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“REAL PRESENCE”
A CONFESSION OF THE LORD’S SUPPER – THE ORIGIN AND
DEVELOPMENT OF THE TERM IN THE 16TH CENTURY

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY
OF CONCORDIA SEMINARY, SAINT LOUIS
DEPARTMENT OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THEOLOGY

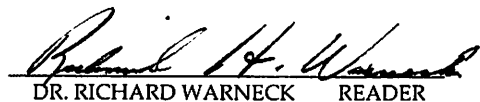
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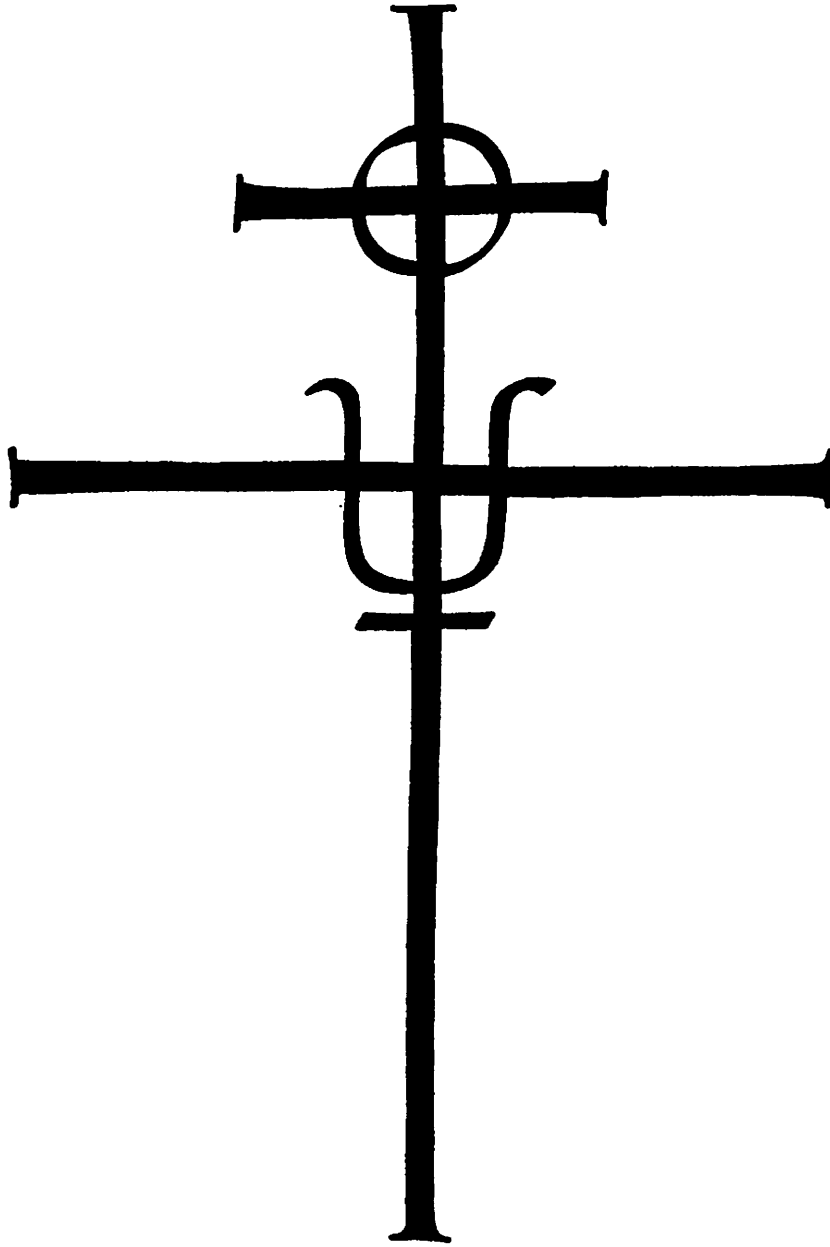

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DR. RICHARD WARNECK READER

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THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST IN THE LORD'S SUPPER



1

¹ Rudolf Koch, *Gegenwart Christi im Abendmahl in Christian Symbols*, drawing, 1996, Arion Press, San Francisco.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Augsburg Confession
AE	American Edition of Luther's Works ²
ANF	Ante-Nicene Fathers ³
AP	Apology to the Augsburg Confession
BSLK	Die Bekenntnisschriften der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Kirche ⁴
CL	Clemen Edition of Luther's Works ⁵
CR	Corpus Reformatorum ⁶
EP	Epitome to the Formula of Concord
FC	Formula of Concord
KW	Kolb/Wengert Edition of the Book of Concord ⁷
LC	Large Catechism
MPG	Migne Patrologia Graeca ⁸
MPL	Migne Patrologia Latina ⁹
NPNF I	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series ¹⁰

² *Luther's Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann, American Edition ed., 56 vols. (Saint Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House and Fortress Press, 1958-86).

³ *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, ed. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, 10 vols. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Henrickson Publishers, Inc., 1995; reprint, Originally Published by the Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885).

⁴ *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1930).

⁵ Otto Clemen, ed., *Luthers Werke*, 5 ed., 8 vols. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1966).

⁶ Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider, Philipp Melancthon, and Jean Calvin, *Corpus Reformatorum*, 86 vols. (Bad Feilnbach, Germany: Schmidt Periodicals GMBH, 1890).

⁷ Robert Kolb and Timothy Wengert, eds., *The Book of Concord* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000).

⁸ *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris: 1876-91).

⁹ *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, ed. J.P. Migne (Paris: 1878-90).

¹⁰ *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, ed. Philip Schaff, 14 vols. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Henrickson Publishers, Inc., 1995; reprint, Originally Published by the Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885).

NPNF II	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series ¹¹
SA	Smalcald Articles
SD	Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord
SC	Small Catechism
Tappert	Tappert Edition of the Book of Concord ¹²
W ²	Walch 2 nd Edition, The Saint Louis Edition of Luther's Works ¹³
WA	Weimar Ausgabe of Luther's Works ¹⁴

¹¹ *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, ed. Philip Schaff and Henry Wace, 14 vols. (Peabody, Massachusetts: Henrickson Publishers, Inc., 1995; reprint, Originally Published by the Christian Literature Publishing Company, 1885).

¹² Theodore G. Tappert, ed., *The Book of Concord* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959).

¹³ Johann Georg Walch, *D. Martin Luthers sämtliche Schriften*, 23 vols. (St. Louis: Lutherischer Concordia-Verlag, 1890).

¹⁴ *D. Martin Luther's Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 58 vols. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlau, 1883).

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Albert B. Collver, III
Saint Louis, MO
The Baptism of Our Lord, Epiphany 2001

S.D.G.

PREFACE

Some pondering of Luther's doctrine of the real presence prompted this study. As the author pondered Luther's doctrine of the real presence, he could not recall any place where Luther actually discussed the real presence, much less a doctrine of it. If Luther did not know of the real presence, surely the Lutheran Confessions speak of it. If not the Confessions, then perhaps Melanchthon or Chemnitz. Indeed, such a well-established term and concept must be found in the church fathers, if not in the apostolic tradition itself. A brief inquiry found scant evidence for real presence in the 16th century and almost no evidence of it before that but an abundance of references to real presence in the latter 19th century. When the real presence was found, no uniform or consistent understanding of what it was could be found. Indeed, there were certain generalities that were held among different authors, but there was also great variance. A moment of curiosity and of enquiry in search of a quick and simple answer led the author on a prolonged and arduous journey in search of the real presence; hence, this work.

Why trouble over words? The absence of a term may not necessarily indicate the absence of a doctrine. Did Ignatius lack a doctrine of the Holy Trinity just because he did not use the term Trinity? Perhaps, he did not have a doctrine, but indeed he did confess the Father, Son, and Spirit as God. Regarding our

concern for the real presence, does the want of the term indicate a want of the doctrine? How this question is answered largely depends upon how the term real presence is used. There was, in fact, no *doctrine* of the real presence until the Council of Trent in 1551. Much of the Western church did not and still does not consider Trent to be binding in this. Thus, one may conclude that Luther did not have a doctrine of the real presence. According to Pusey, the Anglicans indeed do have a doctrine of the real presence, although not in the same sense as Rome.

What is the real presence may also be answered by the concept which entails the term. Does real presence speak of Christ or of his body and his blood? Both? Neither? Is real presence equivalent to transubstantiation or is transubstantiation the means by which the real presence is manifest? Does real presence confess Christ's human nature or just the divine nature? If the human nature, is the human nature seen as his body and his blood or as the church? Once these questions are asked, it is not so easy to provide an answer to what is the real presence.

This study would ask the reader to lay aside momentarily any presuppositions regarding the real presence and ponder the data. The reader may discover that what is intended by real presence varies by tradition and is perhaps not as clear-cut as might have been thought originally. To further complicate matters, the views of the real presence held by various traditions have

influenced each other over the course of time. How the real presence was understood in the past may not have a direct correlation to how it is used today, but the past may show how the term was the product of cross-pollination. Indeed, the term's usage in the late 20th century may also bear this out. As to any ambiguities caused by the plethora of the various real presences, the reader may struggle as did the author. By way of these some clarity may yet emerge.

INTRODUCTION

The Lord's Supper is "founded from the Words by which Christ had instituted it."¹ Any discussion of the Lord's Supper can only arise from the Lord's Words² and remain free from subjection to any addition or subtraction. These words confess that "it is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine, for us Christians to eat and to drink, instituted by Christ himself."³ Such confession held by the church for nearly fifteen hundred years⁴ prompted the preachers at Mansfeld to say, "From time immemorial, almost no article of religious matters has been attacked less than the doctrine of the reverend Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ."⁵ So it went until the

¹ LC V:1 – 2. BSLK 708: 3 – 5. "Und solchs alles aus den Worten gegründet, dadurch es von Christo eingesetzt ist."

² See Matthew 26:26 – 28; Mark 14:22 – 24; Luke 22:19 – 20; and 1 Corinthians 11:24 – 25.

³ SC V. BSLK, 519:41-42 – 520:1-2. "Es ist der wahre Leib und Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, unter dem Brot und Wein uns Christen zu essen und zu trinken von Christo selbs eingesetzt."

⁴ Hermann Sasse, "A Lutheran Contribution to the Present Discussions on the Lord's Supper," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 30, no. 1 (1959): 38. "It was this doctrine of the entire church of almost 1,500 years which Luther at Marburg defended against Zwingli and Oecolampadius."

⁵ *Mansfeld Bekenntnis*, p. 173; cited in Werner Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (München: Beck, 1952), 264. "das schier kein stück (von Religionssachen) von alters her weniger anfechtungen gehabt, als eben die Lere vom hochwürdigen Sacrament des Leibes und Bluts Christi." This fact is also noted by J. Pohle who writes, "The Church's Magna Charta, however, are the words of Institution, 'This is my body – this is my blood', whose literal meaning she has uninterruptedly adhered to from the earliest times." J Pohle, "The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*, ed. Charles G. Herberman (New York: Robert Appleton, 1909), 574.

mid-1520's when for the first time in the doctrine and the life of the church the Lord's body and blood were not confessed.⁶

⁶ The Radbertus-Ratramnus and Berengar incidents are cited by some, usually by those in the Reformed tradition, as proof that the strife over the Lord's Supper in the 16th century was not a novel position. John E. Booty, *John Jewel As Apologist of the Church of England* (London: S.P.C.K., 1963), 165. "Because of the emphasis which Protestants put on Berengar the papists called him the father of Protestant doctrine. Booty cites as evidence Nicholas Sanders, *The supper of our Lord set foorth in six Bookes, according to the truth of the gospell, and the faith of the Catholike Church* (Louvain: 1565), 13. "The truth is, that all the Bishops of Rome, yea all the catholike Bishops of the whole world, learned of Christ, this is the reall body ... until Berengarius began to teache otherwise." It is certainly true that some of the English divines appealed to Berengar and Ratramnus in support of their teaching of the Lord's Supper. Also, some Roman Catholics, such as Nicholas Sanders, regarded Berengar as the source of Protestant error on the Lord's Supper. Both of these positions served a polemical function. For the Protestants, the claim of Ratramnus and Berengar as their "spiritual" fathers provided evidence that their position has some historical merit. For the Roman Catholics, the identification of the Protestants with Berengar, the heretic, marks them as condemned by association. The discussion prompted by the works of Radbertus and Ratramnus took place among theologians. Berengar was a single individual and not representative of the Western church. The 16th century marks the first time when there is a break in the Western church over the Lord's Supper and the first time that the Lord's Supper's liturgy was changed to reflect a symbolic view of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper. The notion that there were multiple traditions in the Western church regarding the Lord's Supper is a relatively recent development. These two traditions are usually named the Augustinian Symbolism and the Ambrosian Realism. To our knowledge C. W. Dugmore was the first to suggest such a dichotomy. C. W. Dugmore, *The Mass and the English Reformers* (London: St. Martin's Press, 1958), 25. "It is our purpose now to show that different views about the Real Presence continued to exist, in spite of official attempts to impose uniformity, throughout the period of the Middle Ages." Dugmore's position has been generally accepted and adopted by others. It should be noted that Dugmore has a vested interest in finding multiple views on the Lord's Supper in the Middle Ages: 1) Such a view allows room in the Anglican church for both a symbolic and realistic presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper; 2) This view allows the Anglican church to place itself within the broader catholic tradition by showing that there is historical support for the views on the Lord's Supper confessed by the Book of Common Prayer. Until the mid-20th century, it was generally accepted that the 16th century marked the beginning of a divergence of teaching on the Lord's Supper. Even if, it is granted that there were alternative confessions of the Lord's Supper in the early church and in the Middle Ages, there is no dispute that the 16th century marked the beginning of the schism in the Western church over the Lord's Supper. Those who find alternative teachings on the Lord's Supper before the 16th century cite this as an example of the church tolerating different views without schism and would offer this as a model for ecumenical relations. Within this work, the 16th century will be referred to as the first time in the doctrine and the life of the church where the Lord's body and blood were not confessed to be eaten and drunk. Luther's estimate will be cited later in this introduction.

As had happened in prior doctrinal controversies, some new vocabulary and terminology developed to describe the controversy. Such was the case at Nicea with the adoption of the term ὁμοούσιος (*homoousios*) in the Creed by the orthodox party.⁷ The Arians could not in good faith confess this term, which they “hated and declared to be unscriptural, Sabellian, and materialistic.”⁸ (Similarly, Luther and the Lutherans also were charged with being unscriptural and materialistic for their confession of the Lord’s Supper.⁹) During the exchange between Radbertus and Ratramnus in the ninth century, Pelikan reports that the term “figure” was no longer an acceptable way to describe the Lord’s Supper so “the language of ‘substance’ now became appropriate.”¹⁰ It was Thomas Aquinas who made the term *substantia* one of the preferred ways to discuss Christ’s body

⁷ J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 3rd ed. (London: Longman, 1972), 215. ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ (of one substance with the Father).

⁸ Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 8 vols., vol. 3 (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, 1996), 628.

⁹ There are many examples too numerous to cite. Luther, however, complains of this treatment in his last writing on the Lord’s Supper *Kurzes Bekenntnis vom heiligen Sackrament* written in September 1544. WA 54 156:18 – 22. This also appears in AE 38, 305. Here he writes, “Erstlich da sie im anfang lehrten, Es were nichts, denn eitel brod und wein im Abendmahl. Darüber sie uns scholten und lesterten Fleischfresser, Blutseuffer, Thiestas, Capernaiten, Unsern Herrn den gebacken Gott, den brötern Gott, den weinern Gott etc., wie die Bücher am tage zeugen ewiglich.” (“First, then, they taught from the beginning, that there was nothing but bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper, moreover, they nick-named and slandered us as carnivores, blood-drinkers, Thyestean, Capernaite, and [nick-named and slandered] our God as the baked-God, the Bread-God, the Wine-God, etc., as [their] books [say] forever.”)

¹⁰ Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)*, 5 vols., vol. 3 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 202.

and blood in the Supper. Although Luther for the most part did not use the language of “substance” in his discussions on the Supper,¹¹ the Lutheran Confessions do speak of “substantial presence”¹² as does Martin Chemnitz.¹³ Shortly after the term “substance” and “transubstantiation” were used in the confession of the Lord’s Supper, the term real presence also appeared. Such development during the Middle Ages (let alone the liturgy) in the language used to speak of the Lord’s Supper sought to protect the confession and remove any doubt about what was given there, namely the body and blood of Christ. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to find a theologian in the Middle Ages who did not confess that Christ’s body and blood are there on the altar to eat and to drink.¹⁴ Luther recognized this fact, when he wrote, “Whereas now for 1500 years

¹¹ Basil Hall, “Hoc est Corpus Meum: The Centrality of the Real Presence for Luther,” in *Luther: Theologian for Catholics and Protestants*, ed. George Yule (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1985), 120. “Further, it would leave the unwary reader with the impression that by 1519 Luther has achieved nothing more significant to say on this sacrament than traditional ideas from Augustine for the notion of the mass as *communio* and Aquinas for the real presence, though ignoring the language of *substantia* supporting that presence.”

¹² AP X.

¹³ Martin Chemnitz, *The Lord’s Supper*, trans. J.A.O. Preus (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1979), 120. “The substantial presence of the body and blood of the Lord in the Supper.” See also page 163. “There are testimonies among the ancients concerning the substantial presence, distribution, and reception of the body and blood of the Lord in the Supper...” It should be noted that the emphasis is on the “substantial presence” of Christ’s body and blood to eat and drink.

¹⁴ Kenneth Plotnik, *Hervaeus Natalis OP and the Controversies over the Real Presence and Transubstantiation*, ed. Michael Schmaus, Werner Dettloff, and Richard Heinzmann, *Veröffentlichungen des Grabmann-Institutes zur Erforschung der mittelalterlichen Theologie und Philosophie*, vol. 10 (Münich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1970), 8. Plotnik, who treats the period

we have had no other Lord's Supper than the one the Lord established and commanded from the beginning, as he said, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' (1 Cor. 11:24)."¹⁵

The start of the sacramentarian¹⁶ controversy in the sixteenth century marked "true theological and doctrinal diversity"¹⁷ in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. There was the Supper as instituted by Christ, where the Lord's body and

after Aquinas' death, writes, "It would be difficult to find a theologian in this period who did not accept the fact of Christ's real presence in the sacrament of the Eucharist. Where theologians differed was in their explanations of the basis and mode of this presence."

¹⁵ Luther, *Brief Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, 1544. W² 20, 1775. WA 54, 152:28-30. "Sintemal wir nu 1500. jar kein ander Abendmal halten, denn das der HErr am ersten hat eingesetzt und befohlen, wie er spricht: ‚Solchs thut zu meinem gedechtnis.‘" Also in AE 38, 300. Luther can say there was no dispute in 1500 years despite his comments on Berengar in his *Large Confession* of 1528. AE 37, 300-301. "Therefore, the fanatics are wrong, as well as the gloss in Canon Law, if they criticize Pope Nicolas for having forced Berengar to confess that the true body of Christ is crushed and ground with the teeth. Would to God that all popes had acted in so Christian a fashion in all other matters as this pope did with Berengar in forcing this confession. For this is undoubtedly the meaning, that he who eats and chews this bread eats and chews that which is the genuine, true body of Christ and not merely, ordinary bread, as Wycliffe teaches. For this bread is truly the body of Christ, just as the dove is the Holy Spirit and the flame is the angel." CL 3, 460:17-27. "Darumb thun die schwermer unrecht / so wol als die glosa ym geistlichen recht / da sie den Papst Nicolaus straffen / das er den Berenger hat gedrunge zu solcher bekendnis / das er spricht / Er zu drucke und zureibe mit seinen zenen / den warhafftigen leib Christi. Wolt Gott alle Pepste hetten so Christlich ynn allen strucken gehandelt / als dieser Papst mit dem Berenger ynn solcher bekendnis gehandelt hat / Denn es ist ia die meinung / das wer dis brod isset und beisset / der isset und beisset das / so der rechte warhafftige leib Christi ist / und nicht schlecht eitel brod / wie Vagleph leret / Denn dis brod ist ia der leib Christi / gleich wie die taube der heilige geist ist / und die flamme der Engel ist."

¹⁶ Pohle, "The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist," 575. Pohle identifies Luther as coining the word "sacramentarian."

¹⁷ Patricia McCormick Zirkel, "The Ninth-Century Eucharistic Controversy: A Context for the Beginnings of Eucharistic Doctrine in the West," *Worship* 68, no. 1 (1994): 23. "Thus, true theological and doctrinal diversity on the theology of Christ's presence in the Eucharist has its actual beginning at the Reformation and not prior to this in the ninth century."

blood are given to eat and to drink; and the Supper as conceived during the sacramentarian controversy, where only bread and wine¹⁸ are given to eat and to drink. As in other controversies concerning the Lord's Supper new terminology was developed such as the term "consubstantiation,"¹⁹ which was a term that the Lutherans declined to use, even though it was frequently imposed upon them by others. Nearly all of these "new" words and phrases²⁰ attempt to describe Christ's body and blood in the Supper. While the coinage of the term real presence²¹ did not occur as a result of the Sacramentarian controversy, its usage

¹⁸ FC, SD VII, 4. BSLK 974: 15 – 20. "Nun haben sie erstlich fürgeben, des Herrn Abendmahl sei nur ein äußerlich Zeichen, dabei man die Christen kenne, und werde darin nichts anders als schlecht Brot und Wein (die des abwesenden Leibs Christi bloße Zeichen sein) gereicht." KW 593. "In the beginning they alleged that the Lord's Supper is only an outward sign through which Christians can be identified and in which nothing other than mere bread and wine (which are the bare signs of the absent body of Christ) are distributed."

¹⁹ Norman E. Nagel, "Consubstantiation," in *Hermann Sasse: A Man For Our Times?*, ed. John R. Stephenson and Thomas M. Winger (Saint Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 1998), 240. "Consubstantiation. There never was such a word until the sixteenth century." William J. Courtenay, "Cranmer as a Nominalist Sed Contra," *Harvard Theological Review* 57, no. 4 (1964): 373. Courtenay calls the term consubstantiation "anachronistic and heavily charged."

²⁰ Words and phrases that developed include: virtualism, receptionism, real presence, and sacramental union. The teaching of virtualism is generally ascribed to John Calvin. The term "receptionism" is not found before 1867; however, this teaching is generally ascribed to the Anglican divines of the 16th and 17th century. See the entry on "receptionism" in F.L. Cross and E.A. Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3 ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1371. To tell the story of each of these words is beyond the scope of this work.

²¹ Consistency in using the term is difficult to achieve. In this study the variations between the terms being capitalized (Real Presence) or not (real presence) are an attempt to reflect how the sources that are quoted use the term. Frequently, when an author places quotations around the term, he is demonstrating awareness that the person he is citing does not actually use the term, but in his opinion expresses the concept of what he judges to be real presence. This variety in orthography is preserved in order to help demonstrate the difficulties

left the obscurity of medieval scholasticism and spread into wider church usage as a technical term and finally into popular parlance during and after the 16th century.

While the use of a term not found in Scripture need not cause alarm, it should at least prompt a pause long enough for the church to ask: how and from where did the term originate? What does the term seek to guard against and what does the term seek to confess? These are primarily historical questions. Once these questions are explored a theological analysis can be attempted. What does the term real presence truly confess concerning the Lord's Supper and what does the term miss? Does the term subordinate the Lord's words to the words and philosophy of men? And finally, considering the current theological climate, is the term real presence able to serve any longer as something more than a

*Hilfsgedanke?*²²

associated in the use of the term. Outside of quotation marks, the term real presence will appear in lower case. Is real presence, "a real presence" or "the real presence" or both? In German, the term appears as die Realpräsenz, that is, with the definite article. In Latin, the term appears as *realis presentia*, which could be translated "a real presence" or "the real presence" depending on the context. English, of course, may employ the definite or the indefinite article, or even no article at all. We have observed all three possibilities. When real presence refers to the Lord's Supper, it most commonly appears as "the real presence." Once again, we will attempt to preserve the original form when citing sources. Our usage of real presence generally will conform to the following: real presence refers to the general concept, a real presence refers to an abstract presence, and the real presence refers to its use in the Lord's Supper, qualified as either the real presence of Christ's body and blood, or, when this is not confessed, the real presence somehow of Christ personally.

²² Werner Elert, *Der Christliche Glaube: Grundlinien der Lutherischen Dogmatik*, ed. Ernst Kinder, 3 ed. (Hamburg: Furche-Verlag, 1956), 382. "Für die Abendmahlslehre ist der Satz von

This work is divided into two parts: Part 1 outlines the historical development of the term real presence, Part 2 provides a systematic analysis of the term. Chapter 1 will survey the literature of the past two centuries on real presence and attempt to show the relevance of this work. It will briefly look at the earliest occurrence that we have found of the term real presence.

Chapter 2 will briefly recount the events of the Sacramentarian controversy, the confession made by the Augsburg Confession in Article X and the *Augustana Graeca*, picking up Chrysostom's expression for confessing Christ's body and blood on the altar. In letters exchanged between Melancthon and delegates from Rome after the presentation of the Augsburg Confession, Rome expressed the desire that the Lutherans adopt the term *realiter* to describe the Lord's Supper. Apology X is the Lutheran response to Rome's suggestion of *realiter*. Special attention will be paid to how Luther and the Augsburg Confession place certainty of Christ's body and blood being *vere adsint* in the Lord's words. Incidental Lutheran usage of the term, including that of the Lutheran dogmaticians of the 17th century will be considered.

der Realpräsenz aber nur ein Hilfsgedanke, der trotz seiner Unbestreitbarkeit ihren tiefsten Gehalt noch gar nicht berührt." ("To speak of the real presence in the service of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper does not rise above the level of a helpful thought. However incontrovertible the term may be, it does not reach anywhere near the heart of the matter.")

Chapter 3 visits the Diet of Regensburg 1541, where after the composition of the *Variata* in 1540, the word pair real presence appears as a suggested term for agreement between the Lutherans and Rome in a draft article for the Regensburg Book. Chapter 4 deals with England during the reign of Henry VIII and the effect the Augsburg Confession's Article X had in the composition of the Wittenberg Articles 1535, the Ten Articles 1536, and the Thirteen Articles of 1538 and therein the term *realiter*. Chapter 5 turns to Trent, Session 13, where we find the term *de reali praesentia* as a heading for Chapter 1, in which, however, the term is put to no use and is simply not there.²³ Later, transubstantiation is confessed as a miracle.

Chapter 6 looks at the term real presence in England during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth and how the term was variously used, especially during the English heresy trials after which the term spread into more popular usage. This will bring us to the middle of the sixteenth century. Thereafter, there is no substantial development of the term until the nineteenth century, where the term is used with renewed interest in England, and it makes its first appearance into Germany as *Realpräsenz*. This ends part 1 of the dissertation.

²³ Council of Trent, 1545-1563, *Concilium Tridentinum*, 13 vols., vol. 7 pt.1 (Friburgi Brisgoviae: Herder, 1951), 200.

Part 2 focuses on a systematic evaluation. Chapter 7 deals with the connection between the Lord's Supper and Christ. Chapter 8 treats the body and the blood confession made by the Lutheran Confessions and contrasts this confession with the mid-20th century scene that sought to speak alternatively of the Lord's body and blood and his person. This chapter provides a touch point for furthering the discussion of the term real presence in the mid to late 20th century context.

While it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to examine the developments of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in depth, some evidence will be presented to demonstrate that the term real presence was of dubious or at least non-Lutheran origin. Finally, the question will be asked whether or not the term can remain a helpful one in the current theological discussion. This work will suggest that it is better to remain on the certain and sure foundation of the Lord's Words when confessing the Lord's Supper, in order to avoid the danger of placing man's words over the Lord's words and anything over Christ. This may emerge ultimately as a task in the proper distinction between Law and Gospel, and finally the confession that the Lord's Supper is the Lord's.

**PART 1: HISTORICAL ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF
THE TERM REAL PRESENCE**

CHAPTER 1 – SUMMARY OF RESEARCH ON “REAL PRESENCE”

The Problem

Everyone affirms the real presence!¹ Luther taught the real presence.² Calvin taught the real presence.³ The Reformed Church teaches the real presence.⁴ The Roman Catholic Church teaches the real presence.⁵ The Anglican

¹ Luis M. Bermejo, *Body Broken & Blood Shed* (Gujarat, India: Gujarat Sahitya Prakash Anand, 1987), 216-217. “There may still be differences between Catholics and other Christians concerning other aspects of the Eucharist, but with regard specifically to the real presence the difference in most cases is simply non-existent. Members of the Lutheran, Reformed, Anglican and Orthodox Churches as well as those of the Church of South India and the Church of North India are all firm believers and staunch defenders of the real presence of Jesus under the signs of bread and wine. Absolutely no difference can be detected on this point between them and us; they are as faithful to the Lord as Catholics claim to be. Not only our Church but all these major Christian Churches as well have faithfully preserved the eucharistic gift entrusted by the departing Jesus to the then undivided Church.” This book received the *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur* and is declared free from doctrinal or moral error by the Roman Catholic Church. Sasse, “A Lutheran Contribution to the Present Discussions on the Lord’s Supper,” 25. “That is the reason why all churches teach a presence or even a real presence of Christ in the Lord’s Supper.”

² Ernst Sommerlath, “Luthers Lehre von der Realpräsenz im Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit seiner Gottesanschauung (nach den Abendmahlsschriften von 1527 und 1528),” in *Das Erbe Martin Luthers und die gegenwärtige theologische Forschung*, ed. Robert Jelke (Leipzig: Dörffling & Franke, 1928), 326. “Luthers Lehre von der Realpräsenz ist auf das engste verbunden mit seiner theozentrischen Gottesanschauung.” (“Luther’s teaching of the real presence could not be more closely bound with his theocentric view of God.”)

³ David Willis, “Calvin’s Use of Substantia,” in *Calvinus Ecclesiae Genevensis Custos*, ed. Wilhelm H. Neuser (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984), 294. “But it is clear that Calvin is not talking about just a ‘spiritual presence.’ He is talking about the Real Presence of the whole Christ (*totus Christus, sed non totum*) who is present in the eucharist by the power of his word and spirit.” David Willis, “A Reformed Doctrine of the Eucharist and Ministry and Its Implications for Roman Catholic Dialogues,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 21, no. 2 (1984): 295. “Calvin maintained a doctrine of the real presence.” Gordon E. Pruett, “A Protestant Doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence,” *Calvin Theological Journal* 10, no. 2 (1975): 142. “A Protestant doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist rests upon two other doctrines crucial to Reformed theology. These are the doctrines of faith and the Holy Spirit.” Pruett goes on to say that Calvin, Bullinger, Bucer, Vermigli, Cranmer, and Jewel all confess the real presence in the Eucharist.

⁴ Max Thurian, “The Real Presence,” in *Christianity Divided*, ed. Daniel J. Callahan, Heiko Augustinus Oberman, and Daniel O’Hanlon (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961), 215. “The

Church teaches the real presence.⁶ Although these church bodies have had different teachings on the Lord's Supper, nevertheless they all hold to the real presence. The term real presence has been associated most closely with the Lord's Supper, but over the past two centuries it was expanded to include other applications.⁷ In 1965, Pope Paul VI stated there were at least seven kinds of real presence with the highest being that of the Eucharist.⁸ Paul VI's statement seems to indicate that there are varying degrees of real presence ranked from lower to

Reformed Church will always maintain its belief in the real presence, leaving the manner of this presence a mystery."

⁵ John Cuthbert Hedley, *The Holy Eucharist*, ed. Bernard Ward and Herbert Thurston, The Westminster Library (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 16. "There is no difficulty in stating the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence."

⁶ H.R. McAdoo and Kenneth Stevenson, *The Mystery of the Eucharist in the Anglican Tradition* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1995; reprint, 1997), 13. McAdoo cites John Bramhall (1594-1663) "A true Real Presence; which no genuine son of the Church of England did ever deny."

⁷ One of the most obvious examples of this is an article where real presence is used to describe how Jesus Christ is portrayed in art and in the motion pictures of the 20th century. Guerric DeBona, "Real Presence: "Jesus Christ" and the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *New Theology Review* 13, no. 2 (2000).

⁸ Pope Paul VI, "Mysterium Fidei," *The Pope Speaks* 10, no. Fall (1965): 318-319. The seven types of real presence are 1) prayer, 2) charity (works of mercy), 3) in the poor, 4) preaching, 5) bishops, 6) Sacrifice of the Mass, 7) the Eucharist. Referring to the Eucharist, Paul VI says, "This presence is called 'real' not to exclude the idea that the others are 'real' too, but rather to indicate presence par excellence, because it is substantial and through it Christ becomes present whole and entire, God and Man." Edward Schillebeeckx, "Transubstantiation, Transfinalization, Transignification," in *Living Bread, Saving Cup: Readings on the Eucharist*, ed. R. Kevin Seasoltz (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1982), 179. "Each of these multiple forms of 'real presence' has its proper mode of reality. The dogma of transubstantiation, then, does not restrict the real presence to the eucharist, but rather evaluates and determines the mode of real presence proper to the eucharist." Bermejo, *Body Broken & Blood Shed*, 203. "The council had spoken of four different forms of Christic presence and the Pope added three more." Bermejo, *Body Broken & Blood Shed*, 207. "In reality all the seven different forms of Christic presence in the Church are real, very real, they are not at all imaginary."

higher, but nonetheless they are all “real.” If all these presences are “real,” how are they to be differentiated? To what or to whom does real presence refer? The various usages of real presence may show that real presence stands for different things depending upon what kind of presence is being discussed, be it the real presence in Baptism, Holy Communion, Preaching, the Church, etc. To further complicate matters does real presence refer to the real presence of Christ himself or primarily to that of his body and blood? Are these alternatives? Christ speaks of his body and blood which he gives to be eaten and drunk. Whatever else may be confessed the *verba Domini* come first, and may not be infringed from alien sources. Is what the Small Catechism confesses helped by bringing in the term real presence, either of the body and blood, or as restricted to a personal presence or to various other presences?

Another problem with the term real presence is its anachronistic use by some writers in the 19th and 20th centuries, and by those who have incorrect notions on the origin of the term.⁹ From these offending writers, example after example could be provided of such anachronistic usage; for example sayings such as “such and such father’s teaching on the real presence.” Better might

⁹ Ronald M. Muetzel, “Celebrate Real Presence,” *Lutheran Leader* 8, no. 1 (1999): 4. “Real presence, though, is more than a dictionary definition for the Sacrament; it is more than a term coined by the reformers to refute false teachers.” Muetzel is a Lutheran pastor of the Wisconsin Synod who suggests the term real presence originated with the Lutheran reformers. In fact, this view is incorrect.

perhaps be to say “so and so’s *concept* of real presence.” Such carelessness, however, still leaves the problem of what is conveyed by real presence. Worse yet is the mistranslation, intentional or not, of “real” for “true” or even the insertion of real presence into a text when the term does not appear in the original. The subsequent chapters may evidence this. Those who anachronistically use real presence in authors who had no such term, especially those of the sixteenth century, need reminding that “their real has a twentieth-century meaning and not that of the sixteenth century; and furthermore, it is being used in an age most conscious of unity and not in the age of polemics.”¹⁰ The anachronistic use of the term real presence serves one of two possible functions (which are not necessarily mutually exclusive): 1) To impose a later concept of real presence on an author who did not use the term, 2) To promote a level of consensus among groups that have historically had different confessions of the Lord’s Supper. This anachronistic use of real presence allows for example, Luther and Calvin to both teach real presence, thereby suggesting that differences between Lutherans and Reformed are less than they have in fact been.

¹⁰ Joseph N. Tylenda, “Calvin and Christ’s Presence In The Supper -- True Or Real,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 27, no. 1 (1974): 74.

Philosophy further complicates the effort to define the term real presence. What is “real”? What is “presence”? Both can be philosophically freighted terms. There is the theory that all “coherent understanding of what language is ... underwritten by the assumption of God’s presence” and that “the experience of aesthetic meaning ... infers the necessary possibility of this ‘real presence’.”¹¹ Is some sort of general presence of God meant by real presence when it is used of the Lord’s Supper? There is also the attempt by some scholars to use Husserl and phenomenology to describe real presence.¹² Can a 19th century philosophy

¹¹ George Steiner, *Real Presences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 3.

¹² Robert Sokolowski, *Eucharistic Presence: A Study in the Theology of Disclosure* (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1994), 9-10. “It is my conviction that Edmund Husserl has accomplished in principle a more adequate understanding of the relationship among things, displays, and ourselves as datives of display, but his achievement still needs to be adapted to various intellectual disciplines and still needs to be made better known. Husserl (1859-1938) was the founder of phenomenology, the philosophical movement that set the tone for Continental European philosophy in the twentieth century.” Pages 198-199 succinctly describe the problem that phenomenology may help overcome in relation to the Lord’s Supper. “A final issue in which phenomenology can be of help in theological discussion can be found in the treatment of the symbolic character of the Eucharist. Many recent writers on the Eucharist observe that an important change in the concept of symbolism occurred in the transition between the Patristic period and the Middle Ages. For the Fathers of the Church and for the ancient world generally, a symbol did not only signify something; it also was thought to participate in that thing and to make it concretely present. The symbolic was not contrasted with the real. This symbolic realism is said to have been especially characteristic of Platonism and Neoplatonism. In the Middle Ages, however, the symbolic is said to have become distinguished from and even separated from the real; if something were taken as symbolic, it was considered to be merely symbolic and not real. The difficulties in the eucharistic theology of Berengarius of Tours, for example, are said to have followed from this separation. From that point on to the present day, we have been left with an unfortunate alternative: either a symbolic or a real presence. ¶ ... For modernity, not only the symbolic but even the perceived needs to be restored; it is not only symbolism that is deprived of any real presence, but perception as well.” See also Notger Slenczka, *Realpräsenz und Ontologie: Untersuchung der ontologischen Grundlagen der Transsignifikationslehre*, ed. Wolfhart Pannenberg and Reinhard Slenczka, *Forschungen zur systematischen und ökumenischen Theologie*, vol. 66 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht,

describe the conception of what is called real presence in the 16th century? Is the philosophy of the day simply replacing the philosophy of a previous time?¹³ Or does the use of philosophy simply further the goal of unity today?

This study would suggest that the ultimate question regarding the term real presence is whether it serves to confess the *verba Domini*. In light of the variety of contemporary usage, this study would suggest that if the term has any hope of remaining helpful it must be used specifically and not generally, that is, the term must be homologically of what the Lord says of his body and blood. Abstractions diminish the usefulness of the term. When the term is encountered, no assumptions may be made but the term must be analyzed in each situation and context to determine how it is being used and what is its freight. To the end of evaluating whether the term is still helpful or to the end of using the term in a helpful manner, this study may prove of some value.

Where previous studies on real presence have simply taken the term for granted, this study endeavors to locate the origins of the term as specifically as possible, thereby helping to prevent anachronistic usage and to dispel

1993). Schillebeeckx, "Transubstantiation, Transfinalization, Transignification," 180. "By taking recourse to modern phenomenology for the first time, Father Möller had subtly reappraised the eucharistic real presence."

¹³ Paul H. Jones, *Christ's Eucharistic Presence: A History Of The Doctrine*, American University Studies: Series VII Theology and Religion, vol. 157 (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1994). Jones argues that the 16th century had the concept of substantial presence while the 20th century has the "Interpersonal-Encounter" model.

misinformed notions about who or what group coined the term and for what purpose. It will also argue that the anachronistic applications of the term real presence to phrases such as *vere adsint* are not conceptual equivalents. Although it is theoretically possible for such conceptual equivalents to develop, the history of the term and the doctrinal usage do not bear this out in practice, with the possible exception of a few instances. This study would propose that it is better to use the language of a given author than to impose on him an anachronistic concept of real presence of which that author is innocent. We would argue that adding the term real presence to an author, who does not use it, only further obscures what the author taught rather than having the intended result of clarification, if only because of the many different concepts of real presence.

This study may also provide some assistance in diagnosing the differing concepts of real presence currently in use. While it is beyond the scope of this study to examine the 19th and 20th centuries in depth, it is hoped that by seeing how the term was used in the 16th century, a critical sensitivity to the contemporary use may develop, in so far as some roots of contemporary use may be found in the 16th century.

A term with a dubious theological pedigree may not automatically disqualify its use, but an awareness of a term's origin may allow one to assess whether or not the theological baggage of the term affects its usefulness and

helpfulness. The recognition of a term's lineage may also be helpful in ecumenical discussions where a term may have a homogenous usage within one group but different implications for another group, resulting in the two groups making assumptions on the basis of their own definition. This recognition may foster a further sensitivity to the way various terms are used by different groups. A brief survey of the some 19th and 20th century usages of the term real presence may help us further delineate some of the difficulties in its usage.

19th Century Literature

Pusey and "Real Objective Presence"

In the 19th century there emerges the frequent use of the term real presence in connection with the Lord's Supper. While the word pair real presence previously had occurred sporadically, in the 19th century the word pair became a technical term more specifically used to describe doctrine. Also in the 19th century the term is used frequently in an anachronistic manner and applied to writers who had no such vocabulary or expression; real presence became a banner word for the recovery of the confession of the body and blood of Christ (or at least of Christ) in the Lord's Supper. This term spread into wide usage first, not in Germany nor in Rome, but in England, whence it spread to the Continent and to America.

On the Fourth Sunday after Easter (May 14th) 1843, Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey preached a sermon at Christ Church in Oxford that began the debate over real presence in England. This debate was not limited to England; it also reached Rome and Germany. Pusey had studied Oriental Languages and Patristics in Göttingen and Berlin with Eichhorn, Tholuck, Schleiermacher, and Neander.¹⁴ While in Germany he attended the Lutheran church where he found the services to be rationalistic and incapable of sustaining faith. He thought if it were not for the singing of the hymns in these rationalistic services, the Lutheran church would be dead.¹⁵ From Schleiermacher Pusey nourished his devotional life.¹⁶ From him he also learned of pietism. Had Spener's pietism not prompted Pusey

¹⁴ Henry Parry Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, ed. J. Johnston and Robert Wilson, 4 vols., vol. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1893), 70-87.

¹⁵ Ibid., 78. "He thought that Christian faith was kept alive in parts of Lutheran Germany mainly by the hymns, which happily corrected the prevalent tendencies of the pulpit." Many of the "Lutheran" preachers were unfamiliar with the Lutheran Confessions and with the writings of Luther. Shestov corroborates Pusey's observation that the Lutherans were often that in name only. He reflects on the mistaken notion that "Lutherans" were familiar with Luther. He is concerned particularly with the common assumption that the German Idealists sprang from Luther. Lev Shestov, *Athens and Jerusalem*, trans. Bernard Martin (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1966), 204-206. "It is usually held that German idealist philosophy sprang entirely from Luther. How this opinion arose is difficult to say. Perhaps the historians of philosophy have allowed themselves to be led astray by a very simple train of reasoning: all the representatives of German idealism – Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel – were Lutherans, ergo German idealism sprang from Luther. But it suffices to recall ... that Luther remained entirely outside German philosophical thought... The only exception to this was Nietzsche... And, indeed, Nietzsche is the first of the German philosophers who turned to Luther and the Bible."

¹⁶ Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 84.

to preach on sin after baptism,¹⁷ he might not then have preached the sermon which sparked the debate on real presence. Later when Pusey reflected on his reason for preaching that sermon, he remarked, "People said I had scared them about post-baptismal sin."¹⁸ In order to comfort those people he had frightened, he wrote, "The Holy Eucharist a Comfort to the Penitent."¹⁹

In this sermon Pusey spoke of the body and blood of Christ as a comfort to the penitent because the Lord forgives the sins of those who approach him in faith. Although Pusey did not mention real presence in the sermon, many were offended by his frank discussion of Christ's body and blood. Some sixteen years later Pusey wrote of this sermon, "It implied rather than stated even the doctrine of the Real Objective Presence, and was written chiefly in the language of the Fathers."²⁰ Because of this sermon, Pusey was brought up on charges of heresy. In order to defend himself, Pusey produced his works on the real presence over the next fifteen years.

Pusey was convinced that his teaching was in accord with the divines of the Church of England, the church fathers, and Holy Scripture. In his defense he

¹⁷ Ibid., vol. 2, 307.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Edward Bouverie Pusey, *The Holy Eucharist, A Comfort to the Penitent: A Sermon Preached Before the University in the Cathedral Church of Christ, in Oxford, on the Fourth Sunday after Easter* (New York and Philadelphia: A. Appleton & Co. ; Geo. S. Appleton, 1843).

²⁰ Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 308.

gathered quotations from these authorities to show that he taught no differently. Ten years after Pusey preached "The Holy Eucharist A Comfort to the Penitent," he preached another sermon on the Lord's Supper titled, "The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist." On Maundy Thursday 1855 two years after preaching this sermon, Pusey finished his first book-length defense of the real presence, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence*.²¹ In this 700-page work Pusey gathers quotations to demonstrate that the real presence was taught from the death of Saint John to the Fourth General Council. This book attempts to show that the real presence is the doctrine of the catholic church. At this time his preferred term to confess the presence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist is the real presence. Two years later on Easter 1857 Pusey published another book on the real presence, *The Real Presence of the body and blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ: The Doctrine of the English Church*.²² In this work Pusey attempts to show that the Anglican Church has always taught the real presence. While Pusey still uses the term "Real Presence" in this work, he also speaks of the "Real Objective Presence."

²¹ Edward Bouverie Pusey, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence, as Contained in the Fathers, from the Death of S. John the Evangelist to the Fourth General Council, Vindicated, in Notes on a Sermon, "The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist," Preached A.D. 1853, before the University of Oxford* (London: W. Smith, 1883).

²² Edward Bouverie Pusey, *The Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ: the Doctrine of the English Church, With a Vindication of the Reception by the Wicked and of the Adoration of Our Lord Jesus Christ Truly Present* (London: Walter Smith (Late Mozley), 1885).

In a sermon given Eastertide 1871, "This Is My Body,"²³ Pusey explains why the word "objective" was inserted. "Finding that the words 'Real Presence' were often understood of what is in fact a 'Real Absence,' we added the word 'Objective.'"²⁴ What Pusey discovered was that many Anglicans were willing to confess the real presence in a way that excluded unbelievers from receiving the body and blood of Christ. Pusey added the word "Objective" to confess that the wicked also receive Christ's body and blood. In fact, since the 16th century, there were two different confessions designated by the use of the term real presence in England. One group confessed real presence as transubstantiation while the other group confessed it in a spiritual sense.²⁵ Pusey attempted to attach another usage to the term real presence. He denied transubstantiation, but he was neither a Calvinist nor a Lutheran (in fact, Pusey considered the Lutheran teaching on the Lord's Supper heretical).²⁶

After Pusey, there are at least three different usages attached to the term real presence in England. These different usages designate transubstantiation,

²³ Edward Bouverie Pusey, *This Is My Body: A Sermon Preached Before The University At S. Mary's On the Fifth Sunday After Easter* (Oxford: James Parker & Co., 1871).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 40.

²⁵ Chapter 6 of the dissertation will explore these different concepts.

²⁶ Pusey, *The Real Presence*, 122. Pusey saw a Christological error in the Lutheran teaching on the Lord's Supper. He writes, "Still it was heretical, and committed the Lutheran body to heresy on the Nature of our Lord."

spiritual presence, and the Real Objective Presence, and these usages are mutually exclusive to each other and do not say the same thing. What is common to all three is the use of the term real presence and the agreement that in some way Christ is present in the Lord's Supper. The term real presence is not able to distinguish between these different usages, yet three different parties all claim use of real presence. Even among the Tractarians, there were differences of opinion as to what real presence meant.²⁷ Each author used the term in a somewhat different way in the many books produced during this time.²⁸

Pusey's works also attracted the attention of Roman Catholic scholars. Rome objected to Pusey's understanding that the real presence did not include transubstantiation.²⁹ Also partially in response to Pusey's works were some on

²⁷ Dissertations have been written on this topic alone. Alf Härdelin, *The Tractarian Understanding of the Eucharist*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia historico-ecclesiastica Upsaliensia, vol. 8 (Uppsala: 1965). For instance Wilberforce, a friend of Pusey, taught a "Real Presence" whereby Christ makes "Himself present." Härdelin, *The Tractarian Understanding*, 161. Keble "expressed his doubts about the notion of an 'objective' presence, and said he preferred to speak of 'a Real Sacramental Presence'." Härdelin, *The Tractarian Understanding*, 166. By this Keble meant, "A Presence for all the purposes of the Sacrament." Härdelin, *The Tractarian Understanding*, 166.

²⁸ To name just a few books: Darwell Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (London; New York: Longmans Green, 1909), Robert Isaac Wilberforce, *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 3d. ed. (London: Mozley, 1854), Robert Isaac Wilberforce, *The Doctrine of the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, In Its Relation to Mankind and to the Church* (London: Mozley & Smith, 1879).

²⁹ Ioannis Bapt. Franzelin, *Tractatus De SS. Eucharistiae Sacramento et Sacrificio* (Rome: 1887), 196. "Indeed, the adversaries, with whom we are now engaged, are not able to attack the testimonies which demonstrate transubstantiation, so that at the same time they not unwillingly attack their efficacy for proving the real presence, as we will see very clearly happened to the Anglican Doctor Pusey. However, this argument is itself excellent, that the doctrine of the real

the real presence published around the time of Vatican I.³⁰ Rome quite likely did not appreciate Pusey's appropriation of a term used at Trent and its use in a way that disagreed with Roman doctrine. Clearly Rome and Pusey have different understandings of the real presence. Pusey's works, however, were noticed not only in Rome but also in Germany by the Lutherans.

Rocholl and *Die Realpräsenz*

In 1875 Rudolf Rocholl's *Die Realpräsenz* was published.³¹ He was prompted to write this book in 1874 while staying at a Jesuit cloister where he studied the previously mentioned work by Franzelin.³² It may be from Franzelin that Rocholl learned of Pusey. No matter how he learned of Pusey, Rocholl

presence is not only contained abstractly in Scripture but also in a manner whereby the presence is effected through transubstantiation. Nevertheless this does not prevent us from being able or obligated to presuppose the truth of the real presence, which we have already demonstrated and which our adversaries admit that they concede on their part." I am indebted to Dr. Quentin Wesselschmidt for his assistance in translating this text. The Latin reads, "Non possunt quidem adversarii quibuscum nunc agimus, impugnare testimonia demonstrantia transubstantiationem, quin vel inviti simul impugnent eorum efficaciam ad demonstrandam realem praesentiam, ut Anglicano Doctori Pusey (1) apertissime accidisse videbimus; hoc autem ipsum argumentum est luculentum, dogma realis praesentiae non solum abstracte contineri in revelatione, sed una cum modo, quo praesentia efficiatur per transubstantiationem; nec tamen hoc impedit, quominus possit ac debeat a nobis praesupponi veritas realis praesentiae, quam iam demonstravimus, et quam adversarii se ultro concedere profitentur."

³⁰ Pierre Batiffol, *L'Eucharistie: La Présence Réelle et La Transsubstantiation*, 16 ed. (Paris: Librairie Victor Le Coffre, 1913). Although the publication date for the sixteenth edition is 1913, the first edition was published closer to Vatican I.

³¹ Rudolf Rocholl, *Die Realpräsenz* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1875).

³² Karl Ulrich Ueberhorst, *Die Theologie Rudolf Rocholls – Eine Untersuchung zum Universalismus der göttlichen Heilsveranstaltung*, ed. Wilhelm Maurer et al., *Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums*, vol. XI (Berlin and Hamburg: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1963), 38. "Im Jesuitenkloster studierte er Franzelin."

writes that the title of his book calls to mind Pusey's *The Real Presence*.³³ We have found no occurrence of the German word *Realpräsenz* before Rocholl.³⁴ *Die Realpräsenz* has behind it the Latin *realis praesentia*, but attested by Rocholl it appears that the word came into German by way of the English usage.

Rocholl outlines three views of real presence corresponding to three different confessions of Christ. He writes that the Reformed understand the real presence according to the divine nature because the Human nature is present only in heaven.³⁵ On the other hand, Rome understands the real presence, like the Reformed, according to the Divine Nature but allows for a miracle (transubstantiation) to establish his human nature in the Eucharist. Rocholl proposes to understand the real presence according to both natures – divine and human. He essentially diagnoses the Christology of the Reformed and of Rome

³³ Rocholl, *Die Realpräsenz*, v. "Der Titel der vorliegenden Arbeit wird an Pusey: „The Real Presence“ erinnern."

³⁴ The earliest derivative of *die Realpräsenz* may be found in A. Vilmar, *Dogmatik*, vol. 2 (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1874), 259. "Es ist hier wie bei allen-Theophanien und Realpräsenzen Gottes im Wort und bei der Mitteilung des heil." Note that in Vilmar, "Realpräsenzen" is plural and is translated "Real Presences." Köberle identifies R. Rocholl as the "Real Presence" man. "Rocholl (Realpräsenz!)" in Adolf Köberle, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung -- Eine biblische, theologiegeschichtliche und systematische Untersuchung* (Leipzig: Verlag von Dörffling & Franke, 1929), 141. English translation in Adolf Köberle, *The Quest for Holiness; a Biblical, Historical and Systematic Investigation*, trans. John Caspar Mattes, "First edition." ed. (New York, London: Harper & brothers, 1936), 111.

³⁵ Rocholl, *Die Realpräsenz*, 282-283. "Demnach ist nur die göttliche Natur des Menschensohns auf Erden, nicht aber die menschliche, welche von der Erde weit entfernt bleibt." ("Consequently, only the divine nature of the Son of Man is on earth, not the human nature which remains far removed from the earth.")

as Nestorian, that is, both the Reformed and Rome suffer from a Nestorianizing tendency to separate the human and divine natures of Christ. Alternatively, one might say that both Rome and the Reformed represent the so-called *extra calvinisticum*. Rocholl considered the fact that Rome confesses the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper to be an inconsistency.³⁶ He describes real presence as the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and in a wider sense, the real presence of Christ in the Church.

Rocholl's *Die Realpräsenz* was routinely cited in the first part of the 20th century. Werner Elert did his doctorate in philosophy (D. Phil.) on Rocholl and was aware of his work *Die Realpräsenz*.³⁷ Also, both Gollwitzer³⁸ and Peters³⁹ cite him, as does Köberle who speaks of a "real presence of the Holy Spirit."⁴⁰ After

³⁶ Ueberhorst, *Die Theologie Rudolf Rocholls -- Eine Untersuchung zum Universalismus der göttlichen Heilsveranstaltung*, 180-181. "Daß die römisch-katholische Kirche die wahrhafte Realpräsenz Christi im Abendmahl festhält, betrachtet Rocholl als eine Inkonsequenz des Systems." ("Rocholl considered the fact that the Roman Catholic Church held the true real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper was an inconsistency in their system.") Note that it is necessary to distinguish between "die Realpräsenz" and "die wahrhafte Realpräsenz."

³⁷ Werner Elert, *Rudolf Rocholls Philosophie der Geschichte*, ed. R. Falckenberg, *Abhandlungen zur Philosophie und ihrer Geschichte*, vol. 12 (Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, 1910).

³⁸ Helmut Gollwitzer, *Coena Domini: Die altlutherische Abendmahlslehre in ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit dem Calvinismus, dargestellt an der lutherischen Frühorthodoxie*, ed. Dietrich Braun, *Theologische Bücherei*, vol. 79 (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1988).

³⁹ Albrecht Peters, *Realpräsenz. Luthers Zeugnis von Christi Gegenwart im Abendmahl*, ed. Wilhelm Maurer, Karl Heinrich Rengstorf, and Ernst Sommerlath, *Arbeiten zur Geschichte und Theologie des Luthertums*, vol. 5 (Berlin: Lutherischen Verlagshaus, 1960).

