood of Christ is understood by the word (spiritual). People indeed believe this: yet, because it is a mystery of the kingdom of God, it cannot either be comprehended in this life nor grasped with [the faculty of] reason.

In this last understanding it is indeed correctly taught that the true body and blood of Christ in the holy Supper [is] spiritual, which is given in a heavenly manner, unsearchable by the [powers of] reason. Consequently, the Lord Christ says at one point [that] His body is the true food (I understand [from this] that which is not perishable or able to pass away, but that which remains unchanged forever) and His blood [is] a true drink. The man who would make of this food and drink nothing other than a signification or purely empty thought must be [prone to] a crude understanding, [for] in its fashion [this] is

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<sup>53</sup>Infra, pp. 95-96.

<sup>54</sup>WA LII, 208-209. This is a frequently expressed concept of Luther. This section of Luther applies the thought in a way similar to the current Lutheran position on close communion.

no less a true, yet spiritual and heavenly food, than bread and wine are a true, yet bodily food.

To eat the body of Christ spiritually is not only to believe that His body was given for us into death, which could happen even if Christ were not in us, but, because Christ is in us through faith, to eat His flesh is to have the Lord Christ present, Who brightens life in us by His essence as the bread in the body sustains the natural life. This eating of the flesh of Christ follows out of faith. [It] is a living fellowship of the present body and blood of Christ, which is truly the spiritual eating of the flesh of Christ and not an empty thought, as many wish to permit themselves to dream. Certainly we also are not justified in any other way than through faith, so that we may be children of God and called such. Thus, in that we are moved into [a closer relationship to] the Lord Christ [and] He is given to us, we are covered [by] obedience with the present Christ, Who is in us. For His sake [Christ] He [God] imputed pardon and forgiveness of sins to us in His obedience, which now has become ours (because we are one body with Christ).

Luther, in his sermon concerning the sacrament, in tome 2, sheet 115 [says],<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Martin Luther, Der Erste-Zwölffte Teil der Bücher oder etliche Epistel der Apostel D. Mart. Luth. (Wittenberg: Georgen Rhawen, 1551), pp. 144-145. This is a reference to Mary's conception and Christ's birth, as they occurred according to faith and the angel's word. This author could not find a similar reference in any of Luther's sermons.

as one now cannot deny that she (Mary) became pregnant through the Word and no one knows how it happened, so it also is here. As soon as Christ says, "This is My body," His body is there by the Word and power of the Holy Ghost. If the Word is not there, it is simple bread. However, when the Words come to the elements, they bring with themselves that of which they speak.

Here Doctor Luther himself indicates the manner also of the presence of the flesh of Christ in the holy Supper--namely, that it happens through the Word and the power of the Holy Spirit.

However, since the human nature in Christ--in as much as it concerns the substance of the flesh--is not God, then whoever wishes to say that the divine nature [is] the human nature and the human nature would be [the same as] the divine in its substance and essence [confounds the distinction], as Eutyches,<sup>56</sup> the heretic, is supposed to have mingled them.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, the human nature was taken up into the Godhead in that it was seated at the right hand of God. Thus, it became partaker of all the divine transfiguration, power, and honor.

From this a question has also arisen among the scholars [regarding] how it is possible that in the holy Supper the body and blood of Christ are distributed. Here the one group uses [the doctrine of] the omnipotence of God. The other group [refers to] the power of the Holy Ghost, through which the Lord Christ makes us partakers of His flesh

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<sup>56</sup>Eutyches was an abbot of Constantinople, whose monophysite views of Christ were condemned at the General Council of Chalcedon in A.D. 451.

<sup>57</sup>Eutychus taught that the two natures were mingled into one essence and that the human nature was changed into the divinity at the incarnation. Cf. Die Bekenntnisschriften, Konkordienformel, Epitome, VIII, Negativa 2, p. 809.

and blood (One may speak with whatever words he wishes, just so you, O Christian reader, preserve yourself [in faith] and do not permit yourself to be deprived of becoming a partaker of the true body and blood of Christ.).

In order to answer both beliefs it is, first of all, certain and undeniable that the flesh and blood of Christ would not be extended nor communicated to us in the holy Supper, were Christ, Who promises and gives us such things, not almighty; for the body of Christ in itself is neither life, nor can it make [anyone] alive. Rather, all that He is and is able to do, comes from the Word, which is Life and makes [a man] alive, as St. Cyril writes concerning this. Indeed, by the same Word [He] became a person [man]. By its [the Word] means He also has the same power and efficacy, so that the body with the Word and the Word with the body makes [men] alive.

Thus, it is also certain, that Christ is not without His Spirit, which is His nature and accordingly His omnipotence itself. However, some might understand from this [that] Christ the Lord, Who works in us through the Holy Spirit, gives us no further fellowship in the holy Supper than that of His Spirit. Such a view would be no less against the Words of the Lord, than the previously adduced opinion. Indeed, Christ speaks concerning His true body [in such a way] that we should eat [it] so that we become partakers, not only of the Spirit, but also of His body.

In these differing interpretations of both little words (bodily and spiritual) it is now easy to perceive both, the correct understanding of the Words of Christ, and how each interpretation is to be

compared with the other or how it may not be compared. For that reason, although all kinds of meanings and interpretations are drawn from the little words ("This is My body"), as [for example, when] they call the flesh of Christ a figure of His body; [or], His suffering [and] His death, a remembrance of His suffering; the divinity of Christ, the handling and form of the Supper; the righteousness and merit in His body, the fellowship of the Church, and the like. Nevertheless, the faithful know [enough] to reckon and to refer [these interpretations] to him [who wrongly interpret these words] and do not err by this difference in their understanding. Indeed, if one really looks [carefully], all these understandings which have been enumerated can be found in the holy Supper--namely, His body, His flesh--a figure of His body, the bread, His suffering, His death, a remembrance of His suffering, the divinity of Christ, the faith both of God in His promise and of men who trust in God's consent. The power of the body of Christ [and] the merit of the suffering of Christ and of all His good deeds prove and show this to us. In the same way the claims which we attach to the body of Christ suggest the fellowship of the Church and the form and manner of holding the Supper of Christ.

However, [in spite of this] they [those who hold false interpretations] did not perceive in their understanding that with the bread and wine in this transaction the true body and blood of Christ are given to them. Moreover, [they do not perceive that] by this means not only the death of Christ is renewed for them, but all His merit and good deeds are communicated and appropriated. He is not only a man, but [He is] also [the] true, omnipotent, and eternal God. Let there be as many of these kinds of speeches as they wish, because they are brief and

abridged, pious and wise men do not test them very much.<sup>58</sup> [They] do not take pleasure in such differences. Rather, they stick with the simple Words of the Lord Christ, which beget and offer to us both the presence and fellowship of the body and blood of Christ. [In this] the sacrament they do not despair, and our Lord God richly restores in that what His Word promises and pledges.

For that reason the aforementioned beliefs should not simply and completely be set aside, since all such are to be found in the holy Supper, if it is held according to the institution and ordination of Jesus Christ. However, where people are held captive to such beliefs and they quarrel over them, one should show them amicably [that], although such beliefs are to be found in the holy Supper, they still do not attain [to the whole of] this mystery; for in the holy Supper above and along with such things something still greater is given and distributed--namely, the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, as we shall hear more about in what follows this [section].

In order to clarify this mystery all kinds of comparisons will probably be used. Doctor Luther uses the comparison of a preacher's voice.<sup>59</sup> A preacher stands there and preaches. His voice is one voice, which proceeds out of his mouth, is created [by his mouth], and is in his mouth. Now, the same one voice, which is localized in

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<sup>58</sup>This sentence in the German text makes no sense. The translation is, therefore, derived from the Latin version. Cf. Simplex ac dilucida Expositio Sententiae de Coena Domini, ex qua summa Controversiae (n.p., n.d.) p.44. All succeeding references will be abbreviated SDES.

<sup>59</sup>The author could not locate the source of this comparison.

one spot--namely, in his mouth--comes into four, five, or ten thousand ears in one moment, but there is no other voice in the same many thousand ears than that which is in the preacher's mouth. Moreover, there is at the same single moment both one voice in the mouth of the preacher and in all ears of the people, as though his mouth and their ears were without means one place, and the voice were there.

The opposition, the Zwinglians, use the illustration of the sun,<sup>60</sup> which at the same time works in many places through its glow and shine. Yet both parties confess that such are only the thoughts of men, who may not attain to the mystery in which we have the fellowship of the body and blood of Christ.

On both sides the illustration of the doves,<sup>61</sup> in whose form the Holy Ghost revealed Himself at the baptism of our Lord Christ, is introduced and used. At the same time the dove is called the Holy Ghost. Thus, in the Supper the bread [is called] the body and the wine is called the blood of Christ. Indeed, as the dove was not the Holy Spirit Himself, but in the form of this dove the presence of the Holy Ghost is revealed; so the bread is not the body of Christ, but with and by this bread, Christ gives us His body, as He promised us in His Word.

Both factions also use an illustration out of the prophet Isaiah, where it is written that the prophet saw the Lord, which has been used

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<sup>60</sup>This comparison could not be isolated.

<sup>61</sup>The author could not locate the source for this comparison.



by both factions to refer to the holy sacrament.<sup>62</sup> When the prophet sees the form of the Lord, he nevertheless writes that he has seen the Lord. It was not an empty form, but the essence of divine majesty which might not be seen with bodily eyes was present and set over against him. Consequently, [the] form of the Lord and the Lord are considered as one so that he who eats this bread may also be said to have eaten the body of Christ. As Isaiah says, he has seen the Lord, when he viewed His form. Thus, both [sides] are shown that [which] comprehends and that [which] is comprehended.

I cannot omit here to add that Doctor Luther of blessed [memory] has written to anticipate a false digression in case you have ever heard about us that we, therefore, eat the communion of Christ or teach regarding eating that there is only an outer bodily eating of the body of Christ. Have we not taught thus through many books that in the communion two elements are to be noted--one, the all-highest and most necessary are these words: "Take, eat, this is My body; take, drink, this is My blood." The other is the sacrament or the bodily eating of the body of Christ. Now, certainly, no one can chase the words through the neck into the stomach. Rather, they must be seized by the ears and apprehended [they must] go into the heart. What does a man, however, apprehend in the heart through the words? [This is] nothing other than they say--namely, the body given for us, which is the spiritual eating. [We have] said further that he who eats the sacrament bodily without such words or without such spiritual eating finds it

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<sup>62</sup>Without further clarification this comparison is untraceable.

not only of no use to him, but [it is] also harmful, as Paul says, "he who eats the bread unworthily is guilty of the body of the Lord."<sup>63</sup>

In summary, Doctor Luther's blessed belief and that of all of us who speak as he did, is nothing else than [that] the presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament be preserved. We understand [this to be accomplished] with and through the little word "bodily." Thus, among us [it is] neither meant in a natural way nor [in a] figurative way; rather, among us both of these phrases are interpreted and spoken with one kind of understanding: the body of Christ is truly in the holy Supper and the body of Christ is bodily eaten, which really occurs, not according to the manner of this natural life, but in a heavenly manner. Indeed, we do not bite into the body of Christ with [our] teeth, as it is elsewhere widely adduced.

If it should be stated in advance that Christ's body has gone to heaven and has been set down at the right hand of God, and, for that reason, He is not eaten in the holy Supper, nor is His blood drunk, it can be seen simply from the above explanation that nothing is taken away from the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper. Indeed, if one wishes to press [upon us] a specific location [for the body of Christ] in this mystery, there is no doubt that all the disciples, as far from the Lord as [they may have] sat, received just as much as John, who rested on His breast. In so far as this mystery is concerned, the place gives nothing and also takes nothing from us. In the Supper we do not only seek the flesh of Christ--how we should take

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<sup>63</sup><sub>1</sub> Cor. 11:27.

hold of it or touch it--but how we may have life from it. So, then, in view of this, the unbeliever and godless receive and feel the judgment from it.

Consequently, if we wish to follow our natural and crude understanding and concern ourselves excessively about the place of the body of Christ three approaches would present themselves: either the body of Christ would be everywhere extended and spread out; or that He would travel from one place to the other; or that daily out of the particles of bread many bodies of Christ would be repeatedly manufactured. The crude papists teach this, as we have shown above.<sup>64</sup> However, according to this belief we would lose the presence of the flesh and blood of Christ in the holy Supper, as hereafter follows.<sup>65</sup>

Both factions confess that in the holy Supper not [just] one drop of blood but all of the blood and the whole body of our Lord Christ is communicated. Where this is, therefore, true and incontestable, then the body of Christ cannot be extended because, where He would be extended into all the world, He would not be received the same way in all places. Rather, there would be a foot [in one place] and an arm [in another]. Thus, one also cannot say that the body of Christ moves from one place to the other and accordingly does not move in the bread. Indeed, if He moves from one place to the other, He would not again be present in the same way.