⁴⁰ Köberle, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung -- Eine biblische, theologiegeschichtliche und systematische Untersuchung*, 128. "Wie aber diese Realpräsenz des Geistes nach evangelischer

Die Realpräsenz, there is the trend to extend the term beyond use in the Lord's Supper. Scaer offers and then withdraws the suggestion that the term real presence can also be applied to Holy Baptism.⁴¹ The extension of real presence beyond the Lord's Supper further complicates its definition. If the real presence of Christ applies to Baptism and the Word, how is the real presence different in the Lord's Supper? If Christ is no less present in Baptism than he is in the Supper, what differentiates his presence in each? The Lord's mandate and institution of Baptism does not promise that his body and blood are there given to eat and to drink. Nor is the body and blood promised to be there in the proclamation of the Word in the same way that the Lord promises to give his body and his blood to eat and to drink in his Supper. Scaer correctly says that such usage is confusing. Yet more than confusing, the application of real presence outside of the Lord's Supper destroys the *proprium* of each gift, leaving only the confession that Christ himself is somehow present. In fact, this is the

Anschauung zu denken ist." Köberle, *The Quest for Holiness; a Biblical, Historical and Systematic Investigation*, 99. "How are we to understand this Real Presence of the Spirit."

⁴¹ David P. Scaer, *Baptism*, ed. John R. Stephenson and John A. Maxfield, 13 vols., Confessional Lutheran Dogmatics, vol. 11 (Saint Louis: The Luther Academy, 1999), 79-80. "Lutherans have traditionally used the phrase Real Presence in connection with their doctrine of the Lord's Supper. It would be confusing to use this phrase in referring to the presence and activity of the Triune God in Baptism; however, Christ with the Father and Spirit is no less present in Baptism than He is in the Supper. All this is intended not only in the phrase 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,' but also in the phrase 'in the name of Jesus.'"

direction much of the discussion on the real presence has gone during the 20th century, among Protestants, Lutherans, and Roman Catholics.

20th Century Literature

Since several works from the 20th century on real presence were previously cited in the Problem section, an individual treatment of those works will not be provided here. However, a few general observations may still be helpful. Many of the books written on real presence by Protestants appeared shortly after the Second World War in Europe. In Germany many of these works attempted to answer the question whether “war-time emergency fellowship [could] be authorized as the norm for a new, official church fellowship?”⁴² In Germany, these works contributed to the production of the Arnoldshain Theses, which was a justification for an already existing practice.⁴³ Shortly after communion fellowship was established and officially recognized between the Lutheran, Reformed and Union church bodies in Germany, American Protestant groups began discussions to lead toward similar fellowship.⁴⁴ These ecumenical

⁴² Eugene M. Skibbe, "Discussion of Intercommunion in German Protestantism," *Lutheran Quarterly* XI (1959): 92.

⁴³ EKD, "Das Abendmahlsgespräch der EKD," *Evangelische Theologie* XVIII (1958). For an English translation of the Arnoldshain Theses see Paul M. Bretscher, "The Arnoldshain Theses on the Lord's Supper," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 30, no. 2 (1959).

⁴⁴ Paul C. Empie and James I. McCord, eds., *Marburg Revisited* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1966).

dialogs contributed to the definition of real presence as that of Christ giving himself.

The works on real presence by Roman Catholic authors generally appeared after Paul VI's *Mysterium Fidei*.⁴⁵ One feature of these writings was the redefinition of real presence using non-Aristotelian categories. This resulted in the recognition that "the real eucharistic presence cannot be isolated from the real presence of Christ in the whole liturgical mystery and in the souls of the faithful."⁴⁶ In other words, Christ is really present not only in the Lord's Supper but also in the liturgy, in the church, and in the hearts of the believers. As a result of this, there was an increased emphasis on the symbolic nature⁴⁷ of the Lord's Supper in Roman circles.

There was also the trend toward employing historically Protestant terms such as "Real Absence" in the service of Roman Catholic eucharistic theology. "The real presence is accompanied by a real absence which summons the people of God into the future promised by the resurrection. The purpose of this real absence is to call the people of God to greater intimacy of presence in the

⁴⁵ Paul VI, "Mysterium Fidei."

⁴⁶ Schillebeeckx, "Transubstantiation, Transfinalization, Transignification," 179.

⁴⁷ Bermejo, *Body Broken & Blood Shed*, 187-188. "Real presence. We are so very used to this expression that we may run the risk of overlooking the dangers involved in it... Jesus' eucharistic presence is real, no doubt – but it is also symbolic."

immediate future and to definitive presence in the ultimate future.”⁴⁸ This work bears both the *Nihil obstat* and the *Imprimatur*. The confession of the real absence along with the real presence seems to indicate that although Christ is really present in the Lord’s Supper, he is less present than he will be at the eschaton. There is also a shift toward an ontological presence as defined by phenomenology.⁴⁹ This shift ultimately leads to a new definition of transubstantiation and the redefinition of real presence as some presence of Christ. Once this redefinition has taken place, it becomes more difficult to differentiate the manifold forms of Christic real presence from his real presence in the Lord’s Supper not to mention his body and blood there to be eaten and drunk. The discussion shifted from substance to the interpersonal relation of Christ to the church and the believer. This interpersonal relation is then the real presence; Christ Himself is present. Sasse’s writing some time after Vatican II

⁴⁸ Donald Gray, “The Real Absence: A Note on the Eucharist,” in *Living Bread, Saving Cup: Readings on the Eucharist*, ed. R. Kevin Seasoltz (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1982), 196.

⁴⁹ Schillebeeckx, “Transubstantiation, Transfinalization, Transignification,” 189. “Eucharistic sacramentality demands precisely that the physical reality does not change, otherwise there would no longer be a eucharistic sign. But in its ontological reality, to the question ‘What is this bread ultimately, what is this wine ultimately?’ one can no longer answer, ‘Bread and wine,’ but instead, ‘The real presence of Christ offered under the sacramental sign of bread and wine.’ Therefore, the *reality* (that is, the *substance*, because that is the meaning of “substance”) which is before me, is no longer bread and wine, but the real presence of Christ offered to me under the sign of food and drink.... [Schillebeeckx now quotes Paul VI] ‘However, the reason they take on the new significance and this new finality is simply because they contain a new ‘reality’ which we may justly term ontological.’”

observed, "With Transubstantiation the Real Presence goes."⁵⁰ These Roman Catholic authors would not admit to abandoning the real presence, but it ought to be recognized that their concept of real presence is different from that of their fathers.

Medieval Background to Real Presence

It may now be helpful to briefly consider the medieval background to the term real presence. The term has not been found in the corpus of Greek and Latin patristic writers.⁵¹ In fact, the word *realis* is of late origin,⁵² and does not occur in England before 1300 AD.⁵³ Martin Bucer, in his 1550 *Confession on the Eucharist*, writes that the words *realiter*, *carnaliter*, and *substantialiter* are "strange words, that is, words not used in the divine Scriptures"⁵⁴ and suggests that "the ambiguity of the words in question serves rather to obscure doctrine, and consequently there can be no justification for their use."⁵⁵ A few years later, John

⁵⁰ Hermann Sasse, "Christmas Letter to Tom Hardt," (1971).

⁵¹ The claim that the term real presence is not of patristic origin is based upon extensive readings in the fathers and a thorough search through computer databases for the term. We were not able to find an equivalent term for real presence in the Greek language. The term is of Latin origin.

⁵² *Realis* has not been found in classical Latin.

⁵³ R.E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List From British and Irish Sources* (London: The British Academy by the Oxford University Press, 1965), 392.

⁵⁴ Martin Bucer, *Common Places of Martin Bucer*, trans. David F. Wright, The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics, vol. 4 (Abingdon, Eng.: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1972), 394.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Jewel, the Bishop of Salisbury, in 1564 pointed out the novelty of this term in *The Controversy with M. Harding*. "Verily M. Harding, by his silence and want herein, secretly confesseth that these words, really, carnally, &c. in this matter of the sacrament, were never used by any ancient writer; for if they were, either he or his fellows would have found them."⁵⁶ In light of Jewel's dislike of the term "really," it is ironic that the term real presence would be applied to him anachronistically, especially considering that Jewel declines the use of the term.⁵⁷ Both Bucer and Jewel, writing in England during the mid-1500's, identify the term real presence as a new term, lacking Scriptural and patristic support. In a book titled *The Real Presence Through The Ages*,⁵⁸ which is a collection of source documents from 215 AD to the 20th century, the term real presence is not found, other than in the editor's prefaces to the various authors, until the 16th century, and then only in the writings of English nationals or of those trained in England. This raises the question from where did the term originate.

⁵⁶ John Jewel, *The Works of John Jewel*, ed. John Ayre, 55 vols., Parker Society, vol. 23 (Cambridge, Eng.: The University Press, 1845), 446.

⁵⁷ Booty, *John Jewel As Apologist of the Church of England*, 167. "In actuality Jewel's doctrine of the real presence is not complex when it is abstracted from the repetitious and intricate controversial literature." The section heading on this page reads, "Jewel's Doctrine of the Real Presence." Chapter 7 of this book is titled, "Jewel and the Real Presence in the Eucharist."

⁵⁸ Michael L. Gadoin-Parker, ed., *The Real Presence Through The Ages*, 1 ed. (Staten Island, New York: Alba House, 1993).

Urban IV and Real Presence

It is commonly asserted and assumed that the term is “of mediaeval origin.”⁵⁹ However, no evidence is given in support of this assertion. The term is, quite simply, taken for granted. It is possible, however, to specify that one of the earliest occurrences (if not the first) of the term real presence is in Pope Urban IV’s Bull *Transiturus* of 1264.⁶⁰ In *Transiturus*, Urban IV institutes the Feast of Corpus Christi and commands its observance throughout the whole Western church. Urban IV also commissioned Thomas Aquinas to prepare the ordo for the Feast of Corpus Christi. It is in the context of a memorial of the institution of the Lord’s Supper that Urban IV uses the term real presence.

This is the memorial most sweet and salvific in which we gratefully recall the memory of our redemption, in which we are drawn from evil, strengthened in good, and secure an increase in virtues and graces, the memorial in which we attain the corporeal Presence of the Savior himself. ¶ Other things whose memory we keep we embrace spiritually and mentally: we do not thereby obtain their real presence. However, in this sacramental commemoration of Christ, Jesus is present with us in his proper substance, although under another form.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Commission on Christian Doctrine, *Doctrine in the Church of England* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1922), 172. “The phrase ‘real presence’ (*realis praesentia*) is of mediaeval origin; and it is in this period that the doctrine of the Real Presence in the narrower sense came to be defined in opposition to other terms.”

⁶⁰ James T. O’Connor, *The Hidden Manna: A Theology of the Eucharist* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1988), 196. “It also contains what may be the first use of the term *Real Presence* in respect to the Eucharist.”

⁶¹ Translation from *Ibid.*, 193. O’Connor provides a translation of the entire Bull. A partial translation of this Bull may be found in Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 344-346. The Latin text is found in Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols., vol. 23 (Paris: Hubert, 1903), 1077. “Hoc est memoriale dulcissimum,

Urban IV uses the term real presence (*realem præsentiam*) to distinguish the memorial of the Sacrament of his body and blood⁶² from other kinds of memorials. These other memorials lack the real presence. Thus, what takes place in the Lord's Supper is more than simply a mental or spiritual event, but is also real. The memorial of the Lord's Supper allows the communicants to receive the real presence of the Savior. After Urban IV introduced the term, it gradually came into more widespread usage.

Clement IV *realiter* and the Local Right Hand

An early instance of the adverb *realiter* used in the context of the Lord's Supper occurred shortly after Urban IV's Bull in 1267 AD by Pope Clement IV.

[It reached our hearing that you ...] said the most holy body of our Lord Jesus Christ is not essentially on the altar, but is just as a great sign under a sign, and you added [to what had been said] by Paris that this is [your] celebrated opinion. But this conversation crawled ... to us and after arriving it offended many of us. It was not easy for us to believe that you said such things, which bordered on outright heresy and detracted from that true sacrament, in which faith is carried profitably by that which goes beyond the senses, takes hold of perception and puts reason under its restraints. ...

memoriale salvificum, in quo gratam redemptionis nostræ recensemur memoriam, in quo a malo retrahimur, & in bono confortamur, & ad virtutum & gratiarum proficimus incrementa, in quo profecto proficimus ipsius corporali præsentia Salvoris. Alia namque, quorum memoriam agimus, spiritu menteque complectimur: sed non propter hoc realem eorum præsentiam obtinemus. In hac vero sacramentali Christi commemoratione Jesus Christus præsens, sub alia quidem forma, in propria vero substantia est nobiscum." O'Connor on page 196 incorrectly lists the source of the Latin text as Mansi, vol. 28, pages 484-489.

⁶² Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 1077. "magnificum sui corporis & sanguinis sacramentum."

Hold firmly what the Church holds in common ..., that is what under the species of bread and wine after the sacred words, according to the liturgy of the Church, have been pronounced by the mouth of the priest, there is truly, really, and essentially the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, although that is locally in heaven.⁶³

This passage highlights several themes we may find repeated. The words “really” and “real” begin to be used in response to controversy over the Lord’s Supper, in this case shortly after the Berengar controversy. The terms “truly, really, and essentially” will be picked up and used by the Council of Trent, and by others in the 16th century. There is an emphasis on the body of Christ being located in heaven. In fact, this document makes Christ’s local presence in heaven a doctrine of the Roman Church. Indeed, some of the later controversy over the Lord’s Supper will center on the fact that his body is located in heaven at the right hand of God.⁶⁴ In this passage, the antithesis of *realiter* is *localiter in caelo*, although *realiter* most commonly is used to defend against *figura*. The passage

⁶³ H. Denzinger and C. Bannwart, *Enchiridion Symbolorum Definitionum et Declarationum De Rebus Fidei et Morum*, 16 & 17 ed. (Friburg: Herder & Co., 1928), 849. Translation is mine. “[*Pervenit ad Nostrum auditum quo tu ...*] dixisti corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi sanctissimum essentialiter in altari non esse, sed tantum sicut signatum sub signo, et hanc celebrem esse opinionem Parisius [= *Parisiis*] adiecisti. Repsit autem hic sermo ... et ad Nos postremo perveniens scandalizavit Nos plurimum, nec facile Nobis existitit credere talia te dixisse, quae haeresim continent manifestam et illius sacramenti derogant veritati, in quo fides eo negotiatur utilius, quo sensum superat, intellectum captivat et suis legibus subiicit rationem. ... Firmiter teneas, quod communiter tenet Ecclesia ..., sub speciebus scilicet panis et vini post sacra verba iuxta ritum Ecclesiae ore sacerdotis prolata, esse vere, realiter et essentialiter corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Iesu Christi, licet localiter sit in caelo.”

⁶⁴ See the section The Right Hand of God in Chapter 7 beginning on page 196.

confesses that Christ's body and blood are "truly, really, and essentially" on the altar although to say "locally" is to say something which can only be seen in heaven. There is then already here a distinction made between being "truly, really, and essentially" there and being there "locally." These are philosophical distinctions. How a person views cosmology affects how one views Christ, or his body and blood, being there on the altar.

John Duns Scotus

After Urban IV, the term *realis praesentia* used by John Duns Scotus, the Subtle Doctor, in his commentary on the *Sentences*. Scotus is one of the most prominent theologians to use the term during the Middle Ages. While the scholastic theologians spoke of true presence, Scotus used real presence instead.⁶⁵ Duns Scotus was born in Scotland⁶⁶ no later than 1266.⁶⁷ He entered the Franciscan Order at an early age studying and teaching at Paris, Oxford, and

⁶⁵ Joseph M. Powers, *Eucharistic Theology* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967), 31. "And medieval theology placed its principal emphasis on the questions of the true (or in Scotus's term, 'real') presence of Christ in the Eucharist and on the transubstantiation [sic] which this true presence demands."

⁶⁶ A.G. Little, "Chronological Notes on the Life of Duns Scotus," *English Historical Review* 47 (1932): 569. "John Duns was born at Maxton near Roxburgh not later than 1265, being the son of Ninian Duns of Littledean: the family had been closely connected with the Franciscans from the earliest foundation of the Order in Scotland."

⁶⁷ Efrem Bettoni, *Duns Scotus: The Basic Principles of His Philosophy*, trans. Bernardine Bonansea (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1961), 2. "The exact date of Scotus' birth is not known. However, all biographers agree in placing it between December 23, 1265, and March 17, 1266."

Cambridge.⁶⁸ He also lectured on Lombard's *Sentences* several times both at Oxford and at Paris.⁶⁹ While scholars are not certain whether he lectured on all the books of the *Sentences* while a Bachelor at Oxford or when precisely he lectured on the individual books⁷⁰, it is thought he was working on the *Opus Oxoniense* by 1300.⁷¹ This date corresponds with Latham's observation that the word *realis* did not occur in England until 1300. By 1302, Duns Scotus was commenting on the *Sentences* in Paris. This commentary is known as the *Reportata*

⁶⁸ Little, "Chronological Notes on the Life of Duns Scotus," 571. "There is no doubt that he spent some years between 1291 and 1300 at Paris. This fact, of which no direct evidence has yet been discovered, rests on safe inferences. Duns Scotus lectured in Paris in 1302. The Paris University Statues ordain 'that no one shall lecture on the sentences at Paris unless he has completed nine years of study in theology... there or in some other *studium solemne* where two years shall be reckoned as one'... It would appear from this that a man might be admitted to lecture on the *Sentences* at Paris if he had studied theology for eighteen years in other recognized schools of theology without studying at Paris at all; and it is not outside the bounds of possibility that Duns might have studied theology at Oxford and Cambridge for eighteen years (1284-1302) before lecturing on the *Sentences* at Paris." Bettoni, *Duns Scotus*, 2-3. "However, no reliable information has come down to us as to the place of his studies between 1281 and 1291 in preparation for the priesthood... The well-known Scotist, Father Ephrem Longpré, seems to have good reasons to believe that, in addition perhaps to his temporary residence at Oxford, Duns Scotus spent a few years at Paris between 1283 and 1290... At any rate, all historians accept as definitely established the fact that Scotus was at Paris between 1294 and 1297. In that city he perfected himself in the study of philosophy and theology."

⁶⁹ Bettoni, *Duns Scotus*, 10. "The Subtle Doctor did not comment on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard only once; he commented on them several times. Thus the first two books were commented upon by him at least four times, the third book three times, and the fourth book twice."

⁷⁰ Little, "Chronological Notes on the Life of Duns Scotus," 579. "He was lecturing on Books I to III of the *Sentences* at Oxford 1300-2. Before he reached Book IV he was called to Paris at the end of 1302 or beginning of 1303. Here he lectured on Book I, and then proceeded at once to Book IV."

⁷¹ David Burr, *Eucharistic Presence and Conversion in Late Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Thought*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 74, Part 3 (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1984), 76.

Parisiensia and was compiled by Scotus' students. The *Opus Oxoniense* is generally considered the better text. Charles Balić describes the *Opus Oxoniense* as "Scotus' final and definitive doctrine."⁷² Due to the difficulties in obtaining a text of Scotus' commentary on the *Sentences*, we are using the Paris edition of 1891-95, which contains both the *Opus Oxoniense* and the *Reportata Parisiensia*.

The first occurrence of the term in Scotus that we have found appears in response to the question, "Whether it is possible for the body of Christ to be really contained under the species of bread and wine?"⁷³ The answer, especially since Lateran IV (1215), for a Catholic can only be yes, but the problem is how this can happen since "the body of Christ immutably remains in heaven."⁷⁴ One possible way of answering the question how Christ's body can be in heaven and on the altar is to resort to figurative speech. Scotus engages the notion that "This is my body" can be understood figuratively.

In expounding that place in the Scriptures Catholic saints, without exception, say that the words of this Scripture concerning the real presence of the body of Christ are not to be taken figuratively. Hence it is clearly a heresy when the view is expressed nowadays

⁷² Cited in *Ibid.*, 77.

⁷³ Duns Scotus, *Sentences* IV, d. 10 qu 1. John Duns Scotus, *Opera Omnia*, 26 vols., vol. 17 (Paris: Ludovicum Vives, 1894), 152. "Quaestio I. Utrum possibile sit corpus Christi sub specie panis et vini realiter contineri?"

⁷⁴ Duns Scotus, *Sentences* IV, d. 10 qu 1. *Ibid.* "quia corpus Christi immutabiliter manet in coelo, secundum illud Augustini *de consec. dist.*"

that the true body of Christ is not really there. This concerns the first [question].⁷⁵

Real presence (*reali praesentia*) stands counter to a figurative presence; real is antithetical to figurative. Thus, Duns Scotus begins his discussion of the Lord's Supper by confessing the presence of the true body of Christ;⁷⁶ thus, anything that he may say in his remaining exposition is not intended to contradict that fact as is done by the unnamed heresies that do contradict that fact.

It may be helpful to note that in some ways, Duns Scotus is reacting to Thomas Aquinas. Burr notes that Scotus would rather discuss Christ's presence and then discuss the nature of conversion; Aquinas prefers to reverse the order.⁷⁷ Thomas begins by discussing conversion and then proceeds to discuss the nature

⁷⁵ Duns Scotus, *Sentences* IV, d. 10 qu 1, 4. *Ibid.*, 154. "Sancti etiam omnes postea Catholici exponentes ista loca Scripturarum, verba hujus Scripturae dicunt esse intelligenda de reali praesentia corporis Christi, non figurative. Unde est simpliciter haeresis hodie sentire, quod non sit ibi realiter verum corpus Christi. Hoc de primo." Although Duns Scotus uses the phrase real presence in other places, this one example may suffice for our purpose of showing one of the earliest occurrences of the term. We may note that 'true' (*verum*) belongs to 'body' (*corpus*). If one uses the adjective *realis* or the adverb *realiter*, these may not be understood figuratively. No such defense is needed for *verum*. See Footnote 19 on page 54.

⁷⁶ David Burr, "Ockham's Relation to Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus in His Formulation of the Doctrine of the Real Presence" (unpublished Doctor of Philosophy, Duke University, 1967), 58. "Duns begins by acknowledging as an article of faith the assertion that the body of Christ is truly present."

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* "Since Dun Scotus' *Opus Oxoniense* is a sentence commentary, its treatment of eucharistic presence follows the usual order for works of this kind, beginning with a discussion of Christ's presence and proceeding to a discussion of the nature of conversion. As will soon become apparent, however, this order is as natural for Duns as the opposite order was natural for Thomas."

of Christ's presence.⁷⁸ The significance of this for Thomas is that if Christ is to be on the altar "he *must* become present through conversion of one substance into another."⁷⁹ For Scotus this is not the case since he does not consider conversion and the presence of Christ's body on the altar directly related.⁸⁰ While Thomas holds that Christ's body is limited in the same way that our bodies are limited, Scotus holds no such view. For example, Thomas argues that a natural body cannot be in more than one place at a time, while Scotus places no such limitation on Christ's body which could be present in several places at once if God decided to make it so by his omnipotent power.

Yet Scotus appeals not only to God's almighty power, but also to reason. He does not disagree with Aquinas because Thomas is not rational, but because he is not rational enough.⁸¹ For Aquinas, transubstantiation explains how Christ can be on the altar; Scotus does not find this argument convincing since

⁷⁸ David Burr, "Scotus and Transubstantiation," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1972): 338. "Thomas chooses to begin with the nature of conversion, then proceed to the nature of Christ's presence."

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 341. "Thus the eucharistic presence cannot be a *per se* result of the conversion."

⁸¹ Burr, "Ockham's Relation to Thomas Aquinas and John Duns Scotus in His Formulation of the Doctrine of the Real Presence", 79. "Scotus is not advocating a new irrationality. In fact, it is possible to judge from what has been said that his theology is more rational than Thomas' own, inasmuch as it is based upon a more penetrating analysis of the extent to which theology can be supported by natural reason. Thomas' argument for the necessity of transubstantiation is rejected, not because it is rational, but because it is not rationally convincing."

transubstantiation is about substances and the problem of presence is one of place.⁸² For Scotus Christ's body is present on the altar *respectus extrinsecus adveniens*.⁸³ Burr, although he speaks of Christ and not of Christ's body and blood, gives us what may be a helpful interpretation of this very subtle phrase, "Christ is present in the eucharist by a simple presence which implies neither limitation to a single place nor presence in a quantitative mode."⁸⁴

Christ's body is present in its relation to the bread. Seeberg considers Scotus' view of this relation to be "only a logical relation."⁸⁵ One wonders whether Seeberg got Scotus right on this point considering that this reading of Scotus is more compatible with Seeberg's understanding that Christ himself is present instead of or in place of his body and his blood.⁸⁶ Burr does not concur

⁸² Richard Cross, *Duns Scotus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 140. "Transubstantiation is a doctrine about *substances*, not about the *places* they occupy; and to explain the presence of a material substance, we need to be able to talk about the place it occupies."

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 144. Cross suggests the translation "extrinsic relational property." Burr declines to translate the phrase. Burr, "Scotus and Transubstantiation," 342 note 18. "Here we encounter a term which defies translation. In essence, it refers to a relation of one thing to another, but a relation of such a sort that it is not directly determined by the nature of the thing in question. As will be seen, Scotus' formulation of eucharistic presence is dependent upon his essentially 'realistic' notion of a *respectus extrinsecus adveniens*."

⁸⁴ Burr, "Scotus and Transubstantiation," 345.

⁸⁵ Reinhold Seeberg, *Die Theologie des Johannes Duns Scotus: Eine dogmengeschichtliche Untersuchung*, ed. N Bonwetsch and Reinhold Seeberg, *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlags-Buchhandlung, 1900), 376-377. "denn die Gegenwart des Leibes ist schliesslich nur eine logische Beziehung."

⁸⁶ For more of Seeberg's view see page 308.

with Seeberg's assessment that Scotus only holds the presence of Christ as a mere relation. He argues that if one takes Scotus seriously, "it becomes apparent that Christ's presence in the eucharist is just as 'real' as his or anyone else's presence in any other place. Christ may be present in the eucharist 'only' by a *respectus extrinsecus adveniens*, but it is also 'only' by such a *respectus* that the statue of liberty is present in New York harbor."⁸⁷

Torrance also understands Scotus' *respectus extrinsecus adveniens* in light of his own theology.

Duns Scotus also developed a more dynamic and relational concept of place through reflecting upon creation and incarnation, i.e. in the light of the fact that all creation is contingent upon the freedom of God's creative Will and is related to the active and creative ideas which God freely and rationally produces along with the created realities themselves, and in the light of the fact that since Christ became incarnate in such a way that He did not leave off His operations in the universe, He can be in heaven and in an infinite number of places at the same time. Thus Duns Scotus approached the question of space not from a point of immobility in the universe or immutability in God but from a center in God's active relation to the world. In line with his conception of existence and individuation expounded under the term *haecceitas*, he laid the emphasis upon the distinctive nature and mode of presence, that is, the individuating *hic esse* of bodies in motion. There is a distinctive *hereness* corresponding to distinctive *identity*. Hence he detached the notion of space from matter and thought of it in terms of location rather than containing place, or position rather than volume. This allowed him in the sacrament of the Mass to hold a view of the real presence as the active relation of the body of Christ to the host, which cut out the need for any theory of

⁸⁷ Burr, "Scotus and Transubstantiation," 346-347.

transubstantiation. It is more along this line that we are to look for the Medieval antecedents to the thought of John Calvin, although he was certainly more deeply affected by Patristic conceptions.⁸⁸

Torrance then sees Scotus as an ally in opposing Aristotle, Thomas, and a pre-Einsteinian cosmology and a forerunner of Calvin who favored Plato over Aristotle and Augustine over the scholastics. That the hereness of Christ's body to the bread is dynamic and relational also better fits Torrance's conceptualizing as well. It would seem that if Scotus were in such agreement with Torrance, he would be reducing his relational view of the presence of Christ's body to something figurative, which he dismisses with his use of the term real presence. Whatever Scotus held regarding the relation of Christ's body to the bread is surely not the same as mid-sixteenth century Reformed theologians who by their own admission deny that Christ's body is on the altar, nor is it the same as Torrance's mid-20th century relational/dynamic presence of Christ. The plasticity of Scotus' position may have more to do with the subtlety of his argument and our inability to understand it than his willingness to confess something different from "the words of this Scripture" or even *quod communiter tenet Ecclesia*.⁸⁹ We shall re-visit both Seeberg and Torrance in a later chapter.

⁸⁸ Thomas F. Torrance, *Space, Time and Incarnation* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 29-30.

⁸⁹ See note 63 on page 34.

While the subtleties of Scotus' thought are not of primary concern for us, there are several points from this discussion that may be helpful and that we may confront as themes. Scotus reinforces how Christ's ascension posed difficulties for the Lord's Supper in Western theology. This theme will reappear several times in the course of this study. Duns Scotus does indeed appear to be the first theologian to employ the term real presence as a non-figurative way of speaking of the presence of the Lord's true body on the altar. It is not entirely clear why he speaks of real presence while other scholastic theologians speak of "true presence," nor is it entirely clear why the term real presence seemingly vanished from use until the 16th century where it occurs as a technical term in the Council of Trent.⁹⁰ The term "real presence" had scarcely any employment until the 16th century. Although William of Ockham in the fourteenth century uses both *realis* and *praesentia*, we have not found him using the two words together to form the term *realis praesentia*.⁹¹ He was after all not a realist. He uses rather the

⁹⁰ For more on the term at Trent see Chapter 5.

⁹¹ Further evidence that Ockham did not use the term is found in Gabriel Buescher, *The Eucharistic Teaching of William Ockham*, Studies in Sacred Theology, vol. 44 (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1950), 8. "In his specialized treatise on the Eucharist, the *De corpore Christi*, Ockham's references to the real presence are stated with even finer precision." This "finer precision" apparently does not include using the term "real presence." Buescher continues, "Ockham employs the terms *vere et realiter* to designate the actuality of Christ's presence on the altar." Buescher, *The Eucharistic Teaching of William Ockham*, 9. Actually Ockham speaks of Christ's body.

phrase *realiter continetur*.⁹² The term does not seem to have had much currency in nominalistic thought. We have found the term employed once by Gabriel Biel in the fifteenth century. He simply notes that the body of Christ is really present in the accidents of the bread.⁹³ This is according to the quoted opinion of the Subtle Doctor.⁹⁴ The section of Scotus that Biel quotes is the same as that given above. Biel is then an important link between Luther and Scotus. How much of Scotus Luther knew is in doubt, but it is certain that he read Biel⁹⁵ and some of Luther's

⁹² William Ockham, *De Sacramento Altaris*, trans. T. Bruce Birch (Burlington, Iowa: Lutheran Literary Board, 1930), 162. "*vere et realiter continetur*." Oberman refers to this quotation of Ockham when he says, "But along with Occam, Biel defines the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist in such a way that the historical body of Christ, the issue of the Virgin Mary, becomes present on the altar." Heiko Augustinus Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology*, 3 ed. (Durham, North Carolina: The Labyrinth Press, 1983), 275-276.

⁹³ Biel, *Canonis Misse*, Lectio XL, I. Gabriel Biel, *Gabrielis Biel Canonis Misse Expositio*, ed. Heiko Augustinus Oberman and William J. Courtenay, Abteilung Für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte, vol. 32 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH, 1965), 106. "*corpus Christi realiter fit presens accidentibus panis*."

⁹⁴ Biel, *Canonis Misse*, Lectio XL, I. Ibid. "*Hec omnia recitata sunt secundum opinionem doctoris subtilis in QUODLIBETA, quest. x, et in iiiii, dist. xi*."

⁹⁵ Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: His Road To Reformation, 1483-1521*, trans. James L. Schaaf, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 71. "But what was most important was the mass. To prepare for it, Luther had to work through the voluminous *Sacri canonis missae expositio* by the Tübingen theologian and Nominalist Gabriel Biel, which had first appeared in 1499. In eighty-nine lessons Biel discussed theological problems, such as indulgences, veneration of the saints, the presence of Christ in the sacrament, or the Lord's Prayer, or equally practical questions pertaining to the ceremony of the mass. As was usual in a scholastic book, he quoted copiously from the Bible, the church fathers, and the scholastics as authorities. Thus the book's reader was also informed about the entire subject under discussion. Biel had accomplished an impressive integration of theological, spiritual, and practical points of view pertaining to the mass. One cannot accuse him of exaggerated scholastic subtleties. Luther considered this the best book on this subject ... But in Biel Luther ran into problems which were otherwise troubling to him. In the mass Christ was bodily present. Here one had to do directly with him and his holiness. As such, this had to do with the saving presence of Christ."

knowledge of Scotus certainly came from Biel. It is quite possible that Luther by way of Biel was aware that the term real presence came from Scotus. Although Luther may have been aware of this fact, he does not discuss it. The term is known to Biel, and so certainly to Luther, yet neither puts it to use.

Finally, Scotus' use of the term real presence may help explain why the term found such wide usage in England in the 16th century and beyond. Several of the English reformers were familiar with Scotus. The sections of Duns Scotus quoted by Thomas Cranmer are the sections where Scotus uses the term real presence.⁹⁶ It seems likely that some of the English reformers learned of the term real presence directly from the writings of Duns Scotus. Even though Scotus was not the first to use the term real presence as a confession of the presence of the Lord's body on the altar, he is the most influential person to do so in the Medieval period and as an alternative within the scholastic world to Thomas. We do not find the term real presence used with any weight until the 16th century, and then ambiguously.

⁹⁶ For more on Cranmer's use of Scotus in his doctrine of the Lord's Supper see footnotes 53 and 54 on page 110.

CHAPTER 2 – THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION AND APOLOGY

Background to the Sacramentarian Controversy

Until the early 1520s there had not been a serious attempt to deny that the Lord's body and blood were given, distributed, and received, that is, eaten and drunk, in the Lord's Supper. Although Honius proposed a figurative interpretation to the Lord's words in 1522,¹ the great controversy over the Lord's Supper did not begin in earnest until 1524.² Carlstadt, Luther's colleague, promoted the Lord's Supper controversy³ when he proposed a new interpretation of the words of institution in 1524.⁴ At the request of the Strasburg city council, Luther and Zwingli replied to Carlstadt's writings.⁵ Zwingli, who had taught transubstantiation until 1523, also now accepted a figurative interpretation of the Lord's Supper, while rejecting Carlstadt's particular

¹ Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 8 vols., vol. 7 (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson Publishers, Inc., 1996), 617.

² Hermann Sasse, *This Is My Body; Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar*, Revised ed. (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1959; reprint, Adelaide: Open Book Publishing, 1977), 109. "The year 1524 marks an epoch in the history of the Sacraments in Western Christendom, for in that year the controversies on Baptism and the Lord's Supper began simultaneously."

³ Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*, 618 Fn 2. "Carlstadt is the real author of the eucharistic controversy, not Luther, as Hospinian and Hottinger assumed."

⁴ In September 1524, Carlstadt wrote, *Von dem widerschriftlichen Mißbrauch des Herrn Brod und Kelch*. W² 20, 92ff.

⁵ Sasse, *This Is My Body*, 109. "At the request of the city council of Strasburg, Luther and Zwingli gave their opinions on Carlstadt's doctrine almost simultaneously, thus inaugurating the great discussion."

interpretation. Luther replied against Carlstadt in December of 1524 with Part one of *Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sacrament*⁶ and Part 2 in January 1525. Thus the Sacramentarian controversy grew.

Excursus on Nominalism's Influence on Luther's Lord's Supper Teaching

Since the term *realis* was first used in connection with the Lord's Supper by the Nominalists,⁷ it may be helpful to look, at least in a cursory way, at how Nominalism may have influenced Luther's confession of the Lord's Supper. Luther research in the 20th century became convinced that Nominalism had great impact on Luther's theological development.⁸ Others disagree. "His ideas cannot be matched by those of Occam or Biel, both of whom he had studied."⁹ It is outside the scope of this work to engage that whole question. One area where the teaching of Nominalism and Luther's teaching on the Lord's Supper appears

⁶ WA 18:62 – 125, 134 – 214; AE 40: 79 – 223.

⁷ "Nominalist" is simply a very general term. To treat the specific teachings of individuals such as Ockham or Biel is beyond the scope of this work.

⁸ Rudolf Damerau, *Die Abendmahlslehre des Nominalismus insbesondere die des Gabriel Biel* (Gießen: Wilhelm Schmitz Verlag, 1963), 11. "Die neueste Lutherforschung ist der Überzeugung, daß positive und negative Momente besonders der nominalistischen Scholastik in Luthers Entwicklung eine erhebliche Rolle gespielt haben." ("The latest Luther research is convinced that positive and negative factors, especially scholastic Nominalism, played a considerable roll in Luther's development.") See also Friedr. Kropatscheck, "Occam und Luther: Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Autoritätsprinzips," in *Die Furcht vor dem Denken*, ed. D. Adolf Schlatter (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1900). Kropatscheck traces out the influence of Ockham on Luther.

⁹ Gottfried G. Krodel, "The Lord's Supper in the Theology of the Young Luther," *Lutheran Quarterly* XIII, no. 1 (1961): 31. Krodel cites Otto Scheel, *Martin Luther: Im Kloster*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1917), 34 ff.

similar is in the understanding of the Words of Institution, which do what they say by the Lord's almighty power.¹⁰

It is true that Luther relies solely upon the *Verba*¹¹ to establish the Lord's Supper. Although he does occasionally use Nominalistic categories when engaged in polemics with the Sacramentarians, he is not bound by any theory of presence to establish the presence of Christ's body and blood upon the altar to eat and drink.¹² He is bound by these words of Scripture only, "This is my

¹⁰ Damerau, *Die Abendmahlslehre des Nominalismus*, 179. "Die Frage ist schon früher in der Ausdeutung der Einsetzungsworte geklärt worden. Die Realpräsenz ist nur durch Gottes allmächtiges Wirken möglich, dem keine Schranken gesetzt sind; erkennbar ist sie nur durch den Glauben. Das göttliche Wirken ist so unumschränkt, daß es jede naturgegebene Ordnung jederzeit durchbrechen kann: Das beweist die Jungfrauengeburt, die Möglichkeit der Coexistenz von zwei Körpern an einem Ort – Christus gelangt durch die verschlossene Tür zu seinen Jüngern, er steht aus dem versiegelten Grab auf, er tritt durch den geschlossenen Mutter-leib in die Welt." ("The question is already earlier clarified in the interpretation of the words of institution. The real presence is only possible through God's almighty working, which has no limits. It is only recognizable through the faith. The divine working is thus unlimited, so that it can break through each natural-given order at anytime. This is proven by the virgin birth, the possibility of the co-existence of two bodies in one place – Christ came to his disciples through the locked door, he arose from the sealed tomb, he came into the world without opening the womb of his mother.")

¹¹ Norman E. Nagel, "The Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar According to Luther," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 39, no. 4 (1968): 237. "Luther is more Thomist than Nominalist in his understanding of the role of the *Verba*. He is more a Realist in the insistence on the identity of Christ at the Right Hand and in the Sacrament, although he is innocent of their Realist basic, absolute universals. His rejection of these is not that of the Nominalists. He has no use for the distinctions of substance, quantity, and quality that are basic for distinguishing the modes of presence, nor for the philosophical definition of these. He throws them to his opponents as nuts on which to crack their rationalizing teeth."

¹² *Ibid.*, 234. "The presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine is also an instance that is not proved by any theoretical necessity but is affirmed on the basis of the contingent words of Christ. This affirmation does not rest on the validity of Occam's categories of definitive or repletive presence." Nagel, "The Presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar According to Luther," 235. "Luther uses the scholastic terms, but they do not hold sway, and their content he finds in Scripture."

body... This is my blood." The Lord who does what He says by his almighty power is no comfort for Luther. His ultimate concern and only comfort is whether Christ's body and blood are for him for the forgiveness of sins. The almighty power of God does what it says irresistibly; this is the Law. Consequently, sinful man's contact with the Holy body and blood of Christ can have fatal and eternal consequences. The body and blood being there on the altar bring no good unless they are "for you" for the forgiveness of sins. It was not on account of the Lord's almighty power that Luther so vigorously defended the Lord's Supper, but rather because the Gospel proclaims that the Lord's body and blood are "for you" for the forgiveness of sins. End of Excursus.

Over the next five years (1524 – 1529), Luther and others wrote several treatises on the Lord's Supper. The term real presence has not been found in any of the treatises written during this period.¹³ According to the Latin index in the Weimar edition of Luther's Works, the term *realis* does not occur with the term *presentia*, nor does *realis* occur in connection with any discussion on the Lord's Supper.¹⁴ Luther wrote the *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*¹⁵ with the

¹³ According to the *American Edition* of Luther's Works, in *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* Luther confesses a real presence of the bread and wine. "Perhaps they will say that the danger of idolatry demands that the bread and wine should not be really present." (AE 36, 31.) The Latin text reads, "Dicent fortassis, periculum Idolatriae cogere, ut non sit panis et vinum vere." (WA 6, 509: 35 – 36) The Latin text not only lacks "really" but also "present," simply using *vere* with *sit*.

¹⁴ WA 67. Almost all of the instances of *realis* in Luther's writings occur before 1520.

intention that it would be his last writing on the Lord's Supper.¹⁶ This document, in part, provided the framework for the Augsburg Confession and its confession of the Lord's Supper. The next two chapters will focus primarily on the public confessional writings of the Lutheran church, the Roman church, and the English church.

The 1530 Augsburg Confession

The Augsburg Confession was presented to Emperor Charles V on 25 June 1530, as the evangelical confession in German lands and the places of the Empire represented at Augsburg. Within a few years, the Augsburg Confession had been distributed throughout Europe. Where the Lutheran Reformation did not prevail, other confessions began to differentiate themselves from the Augsburg Confession. North and east there was wide acceptance. Elsewhere among Protestants other confessions were written which show varying degrees of its influence. Some of these confessions were either a near copy of the Augsburg Confession or were based heavily upon it.¹⁷ For instance, the confessional

¹⁵ *Von Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis*, WA 26, 261 – 509; AE 37, 161 - 372.

¹⁶ Other than sermons and letters, Luther did not write another treatise on the Lord's Supper for sixteen years.

¹⁷ Bernard M.G. Reardon, "The Thirty-Nine Articles and the Augsburg Confession," *Lutheran Quarterly* 3, no. Spring (1989): 101. "Two Lutheran confessions have therefore left their mark on the historic Anglican formulary, but in the case of the Augsburg Confession this influence, as has already been said, was indirect only." The Regensburg Book had more direct influence on the Thirty-Nine Articles than the Augsburg Confession; however, the Augsburg

writings that were composed in England during the mid-1530s were very similar to the Augustana, yet by the 1540s they began to diverge from the Augustana and most notably in the article on the Lord's Supper. Before examining these English articles, a brief look at Augustana X and the Apology may be helpful.

Although Article X is very short, it prompted a great deal of writing in order to explain or to refute it. The article is written in both German and Latin and neither is a simple translation of the other. For this reason both the Latin and German are presented below with a translation.

Augsburg Confession, Article X ¹⁸	
<p><X. Vom heiligen Abendmahl.></p> <p>Von dem Abendmahl des herren wird also gelehrt, daß wahrer Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftiglich unter der Gestalt des Brots und Weins im Abendmahl gegenwärtig sei und da ausgeteilt und genommen werde. Derhalben wird auch die Gegenlehr verworfen.</p>	<p><X. De coena domini.></p> <p>De coena Domini docent, quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in coena Domini; et improbant secus docents.</p>
<p><X. Concerning the Holy Supper></p> <p>Of the supper of the Lord, they consequently teach, that the true body and blood of Christ is indeed there under the form of bread and</p>	<p><X. Concerning the Supper of the Lord></p> <p>Concerning the supper of the Lord they teach, that the body and blood of Christ are truly there and distributed for eating in the supper of the Lord; and they disapprove</p>

Confession greatly influenced earlier English confessions, such as the Thirteen Articles, that went into the Thirty-Nine Articles.

¹⁸ BSLK, 64.

<p>there under the form of bread and wine in the supper and there is distributed and received. On this account also the contrary doctrine is rejected.</p>	<p>those teaching otherwise.</p>
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Realpräsenz is absent in the German text as *realis praesentia* is from the Latin. The German reads *wahrhaftiglich gegenwärtig sei* and the Latin reads *vere adsint*. The addition of “true” in the German text to the “body and blood of Christ” intends to exclude any possibility of a “spiritual” interpretation.¹⁹ What is confessed in Article X may have prompted some outside the Lutheran tradition to apply to this confession the term real presence. Neither Luther nor the Confessions make use of real presence, nor is the term an accurate translation of the German and Latin text of the Augsburg Confession.²⁰ Both of the terms used in Augustana X confess that Christ’s body and blood are actually given, distributed, and received in a way that excludes any attempt to diminish or qualify this fact.

¹⁹ Leif Grane, *The Augsburg Confession: A Commentary*, trans. John H. Rasmussen (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1987), 114. “The German text attaches the word ‘true’ (*wahr*) directly to ‘the body and blood of Christ,’ precluding any possibility of understanding Christ’s presence as a ‘spiritual’ presence.”

²⁰ For how the Augsburg Confession and Apology were translated into English in the 16th and 19th centuries, see page 100.

Augustana Graeca

In addition to the *Variata*, Melanchthon, according to Brenz,²¹ produced a Greek version of the Augsburg Confession to send to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Melanchthon certainly had the fluency in Greek to write such an *Augustana Graeca*. He is known to have composed letters in Greek without the need of a rough draft. Brenz also points out that the *Augustana Graeca* is not a simple translation of either the *Variata* or of the 1530 edition. It is a completely new version written specifically to open a dialog with Constantinople; only Melanchthon could write a new version rather than produce a simple translation.

Other contemporaries of Melanchthon, such as Martin Crusius, also record that Melanchthon composed a Greek version of *Augustana* and sent it to the Patriarch of Constantinople with a letter.²² Melchior Adam in his *Vitae eruditorum* reported, "Philip attached to that letter [to Patriarch Joseph of Constantinople], a Greek copy of the Augsburg Confession, which was translated under the name of Dolscius, but it was composed by Philip."²³ Paul

²¹ Wayne James Jorgenson, "The Augustana Graeca and the Correspondence between the Tübingen Lutherans and Patriarch Jeremias: Scripture and Tradition in Theological Methodology" (unpublished Doctor of Philosophy, Boston University, 1979), 36. The document designates Dolscius as the author of the *Augustana Graeca*.

²² *Ibid.*, 38.

²³ Evangelical Church in Germany, ed., *Wort und Mysterium*, 2 vols., Dokumente der Orthodoxen Kirchen zur Ökumenischen Frage, vol. 2 (Witten: Luther-Verlag, 1958), 41. "Zu jenem Brief fügte Philippus ein griechisches Exemplar der Augsburger Konfession hinzu, das unter dem Namen des Dolscius herausgegeben, aber von Philippus verfaßt worden war."

Dolscius apparently was born in Prussia.²⁴ Therefore, we are confronted by the testimony of Melanchthon's contemporaries that he was the author of the *Augustana Graeca* and with the fact that the manuscript of the *Augustana Graeca* bears the name of Dolscius. Perhaps Dolscius assisted Melanchthon in the translation of the text; perhaps he did not. It is thought by some that the *Augustana Graeca* bears the name Dolscius to conceal Melanchthon's involvement to avoid the problems he was facing as a result of the *Variata*. There is not enough evidence to determine with certainty Dolscius' role in the translation of the *Augustana Graeca*. Many scholars still consider Melanchthon the author.

Fraenkel thinks the *Augustana Graeca* is "a striking re-formulation of the ordinary *Variata*,"²⁵ yet in many ways (especially in Article X) the Greek version

²⁴ Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses Vollständiges Universal-Lexikon*, vol. 7 (Halle and Leipzig: Johann Heinrich Zedler, 1734; reprint, Graz, Austria: Akademische Druck U. Verlagsanstalt, 1961), 1188. "Dolscius, (*Paullus*) aus Blauen gebürtig, hat die Augspurgische Confession ins Griechische übersetzt, welche darauf zu Basel 1559 und Wittenberg 1587 in 8 gedruckt worden, zu Leipzig aber an. 1730 in 8 nebst der Deutschen und Lateinischen durch Christian Reineccium wieder ausgeleget worden. Diese Version hatte die Ehre, daß sie an den damahligen Griechischen Patriarchen, Joasaphum nach Constantinopel geschickt worde. *Reineccius de Augstana Confess, Graec. Paulli Dolscin.*" ("Dolscius, *Paullus*, born in Prussia, translated the Augsburg Confession into Greek, which later was printed in octavo form at Basel in 1559 and Wittenberg in 1587, but was published again by Christian Reineccius at Leipzig in 1730 in octavo form with the German and Latin. This version has the honor that it was sent to the then Greek Patriarch, Joseph of Constantinople. Reineccius, the Greek Augsburg Confession by Paul Dolscius.")

²⁵ Peter Fraenkel, *Testimonia Patrum; the Function of the Patristic Argument in the Theology of Philip Melanchthon*, *Travaux d'humanisme et renaissance* 46 (Genève: E. Droz, 1961), 333.

is much closer to the 1530 edition than to the *Variata*.²⁶ The language of the Greek is ecclesiastical, primarily using vocabulary from the New Testament and the church fathers.²⁷ The *Augustana Graeca*, precisely because it uses the language of the church fathers, is of importance in the search for the term real presence.

Article X reads as follows in Greek:

1559 <i>Augustana Graeca</i>	
Τὸ δίκαιον.	The Tenth.
<p>Περὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ δείπνου διδάσκουσι, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα ἐστὶν αἷμα Ἰησοῦ ὄντως παρῆσι, καὶ διανέμεται τοῖς τε φαγοῦσι καὶ πίοσι ἐν τῷδε τῷ δείπνῳ· Ἐγκαλοῦντες πάντι τοῖς ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦσι.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">28</p>	<p>Concerning the Lord's Supper they teach, that the body and the blood of Christ are actually there, and distributed to those who eat and drink in this supper. Charges are brought against all those who teach otherwise.</p>

²⁶ Unlike the *Variata*, Article X of the *Augustana Graeca* contains a condemnation against those who teach otherwise. In addition unlike the *Variata*, the *Augustana Graeca* makes no reference to bread and wine, speaking only of the body and the blood. The return of the condemnation and the emphasis on the body and the blood of Christ in the *Augustana Graeca* show that it is kin to the 1530 *Augustana* rather than the 1540 *Variata*. Kretschmar notes that the *Variata* is not able to "take into consideration the special problem of the 1559 Greek version of the *Augsburg Confession*." Georg Kretschmar, "The Diet of Regensburg and the 1541 *Variata* of the *Augsburg Confession*," in *Piety, Politics, And Ethics: Reformation Studies in Honor of George Wolfgang Forell*, ed. Charles G. Nauert (Kirksville, Missouri: The Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, Inc., 1984), 86.

²⁷ Jorgenson, "The *Augustana Graeca* and the Correspondence between the Tübingen Lutherans and Patriarch Jeremias: Scripture and Tradition in Theological Methodology", 40.

²⁸ Jeremias, *Acta et scripta theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae quae utriq ab anno M.D.LXXVI. usque ad annum MDLXXXI: de Augustana Confessione inter se miserunt Graece & Latinè ab iisdem, theologis edita* (Witebergae: In Officina Haredum Johannis Cratonis, 1584), 12. τὸ δίκαιον. Περὶ τοῦ κυριακοῦ δείπνου διδάσκουσιν, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄντως παρῆσι, καὶ διανέμεται τοῖς τε φαγοῦσι καὶ πίοσι ἐν τῷδε τῷ δείπνῳ· Ἐγκαλοῦντες πάντι τοῖς ἑτεροδιδασκαλοῦσι.

The critical phrase in the *Augustana Graeca* is ὄντως πάρεσι, which corresponds to *vere adsint* in the Latin and *wahrhaftiglich gegenwärtig sei* in German. The phrase ὄντως πάρεσι could be translated, using lexical definitions, as “really present,” which sounds similar to the technical term real presence. Liddell and Scott note that ὄντως is the “adv. part. of εἶμι (sum)” and implies “*real* existence.”²⁹ Here “real” is used as in ordinary English, “not to be doubted,” and so, innocent of philosophical freight, it serves to defend the ἔστιν fact against any incursion. ὄντως lives from εἶναι, as *sint* from *esse*. The word πάρεμι is defined as “to be by or present.”³⁰ The suspicion of a connection between the Greek phrase ὄντως πάρεμι and the technical term real presence, is banished by the Latin translation of the Greek which simply reads, “*vere adsint*,”³¹ which is the same phrase used in the 1530 *Augustana*. It should also be noted that Melanchthon was not bound to simple lexicon definitions of words. He did not formulate the *Augustana Graeca* as a simple translation of the Augsburg Confession, but as a new composition. As Fraenkel notes, “Melanchthon is not so much hesitant in his own formulations as positively against any formulations that overstep the limits

²⁹ Henry George Liddell and others, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 1234. Emphasis in the original.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 1333.

³¹ Ieremias, *Acta et scripta theologorum Wirtembergensium et Patriarchae Constantinopolitani D. Hieremiae quae utriq ab anno M.D.LXXVI. usque ad annum MDLXXXI: de Augustana Confessione inter se miserunt Graece & Latinè ab ijsdem, theologis edita*, 12.

laid down by the Church of antiquity and that risk for this very reason to be our own, new, false doctrines.”³² Taking note of Melanchthon’s reluctance to use words and phrases not found in the ancient fathers, we may seek the phrase ὄντως πάρειμι in the fathers.

Real Presence in Chrysostom?

In a sermon titled “Vidi Dominum,” Chrysostom uses the phrase πάρειμι ὄντως in reference to the King’s body and blood being there on the table of the altar.³³ This sermon is possibly the origin of Melanchthon’s formulation for the *Augustana Graeca*. Naegle translates Chrysostom’s πάρειμι ὄντως as *in Wahrheit gegenwärtig ist*,³⁴ which is a fair translation. However, he equates this phrase with *die wirkliche Präsenz*³⁵ and *die reale Präsenz*.³⁶ Though in the late 19th and early 20th centuries we may find the phrase πάρειμι ὄντως translated as real presence; this was not previously so. In a Latin translation of this sermon πάρειμι ὄντως is

³² Peter Fraenkel, “Ten Questions Concerning Melanchthon, the Fathers and the Eucharist,” in *Luther and Melanchthon*, ed. Vilmos Vajta (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961), 153.

³³ MPG LVI, 140. Homily 6, In Illud: Vidi Dominum. “Ὅταν οὖν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ προσιέναι μέλλῃς, νόμιζε ἐκεῖ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἀπάντων παρῆναι· καὶ γὰρ πάρειμι ὄντως, τὴν ἐκάστου καταμανθάνων γνώμην, καὶ ὄρᾳ τίς μὲν μετὰ προσηκούσης ἀγιωσύνης, τίς δὲ μετὰ πονηροῦ προσέρχεται συνειδότος, μετὰ λογισμῶν ἀκαθάρτων καὶ ῥυπαρῶν, μετὰ πράξεων μιαρῶν.

³⁴ August Naegle, *Die Eucharistielehre des heiligen Johannes Chrysostomus, Des Doctor Eucharistiae*, ed. Albert Ehrhard and Eugen Müller, *Strassburger Theologische Studien* (Strassburg: B. Herder, 1900), 11. „dass der König aller in Wahrheit gegenwärtig ist.“

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 10.

rendered as *adest revera*.³⁷ Quite simply, the Greek phrase *πάρεστιν ὄντως* means that the body and blood are there on the altar.

A search through the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*³⁸ reveals that this phrase occurs only once in all of Greek literature both secular and patristic and that in this sermon of Chrysostom.³⁹ While Melanchthon most likely drew from this sermon in his formulation of the *Augustana Graeca*, it cannot be supposed that it is the origin of the term real presence. The *ὄντως παρέστιν* of the *Augustana Graeca* is equivalent to the *vere adsint* of the Latin versions and simply means the body and blood are there and has none of the baggage associated with the technical term real presence. The language in Augustana X is concrete and avoids abstractions, as does the Apology⁴⁰ in its Article X.

³⁷ MPG LVI, 140.

³⁸ The TLG digital library now contains virtually all ancient Greek texts surviving from the period between Homer (8th century B.C.) and A.D. 600, and a large number of texts deriving from the period between A.D. 600 and 1453, an excess of 80 million words.

³⁹ A search was run on the phrase *πάρεστιν ὄντως* in the TLG database. The results were as follows: "Search results. Search for: *πάρεστιν ὄντως*. List name: *tlgall.aut*. Allowable interval between words: Exact phrase. Total number of matches: 1."

⁴⁰ The Apology was published in late April or early May of 1531.

Apology Article X

Apology X begins by noting, "They approve the tenth article."⁴¹ Even though the Roman Church accepted Article X of the Augustana, the Apology X adds several clarifying phrases, prompted in part by further discussions between the confessors of Augustana and the Roman party in August and September of 1530.⁴² The Roman party desired that the Lutherans state their opposition to the figurative (Zwinglian and South German) understanding of the Lord's Supper more clearly; they suggested that the Lutherans adopt the phrase *vere et realiter*, and *wesentlich* in German.⁴³ If the Lutherans would agree to this wording, the Roman party would postpone discussions regarding the cup for the laity, the absence of which Luther called the "first captivity of this sacrament" in his *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* of 1520.⁴⁴ Thus, the term *realiter* is functioning as a negotiating piece between the Roman party and the Lutherans.

In the *Apology*, Melanchthon not only complied with Rome's desire to strengthen the Lutheran confession of the Lord's Supper against the Zwinglian view, but also went further in several places. The Roman party suggested the

⁴¹BSLK, 247, 45. "Decimus articulus approbatus est." In German it reads, "Den zehnten Artikel fechten die Widersacher nicht an." ("The opponents do not contest the tenth article.")

⁴² Herbert Immenkötter, *Um die Einheit im Glauben*, ed. Erwin Iserloh, *Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, vol. 33 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1973), 40.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ WA 6, 507, 6 – 7; AE 36, 27. "Prima ergo captivitas huius sacramenti est quo ad eius substantiam seu integritatem, quam nobis abstulit Romana tyrannis."

word *realiter* in order to guard against *figura*⁴⁵ – that is a figurative understanding of the Lord’s Supper. First it should be noted that the *Apology* does not adopt the phrase *vere et realiter* but *vere et substantialiter*⁴⁶ instead. The word *substantialiter* had strong associations with transubstantiation and was preferred to the term *realiter* by the Roman party. Luther rarely used the word *substantialiter*.⁴⁷ Melancthon also replaces the *distribuantur*⁴⁸ of Augustana X with *exhibeantur*,⁴⁹ a word well liked by Bucer and the Zwinglians, and which later made its way into the 1540 Variata.⁵⁰ The Apology of the Augsburg Confession firmly links the “truly and substantially present body and blood of Christ” with “the things which are seen, the bread and wine.”⁵¹ This linkage of the phrase “the body and blood of Christ truly and substantially are there” with “what is presented”

⁴⁵ Pohle, “The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist,” 577.

⁴⁶ BSLK 247, 47. “in coena Domini vere et substantialiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi.”

⁴⁷ Hall, “Hoc est Corpus Meum: The Centrality of the Real Presence for Luther,” 120.

⁴⁸ BSLK, 64, 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 248, 2.

⁵⁰ Friedrich Bente, *Historical Introductions to the Book of Concord* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), 26. The altered tenth article reads, “De coena Domini docent, quod cum pane et vino vere exhibeantur corpus et sanguis Christi vescentibus in Coena Domini.” Translated: “Concerning the Supper of the Lord they teach that with the bread and wine truly the body and blood of Christ is presented to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord.” The word “is presented” (*exhibeantur*) is more amenable to a Reformed understanding than “is distributed.” Pusey writes “the word ‘exhibeantur’ is, in itself, so vague, that the Reformed could honestly receive it in *their* sense, ‘exhibited to the soul.’” Pusey, *The Real Presence*, 60.

⁵¹ BSLK, 248, 2 – 3. “vere exhibeantur cum illis rebus, quae videntur, pane et vino.”

(*exhibeantur*) is guarded sufficiently to protect against abuse, especially in light of Bucer's hatred for the words *vere et substantialiter*.

If this were not enough to dissuade a dubious confession, the addition of the "corporal presence of Christ"⁵² surely is. In this section of Apology X, it is recognized that the Roman Church and the Greek Church confess the "corporal presence of Christ" along with the Lutherans. This is a statement of the catholicity of the Lutheran confession of the Lord's Supper going back to the Lord's mandate and institution, and defended against the novelties of the sixteenth century.

Incidental Lutheran Usage of the Term "Real Presence"

Melanchthon

Although Melanchthon did not adopt the term real presence in the Lutheran confessional writings, he did accommodate Rome's concerns in his *Judgment Concerning Zwingli's Teaching*.⁵³ In this document he says, "Therefore, we posit the true and real presence of the body of Christ with the bread."⁵⁴ Melanchthon wrote this on 25 August 1530, when he was corresponding with Roman theologians regarding the Augsburg Confession. It would appear that Melanchthon's choice of the term real presence came from his desire to please

⁵² BSLK, 248, 12 – 13. "corporalem praesentiam Christi."

⁵³ CR 2, 222, no. 798. Iudicium de Zwingli doctrina.

⁵⁴ Ibid. "Ideo veram et realem corporis Christi praesentiam cum pane ponimus."

Rome by making it clear that the Lutheran confession did not tolerate Zwingli's position on the Lord's Supper.⁵⁵ Quere suggests that Rome added the term *reale* to the Lutheran Confession in the *Confutatio Pontifica*,⁵⁶ but we have been unable to substantiate his claim. In the *Confutatio Pontifica*, Rome adds *substantialiter* not *reale* to the Augsburg Confession's *vere*.⁵⁷ However, it does appear that Melancthon was willing at this time to accept the term real presence as a way of differentiating the Lutheran teaching from the Zwinglian teaching and of furthering negotiations with Rome.

While the Lutherans did not readily employ the term *realis*, as is testified by its absence in the Augsburg Confession, they were at least willing

⁵⁵ Ralph Walter Quere, *Melancthon's Christum Cognoscere: Christ's Efficacious Presence in the Eucharistic Theology of Melancthon*, Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica, vol. 22 (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1977), 299. "The precise significance of this term can only be seen in the context of the course of the debate. Suffice it to say at the outset that it represented in Melancthon's judicium a way of safeguarding Christ's presence and of distinguishing the Lutheran position from the Zwinglian and presumably the Bucerian."

⁵⁶ Ibid. "It is the reale that the Confutatio Pontifica adds to the Augsburg Confession's vere to assure that transubstantiation and 'sub specie panis per concomitantia' are meant by the Lutherans."

⁵⁷ Quere cites the *Confutatio Pontifica* as it is cited by Kolde as evidence. Kolde does not in fact have *reale* in his text, but *substantialiter*. Kolde, *Die Augsburgische Konfession* (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1896), 146. "corpus et sanguinem Christi substantialiter et vere adsint." Compare with Herbert Immenkötter, ed., *Die Confutatio der Confessio Augustana vom 3. August 1530*, ed. Erwin Iserloh, Corpus Catholicorum, vol. 33 (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1979), 101. Immenkötter's edition of the *Confutatio Pontifica* agrees with Kolde's. Immenkötter does offer *praesentialiter* as a variant reading of *substantialiter*. It is quite likely that *substantialiter* functions in the way Quere ascribes to *reale*, in order to assure the confession of transubstantiation. Melancthon does indeed use *substantialiter* in the Apology, Article X.

occasionally to use the term. It does appear that the term came to the Lutherans at the suggestion of Rome. After the negotiations with Rome appeared to be less than fruitful, the term once again disappears from Lutheran usage. This gives further credence to the suggestion that the term functioned as a negotiating term, having enough clarity to exclude certain errors while having enough ambiguity to cover over certain differences. During this critical time of negotiations, Melanchthon borrowed Roman language to come closer to convergence with Rome, just as Bucer appropriated language from the Lutherans to come closer to them. In such situations, when the negotiators return to their allies, the borrowed language falls away. Ultimately, such attempts to promote agreement by the usage of similar language did not hold.

Other Incidental Uses of Real Presence

In the 16th century, the term real presence or a cognate of *realis* appears a few more times in Lutheran writings. For instance, Melanchthon may have used the term again in 1540 in negotiations with Rome.⁵⁸ Chemnitz, prompted by Rome's usage, seems to have used the term a couple of times as well.⁵⁹ There are also a few incidental usages in Lutheran writings in the 17th century. From these

⁵⁸ See the discussion beginning on page 94.

⁵⁹ Chemnitz quotes the term when Trent uses the term in his *Examen*. The term also appears in his *Two Natures of Christ*. See the discussion beginning on page 237.

occasional usages, we may observe that when the term occurs in these writings it usually was prompted in some way by Roman usage. We may also observe that the term was not yet a technical term. With these observations in mind, it may now be helpful to observe briefly a few examples.

Tübingen Faculty 1560

Recorded in the *Public Deeds and Writings of the Württemberg Church*⁶⁰ is what appears to be an early use of the term real presence by the Lutherans. Item nine on the title page reads, "Another confession of Württemberg in the year 1560 concerning the omnipresence of the flesh of Christ and concerning the real presence in the Eucharist."⁶¹ From this, the Tübingen faculty appears to have made use of the term real presence in 1560. A closer examination of the documents, however, reveals that the Tübingen faculty did not in fact use the term real presence. The title given in the table of contents does not match up with the document's title, nor was the term found in the document itself.

The original German document is called, "Confession and statement of the theologians and servants of the church in the principality of Württemberg

⁶⁰ Evangelische Landeskirche in Württemberg, *Acta et scripta publica Ecclesiae Wirtembergicae / tum quae cusa dudum fuere, tum quae e situ et tenebris nunc deumum in dias luminis auras prodeunt. Recensuit atque in hanc formam fudit conspectumque actorum publicorum & conciliorum omnium Ecclesiae Germanicae abs se olim edendorum adjecit Christoph. Matthaeus Pfaffius, theologus Tubingensis* (Tubingae: Sumtibus Jo. Georgii Cottae, 1719).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Title Page. "9. Aliam Confess. Wirtemb. de omnipresentiâ carnis Christi & praesentiâ reali eucharistâ de A. 1560."

concerning the true presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the Holy Supper.”⁶² The Württemberg theologians also prepared a Latin rendition of this document in 1561. It is titled, “A confession and teaching of the theologians and ministers of the word of God, in the Duchy of Württemberg concerning the true presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the Lord’s Supper.”⁶³

According to the forward of the German edition, the Württemberg theologians wrote this document because of “all sorts of incompatible teaching on the Lord’s Supper that are going around in these last days.”⁶⁴ They set out to confess the “Words of our Lord Christ of his Holy Supper ... in keeping with the right and pure understanding of God’s Word and the Augsburg Confession.”⁶⁵ Later in the document the theologians confess and further clarify what they intend with the phrase “true presence.”

But we believe and hold the true presence of the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus we set forth and believe that

⁶² Ibid., 334. “Bekanntnus und Bericht der Theologen und Kirchen-Diener im Fürstenthum Württemberg / von der warhafftigen Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibs und Bluts Jesu Christi heiligen Nachtmahl.”

⁶³ Ibid., 340. “CONFESSIO ET DOCTRINA THEOLOGORUM ET MINISTRORUM VERBI DEI, IN DUCATU WIRTEMBERGENSI, DE VERA PRÆSENTIA CORPORIS ET SANGVINIS JESU CHRISTI IN COENA DOMINICA.”

⁶⁴ Ibid., 334. “Weil dann leider zu diesen letzten Zeiten allerley ungleiche Lehr / sonderlich von des Herren Nachtmahl umgehn.” The forward does not appear in the Latin edition.

⁶⁵ Ibid. “den Worten unsers Herrn Christi vom heiligen Nachtmahl ... bey dem rechten reinen Verstand Gottes Worts / und der Augspurgischen Confession gehalten.”

there is no intermixture of the bread and wine with the body and blood of Christ, additionally, there is no local enclosure of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine, but we hold and teach by such presence in the Sacramental Union of the bread with the body of Christ and the wine with the blood of Christ, which is stated and delivered by the Words of Christ: Then after he took the bread, he said, 'This is my body.' And after he took the cup, he said, 'This is my blood.' Before Christ had said this with these his words consecrating and blessing bread and wine to this use, he had already given mandate and bidding of this use: Eat, he says, and drink of it all of you. Accordingly then we teach that is no sacrament which stops short of this being done.⁶⁶

Thus, the true presence of Christ's true body and blood is confessed according to the words of Christ. All theories about the presence of his body and blood in the Lord's Supper are rejected.

Considering that the phrase real presence does not occur in either the Latin or German editions of this document, how did it find its way into the table of contents? Quite simply, the Württemberg theologians did not compose the

⁶⁶ Ibid., 335. "Indem wir aber die warhafftige Gegenwärtigkeit des warhafftigen Leibs und Bluts / unsers Herrn Jesu Christi / galuben und halten / so setzen und glauben wir / keine Vermischung des Brodts und Weins / mit dem Leib und Blut Christi / noch eine raumliche Einschliessung des Leibs und Bluts Christi im Brod und Wein / sondern wir halten und lehren in der Sacramentlichen Vereinbarung des Brods / mit dem Leib Christi / und Weins mit dem Blut Christi / ein solche Gegenwärtigkeit / die uns durch das Wort Christi beschrieben und fürgetragen worden / dann als er das Brodt nahm / hat er gesagt / das ist mein Leib / und als er den Kelch nahm / sagt er / das ist mein Blut / und dieweil Christus zuvor / und ehe er mit seinem Wort Brodt und Wein / zu diesem Brauch heiliget und segnet / ein Gebott oder Befehlch gegeben hat / esset / spricht er / und trincket alle daruas / lehren wir / daß es ausserhalb dem Gebrauch kein Sacrament seye." The Latin text is found on page 341. "Dum verò hanc veri corporis & sanguinis Christi veram praesentiam statuimus, nullam corporis & sanguinis ejus cum pane & vino commixtionem, nullam in pane localem inclusionem asserimus, sed sacramentali unione talem praesentiam docemus, quae verbo Christi definite est. Accipiens enim panem, dixit. Hoc est corpus meum: Accipiens calicem dixit. Hic est sanguis meus." Note that the Latin appears to stop before the German text. The Latin text is not a literal translation of the German and does not exactly represent the German text. cf. FC SD 7: 83-87.

table of contents. It was composed almost two centuries later in 1719 when Georg Cotta gathered together various documents into a book, including this one, written by the Tübingen faculty in 1560. It would appear from the table of contents that the terms true presence and real presence are equivalent, at least for the author of the table of contents. For the Württemberg theologians of the 1560s the terms cannot be said to be equivalent since they did not use the term real presence. This 18th century table of contents provides another example of the anachronistic employment of the term real presence on those who did not use it, and may show how the term was used to describe the Lutheran confession of the Lord's Supper in later times.

Johann Gerhard

Johann Gerhard lived from 1582 to 1637. He is "generally considered to be the third preeminent Lutheran theologian after Luther and Chemnitz."⁶⁷ As such a preeminent theologian in the Lutheran tradition it is noteworthy that Gerhard also makes incidental use of real presence in his writings. He employs the term in his largest and best-known work, the *Loci Theologici*, in a chapter title, "Concerning the true, real, and substantial presence of the body and blood of

⁶⁷ Robert D. Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism: A Study of Theological Prolegomena*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), 52.

Christ in the Holy Supper.”⁶⁸ In this same section, he also makes frequent use of the phrase “true, real, and substantial presence.” However, he does not speak of real presence by itself as a technical term, apart from its kin, true and substantial. He says that the true, real, and substantial presence is called a sacramental presence.⁶⁹ He also explains why he uses the words true, real and substantial.

True and real presence is said to exclude a figurative, imaginative presence. Substantial presence is said to exclude [our] adversaries who try to get away with the notion that the body and blood of Christ are only efficaciously present in this mystery. Not in any way that fits this way. The body and blood of Christ are there in this mystery in a way that is mystical, supernatural and incomprehensible.⁷⁰

The words true, real, and substantial are then used as a group in order to provide a safeguard. All three words are necessary; one is not able by itself to carry what is confessed. Consequently, Gerhard does not use real presence by itself as a technical term because it is not able to do the job by itself. What is confessed by those three words together is what is confessed. “Therefore the true, real and

⁶⁸ Johann Gerhard, *Locorum Theologicorum cum pro adstreuenda veritate, tum pro destruenda quorum vis contradicentium falsitate, per Theses nervosè, solidè & copiosè explicatorum*, vol. 4 (Jenae: Tobiae Steinmanni, 1610), 205. “De vera, reali & substantiali corporis & sanguinis Christi in sacra coena praesentia.”

⁶⁹ Ibid., 206. “Haec praesentia dicitur Sacramentalis.”

⁷⁰ Ibid. “Dicitur vera & realis praesentia ad excludendum figurative, imaginariae & repraesentativae praesentiae figmentum: dicitur substantialis praesentia ad excludendum Adversariorum effugium de sola corporis & sanguinis Christi efficacia in hoc mysterio praesente; non modo aliquo hujus seculi sed mystico, superanturali & incomprehensibili corpus & sanguis Christi in hoc mysterio adsunt.”

substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper is what is to be believed firmly.”⁷¹ This is to confess nothing other than that the true body and true blood of Christ are there to eat and to drink. When Gerhard speaks of the Augsburg Confession, he does not use the word “real.” Instead, he uses the words supplied to him by the Confessions. Here he simply confesses that the “body of Christ is truly present in the Supper.”⁷²

In Gerhard’s *Harmony of the Gospels*, he further elaborates on what the phrase “the true, real and substantial presence of Christ’s body” excludes.

When we profess to believe the true, real, and substantial presence of Christ’s body (and blood), [we] do not at all stand for impanation, nor incorporation nor consubstantiation, nor physical inclusion, nor a local presence, nor a concealed body under the bread, nor an essential conversion of the bread into body, nor a lasting fixation of the body to the bread outside of the use of the Supper. But we do believe, teach, and confess according to Christ’s own institution that in a way known only to God, which is indeed incomprehensible to us, as by a divinely ordained means the body of Christ is truly, really, and substantially present, united with the eucharistic bread, so that we consume and eat the true body of Christ mediated by that bread in sublime mystery. Which presence is called *sacramental*, that is not only just a relative (σχετική) or a signified presence, but it is conferred and presented to us in this mystery because

⁷¹ Ibid., 206-207. “Ergo vera, realis & substantialis corporis & sanguinis Christi in sacra Coena praesentia firmiter est credenda.”

⁷² Ibid., 212. “Quòd notanter asserat Apostolos, panem Eucharisticum esse communicationem non beneficiorum, sed ipsius corporis Christi, quam emphasin meritò urget Apologia Augstanae Confessionis, ex eo namque immotè colligitur, corpus Christi verè praesens esse in Coena, non tantùm ratione beneficiorum & efficaciae, sed etiam ratione substantiae.”

the heavenly *res* is mediated by the external symbols. *True* and *real* presence is said to exclude a figurative, imaginative, or representation presence. *Substantial* presence is said to exclude the opinion that the body of Christ is only efficaciously present in this mystery. *Mystical, supernatural* and *incomprehensible* are said because the body (and blood) of Christ are not here, distributed, and received in some human way but in a mystical, supernatural, and incomprehensible way in this mystery. This confession of ours, which is most firmly founded on Scripture, opposes in one part the Papacy, and in another part Calvin and those Photinians who follow in their footsteps.⁷³

According to Gerhard, the phrase “true, real, and substantial presence” serves to ward off the charges brought against them by Rome and the Calvinists.

Gerhard’s usage of both true and real may show that for him the terms true and real were not equivalent nor were they interchangeable. This may also be shown

⁷³ Johann Gerhard, *Harmonia Quatuor Evangelistarum*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Genevæ: Petri Chouët Sen., 1645), 472. “Quando autem veram, realem & substantialem corporis (& sanguinis) Christi praesentia nos credere profiteamur, nequaquam vel impanationem, vel incorporationem vel consubstantiationem, vel Physicam inclusionem, vel localem praesentiam vel delitescantiam corpusculi sub pane, vel essentialem panis in corpus conversionem, vel durabilem corporis ad panem extra vsum coenae affixionem, vel personalem panis & corporis unionem statuimus, sed credimus, docemus & confitemur, juxta ipsius Christi institutionem modo soli Deo cognito, nobis verò incomprehensibili pani Eucharistico tanquam medio diuinitus ordinato corpus Christi verè, realiter & substantialiter praesens vniri, vt mediante illo pane verum Christi corpus in sublimi mysterio sumamus & manducemus, quae praesentia dicitur *Sacramentalis*, non quod sit tantum σκετικὴ ac significatiua praesentia, sed quia res coelestis mediantibus externis symbolis in hoc mysterio nobis confertur & exhibetur. Dicitur *vera & realis praesentia* ad excludendum figuratiuam, imaginariam, ac representatiuam praesentiam; dicitur *substantialis praesentia* ad excludendam opinionem de sola corporis Christi efficacia in hoc mysterio praesente; dicitur *mystica, supernaturalis & incomprehensibilis praesentia*, quia non modo aliquo huius seculi, sed mystico, supernaturali & incomprehensibili corpus (& sanguis) Christi in hoc mysterio adsunt, distribuuntur & accipiuntur. Huic confessioni nostrae in Scripturis fundatissimae ex vna parte sese opponunt *Pontificij*, ex altera *Caluiniani* & eorum vestigiis insistentes *Photiniani*.” A portion of this quotation may also be found in Carol. Ferd. Guil. Walther, ed., *Joh. Guilielmi Baieri Compendium Theologiae Positivae*, vol. 3 (Saint Louis: The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod, 1879), 503-504.

in his shift away from the phrase “true, real, and substantial presence” to “true presence” when he discusses the Augsburg Confession. Ironically, Gerhard uses the phrase true, real, and substantial presence as a weapon against his opponents, a phrase that was first suggested to the Lutherans by Rome in the discussions at Augsburg and again at Regensburg, and was finally made *de fide* by Rome at Trent. So although Gerhard makes occasional use of the phrase “true, real, and substantial presence,” he recognizes that it is not his own and he uses it to defend against the charges brought by his opponents, while on the home ground of the Augsburg Confession he confesses as it does.

Abraham Calov

Calov lived from 1612 to 1686. He is considered to be “the most brilliant and influential theologian of the silver age of Lutheran orthodoxy.”⁷⁴ Although Calov desired to study with Gerhard at Jena, he was never able to do so because of the Thirty Years’ War.⁷⁵ In 1649 he was called as professor to Wittenberg. “Later he became superintendent of the Saxon churches and *professor primarius*.”⁷⁶ As such an important theologian in Lutheran orthodoxy it may be worthwhile to

⁷⁴ Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism: A Study of Theological Prolegomena*, 59.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 60. “Because of the Thirty Years’ War his hope for further study at Wittenberg or at Jena with Gerhard was never fulfilled.”

⁷⁶ Ibid.

briefly consider his *Systema Locorum Theologicorum*⁷⁷ (1655-77) in which he also makes incidental use of real presence.

Question II. Whether the true and real presence of the body and blood of the Lord is to be believed, with the result that not only by reason of relation and analogy, but also by the reason of conjunction and sacramental union, the heavenly body is there on earth, in no way is joined by an extension into place, when the sacrament is celebrated.⁷⁸

In this passage, while real runs with true and is not isolated, it is not found with substantial. This true and real presence of Christ's body and blood is not to be reasoned by necessity or by analogy, but on the basis of the sacramental union.

Calov further explains what this means.

Affirmed without equivocation are the doctrines stated in the unaltered Augsburg Confession. Denied is the teaching of those from Zwingli and Calvin who adduce a naked analogy without the true and real and also substantial presence.⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Matthew Harrison, "Abraham Calov on Eastern Orthodoxy," *Logia* IX, no. 4 (2000): 5. Harrison calls Calov's *Systema* "surely the most significant dogmatics text of the second phase of post-Reformation Lutheran orthodoxy."

⁷⁸ Abraham Calov, *Systema Locorum Theologicorum: è Sacrà potissimum Scripturâ, & Antiquitate, nec non adversariorum confessione, Doctrinam, Praxin, et controversiarum Fidei, Cum veterum, tum imprimis recentiorum, pertractationem luculentam exhiberis* (Wittemberg: Christianus Schrödterus, 1677), 316. "Qvaestio II. praesentia vera & realis Corporis & Sangvinis Dominici credenda sit, ut non solùm ratione σχέσεως & ἀναλογίας sacramentalis, sed ratione conjunctionis, & unionis substantialis, material coelestis terrens adsit, nullis á locorum διαστήμασι sejungatur, cum celebratur Sacramentum?"

⁷⁹ Ibid. "Affirmativa est Doctorum Augstanta Confessionis invariata γνησέως addictorum. Negativa Zwinglio-Calvianorum, nudam analogiam admittentium, sine verâ & reali, ac substantiali praesentiâ."

Here Calov is objecting to those of the Zwingli and Calvin tradition who use a “naked analogy” to deny that the Lord’s body and blood are there to eat and to drink in the Lord’s Supper. The doctrine of the Lord’s Supper is not founded on analogy but on the words of institution.

That it must be recognized by us that Christ offers to us by the mouth in the Holy Supper, that is, he is truly, really, and substantially present. This is in no way a relational, analogical, figurative and symbolical presence. Rather he offers to us his body and blood to be received in the mouth according to what the words say in the literal institution.⁸⁰

Here truly, really, and substantially are used to counter an analogical, figurative, and symbolical presence. The Lord’s body and blood are there in such a way that they are taken with the mouth to be eaten and to be drunk. No analogy establishes this fact. Rather it is established by the Lord’s words of institution.

The fraction of the bread is not analogical, because no such analogy has been instituted, nor is it needed here.⁸¹

Because the Lord’s words of institution establish the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, no analogy is needed nor attempted to explain how Christ’s body and blood are there to be eaten and drunk. There are simply no parallels to what

⁸⁰ Ibid., 318-319. “Quod nobis ore percipiendum Christus in S. Coenâ praebebat, id verè, realiter, & substantialiter, non tantùm σχετικῶς, analogicè, figurative, & symbolicè praesens est. At praebebat nobis percipiendum ore Corpus & Sanguinem suum, juxta tenorem literae verborum institutionis.”

⁸¹ Ibid., 339. “Fractio panis non est analogica, quia nusquam talis analogia est instituta, nec eadem hîc opus est.”

takes place in the Lord's Supper; it is unique. The uniqueness of the Lord's Supper is discussed further in Chapter 7.⁸²

Calov indeed makes incidental use of true, real, and substantial presence to guard against an analogical, figurative, and symbolical presence of Christ's body and blood. As in Trent, real wards off a figurative presence. True seeks to preserve the Lord's Supper from analogy while substantial guards against symbolizing. For Calov, the true, real, and substantial presence of Christ's body and blood is to confess nothing other than the eating and drinking of the Lord's body and blood with the mouth as the words of institution say.

John Andrew Quenstedt

Quenstedt lived 1617 to 1688. He was one of the most influential Lutheran theologians after Gerhard in the orthodox period. He had hoped to study theology in 1637 at Jena under his uncle Johann Gerhard, but Gerhard's death prevented him from doing so.⁸³ By 1644 he had begun lecturing on geography at the University of Wittenberg. Two years later he began lecturing on philosophy and metaphysics. From 1649 until 1688, Quenstedt was there as a professor of theology at Wittenberg. He wrote one book, his *Theologia Didactico-Polemica sive*

⁸² Chapter 7 specifically discusses analogy and the Lord's Supper beginning on page 162.

⁸³ Johanne Andrea Quenstedt, *The Nature and Character of Theology: An Introduction to the Thought of J. A. Quendstedt from Theologia Didactio-Polemica sive Systema Theologicum*, trans. Luther Poellot (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1986), 9.

Systema Theologiae, which was published three years before his death. His *Systema* is considered to be one of the greatest dogmatics books ever written by a Lutheran.⁸⁴ Preus remarks, “Quenstedt’s *Systema* killed systematic theology in the period of Lutheran orthodoxy as Michaelangelo killed Renaissance art by the unexcelled quality of his work. Quenstedt’s lifework is so big, so complete, so concise and systematic, and so excellent that no later Lutheran ever came close to equalling [sic] it.”⁸⁵ It may be fitting then to briefly observe how Quenstedt used real presence.

The section under consideration begins with the question “whether the body and blood of Christ is substantially present there in the Holy Supper.”⁸⁶ Quenstedt then briefly outlines seven points of controversy related to this question. He states that Christ’s body and blood in the Lord’s Supper is not to be found in the following ways that he may be present: 1) a general presence⁸⁷ in

⁸⁴ Preus, *The Theology of Post-Reformation Lutheranism: A Study of Theological Prolegomena*, 62. “There is no question that after the *Loci Theologici* of Chemnitz and Gerhard (who was his uncle) the *Systema* of Quenstedt ranks as the greatest dogmatics book ever written by a Lutheran.”

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Johanne Andrea Quenstedt, *Theologia Didactico-Polemica, sive Systema Theologicum*, 4 vols., vol. 3 (Lipsiae: Thomam Fritsch, 1715), 1207. “Qvaestio II. An corpus & sanguis Christi in S. Coenaa substantialiter praesto sint?”

⁸⁷ Ibid. “de praesentia generali, qua Christus θεάνθρωπος omnibus creatures illocaliter praesens est.”

which Christ the God-Man is present illocally to all creatures; 2) a presence⁸⁸ in glory as of the angels and saints in heaven; 3) a hypostatic presence⁸⁹ which the Logos has of his assumed flesh; 4) a presence of the whole of Christ (*totius Christi*), or of the Deity or of his power and benefits, or in a spiritual presence, that is, Christ is present in the Holy Supper through effect and work, like the sun is present to us in light and heat;⁹⁰ 5) a symbolic, figurative, or imaginative presence;⁹¹ 6) nor is the Lord's body and blood to be sought in heaven as some Calvinists affirm;⁹² 7) a presence which is apprehended through faith⁹³. In light of this discussion on presence Quenstedt continues with his thesis.

The body and blood of Christ in, under, or, as may also be said, with, the consecrated and distributed bread and wine, are truly,

⁸⁸ Ibid. "*de praesentia gloriosa, qua idem in coelis praesto est modo singulari sanctis angelis & beatis.*"

⁸⁹ Ibid. "*de praesentia hypostatica, qua ὁ λόγος assumtae suae carni*"

⁹⁰ Ibid. "*de παρουσία totius Christi, aut Deitatis aut virtutis & beneficiorum ejus, sive de praesentia spiritali, h.e. an Christus adsint in S. Coena [sic], per effectum vel operationem, quomodo Sol nobis praesens est per lumen & colorem.*" There is a distinction between "all of Christ" and the "whole Christ." All of Christ confesses both natures of Christ in one person. The "whole Christ" allows for a separation of the divine nature from the human nature. For more on this distinction see page 225 and following.

⁹¹ Ibid. "*an Christi corpus & sanguis adsint in S. Coena per signum, figuram aut imaginem fui.*"

⁹² Ibid. "*nec est question de S. Coena, quae in coelis celebratur, ut nonnulli Calvinianorum afferunt*"

⁹³ Ibid. "*de praesentia per apprehensionem per fidem.*"

really, and according to its own substance present illocally in the Holy Supper according to the divine institution.⁹⁴

Here when Quenstedt uses truly, really, and substantially present he means to say nothing more than in, with, and under, namely that the Lord indeed gives his body and blood to be eaten and to be drunk. These three adverbs counter a signified, figurative, and imaginative presence. In his discussion on the reception of the Lord's body and blood by the unworthy, Quenstedt disagrees with his opponents (the Socinians, Arminians, and Anabaptists) that a real presence (*realem praesentiam*) of Christ's body and blood can exclude an oral eating by all.⁹⁵ It would seem that real presence was not clear enough by itself since Quenstedt adds that it does include an oral eating.

Summary

Gerhard, Calov, and Quenstedt are not the only theologians during the Lutheran orthodoxy period to employ the phrase "true, real, and substantial presence." They are, however, the most prominent theologians to do so. It is unlikely that anyone after them would differ greatly from their usage. Georg

⁹⁴ Ibid. "Θέσις. Corpus & sanguis Christi, in, sub, seu cum pane & vino benedictis & distributis, vere, realiter, & secundum ipsam substantiam illocaliter in S. Coena praesens est, juxta divinam institutionem."

⁹⁵ Ibid., 1290. "II. SOCINIANORUM, ARMINIANORUM, ANABAPTISTARUM, SVENCKFELDIANORUM, qui uti omnem corporis & sanguinis Christi in S. Coena realem praesentiam, ita omnem oralem perceptionem eorundem negant, reprobant, dirisque traducunt blasphemias." For more on the oral eating see page 284 and following.

Calixtus⁹⁶ writes that the Reformed deny the “true, real, and substantial presence of the body of Christ with the bread in the Supper.”⁹⁷ Johann Ernst Gerhard⁹⁸ (1621-1668) in a commentary on the Augsburg Confession writes that the phrase *vere adsint* directly opposes the Calvinists who deny the “real and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper contrary to the clear letter of Holy Scripture.”⁹⁹ He notes that the *Variata* removed the word *adsint*, a word which is “most capable of protecting the true, real, and substantial presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Holy Supper”¹⁰⁰ and inserted the word *exhibeantur*, which the Calvinist understood in a spiritualizing way.¹⁰¹

Other examples could likely be found.

⁹⁶ Georg Calixtus (1586-1656) became professor of theology in Helmstedt 1614. He was a patristic scholar who was influenced by Melanchthon. At the Colloquy of Thorn in 1645, he sided with the Reformed. Calov characterized his doctrine as syncretistic. Erwin L. Lueker, ed., *Lutheran Cyclopedia* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1975), 124.

⁹⁷ Georgius Calixtus, *Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae in illis Doctrinae capitibus, quae Contra puram, & invaritatem Augustanam Confessionem, aliosq; libros symbolicos, in Formulâ Concordiae comprehensos, scriptis publicis* (Wittebergae: Johannis Borckardi, 1666), 90. “veram, realem, & substantialem cum pane praesentium corporis Christi Coena.”

⁹⁸ Johann Ernst Gerhard is the son of Johann Gerhard.

⁹⁹ Johann Ernst Gerhard, *Augvstana Confessio Envcleata: Das ist: Ausführliche Erklärung der Augspurgischen Confession* (Ienae: Io. Frid. Rittervm, 1734), 155. “quae sententia & confessio directe opposita Caluiniianis est, realem ac substantialem corporis & sanguinis Christi in sacra coena praesentiam contra claram scripturae sacrae litteram.”

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 156. “Omissum enim est verbum *adsint*, quo ipso tamen potissimum vera, realis ac substantialis praesentia corporis & sanguinis christi in sacra coena adseritur.”

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* “haec tamen verba in eum a Caluiniianis sensum trahi possunt, quod spiritualiter exhibeantur.”

What we may observe from these examples is that there are incidental uses of the phrase “truly, really, and substantially present” as well as variations such as “truly and really present” or “really and substantially present.” However, these usages are not widespread, nor are they the preferred terms of the Lutherans. The Lutherans use the terms of their opponents to argue against their opponents. Their reluctance to use the term may be seen in the qualified use of “real.” The term rarely appears apart from the words true and substantial. When it does appear alone, it is usually qualified in some way such as in the example where real is qualified by oral. The adverbs truly, really, and substantially are not interchangeable because each serves a specific and ancillary function. Although the Lutheran theologians do employ the term incidentally, there is no direct cognate for real presence in German. As a technical term *Realpräsenz* does not appear until the late 19th century. The term was not used in Lutheran preaching¹⁰² or in catechesis. In England already in the late 16th century there is another story.

¹⁰² For a brief look at Lutheran preaching in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, see *The Ascension in Preaching* beginning on page 216.

CHAPTER 3 – “REAL PRESENCE” AT REGENSBURG

Background to Regensburg

After the Augsburg Confession was presented in 1530, tensions mounted between the Lutheran party and the Roman Catholic party. Imperial law stated that there was no church except for the Catholic Church. Both the Augsburg Confession and the Apology claimed to be catholic. The Emperor, however, would not tolerate such ecclesiastical divergence in his Empire. In 1532, the Religious Peace of Nuremberg was established to produce a truce among the German states and the emperor until an ecumenical council could be held. Charles desired a council sooner rather than later; however, the Pope was not very eager to call a council, especially in light of recent councils that had challenged papal authority.¹ The Lutherans were also eager for a council, but their faith that a council would be able to settle the dispute in an equitable manner faded as the years passed.²

The request for a council was made in 1533 when Clement VII was the Pope. Due to the Pope's reluctance to call a council, the Smalcald League

¹ Jaroslav Pelikan, *Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300-1700)*, 5 vols., *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 4 (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 100-101. "The authority of church councils, and the relation of their authority to that of the pope, was indeed an issue of politics, both ecclesiastical and secular, in the fifteenth century, as a series of reform councils and their 'conciliarist' advocates sought to deal with schism and scandal in the church: Pisa, 1409; Constance, 1414-18; Basel-Ferrara-Florence, 1431-49."

² Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: On the Preservation of the Church 1532 - 1546*, trans. James L. Schaaf, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 173.

petitioned the emperor on 30 June 1533 to convene a free council on German soil. They argued that the Emperor had the authority to do so as had the Roman emperors in the past. For example, Constantine the Great convened the Council of Nicea, not the Pope or any other church leader. Clement VII continued to postpone the calling of a council until his death on 24 September 1534.³ Although his successor, Paul III, promised to call for a council, two years passed before he summoned it to convene at Mantua on 23 May 1537. In preparation for this council Luther wrote the Smalcald Articles. When the German delegates met with the emperor's delegates, the council was cancelled because acceptable terms could not be found to convene the council. On 28 July 1538 the Pope postponed the council again until Easter of 1539.

In the meantime, political tensions were rising between the Catholic and the Lutheran territories. These tensions caused doubt whether the 1532 Religious Peace of Nuremberg would be upheld. The Smalcald League met with the emperor at Frankfurt in 1539 and negotiated a fifteen-month extension to the Peace of Nuremberg.⁴ Charles V also planned a colloquy in Nuremberg in August of that same year which was subsequently cancelled.⁵ In June of 1539 a

³ Ibid., 174.

⁴ Ibid., 203.

⁵ Ibid.

colloquy was held in Hagenau. This colloquy decided where the starting point for discussions between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics would begin. The Lutherans wanted the Augsburg Confession and the Apology to be the basis of the discussions, while the Roman Catholics wanted the committee discussions of Augsburg to set the agenda. By the end of July, it was agreed that the Augsburg Confession would be the basis for the upcoming colloquy at Worms in October.

While the negotiations at Worms did not begin until December 1540, the formal Colloquy of Worms began 14 January 1541 on the basis of the *Augsburg Confession*. After four days of debate Melanchthon and Eck reached an agreement on original sin, then an imperial command stopped the colloquy and transferred it to Regensburg.⁶ Meanwhile Bucer and Gropper were engaged in "a secret colloquy to attain the religious agreement which it was evident the public colloquy would not."⁷ By the end of December, 1540, Gropper and Bucer had composed "articles on justification, the sacraments, and ecclesiastical organization representing as nearly as possible the doctrine to which both sides

⁶ Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent: The Struggle for the Council*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1957), 377. See also Hastings Eells, *Martin Bucer* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931), 286.

⁷ Hastings Eells, "The Origin of the Regensburg Book," *The Princeton Theological Review* XXVI (1928): 359.

would agree.”⁸ Later these articles, composed primarily by Gropper, became the basis of the Regensburg Book.

On 5 April 1541, the emperor opened the Diet of Regensburg for the purpose of obtaining religious unity.⁹ He appointed Melanchthon, Bucer, and Pistorius as representatives of the Evangelical side, and Pflug, Eck, and Gropper as representatives of the Catholic side. Cardinal Contarini was the papal legate.¹⁰ There were to be fifteen topics of discussion beginning with the Lord’s Supper and ending with justification. The Roman Catholics ordered the articles in such a way that the most disputed articles were treated first.¹¹ The Lutherans immediately noticed that the articles did not follow the order of the Augsburg Confession and Luther saw this deviation as an indication that nothing would be accomplished.¹² “The Emperor feared that if Melanchthon’s Apology were made

⁸ Ibid., 364.

⁹ Ibid., 368.

¹⁰ Timothy J. Wengert, “The Day Philip Melanchthon Got Mad,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 5, no. 4 (1991): 420.

¹¹ Phillip Edward Pederson, “The Religious Colloquy of Regensburg (Ratisbon), 1541” (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1978), 159. “They submitted an agenda of fifteen articles arranged so that the articles more likely to disrupt the negotiations were to be debated first. The Eucharist was placed first, so that the difficult matter of transubstantiation would have to be confronted on the opening day. Next in order followed articles on ecclesiastical authority and the papal primacy, the sacrifice of the Mass, private Masses, etc.”

¹² Brecht, *Martin Luther: On the Preservation of the Church 1532 - 1546*, 224.

the basis for the discussion, the Protestants would not want to depart from it.”¹³ In order to ensure the colloquy ended in the way he desired, the Emperor wanted the document which was secretly produced by Gropper and Bucer at Worms to be used. The Regensburg Colloquy began on 27 April 1541.

Melanchthon's 1540 *Variata*

As mentioned in Chapter 2,¹⁴ Melanchthon in 1540 made alterations to the Latin text of the Augsburg Confession, which became known as the *Variata*.¹⁵ According to Maurer, the *Variata* was written in September 1540 at the conclusion of the colloquy of Hagenau.¹⁶ The *Variata*, then, does not reflect Melanchthon's private opinion but was produced as a discussion document for the colloquies in preparation for a general council. Kretschmar agrees saying “that Melanchthon, commissioned by the Schmalkald League, set forth the CA *Variata* as an exposition of the Protestant doctrinal base for the religious

¹³ Pederson, “The Religious Colloquy of Regensburg (Ratisbon), 1541”, 156-157.

¹⁴ See page 62.

¹⁵ There is also a 1541 *Variata*. According to Kretschmar, the 1541 *Variata* is the version Melanchthon adhered to all the way through to his final edition, the so-called *Corpus Philippicum* of 1560. Kretschmar, “The Diet of Regensburg and the 1541 *Variata* of the Augsburg Confession,” 85-86.

¹⁶ Wilhelm Maurer, “Confessio Augustana Variata,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 53 (1962): 139. “Diese Ausführungen von V können weder vor den Hagenauer Verhandlungen noch unmittelbar nach ihnen entstanden sein.” (“These applications of the *Variata* cannot have occurred either before the Hagenau negotiations or immediately after them.”)

colloquies of 1540-1541.”¹⁷ Such variations in the Augsburg Confession elicited charges that the Lutherans changed their confession. Matheson reports Rome’s frustration, “The Protestants are ‘slippery eels’ who do not even abide by their own Augsburg Confession.”¹⁸ Pope Paul III remarked that the Lutherans did not even hold to their own confession.¹⁹

Although the Lutherans “never understood nor accepted the second edition as conflicting with the first Augsburg Confession”²⁰, a change made in the *Variata* allowed others to interpret that edition of the Augsburg Confession as being in agreement with their confession of the Lord’s Supper.²¹ In Article X on the Lord’s Supper, Melancthon replaced *distribuantur* (distributed) with the less clear *exhibeantur* (presented) and removed the words “truly and substantially

¹⁷ Kretschmar, “The Diet of Regensburg and the 1541 Variata of the Augsburg Confession,” 85.

¹⁸ Peter Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 13.

¹⁹ I have been unable to locate this quotation of Pope Paul III other than in Calvin’s works. *Calvin Opera*, CR 5, 470. “Quae quidem confessio licet in multis sit reprehendenda, nihilominus nullo modo fuit ab eis observata, quemadmodum in multis articulis contrarium fecerunt et faciunt.” (“Indeed although that confession must be refuted in many [articles], nevertheless in no way was it observed by them, how in many articles they did and are contradicting [it].”)

²⁰ *Preface to the Book of Concord*, paragraph 17. KW 11. See also Tappert 9 and BSLK 9-10.

²¹ *Ibid.* “As far as the second edition of the Augsburg Confession, mentioned in the Naumburg negotiations, is concerned, it is apparent to us and is open to everyone and concealed to no one that some have dared to hide and conceal their error concerning the Holy Supper and other impure teaching under the words of this same second edition and to pull the wool over the eyes of the simple folk in their public writings and in their printed publications, despite the fact that such erroneous teaching is expressly rejected in the confession presented at Augsburg and that a much different teaching can be proved from it.”

present.” He also removed the condemnation directed against “those who taught otherwise.”

The alteration of the *Variata*'s word order may indicate a development in Melanchthon's teaching. While a change in word order may not alter the meaning of the sentence in Latin, it may suggest a shift in emphasis. In the German of the *Augsburg Confession* of 1530 Christ's body and blood are confessed before the bread and the wine. In the 1530 Latin edition, bread and wine are not even mentioned. In the 1540 *Variata*, bread and wine come before Christ's body and blood. These alterations might make it easier for the Reformed to accept the Augsburg Confession. This is an important consideration especially since Melanchthon was on his way to Worms in October for a conference between the Evangelicals and the Roman Catholics.²² Calvin came to Worms and was able to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession.²³ Although Calvin's subscription to the

²² Sasse, *This Is My Body*, 257.

²³ There is little doubt that Calvin subscribed to the *Variata* since that was the edition of the Augsburg Confession Melanchthon brought with him to the conference. W. Nijenhuis, *Ecclesia Reformata: Studies on the Reformation*, ed. J. N. Bakhuizen Van Den Brink et al., 2 vols., Kerkhistorische Bijdragen, Deel III, vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1972), 101. “In his first defense of the Zurich agreement Calvin writes: ‘In our consensus readers will find everything that is contained in the confession published in Regensburg and which they call the Augsburg Confession.’ That the reformer is here referring to the C.A. *Variata* may be deduced from the reference to the Diet of Regensburg (1541) where the confession was introduced in the altered form drawn up shortly beforehand by Melanchthon.” See also Lyle D. Bierma, *The Doctrine of the Sacraments in the Heidelberg Catechism: Melanchthonian, Calvinist, or Zwinglian?*, Studies in Reformed Theology and History (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1999), 21. “In spite of the fact that Calvin, for example, could repeatedly approve Melanchthon's altered version of the Augsburg Confession and at the same time subscribe to the *Consensus Tigurinus* with Bullinger, there

Variata does not indicate, as attested to by the Preface to the Book of Concord, a change in the Lutheran confession concerning the Lord's Supper, it may show that the *Variata* could be understood as more amenable to his theology than the 1530 Augsburg Confession. These changes in the Augsburg Confession and the publication of the *Apology* in 1531²⁴ prompted Roman Catholic mistrust²⁵ that an agreement could be worked out between them and the Protestants.²⁶

remained disputed points of sacramental doctrine among the three reformers and their followers, none of which surfaces in the Heidelberg Catechism." Ibid, 32. "The Philippist Lutherans (and even Calvin), however, endorsed the 1540 'altered' text of the Augsburg Confession (*Variata*), which Melanchthon had changed to read: 'with the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are truly presented [*exhibeantur*] to those who eat in the Lord's Supper.'" Gerrish indicates that Calvin subscribed to the *Invariata*, the 1530 edition. B. A. Gerrish, "John Calvin on Luther," in *Interpreters of Luther: Essays in Honor of Wilhelm Pauck*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), 69. "Moreover, as is well known, Calvin testified to his solidarity with the Lutherans by accepting the Augsburg Confession." What is at dispute is not which version of the Augsburg Confession Calvin subscribed to at Regensburg, but whether or not he could subscribe to the unaltered version as well. Nijenhuis, *Ecclesia Reformata*. "Calvin later stated even more emphatically that the C.A. did not contain a single word which was in conflict with his own teaching." It would seem that although Calvin subscribed to the *Variata* at Regensburg, he had no problems accepting the *Invariata* either.

²⁴ Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg*, 74. "Admittedly the Protestants had begun by recognizing at least the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, but from the *Apology* it appeared that their views had since changed." Matheson holds that the Augsburg Confession at least allowed the possibility of transubstantiation, whereas the *Apology* does not. Thus, the *Apology* represents a change in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper from that confessed in the Augsburg Confession.

²⁵ Georg Kretschmar, "Realpräsenz und Transsubstantiation: Der Reichstag von Regensburg 1541 und ökumenische Konsensdokumente der Gegenwart," in *Praesentia Christi: Festschrift Johannes Betz zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Lothar Lies (Patmos: Düsseldorf, 1984), 236. "Das Mißbräuche der Theologen gegenüber diesen Informationen bestätigte sich, die Antwort der Kolloquenten konnte nur so ausfallen, wie sie dann vorgetragen wurde: eine Bekräftigung der Realpräsenz mit den Formeln des Augsburger Bekenntnisses von 1530 wie der *Variata* von 1540 – auf beide Fassungen wird unterschiedslos angespielt – , ein Nein zur Transsubstantiation." ("The misuse of this information by opposing theologians confirmed that the answer of those involved in the colloquy could only fall out as in the way it was in fact presented: a no to transubstantiation.

The Regensburg Colloquy

The goal of the Regensburg Colloquy was to produce a book “for joint acceptance”²⁷ between the Protestants and Rome. “The book was written in a style designed to reconcile the conflicting views held by the two sides in regard to disputed articles of faith.”²⁸ In the article on the Lord’s Supper, the book used “terms taken from the German Confession” with “the word ‘substantially’ being inserted from the Apology.”²⁹ Melanchthon and Eck disputed for nine days on the Lord’s Supper until they stopped due to lack of agreement.³⁰ Ironically, the two parties reached an agreement on Justification only after three days of discussion.³¹ The major stumbling block to an agreement on the Lord’s Supper

It affirmed the real presence in the formulation of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 as also of the Variata of 1540. Both documents were rung in without distinction.”)

²⁶ Protestant is the term used by the Roman Catholic party.

²⁷ Pusey, *The Real Presence*, 64.

²⁸ Pederson, “The Religious Colloquy of Regensburg (Ratisbon), 1541”, 162.

²⁹ Pusey, *The Real Presence*, 64.

³⁰ Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg*, 124.

³¹ Pederson, “The Religious Colloquy of Regensburg (Ratisbon), 1541”, 174. “The occasion for the celebration was the agreement reached on Monday, 2 May, on Article V of the Regensburg Book concerning the doctrine of justification. After the debates on the last three days of April, the collocutors had not met on Sunday, 1 May... On Monday, however, the collocutors succeeded in drafting a statement on justification to which all could agree, although both Eck and Melanchthon had reservations about it.”

was that the German Confessions and the “book” based upon them did not contain “the doctrine of Transubstantiation.”³²

For Contarini, the papal legate who directed Eck and Gropper, the word “transubstantiation” had become a shibboleth.³³ Charles V realized his colloquy was falling apart over one word and asked Contarini if the issue of transubstantiation could be postponed until the general council.³⁴ Contarini replied that transubstantiation like *homoousious* was an article of faith; there could be no compromise.³⁵ Gereon Sailer reports in a letter to Burgermeister Herwart of Augsburg dated 6 May 1541 that after Melanchthon heard of the Roman Catholic instance on transubstantiation he said that, “he would sooner say that the bread was only a sign, as was taught recently by some, than he would tolerate such idolatry.”³⁶ If this report is accurate, Melanchthon’s view of transubstantiation is drastically different from that of Luther who could tolerate

³² Pusey, *The Real Presence*, 64.

³³ Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg*, 133.

³⁴ Pederson, “The Religious Colloquy of Regensburg (Ratisbon), 1541”, 206. “When the Roman Catholic collocutors reported to Contarini, and along with him to Morone and Badia also, how badly the Protestants were receiving the text, it was suggested that the article simply acknowledge the Real Presence of Christ and defer the further discussion of transubstantiation until the future council.”

³⁵ Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg*, 137.

³⁶ Friedrich Roth, “Zur Geschichte des Reichstages zu Regensburg im Jahre 1541,” *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte* 3 (1905/1906): 53. “er lieber wolt sagen, es wer das prot nur ain zaichen, wie vor kurtzen jaren von etlichten geleret, dann das er solt zwlassen solliche abgotterey.”

it so long as it was not imposed as a necessary belief.³⁷ In fact, Luther would prefer transubstantiation over a symbolic interpretation; “Rather than have mere wine with the fanatics, I would rather have only blood with the pope.”³⁸ Ultimately, the instance on transubstantiation by Contarini brought an end to the Regensburg Colloquy.³⁹ Contarini also rejected the use of real presence disconnected from transubstantiation. Jedin lays the responsibility on Erasmus for originating the idea, which Gropper later picked up, namely, that “they might be content with a declaration that Christ is really and truly present in the Eucharist while leaving the discussion of the notion of transubstantiation to a General Council.”⁴⁰

From this Colloquy there are two extant documents on transubstantiation – one from the Roman side and the Protestant response to it. The document from

³⁷ See page 210.

³⁸ Luther, *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, 1528. WA 26, 462, line 4 – 5. “Und ehe ich mit den schwermern wolt eytel wein haben, So wolt ich ehe mit dem Papst eytel blut halten.” (AE 37, 317. Note how AE translates this. “Sooner than have mere wine with the fanatics, I would agree with the pope that there is only blood.”

³⁹ Matheson and Wengert argue that papal authority, which made transubstantiation a doctrine, ultimately brought the Colloquy to an end.

⁴⁰ Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent: The Struggle for the Council*, 385. We have not been able to locate where Erasmus makes this suggestion. The English translation is misleading since the German text does not say “really present” but “Christus wirklich und persönlich gegenwärtig sei.” Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient: Der Kampf um das Konzil*, 8 vols., vol. 1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1949), 310. We have seen how the term real presence is read back into English translation when the term did not occur in the original. Perhaps, a similar phenomenon is happening with Jedin's use of “persönlich gegenwärtig sei.” Jedin's book was published in 1949, at the beginning of the discussions that later produced the Arnoldshain Theses.

the Roman side is entitled "Catholics Concerning Transubstantiation"⁴¹ and is dated 6 May 1541. Pusey notes that the Roman side adopted "the language of the German Confession, but also adding to it the word 'transubstantiation.'"⁴² The Roman document does use the terms, which were discussed earlier, that are found in the Augustana and the Apology; however, in addition to the insertion of "transubstantiation," the word "real" is also added. The opening paragraph reads, "It is agreed concerning the real and bodily presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, with disapproval of Berengarius."⁴³ The other party replied with a document entitled, "The Protestants Concerning Transubstantiation."⁴⁴

It is agreed concerning the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper of the Lord, just as it is well known that the presence has been defended by the writings of many in our churches. Therefore, it is agreed in this article which was received as to the substance itself in the first, second, and third paragraphs.⁴⁵

⁴¹ CR 4, No. 2216. "Catholici de Transsubstantiatione."

⁴² Pusey, *The Real Presence*, 69.

⁴³ CR 4, no. 2216. "Convenit de reali et corporali praesentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia, cum improbatione Berengarii." This text also appears in W. H. Neuser, ed., *Die Vorbereitung der Religionsgespräche von Worms und Regensburg 1540/41*, ed. Ernst Bizer and J. F. Gerhard Goeters, *Texte zur Geschichte der evangelischen Theologie*, vol. 4 (Germany: Neukirchener, 1974), 211.

⁴⁴ CR 4, no. 2217. "Protestantes de Transsubstantiatione."

⁴⁵ CR 4, no. 2217. "Convenit de reali praesentia corporis et sanguinis Christi in coena dominica, sicut constat, eam praesentiam defensam esse scriptis multorum in nostris ecclesiis. Ideo de re ipsa in prima, secunda et tertia paragrapho in hoc oblato articulo convenit."