In addition, the Scriptures do not speak of Him [in this manner], that He moves from one place to the other. Rather, [the Bible teaches]

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<sup>64</sup>Supra, p. 47.

<sup>65</sup>Supra, p. 76.

that He stands or sits at the right hand of God, which indeed is nothing else than His divine essence, power, and omnipotence; for in God there is nothing of the body and accordingly neither [is there anything] of the right or of the left. Thus, it has been adequately shown above how completely contrary to our Christian faith it is to make much [of the] body out of the essence of the bread, by means of a magical blessing.

So consider Christ, now, therefore, that His flesh is not spread out to all places and that He does not also move from one place to the other; on the contrary He stands at the right hand of God and gives you, therefore, His same flesh and blood to eat and to drink, which He calls a true food and drink. Is it even possible for you to understand this mystery--how the divine strength brings this about? Faith alone grasps this and it can never be understood or calculated by reason. Indeed, a believing man can offer one a calculation of how he is made alive through the Holy Ghost. However, how the fellowship of the body of Christ occurs with us and in us, is such a deep mystery that no man in this life is able to comprehend it with his reason.

Consequently, you see, Christian reader, that this article does not take the body and blood of Christ out of the Supper but is presented before your eyes much more than in a mystery. [The body and blood of Christ are] much closer than your soul, even if He were exalted a thousand times a thousand. To be sure, if you indeed were to seek His true and essential flesh and find [it], you would still be searching for something not fleshly or not [present] according to the fleshly and natural manner. Rather, [it is] that which makes alive or judges, [a power] given over to the flesh of Christ through the unification with

the Word. Outside of the flesh and blood of Christ [the power of giving life and rendering judgment] is not to be found. He who meditates further should take care that he does not lose this truth.

Moreover, since this article is chiefly and strenuously employed by both factions, we wish to say something clearer and more circumstantial so that the faithful see and grasp how this teaching concerning the ascension of Christ does not take away from them the presence of the body of Christ. For us, no article of the faith or testimony of the Holy Scriptures more powerfully presents the Lord Christ than just this one concerning His ascension. However, so that no faction has anything to complain about, I wish to elucidate most simply the beliefs of both [factions] concerning this article and to present their evidence faithfully and truly.

The Zwinglians say Christ's body and blood are not present in the holy Supper, as stated above;<sup>66</sup> for His body has gone to heaven and He will keep it there until He comes again for the judgment, as Peter in Acts testifies in the third chapter.<sup>67</sup> For that reason one is not permitted to seek Him either on earth nor in the Supper, which is a memorial of His suffering and death and a spiritual fellowship. Because He then is in heaven, the attribute of a true and natural body is not permissibly [altered]--namely, that He may be present in more than one place at the same time. Consequently, both of these articles of our Christian faith--concerning His ascension and the attribute of a true

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<sup>66</sup>Supra, passim.

<sup>67</sup>Acts 3:21.

body--compel the view that Christ's body is not present in the Supper but is only in heaven.

On the other side, those called Lutherans turn this argument around and strenuously teach that the flesh of Christ is present in the holy Supper, since it went to heaven and is set down at the right hand of God. They say, if the flesh of Christ [had] not gone to heaven and had not been set down at the right hand of God, we would be able neither to eat His body nor drink His blood, as truly happens in the holy Supper. In addition, we have oftentimes said, the faithful seek the flesh of Christ in the Supper so that they may live. This life we cannot have elsewhere than from the righteous God, by whom Christ is set down, according to the flesh.

These [are the] two beliefs on which the whole matter rests very closely, as one ordinary man raises himself in opposition against another and examines [them]. The ordinary would also not easily see or conclude by himself, to which faction he should adhere; for both have a fine appearance.

Before we render a simple statement concerning this, however, we should indeed take notice [of the fact] that both factions strenuously and repeatedly lodge the complaint against one another that their words and interpretations are not correctly understood or treated in some points. They, thereby, give us to understand that their words and speech ought not to be so crudely received or interpreted, as might have happened sometimes; for they wish to have their views understood much differently.

The Zwinglians are accused by their opposition [that] they believe and confess [that] Christ has gone into this visible heaven [in such a way] that He is limited or bound there in one place, or locked in as in a pigeon house. This belief is indeed incorrect, and the ascension of Christ is fundamentally denied, if Christ is only supposed to have ascended into this visible heaven. [However,] the Zwinglians in no way confess this [belief], regardless of what they have written about heaven or places in heaven.

Over against that [viewpoint] the Zwinglians understand the Lutheran belief of the ascension of Christ very crudely, as though they [the Lutherans] deny and annihilate the human nature in Christ, which He has taken from Mary through the working of the Holy Ghost. This belief they [the Lutherans], in similar fashion [to the Zwinglians], also do not confess; for they truly and without doubt believe that Christ also after His ascension into heaven keeps the human nature, which is neither mixed nor transformed into the divine nature, but is united in one person.

Thus, now, the real understanding of this quarrel consists in this that we know what heaven is, where Christ has gone, and [what is] the right hand of God, to which Christ has been seated according to the flesh. However, since we believe these things but do not see [them], it is, therefore, difficult to write about them in such a way that the splendor of God might in no wise be fractured and ordinary people can comprehend whom alone we serve. Among people who only have a desire to quarrel nothing can really and energetically be accomplished so that they could not find fault. Thus, St. Paul says, it has not

entered into the heart of any man, nor has the ear of any man heard, nor the eye seen the joy God has ready for his chosen children.<sup>68</sup> Who, then, wishes to speak concerning the essence of heaven to which such splendor belongs, about which Paul here speaks?

Since, then, something must be said about this, one should decide this controversy in another manner. Thus, we wish to take the safest way and hear about this by listening to the chosen tool of God, the holy Apostle Paul, who not only was drawn up into the third heaven<sup>69</sup> but also out of the earth or on earth saw and heard the Lord Christ after His ascension, [while Christ was] in the heavens.<sup>70</sup> This man [Paul] writes thus to the Ephesians in the first chapters: God awakened Christ from the dead and set Him on His right hand in heaven over all dominions, power, might, authority, and everything which might be named, not only in this world, but also in the future world, and has placed all things under His feet.<sup>71</sup>

Again, following in the fourth chapter [of Ephesians]: He Who descended is the same as the one who ascended above all heavens so that He might fill all things.<sup>72</sup> In both of these sayings, Paul speaks not with one kind of words or similarly formed words concerning the ascension of Christ, for in the first saying he says Christ has been set

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<sup>68</sup>1 Cor. 2:9.

<sup>69</sup>2 Cor. 12:2.

<sup>70</sup>Acts 9:3-6; Acts 22:6-10; Acts 26:13-18; 1 Cor. 15:8.

<sup>71</sup>Eph. 1:20-22.

<sup>72</sup>Eph. 4:10.



down at the right hand of God in heaven. In the second saying, however, he says Christ has ascended above all heavens.

Thirdly, Luke testifies in the book of Acts that Christ talked with St. Paul before Damascus after His ascension: "I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting."<sup>73</sup> These three testimonies set over against one another teach us that it is nothing other than a purely human thought to think of a special place to which our Lord Christ might have gone, for St. Paul testifies He is above all heavens and ascended into heaven.<sup>74</sup> Moreover, He Who speaks with him [Paul] before Damascus is He Who does not leave heaven. Now, everyone--even an uneducated man--can easily see how these sayings do not agree with a place, which is conceived. So then, I have shown what heaven is not--namely, not a place as men can conceive or imagine by purely human thought without the Word of God. Actually, to teach what it is proves to be impossible for any man as long as we live here on earth. However, since it is an article of the faith that we believe in a heaven and eternal life, then we can speak about it [in the same way] as about other articles of faith--namely, we stammer as children, until it is revealed to us by God and we see it face to face recognizing as we are recognized.<sup>75</sup> Thus, we believe that the eternal unending Word or Son of God has become flesh.<sup>76</sup> That is, He has assumed a human nature, so that now

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<sup>73</sup>Acts 9:5; Acts 22:8; Acts 26:15.

<sup>74</sup>Eph. 4:10.

<sup>75</sup>1 Cor. 13:11-12.

<sup>76</sup>John 1:14.

the divine and human natures are united together with each other. We believe without doubt that also our redemption and blessedness consists in this [act of God]. We do not understand such things, however, and can never comprehend [them] as long as we live here on earth.

Consequently, we believe in a heaven and indeed [that] the elect also already live in it before they die. What it is, however, no man can say.

We may also speak similarly concerning the right hand of God. A special place is not thereby to be understood [from the references] in the holy, divine Scripture. On the contrary, the power, majesty, and splendor of God [is meant], in relation to which Christ, according to the flesh, is set down. Furthermore, because we understand this just as little as heaven, [and yet] so that we nevertheless know something of it until we see it, God Himself stammers with us as His dear children. He describes it through a comparison of worldly kings and princes, who are accustomed to set next to themselves those to whom they surrender their power in order that they should rule and govern with them.<sup>77</sup>

By this means God gives us to understand His almighty glory and splendor, which is understood through the righteousness [described] in the Holy Scripture. Accordingly, the magicians said to Pharaoh: This is the finger of God, when they could not do the signs after Moses.<sup>78</sup> In this manner they understood the power and omnipotence

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<sup>77</sup>No clear example of this is to be found in Scripture. The closest example which might fit Andreae's point is that found in 1 Kings 1:33-47, where David appoints Solomon king and co-regent with him.

<sup>78</sup>Ex. 8:19.

of God. Solomon speaks of this right hand of God: "See, the heavens and all heavens are not able to comprehend You. How, then, should this house do [it] which I have built to your name?"<sup>79</sup> Again, in like fashion, in the prophet Isaiah: "See the heaven is My throne, and the earth is My foot stool. What kind of a house, then is it that you wish to build for Me?"<sup>80</sup> In a very short time we can show so much [concerning] what heaven is to us, where Christ has gone, and the right hand of God, at which Christ has been set down.

Therefore, now, the Holy Scripture testifies that Christ has been set down at the right hand of God in heaven. "The Lord said to My Lord, 'Sit down at My right hand until I lay My enemies down as a foot stool for Your feet.'"<sup>81</sup> What Christ received through that [action of God] He Himself attests [when He says,] "All power" (He says) "is given to Me in heaven and on earth."<sup>82</sup> Since, then, Christ, as the Son of man, has ascended into heaven and is seated at the right hand of God, [and] the right hand of God fills heaven and earth,<sup>83</sup> then it clearly follows from this that now also the Son of man is present everywhere and that He fills everything, rules over everything, and governs everything. Indeed, after the ascension of Christ not only the divine nature rules, but also the man Christ, to whom all power in heaven and on earth is given. Consequently, not only the Son of God fills everything, but also

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<sup>79</sup><sub>1</sub> Kings 8:27.

<sup>80</sup>Is. 66:1.

<sup>81</sup>Ps. 110:1; Matt. 22:44; Mark 12:36; Luke 20:42-43; Acts 2:34-35.

<sup>82</sup>Matt. 28:18.

<sup>83</sup>Acts 2:30-35.

the Son of man, who has ascended above all heavens in order that He might fill everything.<sup>84</sup> Such a filling is, however, not natural [and a means by which] the human nature in Christ is denied, but divine, by which He rules everything; we believe this but cannot understand [it]. Here belongs also that which we said above concerning the little word "Bodily." His flesh is given us in the holy Supper B O D I L Y--that is, even the body, which is [was] hung on the cross, but in an unsearchable manner. Accordingly, we also say here that the Son of man, who was set down at the right hand of God so that everything is present to Him, fills it. Again, He lives in all creatures, especially [in] His faithful, in whom He dwells with His grace in a special manner.

Indeed, so that I might present the issue to ordinary people still more clearly, they should remember that before God every place, high and deep, far and wide, [is] only one place or, so to speak, no place. To be sure, we speak now of the splendid and large palace, in which God dwells. [Yet,] the Holy, divine, Scripture abundantly testifies [that] it is bound to no place which is far from us; [for,] when God wishes to reveal it to a man, He does not move Himself from there. Rather, he [a man] would see the right hand of God, the kingdom, the power, majesty, and splendor of God near him, among him, next to him, yes, everywhere around him. This happened on Mt. Tabor, when Moses and Elias did not leave heaven and still spoke with Christ on Mt. Tabor.<sup>85</sup> Again, the angels are by us and among us on earth and do not leave

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<sup>84</sup>Eph. 4:10.

<sup>85</sup>Matt. 17:3-5; Mark 9:4-7; Luke 9:30-34.

heaven but, without cessation, see the face of the Father in heaven. Thus, also the believing souls are not required to travel far, when they are loosened [by death]. They are with Christ, the Lord, at once. One does not have to open a window [for them] (as the old women are accustomed to doing in the presence of the dying Christian so that the soul can leave). The revelation is already there, as the damned also [have] eternal death, apparently somewhat before they die. Concerning that place the Scripture speaks in a human manner [when it says] that Lazarus' body was carried above and the rich man was buried in hell,<sup>86</sup> which we understand and interpret according to the analogy of faith.