They object to the fourth paragraph because it contains language regarding transubstantiation. The final text of Article 14 of the Regensburg Book does not read “realis et corporali praesentia” like the Roman Catholic draft of May 6th; it reads, “vere et substantialiter adsint,” but adds transubstantiation to the formula.⁴⁶ The Colloquy reached an impasse due to Rome’s insistence on transubstantiation. There were also other reasons for the end of the Colloquy, one of which was that the Pope objected to colloquies because matters of faith should only be decided in councils.⁴⁷ The Regensburg Colloquy was held on account of Emperor Charles V and against the desire of the Pope.⁴⁸ As a result the colloquies were discontinued and discussions between the Lutherans and Rome came to a halt.

Analysis of the Lord’s Supper Draft Document

At first glance, the Protestant response to the Roman draft seems to indicate that the Protestants, and Melancthon in particular, could accept the

⁴⁶ Neuser, ed., *Die Vorbereitung der Religionsgespräche von Worms und Regensburg 1540/41*, 210. “Eucharistiae sacramentum verbum habet, quod est omnipotens Christi sermo, cuius virtute hoc sacramentum conficitur et quo fit, ut post consecrationem verum corpus et verus sanguis domini vere et substantialiter adsint, et fidelibus *sub specie* panis et vini, illis nimirum, hoc est, pane et vino in corpus et sanguinem domini transmutatis et *transsubstantiatis*, distribuatur, qui habet in hunc modum: *Accipite et manducate ex hoc omnes, hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur; et ad calicem: Bibite ex hoc omnes, hic est enim sanguis meus novi testamenti, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.*” (*Italics are in the text cited.*)

⁴⁷ Pusey, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence*, 82.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

term real presence provided that it was not attached to transubstantiation. Although Bretschneider⁴⁹ placed the Protestant response in Melanchthon's works, the noted Melanchthon scholar Peter Fraenkel observes that the author "has not been identified with final certainty."⁵⁰ Fraenkel states it is likely that Melanchthon did issue a "schedae," that is, "a minor memoranda that circulated freely."⁵¹ However, Melanchthon did not favor the term "presence;" the ancient fathers did not so speak of "presence." We have seen Melanchthon employ the term real presence some eleven years earlier in negotiations with Rome.⁵² This document may be another example of Melanchthon's incidental use of the term real presence.

It seems unlikely that Bucer would have adopted the term considering how much he disliked the term *realis*;⁵³ however, with certain provisos Bucer

⁴⁹ Bretschneider was the chief editor of Melanchthon's works found in the *Corpus Reformatorum*.

⁵⁰ Fraenkel, "Ten Questions Concerning Melanchthon, the Fathers and the Eucharist," 150.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 151.

⁵² See the discussion on incidental usage of the term real presence by Melanchthon on page 63.

⁵³ Bucer in a letter to Peter Martyr wrote that he did not like the terms "realiter" and "substantialiter." Bucer did accept the term "substantialiter" in the Wittenberg Concord. John Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (London: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1848), 174. "As to Bucer's opinion of the presence in the sacrament, the great controversy of this time, it may not be amiss to consider what so great a professor thought herein; and especially by what we saw before, that Martyr and he did somewhat differ in this point: for as he would not admit

would admit the use of *realis*. He spoke of the Lord's presence, not of eating and drinking his body and his blood. "I would have these terms defined and if anyone proposed to understand by the Lord's being present 'really' and 'substantially' that by faith he is received in reality and in his substance, I would concede their use."⁵⁴ Bucer's primary concern was not whether or not Christ was there with his body and blood, but with how the Lord Supper was a communion or fellowship.⁵⁵ For this reason, Bucer preferred Luther's earlier writings on the Lord's Supper, where Luther emphasized the *communio* aspects of the Lord's Supper more than in his later writings.⁵⁶ Indeed, Bucer did move more toward a Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper after 1524, but even then he was still primarily concerned with the fellowship aspect of the Lord's Supper.⁵⁷ It would seem that Bucer could make use of almost any language about the Lord's Supper

those words 'carnally' and 'naturally,' so neither did he like 'realiter' and 'substantialiter.'" See the previous quotation on page 32 in which Bucer labels *realiter* a strange word.

⁵⁴ Bucer, *Common Places of Martin Bucer*, 394.

⁵⁵ James M. Kittelson, "Martin Bucer and the Sacramentarian Controversy: The Origins of his Policy of Concord," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 64 (1973): 178. "Here, then, in Bucer's doctrine of the Lord's Supper as communion, as well as in his basic indifference to the nature of the elements, lies the true source of his campaign for unity among the reformers."

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 179. "Among Luther's early works, the most important for the development of Bucer's views was the *Sermon on the Holy Sacrament* of 1519."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 173. "There is good reason to believe that Capito did pressure Bucer into joining Zwingli's party. In the first place Bucer really did come closer to Zwingli's spiritualism. To be sure, he retained a lively awareness of the element of mystery in the eucharist, and he still preferred not to discuss the nature of the elements overly much."

to further his goal of communion and fellowship. After all, Bucer did not want to quibble about substances or modes of presence, but rather he desired to see the unity of fellowship expressed in the Lord's Supper. As a result, he could adopt the term *realis* when it suited him.

We see then that both Melanchthon and Bucer could employ the term real presence when it suited them. Melanchthon made use of the term in negotiations with Rome, and Bucer used it when he could redefine it in a spiritualizing manner. Considering Bucer's and the Roman Catholic Gropper's private negotiations at this time, it seems more likely that Bucer authored this response, although it is quite possible that he and Melanchthon authored it together. While the authorship of the drafts cannot be ascertained with certainty, it is clear that the term real presence arose in the midst of negotiations as a somewhat ambiguous negotiating term.

In summary, the word *realis* was suggested by the Roman party, namely by Gropper, as a term to further distinguish the Lutheran teaching from that of the "sacramentarians," who proposed a figurative interpretation. Although the term appears in the context of negotiation and is proposed as a term that both the Lutherans and Rome can tolerate, the Lutherans decline the Roman party's suggestion of *realis* and adopt the stronger (and much preferred term) of *substantia*. For Regensburg real presence was suggested as a possibly useful term.

Nothing survived the implacable demand for transubstantiation. If transubstantiation cannot be embraced because of its philosophical presuppositions, how could those of real presence serve to commend it?

Even at Regensburg, the term does not have a single usage. The term appears to have been suggested by Gropper who according to Matheson loaded it with a spiritual definition.⁵⁸ Bucer also understood real presence in a spiritualizing sense. The evidence from Regensburg seems to indicate that the term real presence was suggested as a sufficiently ambiguous term to exclude certain errors (e.g. Zwingli) and yet still able to promote agreement among the Evangelicals and the Roman Catholics by avoiding the issue of transubstantiation.

⁵⁸ Matheson, *Cardinal Contarini at Regensburg*, 129, Footnote 26. "In so far as the Church offers itself as Christ's mystical body, this is a true but spiritual sacrifice... The real Presence is thus a spiritual one."

CHAPTER 4 – ENGLAND DURING THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII

“As early as 1520 Polydore Vergil mentions the importation of a great number of ‘Lutheran books’¹ in his *History of England* [sic]. In 1521 Cardinal Wolsey issued a directive, “Concerning the having to be removed books of M. Luther.”² In that same year, King Henry VIII wrote the *Assertion of the Seven Sacraments*³ as a refutation of *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* written by “Martin Luther the heresiarch.” For King Henry’s defense of the Catholic faith, Pope Leo X bestowed on him the title, “Defender of the Faith”⁴ and “granted an indulgence of 10 years to anyone who should read it.”⁵ In 1523 Henry exhorted the Princes of Saxony in a long letter to “repress that execrable sect of Luther”⁶ without blood if possible, “or with blood if it cannot be otherwise accomplished.”⁷ All the while Luther’s works continued to enter the country

¹ Charles Hardwick and William Stubbs, *A History of the Christian Church During the Reformation*, New 3 ed. (London and New York: Macmillan, 1890), 168, fn. 1.

² *Ibid.*, 168. “de extradendis M. Lutheri libris.”

³ Gordon Heulin, “Martin Luther and His Influence in England,” *King’s Theological Review* IX, no. 1 (1986): 9.

⁴ *Ibid.* “Defensor Fidei.”

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Henry E. Jacobs, *The Lutheran Movement in England During the Reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and Its Literary Monuments*, Rev. ed. (Philadelphia: General Council Publication House, 1908), 6.

⁷ *Ibid.*

quietly influencing men of every estate from the lowly commoner to the English divines.⁸

Richard Taverner (1505-1575)⁹, who was to be the translator of “The English Bible” in 1539, translated the Augsburg Confession and the Apology into English in 1536.¹⁰ Cromwell commissioned him for this translation task.¹¹

⁸ Cissie Rafferty Bonini, "Lutheran Influences in the Early English Reformation: Richard Morison Re-examined," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 64 (1973): 207. Bonini asks, "But how did Luther's ideas come into England if the government officially banned Lutheran literature, expelled Lutheran divines from the two major universities; and if the King never acknowledged himself a Protestant and considered himself a Catholic to his deathbed?" Bonini finds part of the answer in Morison's translation of a Luther sermon, which he "Anglicized." Richard Morison was Thomas Cromwell's secretary. By "Anglicizing" some of Luther's writings, Morison was able to publish Luther with Henry's blessing. Bonini corroborates Yost's view (expressed below) that the Cromwell was not as opposed to the Reformation as some scholars think. Bonini writes on page 223 of his article, "Cromwell knew Morison intimately and may well have been aware of his Lutheranism. This implies that Cromwell was involved not only in patronizing clerical Protestants but lay Protestants as well. There may be more truth to the charge that Cromwell was a protector of heretics than historians have been willing to concede."

⁹ John K. Yost, "German Protestant Humanism and the Early English Reformation: Richard Taverner and Official Translation," *Bibliothèque D'Humanisme et Renaissance* XXXII (1970): 614. "Taverner was a Protestant reformer as well as a humanist scholar of the younger generation. He began his university study in the later 1520's at Cambridge where he joined the earliest English Protestants at the White Horse Tavern for discussion of Reformation problems... He was one of the advocates of the Protestant Reformation accused in 1528 of spreading Lutheranism at Wolsey's new college." Yost states that Taverner held a spiritual view of the Lord's Supper. He finds evidence of this in a document written by Taverner in the later 1530s. Yost writes on page 620, "According to Taverner, therefore, Christ was spiritually present in the Sacrament only for those who fulfilled its demand for unity and charity."

¹⁰ Richard Taverner, *Confessyon of the Fayth of the Germaines; the Apologie by Melancthon, 1536, The English Experience: Its Record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile*, vol. 771 (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd., 1976). The Augsburg Confession also appears in a reprint by the Lutheran Publication Society in Richard Taverner, *Augsburg Confession, The: Translation from the Latin, In 1536*, ed. Henry E. Jacobs (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1888). Title Page. For the Augsburg Confession, we cite the 1888 reproduction rather than the 1976 facsimile since the facsimile edition is not paginated.

¹¹ Yost, "German Protestant Humanism and the Early English Reformation: Richard Taverner and Official Translation," 615. "Cromwell commissioned Taverner to translate the

Ironically at the time of his translation, Luther's books were still banned in England.¹² He translated *vere adsint* from the Augsburg Confession as "verily present."¹³ Darwell Stone's translation of 1909, however, renders both *vere adsint* and *wahrhaftiglich ... gegenwärtig sei* as "really present"¹⁴ Stone also renders *wahrer Leib und Blut Christi*¹⁵ from the German Augsburg Confession as "the real body and blood of Christ."¹⁶ Stone's use of "real body" is not in accord with the use of "true" in the Lutheran Confessions, which use the word "true" to counter "spiritual."¹⁷ Presumably, there could be a "real" body that was "spiritual."¹⁸ In

Augsburg Confession and the Apology of Melanchthon in 1536. The immediate occasion for this event probably was the negotiations with the Lutherans, but Taverner explained in the preface that his translation of Melanchthon was evidence of Cromwell's support and direction of the program of religious education in the early days of the Reformation."

¹² Bonini, "Lutheran Influences in the Early English Reformation: Richard Morison Re-examined," 220. "Even during Henry's negotiations with the Lutheran princes of the Schmalkald League, Lutheran documents were anathema in England. It was true that Taverner and some of Cromwell's other government translators [sic] were asked to translate the *Augsburg Confession* and the *Apology* as an initial sign of good faith before continuing political negotiations. Thus, many of these documents had to be translated in order to be perused for political purposes and their commissioning by the government did not imply governmental sanction or even indicate that the government would permit other Lutheran works to be propagated within the realm."

¹³ Taverner, *Augsburg Confession, The: Translation from the Latin, In 1536*, 24.

¹⁴ Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 25.

¹⁵ AC X. BSLK 64:3-4.

¹⁶ Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 25.

¹⁷ See the discussion on true body as used by the church fathers and the Lutheran Confessions on page 259 and following.

¹⁸ This is precisely the case in Jeremy Taylor. For Taylor's use of real see the section Jeremy Taylor's *The Real Presence* of 1654 beginning on page 150.

his translation of the Smalcald Articles he also renders “true body” as “real body.”¹⁹ Taverner’s translation of the *Apology* does not use the word “present” at all. He translates *vere et substantialiter adsint*²⁰ as “there is verily and substantially the body and also blood of Christ.”²¹ Taverner’s literal translation gives a 16th century witness to the interpretation of the Augsburg Confession and Apology into English. This helps to demonstrate that the term real presence was not applied to the Lutherans as a result of their confessions, nor did it happen in the 1530s.

After Henry’s divorce and break with Rome, he sent Bishop Edward Fox, Doctor Nicholas Heath and Robert Barnes²² in December of 1535 to Saxony to meet with Francis Burckart and Gregorius Brück (Pontanus), the senior chancellor of Saxony. He was reaching for admission into the Schmalkaldic League.²³ The Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse replied in the so-called “Christmas Articles” of 1535.²⁴ The Lutherans insisted that Henry

¹⁹ Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 27.

²⁰ AP X. BSLK 247:47 – 248:1.

²¹ Taverner, *Confessyon of the Fayth of the Germaines; the Apologie by Melancthon*, 1536.

²² Gerald Lewis Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 118. “Luther himself took part in the negotiations, and the English Church was represented by Edward Fox, Nicholas Heath and Richard Barnes.”

²³ Hardwick and Stubbs, *A History of the Christian Church During the Reformation*, 187.

²⁴ Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 118.

subscribe to the Augsburg Confession and Apology before he could be admitted to the League and be “nominated to be commander-in-chief of the Protestant cause in Europe.”²⁵ Henry objected to this requirement “unless certain things in their Confession and Apology should by their familiar conferences be mitigate.”²⁶

Both Luther and Melanchthon attended these meetings in January of 1536. Out of these negotiations a document called The Wittenberg Articles of 1536 was produced with Melanchthon its primary author.²⁷ The Wittenberg Articles were composed as a draft document for the English delegates to take to England for Henry’s consideration. No evidence of these articles has been found in England. The document was composed in both Latin and German, although no complete Latin or German text is still extant. Before 1905, only five of the seventeen articles were known; these were preserved in the 1692 *Historia Lutheranismi*.²⁸ What is noteworthy for our purposes is the use of *realiter* in the article on the Lord’s Supper.

06. The Lord’s Supper. Concerning the tenth article of our confession, we firmly believe and teach that in the sacrament of the Lord’s body and blood, Christ’s body and blood are truly,

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Hardwick and Stubbs, *A History of the Christian Church During the Reformation*, 187, fn. 4.

²⁷ Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 118. “The main author of the text seems to have been Luther’s assistant, Philipp Melanchthon.”

²⁸ Ibid.

substantially and really present under the species of bread and wine, and that under the same species they are truly and bodily presented and distributed to all those who receive the sacrament.²⁹

Bray renders the phrase *vere substantialiter et realiter adsint* as “truly, substantially and really present.” The adverbs *vere*, *substantialiter*, and *realiter* were first used in connection with the Lord’s Supper shortly after Lateran IV³⁰ and their usage here is not unusual. Since this document is based on the Augsburg Confession, the insertion of *realiter* is noteworthy. The English article appears to be a conflation of the German and Latin versions of the Augsburg Confession Article X. Considering that Melancthon did not employ *realiter* in the Augsburg Confession, it seems likely that it was added by one of the English delegates.

By the spring of 1536, the Wittenbergers suspected that Henry VIII was more interested in political advantage than in sound doctrine. Despite these doubts, the talks ended on a positive note even though Henry was not admitted to the League. After the English delegation returned to England, Henry asked them to draw up articles as a confession of England’s faith. The purpose of these articles was “to stablyshe Christen quietness and unitie amonge us, and to

²⁹ Ibid., 137. The translation and the Latin text are from Bray. “06. De coena Domini. Quod ad decimum articulum confessionis nostrae attinet, constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini vere substantialiter et realiter adsint corpus et sanguinis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini, et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et corporaliter hibeantur et distribuantur omnibus illis, qui sacramentum accipiunt.”

³⁰ See the discussion on page 32 and following.

avoyde contentious opinions.”³¹ This document became known as The Ten Articles of 1536. The Articles attempted to steer a mediating course between the Lutheran and Roman positions while excluding some of the errors of Zwingli and the Anabaptists. They served as part of the Anglican confession of the faith until 1553, when The Forty-Two Articles superceded them.³² The Ten Articles were produced on English soil and have less in common with the Augsburg Confession. Article 4 on the Sacrament of the Altar has little in common with Augustana X.

Fourthly, As touching the sacrament of the altar, we will that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach our people committed by us into their spiritual charge, that they ought and must constantly believe, that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there presently do see and perceive by outward senses, is verily, substantially, and really contained and comprehended the very selfsame body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross for our redemption; and that under the same form and figure of bread and wine the very selfsame body and blood of Christ is corporally, really, and in the very substance exhibited, distributed, and received unto and of all them which receive the said sacrament; and that therefore the said sacrament is to be used with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought first to prove and examine himself, and religiously to try and search his own conscience, before he shall receive the same: according to the saying of St. Paul, *Quisquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo Domini indigne, reus erit corporis et sanguinis Domini; probes igitur*

³¹ Charles Hardwick and Francis Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion: To Which Is Added A Series Of Documents, From A.D. 1536 To A.D. 1615: Together With Illustrations From Contemporary Sources* (London: G. Bell, 1888), 34.

³² For more on the Forty-Two Articles see page 133 and following.

seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de poculo illo bibat; nam qui edit aut bibit indigne iudicium sibi ipsi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini; that is to say, Whosoever eateth this body of Christ unworthily, or drinketh of this blood of Christ unworthily, shall be guilty of the very body and blood of Christ; wherefore let every man first prove himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this drink. For whosoever eateth it or drinketh it unworthily, he eateth and drinketh it to his own damnation; because he putteth no difference between the very body of Christ and other kinds of meat.³³

The phrase “verily, substantially, and really contained” goes back to medieval usage³⁴ and is employed in Trent’s formulation.³⁵ It allows one to understand this article as confessing transubstantiation. Bray comments, “Article 04 on the Lord’s Supper allows for a breadth of interpretation which could permit either a Lutheran or a Catholic position on transubstantiation.”³⁶ This may demonstrate that apart from the direct influence of the Lutherans, the English confessions reverted to their more traditional formulations.

The Thirteen Articles of 1538

By 1538, Henry practically begged the leaders of Saxony to make good on their promise to send Lutheran representatives to England, especially his favorite

³³ Hardwick and Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 249-250. This text also appears in Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 169-170. Bray’s text is slightly different from Hardwick’s, primarily in that Bray has updated the language to 20th century English.

³⁴ See the discussion on the medieval background to real presence on page 32 and following.

³⁵ See this phrase in Trent on page 126.

³⁶ Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 162.

Lutheran, Melanchthon.³⁷ A delegation of Lutherans, without Melanchthon, was sent to England in May of 1538. This delegation consisted of Francis Burckhardt, vice-chancellor to the elector of Saxony; George Boyneburg, a nobleman of Hesse, and doctor of laws; and Frederic Mekum or Myconius, the superintendent of the church at Gotha.³⁸ Their work resulted in the production of the Thirteen Articles of 1538,³⁹ which were largely based on the Augsburg Confession.⁴⁰ Until the Nineteenth Century, the Thirteen Articles had been lost and forgotten; they were discovered among the writings of Archbishop Cranmer,⁴¹ and one copy was found "in the handwriting of the King himself."⁴² Bray lists Cranmer as the

³⁷ Hardwick and Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 56.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 61. The Thirteen Articles dealt with the following issues: 1) De Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum; 2) De Peccato Originali; 3) De duabus Christi naturis; 4) De Justificatione; 5) De Ecclesia; 6) De Baptismo; 7) De Eucharsitia; 8) De Poenitentia; 9) De Sacramentorum usu; 10) De Ministris Ecclesiae; 11) De Ritibus Ecclesiasticis; 12) De Rebus Civilibus; 13) De Corporum Resurrectione et Judicio extremo. The Thirteen Articles is also found in Thomas Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. John Edmund Cox, 55 vols., Parker Society, vol. 16 (Cambridge: University Press, 1846), 472-480. Bray also reproduces The Thirteen Articles in Latin with an English translation. Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 184-221.

⁴⁰ Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, 472, fn 1. "This book was probably drawn up for the agreement of the protestant English and German divines, who held their conferences in London, A.D. 1538. There is much similarity between the clauses of this document and the Augsburg Confession."

⁴¹ Hardwick and Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 60. These articles are contained in "a thin folio manuscript entitled, 'A Boke conteyning divers Articles de Unitate Dei et Trinitate Personarum, de Peccato Originali,' etc."

⁴² *Ibid.*, 63.

author of The Thirteen Articles.⁴³ Since the Articles were written in Latin and no English translation was produced, it seems likely that they were composed with the help of the Lutherans.⁴⁴ Among the documents in Cranmer’s papers are three papers written in Latin, which “are probably the drafts of articles not accepted by the Lutheran divines.”⁴⁵ These factors have led Hardwick to conclude, “The manuscript Articles do not embrace any of those topics on which the English and German delegates had failed to arrive at a perfect understanding.”⁴⁶ Bray concludes, “The Thirteen Articles are the most clearly Lutheran document ever to be penned by an English churchman. The influence of the Wittenberg Articles is clearly apparent, but that of the Augsburg Confession is even greater.”⁴⁷ These opinions will have to be taken into account when the language of Article 7 De Eucharistia is examined.

Thirteen Articles of 1538 Article 7 – De Eucharistia	
De Eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus, quod in sacramento corporis et	Concerning the Eucharist standing firm we believe and we teach that in the

⁴³ Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 184. “These Articles were composed about 1538 by Archbishop Cranmer.”

⁴⁴ Hardwick and Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 60. “It is also in Latin, and this circumstance adds to the probability of its having been composed in concert with foreigners; for such other Formularies of this reign as were designed for domestic use are in English.”

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 184.

<p>sanguinis Domini, <u>vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi</u> sub speciebus panis et vini. Et quod sub eisdem speciebus vere et realiter exhibentur et distribuuntur illis qui sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis.⁴⁸</p>	<p>Sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, the body and blood of Christ is truly, substantially, and really there under the species of bread and wine. And that under the very same species it is truly and really presented and distributed to those who receive the Sacrament, whether good or evil.</p>
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This Article appears to be a conflation of Augustana X and Apology X. When this Article is compared with Article X of the Augsburg Confession, a difference in the title of the Articles is immediately apparent. The English Article is titled “Concerning the Eucharist” while the Augsburg Confession titles the Article “Concerning the Lord’s Supper.” In addition, the regular way of referring to the Sacrament of the Altar in the Lutheran Confessions is the Lord’s Supper rather than the Eucharist. The English Article seems to favor the term the Eucharist. The importance of this difference is to show how the English, even under the influence of the Lutherans, prefer certain of their traditional formulations to the characteristic Lutheran manner of confession.

⁴⁸ Hardwick and Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 266. Cranmer, *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer*, 475. These are the sources of the Latin text. Bray also gives the Latin text with his English translation. Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 192. His English translation is given for the sake of comparison with my translation. “07. The Eucharist. Concerning the eucharist, we continue to believe and teach that in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, *the body and blood of Christ are truly, substantially and really present* under the forms of bread and wine. And that under these forms they are truly and really offered and administered to those who receive the sacrament, whether they be good or evil.” *Italics* are in Bray’s text.

The underlined section above is an almost verbatim quotation from the Latin of Apology X. Where Article 7 of the Thirteen Articles reads, “quod in sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini,” the Apology reads, “quod in coena Domini.”⁴⁹ Here the Article 7 seems to follow the wording of Article 15⁵⁰ of *The Marburg Articles* of October 3, 1529, which reads, “Of the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.”⁵¹ “Vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi” of Article 7 corresponds word for word with the Latin of Apology X, “vere et substantialiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi,”⁵² except for the addition of the word “realiter.” Previously we have shown that the adverb “realiter” was used in the confession of the Lord’s Supper around the time of Lateran IV and Duns Scotus. Cranmer is known to have studied primarily Duns Scotus⁵³, a fellow Englishman. In matters regarding the Lord’s Supper, Cranmer approvingly cited Duns Scotus and he relied on him in his argument against

⁴⁹ BSLK 247, l. 46 – 47.

⁵⁰ The Saint Louis Edition of Luther’s Works, XXVII, 1942 lists this as Article 14. The WA does not contain the Marburg Articles. Sasse tells this story in Sasse, *This Is My Body*, 216, fn 112.

⁵¹ BSLK 65, line 14.

⁵² BSLK 247 – 248.

⁵³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 19. “His anonymous biographer provided what has become a famous description of the first eight years of Cranmer’s studies: ‘he was nuzzled [i.e. trained] in the grossest kind of sophistry, logic, philosophy moral and natural (not in the text of the old philosophers, but chiefly in the dark riddles and quiddities of Duns and other subtle questionists)’.”

transubstantiation.⁵⁴ The influence of Duns Scotus on Cranmer and other English theologians of that day may help explain the frequent appearance of “really” and real presence in English confessions of the Lord’s Supper.

Continuing onward, *sub speciebus panis et vini* in Article 7 corresponds to the German of Augustana X, which reads, *unter der Gestalt des Brots und Weins*.⁵⁵ The final sentence of Article 7 conflates the “distributed” of Augustana X with the “presented” of Apology X while inserting the word *realiter* with the *vere*. Hardwick notes that the Article 7 of the Thirteen Articles of 1538 has “no terms in common with the twenty-ninth of the XLII. Articles.”⁵⁶ It appears that at this time there is agreement here between Wittenberg and Canterbury on the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper.

⁵⁴ Eugene K. McGee, “Cranmer and Nominalism,” *Harvard Theological Review* 57, no. 3 (1964): 194. “While Cranmer never referred to Ockham explicitly, he did refer to Duns Scotus, to Durandus, a precursor of Nominalism, and to Gabriel Biel, who after Ockham himself was the most important Nominalist theologian of the late Middle Ages. When in the course of the Eucharistic controversy the subject arose of where Christ’s proper quantity was, Cranmer cited Duns as an ‘approved author,’ and quoted him as writing ‘that his quantity is in heaven, and not in the sacrament.’ Even though Durandus, Duns Scotus, and Gabriel Biel all accepted Transubstantiation, Cranmer cited with approval the fact that all did so on the authority of the Church, that is, the bishop of Rome. He quoted Scotus, the subtlest of the school authors, as saying of the words of Scripture that they ‘might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation,’ but Rome chose otherwise.”

⁵⁵ BSLK, 64.

⁵⁶ Hardwick and Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 63.

Thomas Cranmer and the Swiss

In the midst of the discussions with the Lutherans, Thomas Cranmer received a gift of six books from Joachim Vadian of Switzerland on the Lord's Supper.⁵⁷ Vadian held views similar to those of Oecolampadius and Zwingli regarding the Lord's Supper. In a letter dated 1537 Cranmer writes to Vadian regarding the Lord's Supper.

Wherefore, since this catholic faith which we hold respecting the real presence has been declared to the church from the beginning by such evident and manifest passages of scripture, and the same has also been subsequently commended to the ears of the faithful with so much clearness and diligence by the first ecclesiastical writers; do not, I pray, persist in wishing any longer to carp at or subvert a doctrine so well grounded and supported.⁵⁸

Excursus – English Translations of Latin

The above quotation appears to show Thomas Cranmer using the term real presence. This assumption is, however, erroneous and is based on a mistranslation of the text. The investigation into the term real presence was frequently hindered by mistranslations and anachronisms. Because this problem is so widespread, there are too many examples to cite here. For purposes of demonstration here is the original Latin text of the above quotation.

⁵⁷ Hastings Robinson, ed., *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation: Written during the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, 55 vols., Parker Society, vol. 53 (Cambridge: University Press, 1846), 12-13. "Nevertheless, if I may candidly express my sentiments, (as ought to be the case between good men,) the subject you treat of in those six books, which you sent me as a present, is altogether displeasing to me."

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 14.

Quamobrem quum haec, quam tenemus, Catholica fides de vera presentia corporis tam apertis ac manifestis scriptures fuerit Ecclesiae ab initio promulgata, et eadem postea, per primos Ecclesiasticos scriptores, fidelium auribus tam clare, tamque studiose commendata, ne quaeso, ne mihi pergatis eam tam bene radicatam et suffultam velle amplius convellere aut subruere.⁵⁹

The Parker Society text translates *vera presentia corporis* as real presence. Here Cranmer's words follow the Lutherans with whom he is in conversation. A more accurate translation would be "the body's true presence." In the 19th century, *vera* is frequently translated as "real," but not always. In this particular example, the combination of *vera* with *corporis* may have indicated that the translation should have been "real" rather than "true." Since Cranmer in his mature years continued to speak of "true" presence (as did Beza)⁶⁰ but he denied "corporal presence," the translator decided to translate Cranmer as confessing real presence when he used *vera* and *corporis* together. When *vera* appears without

⁵⁹ John Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1812), 742.

⁶⁰ Beza not only spoke of "truly present" but also of "really present" if "really" is taken for "truly." See Jill Raitt, *The Colloquy of Montbéliard: Religion and Politics in the Sixteen Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 91. "Really taken for truly is admissible, but orally is to be entirely rejected since it is like the *sensually* of the 'papists.'" Beza also employed the term "substance" in reference to the Lord's Supper in his discussions of Andreae. See Robert M. Kingdom, "Barriers to Protestant Ecumenism in the Career of Theodore Beza," in *Probing the Reformed Tradition: Historical Studies in Honor of Edward A. Dowey, Jr.*, ed. Elsie Anne McKee and Brian G. Armstrong (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1989), 240-241. "The Göppingen statement which had been drafted primarily by Beza and Andreae was particularly offensive to Zwinglians. It contained the word 'substance' in defining the mode in which Christ is present in the Eucharist. It agreed that both the faithful and the unfaithful truly receive Christ in the Sacrament, even if they do not both benefit from that reception. Neither were opinions that any committed Zwinglian could accept."

corporis, the translator translates *vera* as “true.” This practice of translating *vera* as “real” is not only misleading but also has resulted in the term real presence being attributed anachronistically to authors who never used the term themselves. This problem is compounded by the fact that many texts are only readily available in English translation. This phenomenon occurs most frequently in English translations, but may be found on the increase in German translations since the end of the 19th century.

Another problem introduced by this translation practice occurs when later authors comment and interpret a given text. Using the same Cranmer quotation listed above, Peter Brooks writes, “Cranmer is plainly convinced of the truth of the real presence, and by no means bases this on hearsay.”⁶¹ Brooks here is relying on the Parker Society texts,⁶² which translate a true presence as real presence. This example is ironic considering that Brooks’ goal is to show how Thomas Cranmer’s doctrine of the Lord’s Supper changed from real presence to a “True Presence,” that is a spiritual presence apprehended only by faith. Yet, the text given above reads “true presence” rather than real presence. It appears that

⁶¹ Peter Newman Brooks, *Thomas Cranmer’s Doctrine of the Eucharist; An Essay in Historical Development* (New York: Seabury Press, 1965), 4-5.

⁶² For this letter from Cranmer to Joachim Vadian, Brook’s relies on the Parker Society, which put this letter into English for the first time. Robinson, ed., *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation: Written during the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, 11-14.

Cranmer's doctrine of the Lord's Supper changed more than his vocabulary. For Cranmer the change in his theology has less to do with terms such as real presence and more to do with subtle omissions or the addition of words such as body and faith. However, if one were using only the Parker Society texts, these changes would be much more difficult to detect.

It may now be helpful to give a brief account of what may lie behind the translation of texts and the use of real presence in 19th century England. From the 16th century until the 19th century, the term real presence was a bad word for Anglicans. For them the word had "popish" connotations and was used either as an equivalent for transubstantiation or used as a term to describe the half-papists, the Lutherans. We have already recounted Pusey's role in sanitizing the term real presence for Anglican usage.⁶³ The controversy Pusey caused over real presence resulted in the publication of patristic texts by Pusey and the Tractarians which led to English translations containing the anachronistically imposed term real presence. Those who opposed Pusey also used real presence in a negative sense or sought to spiritualize it. A case in point is the translations published by the Parker Society. These brought into English for the first time many texts of the English Reformation. Here the English reformers are represented as repudiating real presence. The end result of this strife over the

⁶³ See page 19 and following.

Lord's Supper between warring factions within the Anglican church of the 19th century is a multitude of English translations from the patristic era through the Reformation containing the phrase real presence when no such phrase appeared in the original text. This recognition does not deny that real presence is used in the 16th century in England, but it does greatly reduce the number of occurrences.

The 19th century may not be singled out for uncritical use of real presence. Take, for example, the historian and philosopher David Hume. While Hume is not a theologian, he does provide an example of how real presence was used in the 18th century. In his *Enquiries concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals*, in Section X, Part 1, "Of Miracles," Hume writes, "There is, in Dr. Tillotson's writings, an argument against the *real presence*, which is as concise, and elegant, and strong as any argument can possibly be supposed against a doctrine, so little worthy of a serious refutation."⁶⁴ At first blush, this quotation seems straightforward. Hume seems to say that Dr. Tillotson, the Archbishop of Canterbury, preached against the real presence, that is, until Tillotson's sermons are examined. The sermon cited by Hume is titled, "A Discourse Against Transubstantiation."⁶⁵ As far as we can determine, Tillotson

⁶⁴ David Hume, *Enquiries Concerning Human Understanding and Concerning the Principles of Morals: Reprinted from the Posthumous Edition of 1777*, ed. P.H. Nidditch, 3 ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 109.

⁶⁵ John Tillotson, *Sermons on Several Subjects and Occasions*, 12 vols., vol. 2 (London: For C. Hitch and L. Hawes, et al., 1757), 198-246.

does not use the phrase real presence. However, Hume indicates an important use of real presence as equivalent to transubstantiation. This usage does appear in English from the 16th century to the 19th century. There are even some in Rome who equated real presence with transubstantiation.⁶⁶

This excursus may illustrate some of the difficulties in tracking down the term real presence. Among these difficulties include inaccurate translations, anachronistic usages, and fluctuating definitions, with changes depending upon who is using it and for what purpose. Chapter 6 will give more 16th century uses of the term in English. End of Excursus.

Cranmer and the Swiss Continued

During this phase of Cranmer's theological development, it is apparent that he does not hold the views of the Swiss Reformers. About one year after he wrote the letter to Vadian in 1538, the same year he composed The Thirteen Articles, Cranmer sat as judge at the trial of John Lambert. There was a "preacher named George Bucker, alias Adam Damplip"⁶⁷ who was in trouble for his teaching on the Lord's Supper and had to appear before Cranmer. After listening to Damplip, Foxe writes of the archbishop, "Cranmer most meek, then yet but a

⁶⁶ James F. McCue, "The Doctrine of Transubstantiation from Berengar through Trent: The Point at Issue," *Harvard Theological Review* 61 (1968).

⁶⁷ Brooks, *Thomas Cranmer's Doctrine of the Eucharist; An Essay in Historical Development*, 5-6.

Lutheran, marveled at it, and said plainly, that the Scripture knew no such term of 'transubstantiation.'"⁶⁸ It seems while Cranmer was in discussions with the Lutherans, he held to the Lutheran teaching on the Lord's Supper, a corporeal giving of Christ's body and blood without transubstantiation.

Another factor to consider in Cranmer's Lutheran connection is his marriage to Margarete Osiander, the niece of Andreas Osiander, in July 1532.⁶⁹ Cranmer and Osiander became fast friends, although by 1552 it appears that their friendship had cooled to the point that Osiander was not permitted to enter England during the Interim as "Philipp Melanchthon told a friend with discreet glee that he had suffered a rebuff."⁷⁰ Perhaps their friendship cooled after Cranmer moved toward a Zwinglian view of the Supper. In 1548, Cranmer translated Justus Jonas' catechism from Latin into English. Jonas' catechism was a translation from the German of Osiander's 1533 catechism. Jonas' had visited England in 1547 and most likely brought the catechism with him.⁷¹ Not surprisingly since Cranmer's view on the Lord's Supper had shifted away from

⁶⁸ John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe*, ed. Josiah Pratt and John Stoughton, 4th, rev. and corr. ed., 8 vols., vol. 5 (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1877), 501.

⁶⁹ MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer*, 69-72.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 71.

⁷¹ Thomas Cranmer, *A Catechism Set Forth by Thomas Cranmer: from the Nuremberg Catechism Translated into Latin by Justus Jonas*, ed. Edward Burton and D. G. Selwyn, Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics, vol. 6 (Appleford, Eng.: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1978), 30.

the Lutheran teaching, he rendered the English in such a way as to present “a less ‘objective’ view of Christ’s presence than the Lutheran original.”⁷² Incidentally, at Cranmer’s heresy trial in 1555 he admitted to translating “the catechism of Germany.”⁷³

To summarize, we have observed a connection between the German and English Reformation in the exchange of delegates between Germany and England. From these negotiations, several articles were produced each showing varying degrees of Lutheran influence. All of these different documents utilized the adverb “realiter” in their confession of the Lord’s Supper. It is very likely that the insertion of “realiter” came not from the Lutheran delegates but from the English delegates many of whom had been schooled in the writings of Duns Scotus. It seems likely that the wider usage of the term real presence in the English language and its later anachronistic use is related to the English Reformers who variously employed the term in their confessional writings. We have not found a similar usage of the term in the Lutheran Confessions nor did the Lutheran delegates who negotiated with the English readily employ the term.

⁷² Ibid., 55.

⁷³ Thomas Cranmer, *Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer Relative to the Sacrament of the Lord’s Supper*, ed. John Edmund Cox, Parker Society (Cambridge: University Press, 1844), 190. “And as for ‘the catechism of Germany’ by me translated into English, to this I have answered before; and truth it is, that either you understand not the phrase of the old authors of the church, or else of purpose you will not understand me. But hereunto you shall have a more full answer when I come to the proper place thereof, in the fourth part of my book.”

Next to the Council of Trent, the English more than anyone else helped to bring the term real presence into more widespread usage.

CHAPTER 5 – TRENT

The Convening of Trent

After a long wait for the promised Council,¹ it finally convened 13 December 1545 at Trent.² Despite Trent's detestable winters and unpleasant summers,³ the city served the Pope both in its geographical location and in its juridical status.⁴ Due to the political situation, the council could not be convened in France, Spain, or Italy and the Pope would not go to Germany.⁵ Trent, although an imperial city within the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, was located just north of Italy and was in fact an Italian city.⁶ Trent's geographical and juridical situation fulfilled the demands of "the Curia that the Council should be held in an Italian city and the demand of the German Estates

¹ The Council was originally set to begin 17 January 1542, shortly after Regensburg. "Seven months after the date fixed for the opening only ten bishops were present at Trent." Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent: The Struggle for the Council*, 474.

² Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent: The First Sessions at Trent 1545-47*, 2 vols. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co., 1961), 13.

³ James Anthony Froude, *Lectures on the Council of Trent* (London and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896), 146.

⁴ Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent: The Struggle for the Council*, 545.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 449. "The Germans would not go to France or Spain and the French would not go to Italy. The Pope would not go to German lands out of fear for his safety. The Emperor favored Trent."

⁶ *Ibid.*, 545.

for a Council in 'German lands.'"⁷ Jedin notes that Regensburg's failure to reunite the church justified "the drawing of the Tridentine line of demarcation."⁸ Such a purpose is evidenced in the first session; the Council decided to discuss dogma and reform simultaneously,⁹ lest the Council fulfill Martin Bucer's prediction that it would condemn the Protestants and then disband without making any reforms.¹⁰ Trent proceeded in a slow fashion and postponements resulted for several reasons such as the plague, the threat of war, and the deaths of several bishops and of Pope Paul III. The Council of Trent took up the issue of the Lord's Supper almost exactly ten years after the Regensburg Colloquy and six years after Trent began.

"Real Presence" in Session XIII – On the Eucharist

In the Thirteenth Session of the Council of Trent held on October 11, 1551, under Pope Julius III, real presence became a doctrine of the Roman church.¹¹

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 391.

⁹ Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent: The First Sessions at Trent 1545-47*, 52.

¹⁰ Ibid., 35.

¹¹ Batiffol, *L'Eucharistie: La Présence Réelle et La Transsubstantiation*, 485-486. "Le concile de Trente a défini l'enseignement de l'Église sur la sainte eucharistie, et plus particulièrement ce qui concerne la résence réelle et le mode de la présence réelle, en deux articles de foi de la session XIII célébrée le 11 octobre 1551. Il repousse d'abord la théorie (Zwingli, Calvin) de la présence en figure et de la présence en vertu, et il définit la présence vraie, réelle, substantielle, du corps du Christ et de son sang, avec son âme et sa divinité (*Can. I*). Il repousse ensuite la théorie wicléfiste et luthérienne de l'impanation, d'après laquelle la substance du pain det du vin demeurerait unie au corps et au sang du Christ." ("The Council of Trent defined the teaching of the church about

The heading to Chapter 1 reads, "The Real Presence of our Lord Jesus Christ in the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist."¹² The term *de reali praesentia* only appears in the heading of Chapter 1. But it is not used in the statement of the doctrine, nor does it appear in any of the eleven canons produced by Session XIII. Despite the absence of *realis praesentia* from the rest of the session, Rome understands Canons I and II to confess the real presence. According to Jedin, "The defense of the Real Presence again takes up the greatest space."¹³

Rome acknowledged the Protestant claim (i.e. Zwingli and Calvin, not Luther) that the Words of Institution could be understood in a symbolical sense, but that the proof for understanding the Institution in the sense of the real presence is found in the tradition of the Church.¹⁴ The "tradition defense" is used

the holy Eucharist and also particularly that which concerns the real presence and the mode of the real presence in two articles of faith from the 13th session celebrated 11 Oct 1551. It rejected first the theory (Zwingli, Calvin) of the presence in figure and the presence in virtue, and it defined the presence truly, really, substantially of the body of Christ and his blood, with his soul and his divinity (*Can. I*). It next rejected the theory of Wycliffite and the Lutherans of impanation, after which the substance of bread and wine stay united with the body and with the blood of Christ.")

¹² Trent, *Concilium Tridentinum*, 200. This work is referenced as *CT* hereafter. "De reali praesentia domini nostri Jesu Christi in sanctissimo Eucharistiae sacramento." The text can also be found in Henry Joseph Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent; Original Text with English Translation* (St. Louis, MO and London: B. Herder Book Co., 1960), 350.

¹³ Hubert Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols., vol. 3 (Freiburg: Herder, 1970), 270. "Den größten Raum nahm wiederum die Verteidigung der Realpräsenz ein."

¹⁴ *Ibid.* "Als stärkster Beweis für das Verständnis der Einsetzungsworte im Sinne der Realpräsenz gilt die konstante Tradition der Kirche." ("The strongest proof for understanding of the words of institution in the sense of the real presence is the constant tradition of the church.")

to ward off the charges that real presence and transubstantiation are new terms.¹⁵ Rome acknowledged the newness of the terms but claimed the “concept” is not new.¹⁶ It is important to note the defense is of the “concept”¹⁷ not of the term,¹⁸ especially since the term “transubstantiation” cannot be found before 1181.¹⁹ The

¹⁵ Ibid., 271. “Die Gegner wenden ein, daß transsubstantiatio ein „neues Wort“ im kirchlichen Sprachgebrauch ist.” (“The opponents object that transubstantiation is a ‘new word’ in the language used in the church.”)

¹⁶ Ibid., 277. “Der Begriff ‚Wesensverwandlung‘, sagt er zu art. 3, ist nicht, wie Cano in der Theologenkongregation behauptet hat, eine neue Erfindung.” (“The concept of ‘a change of essence’ as he comments on article 3, is not a new invention, as Cano maintained in the congregation of theologians.”)

¹⁷ More careful writers will, for example, say, “The concept of the real presence is found in Chrysostom’s writings.” Less careful writers anachronistically impose the term real presence on an author, for example, “Luther’s doctrine of the real presence.” The word “concept” poses difficulties because it lacks concreteness.

¹⁸ With Trent, the term “transubstantiation” is given the same creedal weight that a term such as *homoousios* has.

¹⁹ Hans Jorissen, *Die Entfaltung der Transsubstantiationslehre bis zum Beginn der Hochscholastik* (Münster: Aschendorfsche, 1965), 7-8. “Erstmalig sicher nachweisbar ist das Wort *transsubstantiatio* um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts in den Sentenzen Roland Bandinellis, des späteren Papstes Alexander III. († 1181), findet sodann eine unwidersprochene, rasche Verbreitung in der theologischen und kanonistischen Literatur, in liturgischen Werken, selbst mystischen und homiletischen Schriften, bis es schließlich in seiner verbalen Form auf dem 4. Laterankonzil erstmals durch eine konziliare Entscheidung sanktioniert wird.” (“The first occurrence of the word ‘transubstantiation’ that is surely witnessed appears about the middle of the 12th century in the Sentences of Roland Bandinellis who was later Pope Alexander III († 1181). No one seems to have objected to it. That it swiftly spread is evidenced in theological and canonical literature and in liturgical works. It is even to be found in mystical and homiletical writings. It is finally sanctioned, in its verbal form, by a consiliar decree at the Fourth Lateran Council.”)

charge of “newness” applies not only to transubstantiation but also to real presence.²⁰

The Canons of Session XIII

The Canons passed in Session XIII were based on the work prepared in February 1547 and were identical in each article with one exception.²¹ These articles address four problems: 1) the real presence²² (art. 1 and 2), which is directed against the Swiss Reformation; 2) Transubstantiation (art 3), which is directed against Luther; 3) Reservation and worship of the Eucharist (art. 5 through 7); 4) Communion under both kinds (art. 8 and 9).²³ The numbering of the articles and canons in Session XIII of 1551 is slightly different than what Jedin reports for the 1547 discussion but the content is basically the same. What concerns us here is the section on the real presence, specifically Chapter 1.

²⁰ The English, during the reigns of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, frequently bring the charge of “newness” both to the term “transubstantiation” and to the term “real presence.” (See the John Jewel quote in the introduction and the next chapter.) In some cases, real presence is differentiated from transubstantiation, while in others it is not.

²¹ Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 269. “Die zehn Artikel über die Eucharistie, die den Konzilstheologen Anfang September vorgelegt wurden, waren mit einer Ausnahme identisch mit jenen Artikeln, die im Februar 1547 die Theologenkongregationen beschäftigt hatten.” (“The tenth article concerning the Eucharist, which was put forward by the council theologians at the beginning of September, was with one exception identical with those articles, that engaged the congregation of theologians in February 1547.”)

²² Ibid. “Die Realpräsenz.”

²³ Ibid., 269-270.

As was previously noted, the technical term *realis praesentia* only occurs as the heading for Chapter 1 of Session XIII, although *realiter* does appear elsewhere in Session XIII. Jedin reports that the majority of theologians considered the condemnations of the second section on real presence to be superfluous because the first section sufficiently covered the concerns.²⁴ It is this first section that makes the most use of the term real presence. The first sentence that appears under the heading of real presence reads:

First of all, the holy council teaches and openly and plainly professes that after the consecration of bread and wine, our Lord Jesus Christ, true God and true man, is truly, really and substantially contained in the august sacrament of the Holy Eucharist under the appearance of those sensible things.²⁵

In the text of the decree, the technical term real presence is absent and in its place is the phrase *vere, realiter ac substantialiter ... contineri*.²⁶ Notice that the word “presence” is replaced with “contained.”²⁷ The authors of the decree

²⁴ Ibid., 271. “Die meisten Theologen sind der Ansicht, daß die Verurteilung des art.1 auch die des art. 2 einschlieÙe, dieser mithin überflüssig sei.” (“The majority of the theologians held the opinion that the condemnation of article 1 also included article 2, which therefore did not need its own separate condemnation.”)

²⁵ Translation from Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent; Original Text with English Translation*, 73. Original text from CT vol. 7, pt. 1, 200: 30 – 33. “Principio docet sancta synodus et aperte ac simpliciter profitetur in almo sanctae Eucharistiae sacramento post panis et vini consecrationem Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, verum Deum atque hominem, vere, realiter ac substantialiter sub specie illarum rerum sensibilium contineri.”

²⁶ CT vol. 7, pt. 1, 200: 32-33.

²⁷ This phrase was also previously noted in William of Ockham’s *De Sacramento Altaris*. “vere et realiter continetur.” Ockham, *De Sacramento Altaris*, 162. Ockham uses “vere et realiter

strengthened and clarified *contineri* with the addition of *vere et realiter*.²⁸ The words “truly, really and substantially” work together since each word isolated from the group is not able to sufficiently guard against heresy. *Vere* guards against Zwingli’s *signum*; *realiter* guards against Oecolampadius’ *figura*; and *essentialiter* guards against Calvin’s *virtus*.²⁹ Zwingli considered “realiter” to be synonymous with “corporaliter” and “essentialiter.”³⁰ While both Zwingli’s *signum* theory and Oecolampadius’ *figura* theory concerning the Lord’s Supper clearly deny that Christ’s body and blood are there on the altar, Calvin’s *virtus* theory is more difficult to categorize. Symonds notes that in regard to Trent’s *truly, really, and substantially* “the Anglican formularies are clearly on the side of

continetur” to refer to transubstantiation. The body and blood of Christ are “truly and really contained” under the bread and wine. See also the English use of this phrase in The Thirteen Articles on page 106.

²⁸ Josef Wohlmuth, *Realpräsenz und Transsubstantiation im Konzil von Trient*, 2 vols., Europäische Hochschulschriften, vol. 1 (Frankfurt/M.: Herbert Lang Bern and Peter Lang, 1975), 135. “Die katholische Position verdichtet sich in dem der Tradition entnommenen Wort ‘contineri’ mit den Zusätzen ‘vere et realiter’, die eigentlich nur eine Verdeutlichung darstellen.” (“The catholic position solidified itself by using the traditional word ‘contineri’ with the addition of ‘vere et realiter’ which strictly speaking represented only a clarification.”)

²⁹ Pohle, “The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist,” 577. Note that Pohle alters the text of Trent. He uses *essentialiter* for Trent’s *substantialiter* and he replaces *contineri* with “present.”

³⁰ Wohlmuth, *Realpräsenz und Transsubstantiation im Konzil von Trient*, 89. “Die Ausdrücke ‘realiter’, ‘corporaliter aut essentialiter’ scheinen bei ZWINGLI synonym verstanden zu sein.” (“The terms ‘realiter’, ‘corporaliter aut essentialiter’ appear to be understood as synonyms by Zwingli.”)

the Council, at least as far as the reality of the gifts received is concerned.”³¹ While Zwingli is bound to Augustine’s *signum* theory with a lower to higher movement, Calvin is bound to Augustine’s view that the top thing about God is his almighty power. In Calvin’s theory, God’s almighty power causes a movement in the souls of believers up to Christ’s body in heaven. According to a Roman Catholic theologian, “This is called dynamic presence, a position midway between the realism of Luther and the sheer symbolism of Zwingli.”³² With the recognition that both Zwingli and Calvin are under the influence of Augustine, we look to Chapter 7 to see how Rome’s transubstantiation is also in bondage to Augustine.³³

It is important to note that all three words *vere, realiter ac substantialiter* are necessary to guard against errors in the Lord’s Supper.³⁴ When one word, such as

³¹ Henry Edward Symonds, *The Council of Trent and Anglican Formularies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 42. Symonds continues on page 43, “We see then that there is no difference between the Tridentine and Anglican formularies on the Reality of the Heavenly gifts received by the faithful.”

³² W.F. Dewan, “Eucharist As Sacrament,” in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1967), 604.

³³ See CHAPTER 7 – RELATION BETWEEN THE LORD’S SUPPER AND CHRIST beginning on page 162.

³⁴ Jill Raitt, “Roman Catholic New Wine in Reformed Old Bottles?,” *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 8, no. 3 (1971): 589-590. Raitt demonstrates that Beza accepted the words “corporally, really, and substantially” provided they are interpreted in the proper way. Raitt quotes Beza saying, “We do not use the formula ‘corporally, really, substantially’ with regard to the presence of Christ in the Supper. It seems possible to tolerate them, nevertheless, if the interpretation is added that these terms do not pertain to the mode of conjunction by which the signified is united to the signs, but rather to designate the thing signified itself (i.e., Christ).” The text in Latin: “Has

“real” is pulled out from the group, it is not able to sufficiently guard against error. None of these words are directed at the Lutheran confession of the Lord’s Supper. Rome does not doubt that the Lutherans confess that Christ’s body and blood are there “truly, really, and substantially.” This recognition on Rome’s part comes without the Lutherans using the term real presence in their Confessions. The concern with the Lutherans is in regards to transubstantiation and “Luther’s impanation theory,”³⁵ which in actual fact is a theory Luther did not hold. Pohle even says, “It must be remarked that Luther was the only one among the Reformers who still clung to the old Catholic doctrine, and, though subjecting it to manifold misrepresentations, defended it most tenaciously.”³⁶

“Real Presence” in Translations

It may now be helpful to see how Session XIII was translated into German. The earliest translation of Trent into German that we have located is contained in the German translation of Martin Chemnitz’s *Examination of the Council of Trent* of

quoque formulas (Christum Corporaliter, realiter, substantialiter, adesse praesentem in Coena) ob eandem causam non usurpamus. Videntur tamen & illae tolerari posse, si quis interpretationem adiungat, ista videlicet non pertinere ad eum coniunctionis modum quo res cum signis coniungitur, sed ad rem ipsam potius designandam, id est, ut intelligatur in Coenae actione non tantum virtutem Christi, sed ipsam in primis cum Christo coalitionem in nobis sanciri.” Raitt provided both the translation and the Latin text.

³⁵ Jedin, *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 281. “Kritisiert wird auch in can. 2 der Ausdruck impanatum, der Luthers Impanationstheorie ausdrücklich verurteilt.” (“The term impanation was also censured in Canon 2, which explicitly condemned Luther’s impanation theory.”)

³⁶ Pohle, “The Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist,” 577.

1576.³⁷ In this translation by Nigrinus,³⁸ the chapter heading, “De reali praesentia Domini nostri Iesu Christi in sanctissimo Eucharistiae sacramento” is rendered “Von der wesentlichen Gegenwart unsers HERRRN Jesu Christi im Sacrament der Eucharistey.”³⁹ Note that “de reali praesentia” is translated as “Von der wesentlichen Gegenwart;” this is not a literal translation. The language used to translate real presence echoes that of the Lutheran Confessions.

Since a Lutheran did the translation in a polemical work, one might suspect the translator of skewing things. To test this hypothesis we look to a Roman Catholic translation of Trent from the nineteenth century. The same title heading given above in Latin is translated by Egil as “Von der wirklichen Gegenwart unsers Herrn Jesu Christi im heiligsten Altarssakramente.”⁴⁰ Note that the German has difficulty rendering the term real presence. In 1851, Rome released an official German translation of Trent. The same phrase given above is translated by Smets as “Von der wesentlichen Gegenwart unsers Herrn Jesu

³⁷ Martin Chemnitz, *Examen, das ist, Erörterung des Tridentischen Concilij .../ ausz dem Latein auffs treuwlichste verteutschet durch Georgivm Nigrinvm*, trans. Georgivm Nigrinvm (1576).