Now, suppose an ordinary man thought that every place were only one place which God fills entirely. If we can take the symbol which Luther provided<sup>87</sup> about the voice of a preacher, which is at the same time [heard] by many thousands of ears, then you will be able in some measure to imagine how Christ, as the Son of man, fills everything. Remember also that nothing natural [nothing of the body is present in physical form] but still a true filling takes place. At this point you will also soon be able to understand how Christ, the Lord, is present in the Holy Supper, whom we still truly eat, although not naturally or in the manner of this life. By this consumption neither the human nature in Christ is denied or annihilated, nor is Christ drawn back and forth from heaven. Rather, through the handling of the holy Supper [He] is revealed to be present.

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<sup>86</sup>Luke 16:20-31.

<sup>87</sup>Supra, pp. 74-75.

Lucanus book 9:

The seat of God is wherever earth, sea, and air and  
sky meet  
And we seek that which is beyond excellence.  
Jupiter is wherever we are looking, wherever we move.  
Jove fills everything.<sup>88</sup>

It is further taught in the epistle of St. Paul to the Philip-  
pians that Christ shall transform our perishable bodies so that they  
shall be similar to His transformed body, according to the working  
whereby He can make everything subject to Him.<sup>89</sup> Out of that, then,  
it follows [for some people] that our bodies shall also have to be  
everywhere after the resurrection from the dead, if Christ's body is  
everywhere. To that I offer as an answer that there is still a great  
difference between the body of Christ and our bodies. Christ's body  
has become the life, which He not only lives, but [it] also makes  
[men] alive. This [power] can never be ascribed to our bodies.

Therefore, although we are set with Christ in the heavenly essence  
[of our bodies], we still are not set at the right hand of God.<sup>90</sup>  
Accordingly, our bodies shall be in the glory of the Father, as that  
of Christ is. That [state] they have from [the fact that] the man  
Christ is set down at the right hand of God, of Whose spiritual body

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<sup>88</sup>Lucan, Lucan's Civil War, translated by J. O. Duff (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1943), Books I-X, 548. Andreae is using this quotation from Lucan in a way which conveys a different meaning than originally intended. This can be seen from the following further quotation within the same context as that of the quotation given above: "Has he any dwelling-place save earth and sea, the air of heaven and virtuous hearts . . . All that we see is God; every motion we make is God also," pp. 548-549.

<sup>89</sup>Phil. 3:21.

<sup>90</sup>Eph. 1:20-22; Heb. 1:3.

we are members; He is the head, Who is all things has the pre-eminence. Consequently, there is indeed another form for the body of Christ, to Whom all power has been given, [which differs from that] of our bodies, which, therefore, enjoy this power and will be sustained by it eternally.

Thus, both factions currently explain that they understand neither by the [word] "heaven" nor [the phrase] "at the right hand of God" a special place. [Rather,] they mean the majesty, power, glory, and splendor of God lest the crude conception [of the sacrament] occur to anyone, since that is the basis for the accusations raised against one another by both sides. Indeed, one neither eats the flesh of Christ naturally nor confines it to one place.

Simple Christians, to be sure, will also permit themselves to be instructed [as to] how Christ, [Who is] at the right hand of God in heaven and [at the same time] sitting above all heavens, gives His flesh and blood in the Holy Supper for a living and true meal. Let him who desires to know more about the faith ask God with us so that the Son of God might permit Himself to be seen soon for the redemption of His own and [that He might] reveal to us the things in which we have long believed. I cannot say more concerning this matter.

From this [explanation] the two sayings are easily clarified and understood. Flesh is of no use, and we now know Christ no longer after the flesh.<sup>91</sup> Other ways of saying this [are heard]: "the flesh is of no use" and "the flesh of Christ is of no use."

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<sup>91</sup>2 Cor. 5:16.

Consequently, so that the disciples of the Lord knew what the flesh of Christ was, He added [the following words]: "that which is given for you."<sup>92</sup> Therefore, [since] Christians are now seeking such [a supernatural food] from the Lord, they do not look for simple flesh, as the Capernaïtes. Rather, [they are seeking] so that they may have from the flesh the [new] life and become a new creature. Accordingly, we recognize no Redeemer other than Christ in His flesh only, and yet [we do] not know Christ according to the flesh--that is, we seek nothing fleshly in Him, but everything heavenly.

However, since both factions also interpret this saying of Christ in the sixth chapter of John differently--namely, the spirit is the one who makes alive; the flesh is of no use<sup>93</sup>--we wish to pursue the matter further. The one party says Christ is speaking here not of His flesh, for it would be horrible to hear [it], if one were to say the flesh of Christ was of no use. We have been redeemed by this flesh, concerning which Christ also says, "My flesh is truly a food."<sup>94</sup> He speaks concerning the fleshly understanding, which is of no use; for, as St. Paul says: the natural man (who is flesh) does not perceive what is of the spirit of God.<sup>95</sup>

The other party, on the other hand, says the Lord Christ is speaking of His body, which is eaten [in a] natural, bodily, or fleshly

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<sup>92</sup><sub>1</sub> Cor. 11:24.

<sup>93</sup>John 6:63.

<sup>94</sup>John 6:55.

<sup>95</sup><sub>1</sub> Cor. 2:14.



[manner]. This [eating] is of no use; but spiritual eating--that is, [the] faith that He was given into death for our redemption--has value.

I do not know a better way to decide the controversy over both disparate interpretations, however, than if we present the correct understanding of the Words of Christ, through His grace, which the foregoing words present to us. Christ said of this [sacrament]: "As the living Father sent Me, and I live for the sake of the Father, whoever eats Me will live for My sake."<sup>96</sup> These words, as they are compared with those which follow, will lead to the correct understanding in precisely this spot where men part company.

In that the flesh of Christ lives, it lives for the sake of the Father. Indeed, everything which it is, it has [received] from the Father. The Spirit is one kind of nature with the Holy Ghost. The man who would now look at the flesh of Christ [as though] it lived for itself would derive no benefit from it. However, the man who would look at it [in this way], that it lives for the sake of the Father, would indeed benefit from it. For that reason Christ does not only say, "he who eats flesh," but "he who eats me will live for my sake." The word "me" comprehends not only flesh, but spirit, which especially makes alive. For His sake also His flesh lives and makes alive. Thus, it is now in the splendor of Christ, writes Cyril, a working of both natures--of the Spirit and of the flesh.<sup>97</sup> Therefore, the Lord Christ now uses the little word (flesh) in two ways.

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<sup>96</sup>John 6:57

<sup>97</sup>Cyril, "Impii Nestorii Sermo VII," Patrologia: Patrum Graecorum, edited by J. P. Migne (Paris: n.p., 1862), LXVIII, 801. Cyril is dealing specifically with 1 Cor. 15:21 and 2 Cor. 5:19.

First of all, [it is used] according to the understanding of the Capernaimites, who only spoke concerning the flesh as flesh. Secondly, in its true understanding, since His flesh is not estranged from His Spirit.

In the first understanding it is said that flesh is of no use. To be sure, as soon as one would come upon an arm or a thigh of the Lord Christ and would have eaten therefrom, it would profit him nothing. In the second understanding, as it is understood with the Spirit, with which it has been united, it is a true food for eternal life to all who use it in faith. However, since this Spirit kills the flesh also and leads into hell, just as He makes [man] alive and leads [him] into heaven, so the announcement of the Spirit should terrify the impenitent again and admonish to repentance in order that they may examine themselves to avoid sin--not only in the flesh, but especially in the spirit.

From this each is now able to decide easily [regarding] the disagreeable interpretation of my understanding, for both are true. Christ speaks of His flesh but does not speak of His flesh in so far as the essence of the flesh is concerned, if it is considered by itself without the spirit. [If this is held], then there is no quarrel; for there is no profit [in it]. It must, therefore, be said [that it is] not His flesh. Although I understand no other substance than His flesh, the man who conceives [of it exclusively] in [terms] of the flesh or the spirit conceives instead of the flesh of Christ a flesh which really is not the flesh of Christ. Accordingly, if I understand it [to be] with the spirit, in which understanding it is really called the flesh of Christ, then it is of value.

Here it is also well to note that Christ in these sayings is not only speaking of His flesh by itself, but [also] that it makes us alive. For that reason He wishes to have it understood how it is of use or no use to us.

This explanation is certainly somewhat unclear for the common man; yet, it may not be rendered more clearly. Still, in summary, it gives one to understand what the meaning of the Lord Christ is and how far the above interpretations agree with or oppose one another. Moreover, if that is the summary, that the flesh of Christ (about which we are now speaking as of a food) is considered with [the] spirit as flesh and nothing more, it is of no value. However, taken with the spirit, what else is it than the whole Christ Himself, Who not only is of value to us for keeping our guilt on the cross, but completely and truly is eaten by us in the holy Supper. He is our life, without which we could sustain our eternal life as little as the natural life [can be sustained] without natural food. That, then, is enough regarding this point.

Nevertheless, so that the faithful might really know what is given to them in the holy Supper, they should understand it in this manner. In the holy Supper there are six different things. Three [of these elements] one sees and hears with bodily eyes and ears. The three other elements, however, one can neither see with bodily eyes nor hear with bodily ears. The three external elements are the external Word, bread, and wine. The external Word, which God Himself has spoken and commanded to be written, was not concocted by any man; rather, it came out of the mouth of the Son of God and is still spoken through the servant [of the

Church]. [It is this Word] that is heard.<sup>98</sup> Again, the bread and the wine are seen, tasted, grasped, and touched.

The three other elements are neither externally seen nor heard. First of all, the Word of God, which is God Himself--that is, the eternal Son of God--is the independent essence of God. The second [element] is the true body of Christ. The third [element] is the true blood of Christ.

These six elements unite with one another in the holy sacrament, which comes about by the oral word of promise, which is the eternal Word of the Father. The true body of Christ [is] with the loaf of bread. With the wine [is] the true blood of Christ, spilled for our sins. The last three elements unite in the person of Christ.

Indeed, as He is the eternal Word of the Father, thus He has taken our flesh and blood into Himself in the unity of His person. From this [it] follows that Christ is completely and inseparably by His institution of the holy Supper [given] along with the visible bread and wine--the correct and true food and drink [given] with His flesh and blood.<sup>99</sup> Therefore, He also is the eternal bread of God, which came down from heaven--that is, the eternal Word and Son of God, from Whom we all have life.

I wanted to point this out in different ways so that the common man [might] know wherein this mystery of the sacrament stands so that they do not take the shells for the grain. Indeed, as far as the

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<sup>98</sup><sub>2</sub> Peter 1:21.

<sup>99</sup> John 6:55.

the unification [of the elements] itself is concerned, our side also does not confess either that the body of Christ and His blood have been changed into the bread and wine or in the bread and wine [the body and blood of Christ] are confined or held or bound to the bread and wine. Rather, according to the Word of the Lord and [His] promise, it is present for our poor consciences as a consolation. What kind of a unification it is has not yet been sufficiently clarified by either side. I also think that it will remain concealed for a good [long] while.

At this point I must point out a subtle error of those who hold to it, as though [by so doing] they were believing and holding to the faith of the Apostles and the ancient Church teachers concerning the holy Supper. These persons do not only distinguish both food and drink, but against the sacramental unity they separate it and permit in truth nothing other than bread and wine [to be present]. They call this the Eucharist; they say that those who are true believers bring Christ, the correct food, in their hearts with themselves. If they now eat of this bread, then the bread and the body of Christ, whom they bring with themselves in their hearts, are present in the Supper with one another. These teachers separate both foods, as if they only should [be able] to distinguish it. However, they can add to their supposition [an orthodox] appearance, for they say that those believing correctly bring Christ, the correct and true food, together with themselves to the bread of the Supper. How should they then first receive Him? For that reason, they receive only bread and wine and not the true body of Christ, which they previously received. They say that it is evident that they bring the body of Christ with [them], for the elect go in

faith to the Supper. Through faith Christ dwells in their hearts.<sup>100</sup> Thus, [they claim it] follows that they bring Christ with them in faith.<sup>101</sup>

This argument truly has an appearance [of truth] and could soon blind ordinary people. Nevertheless, the issue confronts us that, while it is true that the faithful have Christ, His flesh and blood in their hearts, and, although the Lord Christ is perfect, yet the faithful do not attain to the perfection wholly and completely (We are speaking now, not of the perfection of the obedience of Christ, which is imputed as perfection also to the weak. No man is complete in himself. Rather, [we are speaking] of the life which we have from Christ, from the Head. In us this life cannot be perfect, as long as we are draped with this sinful flesh.).

Accordingly, the Lord Christ is in His institution [of the sacrament] and in them. He is also outside of them at the right hand of His Father. For that reason, the body of Christ is no less communicated to them in the holy Supper. In this fellowship they have already received [it], but through the reception of this sacrament they are strengthened still more and partake of the divine life, which has already begun in them.

Therefore, a Christian reader also has thorough knowledge concerning this speech, when one says, "If you bring Christ in your heart to the holy Supper, then you shall receive Him. If you do not bring Him with

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<sup>100</sup>Eph. 3:17.

<sup>101</sup>Andreae is here giving a cursory synopsis of the theological position of his opposition. No definite reference appears to be intended.

you through faith, then you will not receive him"--[something] which you will better understand, if you consider the unbelieving people who do not bring Christ with them, as do the believers. Nevertheless, [the body as being present] is communicated and transmitted to them, a fact which we shall consider in more detail later.<sup>102</sup>

From this statement it is easy to perceive how the words of the institution of the Supper of Christ are to be understood simply. One is permitted neither to change these words nor to distort [them], as has happened. "This is My body." For this statement some [pose the thought that] this means My body, which is a figure of My [Christ's] body; My body is this.

Thus, because it is apparent and undeniable that in the Supper not only bread and wine, but the true body and blood of Christ are present and united with one another sacramentally, as the mystery brings [the elements] with itself and tolerates [them], it, therefore, is called the body and blood of Christ; for the body and blood of Christ are the most outstanding [elements] in the holy Supper, rather than the bread and wine. Indeed, St. Paul also was not silent about them [the elements] in the interpretation of the Words of the Lord so that Christ's honor might endure, the creatures may not be considered as God, and the knowledge of the correct, main part [of the sacrament] might not thereby be lost.

Therefore, we now wish to conclude the first question--[namely,] what is given to us in the holy Supper. With the bread [is given] the

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<sup>102</sup>Supra, pp. 78-81.

true body; with the wine, the true blood of Christ--that is, Christ Himself, true God and man, is in this mystery. He feeds us and gives us to drink of His flesh and blood.

For that reason, if you are asked [the following question]:

"What are you given in the holy Supper," answer: "bread and wine, the true body and blood of Christ." Moreover, if one asks, "Is not only bread and wine on hand," answer: "No. The Lord gives us next to and with the bread His body and His blood to eat and to drink." If, in addition, you would be asked, "Are the bread and wine transformed into the body and blood of Christ," answer: "No, for the body is not transformed into the bread. Thus, the bread also is not transformed into the body of Christ. Rather, according to the truth of the sacrament [the elements] are extended and given to us unmingled and unmixed."

Should you be asked fourthly, "Is the body and blood of Christ communicated to us bodily or spiritually in the Supper?" answer: "Yes, His true body and blood, which He presents and troubled consciences experience, are given in a heavenly, spiritual manner."

If anyone says he knows just as much as before, offer this answer: According to the explanation of both words, "bodily" and "spiritual," which have been set forth above, how does Christ give His body spiritually and bodily in the holy Supper? That, as has been often stated, is an unsearchable and incomprehensible mystery, in which we should permit ourselves to be taught by the Word and the Holy Spirit. In like manner, you also know [how] to answer anyone [who believes that he] brings Christ along with [himself] in faith and still receives nothing



less in the holy Supper [than the body of Christ]--not in a crude manner but, as He is and remains in eternity, unchanged, as has been sufficiently stated above.

In summary, [it is] simply believed and confessed in this mystery that, when two things are discerned--the earthly and the heavenly, it is best, most profitable, and most comforting for our souls. Secondly, if one offers an interpretation out of brooding or evil, one might turn to the Bible and love. Time and effort would be better engaged that way.

It might also be that the division and quarrel could be explained by the words of St. Augustine (Homily in John, XIII Chapter), where he says, "The Word comes to the element and a sacrament ensues."<sup>103</sup> Indeed, there is certainly no one [who], when he is asked what kind of a difference there is between the Word and the sacraments in so far as the substance is concerned, does not at once answer and confess that in the holy sacrament there is above [and beyond] the Word also a visible element. For that reason St. Augustine calls it a visible Word.<sup>104</sup> However, the Word (concerning the external service to be spoken) is not seen; rather, it is only heard.

If one, then asks further, when God's Word is preached and proclaimed according to His command, whether it is an empty sound which only fills the ears or whether the eternal Word of the Father is there, [the following answer may be given]. Indeed, it should be called a

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<sup>103</sup>Cf. footnote 15, supra, p. 43.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

power of God which makes blessed all those who believe in it. It is necessary that Christ Himself, the eternal Word of the Father, be present, as the Power by which the faithful are born [again]. That, however, is the same Word, which has taken upon Itself our flesh.

Dr. Luther in the sermon concerning [the] sacrament, Tome II, folio XVIII, writes,

We also preach the death of Christ according to the words [of institution]: "Do this in remembrance of Me." However, there is a difference, when I preach His death, which is a public sermon in the congregation. Then, I am offering to no one [anything] special. He who grasps [the difference], let him grasp [it]. However, when I extend the sacrament, I offer it uniquely to whoever receives [it]. I give such an one Christ's body and blood, so that he may have forgiveness of sins, won through His [Christ's] death and proclaimed in the congregation. That is something more than the common sermon. Thus, just as [forgiveness of sins] is indeed in the sermon, so also is [forgiveness of sins to be found] in the sacrament. Above and beyond that advantage there is [this] that it here points to a certain person. There [in the sermon] it designates and points to no one, Yet, here it is given to you and me especially so that the sermon comes to be our own. If I say, "This is the body, which is given for you; this is the blood which is shed for you for the forgiveness of sins," then I am remembering Him [and] proclaiming and speaking of His death. This sermon is not general or indiscriminate within the congregation but exclusively pertains to [whoever receives the sacrament].<sup>105</sup>

Just before these words he writes,

For that reason let us renounce these things [speculation regarding the presence of His body and blood] and adhere to the Words as they sound. Christ's body is in the bread and His true blood is in the wine. [This is] not [to say] that He is otherwise and elsewhere without His body and blood, for He is completely in the hearts of believers with flesh and blood. Moreover, He wishes to make us certain

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<sup>105</sup> A thorough search for the source of this quotation and the one covered in footnote 106 has failed to reveal its origin. There is a remote possibility that this may have been part of an edition of Luther's collected sermons which is now unavailable.

where and how we are to grasp hold of Him. Here is the Word which says when you eat the bread, then you are eating My body which is given for you. If that were not there, I would not wish to consider the bread.<sup>106</sup>

If you ask how the same eternal Word, which became flesh, is present with the holy Supper, the answer [would be as follows]: Just as it is; for you have heard above that Christ, who is the eternal Word of the Father, does not change, and to Him everything is not only subordinated but present. Therefore, He is also present to all creatures--chiefly, however, to the believers in whom He dwells with His grace, which does not trickle away from Him. For His sake we also have found grace before the Father and still find it daily. [We are referring to] the same Christ, [who is] inseparable [from God], true God and man, and present in the audible Word and dwelling in the heart of each believing human being through faith. He will [reach out to] us through the visible word which is given in the holy sacrament. Here we have the external and visible signs in addition to the word, which was heard, and the eternal Word, Who assumed flesh and brings with Himself the promise--that is, the external Word.<sup>107</sup>

Thus, the sacraments are not merely words but are called visible words, for, in view of the fact that the body and the blood of Christ are offered uniquely in the holy Supper along with bread and wine, we should not naively think that only the body and blood of Christ are given and that His eternal divinity trickles off from His body or is

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<sup>106</sup>Cf. the explanation in footnote 105, supra, p. 101.

<sup>107</sup>The German text is obscure in meaning. Thus, the sense has been derived from the Latin text. Cf. SDES, p. 76.

departed [from it]. Indeed, without the divinity the flesh of Christ in itself is neither life nor can it make living. Yes, as it could not atone for our sins or conquer death, hell, and damnation, so it could not be our food without the divinity<sup>108</sup> nor could the blood be drink [for us].

Accordingly, Christ is given and transmitted to us completely and inseparably in this high mystery of the holy Supper so that we might become one flesh with Him. Again, from this each may ascertain how inappropriate fleshly thoughts are to this holy sacrament. It should be correctly considered or understood.

#### The Second Question

Now, we wish to consider also the second question and with God's help see what is to be believed and held concerning it, for the unbelievers and the godless often also are partakers of the blessed bread and drink out of the blessed cup. Do they receive the body and blood of Christ, which are the chief parts in the holy Supper?

Dr. Luther of blessed [memory] believed, taught, and confessed--and we [agree] with him--that the unbelievers not only receive bread and wine but also the body and blood of Christ. His opposition, however, resisting this view has held and still holds that with bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are offered also to them [the unbelievers] at the same time as to the believers. Accordingly, through

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<sup>108</sup> SDES, p. 76. The Latin text strengthens Andreae's point by adding here the following phrase: "which He has by nature."

their unbelief they drive Christ away from them and receive neither His body nor blood, but only symbols [in the] bread and wine.

Here belong the other two little words [phrases] which were indicated above ("in the sacrament" and "in faith"). Dr. Luther always emphasized the word ("in the sacrament"). His opposition, however, stressed the word ("in faith"). With God's help we wish to clarify both and also hope that by that [explanation] this question may also be closely examined.

Doctor Luther in his letter to those at Frankfort regarding this question pursues the search for the correct and true confession concerning the Supper of Christ in so far as the substance and the essence of the holy sacrament is concerned. Thus, they put [the issue of] the faith and unbelief of men in the background and speak only concerning the blessed bread and blessed chalice-[namely,] how they should be considered after the institution of Christ, regardless of the belief of men. Is it only bread and wine or is Christ Himself able to be present with His words and promises by these means? [From such a discussion] it is immediately evident, whenever anyone is asked, what kind of an understanding and belief regarding the holy Supper such an individual has.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>Luther wrote this open letter in the last months of 1532 because a struggle had developed in Frankfort over the Lutheran and Zwinglian position. The Lutheran viewpoint was espoused by Johann Cellarius. The Zwinglian position was held by Dionysius Melander an der Spitze. In a letter of February 10, 1533, addressed to his friend, Margareta Blaurer, in which he referred to the trouble in Frankfort he said, "Der Teufel sucht doch mit allen Mitteln die Kirchen zu trennen oder getrennt zu erhalten." He also wrote a booklet against the erring preachers of Frankfort. Cf. WA VI, 404 and WA XXX, iii, 554-555.

The word ("in the sacrament") has this meaning that Christ is [present] by His institution [of the sacrament] and does not depart from it because of the unbelief of man--as Luther also believed. In similar fashion, the institution of the Supper itself does not stand upon our belief or unbelief but on the Word and command of God.

The word ("in the faith"), however, looks more on the person of the man who receives the Supper [and] what he is like than on the Supper itself [and] what it is in its essence. It also indicates more how the man receives it than what he receives.

Thus, we now wish to consider the cause [for the existence] of both factions so that each may understand how to prove his belief. From this we shall not only learn to understand how these two words are used, but also what ought to be believed and held concerning these main points.

Those who say that the unbelieving do not receive the body and blood of Christ bring forth this point first of all: the flesh of Christ is life, and he who eats His [Christ's] flesh and drinks His blood will live eternally.<sup>110</sup> However, it is certain that the unbelieving do not live eternally. Rather, they are living dead. For that reason they could not receive the body and the blood of Christ.

Furthermore, [they affirm] that it also was established and instituted, not for the godless and unbelieving, but for those who believe rightly. That the godless shall not live is evident, for the just

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<sup>110</sup> John 6:54.

shall live by his faith.<sup>111</sup> The godless, however, have no faith. Thus, they also cannot live and accordingly cannot receive the food of life.

There are also many among them who cannot inform themselves how it is possible that, since the flesh of Christ is life, it can be in an unbeliever and still, nevertheless, not make him living. [They think that] either it must lose its nature, which, however, cannot happen or it must also make the unbeliever living, which, as has been shown previously, is contrary to the holy Scripture.

They also adduce the example of fire which one throws into straw. Either this [element] must lose its nature or it will ignite the straw. Thus, also [is] the flesh of Christ. Since it is the Life, it must make living those by whom it is taken or they affirm its nature to be lost.

Again, [they say that] God does not wish to live in or with the godless. [They believe] the same also may be said of the flesh of Christ-- [namely,] that it would be shameful and dishonorable for it if it were received and encircled by the godless and traitors of the divine Word.

However, those who hold that also the unbelievers receive the flesh of Christ turn first of all to the witness of St. Paul, [who says] "He who eats unworthily or drinks becomes guilty of the body of the Lord."<sup>112</sup> This could not be if they do not receive the body of Christ. Moreover, they offer this reason: the substance and the essence of the holy Supper rest not on the belief or disbelief [of an individual], but only on the words of institution and the command of our Lord Christ.

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<sup>111</sup>Ro. 1:17; Gal. 3:11; Hab. 2:4.

<sup>112</sup><sub>1</sub> Cor. 11:27.

Accordingly, just as our faith gives nothing to the Supper (We are speaking concerning the substance), so also unbelief subtracts nothing from it. It follows irrefutably from this that the unbelievers receive the body and blood of Christ also, because according to the institution of Christ, as heard above, not only bread and wine are in the holy Supper, but also the true body and blood of Christ.