³⁸ We have not been able to determine who Nigrinus was. Zedler’s *Universal-Lexikon* lists three men with the name Georg Nigrinus; however, it does not list this translation among their works. Zedler, *Grosses Vollständiges Universal-Lexikon*, 884-885.

³⁹ Chemnitz, *Examen, das ist, Erörterung des Tridentischen Concilij .../ ausz dem Latein auffs treuwlichste verteutschet durch Georgivm Nigrinvm*, 58b.

⁴⁰ Council of Trent, 1545-1563, *Das heilige, allgültige und allgemeine Concilium von Trident*, trans. Jodocus Egil (Luzern: Xaver Meyer, 1832), 94.

Christi in dem heiligsten Sacramente der Eucharistie.”⁴¹ While both *wesentlich* and *wirklich* may be a literal translation and interpretation of *realis praesentia* it is not the cognate term and does not carry the weight and freight of the Latin term. The German cognate *Die Realpräsenz* will not appear until the later 19th and early 20th centuries.⁴²

Although Session XIII of the Council of Trent introduced the term real presence into the language of the church, the term itself did not carry great weight at Trent. The phrase only appears in the chapter heading. In German translations of Trent, the phrase although translated in various ways does not use the word “real.” We will not see real presence as a direct cognate of the Latin until the English Reformation. Since Trent, real presence has become identified as opposing the teaching of Zwingli’s and Calvin’s followers. However, more current Roman Catholic usage suggests that the term has lost (if it ever truly had it) any differentiation capability. Luis Bermejo in a recent book writes, “There may still be differences between Catholics and other Christians concerning other aspects of the Eucharist, but with regard specifically to the real presence the difference in most cases is simply non-existent.”⁴³ One basis for this statement

⁴¹ Council of Trent, 1545-1563, *Des hochheiligen, ökumenischen und allgemeinen Councils von Trient*, trans. Wilhelm Smets (Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klafing, 1851), 56.

⁴² See the section on Rocholl on page 25.

⁴³ Bermejo, *Body Broken & Blood Shed*, 216.

was the adoption of *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry*,⁴⁴ which finds most church bodies confessing the real presence. Currently, it appears that the term real presence may have lost its ability to distinguish doctrinal positions. At its first appearance as a public confessional term it speaks of Christ and not of his body and blood as does he. Trent thus introduced it, but with its ambiguity the erosion of meaning can clearly be found in England already in the 16th century.

⁴⁴ *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry*, Faith and Order Paper; no. 111 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982).

CHAPTER 6 – REAL PRESENCE IN ENGLAND AFTER TRENT

XLII Articles of 1553

The Reformation in England changed most radically with the death of Henry VIII on 28 January 1547. Those at Trent rejoiced,¹ hoping that with Henry's death, England would return to the "Roman obedience"²; however, their hopes were soon dashed with the accession of Edward VI, the boy king of only ten years. During Edward's reign the English church was shaped for the future as it swung toward the Zwinglian view of the Supper. During his reign, Cranmer translated the aforementioned catechism and prepared service books. Also during this time, Cranmer fell under the influence of John à Lasco³ and also actively sought the help of Melancthon. Cranmer wrote to John à Lasco in a letter dated 4 July 1548, concerning this very matter.

We have therefore invited both yourself and some other learned men; and as they have come over to us without any reluctance, so that we scarcely have to regret the absence of any of them, with the exception of yourself and Melancthon [sic], we earnestly request you, both to come yourself, and if possible, to bring Melancthon [sic] along with you. I am now sending a third letter to Melancthon [sic], in which I exhort him to come to us; and if your exhortation

¹ Froude, *Lectures on the Council of Trent*, 234. "All was going well. As if for a special blessing came the news in the midst of their work that Henry VIII was dead. He must have died some time. His dying at the moment when so many errors were receiving the curse of the Church was a clear miracle, and a thanksgiving service was held at Trent to commemorate so great a deliverance."

² Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent: The First Sessions at Trent 1545-47*, 401.

³ Hardwick and Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 67.

be added to my letter, I have no doubt but that he will be persuaded to accept an invitation so often repeated.⁴

Cranmer wrote to Melanchthon again on 27 March 1552, exhorting him to come to England. He also lamented the “religious dissensions, especially in the matter of the Lord’s Supper.”⁵ The help Cranmer sought most was that of the Swiss and Melanchthon who was, in fact, prevented from coming to England. John à Lasco replied to Cranmer’s letter of 4 July and wrote, shortly before arriving in England, in a letter dated 19 July 1548, “England represents the calming of the ‘sacramentary contention.’”⁶ Bucer arrived in England in May of 1549.⁷ By the fall of 1549, Cranmer and his friends began to draft what became known as the XLII Articles of 1553. With the Swiss having Cranmer’s ear, it is no surprise that the article on the Lord’s Supper departed greatly from the Lutheran confession.

The XLII Articles are of special interest because Article XXIX on the Lord’s Supper condemns the real presence. Here is the entire article, all four paragraphs, in the original Latin and English.

⁴ Robinson, ed., *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation: Written during the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary: Chiefly from the Archives of Zurich*, 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

⁶ Hardwick and Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 71.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 71, fn. 2.

XLII Articles of 1553

Article XXIX⁸

De Coena Domini	Of the Lordes Supper
<p>1. Coena Domini non est tantum signum mutuae benevolentiae Christianorum inter sese, verum potius est Sacramentum nostrae per mortem Christi redemptionis. Atque adeò rite, digne et cum fide sumentibus, panis quem frangimus est communicatio corporis Christi: Similiter poculum benedictionis est communicatio sanguinis Christi.</p> <p>2. Panis et vini transsubstantiatio in Eucharistia, ex sacris literis probari non potest, sed apertis Scripturae verbis adversatur et multarum superstitionum dedit occasionem.</p> <p>3. Quum naturae humanae veritas requirat, ut unius ejusdemque hominis corpus in multis locis simul esse non posset, sed in uno aliquo et definito loco esse oporteat, idcirco Christi corpus, in multis et diversis locis, eodem tempore, praesens esse non potest. Et quoniam, ut tradunt Sacrae literae, Christus in Coelum fuit sublatus, et ibi usque ad finem seculi est permansurus, non debet quisquam fidelium carnis ejus et sanguinis Realem et Corporalem (ut loquuntur) praesentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri.</p> <p>4. Sacramentum Eucharistiae ex</p>	<p>1. The Supper of the lorde is not onely a signe of the loue that Christiens ought to haue among them selues one to another, but rather it is a sacrament of our redemption by Christes death, insomoch that to soche as rightlie, woorthelie, and with faieth receiue the same, the breade whiche we breake, is a communion of the bodie of Christe. Likewise the Cuppe of blessing, is a Communion of the bloude of Christe.</p> <p>2. Transsubstanciation⁹, or the chaunge of the substaunce of breade, and wine into the substaunce of Christes bodie, and bloude cannot be proued by holie writte, but is repugnaunt to the plaine woordes of Scripture, and hath geuen occasion to many supersticions.</p> <p>3. Forasmoche as the trueth of mannes nature requireth, that the bodie of one, and theself same manne cannot be at one time in diuerse places, but must nedes be in some one certeine place: Therefore the bodie of Christe cannot bee presente at one time in many, and diuerse places. And because (as holie Scripture doeth teache) Christe was taken vp into heauen, and there shall continue</p>

⁸ Ibid., 328-330. See also Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 301-303.

⁹ Hardwick and Procter, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, 328. Footnote 3. Hooper's 9th Article adds, "or any maner of corporall, or locall presence of Christi in, under or with the bread and wine."

<p>institutione Christi non servabatur, circumferebatur, elevabatur, nec adorabatur.</p>	<p>vnto thende of the worlde, a faithful man ought not, either to beleue, or openlie to confesse the reall, and bodilie presence (as thei terme it) of Christes fleshe and bloude, in the Sacramente of the Lordes supper.</p> <p>4. The Sacramente of the Lordes supper was not commaunded by Christes ordinaunce to be kepte, carried about, lifted vp, nor worshipped.</p>
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The key passage of this article for the investigation of the term real presence is in the third paragraph, which reads, “a faithful man ought not, either to beleue, or openlie to confesse the reall, and bodilie presence (as thei terme it) of Christes fleshe and bloude, in the Sacramente of the Lordes supper.” Of particular importance is the phrase, “the reall, and bodilie presence (as thei terme it).” This demonstrates that those condemned for believing in the real presence do not use the term themselves. It is a term given them by their opponents who acknowledge their preferred term is “bodily presence.” While this article is applicable to both Rome and Wittenberg, it appears to be directed first against the Lutheran confession. In the Thirty-Eight Articles of 1563, the condemnation against those who believe in the “real and bodily presence” was removed according to Bishop Burnet “out of consideration for the people of England who

'clung to the Corporeal Presence'."¹⁰ According to Bray, the condemnation was removed so as not to offend the "Lutherans, with their doctrine of consubstantiation. By 1571 the prospect of union with the Lutheran churches had faded, and the Article was reinstated."¹¹

Two years prior to this article's composition, Trent made real presence a Roman dogma. While the phrase "bodily presence" or "corporalem praesentiam" is a direct quotation from the Apology X,¹² it does not appear in Trent's definition. Hooper's 9th Article provides further evidence that this article was targeted at someone other than Rome. After condemning transubstantiation, Hooper's 9th Article condemns any presence "under or with the bread and wine."¹³ Since the section on transubstantiation is directed against Rome, the additional condemnation against those who believe in the bodily presence of Christ or his presence in, with, and under the bread and wine is not necessary for the condemnation of Rome. Instead it is directed against the Lutherans. This

¹⁰ Symonds, *The Council of Trent and Anglican Formularies*, 44. "Further, it must be remembered that this paragraph of the Article was substituted in 1563 for that in the corresponding Edwardian Article of 1553 which declared that 'a faithful man ought not to believe ... the real and bodily presence (as they term it) of Christ's flesh and blood'. On which Bishop Burnet comments that the change was made out of consideration for the people of England who 'clung to the Corporeal Presence'."

¹¹ Bray, *Documents of the English Reformation*, 284.

¹²BSLK 48, para. 2. "corporalem praesentiam Christi."

¹³ See FC SD VII, 35.

article provides one more piece of evidence that the term real presence did not originate with the Lutherans nor was it a term they readily employed.

Queen Mary and the Heresy Trials (1553-1558)

The XLII Articles appeared in 1553 during the last year of Edward VI's reign. After Edward died at the age of fifteen in the summer of 1553, Mary, Henry VIII's eldest daughter, was appointed by parliament to succeed Edward.¹⁴ She was loyal to the Pope and repealed the religious reforms enacted during Edward's reign. After her coronation as Queen on 10 October 1553, she proceeded to imprison and execute the clergy who would not recant and return to Rome. Even if they did recant, she frequently had them executed anyway. On account of the many executions during Mary's reign, she became known as "Bloody Mary." At the heresy trials conducted during Mary's reign, the term real presence was used to distinguish who was loyal to Rome from those who were not. Since the term became a litmus test, attempts were also made to redefine it. One of the best examples of how real presence was used in England during the 16th century is at the heresy trial of Nicholas Ridley, the Bishop of London.

¹⁴ John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe: A New and Complete Edition*, ed. Rev. Stephen Reed Cattley, VIII vols., vol. VI (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1838), 388.

Bishop Ridley had known and incurred Mary's disfavor before she came to power. On 8 September 1552, Bishop Ridley visited Mary in London.¹⁵ She remembered Ridley from when he was a chaplain to her father. After pleasant conversation, she invited him to dinner. At the conclusion of dinner, Ridley offered to preach before her on the next Sunday. Mary replied, "the door of the parish church adjoining shall be open for you, if you come and ye may preach if you list, but neither I nor any of mine shall her you."¹⁶ Mary said that Ridley did not preach the word of God. Nine months later in July 1553, Mary imprisoned him in the Tower until his disputation at Oxford on 17 April 1555. Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer disputed on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. On Wednesday, April 18th, the disputation ended and on Friday all three men were condemned. Ridley and Latimer were executed by being burned alive on 16 October 1555.¹⁷

The disputation held at Oxford was between Bishop Ridley and Dr. Smith, who left England during King Edward's reign. Dr. Weston was the prolocutor. Bishop Ridley complained that he was not supplied with the necessary books for

¹⁵ Nicholas Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, ed. Henry Christmas, 55 vols., Parker Society, vol. 39 (Cambridge: University Press, 1841), x.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ While Latimer's execution proceeded to end his life quickly, Ridley suffered greatly because the fire "by reason of evil making" did not permit his body to be consumed. As a result his legs burned but his torso remained untouched by the flames.

his defense and had to rely upon his memory.¹⁸ Weston replied that Ridley had no reason for complaint since he only had to request books and they would be given him; this promise was not kept. Ridley's request for notaries was honored, thereby preserving for posterity one transcript of the trial. The transcript taken by the notaries was sealed until 1567 when John Foxe obtained a copy.¹⁹ Ridley also wrote a brief account of the disputation before he died. Strype writes that he was unable to tell if Ridley originally wrote his account in English or Latin, but supposes that it was in Latin since a Latin account appeared in 1688.²⁰ The disputation primarily took place in Latin with brief sections in English. Although the disputation was in Latin, the only account readily available is the English text found in John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* first published in 1563.²¹ The text used below is from the Parker Society's *Works of Bishop Ridley*, which is a 19th century reprint of Foxe's work. Considering how the English have a penchant for

¹⁸ Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, 193.

¹⁹ John Strype, *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Oxford: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1854), 118-119.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Foxe revised *Acts and Monuments* in 1570, 1576, and 1583. Although there is no scholarly, critical edition of this work, the British Academy in 1993 began a 10-year project to produce a new critical edition. David Loades, *The Need for a New Edition of the Acts and Monuments* [Web] (Arts and Humanities Research Board, 1997, accessed February 12 1999); available from <http://www.shef.ac.uk/uni/projects/bajfp/main/editions.html>. See also David Loades, "The New Edition of the *Acts and Monuments*: A Progress Report," in *John Foxe: An Historical Perspective*, ed. David Loades (Ashgate: Aldershot, 1999).

translating *vere* as “real,” it was thought to be helpful to explain the text used.

The following quotations may also help explain this translation anomaly.

The Disputation between Ridley and Smith had three propositions. The first proposition stated that Christ’s natural body and blood “are really present under the forms of bread and wine.”²² Against this proposition, Ridley argued that the term “really” is ambiguous and can have several different meanings.²³ For Ridley, as long as “really” does not refer to the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary and ascended into heaven, he could accept the term as correct. Ridley had seven objections to real presence as taught by Rome in the Council of Trent: 1) real presence is contrary to Scripture; 2) it does not agree with the Creed; 3) it destroys and takes away the institution of the Lord’s Supper; 4) it casts what is holy to dogs and pearls to swine; 5) it requires unnecessary “monstrous miracles;” 6) it allows heretics to support a false Christology; 7) it

²² The first proposition which Ridley debated with his Roman opponents, Weston and Smith, may be found in Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, 194. “In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God’s word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood are really present under the forms of bread and wine.”

²³ *Ibid.*, 196. “Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word ‘really,’ whether it be to be taken as the logicians term it, ‘transcendenter;’ that is, most generally: and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ’s body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper (as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared), or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God into the unity of person. In which sense, since the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here in the earth.”

falsifies sayings of the fathers.²⁴ Ridley maintained that it was Bertram²⁵ who corrected his teaching on the Lord's Supper.²⁶ It may be helpful to examine a few of his objections to the term real presence.

The first objection requires no explanation. Quite simply, transubstantiation and the term real presence do not appear in Scripture. While such an observation is correct, a term's absence from Scripture does not automatically disqualify its use. This argument was fought at the Council of Nicea between the Arians and the Orthodox party regarding *homoousios*. The second objection regarding the right hand of God requires more explanation.²⁷ Ridley argues that real presence contradicts the Creed. He writes, "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and

²⁴ Ibid., 198.

²⁵ Ibid., 202. Bertram is a common way of referring to Ratramnus. Barclay writes of Ridley's great esteem for Ratramnus. Alexander Barclay, *The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper; A Study in the Eucharistic Teaching of Luther, Zwingli and Calvin* (Glasgow: Jackson Wylie & Co., 1927), 291-292. "Bishop Ridley, who was one of the principal compilers of our liturgy and of our Confession of faith in the reign of Edward VI, had so great an esteem for Ratramnus and his works that in his defense before the Commissioners of Queen Mary at Oxford he declares that he was driven by the reading of his work to correct by the Scriptures and the Fathers the old opinion on the real presence of the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist." John Jewel also referred to Ratramnus as Bertram. Booty, *John Jewel As Apologist of the Church of England*, 163. "Even though Ratramnus did not come from the early Church, Jewel cited him several times and claimed that Bertramnus, as he called him, expressed the true doctrine concerning the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, the doctrine which he himself espoused."

²⁶ Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, 202. Ridley also rescued Cranmer from a Lutheran confession of the Lord's Supper and even corrected Peter Martyr.

²⁷ For a fuller treatment of Christ's session to the right hand of God see the discussion beginning on page 196 and following.

not from any other place, saith St. Augustine), he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.”²⁸ This charge is leveled particularly at real presence and not transubstantiation, which is a “monstrous miracle.” The argument that Christ’s body and blood cannot be on the altar because he ascended into heaven is nothing new. Luther dealt with this argument by showing that the right hand of God is His power, which is everywhere.²⁹ Therefore, “Christ’s body is everywhere because the right hand of God is everywhere.”³⁰ Answering whether or not Christ’s body is everywhere ultimately does not satisfy, since what matters most is whether or not Christ’s body is there for you. Christ’s body being everywhere but not for you is as helpful as Ridley’s belief that Christ’s body is physically located at a local right hand of God. In both cases, Christ’s body is not there for you and gives you no benefit. The certainty and promise of the Lord’s Supper is that Christ’s body and blood are there for you to eat and to drink for the forgiveness of sins. While Ridley’s argument concerning the right hand of

²⁸ Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, 199.

²⁹ Norman E. Nagel, “Luther’s Understanding of Christ in Relation to His Doctrine of the Lord’s Supper” (unpublished Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1961), 332-333. “As a part of the whole Christ it is, like Him, free to be in every place, and is not limited to particular places. Luther’s defense against the false Roman view of location does not mean that Christ is nowhere, but that He is everywhere and fills all things (Eph. 1, 23).”

³⁰ *Vom Abendmahl Christi, Bekenntnis* 1528, WA 26, 318:1-2. “Denn das ich beweiset, wie Christus leib allenthalben sey, weil Gotts rechte hand allenthalben ist.” *Confession Concerning Christ’s Supper*, AE 37, 207. Luther deals extensively with the right hand in *This Is My body*, AE 37, 55-64. Especially note pages 63 and 64.

God does not affect Article X of the Augustana and the Apology, it exposes a weakness in Ridley's Roman opponents.

As far as Ridley is concerned the real presence requires the convoluted and monstrous miracle of transubstantiation to happen. On this point, Ridley strikes a heavy blow that his opponents have difficulty refuting. Apart from the feeble exclamation, "Leave your blasphemies,"³¹ Ridley's opponents have trouble countering his right hand of God argument. Smith replies, "Christ's ascension is no let to his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places."³² Smith repeats this quotation several times after each of Ridley's arguments against the real presence. He can say nothing other than that Christ ascended and his body is in heaven and that does not hinder his real presence in the sacrament. Ridley has won this point on logic.

In this context Ridley states that real presence has a double meaning.

Of Christ's real presence there may be a double understanding. If you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporal substance which he took of the Virgin, that presence being in heaven cannot be on the earth also. But if you mean a real presence, 'secundum rem aliquam quae ad corpus Christi pertinet,' i.e. according to something that appertaineth to Christ's body, certes the ascension and abiding in heaven are no let at all to that

³¹ Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, 199.

³² *Ibid.*, 212.

presence. Wherefore Christ's body, after that sort, is here present to us in the Lord's supper; by grace I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it.³³

With this quotation, Ridley demonstrates the term real presence is not secured and guarded against a spiritual redefinition. Therefore, usage (not etymology or history) shows that the term real presence does not always have one meaning.

Ridley's remaining objections deal primarily with the dignity of Christ's body. Ridley is horrified by the thought of unbelievers receiving Christ's body and blood. He wants to protect Christ from such abuse and indignity. Likewise, his objection to the "monstrous miracles" involves not only the right hand of God but also his abhorrence to the thought of rats and mice eating Christ's flesh.³⁴ Ridley's argument that real presence gives credence to the heretics is related to his belief that Christ's body is physically located at the right hand of God. A body that can be located in heaven and on the altar is not a human body

³³ Ibid., 213. I am indebted to Jeff Leiniger for finding the Latin text for me in the 1559 edition of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. John Foxe, *The Booke of the Martyrs of the Ecclesiasticall Historie, conteining the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs...Newly recognised and enlarged by the Authour* (London: John Day, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, 1559), 669. "Realis Christi presentiae duplex esse potest intellectus. Nam si intelligas realem Christi praesentiam, secundum assumptae carnis realem & corporalê substantiâ, ea praesentia quum sit in coelis, obstat quo minus simul possit esse in terris: sin intelligas realem praesentiam, secundum rem aliquam que ad corpus Christi pertinet, ea sanê non obstat, quare sic est corpus Christi, hic nobis in coena Dominica, per gratiam, ut Epiphanius loquitur."

³⁴ Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, 199. "For it affirmeth, that whoremongers and murders, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithless, mice, rats, and dogs also, may receive the very real and corporal body of the Lord."

and therefore is heretical Christology.³⁵ Ridley does not want Christ's body to suffer indignity at the hands of heretics, unbelievers, or beasts.

While several more examples of real presence could be taken from Ridley, there is a final quotation that may shed light on the English predilection for translating *vere* as "real." This quotation is from Ridley's last defense on 13 September 1555, about one month before his execution.

In a sense the first article³⁶ is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take *really* for *vere*, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *vere et realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism.³⁷

For Ridley (and those who follow his usage in England) the terms *vere et realiter* can be understood in a spiritual sense or in a corporal sense. How the words are

³⁵ Cranmer identifies this heretical Christology as Nestorian. Thomas Cranmer, *The Work of Thomas Cranmer*, ed. G. E. Duffield, Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics, vol. 2 (Appleford, Berkshire, England: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964), 100. "Now let the papists choose which of these two they will grant, for one of them they must needs grant, either that the nature and substance of bread and wine remain still in the sacrament after the consecration, (and then must they recant their doctrine of transubstantiation,) or else that they be of the error of Nestorius and other, which did say that the nature of the Godhead remained not in Christ after his incarnation." Cranmer and Ridley correctly identify the false Christology generated from transubstantiation, but they fail to see that they commit the same error by limiting Christ's body to a local right hand.

³⁶ The First Article concerns whether Christ's natural body is really present on the altar.

³⁷ Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley*, 273.

translated depends on the meaning the translator wants to give the author – either a spiritual or corporeal sense. In the case of the Parker Society, when Cranmer uses the term *vere* in the mid-1530's, he is closer to a Lutheran confession than to some mid-19th century Anglican's confession. Thus, *vere* is translated as "real." However, later on when Cranmer has repudiated his Lutheran sympathies the same word is translated as "true." Likewise, when a Lutheran or Roman Catholic uses the term *vere* it is translated as "real" rather than "true." This practice is another example of the malleability of the term real presence.

Real Presence during Elizabeth's Reign (1558-1603)

If the ascent of Edward moved the English Church toward Zwingli and the ascent of Mary moved her toward Rome, then Elizabeth steered a middle path. With the death of Mary, the heresy trials ended, although some of the participants ended up in prison.³⁸

Our enquiry moves on to the writings of John Whitgift, the third and last Archbishop of Canterbury during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Whitgift was born in the year of the Augsburg Confession, 1530. He went to college in

³⁸ Dr. Smith who tried Ridley was imprisoned by Elizabeth in the Tower until his death.

Cambridge during the “dangerous reign of Queen Mary”³⁹ and was ordained in 1560.⁴⁰ In 1563 he received the degrees of Master of Arts and Bachelor of Divinity after only “twelve or thirteen years”⁴¹ in college. Soon after this, he became a fellow of Trinity College, where he lectured and continued to study. During this time, he also became famous as a preacher and was summoned to preach before the Queen in 1566.⁴² In 1567, he received the Doctor in Divinity degree and was made master of Pembroke Hall, his old college.⁴³ In 1577, Whitgift was elected Bishop of Worcester. In 1583, he was elected Archbishop of Canterbury. He died 28 February 1604.

Whitgift makes use of the term real presence in a writing he completed in 1573. At this time in the Church of England, there were debates over the form of church government. In one such debate, John Cartwright, a Presbyterian and a Puritan, attacked Whitgift. In reply, he wrote, “The Defense of the Aunsvvere to the Admonition, against the Replie of T.C.”⁴⁴ Although the title page of the book

³⁹ John Strype, *Life and Acts of John Whitgift, D.D.*, 4 vols., vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1822), 13.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁴⁴ John Whitgift, *The Defense of the Aunsvvere to the Admonition, against the Replie of T.C.* (London: Henry Binneman, 1574). This work was reprinted by the Parker Society in 1851. John

lists the publication date as 1574, Strype reports that the book was completed in February 1573.⁴⁵ Cartwright charged Whitgift with retaining popish customs and quoted Peter Martyr in support of this charge.

Peter Martyr, upon the x. chap. of the second book of the Kings, saith that "the Lutherans must take heed lest, whilst they cut off many popish errors, they follow Jehu by retaining also many popish things. For they defend still the real presence in the bread of the supper, and images, and vestments, &c."⁴⁶

First it must be pointed out that the phrase real presence in the quotation is a translation of *praesentiam corporis Christi realem, corporalem, et substantialem, ut loquuntur in pane coenae Domini*. The translation is less than literal. Other than the term *realem*, the Lutherans had confessed the Lord's Supper with the words *corporalem et substantialem*, although the word *corporalem* is not commonly seen in Lutheran writings.

Of more immediate interest is Whitgift's reply. "M. Martyr nameth the popish things which the Lutherans observe, to be the real presence, images, all

Whitgift, *The Works of John Whitgift*, ed. John Ayre, Parker Society, vol. 48 (Cambridge, Eng.: 1851).

⁴⁵ Strype, *Life and Acts of John Whitgift, D.D.*, 109. "The year at the bottom of the title-page of that book is set down to be 1574, but that is to be attributed to the custom of printers, to antedate their books. For our Doctor had presented this his Defense to the Lord Treasurer, in the month of February, anno 1573, accompanied with a letter of that date."

⁴⁶ Whitgift, *The Works of John Whitgift*, 549. Martyr's quote is given in English. The Latin original reads: "Cavere item debent Lutherani, ne dum exciderint multos papisticos errors, imitentur Jehum, retinendo adhuc permulta papistica. Defendunt enim adhuc praesentiam corporis Christi realem, corporalem, et substantialem, ut loquuntur, in pane coenae Domini: tuentur imagines: tuentur vestes, et alia."

the popish apparel which they used in their mass (for so doth he mean); which this church hath refused.”⁴⁷ While the Peter Martyr quotation was originally in Latin, Whitgift’s response is in English. Here he uses the phrase real presence to identify what the Lutherans teach.

The English used the phrase real presence to describe the Lutheran confession of the Lord’s Supper even though the Lutherans did not themselves use the term. The English also identified the Lutherans as being “popish” and “half-papists.” In connection with the Lord’s Supper this charge can be explained in light of the Council of Trent where the term real presence was employed. Trent upheld the real presence in connection with transubstantiation. The Lutherans rejected transubstantiation but still taught what appeared to the English as real presence. For the rest of the 16th century, the Anglicans were apprehensive about using real presence in connection with their teaching on the Lord’s Supper.

Jeremy Taylor’s *The Real Presence* of 1654

If after the Reformation in England there was reluctance to use the term real presence, the 17th century saw an increased willingness among some to use

⁴⁷ Ibid., 550.

the phrase.⁴⁸ Jeremy Taylor was not only willing to use the phrase, but he attempted to reclaim it from Rome for the Church of England. Jeremy Taylor was baptized 15 August 1613 in Trinity Church in Cambridge.⁴⁹ He was ordained in 1633 and in 1634 he became a master of arts. Taylor's brilliance soon attracted the notice of William Laud, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud, who was also Chancellor at Oxford, nominated Taylor for a fellowship at All Souls, there in 1635. In 1638, he was made rector at Uppingham. Taylor was suspected of "popery" on account of his friendship with Christopher Davenport, a missionary friar whose goal in life was to reconcile the Anglican Church with Rome,⁵⁰ and what added to this was his association with Laud, who was also suspected of having leanings toward Rome.⁵¹ Because of these suspicions, Taylor was

⁴⁸ Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1370. "Subsequent Anglican writers, less close to the Reformation controversies, were more ready to use the phrase. It figures in the works of the Caroline Divines (esp. W. Laud and J. Cosin), forms part of the title of Jeremy Taylor's book, *The Real Presence and Spirituall of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation* (1654), and comes in the hymns of Charles Wesley." For one of Wesley's hymns which uses the term real presence see APPENDIX D – JESU, MY LORD AND GOD, BESTOW on page 345. William Laud was Taylor's mentor.

⁴⁹ Edmund Gosse, *Jeremy Taylor* (New York: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1968), 3. It is not known how old Taylor was when he was baptized. He was either an infant or two years old.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁵¹ Hugh Ross Williamson, *Jeremy Taylor* (London: Dennis Dobson LTD, 1952), 21. "The final and dangerous factor in the situation was that Laud himself was suspected – quite unjustly – of secret leanings to Rome, which, in a country on the verge of revolution, meant that a Gunpowder Plot sermon preached by his protégé at his request might have unforeseen political repercussions." Archbishop Laud suppressed and punished the Puritans in England. Many of the Puritans who came to America in the 1630s, fled to get away from Archbishop Laud. On 10 January 1644, Laud was executed on Tower Hill, London, for "popery."

appointed to preach at St. Mary's in Oxford on Guy Fawke's Day on 5 November 1638.⁵² His *Sermon on Gunpowder Treason* removed any doubt that he was a Protestant.⁵³ He remained at Uppingham until 1642, when he became a chaplain in the Royalist army. In 1645, Taylor was chaplain at Golden Grove in Wales, where he remained for a number of years. In 1660 he was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Dublin University⁵⁴ and in 1661, he received the see of Dromore. The Right Rev. Dr. Jeremy Taylor, Lord Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, died 13 August 1667 at the age of 54.

Jeremy Taylor was a prolific author whose works range from theological treatises, polemics, sermons, and devotional writings. Coleridge considered Taylor to be one of the four greatest masters of the English language.⁵⁵ He has even been called "the Shakespeare of English prose."⁵⁶ How such a master of English uses the term real presence may be pertinent to this study. Taylor, in his

⁵² Gosse, *Jeremy Taylor*, 18.

⁵³ Williamson, *Jeremy Taylor*, 21. "Antony à Wood records that the original draft of his sermon was censored by the Vice-Chancellor, who interpolated anti-Catholic passages so bitter that Taylor had to apologise to his Catholic friends for uttering them."

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 134.

⁵⁵ Gosse, *Jeremy Taylor*, 211. "Coleridge placed Jeremy Taylor among the four principal masters of the English language in the august first half of the seventeen century; he 'used to reckon Shakespeare and Bacon, Milton and Taylor, four-square, each against each.'"

⁵⁶ Williamson, *Jeremy Taylor*, 13. "Mason, the biographer of Gray, went further and described Taylor as 'the Shakespeare of English prose' – a judgment endorsed by Sir Edmund Gosse at the beginning of this century."

only published work of 1654, takes up the real presence against the Roman transubstantiation. He writes in his dedication to Dr. Warner, the Lord Bishop of Rochester, that he was prompted to write against transubstantiation after he engaged "in a conference with a person of another persuasion."⁵⁷ Taylor never mentions the name of this "person of another persuasion", but he is believed to be John Sarjeant, the former secretary to Bishop Morton.⁵⁸ Sarjeant left England during the Civil War and returned as a Jesuit fighting for the Roman cause.⁵⁹ It is thought that Sarjeant came and visited Taylor in Wales, thus, prompting his response. Taylor notes that these English papists have a "strange triumphal gaiety"⁶⁰ over the supposed death of the Church of England. Taylor in his treatise defends the Church of England against the evil, false and dangerous doctrine of transubstantiation.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Jeremy Taylor, "The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, Proved, Against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation," in *The Whole Works of the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D.D.* (London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden, 1844), 681. Taylor, *Real Presence*, Epistle Dedicatory.

⁵⁸ Gosse, *Jeremy Taylor*, 110.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Taylor, "The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, Proved, Against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation," 683. "But these men are grown to that strange triumphal gaiety, upon their joy that the church of England, as they think, is destroyed, that they tread upon her grave, which themselves have digged for her, who lives and pities them." Taylor, *Real Presence*, Epistle Dedicatory.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 684. "However, let our church be where it pleases God it shall, it is certain that transubstantiation is an evil doctrine, false and dangerous; and I know not any church in

Taylor wants to separate the real presence from transubstantiation. Thus, while the Church of England does not confess transubstantiation, real presence is confessed.

So we may say of the blessed sacrament, "Christ is more truly and really present in spiritual presence than in corporal, in the heavenly effect than in the natural being;" this, if it were at all, can be but the less perfect; and, therefore, we are, to the most real purposes, and in the proper sense of Scripture, the more real defenders of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament: for the spiritual sense is the most real, and most true, and most agreeable to the analogy and style of Scripture, and right reason, and common manner of speaking. For every degree of excellency is a degree of being, of reality, and truth; and therefore spiritual things, being more excellent than corporal and natural, have the advantage in both truth and reality.⁶²

The real presence confessed by the Church of England according to Taylor is different from that confessed by Rome. The real presence of Rome is less "real" than that of the Church of England. This is so for two reasons. First, as far as Taylor is concerned, Rome has no real presence since transubstantiation is a fiction. Second, even if transubstantiation were true, which it is not, then all Rome would have is the presence of a natural body; such presence is inferior to that of the spirit. Since spiritual things are more real than material things, the Church of England has a more real, real presence than Rome. Therefore, the

Christendom, which hath any article more impossible, or apt to render the communion dangerous, than this in the church of Rome." Taylor, *Real Presence*, Epistle Dedicatory.

⁶² Taylor, *Real Presence*, Section I, 7. Ibid., 687.

Church of England is a greater defender of the real presence than Rome is with her false teaching of transubstantiation.

Now that Taylor has stated the Church of England teaches the real presence, he needs to explain why some Anglicans rejected the term real presence.

This may suffice for the word "real," which the English papists much use, but, as it appears, with less reason than the sons of the church of England: and when the real presence is denied, the word "real" is taken for "natural;" and does not signify "transcendent," or, in his just and most proper signification.⁶³

When the papists use the term "real," Taylor understands real to mean a "natural" presence or according to what is natural, that is, not spiritual. He further clarifies what he means by spiritual.

But we, by the real spiritual presence of Christ, do understand Christ to be present, as the Spirit of God is present in the hearts of the faithful, by blessing and grace; and this is all which we mean besides the tropical and figurative presence.⁶⁴

For Taylor, the spiritual presence of Christ is the real presence. Thus, real is not synonymous with natural and spiritual is not synonymous with figurative.⁶⁵

⁶³ Taylor, *Real Presence*, Section I, 8. Ibid.

⁶⁴ Taylor, *Real Presence*, Section I, 8. Ibid., 687-688.

⁶⁵ H.R. McAdoo, *The Eucharistic Theology of Jeremy Taylor Today* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1988), 146. "He reminds them of the meaning of 'real' and 'spiritual' and that the one is not a synonym for 'natural' or the other for 'figurative' and once again the key is mystery."

What is spiritually present is only present to the spirit. A material presence is a lesser presence. This would seem to exclude a bodily presence.

That which seems of hardest explication is the word "corporaliter," which I find that Melanchthon used; saying, "Corporaliter quoque communicatione carnis Christi Christum in nobis habitare;" which manner of speaking I heard, he avoided, after he had conversed with Œcolampadius, who was able then to teach him, and most men, in that question; but the expression may become warrantable, and consonant to our doctrine; and means no more than "really and "without fiction," or "beyond a figure:" like that of St. Paul, "In Christ dwelleth the fullness of the Godhead bodily."⁶⁶

Taylor confesses a bodily presence. He understands the word "corporaliter" to mean "indeed" or "in fact." So Christ is bodily present would be the same to Taylor as Christ is indeed or in fact there in the Lord's Supper. He does not understand "corporaliter" in the sense of Christ's natural body, since his body is seated at the right hand of God.

Taylor also employs Duns Scotus to argue against transubstantiation.

Johannes Duns Scotus, who, for his rare wit and learning, became a father of a scholastical faction in the schools of Rome, – affirms, "Non exstare locum ullum Scripturæ, tam expressum, ut sine ecclesiæ declaratione evidenter cogat transubstantiationem addmittere:" "There is no place of Scripture so express, that, without the declaration of the church, it can evidently compel us to admit transubstantiation."⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Taylor, *Real Presence*, Section I, 9. Taylor, "The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, Proved, Against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation," 688.

⁶⁷ Taylor, *Real Presence*, Section II, 2. *Ibid.*, 689.

Taylor's citation of Scotus may further demonstrate that the English divines were often familiar with the "subtle doctor" and that they saw him as no friend of Aquinas or of transubstantiation. Scotus at the very least admitted the possibility of Christ's real presence apart from transubstantiation.⁶⁸ For this reason, the English often cited him in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Taylor observed, "The church of Rome uses the same words we do, but wholly to other purposes."⁶⁹ It is no wonder that Taylor and his mentor, Laud, were accused of being popish.⁷⁰ To the untrained ear, real presence sounds like real presence and it is difficult to distinguish Taylor from Rome. Yet his usage of real presence is very different from Rome's usage. He clearly sees the term real presence belonging to the Church of England and not to Rome. Real presence for him is a real spiritual presence, which is higher and more real than a material or natural presence. Indeed Christ is there in the blessed Eucharist in a spiritual and so a real manner. What does it mean that Christ is present in a real, spiritual manner? Taylor holds that real presence does not refer to a place but in relation

⁶⁸ See the previous section John Duns Scotus beginning on page 37.

⁶⁹ Taylor, *Real Presence*, Section I, 12. Taylor, "The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, Proved, Against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation," 689.

⁷⁰ Taylor's and Laud's confession of the real presence in the Lord's Supper were contributing factors in their being suspected of "popery" but not the only reasons.

to a person.⁷¹ Christ is present to be taken by the communicant, not necessarily on the altar or in the bread and wine. This has led some to propose that Taylor held to a personal presence of Christ.⁷² Indeed, nearly everyone confesses that the Person of Christ is present in the Lord's Supper; however, the personal presence of Christ was not as greatly emphasized in the 16th and 17th centuries as it has been in the late 20th century or understood in the same ways. Taylor attempted to recover for the Church of England a term, which immediately following the English Reformation had been associated with Roman transubstantiation.

The fact that the Church of England confesses the real presence argues against transubstantiation since the English Church has the real presence of Christ without a miracle. No miracle is needed because the Church of England receives Christ in a purer, truer and more real way – spiritually. And from Taylor's perspective since transubstantiation goes against nature, it is not a miracle and therefore a lie; Rome has no real presence at all. Thus, the Church of

⁷¹ Taylor, *Real Presence*, Section XI, 17. Taylor, "The Real Presence and Spiritual of Christ in the Blessed Sacrament, Proved, Against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation," 732. "But this is not a natural, real being in a place, but a relation to a person."

⁷² McAadoo, *The Eucharistic Theology of Jeremy Taylor Today*, 141-142. "In effect, Taylor's writings on Holy Communion repeatedly remind us of one of those three points earlier adjudged to be fundamental, namely, Who rather than what is present and received? It is the whole Christ in His grace and power who is present and received, not entities however sacred, the 'substance' of his body and blood under the *species* of bread and wine. In order to exclude materialist concepts of the presence, it has to be insisted that not 'entities' but a Person is present in and through the sacramental elements. Aquinas achieves this by affirming a doctrine of concomitance and Taylor by asserting a real spiritual presence."

England truly and really defends the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. Taylor's attempt to rehabilitate real presence in Anglican usage had mixed results. He did not escape charges of "popery." Many still thought of real presence as equivalent to transubstantiation.⁷³ Yet others confessed the real presence. Perhaps his greatest impact lay in the adoption of the term real presence by Pusey and the Tractarians.⁷⁴

Summary

This chapter has surveyed the term real presence from four periods of English history. The first period was from the Church of England's Zwinglian phase during the reign of Edward VI. Here anyone who taught real presence (or bodily presence) was condemned. While both Rome and Wittenberg would be condemned, the reference to the "bodily presence" as confessed in Apology, Article X, indicates that Lutherans were in mind. The second period was after Trent and during "Bloody" Mary's reign when the term was most associated with Rome. This is when the heresy trials took place. Those put on trial, perhaps only to avoid death, confessed the real presence. However, they understood their confession of the real presence in a spiritual sense. In the third period during Queen Elizabeth's reign, the term real presence once again is applied to the

⁷³ For instance, the philosopher David Hume appears to have equated real presence with transubstantiation. See the reference to Hume on page 116 of this study.

⁷⁴ For Pusey and the real presence see the section beginning on page 19.

Lutherans. For Whitgift, condemning transubstantiation addresses Rome. Lutherans are then regarded as half-papists who reject transubstantiation, but, from the viewpoint of the English, accept real presence. While for Rome the term is sanctified by its use as the heading of Chapter 1 of Session XIII of the Council of Trent, and while the term was variously employed in England, the Lutherans had no use for it. The fourth period is from the mid-17th century, approximately one hundred years after the third period. Here the term real presence was reclaimed for Anglican use. Real presence refers to Christ's spiritual presence in the Lord's Supper, where more spiritual is more real. While the explanation of real presence has changed in the Church of England from time to time, it always has been different than Rome's understanding of real presence. It also has been different from what some Lutherans later on called real presence. Historically speaking, the term real presence and the discussion of it have never been far from England.

PART 2: ANALYSIS AND SYSTEMATIC EVALUATION

CHAPTER 7 – RELATION BETWEEN THE LORD’S SUPPER AND CHRIST

The Analogy Between the Incarnation and the Lord’s Supper

In Justin Martyr we have sensed certain evidence of a connection between the Incarnation and the Lord’s Supper. Is the movement from the Incarnation to the Lord’s Supper, or the other way? Does the analogy give doctrine of the one by way of the other, or are we in the presence of devout reflection? Justin Martyr confesses as Jesus Christ was made flesh and blood, likewise the bread and wine are made flesh and blood.¹

Pannenberg describes the point of the analogy.² “Christian theology rapidly came to think of the presence of Christ at the Supper in analogy to the incarnation. At the birth of Jesus the heavenly Logos came down from heaven and took flesh. So he also comes into the bread and wine on the altar.”³ Betz

¹ Justin Martyr, *Apologetica* 66.2. Text in Edgar J. Goodspeed, ed., *Die ältesten Apologeten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), 74-75. οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ’ ὄν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχευ, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι’ εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. “For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by prayer of His word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh.” (ANF 1, 185)

² Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Systematic Theology*, trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 1 ed., 3 vols., vol. 3 (Grand Rapids, MI and Edinburgh: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company and T & T Clark Ltd, 1998), 312. Referring to the analogy to the incarnation Pannenberg writes of Justin Martyr, “Thus Justin (*Apol.* 66.2) tells us already that this thought was a traditional view.” Justin speaks of the flesh and blood that is eaten and drunk; Pannenberg does not.

³ *Ibid.*

commenting on Justin Martyr writes, "From the analogy between historical and eucharistic incarnation it follows that the Logos now appears in the Eucharist in the elements in the same relation which he had in the past by the incarnation in his human body. We are also able to say: as the Logos in the past had flesh and blood in the form of the Man Jesus Christ, thus now he has flesh and blood in the form of the meal."⁴ Not surprisingly then a good number of church fathers have spoken of the connection between the Lord's Supper and the Incarnation as an analogy.⁵

When the Lord's Supper is compared to the Incarnation by analogy, Christ is the *Ursakrament*.⁶ The term *Ursakrament* is rooted in German idealism and

⁴ Johannes Betz, *Die Eucharistie in der Zeit der griechischen Väter*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (Freiburg: Herder, 1955), 271. "Aus der Analogie zwischen historischer und eucharistischer Inkarnation folgt, daß der Logos nun in der Eucharistie zu den Elementen in das gleiche Verhältnis tritt, das er einst bei der Inkarnation zu seinem menschlichen Leib hatte. Wir können auch sagen: Wie der Logos einst Fleisch und Blut in Gestalt des Menschen Jesus Christus hatte, so hat er jetzt Fleisch und Blut in Gestalt der Speise."

⁵ FC, SD VII, 37, (BSLK 983) lists many ancient teachers like Justin, Cyprian, Augustine, Leo, Gelasius, Chrysostom and others as citing the personal union as an analogy to the words of Christ's testament.

⁶ Ernst Sommerlath, "Abendmahl III Dogmatisch," in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Kurt Galling (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1957), 34. "Darum ist ihm Christus selbst auch das Eigentliche, das Ursakrament." ("So it is that for him Christ himself is the primary, the original sacrament.") In this passage Sommerlath has in mind some of Luther's early writings. In the *Babylonian Captivity* of 1520 Luther writes, "Sicut ergo in Christo res se habet, ita et in sacramento." Text in CL 1, 442. "Christ, the one and only saving primordial sacrament... Christ as the one and only 'Sacrament of God.'" Edward Schillebeeckx, *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, trans. Paul Barrett, Mark Schoof, and Laurence Bright (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1963), 40.

Platonism.⁷ Christ himself is the Sacrament from which the other sacraments flow.⁸ The order of this analogy from highest to lowest is Christ, Church, Sacraments. The Sacraments then are signs that point to and convey the reality of Christ Himself, who is the connection between the various sacramental signs. While the different sacramental signs are distinguishable by their externals (water, bread and wine), they are indistinguishable internally since Christ Himself is really present in them. This poses a problem for the term “real presence” as it loses its distinctiveness and thus no longer refers to the body and blood of Christ, but to Christ Himself. Holy Baptism, the Lord’s Supper, Holy Absolution, and the Holy Ministry lose their distinctiveness and become analogous to Christ. Thus, in the Lord’s Supper the body and blood are de-emphasized or excluded all together in favor of Christ giving himself.

The understanding that the sacraments are derived from Christ, the *Ursakrament*, is also known by the name sacramentalism.⁹ While such

⁷ Colman E. O’Neill, *Sacramental Realism: A General Theory of the Sacraments*, Theology and Life Series, vol. 2 (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983), 52. “The term has a background of idealist thought with its echoes of Platonism.”

⁸ Ibid. “This is sacramentalism in its most basic form for it is here equivalent to Incarnation, even if the sacramental approach, precisely because of its neo-platonic overtones, lacks the dogmatic precision of St. John’s ‘the Word was made flesh.’ When the person of Christ is placed in this way as the source of the entire sacramental order, and when the church, in its turn is viewed as a general sacrament, subordinate to Christ, of the divine saving mercy, the individual sacraments are freed from their isolation as unconnected rituals.”

⁹ Another name for this is “extension of the incarnation.” Baillie reports that Bishop Gore credits Louis Thomas with first using the phrase “extension of the incarnation”. He writes,

sacramentalism finds expression in the Anglican Church in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, its roots go back to Justin Martyr and the attempt to explain the Lord's Supper by analogy to the Incarnation. Martin Chemnitz also observed similar analogies being employed by his opponents in the 16th century in the desire to analogically compare the Lord's Supper to Baptism.¹⁰ Yet sacramentalism in its 19th century form did not stay within the Anglican confession but spread to Roman usage and was propagated by the liturgical renewal movement and the ecumenical movement. Mascall writes, "It is impossible to consider either the sacraments in general or the Sacrament of the Eucharist in particular with any approximation to adequacy unless we see them as organically related to the Catholic Church."¹¹ His statement follows the progression we have been charting of Christ to Church to Sacraments.¹² He goes

"According to Bishop Gore, it was the theologian Louis Thomas (1619-95) who first used such a phrase, and particularly with reference to the real presence in the eucharist; holding that while Christ was with men in the flesh nineteen centuries ago, He is still with men in the flesh when in the miracle of the altar the elements are changed into the body and blood Christ." Donald M. Baillie, *The Theology of the Sacraments* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd, 1957), 61-62.

¹⁰ Chemnitz, *The Lord's Supper*, 256. "With much colorful rhetoric the adversaries declaim that, because there is a certain similarity among the sacraments, therefore the words of the Supper must be explained and understood not in their proper and natural way but in such a manner that an analogy with the other sacraments is preserved."

¹¹ E. L. Mascall, *Corpus Christi: Essays on the Church and the Eucharist* (London: Longmans, 1955), 36.

¹² Barry Harvey, "The Eucharistic Idiom of the Gospel," *Pro Ecclesia* 9, no. 3 (2000): 311. "The *raison d'être* of the church's eucharistic polity is 'not to exist »in itself« but to be the »sacrament«, the *epiphany*, of the new creation."

on to say that the sacraments derived their existence and efficacy from “the act by which God incarnate, entering into his world and, as it were, making himself part of it, died and rose again that it might be created afresh and be made more lovely and beautiful still.”¹³ The sacraments, in general, and the Eucharist, specifically, are incarnational; Christ comes into earthly elements. Mascall’s view of the sacraments appears to be similar to Schillebeeckx’s view.

The man Jesus, as the personal visible realization of the divine grace of redemption, is the sacrament, the primordial sacrament, because this man, the Son of God himself, is in his humanity the only way to the actuality of redemption... Human encounter with Jesus is therefore the sacrament of the encounter of God... the human saving acts of Jesus are the divine bestowal of grace itself realized in visible form; that is to say they cause what they signify; they are sacraments.¹⁴

Some variation in more or less detail does not obscure the fact that sacramentalism is a derivation from the analogy between the Incarnation and the Lord’s Supper. It is still based on hierarchy and a two-level conception of reality. This prompted Dobbie to ask, “Does not the concept of a real presence in sacraments presuppose a philosophy which begins, as Platonism begins, by positing a basic differentiation between a noumenal and sensible world, with only the former enjoying *real* status, or the latter only in so far as it participates in

¹³ Mascall, *Corpus Christi*, 41.

¹⁴ Schillebeeckx, *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter with God*, 15 and 17.

the former?"¹⁵ This seems to be where the ecumenical movement has arrived. Such a Christ is the only reality that is confessed; He is really present and gives Himself in the sacraments.¹⁶ By way of Incarnational analogy to the Lord's Supper different confessions can now have altar fellowship. The matter seems settled, and yet one cannot shirk the enquiry whether that is indeed so. If by Christological analogy, then by what Christology?

For instance, Bates observes that Apollinaris¹⁷ "uses precisely the same language about the Eucharist as he uses about the Incarnation."¹⁸ This prompts him to ask, "What effect did Apollinaris's definitely off-centre Christology have upon the Eucharist?"¹⁹ Apparently, Apollinaris' Christology did indeed have an effect on his confession of the Lord's Supper. Gebremedhin notes that while

¹⁵ Robert Dobbie, "The Validity of Sacramentalism," *Encounter* 21 (1960): 298.

¹⁶ Georg Kretschmar, "Abendmahl III," in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), 69. "Die Gabe des Abendmahls ist Christus selbst, und er ist auch der eigentliche Geber." ("The gift of the Lord's Supper is Christ himself, and he is also the one who is doing the giving.") Here Kretschmar is writing about the view of the Alexandrian theologians.

¹⁷ Apollinarianism rejects that Christ had a human mind. Apollinaris lived in the 4th century A.D. and had been a friend of Athanasius. For more see J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, Rev. ed. (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1978), 289-301.

¹⁸ W. H. Bates, "The Background of Apollinaris's Eucharistic Teaching," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 12 (1961): 145. Later Bates writes of Apollinaris' view, "The Eucharist is in the strictest sense of the words an 'extension of the Incarnation' in which all the faithful share; it was the way *par excellence* by which unity with the incarnate Logos was attained." Bates, "The Background of Apollinaris's Eucharistic Teaching," 145.

¹⁹ Bates, "The Background of Apollinaris's Eucharistic Teaching," 145.

several scholars²⁰ have tried to show the connection between Cyril of Alexandria's Christology and his confession of the Lord's Supper, "Their conclusions have been coloured by their specific points of departure."²¹ In other words, the scholars' own christological analogies have colored their analysis of Cyril's confession of the Lord's Supper.²² Gebremedhin provides further evidence that Cyril does not work with an analogy from Christology to the Lord's Supper. He writes:

For Cyril the Incarnation is a unique and unrepeatable event. The consecration of the elements does not represent a repetition of the Incarnation in the strict sense of the term. This may not appear to be the case at first sight. Cyril seems to speak of the eucharistic liturgy as an event in which the 'unenfleshed' Word or His δύναις and not the enfleshed Word, descends on the elements. However, a closer look shows that this is not his main emphasis. For Cyril, once Incarnate, the Logos remains Incarnate. After the Incarnation the Logos and His flesh are inseparable.²³

²⁰ Gebremedhin lists Steitz, Michaud, Mahé, Struckmann and Batiffol as scholars who have attempted to compare Cyril's Christology to his confession of the Lord's Supper. Ezra Gebremedhin, *Life-Giving Blessing: An Inquiry into the Eucharistic Doctrine of Cyril of Alexandria*, Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Doctrinae Christianae Upsaliensia, vol. 17 (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1977), 41.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Kretschmar, "Abendmahl III," 81. Kretschmar notes that Harnack thought Cyril of Alexandria (and the Alexandrian theologians in general) taught a "dynamische Gegenwart" while Struckmann thought he taught a "reale Gegenwart." According to Pannenberg who cites Kretschmar, "Alexandrian theology, Origen in particular, viewed the presence of the Logos in bread and wine as the personal presence of the exalted Christ, and notwithstanding all the efforts of Origen to avoid spiritualization this became the dominant view in the age that followed." Pannenberg, *Systematic Theology*, 312.

²³ Gebremedhin, *Life-Giving Blessing*, 68.

Cyril does indeed speak of the Lord's Supper in analogy to Christology, but Gebremedhin's point is that the analogy did not become the basis for his doctrine since "The Incarnation is a unique and unrepeatable event."²⁴ Its singularity affords no analogy to produce a doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

The Incarnation cannot remain unique and serve as an analogy for a doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The Formula of Concord recognizes this when it confesses, "the words of Christ's testament, that is, 'This is my body,' is not a figurative predication, but a *inuitata* (no where else) predication."²⁵ Christ's instituting words are *inuitata* in that there is nothing to which they can be compared or subordinated or derived from.²⁶ The authors of the Formula of Concord explained why they chose the word *inuitata* in the *Apology to the Book of Concord*. They write, "This phrase is designated *inuitata* by us for the reason that no example was found in linguistic use which completely agreed with such

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ FC SD VII, 38. BSLK 984. "in den Worten des Testaments Christi: 'Hoc est corpus meum, das ist mein Leib,' nicht eine figuratam praedicationem, sondern inuitatam."

²⁶ Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums*, 266. "die Stiftungsworte Christi inuitata, ohne jede Analogie sind." Werner Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, trans. Walter A. Hansen, vol. 1 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1962), 303. "that Christ's words of institution are 'extraordinary' (*inuitata*), without analogy of any kind." See also Edmund Schlink, *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions*, trans. Paul F. Koehneke and Herbert J. A. Bouman (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1961), 172. "For Christ's words, 'This is my body,' are an absolutely unique expression (S.D. VII, 38)... These statements which define the relationship of bread and body and of the blood and wine merely wish to ward off ideas which contradict the words of institution, but not to reveal the mystery of the sacramental union."

words of Christ."²⁷ The *inuitata* is prompted in the immediate context of Article 7 by the confession of the *unio sacramentalis* (Sacramental Union). The confessors write:

Although such a union of the body and blood of Christ with the bread and wine is not a personal union as both Natures in Christ, but as Doctor Luther and those among us²⁸ in the often mentioned Article of the Agreement in the year 1536 etc.²⁹ and elsewhere call it *sacramentalem unionem*, that is, a sacramental union.³⁰

²⁷ Timotheus Kirchnerus, Nicolaus Selneccerus, and Martin Chemnitz, *Apologia: Oder Verantwortung deß Christlichen Concordien Buchs* (Dresden: M. Stöckel, 1584), 154. "Diese Phrasis ist von den unsern darumb inuitata genant / das in den *usitatis linguis* kein Exempel gefunden / das sich mit solcher Rede Christi durchaus vergleiche" Quotation also found in BSLK 984, fn 4. Also see KW 599, fn. 195. "In the *Apology of the Book of Concord* (1584), Selnecker explained that the term *inuitata* (unique) was chosen because they could find no German parallel to this mode of expression." Here we respectfully disagree with footnote in the KW edition of the Book of Concord. The *inuitata* is not merely concerned with the linguistic equivalence of a phrase from Latin into German but that there is no equivalence or direction comparison between the these words in the Lord's Supper with any other. The words of institution are one of a kind and have no direct comparison or analogy.

²⁸ "Those among us" probably refers, among others, to Melanchthon. Green commenting on the absence of Melanchthon's name in the Formula of Concord writes, "But when his pupils, such as Chytraeus, wished to have the name of Melanchthon included among the orthodox teachers, they did not succeed. Only Luther was accorded this distinction... Not only was the name of Melanchthon excised from this sentence, but it was taken completely out of Article VII, whereas Luther was mentioned more than 20 times, in 5 instances of which his was called the authentic Lutheran teaching." Lowell C. Green, "The Holy Supper," in *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord*, ed. Wilbert Rosin and Robert D. Preus (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 208-209.

²⁹ *Formula Concordiae*, 29 May 1536 in CR 3, 75: no. 1429. "Et quanquam negant fieri transubstantiationem, nec sentient fieri localem inclusionem in pane, aut durabilem aliquam coniunctionem extra usum Sacramenti: tamen concedunt sacramentali unione panem esse corpus Christi, hoc est, sentient porrecto pane simul adesse et vere exhiberi corpus Christi."

³⁰ FC SD VII, 37. BSLK 983-984. "Wiewohl solche Vereinigung des Leibs und Bluts Christi mit Brot und Wein nicht ein persönliche Vereinigung wie beider Naturen in Christo, sunder wie sie | D. Luther und die Unsern in den vielgedachten Artikeln der Vergleichung Anno 1536 etc. und sonst sacramentalem unionem, das ist, ein sackramentliche Voreinigung, nennen."

Lest the sacramental union and the personal union be understood as standing in analogy to each other, the *inusitata* is confessed. While the Confessions recognize that there is a parallel between the sacramental union and the personal union, there is no direct equation between the two.³¹ The sacramental union is not derived from the personal union, but is founded and established by the words of institution. There are the words of the Incarnation which bestow what they say.³² There are the words of the Lord's Supper which do and bestow what they say. Each has its own *proprium*. However, when the sacramental union is denied, the

³¹ Gunther Wenz, *Theologie der Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche: Eine historische und systematische Einführung in das Konkordienbuch*, 2 vols., vol. 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1998), 679-680. "Zu beachten ist, daß es sich dabei um einem Vergleich und nicht um eine unmittelbare Gleichung handelt. Der bleibende Unterschied zwischen der persönlichen Vereinigung beider Naturen in der Person Jesu Christi und der sakramentalen Vereinigung von Brot und Leib Christi wird keinesweg aufgehoben, sondern ausdrücklich festgehalten (vgl. SD VII, 38). Der Verdacht, die besagte strukturelle Parallelisierung von Christologie und Abendmahlslehre führe zwangsläufig zur Vorstellung einer Impanation bzw. eucharistischen Re-Inkarnation bzw. einer vervielfältigten hypostatischen Union, ist deshalb unbegründet. Sinn und Zweck des Vergleichs von unio personalis und unio sacramentalis ist im gegebenen Kontext vielmehr die erneute Bekräftigung, daß der stiftungsgemäße Gebrauch des Abendmahls zu achten ist und die verba institutionis wörtlich zu nehmen sind (vgl. Frank III, 76f.)." ("Note that it is a question of a parallel here and not of a direct equation. The abiding distinction between the personal union of both natures in the person of Jesus Christ and the sacramental union of bread and body of Christ is in no way removed, but explicitly firmly held (SD VII, 38). The suspicion, that the aforesaid structural parallelism of Christology and the doctrine of the Lord's Supper leads unavoidably to the notion of impanation or eucharistic re-incarnation or of multipliable hypostatic union, is therefore unfounded. The direction and intent of the parallel of the personal union and the sacramental union is, in the given context, very much the repeated reaffirmation that the use of the Lord's Supper be in accord with its institution, and the words of institution be taken for what they say.")

³² Luke 1:31 & 38.

incarnation is also threatened.³³ The Lord's Supper is not a sacramental sign of an *Ursakrament*; what the Lord does and bestows in the Lord's Supper is unique to the Lord's Supper.

The way the Lord gives out his body and blood in the Lord's Supper is without analogy (*Analogielosigkeit*).³⁴ This means that no analogy can move from the Incarnation to produce a doctrine of the Lord's Supper, or of the Lord's Supper and Holy Baptism subsumed under the operative category of Sacrament.

³³ Norman E. Nagel, "The Incarnation and the Lord's Supper in Luther," *Concordia Theological Monthly* 24, no. 9 (1953): 633. "Christ is central, and therefore in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper Luther feels compelled to reject every statement that deprives him of his Incarnate Lord."

³⁴ Ernst Kinder, "Die Gegenwart Christi im Abendmahl nach lutherischem Verständnis," in *Gegenwart Christi: Beitrag zum Abendmahlsgespräch in der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland*, ed. Paul Jacobs, Ernst Kinder, and Fritz Viering (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960), 43. "Die Person gibt sich hier nicht in 'nackter' Personalität, sondern in den 'res' und durch die 'res' Leib und Blut. Das ist nun einmal das wunderbar Spezifische der Gegenwart Christi im Abendmahl, das wir in seiner Analogielosigkeit stehenlassen und dankbar nehmen und nicht geflissentlich in einen gedanklichen Allgemeinbegriff von seiner Gegenwart auflösen sollten, den wir schon ohnehin, unabhängig vom Abendmahl, haben!" ("The person gives himself here not in 'naked' personality, but in the 'thing' and through the 'thing,' the body and blood. That is how the wonderful specificity of the presence of Christ goes, which we leave there in its analogy-less-ness and gratefully receive and should not intentionally resolve into an intellectual concept, which we may already have anyway independent of the Lord's Supper.") Also see Ernst Kinder, "Die Bedeutung der Einsetzungsworte beim Abendmahl nach lutherischem Verständnis," *Luthertum* 25 (1961): 19-20. "Kraft der in der Rezitation der Einsetzungsworte im Abendmahl aktuell werdenden 'Testaments' worte, die schöpferisch sind, geschieht wunderbare, dienstbezogene Verbindung (*unio sacramentalis*, die analogielos, *anositata* ist) von zu essendem Brot und zu trinkendem Wein mit dem dabingegebenen Leib und dem Blut Jesu Christi zum Empfang als 'Pfand und Siegel' für die Hineinnahme in den neuen Gottesbund." ("By virtue of the recitation of the Words of Institution in the Lord's Supper the words of the testament are actualized. They are creative, and by them what happens is the conjunction (*unio sacramentalis* which is without analogy *anositata*). This can only be marveled at in what is thus taken into the service of what is to be served out. The bread to be eaten and the wine to be drunk therein are given the body and blood of Jesus Christ these bring with them the 'pledge and seal' of being taken into God's new testament.") See also the Solid Declaration 7.38 which has *inositata*.

The sacramental union is not a mini-incarnation or a re-incarnation, but is unique to the Lord's Supper.³⁵ There can be no external comparison of the Lord's Supper; it is what the Lord has said it to be, "It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine for us Christians to eat and to drink, instituted by Christ himself."³⁶

Christ irradiates the Eucharist, but not through some systematic pattern imposed, but by what He Himself said and did, says and does. The former way gives a more patent unity, the latter a more fundamental one which inheres in the source. The catechisms' articles on the Lord's Supper are full of Christ, but have no deduced Christology. Christ is not imported, but comes through His words and ordinance which show the Christ He is.³⁷

The Lutheran confession of the Lord's Supper does not deduce a Christology to support its confession, nor is that confession deduced from a previously confessed Christology. All words spoken by Christ about himself are new words and cannot be held to a corresponding analogy.³⁸ This means that the Lord does the words the way he does them. Doctrine is based on the Lord's words,

³⁵ Nagel, "The Incarnation and the Lord's Supper in Luther," 632. "Luther does not derive his doctrine of the Lord's Supper by deduction; it is not simply an *ex hypothesi* of his Christology."

³⁶ SC, V. BSLK 519-520. "Es ist der wahre Leib und Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi, unter dem Brot und Wein uns Christen zu essen und zu trinken von Christo selbs eingesetzt."

³⁷ Nagel, "Luther's Understanding of Christ in Relation to His Doctrine of the Lord's Supper", 457.

³⁸ Luther, *Die Disputation de divinitate et humanitate Christi*, 1540. WA 39/2, 94: 23-24. "23. Ita necesse est, vocabula: homo, humanitas, passus etc. et omnia de Christo dicta nova esse vocabula."

institution, and mandate, and not on analogy or similarities between doctrines or events. When Christ became man, he became man in a way that had no analogy to the way other men were conceived and born. He took human flesh and was born of a virgin; no other man was born in such a way, yet Jesus is true man. This is the Incarnation. An example of holding a pre-existing definition of a word over the Lord Jesus is found in the fight against the Arians, who argued on the basis of the word "son" that Christ must be less than God since a son does not exist until he is generated from his father. Yet the catholic and orthodox view held that Jesus was the Son of God in a way that did not diminish the fact that he was God from eternity of the same substance as the Father; hence, he had no beginning and he was not created.³⁹ Christ Jesus is the Son of God in a way that no other son is the son of his father. Jesus is the Son of God not because we see him and by analogy say that is a son like the sons we know of but because he has told us that he is God's Son. There is no analogy or parallel to the way in which Jesus is God's Son and a boy is the son of his father.

Likewise, there is no analogy to the Lord's words which say that He is giving His body and blood to eat and drink. Hilary of Poitiers in his *De Trinitate* says of the Lord's Supper, "The words in which we speak of the things of God must be used in no mere human and worldly sense, nor must the perverseness of

³⁹ See Athanasius, *De Decretis*, Chapters 3 and 4. NPNF II, 4, 153-161.

an alien and impious interpretation be extorted from the soundness of heavenly words by any violent or headstrong preaching."⁴⁰ Hilary distinguishes between the ways in which humans use words and the way in which the Lord uses words. One cannot understand the Lord's words by imposing a human or worldly sense on them. Does this mean that when the Lord speaks his words they are unintelligible to man? Yes and no. Indeed, when the Lord speaks of his body, the hearer initially understands the word "body" in its normal everyday sense. However, the Lord speaks of his body in ways that do not correspond to our usage of the word body. The Lord's body like ours was born, but his body was born sinless of a Virgin. His body died like our bodies will, but he did not die for his own guilt. He died for our guilt. He accomplished what the blood of bulls and goats could not.⁴¹ His blood forgives our sins. Likewise, when he says, "This is my body," it has no corresponding analogy to anything within our experience. These words cannot be understood in a human sense. For no man can give his body and blood to eat and to drink, except in a cannibalistic act in which he dies. Yet the living Christ gives us to eat and to drink his body and his blood. He gives his life-giving flesh for our forgiveness. How can this be? No one

⁴⁰ Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate* VIII, 14. NPNF II 9, 141. MPL 10, 247. "Non est humano aut saeculi sensu in Dei rebus loquendum neque per violentam atque imprudentem praedicationem; coelestium dictorum sanitati, alienae atque impiae intelligentiae extorquenda perversitas est."

⁴¹ Hebrews 10:4.

can confess that the Lord gives his body and blood to eat and to drink unless he is given this to confess.⁴² Those to whom the Lord has given this confession confess with Hilary that there is no room left to doubt the flesh and blood of our Lord.⁴³

We have already noted the Lutheran dogmaticians who objected to a presence by analogy in the Lord's Supper.⁴⁴ There is no analogy to Christ's new and unique words. Because each word is a new word when Christ does it, a comparison or a deductive analogy is not made between His words. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper is not derived from the Incarnation but is given from the Lord's words which instituted it.

Although the Lutheran Confessions confess that the Lord's Supper is without analogy, some in the Lutheran World Federation have overlooked this in the quest to promote ecumenical agreement between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics. The Lutheran/Roman Catholic Joint Commission writes:

50. The Lutherans have given expression to the reality of the eucharist presence by speaking of a presence of Christ's body and blood in, with and under bread and wine – but not of transubstantiation. Here one sees the real analogy to the Lord's

⁴² John 6:44.

⁴³ Hilary of Poitiers, *De Trinitate* VIII, 14. NPNF II 9, 141. "As to the verity of the flesh and blood there is no room left for doubt." MPL 10, 247. "De veritate carnis et sanguinis non relictus est ambigendi locus."

⁴⁴ See pages 73 and following.

incarnation: as God and man are united in Jesus Christ, so Christ's body and blood, on the one hand, and the bread and wine, on the other, become a sacramental unity. Catholics, on this point, find that this does not do sufficient justice to the very unity and to the force of Christ's word "This is my body".⁴⁵

This statement takes no notice of the *inusitata* confessed in the Solid Declaration and posits an analogy between the union of the body and blood and the bread and wine, and the Lord's divine and human natures in the Incarnation. It also treats the phrase "in, with and under" as an alternative theory to the Roman transubstantiation. The phrase "in, with and under" is not an alternative theory to transubstantiation but is a confession that no preposition alone can adequately describe the sacramental union.⁴⁶ It is not a theory at all but another way to confess the *inusitata* as Elert explains:

Accordingly, the formula that the body and the blood of Christ are distributed and received 'in, with, and under the bread and the wine' is used for the purpose of excluding every other 'union'

⁴⁵ Lutheran/Roman Catholic Joint Commission, *The Eucharist* (Geneva: The Lutheran World Federation, 1980), 18.

⁴⁶ Schlink, *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions*, 171. "In each case one preposition is to guard against a misunderstanding of the other and, again, the whole formula protects against definite false doctrines which must be rejected; they do so, however, without trying to explain 'the sacramental union' of bread and body and of wine and blood." FC SD VII, 35. BSLK 983. "Denn daß neben den Reden Christi und S. Paul (das Brot im Abendmahl „ist der Leib Christi" oder „die Gemeinschaft des Leibes Christi") auch die formen: „unter dem Brot, mit dem Brot, im Brot" gebraucht, ist die Ursach, daß hierdurch die papistische Transsubstantiation verworfen und des unvorwandelten Wesens des Brots und des Leibes Christi sakramentliche Voreinigung angezeigt würde." KW, 599. "The reason for using the formula 'under the bread,' 'with the bread,' 'in the bread' alongside the words of Christ and of St. Paul that the bread in the Supper 'is the body of Christ' [Matt. 26:26; Luke 22:19; Mark 14:22; 1 Cor. 11:24] or 'the sharing of the body of Christ' [1 Cor. 10:16] is to reject the papistic transubstantiation and to point to the sacramental union of the unchanged essence of the bread and the body of Christ."

(*conjunctio*) and to express in a positive way nothing else than simultaneity. All definitions of the manner in which the elements are united with the body and the blood of Christ as well as the manner in which the body and the blood of Christ are received together with the bread and the wine have only limitative significance.⁴⁷

Consequently, the phrase “in, with and under the bread and wine” as a confession of the analogy-less nature of the sacramental union serves primarily a negative function, that is, to confess that the sacramental union does not have a direct comparison to any other event, action, or thing in this world or in the life of Christ. The authors of the Formula apparently took the phrase “in, with, and under” from Luther’s Great Confession of 1528.⁴⁸ In the context of the Great

⁴⁷ Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, 305. Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums*, 267. “Die Formel, daß „in, mit und unter dem Brot und Wein“ Leib und Blut Christi gereicht und empfangen werden, soll demnach nur jede andere conjunctio ausschließen und positiv nichts anderes als die Gleichzeitigkeit ausdrücken. Sämtliche genaueren Bestimmungen über die Weise der Verbindung der Elemente mit Leib und Blut Christi wie über die Weise des Empfangs dieser zusammen mit jenen haben lediglich limitative Bedeutung.”

⁴⁸ Ralph Walter Quere, “Melanchthonian Motifs in the Formula’s Eucharistic Christology,” in *Discord, Dialogue, and Concord: Studies in the Lutheran Reformation’s Formula of Concord*, ed. Lewis W. Spitz and Wenzel Lohff (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 68. “Pelikan suggests that the Formula’s prepositional approach to Christ’s eucharistic presence ‘in, with, and under’ the bread and wine derives from Heshusius. Schlink suggests that the formula is drawn from Luther’s Catechisms and Melanchthon’s Apology. Schlink, *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions*, 171. “In the Formula of Concord the ‘in’ and ‘under’ of the Catechisms and the ‘with’ of the Apology are combined in the formula that the body of Christ is present ‘under the bread, with the bread, in the bread.’” It seems to us that the famous Lutheran shibboleth can be traced directly to Luther’s ‘Great Confession’ of 1528.” See Luther, *Confession Concerning Christ’s Supper*, 1528. AE 37, 306. “Even if nothing but bread and wine were present in the Supper, and yet I tried, simply for my own satisfaction, to express the thought that Christ’s body is in the bread, I still could not say anything in a more certain, simpler, and clearer way than, ‘Take, this is my body,’ or, ‘With the bread is my body,’ or ‘Under the bread is my body,’ it would immediately begin to rain, hail, and snow a storm of fanatics crying, ‘You see! do you hear that? Christ does not say, ‘This is my body,’ but, ‘In the bread, or with the bread, or under the bread is my body!’” And they would cry, ‘Oh, how gladly would we believe if he had said, ‘This is my body’; this would have

Confession, Luther apparently picks up the phrase “in, with, and under” from his opponents who suggest that if the Lord had said his body was “in, with, and under” the bread they could believe that the Lord’s body and blood were given to be eaten and drunk in the Lord’s Supper. Luther challenges the notion that “in, with, and under” is clearer than the Lord’s words, “This is my body.” In this text, Luther does not seem to use the phrase “in, with, and under” as a way to express the sacramental union (although he frequently uses the prepositions “in” and “under”).

Unfortunately, some within and without the Lutheran confession have elevated the phrase “in, with and under” to the status of a doctrinal definition

been distinct and clear. But he actually says, ‘In the bread, with the bread, under the bread, so it does not follow that his body is present.’ Thus a thousand evasions and glosses would have been devised over the words ‘in, with, and under,’ no doubt with greater plausibility and less chance of stopping it than now.” WA 26, 447. Cl 3, 465:1-22. “Denn ich habs verfucht / Wenn gleich ym abendmal eitel brod und wein were / Und ich wolte doch von lust wegen verfuchen / wie ichs aussprechen möcht / das Christ leib ym brod were / so kündte ichs doch warlich nicht gewisser / einfeltiger und klerer sagen / denn also / Nemet / esset / Das ist mein leib etc. Denn wo der text also stünde / Nemet / Esset / ynn dem brod ist mein leib / odder mit dem brod ist mein leib / odder unter dem brod ist mein leib / Da solts aller erst eitel schwermer regen / hageln und schneyen / die da riessen / Sihe da / hörestu da? Christus spricht nicht Das brod ist mein leib / Sondern ym brod / mit brod / unter brod / ist mein leib / und solten schreyen / O wie gerne wolten wir gleuben wenn er hette gesagt / Das ist mein leib / Das were dürre und helle gered / Über nu er spricht / ym brod / mit brod / unter brod / so solget nicht / das sein leib da sey / Und würden also tausent ausflucht und glose uber die wort (Im / Mit / Unter) ertichten / auch mit grösserm schein / Und viel weniger zu halten sein denn ißt / Noch dürffen sie sagen / Wo stehets geschrieben / das Christus leib ym brod sey / gerade als weren sie bereyt zu gleuben wo wirs beweisen kündten / Und wollen doch nicht gleuben da wir beweisen / wol mechtiger / das Brod / sey der leib Christi / welchs ia stercker und klerer seinen leib dazu sein ausspricht / denn dieser text / Im brod ist mein leib / Aber sie liegen und geben fur / Gott solle text stellen / wie sie es yhm fur malen / und wenn ers schön thet / so wurden sie es doch nicht an nemen / weil sie diesen nicht an nemen.”

which confesses more than the authors of the Formula and draws near to becoming an alternative theory to transubstantiation. When this occurs the phrase runs the risk of attempting to take control of the Lord's Supper with a tidy phrase or definition. Such a controlling definition attempts to remove the *inusitata* confession, thereby opening the way for an analogical definition. Such a result is an abuse of the phrase "in, with and under" which sought to confess simply that a tidy definition is not able to contain or explain what the Lord gives us to eat and drink in the Lord's Supper.

Just as the *verba domini* and the Lutheran Confessions cannot tolerate an analogy between the Lord's words and the Incarnation, neither can they permit an analogy between the Lord's body and blood and the elements of bread and wine.⁴⁹ Many grains made into one bread⁵⁰ or many grapes made into one wine

⁴⁹ Schlink, *Theology of the Lutheran Confessions*, 156. "We find no symbolic interpretation of the bread's derivation from kernels of grain and of the wine's derivation from grapes offered up for the sake of our nourishment. We find no symbolic interpretation of the natural process of eating and drinking; nor is the community of the meal as such a topic of theological significance. In no way does the doctrine of the Lord's Supper start with the empirical impressions produced by physical processes and their symbolic possibilities. Not bread and wine but only God's Word creates the sacrament of the Lord's Supper."

⁵⁰ *The Didache IX:3-4. The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. G. P. Goold, trans. Kirsopp Lake, 2 vols., The Loeb Classical Library, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1912), 322-323. "And concerning the broken Bread: 'We give thee thanks, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou didst make known to us through Jesus thy child. To thee be glory for ever. As this broken bread was scattered upon the mountains, but was brought together and became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom, for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.'" (περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος: Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου. σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. ὡσπερ ἦν τοῦτο τὸ κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὄρων καὶ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν Βασιλείαν. ὅτι τοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ

as an analogy for fellowship in the Lord's Supper does not constitute doctrine, however, edifying it may be for devotional purposes. For the analogy to hold the bread would have to be there before the many grains become one bread (as the body of Christ is before the people come together) and the wine would have to be there before the many grapes form the wine (as blood of Christ is). When the Lord's body and blood are compared to the elements by way of analogy, the bread is often seen as a more fitting comparison than the wine. This is why Rome reserves the host and not the wine as the following quotation explains.

Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament is more closely allied to the theme of the Real Presence. It is interesting that such devotion involves the consecrated bread but not the wine. This is not just for practical reasons. The bread has a kind of priority and prominence in the symbolism of the Eucharist. Léon-Dufour points out that in the institutional narratives, the bread and the wine are not treated simply in parallel; rather, the two statements of Christ, the one concerning the bread and the other concerning the wine are not two equal things placed in a simple sequence, but that they are rather like an ordered pair, with one being primary and the other accompanying it, something like the ordered pairs of father and son, mother and daughter, tree and shade, or light and shadow. The bread symbolizes the body or the full person of Christ; the cup of wine symbolizes his blood as separated from the body and

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.) See also Chrysostom, Homily XXIV on 1 Corinthians 10:17; NPNF I, 12, 140. "For what is the bread? The body of Christ. And what do they become who partake of it? The body of Christ: not many bodies, but one body. For as the bread consisting of many grains is made one, so that the grains no where appear; they exist indeed, but their difference is not seen by reason of their conjunction; so are we conjoined both with each other and with Christ: there not being one body for thee, and another for thy neighbor to be nourished by, but the very same for all." See also Robert W. Jenson, *Visible Words* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978), 79. "*Nothing at all* is biblically promised about the bread and wine merely as such." *Italics* are in the original text.

poured out in a violent death. The double consecration, the use of bread and wine, symbolizes Christ in his sacrificial death, with the separation of blood from the body. Hence the reenactment of the sacrificial death of Christ requires the action of consecrating both bread and wine. But in eucharistic devotion, the body of Christ, which represents his whole person, not the body as separated from the blood, is presented to the believer.⁵¹

Here the body and blood are not only compared by analogy to the bread and wine but the bread and wine word pair is compared analogically to other word pairs that designate a higher to lower level of rank or importance. Just as the father is greater than his son, so body is greater than blood. Bread is greater than wine, therefore the bread signifies the whole body of Christ and is to be reserved. The bread then is able to deliver the real presence of the whole Christ to the believer; this is the doctrine of sacramental concomitance⁵² explained by analogy. In the following quotation, Luther takes the analogy used to deduce concomitance to the point of logical absurdity.⁵³ He writes:

Moreover, [it] is constructed by concomitance, that is, by inference. Since Christ's body is not without blood, thus it follows that his blood is not without his soul; hence it follows that his soul is not without his deity; hence it follows that his deity is not without the Father and the Holy Spirit; hence it follows that in the Sacrament

⁵¹ Sokolowski, *Eucharistic Presence: A Study in the Theology of Disclosure*, 97-98.

⁵² Council of Constance, 15 June 1415. Sessio XIII, *Definitio de communione sub una specie* in Denzinger and Bannwart, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 227.

⁵³ For Luther's position on concomitance see Hans Grass, *Die Abendmahlslehre bei Luther und Calvin*, ed. Paul Althaus, Hermann Dörries, and Joachim Jeremias, *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1954), 45-57.

even under one kind the soul of Christ [and] the Holy Trinity is eaten and drunk together with his body and blood; hence it follows that a priest in each mass repeatedly offers and sells the Holy Trinity; hence it follows, since the deity is not without the creatures, then heaven and earth must be also in the Sacrament; hence it follows that the devil and hell also are in the Sacrament; hence it follows, that where the Sacrament (even in one kind) is eaten, the Bishop of Meissen is devoured with his mandate and notice; hence it follows that a priest of Meissen in each mass must repeatedly devour and guzzle his bishop; hence it follows that the Bishop of Meissen must have a body larger than heaven and earth. And who is able to recount all that follows? But lastly it follows that such inferers are donkeys, fools, blind, mad, senseless, raving, silly, and raging. This inference is certain.⁵⁴

Concomitance works by logical necessity and deduction. It says more than the Lord's words and yet does not observe the entire mandate and institution since it eliminates the drinking of the Lord's blood by analogy to the whole Christ. If one can deduce that Christ's blood is in the host (when the Lord's words do not say this) since a body cannot be without blood, then one can logically be most certain

⁵⁴ Luther, *Ein Bericht an einen guten Freund*, 1528. WA 26, 605:27-32 – 606:19-29. "Hie zu schlegt nu die Concomitantien, das ist die folge: weil Christus leib nicht on blut ist, so folget daraus, das sein blut nicht on seele ist, Daraus folget, das seine seele nicht on die Gottheit ist, Daraus folget, das seine Gottheit nicht on den Vater und heiligen geist ist, Daraus folget, das ym sacrament auch unter einer gestalt die seele Christi, die heilige Dreyfaltigkeit geessen und getruncken wird sampt seinem leibe und blut, Daraus folget, das ein mepfaff ynn einer iglichen messe die heilige dreyfaltigkeit zwey mal opffert und verkeufft, Daraus folget, weil die Gottheit nicht on die Creatur ist, so mus hymel und erden auch ym sacrament sein, Daraus folget, das die teuffel und die helle auch ym sacrament sind, Daraus folget, das, wer das sacrament (auch einerley gestalt) isset, der frisset den Bischoff zu Meissen mit seinem mandat und zeddel, Daraus folget, das ein Meisnischer priester seinen Bischoff ynn einer iglichen messe zwey mal frisset und feusst, Daraus folget, das der Bischoff zu Meissen mus ein groessern leib haben denn hymel und erden, Und wer wil alle folge ymer mehr erzelen? Aber zu letzt folget auch draus, das aber soelche folger esel, narren, blind, tol, unsynnig, rasend, toericht und tobend sind, Diese folge ist gewis."

of Luther's deductions in the above passage as well. This is the problem of analogy when it is applied to the Lord's words; it makes conclusions using analogy based on logical and reasonable assumptions despite the fact that the Lord's words do not provide the arrived at conclusion.

Likewise, our coming together does not constitute the body of Christ or the church since Christ's body is there before our incorporation into it.⁵⁵ This is not a mere demonstration that all analogies fail at some point but an indicator that no analogy may be made to the Lord's Supper. While an analogy of the Lord's Supper for fellowship may seem to be a departure from the previous discussion of an analogy by way of incarnation to explain Christ's body and blood being on the altar, we may see the lines blur in the upcoming discussion on the true body, namely, is the true body the church, as Augustine thought, or is it the body on the altar as Luther confessed, or is this a spurious alternative? This question awaits the next chapter.⁵⁶ Just as there can be no analogy from the elements used in the Lord's Supper to his body and blood, neither can there be

⁵⁵ Werner Elert, *Eucharist and Church Fellowship in the First Four Centuries*, trans. Norman Nagel (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), 28. "The fellowship-nature of the Sacrament is in this that Christ incorporates into Himself those who partake of it."

⁵⁶ See CHAPTER 8 – THE BODY AND THE BLOOD CONFESSIO beginning on page 255.

an analogy from a general definition of a sacrament.⁵⁷ This is directly related to the prior discussion since all general definitions of a sacrament inevitably appeal to Christ and the incarnation as the chief sacrament, if not explicitly then of logical necessity.

The *inusitata* confession is striking in light of how some conventional thinking goes which says “only analogical predication leads to God.”⁵⁸ In fact, theology by analogy is much the way it has been done in the West since Augustine,⁵⁹ although the East may not be free from analogy either.⁶⁰ And at least since the 20th century, all language, generally, is seen as analogical.⁶¹ In light of

⁵⁷ Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, 303. “It is significant that the Lutheran confessions – in contradistinction to many Reformed confessions – never derived their doctrine of the Lord’s Supper from a general definition of the sacraments.” Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums*, 265.

⁵⁸ Norman L. Geisler, “Analogy: The Only Answer to the Problem of Religious Language,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theology Society* 16, no. 3 (1973): 179.

⁵⁹ J. A. Thurmer, “The Analogy of the Trinity,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 34, no. 6 (1981): 509. “To anyone in the Augustinian tradition this is a hard saying. The search for the analogy of God in the human soul (what it is proposed to call ‘the psychological analogy’) dominated the theology of Augustine of Hippo.”

⁶⁰ George Dion Dragas, “Exchange or Communication of Properties and Deification: Antidosis or Communicatio Idiomatum and Theosis,” *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 43, no. 1-4 (1998): 394. “It is this ‘change’ that lies at the heart of the doctrine of the ‘exchange of properties.’ It is the change of ‘deification of the human nature through communion with the divine.’ This ‘change’ in Christology is the basis for the understanding of the ‘change’ of the Eucharistic Gifts of the Bread and the Wine into the body and the Blood of Christ.”

⁶¹ W. S. Taylor, “Analogical Thinking in Theology,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 17 (1964): 280. “Various forms of linguistic analysis, for instance, by maintaining that significant verbal statements either are tautological or must be verified by reference to concrete sense-perceptions, have led to an agonizing re-examination of theological statements to discover what meaning they can have, if any, on these terms. In so far as the axioms of linguistic analysis are accepted, traditional non-analogical theological language has tended to be deprived of significant meaning,

the foregoing, one may ask, does the history of theology and the recent linguistic theories cast doubt on whether or not any statement can be *inusitata*? It would then appear to be non-sensical to insist that a statement or a word is *inusitata*, that is, without analogy. Can Luther and the authors of the Formula of Concord be excused on account of their lacking the linguistic sophistication of some mid-twentieth century scholars or by the fact that they simply were not aware of the analogical nature of language? They cannot be excused on these grounds, not because they lacked some more recent linguistic insights, but because they were well aware that much of theology had been done by analogy, and yet they consciously chose to depart from that and to say doctrine cannot be based on analogy.

As previously observed, the Formula of Concord acknowledges that a number of church fathers used analogy to compare the Lord's Supper to the Incarnation. Nor are we suggesting that Luther or the authors of the Formula of Concord never employed analogical language, but rather their doctrine was not based on analogy. One of the great services linguistic studies have rendered is to show that language largely operates on the principle of analogy. This is a habit of language. What may be observed of the ways language works, may not,

and there has been a corresponding search elsewhere for forms of expression better suited to the subject matter of theology."

however, set limits or control on the Lord's use of language, a use unique to him. He does with words what only he can do. This may aptly be called the way of the Gospel, with other uses then explicable as the way of the Law. This may be observed when words are understood as force words, as in logical necessity, the necessary movement from lower to higher, from sensible to noumenal. When the Lord says, "This is my body," that is what then cannot actually be there; his words must prompt the move analogically elsewhere. Such prompting may be observed in the Sacramentarian controversy of the 16th century, and then also in some 20th century thought on the Lord's Supper.

An example of this that may be found both in the 16th and in the 20th century is the suggestion that Christ is present in the Lord's Supper or alternatively expressed as Christ gives himself in the Lord's Supper. This shift in emphasis from the Lord's body and blood to Christ giving himself may also be seen as based on analogy.

The most fruitful knowledge of the mysteries of faith comes from human analogies and the mutual connection between the mysteries of the Trinity, incarnation, Church and grace, this question places the theology of the Eucharist in a christological context, with the Trinitarian and ecclesiological implications of this context. Further, this question also places the Eucharist in a more humanly intelligible framework, for acts and events can only be 'present' in a given context to the extent that the person or persons who perform these acts and comprise these acts and events are present.⁶²

⁶² Powers, *Eucharistic Theology*, 65.

Here the analogy between the Lord's Supper and the Trinity, Incarnation, and Church forms the basis for speaking of Christ giving himself rather than Christ giving his body and blood. This reflects "the conviction that Christ's Eucharistic presence to the believer is only analogous to the presence of one person to another in history through sign as embodiment of the sign maker."⁶³ An example of this might be "the gesture of a man giving a ring to a woman with the words, 'Take this, I give myself to you.' In this case the man offers the gift of himself by way of substitution of an object for the actual gift."⁶⁴ The purpose of such analogies is to make the Lord's Supper more understandable, yet the effect does not stop with increasing understanding but includes forming doctrine. This emphasis on the analogy of the Lord's Supper to the Incarnation and other things has led to a change in the questions being asked about the Lord Supper.

The question regarding the Lord's Supper in the 20th century from both Roman Catholic and Protestant theologians has its focus not on "what" is given but on "who."⁶⁵ The "'what' is given" question raises the issues that were

⁶³ Edward J. Kilmartin, "Sacramental Theology: The Eucharist in Recent Literature," *Theological Studies* 32, no. 2 (1971): 243.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 242-243. Kilmartin is summarizing the work of Th. Süss, professor of Lutheran dogmatics in the faculty of Protestant theology of Paris.

⁶⁵ In the next chapter see the section The body and blood of Christ ≠ the Person of Christ beginning on page 298.

debated in the Middle Ages and in the Reformation. Such views have entered Lutheran worship in the late 20th century where the emphasis is not on what the Lord gives, namely his body and blood, but on a personal encounter with the risen Christ.⁶⁶ Since the debate on “‘what’ is given” ultimately caused the split between the Lutherans and the Reformed in the 16th century, 20th century theologians have sought to avoid those divisive issues by declaring them philosophically irrelevant and by redirecting the discussion toward more profitable ends.⁶⁷ When one uses analogy to determine doctrine, truth is replaced by relevance⁶⁸ and old problems seem to disappear.⁶⁹ Alternatively, one may say that analogy, like allegory can dispose of what is embarrassing about something

⁶⁶ Philip H. Pfatteicher and Carlos R. Messerli, *Manual on the Liturgy -- Lutheran Book of Worship* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: Augsburg Publishing House, 1979), 246-247. “After all have received communion and have returned to their places, the congregation stands. The presiding minister may give a blessing. This blessing which is provided is optional for a number of reasons. It is a reflection of the medieval mentality which saw the communion in terms of things – bread and wine; body and blood – rather than in terms of a personal encounter with the risen Christ. Attempts to avoid the misleading traditional language, however, fall flat and seem to say little that is specifically connected with the Eucharist. Words, in fact, seem to fail after the experience of the Eucharist, and this blessing may well be omitted. Having received the blessing of the sacrament, what more can be added? Moreover, the benediction at the end of the service follows soon after.”

⁶⁷ John McIntyre, “Analogy,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 12 (1959): 3. “The problem of relevance is the problem of analogy.”

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 2. “In this area, ‘relevance’ seems almost to have replaced ‘truth’ as a criterion of permissible discourse.”

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 6. “By using the analogy of the hypostatic union in reference to Scripture, or to the Church, we establish access to a whole new range of descriptions of these two subjects. Old problems are rejected as being unreal or superficial; new ones are created and fresh arguments arise. But, primarily, it is felt that the new analogy penetrates more profoundly to the heart of the matter in hand than does any of the others with which we had previously operated.”

or more importantly it can bring something into the service and even control of one's own philosophy.⁷⁰ To speak of the Lord's body and blood on the altar is considered an old problem solved by the Incarnational analogy that posits Christ's personal presence. Thus, "the question 'Who is present in the Eucharist?' centers the theology of the Eucharist on the personal reality of Christ."⁷¹ Since there is little dispute regarding "who is present" in the Lord's Supper, disagreements between differing confessions apparently have disappeared.

The Lord's giving His body and blood to eat and to drink is not the same as Christ giving himself. On the night when Jesus was betrayed, he did not promise to give himself, but his body and blood to eat and to drink. This eating and drinking cannot be Capernaitic as the charge goes because it is not the flesh and blood of a corpse but the life-giving flesh of Christ.⁷² Since what is given to eat and to drink is the living body and blood of Christ (as His words say and effect), this eating and drinking is not the same as that which takes place with ordinary food, but it is still by mouth. The discussion of the eating and the

⁷⁰ Norman E. Nagel, "Allegory," *The Springfielder* 35, no. 1 (1971): 45. "Allegory could dispose of what was embarrassing about them, or more importantly it could bring them into the service of one's own philosophy."

⁷¹ Powers, *Eucharistic Theology*, 65.

⁷² FC SD VIII, 59. "Also Ioh. 6. ist das Fleisch Christi eine lebendigmachende Speise, wie daraus auch das Ephesinum concilium geschlossen hat, daß das Fleisch Christi die Kraft habe lebendig zu machen." BSLK 1035, 34-39. KW 626.

drinking of Christ's flesh and blood we may see engaged in the 16th century, where the Lutheran Confessions decline analogy productive of doctrine. The Lord's words are confessed not as necessitating an analogical reference, not putting them under some alien control and without placing anything over them, not even by christological analogy.

This may also be evidenced by the writings of Martin Chemnitz who wrote his work on the Lord's Supper first (*Sanae Doctrinae*) before his work on Christology (*De Duabus Naturis in Christo*). This is also the order followed in the *Formula of Concord*, which places the article on the Lord's Supper (Article 7) before the article on Christology (Article 8).⁷³ This follows the dominical order, namely that one receives the Lord's gifts that create faith and forgive sins which prompts the confession "Jesus is Lord."⁷⁴ The Lutheran Confessions first confess the gift and then the giver of the gift. Elert observed, "The teaching on the Lord's

⁷³ Todd Murken, "The Exalted Humanity of the Ascended Christ: Food for the One World," *Currents in Theology and Mission* 21 (1994): 275. "Article 7 of the Formula of Concord confesses the astonishing presence of the human body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist. Then, in support of that confession, comes Article 8, which defends the Christology intrinsic to that high view of the Lord's Supper." It may have been better had Murken said that Article 8 is the result of the confession in Article 7. This suggests how difficult it is to resist the temptation to base the Lord's Supper on Christology by analogy. Regarding Murken's use of the word "Eucharist" in reference to FC, SD 7, Green's observation should be noted: "We note that the word 'Eucharist' had begun to pass from Lutheran usage during the framing of the Confessions, and that this word was avoided in the Formula of Concord." Green, "The Holy Supper," 207. On this same page, Green notes that the word "Eucharist" only occurs twice in the Lutheran Confessions.

⁷⁴ Philippians 2:11.

Supper is the test of a genuine belief in the Incarnation.”⁷⁵ Therefore, the gift testifies to the Giver; in other words, the confession of the Lord’s Supper runs with the confession of Christ. A confession of the Lord’s Supper that is faithful to the Lord’s word confesses such a Christ. The confession of a Christ other than such a Christ cannot, by analogy or any other way, produce an accordant doctrine of the Lord’s Supper. An errant Christology will indeed likely result in an errant confession of the Lord’s Supper.

In summary, the prior discussion’s intention was not to cover all aspects of the use of analogy in theology but to look specifically at how analogy was declined by the Lutheran Confessions for confessing the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper in the 16th century, while providing a glance forward to the contemporary scene. We are not denying that there is a use for analogy in theology or that it can be used profitably for homiletic purposes, instruction, or devotional reflection. However, analogy’s proper role in theology is not that of formulating doctrine as we saw confessed by Luther and the Formula of Concord. Doctrine, in general, and the Institution of the Lord’s Supper, specifically, comes from the Lord’s words. Apostolic instruction (1 Corinthians) next expounds the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper. The church fathers teach us

⁷⁵ Elert, *Der Christliche Glaube: Grundlinien der Lutherischen Dogmatik*, 383. “Die Abendmahlslehre ist die Probe auf die Echtheit des Glaubens an die Inkarnation.”

how the church received the Lord's words and the apostolic instruction. After all of this, analogy may play a role in devotional reflection on the Lord's Supper, but it may never be the foundation of the doctrine.

For instance, one may devotionally reflect on the apparent similarities between the Incarnation and the Lord's Supper and rejoice in how the Lord is at it again. Such an example may be found in the singing of the Cherubic hymn⁷⁶ based on Isaiah 6 from the *Liturgy of Saint James* at Christmas time to extol the Incarnation.⁷⁷ This hymn is better known in the West as "Let All Mortal Flesh Keep Silent" as translated by John Mason Neale.⁷⁸ One, however, may doubt the

⁷⁶ John Mason Neale, ed., *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil: or, According to the Use of the Churches of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and the Formula of the Apostolic Constitutions*, 3 ed. (London: J. T. Hayes, Lyall Place, Eaton Square, 1875), 48. Σιγησάτω πάσα σὰρξ βροτεία, καὶ στήτω μετὰ φόβου καὶ τρόμου, καὶ μηδὲν γήϊνον ἐν ἑαυτῇ λογίζεσθω· ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων, καὶ Κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων, Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν προέρχεται σφαγιασθῆναι καὶ δοθῆναι εἰς βρώσιν τοῖς πιστοῖς· προηγούνται δὲ τούτου οἱ χοροὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων μετὰ πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας, τὰ πολυόμματα χερουβίμ, καὶ τὰ ἑξαπτέρυγα σεραφίμ τὰς ὄψεις καλύπτοντα, καὶ βοῶντα τὸν ὕμνον ἀλληλούϊα, ἀλληλούϊα, ἀλληλούϊα. The Neale text is used in honor of his translation of this text into English.

⁷⁷ John Michael Talbot, *The Birth of Jesus* (Chatsworth, CA: The Sparrow Corporation), Compact Disc. Talbot is the founder of the Brothers and Sisters of Charity, a monastic order in Eureka Springs, Arkansas. This is a charismatic renewal movement within the Roman Catholic Church.

⁷⁸ John Mason Neale and R. F. Littledale, eds., *The Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom, and Basil, and the Church of Malabar.*, 2 ed. (London: J. T. Hayes, Lyall Place, Eaton Square, 1869), 38-39. "Let all mortal flesh keep silence, and stand with fear and trembling, and ponder nothing earthly in itself; for the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, Christ our God, cometh forward to be sacrificed and to be given for food to the faithful; and He is preceded by the choirs of the Angels, with every Domination and Power, the many-eyed Cherubim, and the six-winged Seraphim, that cover their faces, and vociferate the hymn, Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia. This hymn also appears as "Let All Mortal Flesh Keep Silent," hymn #241 in *Commission on Worship of the Lutheran Church--Missouri Synod*, ed., *Lutheran Worship* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1982).

use of this hymn as devotional exaltation when those churches that have confessed the Lord's Supper in analogical relation to the Incarnation sing it. Once this devotional reflection prompts one to posit how it goes in the Lord's Supper on the basis of the personal union, the analogy has then sought to usurp the position of Christ's words and institution of the Lord's Supper, since Christ does not compare his Incarnation to his institution of the Supper. Granted some analogies are less harmful to the faith than others, but all have the potential to create false doctrine. Another example of analogy gone astray is when the Lord's Supper is compared by analogy to ecclesiology or soteriology. In recent years, such analogies have formed the foundation for open communion practices. It is up to the individual to judge the Lord's body in the Lord's Supper just as it is for the individual to believe. Here the analogy usurps the place of Paul's apostolic instruction on the Lord's Supper in First Corinthians.⁷⁹ An analogy of a more devotional sort is the analogy that compares the creative word of creation with the words of institution in the Lord's Supper. Just as the Lord with his words created the heaven and the earth out of nothing, so also he creates His body and blood from the bread and wine. To ponder the creative Word speaking creation into existence, "Let there be light" with the words of Christ saying, "This is my body," prompts wonder and amazement at these facts. It is quite another matter

⁷⁹ In the next chapter see the section *Manducatio Impiorum* beginning on page 292.

to base the doctrine of the Lord's Supper on the creation. We would contend that where error has arisen in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, it has been due to an analogy taking control of the Lord's words and institution.

Another benefit of examining the role of analogy in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper is that it helps us to see how dependant analogy is on the force of philosophy. This is important for our consideration of the term real presence, in that, real presence like the analogies used to explain or expound the Lord's Supper are philosophically determined.⁸⁰ For example, when the Lord's Supper is explained by Platonic analogy (i.e. symbol and sign), real presence means something different than it does to an existentialist, for whom real presence is equal to an event of personal presence. To an Aristotelian real presence will take yet another meaning and so on. Our purpose here is not to begin to trace out the conceptual signified behind the term real presence within each philosophical system but to alert the reader to the fluidity of the term based on the philosophical presuppositions of the one using the term. Therefore, when one hears the term real presence used, one needs to ask not only of the real presence (Christ's body and blood, or Christ Himself) but also of what analogy and

⁸⁰ Paul R. Hinlicky, "Christ's Bodily Presence in the Holy Supper and Christology," *Lutheran Forum* 33, no. 4 (1999): 41. "we should speak of the Lutheran doctrine of Christ's 'bodily presence' in the Lord's Supper rather than a doctrine of the 'real presence' that perpetuates an Augustinian frame of reference to 'symbolic' via-à-vis 'real' presence."

philosophy is running the term. Donald Gray, a Roman Catholic author, who confesses that the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is *sui generis*, holds that the "real presence can only be approached analogically."⁸¹ Indeed, when an attempt is made to explain the real presence (i.e. transubstantiation or consubstantiation), it can only be explained by analogy or by using models. The Lutheran Confessions make no such attempt and are content simply to confess what the Lord has given us to confess. In the next section, we will explore how christological analogy played out in the debate on the right hand of God primarily in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The Right Hand of God

An example of a christological statement being applied to the Lord's Supper occurred in the 16th century in the debate concerning the right hand of God and the Lord's Supper. As was mentioned in a previous chapter, the discussion about the right hand of God played an important part during the Reformation and at the heresy trials in England.⁸² The argument that Christ's ascension into heaven to sit at the right hand of God was employed both against the Lutherans and against Rome by those who opposed the confession that Christ's body and blood were on the altar to eat and to drink. Brought to bear on

⁸¹ Gray, "The Real Absence: A Note on the Eucharist," 190.

⁸² See Ridley's argument regarding the right hand of God on page 142 and following.

Christ's session at the right hand of God were a range of factors more and less relevant: Biblical and creedal language, Christology, philosophy and cosmology. The first aspect of the problem had to do with the passages from the Scriptures that speak of Christ's ascension into heaven. Luke⁸³ reports that Jesus was carried into heaven; Mark⁸⁴ adds that after Jesus was received into heaven, he sat at the right hand of God.⁸⁵ While there were other Scripture passages both Old Testament prophecies and other New Testament references to the ascension, the main focus of the discussion centered around the Apostles' Creed, since it summarized the Biblical witness.⁸⁶ The next issue concerns whether or not heaven is a localized place, as was contended by medieval theology and others.⁸⁷

This idea that heaven is a localized place was suggested by Augustine when he wrote to Dardanus concerning the question "in what manner the 'Mediator of God and men, the man, Christ Jesus,' is believed to be in heaven,

⁸³ Luke 24:51

⁸⁴ Mark 16:19

⁸⁵ See also Romans 8:34 and 1 Peter 2:22.

⁸⁶ Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*, 369. "ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram dei patris omnipotentis."

⁸⁷ Elert, *Der Christliche Glaube: Grundlinien der Lutherischen Dogmatik*, 321. "Ist schon hierdurch das von der mittelalterlichen Theologie, aber auch von Zwingli, Calvin und von reformierten Bekenntnisschriften vertretene locale Verständnis der Himmelfahrt ausgeschlossen, so widerspricht ihm vollends das neutestamentliche Verständnis des Himmels." ("In this way then the local understanding of heaven is excluded, such as found not only in the medieval theology but also in Zwingli, Calvin and the Reformed Confessions. Nor does such a view have any support at all in the understanding of heaven in the New Testament.")

when, hanging on the cross and at the point of death, he said to the believing thief: 'This day thou shalt be with me in paradise.'"⁸⁸ Augustine goes on to say of Christ, "while in His true body He is in some part of heaven."⁸⁹ Augustine would seem to locate Christ's body at a particular place in heaven.⁹⁰ While Augustine's position was generally accepted in the West, it did not result in a denial that the Lord's body and blood are on the altar until this was proposed by Cornelius Hoen and expanded on by Johannes Oecolampadius in the 16th century.⁹¹ Working by way of christological analogy, theologians backed themselves into a problem. If Christ's body is in heaven and Christ is truly a man, how can his body be in heaven and on the altar in the Lord's Supper? From Augustine until Aquinas this "problem" did not prompt the evacuation of Christ's words, "This is my body."

⁸⁸ Augustine Letter to Dardanus, 417 AD. Augustine, *Saint Augustine Letters*, ed. Roy Joseph Deferrari, trans. Wilfrid Parsons, *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 30 (New York: Fathers of the Church, Inc., 1955), 223.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 255.

⁹⁰ Sasse, "A Lutheran Contribution to the Present Discussions on the Lord's Supper," 32. "Although Augustine was never able to solve the problem of the relation between the body in heaven and the body in the sacrament theologically, he kept his belief in the Real Presence as it was expressed in the liturgy. The formula of distribution in Africa was the same as in the Eastern churches: *Corpus Christi*, whereupon the communicant answered Amen."

⁹¹ Pelikan, *Reformation of the Church and Dogma (1300-1700)*, 158-159. "What precipitated it was the contention, which seems to have been first advanced by Cornelius Hoen, that the ascension of Christ to the right hand of God precluded his bodily presence in the elements of the Eucharist, since it was to the 'advantage' of his disciples and of the church in all ages that they should no longer have direct physical access to him. Johannes Oecolampadius, who was regarded as the modern originator of the idea, expanded on Hoen's exegesis."

Herman Sasse has noted that this idea that Christ's body is in heaven and cannot be on earth is the basis of the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation.⁹² Since Christ's body is located in heaven, it cannot be on many altars at the same time. The miracle of transubstantiation does not change the location of Christ's body from a local right hand,⁹³ but changes the substance of the bread and wine, which are located on the altar, into the very body and blood of Christ. In an article calling "back to Trent"⁹⁴ during the time of Vatican II, Herbert McCabe writes, "A physical body, such as that of Christ, simply cannot be naturally present in many places at once."⁹⁵ This was one of Thomas Aquinas' concerns in his expression of the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

For Thomas, the central fact to be considered is that Christ's body, by the very fact that it *is* a body, must be subjected to the same physical limitations placed upon any other body. The fact that it is united to divinity is actually irrelevant in this context. Thus Christ's bodily presence in several places at once is, in itself, no more explicable than anyone else's, and Christ's bodily presence in

⁹² Sasse, "A Lutheran Contribution to the Present Discussions on the Lord's Supper," 31. "The Reformed theologians could, indeed, refer to Augustine as their authority, as Berengar and Wycliffe had done. They could do so also with regard to another fateful heritage which the great father left to the Western Church: the idea that the body of Christ, since it is in heaven, cannot at the same time be here on earth. It is noteworthy that this argument is the basis not only of the Reformed doctrine but also of the doctrine of transubstantiation."

⁹³ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 60 vols., vol. 58 (New York and London: Blackfriars with McCraw-Hill Book Company and Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1963), 62. Footnote c. "Actually, the body of Christ in the Eucharist is not locally there at all."

⁹⁴ Herbert McCabe, "The Real Presence," *The Clergy Review* 49 (1964): 750.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 751.

several places in the same way that he is present in heaven is, in fact, impossible. Again, Thomas sees the union with divinity as equally irrelevant to the question of how the body of Christ *comes to be present* in the eucharist. For Thomas, there are only two ways in which a thing can come to be present where it formerly was not. The first, local motion, demands certain correlative phenomena such as movement in time through a succession of places and the relinquishing of a previous place. Thus, it is inapplicable to the present case. We are left with the second alternative, conversion.⁹⁶

Transubstantiation then solves two problems: 1) it allows Christ's body and blood in heaven to be on the altar, and 2) it allows a body that can naturally only be in one place at a time to be on many altars at the same time. Point 2 may be more important on the current scene. Few exegetes today hold that Christ's body is confined locally to the right hand of God. Barth held the session was a figure of speech (*Bildrede*).⁹⁷ Such a view may be prompted by reasons ranging from a better grasp of Biblical language regarding heaven⁹⁸ to the hermeneutic of suspicion that doubts whether or not Christ ascended⁹⁹ at all, or to simple

⁹⁶ Burr, "Scotus and Transubstantiation," 337. The *italics* are in the original.

⁹⁷ Karl Barth, *Credo: Die Hauptprobleme der Dogmatik dargestellt im Anschluß an das Apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis* (Genf: Weltbundes der christlichen Vereine Junger Männer, 1936), 95. "Es ist also eine *Bildrede*." Karl Barth, *Credo: A Presentation of the Chief Problems of Dogmatics with Reference to the Apostle's Creed*, trans. J. Strathearn McNab (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936), 106. "It is therefore a figure of speech."

⁹⁸ T. K. Abbott, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians*, The International Critical Commentary (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1956), 32. "For surely no one will interpret the right hand of God locally, or the 'sitting.' These words are but figurative expressions of honour and dignity."

⁹⁹ Ezra P. Gould, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Mark*, The International Critical Commentary (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), 309. "The

embarrassment.¹⁰⁰ Despite this recognition that heaven and the right hand of God is not a local place, the ascension still plays a role in the discussions on the Lord's Supper.