Now, on both sides the case appears to be well taken. Thus, a simple [Christian] has not [the means by which] to inform himself quickly to which faction he will become party; both factions have introduced compelling reasons [for their belief] from the testimony of the Holy Scripture. However, we do not wish here to tell how both factions answer one another with their evidence; that would take too long. Rather, [we wish] to instruct Christians in a short and simple manner in what they should answer in a summation of this question. Subsequently, they will find it easy to offer a statement [of belief] over against objections which may be raised.

Consequently, it is very easy to answer this question correctly, truly, fundamentally, and according to the Holy Scripture, if we search and consider diligently in the Holy, Divine Scripture what Christ has become according to His flesh and [what He] has overcome through unification with the Word. Indeed, if the flesh, which is the body of Christ or that which I more plainly and really call the Son of man from the divinity of the eternal Word with which it has been united, only received the [power of] life, it would be life and could make alive whomever He wishes; [but] then some measure of validity would be given [to the idea that] the unbelievers do not receive the body and the



blood of Christ in the holy Supper because it is undeniable that they are not made alive through it.

However, the flesh of Christ not only has life, but along with the life also receives [the power of] judgment. Indeed, Christ Himself says in John 5 [22]: "The Father judges no one but has given over all judgment to the Son." Again, soon afterwards [He says], "As the Father has life in Himself, thus He has also given to the Son to have life in Himself and to hold the judgment; for He is the Son of man."<sup>113</sup> From this we perceive that the Son of man, as the Son of man--that is, the flesh of Christ [which makes the faithful blessed]--has received two distinguishable properties. [These are] life and judgment. The one [is] for the pious and believing [Christians]. The other [is] for the impious and unbelieving [world]. The one--namely, the life--the believers receive purely out of the mercy of God in His merits earned by the flesh of Christ. The other--namely, the judgment--the unbelievers receive according to the righteousness of God. However, it is [one] Christ, who [being] present makes the believers alive and [another] who [being] present judges the unbelievers.

Ephesians 4 [10]: "He, who has ascended above all heavens so that He may fill everything;" He does not only fill it as a gracious Lord over against the pious, but also as a strict Judge over against the evil, unbelieving, and godless. To be sure, as He is a Savior to the believers and will come [for that purpose], so He will be and will come to the godless and unbelieving as a strict Judge. Moreover, as

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<sup>113</sup>John 5:26-27.

one can neither seek nor find any life outside of Christ (for in Him was the life, and He is the life of the world--John 1 [4]), thus also outside of Christ no judgment is to be feared; for the Father has given all judgment to the Son.

If we hold and believe without doubt such things concerning the body of Christ, then this question also has been thoroughly examined and help has been afforded to the Church at this point in this harmful controversy, Indeed, from this [discussion] an ordinary man can conclude and answer very correctly whether the unbelieving individual also receives the body and the blood of Christ.

Thus, the institution of Christ is not founded on our faith or unbelief but consists of the infallible knowledge and abiding Word of God, in which the true body and blood of Christ are certainly and irrefutably offered along with bread and wine. However, the same body of Christ has not only this property--that it is the Life and makes alive. It has yet another property in that all judgment is given over to Him. Therefore, the body of Christ is not changed in the Supper; [nor] does it depart from this institution because of the unbelief of those who approach it. Rather, according to the thinking of those who receive it, it also shows its attribute and working distinguishably still remains one body--[working] life in the believer [and] judgment in the unbeliever.

St. Paul speaks of this in the first letter to the Corinthians in the eleventh chapter, where he says: "For whoever eats and drinks unworthily eats and drinks judgment to himself because he does not

distinguish the body of the Lord."<sup>114</sup> With such words he clearly shows that those who eat there unworthily are eating not only bread, but also are receiving the body of Christ, which they do not distinguish [and] to whom all judgment is given over. Moreover, life is only available to those who truly believe and depend on Him. However, for the others judgment [accrues] because of their unbelief. He [Paul] rendered such a judgment at once against many at Corinth. Yet, with grace he showed that so many had become weak and sick [because of this] and a good number had died. Furthermore, where they would not have recognized their sin in this judgment or repented they would also have experienced eternally that judgment which was manifested to them temporally and would not have endured in this punishment.

Thus, St. Paul attributes this judgment--that is, the punishment--to the Lord Christ and teaches all Christians thereby what kind of a judgment the Son of God will manifest in the unbelievers. He punishes the Corinthians so fearfully for that reason.

Consequently, everything that is said in the sixth chapter of John concerning the eating of the flesh of Christ and the drinking of His blood refer only to the believers, to whom only Christ is the Life. [Let us consider the following quotations:] "He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood will remain in Me and I in him and will live eternally; for My flesh is the correct food and My blood is the correct drink."<sup>115</sup> Again, "He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood remains in Me and I

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<sup>114</sup><sub>1</sub> Cor. 11:29.

<sup>115</sup> John 6:55.

in him."<sup>116</sup> Again, "He who eats Me will also live because of Me."<sup>117</sup> Again, "Truly, truly I say to you: if you do not eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink His blood, you do not have life in you."<sup>118</sup> There is no other manner by which He is the Life than [when] He is eaten in faith and through faith. Because it is not eaten in this fashion by the unbelievers, they, therefore, cannot live by it.

However, some say that the Supper of Christ is in no way treated in the sixth chapter of John, which is true. They wish to refute the opposition [of those who believe in the real presence] so that they may not hinder the enjoyment [of the sacrament] of the unbelievers. Take special note of this, O simple reader. Although it is true that in this chapter nothing is said concerning the Supper of Christ, we still know from the preceding statement that in the Supper of Christ not only bread and wine, but also the body and blood of Christ are distributed.

Christ, however, does not have two bodies or two kinds of flesh. Rather, [He has] only one flesh and one body, which is given to [us]<sup>119</sup> with the bread in the holy Supper. Christ speaks of this in the sixth chapter. Moreover, there is no other difference than that spoken of by John in the sixth chapter only concerning the distribution of the body of Christ, which happens through the Word of the holy Gospel. Here,

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<sup>116</sup>John 6:56.

<sup>117</sup>John 6:57.

<sup>118</sup>John 6:53.

<sup>119</sup>The addition in the brackets has support from the Latin text.

indeed, in the holy Supper it happens beyond the Word with bread and wine. Yet, in both places there is one Christ, one flesh and one blood; and it remains eternally [and] is spoken of in such a way in both places.

Accordingly, a simple [Christian] will indeed wish to inform himself in which understanding it is spoken. Christ says nothing of the holy Supper in John chapter six, which is true. However, [He is speaking] concerning the most chief part of the holy Supper--namely, concerning His body and blood, which in itself makes no sacrament. Without these [elements], however, bread and wine are again empty signs and, accordingly, no true sacrament exists or can be [present].

From this [position] it is now easy to answer Doctor Luther's adversaries. First of all, what is brought forth from the sixth chapter [of John] has already been completely shown to be irrelevant to unbelievers.

Secondly, in order to answer the illustration of the fire and the straw take this information: Fire has two properties. It can be hot and can ignite [something]; [it can] also be cooled and extinguished. In that way it can be compared with the body of Christ to some degree. Now, however, wherever the fire is, it only burns. It does not have in its nature [the power] to make [something] cold or to extinguish [anything]. Thus, the body of Christ, which not only makes alive but also judges or kills, requires another illustration.

St. Paul also speaks in this way concerning the servants of the holy Gospel, who proclaim the Gospel of Christ. "We are," he says (2 Corinthians 2 [:15-16]), "to God a good fragrance of Christ both

among those who are blessed and among those who are lost. To these [people who perish] a fragrance for death; those [people who are saved], however, a fragrance of life for life." Moreover, [it is] still true that they preach one Christ to those who are lost and to those who are blessed.

We see the same thing also in the sun,<sup>120</sup> a comparison which is not objectionable to you. One kind of glow of the sun makes the earth hard and [another] softens the wax. Yet, the sun does not change, but it works differently according to the distinction of the creation. Thus also, Christ the Lord has different workings according to the differences of men: in the believers [He works] life; in the unbelievers, judgment.

Accordingly, we see also that Christ does not lose one of His attributes, although He uses the others and manifests [them]. Because of unbelief He cannot show His life. Nevertheless, He still remains Life according to His nature. Through or because of unbelief He works judgment, which [power] Christ has received just as [the power of] life.

Thirdly, it is argued that it is mockery and [a] dishonoring of Christ that He should be compassed here on earth by godless and unbelieving men: drunkards, blasphemers of God, greedy and unbridled men. We might well answer that many of God's creatures on earth do such things; yet they are no less creatures of God. However, we wish to offer [more] fundamental information.

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<sup>120</sup>Luther also used the illustration of the sun, as did other figures in the Reformation movement. Cf. WA XXVI, 414-415.

It is undeniable and well-known among the believers that Christ, as the Son of man, has received [the power of] judgment from God, for it is originally in God and flows out of the righteousness of God. Since, then, the judgment is nothing else than a manifesting of the righteousness of God, in which He punishes the unbelievers, it is easy to establish from this that it is neither disgraceful nor dishonorable for God [to be encompassed by men], if He is Judge among and in men. In this way He is extolled again and again in the holy Scripture. Psalms 49 and 97 [teach] that He is a Judge.<sup>121</sup> The heavens shall proclaim His righteousness, for God is a Judge. Thus, it is not disadvantageous or disgraceful to the divine nature but completely honorable to manifest and reveal His judgment in the godless. How, then, should it be blasphemous and disgraceful for the body of Christ--that is, the Son of man--to manifest judgment in the unbelievers with His presence? In this judgment He comes through unification with the Word, concerning which also the prophets and Psalms--[especially] Psalm 93<sup>122</sup>--boast and St. Paul speaks.<sup>123</sup>

For that reason, we see that where this judgment is taken away from the Son of man not the least part of His honor is withdrawn from

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<sup>121</sup>Ps. 49:15; Ps. 97:2,8.

<sup>122</sup>Andrae's reference to Psalm 93 does not appear to be correct, since that psalm refers to the majesty of the Lord, rather than His judgment through unification with His Word. The closest psalm which might fit is Psalm 43, but even that psalm does not speak definitively to this issue.

<sup>123</sup>This reference is so vague that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a specific verse in the Pauline corpus. If we could assume that Paul were the author of the Book of Hebrews, then Heb. 4: 1-4, 12 might serve as a general reference.

Him. Moreover, such beliefs which desire to save the honor of the Lord [actually] rob His honor in the greatest part. Accordingly, so that His honor remains completely as far as Christ and His flesh are concerned, we confess unanimously that the unbelievers also receive Christ in the holy Supper, but not as a Savior. Rather, [they receive Him as] a stern Judge.

That which is said of Judas in John 13 [2], after Christ gave him the broken bread [and] the devil entered into him takes [away] nothing from our belief. To be sure, because Satan can deal with men in no other way than according to the judgment of Christ (whose [Christ's] prisoner and executioner he is), we, therefore, see that apparently the unbeliever--either before or with [the sacrament] receives the judgment of Christ, in which He [Christ] begins to demonstrate His power in him [the unbeliever]. He [Satan] is not permitted to incite anyone [to rise up against the law], even the godless, until they are judged. This judgment, however, the Son of God, by His hidden and unsearchable counsel, often mitigates and withdraws from the godless, lest Satan soon would deal them the coup de grace. Indeed, it is the most fearsome judgment of the Son of God, when He hardens the hearts of the unrepentent, as He did to Pharaoh in Exodus 9 [7,12,35]. He demonstrates among His believers His judgment,<sup>124</sup> as was shown above, so that they might learn to fear it and seek His grace only in His revealed suffering and death.

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<sup>124</sup>Rom. 9:22-26.



Suppose that it were also adduced that the [spiritually] dead could receive neither food nor drink [from the sacrament]. The godless, indeed, are dead, as Christ in Matthew chapter eight says, "Let the dead bury their dead."<sup>125</sup> Again, St. Paul in 1 Timothy chapter 5 says, "The widow who lives in lust is [while] living dead."<sup>126</sup> For that reason [those who do not believe that the real presence of Christ in the sacrament is distributed say that] they [the unbelievers] can receive neither the body nor the blood of Christ. This objection is easy to answer. The godless are not dead in that they cannot experience the judgment of God in themselves. Accordingly, although they do not receive Christ as living through faith, still they experience the judgment of Christ as [those who are] living dead and dead [while] living. It is one thing with bodily food and another matter with God's judgment. [Although] one cannot bring bodily food [to a man physically dead], Christ presses through, [for] He is a spiritual food [given to men] either as a Savior or Judge, as we have heard above.

Accordingly, this comparison detracts in no way from our belief, and we find in this and all similar arguments that the opposition applies the little word ("spiritual") more to the person than to Christ Himself.<sup>127</sup> Indeed, even Christ's flesh and blood are [a] spiritual

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<sup>125</sup> Matt. 8:22.

<sup>126</sup> 1 Tim. 5:6.

<sup>127</sup> Both the German and the Latin texts have the following marginal note: "[The word] 'Spiritual' [is to be] understood in two kinds of ways." Nothing further is said.

food and drink. Since we receive [it] the body of Christ in the holy Sacrament not fleshly or naturally, thus the judgment of Christ is just as spiritual as the life [which He offers].

For that reason I have admonished above [that] one should distinguish well the word "spiritual"--how it refers not only to the person, who through faith is spiritual, but also to Christ, Who also is spiritual and brings everything about, let men be as they wish.

This [objection] might be advanced that Christ's flesh is neither received through the external senses nor reason nor faith. It could not happen through [the] natural voice and reason, however, because [Christ's body] is spiritual. Accordingly, it can only proceed through faith. Since, however, the godless do not believe, it thus follows clearly from that [fact] that they also do not receive the body of Christ.

In answer to that: although reason cannot comprehend Christ, reason is a tool, like faith, through which Christ works life in them. Thus, Christ cannot enter simply through their reason. Rather, in [their reasoning faculties] He shows Himself to be a stern Judge, so that not only the [faculties of] reason, but also every sense of men is placed under the fearful judgment of Christ, Who is present. These [people] desire nothing more than that they only could be free of Christ and dead to every experience [of Him]. This, however, is eternal judgment and damnation. It begins in this life and shall continue there eternally.

John in the twelfth chapter says, "I have not come so that I may judge the world, but that I might make the world blessed."<sup>128</sup> This saying also detracts nothing from the judgment of Christ, about which we now have spoken. Indeed, the Lord did not die for the reason that He might judge the world. He could certainly have judged the world, if He had not become man. Rather, His will was to help<sup>129</sup> the world out of sin, death, and damnation--Matthew 9 [6]; John 3 [17]; 1 Timothy 1 [15]. Now, however, the world does not wish to permit itself to be helped. Thus, it [His coming into the world] does not help her at all. Furthermore, neither does it redeem her in any way from the stern judgment of God, for in that the Son of God has come into the world its judgment and damnation is so much greater and more serious. "If I had not spoken to them," (says Christ), "they would not any longer have sin."<sup>130</sup>

That such judgment might be left to the last day I not only confess, but that is also stated in our faith and [in] John, chapter 5, which testifies to this.<sup>131</sup> However, [the belief] that He now, while in heaven, does nothing else than represent His believers and sustains them with grace but does not receive power over the unbelieving and the godless to punish them is completely against the whole divine Scripture.

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<sup>128</sup>John 12:47.

<sup>129</sup>The Latin text uses the word meaning "to liberate," where the German has the word "to help." Cf. SDES, p. 91.

<sup>130</sup>John 15:22.

<sup>131</sup>John 5:25-29.

Psalm 95 [ :3 says ]:<sup>132</sup> "The Lord is King. The Lord has clothed Himself with might," which might He shows not only against the believers but also [against] the unbelievers. Accordingly, that Christ also may now and without ceasing exercise His judgment before the last sentence and condemnation is denied by no one. Would to God no one also should experience it, though apparently we still see the judgment of God, indeed of the Son of man, our Lord Jesus Christ, daily. In this judgment the believers take comfort in all their needs and [in the fact] that God still shall pour [judgment] out over their enemies. The joy which all believers have when they wrap themselves up and enclose themselves in the body of Christ is not able to be expressed. Thus, again, no one can express the serious sentence over the unbelieving, when Christ in His anger<sup>133</sup> shall begin to address them. The latter end for such people apparently may be seen, when they are compelled to perceive and comprehend it--Psalm 2 [ :7-12 ].

For that reason much too little is said, if one teaches that the unbelievers indeed are offered the body and blood of Christ, but they receive nothing [other] than an empty sign because of their unbelief. Oh, how gladly they would have [received] only empty signs, especially when the sentence commences for them [and] as they begin to receive it upon themselves. Such people are becoming more extensive and more

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<sup>132</sup> Andreae does not quote the passage accurately. The last sentence is closer to the thought found in Ps. 93:3.

<sup>133</sup> SDES, p. 92. This phrase is added in the Latin text. It does not appear in the German edition. I have included it because it emphasizes the point Andreae is making.

wicked from day to day and are punished in their sins with sins according to the righteous judgment of God the more often they go to the table of the Lord. [They] experience in that action that they are not receiving vain or empty signs.

Since, then, in the godless the righteousness and the justice of Christ, the Son of man, is practiced and sensed--yes, praised--it is thus no dishonor to His flesh, if one teaches in truth [that] the unbelieving also receive it. However, as we have now heard, [they receive it] to judgment, which is applied to them through the highest honor--not only of His goodness, but also of His righteousness. He does not permit wickedness to please Him but [being] present judges and punishes [it]--Daniel 9 [ :14]; Psalm 5 [ :4-6].

I would not dispute that some might think more were said [about] becoming partakers and eating the body of Christ than receiving it. Indeed, even these little words ("to become partakers" and "to eat") may be understood in two kinds of ways. Primarily and essentially they mean the living fellowship which the Christians and those who believe correctly have with the body of Christ so that they are transformed into the same nature [and] become flesh of His flesh, bone of His bone. Thus, only the faithful are partakers of the flesh of Christ according to Ephesians 5 [ :26-30].

Therefore, to be partakers and to eat is also to receive or to have Christ present, Whom they indeed do not, properly speaking, eat; for they receive in the Lord Christ that which kills them more than that which makes them living, as we have [already] heard above. To be sure, although the flesh of Christ is Life in its nature and not death,

it does not perish in the unbelievers even as other food. Nevertheless, because it is not able to work life, the flesh of Christ, therefore, judges such men and manifests in them righteousness, as it shows mercy and grace to the believers. This is well to note; for, where this attribute of the Word is not well explained, much misunderstanding is the result. We wish to adduce one other thing to clarify this point.

It is a wonder above all wonders that Satan should have God with him (Who [God] is Life) and forever and ever be dying. Indeed, were or could Satan be anywhere without God, he would be nothing [other] than that which he is (I am speaking of his substance); [for] he is [created] by God. In that he is evil he is that of himself. Nevertheless, God sustains his essence and manifests again also in him His judgment in hell. Moreover, God is neither defiled nor pained [by it]. Thus, is the highest pain and torture to have Life with oneself and not to be a partaker of life--that is, to enjoy [the presence of Life] but to be pained, to die, and to be tortured again and again eternally [by not possessing Life in one's person].

Through this teaching truly no cause is given to the godless for frivolousness, unbridled freedom,<sup>134</sup> and contempt of this holy Sacrament; for they are much more terrified thereby than if one teaches [that] they only receive simply bread and wine. To be sure, if one thinks he still receives nothing [other] than bread and wine, he ventures often to go

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<sup>134</sup>The Latin text adds the word "unbridled" to emphasize the point which Andreae is making. Cf. SDES, p. 94.

forward [to the Lord's table] to please people and thereby to fill their eyes.<sup>135</sup> If, however, he considers [his spiritual condition] and says to himself that he is unbelieving, [he should know that] Christ still remains faithful to His promise; for He cannot deny Himself (The faithful servants of the church should indeed clarify and impress this truth upon their hearers, according to 2 Timothy 2 [:13]). Thus, he (the unbeliever) will soon be able to debate with himself: "If I go in unbelief, unrepentence, and hypocrisy to [the Sacrament], then I would receive that Christ also, Whom the believers receive. However, as they receive Him as a Savior, I, therefore, receive Him as a strict and terrifying Judge." Accordingly, he will reconsider a thousand times and will prepare himself ahead of time in Christian fashion, and, as St. Paul exhorts, [he will] indeed examine himself before he goes to the table of the Lord and will learn ahead of time to distinguish the body of the Lord.<sup>136</sup>

Moreover, one should also be very careful in this and not cause the examination of oneself to be too constricting. Yet, of such threats which refer most seriously to the godless, generally only the pious pay attention to them, although they are not addressed to them. They think immediately, "Oh, you are perhaps one of those who might receive it to judgment." Accordingly, stand still and distinguish that this is for

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<sup>135</sup>The German text and meaning are unclear at this point. The Latin text offers the following interpretation instead of a straight translation: "ut . . . ad hoc modo impietatis infamiam effugiat" ("so that he might escape the infamy of impiety by this means"). Cf. SDES, p. 95.

<sup>136</sup><sub>1</sub> Cor. 11:28-29.

another time [the next world].<sup>137</sup> The longer they delay, however, the more they partake later on without joy. For that reason the servants of the Church should distinguishably teach and inform the people [that] they heartily acknowledge and repent of their sins in angering God. Furthermore, they [should] truly believe in Christ, the Son of God, that He through His obedience has atoned for and paid for all their sins. Finally, they [should] have this firm intention also that they wish to live, not according to the flesh, but according to the spirit. In this way their heart and attitude may be inclined not to sin, but to do rightly. These people should go without fear to the Lord's table and know that Christ [being] present strengthens both their faith and trust. Moreover, they are sustained in this Christian purpose because they beseech Him faithfully.

So now, for the unbelievers and godless every hair should stand on end [in terror]; the heart, body, soul, and every member tremble, as they hide themselves among Christians and go to the Lord's Supper as evil doers before the Lord, the Judge.<sup>138</sup> Thus, over against [the unbeliever] Christians should rejoice from the bottom of their hearts and go to [the Sacrament] with joy. They know that Christ [is] present. He is their Savior, Redeemer, and the One Who makes them blessed. He

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<sup>137</sup>The German text has the word "verzeuchs." This verb is not listed in any of the dictionaries consulted. The translation given is based on the Latin text, which slightly interprets the German at this point. Cf. SDES, p. 96.

<sup>138</sup>The Latin text adds the phrase, "cuius mens ad lenitatem ac mansuetudinem nullo modo revocari possit" ("Whose mind may not be able to be called back to gentleness and clemency"). Cf. SDES, p. 96.



is their Head, and they, His members. He strengthens them, comforts [them] and wishes to give joy. He wishes to be everything in them [which] they need to be fulfilled for the Kingdom of God. He wishes [also] to be food and drink. Such joy is a mystery, which is concealed from the eyes of the world; for it can never imagine what kind of a joy and unification is to be found with Christ, with Whom the believers are dressed. He is their righteousness in which alone they [are able to] stand before the Father. This is an experience common to all believers, who use this Sacrament with true repentance and faith. Furthermore, they will keep watch in the limiting and murderous [situations of] life, in which men are severely tempted, and they will maintain a herculean or more triumphant steadfastness enduring adversities. Indeed, they are able to do everything in Him, Christ, Who strengthens them; and it will not be sour or bitter [for them], although the flesh bends somewhat. It must still be and permit itself to be under the obedience of Christ.

From this everyone can now easily determine why Doctor Luther always emphasized the phrase (in the Sacrament), for it was his opinion that [Christ] is present for the sake of His institution and establishment [of it]. Accordingly, let the guests be whoever they will, the Host is still at hand to give the food and the drink. The opposition, however, because he is not speaking only concerning the presence but the fellowship of the flesh of Christ, which gives life, always would emphasize the word ("in faith"). Such fellowship cannot happen in any other manner than only in faith, concerning which we have shown sufficiently above that Christ is a stern Judge for the godless at this Table, as He is Life to the believers. Nevertheless, He remains the

same in His essence. In similar fashion the institution of the Supper [remains] unchanged.

The difference which was explained above, between the believers and the unbelievers in so far as the reception of the body and blood of Christ is concerned might be noted somewhat by this comparison. Without the soul the body of man is in and of itself dead. The soul, however, is the life of the body so that now the soul can make the body living and [cause it to] move. [Moreover,] there is in the body all kinds of skill, through which various things are accomplished. However, as soon as the body is somewhat wounded, the soul does not withdraw from the members, though [the injured members] can no longer move. Let us take both hands as an example [of a spot] in which the soul of man is. The one hand is struck lame; the other, however, remains unhurt. The soul can move the one hand, for its nerves and joints are unhurt. The other it cannot move, for the nerves and joints are wounded. Thus, the soul is hindered so that it may not exercise nor manifest its power and life in the hand. This is very much similar in form to the way in which Christ [relates] to the believers and unbelievers.<sup>139</sup>

That Christ can make life in one man and cause him to live is the accomplishment of faith, which is the sole instrument and joint in the man through which Christ can demonstrate His working and give [to him]

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<sup>139</sup>The Latin text adds the following phrase: "Nam iis solis est vita Christus, vitamque largitur, qui fidem habent" ("For Christ gives life abundantly only to those who have faith"). Cf. SDES, p. 105.

life for eternal salvation. The righteous shall live by faith--Romans 1 [ :17 ]; Habakkuk 2 [ :4 ]; Galatians 3 [ :11 ]. Since, however, the unbeliever does not have this gift, he is like a maimed, dead hand, in which the soul is [ present ], but it (the hand) is as though it were dead and cut off from the body. Indeed, the condition of the unbelievers is still more atrocious, for they are not only dead, as the hand [ is ], being sensitive to nothing, but their death is such a terrifying, deadly destruction that their one consolation and desire would be to be without God and Christ--that is, not to exist. Their death is a living death, where their worm does not die<sup>140</sup> but begins here [ and ] stings eternally. Nevertheless, this comparison may not serve as well as the one which we introduced above. Consequently, we do not wish to quarrel with anyone about it, for we have only wished to show in some measure the difference between the believer and unbeliever, which was established previously.