Consequently, the incarnation is God's definitive self-communication, since it is in the mode of human bodiliness. Christ is, therefore, the primordial sacrament (*Ursakrament*) and the sacrament of God. Yet, Christ's ascension creates a problem. Spatially absent, Christ no longer mediates redemption. God's encounter with humanity in Christ now occurs through the church and the sacraments. The linkage of Christology, ecclesiology, and sacramentology is achieved.¹⁰¹

The ascension may be regarded as problematic because it represents Christ's physical absence from the earth. Zwingli noted, "But if Christ is seated there, he is not present here."¹⁰² Karl Barth agreeing with Calvin notes, "the Ascension makes a separation, a distance between Him and His disciples, between Him and

result of textual criticism is to render it doubtful if there is any account of the ascension of our Lord in the Gospels."

¹⁰⁰ Peter Brunner, "The Ascension of Christ Myth or Reality," *Dialog* 1, no. 3 (1962): 38. "There are few Christian festivals that put us in such embarrassment as the ascension of Christ... One sees a bare knoll, and around it the disciples are packed together and looking a bit fearfully upward. Above the knoll in the air is the figure of Jesus, perhaps supported by a cloud... If we were to suppose that Jesus' ascension was a spatial upward movement, somewhat like a rocket that travels out into space, perhaps we could next start to calculate how far from the earth the Lord Jesus had gotten and what his approximate position in space might now be. It's obvious that these are stupid, foolish thoughts."

¹⁰¹ Jones, *Christ's Eucharistic Presence: A History Of The Doctrine*, 232.

¹⁰² Ulrich Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper, 1526," in *Zwingli and Bullinger*, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, *The Library of Christian Classics: Ichthus Edition* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), 216.

the world generally."¹⁰³ This is even a problem for Rome which can now discuss the absence of Christ.¹⁰⁴ The ascension represents Christ's distance and separation from his church. Consequently, the focus on the Lord's Supper is on the personal presence of Christ and the eschatological dimension that will not be fully realized until the consummation.¹⁰⁵ While few today would speak of a place bound ascension and session as in the 16th century, there are those among the Reformed confession who still see the ascension as one of the major problems of the Lord's Supper. Because Christ's flesh is in heaven and cannot be on the altar, appeal is made to "the analogy of the liturgical *sursum corda*."¹⁰⁶ This liturgical *sursum corda* is also important in the East, where the Eucharist is seen as the

¹⁰³ Barth, *Credo*, 113-114. For the original see Barth, *Credo*, 101. "Die Himmelfahrt schafft ... eine Trennung, eine Distanz zwischen ihm und seinen Jüngern, zwischen ihm und der Welt überhaupt."

¹⁰⁴ Denys Turner, "Negative Theology and Eucharistic Presence," *Modern Theology* 15, no. 2 (1999): 149. "For Christ has risen and is ascended into heaven, seated at the right hand of the Father. In fact, Christ is absent in the Eucharist along two dimensions of time: he is absent in respect of his historical existence pre-mortem and he is absent as he will be for us in the beatific vision in heaven. If, therefore, the Eucharist makes Christ present by signifying, it does so only on a double condition of the absence of what is signified: the Eucharist is time past and time future insofar as they can be present in the present, as it were in a kind of 'nostalgia for the future.' ... For Thomas the position appears to be quite different and fraught with much tougher problems, and for reasons which show that his agreement with Zwingli about the meaning of 'absence' is at best superficial. Thomas wants to say that Christ is really present, but *also* absent."

¹⁰⁵ Zwingli similarly said that we could only know Christ in the flesh on the Day of Judgment. Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper, 1526," 216. "But if he is present in the bread, or if the bread is the body of Christ, then the last day has already come, he is already present, he is already seated on the judgment throne. But if the last day has not yet come, he is not present in the flesh: for when he does come in the flesh, he will sit in judgment."

¹⁰⁶ Pruett, "A Protestant Doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence," 169.

ascension of the church into heaven.¹⁰⁷ "The Eucharist is the *anaphora*, the 'lifting up' of our offering, and of ourselves. It is the ascension of the Church to heaven."¹⁰⁸ In the Orthodox tradition, then, the Eucharist is viewed as the church's ascension into heaven (as Christ ascended so too does the Church), whereas in the Reformed view it is seen in a more individualistic manner. "The ascension to heaven by the faithful to receive Christ is a central conceptualization of the mode of reception in Reformed thought."¹⁰⁹ The reason the faithful must ascend to heaven to receive Christ is because his flesh is in heaven.¹¹⁰ The ascension or Christ's physical absence from the world is the thought behind much Reformed discussion, past and present, on the Lord's Supper. Christ's

¹⁰⁷ Alexander Schmemmann, *For the Life of the World: Sacraments and Orthodoxy* (New York: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1973), 28. "The early Christians realized that in order to become the temple of the Holy Spirit they must *ascend to heaven* where Christ has ascended."

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 37. Schmemmann goes on to explain how the ascension affects the bread and wine. "The Eucharist has so often been explained with reference to the gifts alone: what 'happens' to bread and wine, and why, and when it happens! But we must understand that what 'happens' to bread and wine happens because something has, first of all, happened to us, to the Church. It is because we have 'constituted' the Church, and this means we have followed Christ in His ascension; because He has accepted us at His table in His Kingdom; because, in terms of theology, we have entered the Eschaton, and are now standing beyond time and space; it is because all this has first happened to us that something will happen to bread and wine."

¹⁰⁹ Pruett, "A Protestant Doctrine of the Eucharistic Presence," 174.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* "Our eating of Christ is spiritual – but real – and thus the benefits are spiritual. But the real participation that is gained by the flight to heaven presumes that Christ is given in the sacrament. This is the work of the Holy Spirit."

physical absence is replaced by his self-communication in the sacraments,¹¹¹ which we understand by analogy to be presence.¹¹² The ascension is also the prompting for transubstantiation.

Thomas Aquinas did not invent transubstantiation. Rather, he received it from the church.¹¹³ He was born ten years after the Fourth Lateran Council which made transubstantiation a doctrine (although the Council did not use the term “transubstantiation”). The doctrine of transubstantiation and other vocabulary to describe the Lord’s Supper¹¹⁴ emerged in the battle between Lanfranc and Berengar. For Berengar, “it is abhorrent to speak of the communicants’ teeth slicing up the impassible body, now at the Father’s right hand, immune from

¹¹¹ Hans W. Frei, *The Identity of Jesus Christ* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1997), 194. “Similarly, the spatial basis of the presence of God in Jesus Christ now in the Sacraments is, by the order and promise of Jesus Christ given in his word, the self-communication of his self-focused identity. The Sacrament is not identical with his physical presence – for he is not physically present now – but it is the self-communication in physical form of one who is self-focused to us who cannot know self-focused presence except in physical form.”

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 187. “He must be conceived of in analogy to the only manner in which we know presence: Presence means something like physical proximity and verbal communication; and it also involves self-presence, without which there cannot be presence to others.”

¹¹³ Burr, “Scotus and Transubstantiation,” 3370. “Even St. Thomas makes a very poor starting point, since it is important to recognize that common sentiment within the church had already placed significant limitations upon the way in which a theologian in Thomas’ day might understand the nature of Christ’s eucharistic presence.”

¹¹⁴ Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament According to the Theologians, c. 1080 - c. 1220* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 37. “The Berengarian controversy had established a terminology for further discussions of the Eucharist, but this terminology itself would be open to new developments.”

human violence and bites.”¹¹⁵ One of Berengar’s main concerns was how to reconcile the fact that Christ, true God and true man is at the right hand of the Father, and the fact of his body and blood on the altar. Berengar also believed that there was a christological analogy between the incarnation and the Lord’s Supper.¹¹⁶ The belief that the body of Christ was at the right hand of the Father caused some to look into heaven at the elevation rather than to bow as was the custom.¹¹⁷ Chadwick observes that transubstantiation was not actually a long way from Berengar’s *conversio intelligibilis*; both are an attempt to safeguard the *mysterium*. Both are concerned with the problem created by Christ’s body being located at the right hand of God when His body and blood are confessed to be on the altar. This was also a concern of Aquinas to whom, “it fell to justify the reasonableness of the doctrine in so far as it did not altogether transcend the sphere of reason.”¹¹⁸ Consequently, at least until the later part of the 20th century, Aquinas and transubstantiation have been virtually interchangeable in the minds

¹¹⁵ Henry Chadwick, “Ego Berengarius,” *Journal of Theological Studies, New Series* 40, no. 2 (1989): 422.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 425. “Berengar was keen to affirm that the union of *sacramentum* and *res* is parallel to the union of the human and divine in the incarnate Lord.”

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 425 Footnote 27. “On the ground that Christ’s glorified body is at the Father’s right hand, Lollards did not bow at the elevation but gazed up to heaven.” This calls to mind Calvin’s explanation of the Preface, “Lift up your hearts.”

¹¹⁸ Alfred Leslie Lilley, *Sacraments: A Study of Some Moments in the Attempt to Define Their Meaning for Christian Worship* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929), 135.

of many, especially in the minds of those who oppose transubstantiation because of his rational and Aristotelian explanation of it. His treatment of transubstantiation also influenced all subsequent theologians who wrote on the topic. Explaining why the substance of the bread cannot remain after the consecration, Aquinas points out that the body of Christ is located in heaven. He writes:

Some have held that after the consecration the substance of the bread and wine remains in this sacrament. But this position cannot be sustained. First of all, it would destroy the reality of this sacrament which demands that the very body of Christ exist in it. Now, his body is not there before the consecration. But a thing cannot be where it was not before, except by being brought in locally or by something already there being changed into it. For example, a fire is started in a household because either it is brought into it from outside or is newly kindled there. Now it is clear that the body of Christ does not begin to exist in this sacrament by being brought in locally. First, because it would thereby cease to be in heaven, since anything that is locally moved begins to be somewhere only by leaving where it was. Second, every bodily thing that is moved from place to place must pass through all the intermediate places, and there is no question of that in the present case. Third, it is impossible that the one movement of a bodily thing that is being locally moved should end up at the same time in different places; now the body of Christ in this sacrament begins simultaneously to be in different places. For these reasons it remains that there is no other way in which the body of Christ can begin to be in this sacrament except through the substance of the bread being changed into it. Now, what is changed into something else is no longer there after the change. The reality of Christ's body in this sacrament demands, then, that the substance of the bread be no longer there after the consecration.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹ Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 61 & 63. for the translation. Aquinas, *Summa theol.*, III, question 75, art. 2. The Latin text is from Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 60 & 62. "Dicendum quod

Indeed in another work, Thomas says that it is impossible even for the almighty Lord to make a body be present in more than one place at a time. "Therefore God is not able to make the same body to be locally in two places."¹²⁰ For Aquinas the concrete, physical reality of Christ's body is not in the Sacrament, but in heaven.¹²¹

quidam posuerunt post consecrationem substantiam panis et vini in hoc sacramento remanere. Sed haec positio stare non potest. Primo quidem, quia per hanc positionem tollitur veritas hujus sacramenti, ad quam pertinet ut verum corpus Christi in hoc sacramento existat. Quod quidem ibi non est ante consecrationem. Non autem aliquid potest esse alicubi ubi prius non erat, nisi per loci mutationem vel per alterius conversionem in ipsum: sicut in domo aliqua de novo incipit esse ignis aut quod illuc defertur aut quod ibi generatur. Manifestum est autem quod corpus Christi non incipit esse in hoc sacramento per motum localem. Primo quidem, quia seueretur quod desineret esse in caelo: non enim quod localiter movetur pervenit de novo ad aliquem locum nisi deserat priorem. Secundo, quia omne corpus localiter motum pertransit omnia media, quod hic dici non potest. Tertio, quia impossibile est quod unus motus ejusdem corporis localiter moti terminetur simul ad diversa loca; cum tamen in pluribus locis corpus Christi sub hoc sacramento simul esse incipiat. Et propter hoc relinquitur quod non possit aliter corpus Christi incipere iesse de novo in hoc sacramento nisi per conversionem substantiae panis in ipsum. Quod autem convertitur veritate hujus sacramenti, substantia panis post consecrationem remanere non possit." It may now be helpful to say a word about the Blackfriars' translation.¹¹⁹ Twice, the translators translate *veritas* as "reality." The first occurrence reads, *veritas hujus sacramenti*, which is literally translated, "the truth of this sacrament." The translation of the second occurrence is even more dubious. The Latin phrase is exactly the same as the prior example, but it is translated as "the reality of Christ's body." The Blackfriars may have had Trent in mind when they translated *veritas* as "reality," but they lost the clear connection with the ἀληθινός sayings in John and the "true body and blood" of the liturgy.

¹²⁰ Aquinas, *Quodlibet*. III, i. 2 resp. "ergo Deus non potest facere quod idem corpus localiter sit in duobus locis."

¹²¹ Tom G.A. Hardt, *Venerabilis et adorabilis Eucharistia: Eine Studie über die lutherische Abendmahlslehre im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jürgen Diestelmann, *Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte*, vol. 42 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 8. "er ist als konkrete, physische Realität nicht im Sakrament, sondern im Himmel." Hardt is referring to Aquinas, *ST* III, qu. 76, a. 8. Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 120-121. "First of all, the body of Christ cannot be seen in its natural form except in one place, to which, while it is there, it is restricted. So, since he is seen and adored in heaven in his natural form, he is not seen in this sacrament in his natural form." ("Primo quidem, quia corpus Christi non potest in propria specie videri nisi in uno loco,

According to Aquinas, transubstantiation is a miracle that makes it possible for Christ's body to remain in heaven and yet be on many altars after the consecration.¹²² "Transubstantiation is simply the form that the real presence takes in the Eucharist."¹²³ Location is not part of the substance.¹²⁴ Through transubstantiation, the substance of body and blood replaces the substance of bread and wine but the accidents of the bread and the wine, that is taste and

in quo definitive continentur. Unde, cum videatur in propria specie et adoretur in caelo, sub propria specie non videtur in hoc sacramento.")

¹²² Charles Journet, "Transubstantiation," *Thomist* 38, no. 4 (1974): 737. "We are speaking of one single Christ, present in heaven after the Ascension under his proper and natural appearances, who, without leaving heaven, or changing in any way, or losing any of his splendor, makes himself present, as he does here below under the very humble appearances of bread and wine, when the words of consecration are pronounced. We insist on this point: it is accomplished *without his leaving heaven*. To imagine Christ departing from heaven in order to make himself present would lead us to manifest impossibilities." He speaks of Christ and not of Christ's body and blood.

¹²³ McCabe, "The Real Presence," 750.

¹²⁴ Salvatore Bonano, *The Concept of Substance and the Development of Eucharistic Theology to the Thirteenth Century*, The Catholic University of America Studies in Sacred Theology (Second Series), vol. 121-A (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1960), 48. "Again, the solution to an objection regarding local movement in connection with Christ's Eucharistic presence is based upon the text of Aristotle. Since all movement depends upon local movement, which is strictly the movement of a perfect being, it is primary and prior to other things in the sense that it can exist without them, whereas they cannot exist without it. It is prior also in time and in perfection of existence. The body of Christ is perfect, and if it is to acquire a new presence under the sacramental species, it must do so by the power of local movement, which means that after the conversion Christ would no longer occupy his place in heaven, for local movement would render necessary the acquisition of a new place and the loss of the one previously occupied. That would be contrary to the teaching of the church... Eucharistic conversion operates *instantaneously*, at the very instant the substance of bread is changed into the body of Christ, excluding the need of any local movement."

location on the altar, remain.¹²⁵ According to Aristotelian philosophy as understood by Aquinas, “substance – the substance of *anything* – does not exist in space.”¹²⁶ It should be noted that in this passage Aquinas does not use the word transubstantiation; instead he uses *conversionem substantiae*, a change in substance.¹²⁷ Baillie,¹²⁸ a Scottish Presbyterian, notes that “the doctrine of transubstantiation itself was an attempt, however unsuccessful and unsound, to avoid crude and materialistic conceptions of what happens in the sacrament, and even to save the idea of the Real Presence from a crudely spatial interpretation.”¹²⁹ He even notes that the goal of Rome in positing the miracle of transubstantiation is the same as the Protestants. He writes, “And surely it is the same truth that we Presbyterians are endeavoring to express in a safer and surer way when we say that in the sacrament Christ is as truly present to the faith of the receiver as the bread and wine are to his outward senses.”¹³⁰ Thus, Sasse

¹²⁵ Burr, “Scotus and Transubstantiation,” 340. “Thus, if Christ’s body is under the species of bread and his blood under the species of wine *ex vi sacramenti*, each is present with the other by natural concomitance: *ex naturali concomitantia*. If Christ’s body and blood are present on the altar *ex vi sacramenti*, his divinity, soul and accidents are present *ex naturali concomitantia*.”

¹²⁶ Lilley, *Sacraments*, 155.

¹²⁷ Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, 62.

¹²⁸ John Baillie (1886-1960) was born in to the Free Church of Scotland. From 1934 to 1956 he was Professor of Divinity at Edinburgh. See the entry in Cross and Livingstone, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 144.

¹²⁹ Baillie, *The Theology of the Sacraments*, 100.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 101.

concludes of Aquinas regarding his explanation of transubstantiation, "Aquinas was a crypto-Calvinist in his theory."¹³¹ Both are attempting to protect the confession that Christ ascended and is seated at the right hand of God; both are attempting to explain how He can be on the altar in light of the foregoing confession. Therefore, the "Presence did not exist in space"¹³² and Christ's body and blood could remain located in heaven and also be on the altar by a miracle of substance and accident.

The purpose of the previous section on transubstantiation is not to engage the Lutheran, Protestant, and Roman debates over it, but simply to show how it is concerned with the right hand of God. For Luther, transubstantiation was not a primary concern, even though he rejected it. He could tolerate it being held as a theory, albeit, a bad theory;¹³³ his primary objection to it was that it obscured the words of Christ and was imposed on Christians by papal necessity. Those who

¹³¹ Hermann Sasse, "September Letter to Tom Hardt," (1971).

¹³² Lilley, *Sacraments*, 155.

¹³³ SA III, 6; BSLK 452. "Von der Transsubstantiation achten wir der spitzen Sophisterei garnichts, da sie lehren daß Brot und Wein verlassen oder verlieren ihr natürlich Wesen und bleibe allein Gestalt und Farbe des Brots und nicht recht Brot." Hermann Sasse, "Some Remarks on the Statement on the Lord's Supper Agreed upon between the Church of South India and the Federation of the Evangelical Lutheran Churches of India (1956)," in *Scripture and the Church: Selected Essays of Hermann Sasse*, ed. Jeffrey J. Kloha and Ronald R. Feuerhahn, Concordia Seminary Monograph Series (Saint Louis: Concordia Seminary, 1995), 269. "Transubstantiation he rejected as [an] untenable attempt to explain philosophically a miracle which defies a philosophical explanation and adds only another miracle, namely, that accidents can exist without the proper substance."

regarded transubstantiation as a “monstrous miracle” were not able to tolerate it as a theory as did Luther.¹³⁴ To many, transubstantiation was one of the worst errors held by Rome. This prompts the recognition that the sacramentarian controversy began when belief in transubstantiation waned.¹³⁵ When transubstantiation was no longer tenable, the problem of the right hand of God came to the fore once again. With Christ secure at the Father’s right hand and no miracle to allow his body and blood to be on the altar, it is no surprise then that the sacramentarian controversy began.

This connection between the right hand of God, transubstantiation, and the sacramentarian controversy helps explain why Luther spent such a great amount of time discussing the right hand of God. For Luther, the fact that Christ ascended and is seated at the right hand of the Father raised no doubt that Lord’s body and blood are on the altar and that Christ himself is near and not far away.

Those fools, the scholastics, have also discussed the subject that Christ is seated on the right hand of His Father, that He fills heaven and earth, that He also descended into hell. But they do not apply this to His Person; they confine it to the effect. They claim that in a similar way Christ dwells in the heart of His own. As though He could help and work in a place where He is not there! But when Christ does a sermon or a miracle, which is God’s doing, He cannot

¹³⁴ See page 92, for how Luther would rather drink blood with the Pope than wine with the Reformed.

¹³⁵ Sasse writes of post-Vatican II Rome, “Today the fight for the sacrament is going on even in Rome. With Transubstantiation the Real Presence goes.” Sasse, “Christmas Letter to Tom Hardt,” 2.

be far away. And if He were as far removed from me as in heaven, then how would I have dared or known to speak so steadfast before the Emperor.¹³⁶

Christ's ascension did not remove Christ far away from men nor did it lock him up in heaven as if heaven were a prison. Luther could confess with Chrysostom, "Moreover, Christ both left His flesh for us and yet ascended into heaven with it."¹³⁷ If this was not a problem, there was then no need for a christological analogy to attempt a solution of it. If there should be a problem here, Luther is content to let the Lord work it out. Concerning the right hand argument here, Luther pointed to the irrefutable fact that the Lord instituted the Lord's Supper on the night He was betrayed; that is before He ascended to the Father. He writes:

It is impossible that they should have been seriously misled to deny the body and blood of the Lord in the Lord's Supper on account of the passage, "He ascended into heaven," as they indeed always confidently asserted with arrogant words in many books. That they were surely lying in this matter, I proved on this basis: Christ instituted the Lord's Supper and gave his body and blood to his disciples, as the words, "Eat, this is my body," indicate, before he

¹³⁶ Luther, *The Seventeenth Sermon on John 6*, 15 April 1531. Compare with translation in AE 23, 147. WA 33, 230:10-24. "Die Narren, die Sophisten haben auch davon disputiret, das Christus sitze zur Rechten hand seines Vaters und erfuelle Himel und Erden, sey auch in die Helle gefaren, Nicht, was seine Person belanget, sondern, was die Wirckung betrifft, also wone er auch in den hertzen der seinen, gleich als koendte er helffen und wircken, da er nicht were. Aber thut er eine Predigt oder Wunderwerck, das Goettlich ist, so wird er nicht weit davon sein. Und wenn er so ferne von mir were, als in Himel ist, so duerffte noch wuefte ich nicht fur dem Keiser also bestendlich zu reden."

¹³⁷ Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochenum homilia 2*, MPG 49, 46. ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡμῖν κατέλιπε, καὶ ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀνῆλθε.

ascended into heaven; for in that instance he was sitting at table here below on earth and was observing the first Lord's Supper. For this reason their boast cannot be true, namely, that the passages about the ascension convinced them. For in opposition to this you can read that Christ observed the Lord's Supper before he ascended into heaven.¹³⁸

For Luther the session to the right hand may not be understood in a way that contradicts what the Lord said of his body and his blood in the Lord's Supper. Since the Lord's Supper was instituted before the Lord's session to the right hand, his session may not interfere or nullify what he promised previously. Alister McGrath suggests that what separated Zwingli and Luther on the Lord's Supper was merely a difference in hermeneutics. What Luther took as literal, Zwingli understood as figurative and vice versa.¹³⁹ This does not recognize Luther's concern for the comfort of terrified sinners. A Christ who does not give his body and his blood to eat and to drink for the forgiveness of sins or a Christ

¹³⁸ *Brief Confession* 1544. AE 38, 300. WA 54, 152: 14 – 25. "Es were unmmöglich, das sie solten mit ernst bewogen sein, den Leib und Blut des Herrn im Abendmal zu verleugnen umb des Spruchs willen 'Er ist gen Himmel gefaren' wie sie doch in vielen Büchern und mit stoltzen worten imer pocheten, sondern sie müsten hierin gewislich liegen. Das beweiset ich aus diesem grund: Das Abendmal hat Christus eingesetzt und seinen Leib und Blut seinen jüngern gegeben, wie die wort da stehen: 'Esset, das ist mein Leib', ehe er gen Himmel gefaren ist. Denn da sitzt er uber tiffche hie niden auff Erden und helt das erst Abendmal. Darumb kans nicht war sein, das sie rhümen, nemlich: Es haben sie bewogen die sprüche von der Himelfart. Denn da wider stehet, das Christus das Abendmal helt, ehe denn er gen Himmel feret."

¹³⁹ Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought: An Introduction*, 3 ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 189. "Luther and Zwingli were unable to agree on the meaning of such phrases as 'this is my body' (which Luther interpreted literally and Zwingli metaphorically) and 'at the right hand of God' (which – with apparent inconsistency on both sides – Luther interpreted metaphorically and Zwingli literally)."

who remains separated from his people up in heaven is a Christ who is not there for us. If Christ is not there for us, he does us little good. What guided Luther's understanding of these passages was the Gospel not a rule that governed when a passage is to be understood literally or figuratively.

Luther also employed other arguments to disarm the claim that the Lord's session to the right hand nullified the words of institution. For instance, he corrected the notion that heaven was a localized place above the sky. Luther contended that the right hand of God is where He exercises his power, and that is everywhere. Barth maintains that Calvin understood the session to the right hand as a function of Christ's power and not of place.¹⁴⁰ If Barth is correct in his observation of Calvin, what distinguishes Calvin's position from Luther's is that the ascension means Christ is far away from his church. The Lord is present but only in an indirect way through his Spirit. For Luther, the session to the right

¹⁴⁰ Barth, *Credo*, 106. "In contradistinction to the *Conf. Helv. post.* Calvin hit the mark when in the 'session at the Right Hand of God' he did not find anything said about Jesus Christ's being in a definite *place*, but about His having a definite *function*, namely, that of the exercises of divine power, comparable with that of a plenipotentiary who, standing or sitting at the right hand of his king, directs the government in his name." See also Barth, *Credo*, 95. "Calvin hat im Unterschied zur *Conf. Helv. post.* das Richtige getroffen, wenn er in den 'Sitzen zur Rechten Gottes' als solchem nicht das ausgesprochen fand, daß Jesus Christus sich an einem bestimmten Funktion, nämlich eben in der der göttlichen Gewaltübung befinde, vergleichbar der eines Bevollmächtigten, der zur Rechten seines Königs stehend oder sitzend, in dessen Namen die Regierung führt."

hand does not make Christ far from us, but he is as close as his body and his blood in our mouths.¹⁴¹

Luther's confession is in agreement with Chrysostom who said, "He ascended above all heavens, beyond which there is nothing else, that is, except his power and dominion."¹⁴² If Christ exercises that power He does not do it with a part of Himself, with another part left out. He is always One Person and wherever He is He is there as that Person who is both true God and true Man. If everywhere, then why not in the Supper? This may be urged against those who say he cannot be there, at least not the whole of Him. And even if He is there, it does not follow that He is there giving out His body and blood to be eaten and drunk, unless that is what He says He is doing. What ultimately is at issue is not whether Christ is there but whether Christ is there giving out his body and blood for you to eat and drink for the forgiveness of your sins.¹⁴³ If there is some Christological analogy there, Luther bases no doctrine on it. Chemnitz notes that Luther's arguments about "ubiquity cannot be refuted, yet he does not wish to argue with anyone as to the mode of the ubiquity by which Christ's body is

¹⁴¹ Nagel, "Luther's Understanding of Christ in Relation to His Doctrine of the Lord's Supper", 366. "Luther's whole work may be seen as a struggle against making Christ remote."

¹⁴² Chrysostom, *Sermo 11 ad Ephesios*. MPG 62,82. καὶ ἀνέβη ὑπὲρ ἅνω πάντων, μεθ' ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν ἕτερόν τι. Τοῦτό ἐστι τῆς ἐστὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς δεσποτείας.

¹⁴³ WA 19, 503, 11-12. "sondern du solt glewben, nicht allein das Christus mit leib und blut da sey, sondern auch das er dir da geschenckt sey." There is no either or. See also the SC.

present in the Supper.”¹⁴⁴ The Lord’s body and blood were on the altar to eat and drink, not because Christ’s body is everywhere but because His words say and make it so.

The Ascension in Preaching

Elert notes that “From the time of Zwingli until well into the eighteenth century the Reformed Church used the ascension as its strongest argument against the Lutheran doctrine of Holy Communion.”¹⁴⁵ This fact is seen in the sermons by Lutheran pastors in the 16th and 17th centuries. These sermons often focused on the Lord’s Supper. The high feast days for the Lord’s Supper were Maundy Thursday, the night the Lord instituted His Supper, Ascension Day, and

¹⁴⁴ Martin Chemnitz, *The Two Natures in Christ*, trans. J.A.O. Preus (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1971), 464. Also see Bengt Hägglund, “Majestas hominis Christi,” in *Lutherjahrbuch*, ed. Helmar Junghans (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), 83. “Die Allgegenwart des Leibes Christi war an sich eine klare Folgerung aus dem genus majestaticum, nämlich daß die menschliche Natur Christi auch an der Allgegenwart Gottes teil hatte.” (“The omnipresence of Christ’s body was a clear consequence of the genus majestaticum, namely that the human nature also had a part in the omnipresence of God.”)

¹⁴⁵ Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, 250. Ironically, considering the historic importance of Ascension Day to the Reformed doctrine of the Lord’s Supper preaching on this feast has somewhat faded among the Reformed. Robert DeMoor, “The Descent of Ascension Day,” *Reformed Worship* 43 (1997): 9. “But that Jesus ascended to heaven and became Lord of the whole universe and poured out his good gifts, including his everlasting-life-giving Spirit, on all believers – those things can no longer incite us to exchange our channel changers and garden tools for hymn books.” A little later on the same page DeMoor writes, “In the last few decades, however, Reformed Christians have retained this practice in theory, but in reality have voted it out with their feet. Why this decline of Ascension?” The celebration of Ascension Day has also diminished among the Lutherans.

Corpus Christi.¹⁴⁶ These feast days provided opportunity to counter the errors of the Lutherans' opponents, namely the Calvinists and the Jesuits.¹⁴⁷ Ascension Day was triumphantly adduced by the Calvinists as proof that the Lord's body and blood could not be on the altar.

In fact, from the Lutheran perspective, the literal, rational interpretation of the Ascension, which Calvinists and Catholics shared, had resulted in equally faulty views of the sacrament, with Papists requiring the miracle of transubstantiation "to force our Lord with magical words out of heaven" into the Communion elements and the Reformed simply denying his physical presence altogether.¹⁴⁸

The Lutheran preachers saw a clear connection between the Calvinist position and the Roman position. Andreae explained the "Calvinists and their Jesuit brothers ... actually have quite a bit in common since both subscribe to a faulty Christology."¹⁴⁹ He concludes, "Hence it is not at all surprising that Papists

¹⁴⁶ Bodo Nischan, "Demarcating Boundaries: Lutheran Pericopic Sermons in the Age of Confessionalization," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 88 (1997): 205-206. "During this period three feast days were observed, each uniquely suited for expounding the Lutheran understanding of the Lord's Supper and delineating it from what was taught by Calvinists and Catholics: Maundy Thursday, Ascension Day, and the Feast of Corpus Christi."

¹⁴⁷ Lowell C. Green, "God's People in Fellowship at the Communion Table," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 41, no. 3 (1977): 2. "Hence the Festival of the Ascension is one of the key church-days wherever the Lutheran faith is strong. It is significant that this festival has little significance for our brethren in the Reformed Churches."

¹⁴⁸ Nischan, "Demarcating Boundaries: Lutheran Pericopic Sermons in the Age of Confessionalization," 210.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 213.

become Calvinists, and Calvinists become papists.”¹⁵⁰ Andreae’s charge is not unsubstantiated polemics but is supported in part by Calvin in his *Institutes* where he says that he finds the Papists’ doctrine of the Lord’s Supper “more tolerable” than that of the Lutherans.¹⁵¹ In another sermon from a Lutheran preacher, Habermann tells his hearers, “We should not argue and question how the body and blood of Christ can be present under the bread and wine, but simply believe in Christ’s words.”¹⁵² The problem with both the Calvinist and Jesuit position was the attempt to explain Christ’s words in light of the presupposition that Christ’s body was located at the right hand of the Father in heaven. This also prompted christological debate between the Lutherans and the Reformed where each side expounded the doctrine of Christ in support of their

¹⁵⁰ Jacob Andreae, *Christliche Predigt vom Fronleichnamts Fest Uber das Evangelium Johannis am 6. Capit. den 6. Junij Anno 1558 gehalten* (Tubingen: Alexander Hock, 1588), Giib. “Darumb sich auch nicht to verwundern / das auß Papisten Calvinisten / und auß Calvinisten Papisten werden.” I am indebted to my collogue Makito Masaki for taking time out of his studies at the Herzog-August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel to get this microfilm for me.

¹⁵¹ Calvin, *Institutes* 4, 17, 30. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. John Allen, 8th ed., 2 vols., vol. 2 (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1949), 682-682. “It is evident that some persons would rather incur the greatest disgrace by betraying their ignorance, than relinquish even the least particle of their error. I speak not of the Romanists, whose doctrine is more modest; but some are so carried away with the heat of contention, as to affirm that, on account of the union of the two natures in Christ, wherever his Divinity is, his flesh, which cannot be separated from it, is there also; as if that union had mingled the two natures so as to form some intermediate kind of being, which is neither God nor man.”

¹⁵² Nischan, “Demarcating Boundaries: Lutheran Pericopic Sermons in the Age of Confessionalization,” 214.

confession of the Lord's Supper. For the Lutherans, the doctrine of the Lord's Supper confesses such a Lord without recourse to analogy.

The So-Called *Extra Calvinisticum*

The discussion on the Lord's ascension was directly related to whether Christ's body and blood are there on the altar in the Lord's Supper.¹⁵³ As already observed, the ascension also plays a role in the mid-20th century discussion of the Lord's Supper,¹⁵⁴ even though few people continue to hold to the spatial concept of the right hand of God or of heaven, in that it represents the absence of Christ's physical body on earth until he returns in glory on the last day. As Oberman notes, "Historically and systematically the discussion about the real presence ushers in questions of Christology. It is in this context that the expression *extra calvinisticum* developed."¹⁵⁵ Here we note that Oberman has correctly stated the order. Christ's body and blood on the altar to eat and drink do raise questions

¹⁵³ Heiko Augustinus Oberman, "The 'Extra' Dimension in the Theology of Calvin," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 21, no. 1 (1970): 49. "The relation between the *sessio* of Christ and his *praesentia realis* forces us to touch on the eucharistic controversy."

¹⁵⁴ Douglas Bryce Farrow, *Ascension and Ecclesia: On the Significance of the Doctrine of the Ascension for Ecclesiology and Christian Cosmology* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 13. "We have, then, a second reason for taking up the doctrine of the ascension, since it is chiefly by way of that doctrine that the church's eucharistic ambiguity is passed on (all in vain) to Jesus. We shall find ourselves arguing what is perhaps an unusual line. It is frequently said that the humanity of Christ used to be the great problem for theology but that today it is his divinity which is distracting and difficult. Our study suggests that the case is otherwise. It is still the humanity of Christ over which we are prone to stumble, and what is required today more than ever is a doctrine of the ascension that does not set his humanity aside."

¹⁵⁵ Oberman, "The 'Extra' Dimension in the Theology of Calvin," 54.

about Christology, that is, the Lord who gives this gift. Yet despite Oberman's correct observation that "the discussion about the real presence ushers in questions of Christology," the so-called *extra calvinisticum* reverses this order, beginning with a definition of Christ and the properties of his two natures which in turn account for the real presence of Christ while confessing a real absence of his body and blood.

The term *extra calvinisticum*, apparently coined by the Lutherans, arose out of the polemics of the 16th century between the Lutherans and the Reformed.¹⁵⁶ The *extra calvinisticum* maintains that Christ according to his human nature is not on earth, but according to his divinity is everywhere.¹⁵⁷ This idea was also expressed by Zwingli who said, "And he knew perfectly well that according to his divine nature he is with us always."¹⁵⁸ The Heidelberg Catechism anticipates

¹⁵⁶ James Benjamin Wagner, *Ascendit ad Coelos: The Doctrine of the Ascension in the Reformed and Lutheran Theology of the Period of Orthodoxy* (Winterthur, Switzerland: Verlag P.G. Kelly, 1964), 117. "Fundamental to the teaching of the Catechism at this point is one of the most distinctive and vigorously championed doctrines of orthodox Reformed Christology: the so-called *extracalvinisticum*. The designation itself, born in the fires of polemic controversy with the Lutheran divines."

¹⁵⁷ Heidelberg Catechism of 1563 A.D., Question and Answer 47. Philip Schaff and David S. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom: The Evangelical Protestant Creeds*, 6 ed., 3 vols., vol. 3 (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1998), 322. "Frage 47. Ist denn Christus nicht bei uns bis an's Ende der Welt, wie Er uns verheißen hat? Antwort. Christus ist wahrer Mensch und wahrer Gott: nach seiner menschlichen Natur ist Er jetzt nicht auf Erden, aber nach seiner Gottheit, Majestät, Gnade und Geist weicht Er nimmer von uns." English translation from Schaff: "Question 47. Is not, then, Christ with us even unto the end of the world, as he has promised? Answer. Christ is true Man and true God; according to his human nature, he is now not upon earth; but according to his Godhead, majesty, grace, and Spirit, he is at not time absent from us."

¹⁵⁸ Zwingli, "On the Lord's Supper, 1526," 217.

the charge of Nestorianism and attempts to refute it.¹⁵⁹ When the question is asked whether the two natures in Christ are separated, the Heidelberg Catechism replies, "By no means; for since the Godhead is incomprehensible and every where present, it must follow that it is indeed beyond the bounds of the Manhood which it has assumed, but is yet none the less in the same also, and remains personally united to it."¹⁶⁰ While the Heidelberg Catechism denies that the two natures of Christ are divided, it does permit him to be present *extra carnem*.¹⁶¹ "The Logos is therefore *extra carnem*, not in the sense of separation from the humanity, but solely in the sense of non-inclusion within the finite human nature."¹⁶² After hearing this explanation of the *extra carnem*, one is tempted to apply the familiar phrase *finitum non capax infiniti* to it; however, Oberman objects to applying this phrase to Calvin, "for the simple reason that it does not

¹⁵⁹ Oberman, "The 'Extra' Dimension in the Theology of Calvin," 54. "The charge of Nestorianism dates from the first stages in the debate between Lutheran and Calvinist theologians, and it is already presupposed by Question 48 of Sunday 18 in the Heidelberg Catechism, with which the *extra calvinisticum* is traditionally associated."

¹⁶⁰ Heidelberg Catechism, Answer 48. Schaff and Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, 322. English translation was provided by Schaff; the German text follows. "Mit nichten: denn weil die Gottheit unbegreiflich und allenthalben gegenwärtig ist, so muß folgen, daß sie wohl außerhalb ihrer angenommenen Menschheit, und dennoch nichts desto weniger auch in dereselben ist, und persönlich mit ihr vereinigt bleibt."

¹⁶¹ Wagner, *Ascendit ad Coelos: The Doctrine of the Ascension in the Reformed and Lutheran Theology of the Period of Orthodoxy*, 117. "Of central importance, however, is the motivating concern of Reformed theology in presuming to speak of the Logos as in some sense *extra carnem*. Basic for the interpretation of this doctrine is the critical differentiation made between the *extra* of separation and the *extra* of distinction or non-inclusion."

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, 118.

occur in the works of Calvin."¹⁶³ Nevertheless, followers of Calvin have adopted the phrase as a motto of their theology¹⁶⁴ and it does seem to provide an apt description of the analogy being employed. According to the previously cited passages from the Heidelberg Catechism the reason Christ's body cannot be present everywhere in the world or on the altar is due to the limitations of the human body, namely, that it is finite. Zwingli also would agree with the Heidelberg Catechism on this point.¹⁶⁵ Rome, too, rejects the omnipresence of Christ's body for the same reasons as the Reformed.¹⁶⁶ Consequently, the divine nature is not limited in any way nor is it able to be contained, since it is infinite.

For Luther it was impossible to think of Christ *extra carnem* after the Incarnation. When Oecolampadius at Marburg on 2 October 1529 urged Luther not to cling to the humanity of Christ but to "lift up his mind to the divinity of

¹⁶³ Oberman, "The 'Extra' Dimension in the Theology of Calvin," 60.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., 61. "As far as I can see this is not a malicious Lutheran caricature, since the Reformed tradition itself is responsible for the idea that the '*non capax*' is genuinely Calvinistic."

¹⁶⁵ Ulrich Zwingli, "An Exposition of the Faith, 1531," in *Zwingli and Bullinger*, ed. Geoffrey W. Bromiley, The Library of Christian Classics: Ichthus Edition (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), 256. "For only that which is infinite can be omnipresent, and that which is infinite is eternal. The humanity of Christ is not eternal, therefore it is not infinite. If it is not infinite, it is necessarily finite. And if it is finite, it is not omnipresent."

¹⁶⁶ O'Connor, *The Hidden Manna*, 278. "In his humanity he has been marked out as Son of God in power (cf. Rom 1:3-4) and been given all power in heaven and on earth (cf. Mt 28:18), but that human body and soul are still limited by comparison with his divinity. Being everywhere present is proper to divinity alone; it is not, and cannot become, an attribute of humanity, even when the humanity in question is the very humanity of God. As a result, in his humanity – his human body, blood, soul, etc. – the Son of God can properly be in only one place at one time. There is no actual 'ubiquity' of Christ's human nature."

Christ,”¹⁶⁷ Luther replied, “I do not know of any other God except him who was made flesh, nor do I even want to have any.”¹⁶⁸ For Luther to have Christ *extra carnem* was to have a God who was not in the flesh and that was tantamount to Nestorius’ error of dividing the two natures of Christ. For Luther one is not able to make a distinction between the “separation” of the two natures and the “non-inclusion” of the two natures. Because of the personal union the two natures are so joined after the Incarnation there can be no talk of the divinity apart from the humanity in the person of Christ. Yet such a position breaks the analogy required for the *extra calvinisticum*.

In order to permit an *extra carnem*, the Incarnation must be compared to humanity and divinity by analogy. First, one must have a definition of what it is to be man and what it is to be God. This definition has been most commonly formed by platonic antinomy. For instance, man is finite and God is infinite; man is mortal and God is immortal, and so on. Essentially, God is whatever man is not. Such definitions have been the bane of the church nearly since her beginning

¹⁶⁷ Walther Köhler, *Das Marburger Religionsgespräch 1529: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger Eger & Sievers, 1929), 27. “Hanget nicht so sehr an der Menschheit und am Fleische Christi, sondern erhebet den Sinn zur Gottheit Christi!” Also see for the only reconstruction of the Marburg Colloquy in English see Sasse, *This Is My Body*, 203. “You should not cling to the humanity and the flesh of Christ, but rather lift up your mind to his divinity.” See also AE 38, 46.

¹⁶⁸ Sasse, *This Is My Body*, 203. Köhler, *Das Marburger Religionsgespräch 1529: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, 27. “Ich weys von keinem Gott, denn der Mensch worden ist; so will ich keinen andern auch haben.”

and many heresies and problems have arisen, such as the theopaschite controversy, due to them. Those who hold the *extra calvinisticum* insist that the purpose of it is to safeguard the humanity of Jesus.¹⁶⁹ Who has ever heard of a man who could be everywhere? If Christ's body is in heaven and on earth he surely is not a real man, since no man can be located in more than one place at a time. Such a man who is in two or more places surely is not a man and must be a phantasm or ghost. Yet this position overlooks that it is the Lord who is a man. He does his being a man as he does his being a man, and is not subject to any definition or analogy one may supply as to what is human and what is divine. One difference between those who hold the *extra calvinisticum* and the Nestorians is that Nestorius sought to protect the Lord's divinity from the indignity, Platonically speaking, of human limitations, while those who hold the *extra calvinisticum* seek to protect the Lord's humanity.¹⁷⁰ These are then alternative forms of the same error.

¹⁶⁹ Oberman, "The 'Extra' Dimension in the Theology of Calvin," 57. "The *extra calvinisticum* serves to relate the eternal Son to the historical Jesus, the Mediator at the right hand to the sacramental Christ, in such a way that the 'flesh of our flesh' is safeguarded."

¹⁷⁰ Luther is well aware of this concern when he pokes fun at it in his *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper* 1528. AE 37, 293 – 294. "The sixth argument: It is contrary to the glory of God. For Christ is in heaven in the glory of the Father, Philippians 2, and has his throne prepared not in the bread but in heaven. This argument awakens the same impression as the previous one, that Christ is imprisoned in heaven as in a jail or in stocks. For it would be disgraceful if he were with us on earth in all the pangs of sin and death; it is better if he leaves us to the devil here below and enjoys himself above with the angels! Isn't this priceless? It is not contrary to God's glory that he is everywhere according to his divinity, even in hell, and yet it is allegedly opposed to God's glory for his body to be present in the bread, as if his body were

In light of the *extra carnem*, what then do Reformed theologians mean when they use the term *totus Christus*, the whole Christ? Augustine was the first to use the phrase *totus Christus*.¹⁷¹ In Augustine's usage, the whole Christ refers to Christ's head, which is his person, and to his body, that is the church.¹⁷² That the whole Christ for Augustine includes the church as the body of Christ is not surprising in light of his definition of "true body" as the church.¹⁷³ To Lutheran ears, the *totus Christus* would refer to both natures, divine and human.¹⁷⁴ However, to the Reformed, *totus Christus* refers to the whole person of Christ,

nobler than his divinity! Away! Away! What a nice handsome spirit this is!" WA 26, 437: 11 – 19. "Der sechst grund: Es ist widder die ehre Gottes, Denn Christus ist ym hymel ynn der ehre des Vaters Phil. 2. Und hat seinen stuel nicht ym brod, sondern ynn dem hymel bereit etc. Dieser grund wil eben das der vorige, Das Christus sey ym hymel als ym kercker und stock gefangen, Denn es were schande, das er solte bey uns sein auff erden ynn allerley not der sunden und des tods, Es ist besser, Er lasse uns dem teuffel henyden und spiele droben mit den Engeln. Ists nicht köstlich ding? Es ist Gottes ehre nicht entgegen, das er nach der Gottheit allenthalben, auch ynn der hellen, sey, und sol widder Gotts ehre sein, das sein leib ym brod sey, als were sein leib edeler denn die Gottheit. Fort, fort, Es ist ein schöner, feiner geist."

¹⁷¹ Henri Rondet, *The Grace of Christ*, trans. Tad W. Guzie (New York: Newman Press, 1967), 94. "Marvelously exploiting one of the hermeneutic rules of the Donatist Ticonius, he seeks Christ everywhere in the holy books – Christ, that is, the Word made flesh and also 'the whole Christ,' a bold formula that Augustine was the first to use."

¹⁷² Augustine, *In Epist. Joan.*, I, 2. MPL 35, 1979. "Illi carni adjungitur Ecclesia et fit Christus totus, caput et corpus."

¹⁷³ See the discussion of "true body" as the church on page 274.

¹⁷⁴ Chemnitz, *The Two Natures in Christ*, 423. "For we do not believe in or seek a half-Christ or a divided Christ, nor only one part of Him, but the entire Christ, that is, His complete person, to whose completeness His assumed nature also pertains in the personal union of the two natures, which are neither separated nor divided nor rent asunder by any interval of space."

God and man, but not to the individual natures.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, Christ, the God-Man, is present everywhere but not in his human nature. Here a distinction is made between the *totus Christus* and the *totum Christi* (all of Christ).¹⁷⁶ Calvin elaborates on the distinction when he writes:

It is a distinction common in the schools, and which I am not ashamed to repeat, that though Christ is every where entire, yet all that is in him is not every where. And I sincerely wish that the schoolmen themselves had duly considered the meaning of this observation; for then we should never have heard of their stupid notion of the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament. Therefore, our Mediator, as he is every where entire, is always near to his people; and in the sacred supper exhibits himself present in a peculiar manner, yet not with all that belongs to him; because, as we have stated, his body has been received into heaven, and remains there till he shall come to judgment.¹⁷⁷

This distinction mentioned by Calvin comes from Peter Lombard. When Lombard commented on the descent into hell he said, "Christ is everywhere but not all (of him)."¹⁷⁸ Lombard reasoned that since Christ's body was in the tomb, it

¹⁷⁵ Wagner, *Ascendit ad Coelos: The Doctrine of the Ascension in the Reformed and Lutheran Theology of the Period of Orthodoxy*, 120. "Decisive here is the distinctive notion, already encountered in a previous context, that not everything which may be predicated *in concreto* of the total divine-human person may also be predicated of the individual natures abstractly considered. Thus Christ the man or the person of Christ is indeed omnipresent, not, however, the humanity or the human nature itself."

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.* "Expressed in slightly different form, *totus Christus*, or the entire theanthropic person, is said to be everywhere present, not, however, *totum Christi*, or whatever is in Christ, that is, both divine and human natures."

¹⁷⁷ Calvin, *Institutes* 4, 17, 30. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 684.

¹⁷⁸ MPL 192, 804. "Christus ubique totus est, sed non totum."

could not descend to hell with the person of Christ. According to this view, the Logos can separate from the human nature without dissolving the personal union. This is possible because of analogy between each nature. The Logos is present everywhere; the human nature is circumscribed in a local presence in heaven at the right hand of God. Although Lombard like Calvin effectively dissolves the personal union, he (unlike Calvin) never does apply this to the Lord's Supper.

Oberman suggests that the *extra calvinisticum* is really an *extra christianum*,¹⁷⁹ while Willis prefers to call the *extra carnem*, the "etiam extra patristicum."¹⁸⁰ We would agree with their observations that the *extra calvinisticum* is really an *extra patristicum* in the West. At least since Augustine, the West has had an *extra carnem*.¹⁸¹ Sasse noted in a letter to Tom Hardt that

¹⁷⁹ Oberman, "The 'Extra' Dimension in the Theology of Calvin," 59. "Through his knowledge of these authorities, Calvin was in a position to establish that the so-called '*extra calvinisticum*' was at least an '*extra scholasticum*', and, after inquiry into the Greek and Latin fathers, even an '*extra Christianum*'."

¹⁸⁰ Willis, "Calvin's Use of Substantia," 296, note #20. "It is really the '*etiam extra carnem*' and it should be called, if the term (which was polemically coined) be used, the '*etiam extra patristicum*'."

¹⁸¹ Chemnitz, *The Two Natures in Christ*, 454. "But these men are in the particular habit of quoting certain statements of Augustine, Cyril, Theodoret, Fulgentius, and Vigilius, to the effect that the body of Christ, both in the union and in glory, is finite and circumscribed or local, and that by the very nature of the flesh it is not everywhere present, but that according to His human nature He has left this world with His body and His flesh, with His bodily and local presence, and that He is not in the world and thus is absent from us who remain in this world. The ancient writers did use such terms as these." Chemnitz, however, objects to the Calvinists applying these statements from the fathers to the Lord's Supper, something the fathers themselves never did.

“Aquinas was a Crypto-Calvinist in his theory”¹⁸² in regard to the *extra carnem*. The appearance of the *extra carnem* in various Western fathers may explain, in part, why Rome largely ignored the *extra calvinisticum* debate between the Lutherans and the Reformed. Rome did not pay attention to the debate until the Reformed equated the Lutheran confession of Christ with Roman Christology.¹⁸³ The Reformed confession simply inherited what had been a part of the Western tradition. Calvin was not alone in espousing an *extra calvinisticum* nor did he limit it to Christology in the *extra carnem*, but he also had other *extras*.¹⁸⁴ Luther here departs this tradition and will not confess any God apart from the man, Christ Jesus; there is no Christ outside of his flesh.

Of course, our interest in the *extra calvinisticum* is how it affected the interpretation of the phrase real presence. Obviously, anyone who held the *extra calvinisticum* and applied it to the Lord’s Supper would have a very different

¹⁸² Sasse, “September Letter to Tom Hardt.”

¹⁸³ Oberman, “The ‘Extra’ Dimension in the Theology of Calvin,” 54. “Not until considerably later and in response (as I believe) to the Calvinistic inclination to characterise the Lutheran Christology and especially its interpretation of the *communicatio idiomatum* as ‘Roman’, have Roman Catholic theologians also paid attention to the *extra calvinisticum* and its relation to Nestorianism.”

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 62. “Looking back over the road we have traveled, we can see that the *extra calvinisticum* is not a peculiar Calvinistic idiosyncrasy in christological matters. In the first place, the *etiam extra carnem* is not an ‘extra’ peculiar to Calvin’s theology, but had been taught by the *doctores veteri* and *moderni* (the ‘sophists’) alike... the *extra calvinisticum* is not an isolated phenomenon but rather, like the top of an iceberg, only the most controversial aspect of a whole ‘extra’ dimension in Calvin’s theology: *extra ecclesiam*, *extra coenam*, *extra carnem*, *extra legem*, *extra praedicationem*... Here again Calvin stands in a scholastic tradition which, rooted in St. Augustine, was unfolded by Johannes Duns Scotus and became the central theme in late medieval theology, expressed as God’s commitment to the established order, *de potentia ordinata*.”

understanding of real presence from someone who did not. The real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper for someone who holds the *extra calvinisticum* is that Christ is really present according to his divinity by the Holy Spirit since the humanity is in heaven. This discussion may also have helped illumine how one can approach the Lord's Supper by way of christological analogy. Next we turn to where the Lutheran Confessions reject the *extra calvinisticum*, and the only place where they make use of the term *realiter*.

FC VIII and *realiter*

Article VIII of the Formula of Concord begins by stating that the reason for its composition came out of the "controversy on the Holy Lord's Supper" and the Christ confessed there. What emerged was a controversy regarding the person of Christ in both natures between the pure theologians of the Augsburg Confession and the Calvinists.¹⁸⁵ While the Epitome identifies the controversy between the theologians of the Augsburg Confession and the Calvinists, the Solid Declaration provides the further clarification that the dispute is primarily between and among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession, although the

¹⁸⁵ FC EP VIII, 1. BSLK 804, 3-9. "Aus dem Streit von dem H. Abendmahl ist zwischen den >reinen< Theologen Augsburgischer Konfession und den Calvinisten (wölche auch etliche andere Theologen irrgemacht) ein Uneinigkeit entstanden von der Person Christi, von beiden Naturen in Christo und ihren Eigenschaften."

controversy “originally derived from the Sacramentarians.”¹⁸⁶ Once again we note the sequence of the articles beginning with the Lord’s Supper and then moving to this Lord. Errors in the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper evidence themselves in the doctrine of Christ when the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper is derived by way of analogy to Christology.

The history of the church gives evidence of such. There is, for instance, no evidence that the Nestorians denied that the Lord’s body and blood were on the altar, although that would be consistent with their Christology. Sasse observes:

This text from the old Monophysite church shows the anti-Chalcedonian position of this church. But for the dogma of the Lord’s Supper that makes no difference. It is a most remarkable fact that the Orthodox, the Monophysites, and the Nestorians, with all their other dogmatic differences, show no difference in the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper of their liturgies. The Mass as it was celebrated in the Nestorian churches of the Persian Empire is essentially the same as that of the Orthodox Church of the empire.¹⁸⁷

We would suggest that the reason these early christological errors did not affect the Lord’s Supper is that the Monophysites and the Nestorians simply confessed the Lord’s words regarding his body and blood in the Lord’s Supper. They did not apply their Christology to the Lord’s Supper analogically. Regarding the

¹⁸⁶ FC SD VIII, 1. BSLK 1017, 7-8. “sondern ursprünglich von den Sakramentierern herrühret.”

¹⁸⁷ Hermann Sasse, *We Confess The Sacraments*, trans. Norman E. Nagel, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985), 154.

Lord's Supper and the Nestorians, the only charge brought against them was that they ate the flesh of a man and not the flesh of God. However, they did not deny that what they received on the altar was Christ's flesh. Both the Monophysite and Nestorian heresies are from the East. The problems we have identified thus far in the Lord's Supper are the result of analogically comparing the Lord's Supper to Christology as have arisen in the West. Might this be another indication of the different paths Eastern and Western theology took in the fourth century?