To be sure, some say one should stop the godless, impenitent, and insane from the Supper, as was done in the ancient Church by means of the ban. Thus, the whole question of whether they also receive the body of Christ is unnecessary, for they would be shut out from it. In answer I offer this [ response ]: I do not doubt there are no small number of Christian princes and authorities, which think about this without ceasing and work diligently in order that such irregularities may be disposed of and a correct Christian discipline may again be established. This needs no comment. The ax is laid to the tree. If things do not

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<sup>140</sup>Is. 66:24.

improve, (I worry) that God will show His judgment to the terrified. It happened to the Corinthians to whom, without doubt, it did not extend to eternal ruination. There is also no doubt, according to the revealed truth of the holy Gospel, [that] it [the judgment of God] is not the least cause of all the sorrow and necessity which has begun to befall Germany. Moreover, [our] concern knows no end because this holy Sacrament has been treated with such contempt, unrepentance, and unbelief and unfortunately still is so treated in many places.

Accordingly, for the sake of the honor of our Lord Jesus Christ, the blessedness of your souls, and for the sake of the country and the eternal and temporal welfare of the people Christian authorities should be requested and encouraged to do that [treat the Sacrament properly] before the anger of the Lord begins to burn and there is no longer anyone who can extinguish it. For that reason, every Christian believer should pray without ceasing [having] no doubtful hope that God will hear them.

In the event, however, that such a thing happens (and we hope that it will), this question will not have been answered. Let one make it as good as one wishes, and let one drive the godless and unrepentent people from the table of the Lord (which indeed does not only happen in our churches through the servants of the Church, but also through Christian visitation, until God will grant to His churches at some time a perfect correction), still, nevertheless, both unbelievers and hypocrites will be found. These conceal themselves among the true believers and are tolerated in the Church until they at sometime break out and manifest the justice of Christ in them.

## The Third Part

Concerning the correct practice and use of the holy Supper

The third point concerning the correct practice and use of the holy Supper has produced all kinds of divisions. However, if a simple Christian has received the statement previously presented above concerning the Supper of the Lord, he will soon be able to determine how he may have been lacking in this part also.

First of all, the papists have found that, since Christ the Lord remains undivided and inseparable in the holy Supper--as it is true then--they, therefore, hold concerning it that it would be the same if they receive it in one or both forms, as they say. To this, then, one may answer: Although it is true that Christ's body and blood are not separated in the Supper of Christ, nevertheless one should not break the institution of our Lord Christ for He not only calls His body and blood indistinguishable, but He also wishes to give the same to us through distinguishable signs. Through the distinguishable signs of the bread and wine we are distinguishably fed with His body and given to drink of His blood. Yet, He remains Christ, the Lord, [with] neither the divinity inseparable from the humanity nor is the body segretated from the blood of Christ.<sup>141</sup>

Consequently, Christ instituted it in this manner and arranged that we not only eat His body but expressly commanded: "Take and drink

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<sup>141</sup>The German text uses the word "abgesindert," which is not listed in the dictionaries consulted. It appears to be an archaic form of the German verb "absondern."

from it, everyone; this is my blood."<sup>142</sup> Thus, it follows that the Supper is not to be celebrated in any other way than that it is offered in both kinds; for, where only one kind is offered, the institution of Christ is broken, and, accordingly, not the Supper of Christ but the supper of men is held. Such [a supper] has been established against the institution and last will of Christ. The true Christians abstained from this for so long until God drew them into one little people among whom the institution of Christ is held--John 6 [44?]; Matthew 18 [20?].

Furthermore, they are no less fed through the body of Christ and given to drink [spiritually] through His blood wherever they are surrounded by His holy and divine Word, by which the Lord Christ Himself is in them. The Father already has made [His] dwelling [inside of them]. He opens to them the Scripture; [He] ignites their hearts that they burn in the fire of the recognition of God and in uncolored [for example, unfeigned] love over against their neighbors. [He keeps them] no less constant in suffering than when they daily would receive the Supper--John 14; Luke 24.<sup>143</sup>

Moreover, this blessed bread and the blessed cup are offered by some to gain by that means pardon of sins for themselves and other people. [It is] venerated by others, however, as has happened in the mass and still does. Yet, since this [position] has been thoroughly refuted by many scholarly people, we wish to detain the Christian reader

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<sup>142</sup>Matt. 26:27-28.

<sup>143</sup>This is apparently a reference to John 14:27-30 and Luke 24:25-27.

no longer at this point and have drawn his attention to such books. Here I would indicate just one reason so that the offering up and the veneration [of the sacrament is refuted] for Christ says here, "Take and eat; take and drink." He herewith shows that His body is neither offered in the holy Supper nor should [it] be venerated. [Rather, it should be] eaten and His blood [should be] drunk. He only wishes to be worshipped at the right hand as His father. On that point we also shortly wish to present a simple viewpoint for the common, unlearned man, because many of them go to mass and do not know what it is. There are also many remaining who do not even know that an ordinary Christian should be able to indicate from the six chief parts of his catechism fundamental reasons why he considers the mass incorrect and why he is not able to go to it or to remain with it.<sup>144</sup>

Thus, there remains now the third use of the Supper of Christ: when we, according to His institution, eat with bread His body and drink with wine His blood, consider His suffering and death, [and] say praise and thanks to Him for His good deeds manifested in His body and blood. That is the correct use of the holy Supper, as Christ commanded it, the apostles received [it], and the Christians after the ascension of the Lord have held [it] for one thousand years.

Concerning the use of the Supper of Christ, however, not just one thing is believed and held, for many uses are indicated. Assuming they

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<sup>144</sup>The Latin text is much stronger in that it calls for condemnation of the mass and flight from it on the part of Christian people ("ex qua populus Christianus, quare Missa damnanda ac prorsus fugienda sit . . ."). Cf. SDES, p. 104.

all are indeed to be found within the Supper, still they are not the most eminent things which Christians connect with it.

1. Some say the Supper serves this purpose that one thereby recognizes the Christians as by a sign and distinguishes from the Turks, Jews and other unbelievers. This is certainly true, for nothing is more ridiculous to the unbelievers than that [which] we believe and hold in this mystery. However, this is not the most important use [of the sacrament] for the sake of which the Lord Christ instituted and established the Supper.

2. Some say it is a sign by which Christians are not only reminded of fraternal love and unity, but [they also] bind themselves together herewith so that they hold Christian unity with one another and wish from their hearts to show to one another brotherly love and service. This is also true, for we all who eat from that one bread and drink from that one chalice--1 Corinthians 10 [:17]--are one body and drink (sic). However, this also is not the chief use for which the Lord Christ has instituted it.

3. Some say, according to the Word of Christ, it is a memorial of the suffering and death of Jesus Christ, a consideration of all His good deeds, which He showed to us through His holy suffering and dying. This opinion is true and taken out of the Words of Christ: "Do this in remembrance of Me." From this memorial the above mentioned use or fruits flow.

4. However, since a simple memorial of the suffering and dying of Christ may be held apart from the Supper, the fourth use and fruits



are shown to us. This is the kernel of the Sacrament--namely, that in the holy Supper through the reception of the body and blood of Christ our faith [is] strengthened, all promises made to us are realized through Christ, and we are sealed, made firm, and confirmed. By this means we, in faith, gain more and more [as we become] one body with Christ and planted in Him until we finally attain to perfection in Him and lay aside all imperfection, after the total expiration of the old man. Now, since faith is a constant consideration of the suffering and dying of Christ [and] everything which the Father gives, transmits, and appropriates for us with the Son in the holy Supper, we therefore, see how this holy Sacrament serves to the strengthening of our faith. In this [Sacrament] Christ the Lord Himself with His body and blood is offered, extended, and transmitted [to us]--yes, with all His goodness, on which alone faith rests and is founded.

5. In like manner, the Lord Christ also says in John 6,<sup>145</sup> "He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood remains in Me and I in him, and he will live eternally." We see that the believers are not simply reminded through this holy Sacrament of the fellowship which they have with Christ in His body, but through the reception of this Sacrament more and more [they] gain fellowship. This is really to say that the kingdom of God is in us and so is heaven. For this reason the believers will not see death eternally, since the life of the Son of God is theirs and has been given to them and appropriated for them according to John 8

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<sup>145</sup>Andree mixes v. 54 and 56 of John 6 to form his own reading of the text.

and 5.<sup>146</sup> Consequently, where the example has precedence among the apostles and the ancient church, we should hold this mystery often with one another. By this means we also would grow in such a living love that it might truly be said of us, "The believers became one heart and one soul."<sup>147</sup>

6. Some say it was established as a eucharist so that we should thank the Lord Christ for His suffering and dying. That is also true and flows out of this living fellowship of the body and blood of Christ. Indeed, as little as the heart can withdraw from brotherly and passionate love when it receives the fellowship with Christ, so little can it abstain from praising, honoring, and lauding the Lord with a loud voice. Really, there burns a fire in a man who is prepared and ready [and] can use it [in this way].

Thus, Christians have learned to recognize the most eminent use of the Supper so that they, along with others, do not set it aside. [Rather, they] take note of those who do [set aside this primary use of the Sacrament], for among them the primary use of the Sacrament too seldom shines forth. [We have] our fellowship with the body of Christ, if we do not only bring [this use] together [with the others] in faith, and also with bread and wine of the Sacrament, which we receive.

Accordingly, since man never needs more consolation than when he is sick or facing the extremities of death, at which point he is most

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<sup>146</sup>The reference to John 5 is clearly to v. 24-26 and v. 39. The reference to John 8 is indefinite. He may possibly be referring to v. 31 and 32, but we cannot be certain of this.

<sup>147</sup>SDES, p. 107. The Latin text has a marginal reference to Acts 3. The exact reference is Acts 4:32.

greatly tempted, the holy Supper should not be offered to the sick at that time without due regard [for his beliefs concerning it]. The people under the papacy have indeed misused this [Sacrament], and we ought to be concerned [about the fact] that it happens also among many in our circles--for example, when people are overlooked [regarding whether they receive the Sacrament] in the faith or out of the faith [and the assumption is made] that they cannot be lost. Nevertheless, in spite of such misuse, one cannot omit such consolation to the sick believers who desire [it].

Some churches have the custom that, when one of the Christian congregation lies sick and the holy Supper is held on a Sunday, at their request the holy Sacrament is brought and communicated to them from the altar. That is a very fine custom. However, where the situation of the sick person will not permit, at that time it should reasonably be refused him and withheld from him (since it is bound neither to a day nor an hour). He thus receives strengthening from the living Consolation and by its power can nevermore die, as was pointed out above.

From this it is also easy to answer the opinion of those who hold that it is left to Christian freedom [to decide whether] to go to the Supper or to remain away. Whoever wishes to say<sup>148</sup> [on the one hand] that God so seriously commands something: "Take, eat; take, drink, and do it to My remembrance," and afterwards [on the other hand] to men who thereby wish to become blessed [it is] left optional whether they use

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<sup>148</sup>SDES, p. 109. The Latin text changes the sense and emphasizes the error of this claim when it says, "quis enim adeo est impius . . ."

it or not? Secular authorities indeed cannot compel the conscience, but Christians themselves who have [even] a small spark of the Christian faith will be frightened away from such talk.

If someone says it is optional whether Christians celebrate the Supper or not, [for] not much is derived from going to it or remaining away, as long as one is fed internally, well said! How would it be if Christ would also take away the food, which is so lightly and disparagingly considered in this Mystery?<sup>149</sup> Indeed, they [Christians] are driven by their conscience to go often to this Mystery, since Christ has promised His presence with all grace thereby.

For that reason, I do not know how to consider those preachers who, for a long time, not only personally have not received the Supper, but also have not held [it] for many years in their congregation. They do the same with baptism, concerning which they confess and say [that] it is all the same whether children are baptized or remain unbaptized. Such despisers of the institutions of God will not be able to excuse themselves in that day<sup>150</sup>--let them bring forth whatever they will [regarding their beliefs and sanctification]. Believers have remained [constant] also in the breaking of bread and prayer, not only in the doctrine of the apostles.

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<sup>149</sup>SDES, p. 110. The Latin text has in part the following significant difference in thought: "qui mysterium hoc ita cyclopico more contemnunt . . ." ("who disparage this Mystery in the fashion of a cyclops" [e.g., a narrow-minded person of limited vision and understanding]).

<sup>150</sup>Ibid. The Latin text again calls such men "Cyclopes," possibly to emphasize again their limited vision and understanding.

Accordingly, it is certain and undeniable that the longer a man remains from the table of the Lord, the weaker he becomes in faith and the colder he becomes in love over against his neighbor. On the other hand, however, those who go [to the Sacrament] with penitent hearts, true faith, and good intentions experience with the deed and truth that [it] is powerful and active and the body and blood of Christ is truly extended to them. From this they receive in themselves not empty signs nor an empty promise of Christ, but life so powerful and active. However, [in believing] that it does not happen among all and does not work uniformly we do not err. Indeed, Paul says, "Let a man examine himself."<sup>151</sup> [He does not tell] other people to judge another.

Furthermore, it is also asserted by them that St. Paul forbids [the following]: One should not eat openly with sinners<sup>152</sup> and accordingly [one should] not hold the sacrament [with them]. I give this as an answer. It is true that one should drive away the sow and the dog from the pearls according to Matthew 7 [6]. On the other hand, however, it is also true that we look more at other people than at ourselves and often are false judges, against the advice of Paul,<sup>153</sup> 1 Corinthians 11 [31-32]. Consequently, it is impossible to cleanse it [the Church] so thoroughly that we shall not also find those who are not worthy to

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<sup>151</sup> 1 Cor. 11:28.

<sup>152</sup> 1 Cor. 10:21.

<sup>153</sup> SDES, p. 111. The Latin text inserts the Greek word ἄλλοτ φλοεπίσκοπους at this point. The meaning of this word has not yet been determined with certainty. It appears to mean a person who meddles in things that do not concern him, a busybody.

go to this Supper. However, should pious men delay reception of the Sacrament until all men might become pious, they might perhaps have to be robbed of this Mystery all the days of their life. Accordingly, they will stop at their neighbor with a warning, but they examine only themselves and go with faith to it [the Lord's Supper]. Concerning the others they hope continually for improvement until God Himself reaches into this situation and judges and punishes the frivolous and mischievous.

This is my short and simple statement concerning the Lord's Supper, in which I, as briefly as was possible, have explained the Word of our Lord Christ and have presented the correct and true understanding of the same. Along with this statement [I have] explained all kinds of divisions and errors which have been adduced so that, according to my hope, the Christian reader should have learned well from this what he should hold about each one. I hope also that the curiosities of many have been met and satisfied thereby so that a united judgment can be rendered regarding all books read and men [will stop] speaking and teaching into the wind, since this has been the cause of offense and anger for people. I have thought that it would be impossible in so short a report to introduce all kinds of objections or epilogues. Indeed, of those [omitted] many are to be found which only are based on the desire to quarrel and bicker; nothing can be made [taught?] so well that they should not criticize. We wish to let such people go. We are satisfied that through this explanation [we have] served the pious and good-hearted so that they [from] now on do not doubt the truth of this holy Mystery. [They may be sure that they have] the correct understanding, as I hope I have received [it].

The almighty God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ will graciously rescue His Church from this difficult controversy and grant to all of us His Holy Spirit so that we, according to the teaching of Christ and St. Paul, become one in our thoughts. Amen.

## THE PRAYERS

A little prayer when one intends  
to receive the most worthy Sacrament

O almighty, eternal, merciful God. I come to you to receive grace, health, salvation and blessedness, for I know that I shall not receive it from any creature, neither in heaven nor on earth. Therefore, I ask you, through your divine (solemn) declaration (Zugage) that you would graciously accept me, the work of your hands. Grant what you promise and give what you command so that your divine will is always and eternally accomplished in me. Through your dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

After the reception of the Sacrament

I thank you, Almighty, eternal, merciful God, that you have refreshed me through this your saving gift and that you have fed me with your holy body and given me to drink of your precious blood. And, I ask you that you would permit me to thrive on such [food] to a strong faith over against you, and to an ardent love for my neighbor. Amen.

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## CHAPTER V

### A REVIEW OF THE ANDREAE STATEMENT

By February, 1557, it was apparent to all that the Lord's Supper, which had been instituted as a consolation for sinners and a bond for Christian unity and fraternal love, had become the battlefield that was to divide Christians and bring misery and confusion to many. The Church had already heard the voices of separation in such prominent voices as Westphal and Calvin,<sup>1</sup> and Andreae rightly concluded that the struggle would increase rather than decrease.<sup>2</sup>

In order to shed some light on the issues relative to the doctrine of communion Andreae is here seeking to summarize the basis of the current disagreements for the common man, who may not be too well informed. In presenting the issues troubling the Church of his day Andreae also intends to add his evaluation and judgment regarding which belief reflects the truth of Scripture.

The entire Statement is based on the following three fundamental questions:

1. Is the true body and blood of Christ distributed with the elements and how is it a symbol of God's grace?
2. Under the assumption that the Lord's Supper is, in fact, the true body and blood of Christ and is distributed, do unbelievers receive it since they touch it externally?
3. What is the correct use of the Supper of Christ?

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<sup>1</sup>Supra, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup>Supra, p. 25.

In presenting these three questions Andreae considers the theological positions of the Papists, the Anabaptists, and the Zwinglians as they agree or disagree with the Lutherans.

Part One: The Reality of the Presence of Christ  
in the Sacrament

The strongest testimony for the Lutheran theological position on the real presence Andreae finds in the witness of Matthew, Mark, Luke and St. Paul. By a comparison of the words of institution, Andreae is able to demonstrate that, although different words are used, one meaning is given throughout. Thus he would have us recognize the difference between the Papists and the Lutherans. The former insisted on the right use of the sacrament and consecration and condemned all who did not properly recite the words of institution. The Lutheran position concentrates more on the one meaning than on the particular words.<sup>3</sup> In Andreae's estimation, this understanding should eliminate questions of dubious significance such as the following:

1. May a priest omit a word when consecrating the sacrament?
2. Is the sacrament valid, if the priest were thinking of something else during the act of consecration?
3. Are the wafers and wine which remain after distribution a sacrament?<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Andreae compares this to the differing baptismal formulas. Some were baptized in the name of Jesus (Acts 8:16) and others were baptized in the name of the Trinity. He insists that the baptism was the same in either case. Cf. Supra, pp. 54-55.

<sup>4</sup>This question was recently raised in regard to Luther's belief as it differed from Melancthon's position and that of the seventeenth-century Lutheran dogmaticians. Cf. Edward F. Peters, "Luther and the

4. Should the Sacrament be reserved?
5. Should the priest consecrate the wine every time he pours it into the chalice?

In the specific disagreement between the Lutherans and the Papists the debate is really over a supernatural presence, on the one hand, and a crude conception of the presence of Christ on the other. Andreae appeals to the incarnation and asserts that Christ keeps this flesh forever. He considers the view of the Papists to be nothing less than an attempt to manufacture a new body and mocks the mundane conception that the Priest could break the body of Christ in the consecration<sup>5</sup> and the idea that we could scrape up the Lord's blood from the earth.

Andreae then compares the Lutheran position with that of the Anabaptists. As he would place the Papists on the left, so he places the Anabaptists on the extreme right. His chief complaint is that this group bases its theological position on Acts 2:42 ("and they continued in . . . breaking of bread . . ."). They claim that since the body of Christ is not mentioned, we should not believe that anything more is offered to us. Again, Andreae claims that in grasping the simple words they have missed the meaning of the content.

The chief concern of the Statement is the controversy between the Zwinglians and the Lutherans. Andreae calls it the most violent, far-reaching, and confusing of all the disagreements current at that time

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Principle: Outside of the Use There is no Sacrament," Concordia Theological Monthly, XLII, (November 1971), 643-652.

<sup>5</sup>Andreae appeals to John 19-36, which emphatically states, "A bone of Him shall not be broken." Cf. Supra, p. 49.

regarding the Lord's Supper. Many misunderstandings had arisen and the issues were blurred. The major point of contention is not whether Christ's body and blood are present, but in what way they are present and distributed.

In order to offer the Lutheran position and effect a reconciliation Andreae presents his case by dealing with the various understandings of the following concepts:<sup>6</sup>

bodily eating  
spiritual eating  
in the Sacrament  
in faith  
to be a partaker

Different ideas are held about the bodily eating of Christ's body. Andreae considers the position of the early Capernaite heresy<sup>7</sup> and refutes it. He refers to it as a sign of the way something happens and the means through which Christ gives Himself. He does not distinguish this too clearly however.

Spiritual eating is defined in five ways. First of all, it may be done as a memorial, spiritually remembering the presence of Christ among us. Secondly, some were claiming that Christ, as God, no longer has His pre-resurrection body in its natural substance or essence. Consequently, we receive something else in the Sacrament. Thirdly, to some spiritual eating means being fed internally with the Holy Spirit, as He works faith in us. Fourthly, some consider Christ's body to be spiritually

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<sup>6</sup>Some of these concepts receive fuller treatment in other parts of the Statement, but they are introduced in the first part.

<sup>7</sup>This heresy speaks of Christ's presence as a natural one and the eating of the Sacrament as something tantamount to cannibalism.

present when received in faith but crudely present in the Sacrament. The Lutherans espouse a fifth position--namely, the understanding that Christ is divinely and supernaturally present with His essence in the bread and is eaten accordingly.

The presence of Christ is dependent upon His omnipotence and omnipresence. Andreae says that Christ is not extended in every place nor does He travel from place to place. Since He has been seated at the right hand of God, He fills all things and is present everywhere. Andreae insists that before God every place is really one place or no place.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, angels never leave His presence, although they are among men; and the souls of believers immediately enter His presence at death.

Part II: Do all Participants, Regardless of Faith,  
Receive Christ's Body and Blood

The major contention of the Zwinglians is that the unbelievers actually drive Christ from the sacrament by their presence. Andreae cites the following reasons for their belief:

1. The flesh of Christ gives life and makes alive, but unbelievers remain the living dead and derive no life from the Sacrament.
2. To say that the body and blood of Christ could be received by the unbeliever would be to imply either that the Lord's body and blood lose their nature and essence or that they do indeed give life to the believer. Both views, however, are contrary to Scripture.
3. God does not wish to live in the godless.
4. The Sacrament was established only for Christians.

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<sup>8</sup>Supra, p. 87.

Andreae claims that these reasons are inadequate and offers what he considers to be biblical testimony that all communicants receive Christ's body and blood. First of all, Paul insisted that the body and blood of Christ are received by all (1 Cor. 11:29). Secondly, neither faith nor unbelief have any relation to the Supper of Christ. They rather refer to the recipient of the Supper. Thus the institution of Christ stands in spite of man's relation to Christ through faith or unbelief. Thirdly, the body and blood of Christ have the power of judgment, as well as of life. He will work one or the other in the heart of each recipient. Thus, we become flesh of His flesh and bone of His bones.

To indicate how completely we are partakers either of Christ's life or judgment Andreae digresses to show how Satan has God with him but does not partake of life. He is forever dying. In similar fashion the believer partakes and receives life eternal. The unbeliever has the Sacrament when it is distributed and partakes of no life.

### Part III: The Proper Use of the Sacrament

Andreae's concern is to deal with the three ways in which Christians were using the Sacrament in the hope that the differences in the Church might be healed. He begins with a reference to the practice of the Papists in which the Sacrament is offered only in one kind. He feels that this usage would break down the distinction between Christ's flesh and blood and violates the Sacrament as our Lord instituted it.

From this section we cannot be certain whether Andreae is questioning whether the Papists even have the Sacrament or whether they merely abuse it.<sup>9</sup>

A second usage common to the Papists is the practice of presenting the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice and venerating the Elements. Here Andreae merely condemns the practice of venerating the Sacrament. Ten years later in 1567 he called it idolatry and gave this practice as a reason why faithful Christians should not go to mass any longer.<sup>10</sup>

The third usage is that which our Lord commanded and faithful Christians now practiced--namely, eating both kinds during the act of distribution. Among those who faithfully use the Sacrament the following purposes are recognized:

1. The Sacrament helps us to recognize Christians.
2. In the Sacrament Christians are able to bind themselves together in fellowship.
3. The Sacrament serves as a memorial to the suffering and death of Christ.
4. The Sacrament strengthens our faith, conveys all promises, and seals us in God's grace.
5. The Sacrament offers us fellowship with God and eternal life.

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<sup>9</sup>Cf. Luther's comments regarding the abuse of the Sacrament in connection with the private masses of the Papists. He says, "Quia abusus non tollit substantiam, Sed substantia fert abusum." WA XXXVIII, 235 as quoted in Peters, XLII, 647.

<sup>10</sup>Jacob Andreae, Einfeltiger Bericht wie ein jeder Christ Antworten sol auss seinem Catechismo warumb er nit mehr zu der Mess gehe (n.p.:n.p., 1567), p. 9. On p. 17 of this work Andreae insists that if Christ were really offered up to God, Christ would occupy a station beneath God.

6. The Sacrament is a means whereby we can thank God for the death of Christ (a Eucharist).

While all these are part of the purpose of the Lord's Supper, the primary purpose and use of the Sacrament is to bind us into the fellowship of the body of Christ. Consequently, the frequent use of this Supper is vital lest our faith grow dim and we lose our hold on eternal life.



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