We would contend that if the Christology of the Monophysites and the Eutychians were applied analogically to the Lord's Supper, the result would be the same as that of a Nestorian analogy, namely that the body and blood of Christ could not be on the altar, since only the divine nature remains. The Melchiorites of the 16th century help to demonstrate this point. Although the Melchiorites held to a Monophysite Christology, they confessed a spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper like the Zwinglians and the Calvinists.¹⁸⁸ The charges of eutychianism and monophysitism leveled against the Lutherans by the Calvinists are baseless. The Lutherans did not hold Christ's body and

¹⁸⁸ John Derksen, "Melchiorites After Melchior Hoffman In Strasbourg," *Mennonite Quarterly Review* 68, no. 3 (1994): 349. "A larger number, like Jörg Nörlinger, tempered or discarded their apocalypticism while maintaining a spiritualist eucharist and Monophysite Christology. Their monophysite Christology emerged as their main distinctive, for on the eucharist they had company in the Zwinglians, the Calvinists, the Schwenckfeldians, and other Anabaptists."

blood to be there to eat and to drink because of eutychianism, monophysitism, or even because of their Chalcedonian Christology, which safeguards them against the charge of an errant Christology, but because the Lord's words say so. Although the West subscribed to Chalcedon, Leo's Tome did not sufficiently guard against christological error and a latent form of Nestorianism prevailed in the West, along with a semi-Pelagian anthropology that serves as its complement¹⁸⁹ until the time of the Reformation. The Lutheran confession of Christ is in line with the Alexandrian Chalcedonian confession of Christ rather than with its form taught by Leo.¹⁹⁰ It certainly is not Antiochian as some, namely Harnack and Loofs, have attempted to suggest. Incidentally in the East where an Alexandrian Chalcedonian Christology holds sway, there has never been a dispute over the Lord's Supper.

¹⁸⁹ Charles Gore, "Our Lord's Human Example," *Church Quarterly Review* 16 (1883): 298. "The Nestorian Christ is the fitting Saviour of the Pelagian man."

¹⁹⁰ Paul Strawn, "Cyril of Alexandria as a Source for Martin Chemnitz," in *Die Patristik in der Bibelexegese des 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. David C. Steinmetz, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 230. "That Chemnitz predicated the foundation of his Christology, the communication of attributes, upon a division found in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, was seen in his time as highly significant." B. W. Teigen, "The Person of Christ," in *A Contemporary Look at the Formula of Concord*, ed. Wilbert Rosin and Robert D. Preus (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 233. "Article VIII takes as its fundamental point of departure the two-nature doctrine of the Council of Chalcedon (451 A.D.). But since there are different viewpoints regarding what Chalcedon actually taught, it is more precise to say that Luther and his faithful followers presented the christological doctrine along Alexandrian lines against the Antiochian interpretation. They were convinced that the early church, particularly the eastern branch represented by theologians such as Cyril of Alexandria and John of Damascus, expressed most fully the Scriptural doctrine confessed at Chalcedon."

What happened in the West is engaged by Article VIII. Here what is confessed of the person of Christ is directly related to the issues that arose in the Lord's Supper controversy. The Solid Declaration elaborates on the issue.

For when Luther against the Sacramentarians maintained with unshakable arguments the true, essential presence of the body and blood of Jesus Christ in the Lord's Supper from the words of institution, it was refuted by the Zwinglians, if the body of Christ was there in heaven at the same time it was on the earth in the Holy Supper, then the body of Christ could not be a genuine, true human body; for such majesty belongs to God alone, of which the body of Christ is not capable.¹⁹¹

This passage highlights the *inusitata* of the words of institution and summarizes the problems previously mentioned. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper is given by the words of institution. The Lord said, "This is my body ... This is my blood." These words determine the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. However, as the passage notes the Zwinglians argued that Christ's body and blood were not on the altar because Christ ascended into heaven and that the human body of Jesus was not capable of being in two places at the same time.¹⁹² Indeed of those

¹⁹¹ FC SD VIII, 2. BSLK 1028, 1-12. "Dann nachdem D. Luther wider die Sackramentierer die wahre, wesentliche Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibes und Bluts Jesu Christi im Abendmahl aus den Worten der Einsetzung mit beständigen Grund erhalten, ist ihme von den Zwinglianern fürgeworfen, wann der Leib Christi zumal im Himmel and auf Erden im heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig sei, so könnte es kein rechter, wahrhaftiger menschlicher Leib sein; dann solche Majestat allein Gottes eigen, derer der Leib Christi nicht fähig sei."

¹⁹² This may be summarized as *finitum infiniti non capax*, a phrase identified by Elert as coming from Nestorius himself in Werner Elert, "Über die Herkunft des Satzes Finitum infiniti non capax," *Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie* 3 & 4 (1940): 502. "Es läßt sich demnach bereits vermuten, wer den Satz von der Inkapazität des Endlichen für das Unendliche zum Maßstab der Christologie gemacht hat. Es ist kein anderer als Nestorius." ("By now we cannot any longer

who hold that Christ's body and blood are on the altar in the Lord's Supper, Zwingli said, "he drags Christ down from heaven and from his Father's throne."¹⁹³ The Zwinglian argument began with a definition of what man is and of what God is and then analogically applied those definitions to Christ, after which the analogy was extended further to the Lord's Supper, concluding that his body and blood cannot be on the altar. Article VIII seeks to expound the ancient and catholic teaching on the person of Christ, thereby refuting the errors mentioned above.

The point at issue in Article VIII is whether or not on account of the personal union in the person of Christ, both the divine and human natures "really, that is, in deed and truth" share properties with one another.¹⁹⁴ Naturally the theologians of the Augsburg Confession say yes and their opponents say no. There is a communion in deed and truth between the divine and human natures; God is man and man is God.¹⁹⁵ Therefore, if God can be in more than one place at a time so can the man Christ Jesus.

avoid the suspicion of who is the originator of that criterion of Christology: the finite is incapable for the infinite. It is none other than Nestorius.")

¹⁹³ Zwingli, "An Exposition of the Faith, 1531," 256.

¹⁹⁴ FC EP VIII, 2. BSLK 804, 12-19. "Die Hauptfrage >aber< ist gewesen, ob die göttliche und menschliche Natur umb der persönlichen Voreinigung willen realiter, das ist, mit Tat und Wahrheit, in der Person Christi wie auch derselben Eigenschften miteinander Gemeinschaft haben, und wie weit sich solche Gemeinschaft erstrecke?"

¹⁹⁵ FC EP VIII, 10.

In our study of the term real presence, this article is of particular interest because of the use of *realiter*.¹⁹⁶ The word did not occur in the article on the Lord's Supper, but in the article on the person of Christ. It should also be noted that there is no equivalent for *realiter* in German, as is evidenced by the use of the Latin word in the German text and its explication as *Tat und Wahrheit*.¹⁹⁷ Even in the Latin text, *realiter* is explicated as *vere et re ipsa* rather than standing on its own. We have not found *realiter* to appear apart from the combination with *vere et re ipsa*. The inclusion of an explication with the word *realiter* may indicate that the term was imprecise and in need of clarification in order to be helpful.

Why was a term used at all which was deemed so ambiguous as to require an explication? Chemnitz in his *The Two Natures In Christ*, which appeared at almost the same time as the Formula of Concord, defends the use of the term. He writes, "The term *reale* ["actual"] has been particularly criticized in this aspect of the doctrine."¹⁹⁸ Yet despite the criticism, Chemnitz thinks it necessary to continue to use the term to refer to the real communication between the divine and human natures in Christ. In this context, Chemnitz states that the antithesis

¹⁹⁶ Apparently some texts used *realis* instead, see BSLK 804, footnote 15, "realiter] realis."

¹⁹⁷ FC EP VIII, 2 (BSLK 804, 15.), FC EP VIII, 11 (BSLK 806, 36), FC EP VIII, 15 (BSLK 807, 25), FC SD VIII, 9 (BSLK 1021, 31-32), etc.

¹⁹⁸ Chemnitz, *The Two Natures in Christ*, 309. The Latin text is in Martin Chemnitz, *De Duabus Naturis in Christo* (Lipsiae, 1580), 332. "Praecipue vero vocabulum (Reale) in hac parte doctrineae, acerbe peritringitur."

to “real” is “verbal.”¹⁹⁹ This stands in contrast to Rome’s usage of *realis*, where it occurs in the context of the Lord’s Supper, which stands in antithesis to *figura*. Chemnitz states that those who oppose the term *reale* for the real communication object on the grounds that what is communicated to the human nature is only a figure of speech or a title. However, when the Lutherans say that there is a real communication between the divine and human natures, it is no figure of speech; in Christ Jesus, man is God.

Chemnitz does not only defend the use of the term as a description of the communication between the divine and human natures, he also acknowledges his debt to Luther. “Luther in his discussion of Isaiah 53 speaks of the exaltation of Christ’s human nature as personal and real.”²⁰⁰ Luther wrote his sermon on Isaiah 53 in 1544, shortly before he died.

Therefore, the exaltation of Christ is twofold: one personal, through which he exalted himself and is our head. The other one is real (*realis, sachlich*). Both are true. In his person he rises up and is seated at the right hand of the Father. The other is real that he is believed such as we confess him, and we exalt him as such through the ministry of the Word (*Predigtamt*) and the confession of faith. And because this second exaltation happened first, because his suffering, resurrection, glorification, sitting at the right hand of the Father, this is the goal, that we recognize and preach him as such.

¹⁹⁹ Chemnitz, *The Two Natures in Christ*, 310. “The terms “verbal” and “real” are mutually exclusive.” Chemnitz, *De Duabus Naturis in Christo*. “Verbale & Reale inter se opponuntur.”

²⁰⁰ Chemnitz, *The Two Natures in Christ*, 310. Chemnitz, *De Duabus Naturis in Christo*, 332. “cum Lutherus etiam in 53 cap. Isaiae, exaltationem humanae naturae in Christo, appellet personalem & realem.”

For his personal exaltation therefore happened, that we must recognize, preach, and believe him as such, that we confess him as such for our salvation, in order that his teaching must show us this thing and afterwards it was displayed to us and received by us, we would be saved through faith, as the following says: "Through his knowledge he, my servant, the righteous one, will justify many." For his own sake, he was not born, nor put to death, nor raised, but as Paul says in Rom. 4:25, "Because of our sin he died and he was raised for our righteousness." As the prophet testifies below, "He bore our sickness." In summary, the exaltation and elevation happened once in his person. But this real exaltation does not cease, but happens daily in eternity.²⁰¹

In this sermon Luther is speaking about a "real exaltation" in opposition to a verbal exaltation. Chemnitz and the authors of the Formula of Concord take Luther's specific example of the "real exaltation" and apply it to a more general "real communication" of attributes.

There is one other passage in Chemnitz's *The Two Natures In Christ* that we should examine before moving on. Just as the Formula of Concord only has one section that uses the word *realiter*, Chemnitz only has one section (two pages)

²⁰¹ WA 40 III, 691:35-36 – 692:1-15. "Est ergo duplex exaltatio Christi: personalis, qua ipse exaltatur et est caput nostrum, et realis, utraque vera. In persona sua exaltatus [692] et collocatus est ad dexteram Patris. Altera realis, quod talis creditur, talem eum confitemur, talem exaltamus ministerio verbi et confessione fidei. Et propter hoc secundum exaltare factum est primum, quia passio, resurrectio, glorificatio, sessio ad dexteram Patris habet hanc finalem causam, ut agnoscamus et praedicemus eum esse talem. Personalis enim eius exaltatio ideo facta est, ut talis agnosceretur, praedicaretur, crederetur, eum talem confiteremur in nostram salutem, ut eius doctrina ostenderet nobis istam rem et sic ostensa et apprehensa per fidem salvi fieremus, sicut infra sequitur: 'Notitia sui iustificabit servus meus iustus multos,' propter se enim nec natus nec mortuus est nec resurrexit, sed ut Paulus ait Rom. 4.: 'Mortuus est propter peccata nostra et resurrexit propter iustitiam nostram, ut infra etiam testatur Propheta: 'languores nostros ipse portavit.' Summa: exaltari, sublimem fieri Christum factum est semel in sua persona. Sed illa realis exaltatio non cessat, sed fit quotidie in aeternum." The English translation is my own and was compared to the German translation found in W² 6, 647-648:19.

where he uses the word. Like the Formula of Concord, Chemnitz uses it in regard to the real communication, except in one place where he applies it to the Lord's Supper.

The Sacramentarians, for example, grant that the body of Christ is truly (*vere*) present in the Lord's Supper, because they feel that they can conceal their beliefs under this term, but when we say that the body of Christ is really (*realiter*) present with the bread in the Lord's Supper, then the cries arise, for they cannot so easily escape the force of this word, and because, further, the communication of the majesty of which we are now speaking is not an essential transfusion or a natural mixing or equation.²⁰²

Please note the Preus translation where it says, "when we say that the body of Christ is really present with the bread in the Lord's Supper." The Latin text reads, "Quando vero dicitur, Corpus Christi realiter in coena Domni cum pane adesse, ibi clamores oriuntur." Literally translated it reads, "When indeed it is said that the body of Christ is really there in the Lord's Supper with the bread, then the cries arise." Where Preus has "we say that" the Latin reads *dicitur* (it is said), a 3rd person singular, present passive verb. Considering that the verbal construction is impersonal, did Preus interpret the subject correctly? Given that the context in the passage is generally between the Sacramentarians and Luther,

²⁰² Chemnitz, *The Two Natures in Christ*, 310. Chemnitz, *De Duabus Naturis in Christo*, 332. "Sicut Sacramentarij concedunt, corpus Christi vere esse in Coena, quia existimant sub illa voce, se posse opinions suas occultare, Quando vero dicitur, Corpus Christi realiter in coena Domni cum pane adesse, ibi clamores oriuntur, Quia scilicet vocem illam nontam facile possunt eludere, Praeterea, quia communicatio illa maiestatis, de qua nunc agimus, non est essentialis transfusio, vel physica confusio, aut exaequatio."

or the Lutherans, Preus may be justified in assuming “we said.” However, we have not located any other place in *The Two Natures In Christ* or in Chemnitz’s other writings, including in his writing on the Lord’s Supper, where he uses the phrase “really present” as a statement of the Lutheran confession of the Lord’s Supper. Nor do we find *realis* or *realiter* used by Luther in the same context as the Lord’s Supper. Nor do we find the term or phrase being used in the Lutheran Confessions, nor in later Lutheran writers.

Given the general absence of the term in Lutheran writings, we think it more likely that the *dicitur* refers to the Roman Catholics who have adopted the language of really present at Trent and Chemnitz is reporting the Sacramentarians’ objection to Rome’s use of the term against them. Therefore it is unlikely that the “it” should be understood as “we”, referring to the Lutherans. Furthermore, the Lutherans often complained that the Reformed would teach their doctrine using the Lutheran language about the Lord’s Supper.²⁰³ In the next passage, David Pareus, professor of Heidelberg University in 1603 and 1604,

²⁰³ Jon D. Vieker, "An Open Letter to Those in Frankfurt on the Main, 1533, by Martin Luther," *Concordia Journal* 16, no. 4 (1990): 335. "It has come to me by way of many who have come from your Frankfurt fair, that the Holy Sacrament is taught among you in your city according to the Zwinglian way, yet this is done under the appearance and with such words as if it were completely one and the same thing as with us and with our own teaching." FC SD VII, 2. BSLK 973, 10-16. "Obwohl etzliche Sakramentierer sich befleißien, mit Worten auf das allernägste der Augsburgischen Confession und dieser Kirchen Form oder Weise zu reden, zu gebrauchen, und bekennen, daß im heiligen Abendmahl der Leib Christi wahrhaftig von den Gläubigen empfangen werde." Also, notice Chemnitz’s complaint of the same in the previously cited quotation from *The Two Natures In Christ*.

told his students to use the Lutheran language when they taught the Lord's Supper. "It would be best then to use the words essential and substantial from the pulpit and in the Holy Communion in order to approach nearer the way the Lutherans speak. So too the union here with the holy body of Christ, we may then view not as just a consequence but as a way or mode of the manducation itself."²⁰⁴ Pareus instructs his students to use the words "essential," "substantial," and "union," in a way as near as possible to the Lutheran usage of the word. He does not include the phrase real presence in his admonition. While Pareus' list is not exhaustive of the ways Lutherans spoke about the Lord's Supper, he certainly covered the vocabulary of the Lutheran Confessions and so also the most common terms in the 17th century.

And even if Preus is correct in his assumption that the "it" refers to "we, the Lutherans," an incidental use of the term "really present" does not alter the fact that even this is hardly to be found in the way the Lutherans spoke of the Lord's Supper in the 16th and 17th centuries. The role of the term "real" in the Lutheran Confessions is to confess the real communication of attributes between the divine and human natures. The confession of the real communication rejects

²⁰⁴ Walter Hollweg, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Heidelberger Katechismus*, ed. Hannelore Erhart et al., Beiträge zur Geschichte und Lehre der Reformierten Kirche, vol. 2 (Germany: Neukirchener Verlag, 1968), 35. "Man solle doch auf der Cantzel und in denen Sacris sich der Worte essentialiter, substantialiter bedienen, auch die Unionem cum sancto Corpore Christi nicht als ein Consequentz, sondern als einen partem seu modum Manducationis ipsius ansehen, auf daß man also in denen Redens-Arten denen Lutheranern näher trete."

a *verbaliter* communication (a communication in name but not in fact). It is not used to confess the Lord's Supper.

The Omnipresence of Christ's body

From the real communication of the divine and human natures in the person of Christ, comes the confession of the omnipresence of Christ's body. Elert writes, "The doctrine of the omnipresence was a necessary result of the impact of the Gospel (*evangelischer Ansatz*)."²⁰⁵ The omnipresence of the body of Christ comes from the real communication which is confessed in the Creed that Jesus is true God and true man. If he were not, he would not be our savior. Wherever the divine nature of Christ is, there is also the human nature. "The denial of the omnipresence of the humanity, Luther feared, would lead consequently to the denial of his deity."²⁰⁶ The opponents of the Lutheran confession called this the doctrine of ubiquity,²⁰⁷ although neither Luther nor the Confessions make use of the term ubiquity.²⁰⁸ Nor do the Lutherans base their

²⁰⁵ Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, 313.

²⁰⁶ Nagel, "The Incarnation and the Lord's Supper in Luther," 642.

²⁰⁷ Bente, *Historical Introductions to the Book of Concord*, 183. According to Bente, the Philippists coined the term "ubiquity." "In the *Dresden Consensus (Consensus Dresdensis)* of 1571 the Philippists of Electoral Saxony also rejected the omnipresence (which they termed ubiquity) of the human nature of Christ."

²⁰⁸ Teigen, "The Person of Christ," 311. Note 22. "The term 'ubiquity' has been used to name this doctrine. But the term is neither Luther's nor that of the Lutheran Confessions. It was rather a 'snarl' word coined by the Sacramentarians to ridicule the Lutheran doctrine. As such the

doctrine of the Lord's Supper on ubiquity as they have often been charged. To confess the omnipresence of the Lord's body is not the same as to confess his body and blood there on the altar for you to eat and to drink for the forgiveness of sins; if the omnipresence of the Lord's body is used to prove his body and blood on the altar this maybe seen as done analogically and with a force diagnosable as Law. It may be helpful first to examine the passages related to the omnipresence of the Lord's body.

The Epitome confesses that while Christ always possessed the full majesty of God, he only occasionally made use of it during his humiliation, but after his exaltation by the resurrection and ascension, "He exercises his power everywhere omnipresently, he can do everything, and he knows everything."²⁰⁹ Now the Reformed would not outright reject this statement so long as it is understood as according to the Lord's divine nature.²¹⁰ However, when the Lutherans confess that "he can exercise his power everywhere omnipresently," they do not exclude his human nature from participation. It is he who can do this and whatever he does, he does so as the person he is, true God and true man.

term carried the connotation of something the Lutherans never taught – that Christ's body was somehow locally extended through the universe, not independent of time and space (SD VII, 100, 119)."

²⁰⁹ FC EP VIII, 16. BSLK 808, 18-19. "wölchen seinen Gewalt er allenthalben gegenwärtig üben kann, und ihm alles möglich und alles wissend ist."

²¹⁰ See the section on The So-Called *Extra Calvinisticum* beginning on page 219.

The Epitome continues by confessing that if the Lord can make his body be everywhere when he exercises his power, "it is easy for him to impart to us his true body and blood which are present in the Holy Supper."²¹¹ This is not to say that his true body and blood are on the altar in the Lord's Supper by means of the omnipresence of his body. It simply confesses that if he is able to do the one, he cannot be told that he cannot do the other. No analogy is established between the two, since the omnipresence of his body depends on the real communication between the divine and human natures in Christ, while the presence of his body and blood on the altar depends on the Lord's words which state and give, "This is my body... This is my blood." The Solid Declaration adds a further clarification to the omnipresence of Christ's body. Christ "with his assumed human nature he can be present and indeed is where he wills."²¹² They add that not only part of Christ is there but since his whole person is there both of his natures, divine and human are there as well.²¹³ This addition frees Christ from the logical necessity that the human nature must be omnipresent because of the communication of attributes. There is no master over the Lord; he does what he

²¹¹ FC EP VIII, 17. BSLK 808, 21-24. "Doher er auch vormag, und ihm ganz leicht ist, sein wahrhaftigen Leib und Blut im heiligen Abendmahl gegenwärtig mitzuteilen."

²¹² FC SD VIII, 78. BSLK 1043, 29-32. "mit derselbigen seiner angenommenen menschlichen Natur gegenwärtig sein könne | und auch sei |, wo er will."

²¹³ FC SD VIII, 78. BSLK 1043, 35-38. "die ganze Person Christi, zu welcher gehören beide Naturen, die göttliche und menschliche, gegenwärtig sei."

wills, including the omnipresence of his body when and where it pleases him. "When and how" confesses his freedom from necessity, and so from the realm of the Law.²¹⁴

The general omnipresence of Christ's body may pose a problem for the Lord's Supper. How is the general omnipresence of Christ's body to be distinguished from the giving and eating of his body and blood on the altar? If there is no difference, Law and Gospel may be muddled. The omnipresence of Christ's body does not necessarily do a person good. If Christ's omnipresence has him in a table or chair, what good is that for you? Luther addressed this problem when he wrote:

Even if Christ's body is everywhere, you do not therefore immediately eat or drink or touch him... I said above that the right hand of God is everywhere, but at the same time nowhere and uncircumscribed, above and apart from all creatures. There is a difference between his being present and your touching. He is free and unbound wherever he is, and he does not have to stand there like a rogue set in a pillory, or his neck in irons... So too with Christ: although he is everywhere, he does not permit himself to be so caught and grasped; he can easily shell himself, so that you get the shell but not the kernel. Why? Because it is one thing if God is present, and another if he is present for you. He is there for you when he adds his word and binds himself, saying, 'Here you are to find me.' Now when you have the Word, you can grasp and have

²¹⁴ FC SD VIII, 25. BSLK 1024, 42-45. "Daher hat er auch alle seine Wunderwerk gewirket und solche seine göttliche Majestat nach seinem Gefallen, wenn und wie er gewollt."

him with certainty and say, 'Here I have thee, according to thy Word.'²¹⁵

Although Christ's body is everywhere, he only grants you to find him where he has said and promised.²¹⁶ In the Lord's Supper, he promises to give his body and blood on the altar to eat and drink for the forgiveness of sins. Nowhere else does he promise to give his body and blood to eat and drink even though his body may be everywhere. Earlier we noted that the Solid Declaration clarified the issue by saying that Christ is there in his body when and where he pleases. In the Lord's Supper, the Lord wills and promises to give his body and blood to eat and drink. In the Lord's Supper, Jesus permits us to capture and touch him so that we may eat and drink his body and blood for the forgiveness of sins. Here in

²¹⁵ AE 37, 68. WA 23, 151: 1-5, 10-17. "Droben habe ich gesagt, Das die rechte Gotts an allen enden ist, aber dennoch zugleich auch nirgent und unbegreiflich ist, uber und ausser allen creaturen. Es ist ein unterscheid unter seiner gegenwertigkeit und deinem greissen. Er ist frey und ungebunden allenthalben wo er ist, und mus nicht da stehen als ein bube an pranger odder hals eisen geschmidet... Also auch Christus: ob er gleich allenthalben da ist, lesst er sich nicht so greissen und tappen: Er kan sich wol aus schelen, das du die schale davon kriegest und den kerne nicht ergreiffest. Warumb das? Darumb, das ein anders ist, wenn Gott da ist, und wenn er dir da ist. Denn aber ist er dir da, wenn er sein wort dazu thut und bindet sich damit an und spricht: Hie soltu mich finden. Wenn du nu das wort hast, so kanstu yhn gewislich greissen und haben und sagen: Hie hab ich dich, wie du sagest."

²¹⁶ John Kleinig, "Where Is Your God? Luther on God's Self-Localization," in *All Theology Is Christology*, ed. Dean O. Wenthe et al. (Fort Wayne, Indiana: Concordia Theological Press, 2000), 118. "Yet, even though God was present everywhere, he was present in an elusive, hidden way, masked and concealed from human sight. He did not make himself accessible and available everywhere for everybody, but only for his people in certain appointed places. There he was present for them."

the Lord's Supper, Jesus says that his body and blood are "for you".²¹⁷ This is his promise and it is Gospel, a gift.

The general omnipresence of Christ's body is not certain to be a gift. In fact, Christ attaches no promise to his being everywhere; this should strike terror in the heart of the sinner. The difference then between the general omnipresence of Christ's body and his body and his blood on the altar to eat and drink is the distinction between Law and Gospel. In fact, Luther argues this way against the Sacramentarians. When Luther employs the argument of the omnipresence of Christ's body, it is to show his opponents that it is indeed possible for Christ to be on the altar. This is a Law argument intended to convict his opponents. As a corollary to this, to seek him apart from where he has promised is idolatry.²¹⁸ While it is true that since Jesus' ascension we are free to worship him any place on earth, he still promises where he is to be found. In the Lord's Supper, he promises and gives his body and his blood on the altar to eat and drink. To seek his body in heaven where he has not promised to give it to us is idolatry. This is why the Apostle warns of those who do not discern the Lord's body in the Lord's Supper.

²¹⁷ SC V, 8.

²¹⁸ Kleinig, "Where Is Your God? Luther on God's Self-Localization," 122. "Now, if God had instituted the worship of his people at Jerusalem through his word, any form of worship, which he had not instituted, was idolatry... Because idolaters despised God's word, they set up their own places of worship apart from his word and devised their own service of God."

When Luther confesses that the Lord's Supper is founded on the Lord's words of institution and this is the only basis for us to expect Christ's body and blood on the altar to eat and drink, Luther's argument is based on the promise of Christ and is Gospel. To the Sacramentarians Luther preaches Law, namely, that Christ's body is everywhere. To his flock, Luther preaches the Gospel, namely, that Christ's body and blood are on the altar to eat and to drink for the forgiveness of sins because Christ has said so. The doctrine of the Lord's Supper is in no way founded on the argument that Christ's body is everywhere, but on the Lord's word and promise, "Take eat, this is my body given for you ... Take drink, this is my blood given and shed for you for the forgiveness of sins."

The Descent of Both Natures into Hell

The descent into hell is not directly related to the Lord's Supper, but it is the counterpart to the ascension into heaven. Jesus Christ in his whole person, that is in both natures descended into hell and in both natures ascended into heaven. Thus, Article IX of the Formula of Concord follows Article VIII, which confessed the person of Christ inseparably²¹⁹ in both natures.

²¹⁹ FC SD 8, 7. BSLK 1019, 36-44 – 1020, 1-3. "Wir gläuben, lehren und bekennen, daß nunmehr in derselbigen einigen, unzertrennten Person Christi zwo unterschiedliche Naturen sein, die göttliche, so von Ewigkeit und die menschliche, so in der Zeit in Einigkeit der Person des Sohns Gottes angenommen, welche zwo Naturen nimmermehr in der Person Christi weder getrennet, noch mit einander vormischt, oder eine in die andere vorwandelt, sonder ein jde in ihrer Natur und Wesen in der Person Christi in alle Ewigkeit bleibet." See also the two great adverbs against Nestorius (*ἀδιαίρετως* and *ἀχωρίστως*) of the Chalcedonian Creed. Thomas Herbert Bindley, *The Oecumenical Documents of the Faith: the Creed of Nicea, Three Epistles of Cyril, the Tome of*

By far the briefest of the twelve articles of the Formula, Article IX handed over its treatment of the subject completely to Luther. The reformer's rejection of speculation regarding Christ's descent into hell provided an echo of the Concordianists' rejection of speculation in regard to Christology in Article VIII, where it was admonished that conjecture beyond the biblical text be avoided regarding Christ's sitting at the right hand of almighty power and majesty.²²⁰

Article IX "hands its treatment" over to Luther's so-called Torgau Sermon preached on Easter Sunday of 1532 (3)?²²¹ He wrote:

I believe in the Lord Christ, God's Son, dead, buried, and descended to Hell. That is: the entire person, God and man, with body and soul unseparated, born of the Virgin, suffered, died and was buried. So also here I should not make a separation, but believe and say, that Christ himself, God and man in one person descended to hell, but he did not remain there.²²²

For Luther, after the Incarnation there was no separation of the two natures.

Wherever Christ is, be it in the womb of the Virgin, on the cross, in the grave, in hell, to heaven, or at the altar, the entire person of Christ in both natures, divine

Leo, the Chalcedonian Definition, 4th ed. rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 1950), 193: 118-119. ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον· (Translation Bindley, 235. "acknowledged in Two Natures unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, inseparably.")

²²⁰ Robert Kolb, "Christ's Descent into Hell as Christological Locus: Luther's 'Torgau Sermon' As Confessional Instrument in the late Reformation," (2000), 1. I am indebted to Dr. Kolb for allowing me to use this paper, which is pending publication in the *Luther Jahrbuch* 2001.

²²¹ The WA lists the date as 1533; Rörer's notes record the date as 1532. Kolb notes that it was preached in 1532 but published in 1533. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

²²² WA 37, 65: 3-9. "Ich gleube an den HERREN Christum, Gottes Son, gestorben, begraben und zur Helle gefaren, von der Jungfrawen geboren, belidden, gestorben und begraben ist, Also sol ichs hie auch nicht teilen, sondern gleuben und sagen, das der selbige Christus, Gott und mensch inn einer person zur Helle gefaren, aber nicht darinne blieben ist." Compare with SC II, 3-4.

and human, is there. This is not a matter of non-essential details. For Luther and the Confessors of the Formula, the descent into hell was a matter related to justification. If Christ's divinity and humanity were divided in the descent into hell, then our Savior is lost for us. The only Lord we can know is the one born of the Virgin, who suffered, died, and rose again. If Christ separates himself from his flesh, then we no longer have a God hidden in the flesh, that is, a God who is for us, but only a God of divine power and majesty. Simply put, if Christ unincarnates himself, then we do not have a gracious God and justification is lost. It is this confession of the undivided person of Christ in both natures that the Formula picks up in Article IX.

There was really no dispute among the Lutherans regarding the descent into hell by Christ in both natures.²²³ To use the language of Article VIII, it was a "real" descent and not merely a "verbal" or "figurative" descent into hell. Of interest to us is the following section of Article IX, "We simply believe after the burial the entire person, God and man, descended into hell, conquered the devil,

²²³ C. George Fry, "Christ's Descent Into Hell," in *A Contemporary Look At The Formula of Concord*, ed. Wilbert Rosin and Robert D. Preus (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1978), 253. "Complete agreement on the issues involved in this matter was attained with relative ease. This was because there had always been a large measure of consensus among the Lutherans as to the confessional importance, the Biblical basis, and the theological significance of the statement, 'He descended into hell.'"

destroyed hell's power, and took from the devil all his might."²²⁴ The key phrase and the connection to the previous article and Article VII is "the entire person, God and man."²²⁵ In the Lord's Supper, the entire person of Christ, God and man, is there giving his body and blood on the altar to eat and drink. Article VIII confessed that the entire person of Christ, God and man, was omnipresent when and how he pleased. And finally Article IX confesses that the entire Person, God and man, descended into hell. There can be no separation of Christ's person.

Summary

It may be helpful briefly to review this chapter. Structurally, it followed the Formula of Concord, Articles VII through IX, and attempted to show how the Lord's Supper is organically (not analogically) related to what is confessed of Christ. By organic, we mean to say that if the Lord's Supper is confessed as it was in Article VII of the Formula of Concord, namely, that the Lord's body and blood are on the altar to eat and to drink, one cannot help but to confess such a Lord's personal union as it is confessed in Article VIII, likewise with Article IX, the descent into hell as the counter part to the ascension. The foundation for the Lord's Supper is Christ's words of institution; to these words there is no analogy

²²⁴ FC SD IX, 2. BSLK 1052: 14-16 – 1053: 1-3. "wir einfältig glauben, daß die ganze Person, Gott und Mensch, nach der Begräbnus zur Helle gefahren, den Teufel überwunden, der Hellen Gewalt zerstöret und dem Teufel all sein Macht genummen habe."

²²⁵ In German this phrase is "die ganze Person, Gott und Mensch" and in Latin "tota persona, Deus et homo".

as is confessed by the *inuitata* of FC VII. We have suggested that when something goes wrong in the Lord's Supper it is because the *inuitata* is not maintained. In other words, an analogy is made between the Lord's Supper and something else, usually some Christology. Using the confession of the *inuitata* as our guide, we have attempted to analyze and evaluate the Reformed and Roman Catholic confession of the Lord's Supper in the 16th century.

We have seen how an analogy is an instrument of the Law, since the Law makes comparisons between itself and the deeds of a person. In the case of the Lord's Supper, the analogy serves as a rule or principium to make what makes no rational sense, the giving of the body and blood of Christ on the altar to eat and drink, relevant by comparing it with something more easily understood. In the case of the christological analogy to the Lord's Supper, the analogy serves to limit the incomprehensibles, since no one claims to understand the Incarnation. By likening the Lord's Supper to the Incarnation, two mysteries become one mystery. Such a reduction is pleasing to the human mind, but it is not what he gives us to confess. He does not limit the gifts he pours out to us; neither should we try to limit what he would give us by reducing the gift by analogy. The Lord's Supper confessed as *inuitata* means that it is not relevant, that is, it has no point of relation or comparison to another thing. Thus, analogy is the attempt to make something relevant as the Lord has not done. The fact of the Lord's body

and blood to eat and to drink on the altar is unique; there is nothing else like it. There is nowhere else other than on the altar in the Lord's Supper that God promises to give us his flesh and blood to eat and to drink. Equipped with this recognition we were able to see how the willingness to confess only that Christ is present sharing himself in the Lord's Supper serves to bring him under the control of some christological analogy, and thereby, eliminates the *proprium* of the Lord's Supper, namely, the body and blood of Christ to eat and to drink. A Christ who gives into the mouth of the communicants his body and blood to eat and drink is contrasted by a Christ who does not do this, whose body and blood are said to be absent from the altar and are not given into the mouth of the communicants, and thus, a Christ who somehow shares himself in some spiritual blessing way.

We also saw the reluctance in both the 16th century and 20th century to confess that Christ is present according to his person in both natures, divine and human. Article VIII of the Formula Concord confesses that after the Incarnation there can be no separation of Christ's person. Therefore, if Christ is everywhere as God, he is everywhere as man. After the Incarnation, Christ may not be spoken of abstractly as divinity or humanity but only as incarnate: God and Man. This played out in both Christ's descent into hell and in his ascension into heaven.

Finally, these matters relate to the real presence. Not only were these issues a concern in the 16th century, but they remain the problem behind much of the 20th century discussion. The type of analogy one works, determines the type of real presence. Since philosophy, not theology, works by analogy, the term real presence is more suitable to philosophical assumptions than to theological confession. As a philosophical term, it is subject to accommodation to each philosophical system's presuppositions. A Platonist will have a different real presence than an Aristotelian, as will a Nominalist from a Kantian, Hegelian, or an Existentialist or Personalist. This recognition may help prepare us to diagnose the contemporary scene, especially when we examine the current theological discussion on real presence from the viewpoint of a phenomenological system. Considering that the term real presence is more at home in philosophy than theology, it comes as no surprise that the term falls short in the distinction between Law and Gospel. At its very best, the term real presence simply states that Christ is there, but it does not tell you for what purpose he is there.

We also noted the absence of the term real presence in the Formula of Concord. Its absence cannot be explained by ignorance of the term. We observed the adverbial use of *realiter* to exclude *verbaliter* in the confession of the personal union in FC VIII. Thus far we can only suggest that the term was not found to be

adequate for the Lutheran confession of the Lord's Supper. We now turn to the Lutheran Confession of the Lord's Supper, the body and the blood confession.

CHAPTER 8 – THE BODY AND THE BLOOD CONFESSION

While it has already been noted that the Lutheran Confessions and Luther do not employ the term real presence, it may nevertheless be helpful to examine what they actually do confess. This is important for both historical and contemporary reasons, since no one other than an unbeliever takes the position that the Lord is not there or present in some way. What is confessed at the altar? Nearly everyone can confess Christ is present, at least some part of him. Yet this is not an adequate confession of what the Lord says he gives to eat and drink in the Lord's Supper. The disagreement is not over "how" Christ is present, despite the claims that the 16th century was only concerned with modes of presence. Other than Rome with her theory of transubstantiation (or perhaps the Reformed who devised theories within a philosophical framework and worldview that attempted to explain what the Lutherans confessed, for example, consubstantiation or ubiquity), nobody claimed to explain "how" Christ was present. The "how" of Christ's presence was left to the almighty power of God¹; even Rome left the miracle of transubstantiation to God's omnipotence. Truly what was at issue then and is at issue now is Christ's body and blood "under the

¹ FC SD VII, 106. BSLK 1009, 32. "Also ist unser Glaub in diesem Artikel von der wahren Gegenwärtigkeit des Leibs und Bluts Christi im heiligen Abendmahl auf des wahrhaftigen und allmächtigen Gottes, unsers Herrn und Heilands Jesu Christi gebauet." Note that *der wahren Gegenwärtigkeit* is *vera praesentia* in Latin.

bread and wine for us Christians to eat and to drink, instituted by Christ himself.”²

As was seen in the previous chapter, in the 16th century some argued that the Lord’s body and blood could not be on the altar because Jesus ascended into heaven. For Rome this problem was overcome by transubstantiation while for the Reformed, although Christ’s body and blood were not there, Christ was present according to his divine nature. The Lutherans simply confessed that Christ was there speaking his words and so there giving his body and his blood to be eaten and drunk for the forgiveness of sins. Christ is never not in both natures, divine and human. To say that Christ is present is not an adequate confession nor yet good news, even less so if in only one of his natures. If Christ’s human nature being everywhere does you no good, then so also Christ’s divine nature being everywhere certainly does you no good. Christ himself speaks of giving his body and his blood to be eaten and drunk. Nowhere else is one invited, bidden, and commanded to eat the Lord’s body and to drink his blood than at the Lord’s altar. It is only in the Lord’s Supper that his body and blood are given, distributed, and received to eat and drink for you for the forgiveness of sins.

² SC V.

The Lord's words which tell of his giving his body and blood to be eaten and drunk are such as not to be found in any other place or form of speech. The Formula confesses then a *praedicatio inusitata*, and so one which may not be transposed with a *figura* or *similitudo* (analogy). They are unique to this Sacrament, *singularis sacramentalis*.³ As was seen in the previous chapter analogies and comparisons only serve to diminish what is unique to the Lord's Supper. For this reason general terms like Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper are an inadequate confession since it does not confess that his body and his blood there on the altar in the Supper is different from the other ways he has undertaken to be in the church. Another shift occurs when the emphasis moves from the Lord's body and blood to an encounter with other persons of the Trinity in the Lord's Supper. Although an emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in the Lord's Supper has been a focus in the East, more recently there has been a shift toward encountering the Trinity as the following quotation shows.

First, the Eucharist provides us with the opportunity to experience each person of the Holy Trinity. The Eucharist is not primarily a "thing," nor is it "something" we do without reference to the actions of God. On the contrary, the Eucharist is an assembly through which human persons encounter in prayer each person of the Holy Trinity. As the mystical supper, it is a meeting (σύνναξις) between human persons bound together by faith, hope, and love and the divine persons. The divine self-disclosure of Father, Son and Holy Spirit is manifested and celebrated and experienced in

³ BSLK 984, n. 4.

the Eucharist. Through the prayers and actions of the Holy Eucharist, we have the opportunity not only to deepen our relationship with our fellow believers, but also to deepen our relationship with each of the persons of the Holy Trinity.⁴

Here we see that the Lord's Supper is not primarily about eating and drinking the Lord's body and blood but about community between the church and each person of the Trinity. This emphasis is not only found in the East but is also in the West, "The trinitarian structure of the Eucharist is a constant reminder that God is not generically or abstractly God, but is the loving God who comes to us in Jesus Christ by the power of the Holy Spirit."⁵ While it is certainly true that God is everywhere and Christ is God, so where Christ is, there is the Father and the Holy Spirit, yet one does not find a "Trinitarian structure"⁶ in the Lord's words of institution of the Lord's Supper. The Lord does not say, "Here is the Father ... here is the Holy Spirit," but rather, "This is my body ... This is my blood." It seems that the emphasis on the epiclesis in the Lord's Supper is derived by analogy from the role of the Holy Spirit in the Incarnation. Just as the Holy Spirit overshadowed the Virgin Mary and caused the Incarnation, so too, he overshadows the bread and wine effecting the change into the body and

⁴ Thomas FitzGerald, "The Holy Eucharist as Theophany," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 28, no. 1 (1983): 34.

⁵ Catherine Mowry LaCugna, *God For Us: The Trinity and Christian Life*, 1 ed. (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), 405.

⁶ *Ibid.*

blood of Christ. The Lord's words, however, do not make such an analogy. Likewise, the Lord's Supper does not derive the fellowship of the church from the unity and fellowship of the Trinity. To do so, is analogy between the Trinity, the church, and the Lord's Supper. All of this serves to de-emphasize the Lord's body and blood.

The True body and blood in the Church Fathers

It would seem that the phrase "true body and blood" self-evidently refers to the Lord's Supper. Where there is the blood and where there is the body, there can be no doubt to the reference. However, the phrase "true body" has been used in several different ways in the church, including as an abbreviation for the longer phrase "true body and blood." Naturally, context determines what the phrase "true body" conveys, although there are times when its usage may suggest two possible and related readings as in the case of 1 Corinthians.⁷ Before examining the Lutheran confessions it may be helpful to review in what context the phrase "true body" has occurred in pre-Reformation connotations. Due to the numerous occurrences of the phrase in antiquity our survey must be cursory but it may nevertheless provide a general pattern of its usage.

⁷ In 1 Corinthians, does "body of Christ" refer to the Lord's body and blood on the altar or to the church? It has been understood in both ways, although how one understands it seems to govern the interpretation of the text. Surburg concludes that there is a "double entendre here which moves from the sacramental to ecclesiastical body." Mark P. Surburg, "Structural and Lexical Features in 1 Corinthians 11:27-32," *Concordia Journal* 26, no. 3 (2000): 216.

In the writings of the church fathers, we have found three usages of the phrase “true body.” The first usage (in no particular order) refers to Christ’s true body opposed to some kind of a phantom, imaginary body. This usage is concerned with Christ and his two natures. The second usage refers to the true body on the altar in the Lord’s Supper. The third usage refers to the true body, which is the church. These three usages of true body may also be understood as three different unions: 1) the personal union, 2) the sacramental union, and 3) the mystical union. The temptation, of course, is to hold these usages or unions in analogy to one another, thereby providing a source of comparison between them and even deduction. When this is done, naturally, they are not seen as equals, but are held in a higher to lower relation with the personal union held as the highest or the source from which the other unions come. This is the basis behind the Incarnation as the first or chief sacrament (*Ursakrament*) as discussed in the previous chapter. Naturally when the usages are held in analogy to each other and compared, the distinctiveness of each is diminished. In order to maintain the distinctiveness of each usage, it may be helpful to briefly examine each one.

True body as Jesus’ Physical body

Many of the earliest references to Christ’s true body are used to combat those who held that Christ just appeared to be a man. We have found an early occurrence of this usage in a work attached to Tertullian’s five books against

Marcion. In the following passage, the author is writing against Apelles, a disciple of Marcion. He says that Apelles teaches that Christ does not have a true body.

Christ he neither, like Marcion, affirms to have been in a phantasmal shape, nor yet in substance of a true body, as the Gospel teaches; but says, because he descended from the upper regions, that in the course of His descent he wove together for Himself a starry and airy flesh; and, in His resurrection restored, in the course of His ascent, to the several individual elements whatever had been borrowed in His descent: and thus – the several parts of His body dispersed – He reinstated in heaven His spirit only. This man denies the resurrection of the flesh.⁸

Here “true body” is maintained against a phantasmal body and the notion that Christ took on some kind of ethereal body that he shed at his ascension.

The phrase “true body” is also employed in the Trinitarian controversies. In a third century treatise on the Trinity, Novatian confesses, “Our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Creator, was manifested in the substance of the true body.”⁹ In the chapter prior to the one just cited, Novatian uses the phrase *veram*

⁸ Tertullian, *Against All Heresies*, Appendix, Ch. 6. ANF 3, 653. CSEL 47, 223. “Christum neque in phantasmate dicit fuisse, sicut marcion, neque in substantia ueri corporis, ut euangelium docet, sed in eo, quo de superioribus partibus descenderit, ipso desensu sidarm sibi carnem et aeream contexuisse.” Jerome suggests that *Against All Heresies* was written by Victorinus who died a martyr in the Diocletian persecution around 303 A.D. If Jerome is correct, then this work is approximately 75 to 80 years past Tertullian’s flourishing period. Most scholars today regard it as a spurious work and do not ascribe it to Tertullian.

⁹ Novatian, *Treatise Concerning the Trinity*, chap. XI. AFN 5, 620. MPL 3, 930. “nostrum Jesum Christum Dei Creatoris Filium in substantia ueri corporis exhibitum asserimus.”

carnem (true flesh) instead of *corpus verum* (true body).¹⁰ This shows that in some cases these two phrases are equivalent to each other. About three centuries later, John Cassian employs the term against the Nestorians. In the context of his treatise, he is comparing the similarities of the Pelagians to the Nestorians. He writes, "For this is the true and Catholic faith, to believe that the Lord Jesus Christ possessed the substance of a true body just as He possessed a true and perfect Divinity."¹¹

One might expect the phrase "true body" to be used against those who held christological errors. Although it is used in this way against the Nestorians and others, it also is used simply to refer to Christ's physical body. It is quite likely that in these cases, the phrase is employed as a defense against a docetic or phantasmal body. For example, Jerome uses the phrase "true body" when explaining the passage in John where Jesus appears to his disciples in the upper room after passing through a closed door.¹² In the context of his argument, he is defending virginity and not combating any christological error. He writes:

¹⁰ Ibid., chap. X. AFN 5, 619. "That Jesus Christ is the Son of God and truly man, as opposed to the fancies of heretics, who deny that he took upon him true flesh." MPL 3, 928. "Jesum Christum Dei Filium esse, et vere hominem: contra haereticos phantasiastas, qui veram carnem illum suscepisse negabant."

¹¹ John Cassian, *The Seven Books on the Incarnation of the Lord, Against Nestorius*, Book 5, chapter 5. NPNF II, 11, 583. MPL 50, 108. "quia haec fides vera est et catholica credere Dominum Jesum Christum ita substantiam veri corporis sicut veritatem perfectae divinitatis habuisse."

¹² John 20:26-27. This is the incident where Thomas puts his fingers into the holes in Jesus' side and hands.

Let my critics explain to me how Jesus can have entered in through closed doors when He allowed His hands and His side to be handled, and showed that He had bones and flesh, thus proving that His was a true body and no mere phantom of one, and I will explain how the holy Mary can be at once a mother and a virgin.¹³

In this context, the disciples are suspected of regarding the appearance of Jesus after his resurrection to be that of an apparition or of a phantom. Thus, Jesus allowed Thomas to handle his body to demonstrate that it was a “true body”.

Augustine, who ordinarily uses the phrase “true body” to refer to the church (as will be shown later), appears on the basis of the following English translation to use it to explain Jesus’ cry of dereliction on the cross. Commenting on Psalm 38, Augustine writes:

And yet He had said, “My God! My God! why hast Thou forsaken Me?” and He now says, “O My God, depart not from Me.” If He does not forsake the body, did He forsake the Head? Whose words then are these but the First Man’s? To show then that He carried about Him a true body of flesh derived from him, He says, “My God, My God why hast Thou forsaken Me?” God had not forsaken Him.¹⁴

¹³ Jerome, Letters XLVIII, “To Pammachius”. NPNF II, 6, 78-79. CSEL 54, 386. “respondeant mihi, quomodo Iesus clausis ingressus est ostiis, cum palpandas manus et latus considerandum ossa carnemque monstrauerit, ne ueritas corporis fantasma putaretur, et ego respondebo, quomodo sancta Maria sit et mater et uirgo.”

¹⁴ Augustine, *On the Psalms*, “Psalm 38, 26.” NPNF I, 8: 111. MPL 36, 411. “Et tamen dixerat, *Deus meus, Deus meus, utquid me dereliquisti* (Matth. xxvii, 46, et Psalm. xxi, 2)? et dicit, *Deus meus, ne discesseris a me*. Si a corpore non recedit, recessit a capite? Cujus ergo vox erat, nisi primi hominis. Ex illo ergo se ostendens veram carnem portare, dicit: *Deus meus, Deus meus, utquid me dereliquisti?* Non illum dimisit Deus.” MPL lists the Psalm Augustine is commenting on as Psalm 37 instead of the NPNF’s Psalm 38. This is due to the difference between the Vulgate and LXX numbering and the English numbering systems of the Psalms. In this quote, Augustine says that Christ’s cry from the cross was to show that he had a body like any other man. As far as Augustine is concerned, this proves that Christ had a body from Adam. Since the cry was not for

First, it is necessary to comment on the English translation. As can be seen from the Latin text, Augustine uses *veram carnem*, which literally translated is “true flesh.” As has been the case many times in our investigation of the term real presence, translators have led us astray.¹⁵ Secondly, Augustine’s use of “true flesh” instead of “true body” follows our observation that the phrase “true flesh”, rather than “true body,” is more commonly used to confess Christ’s physical body. This certainly seems to be the case in Augustine, who most often uses “true body” to refer to the church and “true flesh” to refer to Christ’s physical body. It does seem that the language of true flesh is drawn from the Gospel of John and is an apt phrase for the Incarnation.

Christ’s sake, it was for Adam’s sake, from whose body came Christ’s true body. It seems to us that Augustine’s logic actually hurts his confession that Christ had a true body. If Christ had a true body, his cry of dereliction should be from and also for himself. For more on this see Norman E. Nagel, “Heresy, Doctor Luther, Heresy! The Person and Work of Christ,” in *Seven Headed Luther*, ed. Peter Brooks (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

¹⁵ The Second Council of Constantinople also appears in English translation to employ the phrase in the *Anathemas Against Origen*, A.D. 553. The phrase is used to protect against the rejection of the resurrection of the dead. “If anyone shall say that after the resurrection the body of the Lord was ethereal, having the form of a sphere, and that such shall be the bodies of all after the resurrection; and that after the Lord himself shall have rejected his true body and after the others who rise shall have rejected theirs, the nature of their bodies shall be annihilated: let him be anathema.” Constantinople II, *The Anathemas Against Origen*. Canon X. NPNF II, 14, 319. When the original Greek of the council is examined, we find that the translator inserted the word “true”. Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed., *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 53 vols., vol. 9 (Paris: Hubert, 1902), 399-400. In Latin the section of interest reads, “Domino primum deponente proprium suum corpus.” In Greek, the text reads, αὐτοῦ Κυρίου πρῶτον ἀποτιθεμένου τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ σῶμα. The translation should read, “his own body” instead of “his true body.”

All of the preceding quotations come from Western authors. The majority of the writers who use either true body or true flesh come from the West. Although there are eastern authors who use the phrase, they use it less often than western authors. For instance Athanasius speaks of Christ's true flesh to affirm the Incarnation against those who deny it.¹⁶ Why this may be cannot be pursued in our brief survey. What is consistent is how the adjective "true" functions. It appears to refute some error that denies the Incarnation; it seeks to deny any qualification on what is Christ's body or what is Christ's flesh.

True body as the body on the Altar

In the previous section, we saw that the word "true" was added to body and flesh when there was controversy over whether or not Christ had a human body. This seems to have been occasioned by the Trinitarian and christological controversies. One might expect something similar of the usage of true body when it refers to the Lord's body and blood on the altar. Consequently, most of

¹⁶ Athanasius, *Four Discourses Against the Arians*, Discourse 2, chap. 21, 70. NPNF II, 4, 386-387. "Therefore let those who deny that the Son is from the Father by nature and proper to His Essence, deny also that He took true human flesh of Mary Ever-Virgin; for in neither case had it been of profit to us men, whether the Word were not true and naturally Son of God, or the flesh not true which He assumed. But surely He took true flesh, though Valentinus rave; yea the Word was by nature Very God, though Ariomaniacs rave; and in that flesh has come to pass the beginning of our new creation, He being created man for our sake, and having made for us that new way, as has been said." MPG 26, 296. Οὐκοῦν οἱ ἀρνούμενοι ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς εἶναι φύσει καὶ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τῆς οὐσίας τὸν Υἱὸν ἀρνεῖσθωσαν καὶ ἀληθινὴν σάρκα ἀνθρωπίνην αὐτὸν εἰληφέναι ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς ἀειπαρθένου. Οὐδὲν γὰρ πλέον ἡμῖν κέρδος τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἦν, εἰ μήτε ἀληθινὸς καὶ φύσει ἦν Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Λόγος, μήτε ἀληθινὴ σὰρξ ἦν, ἢν προσελάβετο. Ἄλλ' ἔλαβε γε ἀληθινὴν σάρκα, καὶ μαίνηται. Οὐαλεντίνος· ἦν γὰρ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ὁ Λόγος, καὶ μαίνωνται ὁ Ἀρειομανίται· καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ γέγονεν ἡμῶν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς καινῆς κτίσεως, κτισθεὶς ἄνθρωπος ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμῖν ἐκείνην ἐγκαινίσας, ὥσπερ εἶρηται.

the references that refer to the Lord's body on the altar occur after the Berengar controversy. There are a few references found in the church fathers; however, due to the scarcity of references we will consider both true body and true flesh.

The first occurrence of "true flesh" that we will consider is found in a Latin translation of Irenaeus. Although Irenaeus came from Asia Minor, he was a bishop in the West, in Gaul. Depending on how he is classified he could be considered either a Western father or an Eastern father, although he probably has more in common with the Eastern fathers. Since the following quotation is from a heading in a Latin translation of Irenaeus, it is quite likely that the title came from the Latin translator and not from Irenaeus himself. This would mean that the heading is more reflective of Western terminology than that of the East. In the context, Irenaeus is writing against Valentinus and Ebion who denied that Christ had a human body. He writes:

When Christ Visited Us in His Grace, He Did Not Come to What Did Not Belong to Him: Also, by Shedding His True Blood for Us, and Exhibiting to Us His True Flesh in the Eucharist, He Conferred Upon Our Flesh the Capacity of Salvation.¹⁷

In this quotation both the true flesh and the true blood are mentioned. For Irenaeus receiving the Lord's true flesh and true blood gives life and salvation.

¹⁷ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, Book 5, chapter 2. AFN 1, 527. MPL 7 Pt. 2, 1123. "Christus non venit in aliena, cum sua nos gratia visitavit, et carni nostrae contulit capacem esse salutis, verum pro nobis sanguinem fundendo, veramque carnem suam nobis in eucharistia exhibendo." We may note the reference to τὰ ὕδα of John 1:11, and possibly something of bestowal in *exhibere*.

The true flesh and true blood given in the Lord's Supper is the same true body of the Incarnation. Since Valentinus and Ebion denied that Christ had a human body like that of any other man, they also would not believe that Jesus' same body and blood were on the altar. This observation provides the tools to recognize what the connection is between the Incarnation and the Lord's Supper. What ties the Lord's Supper and the Incarnation together is not analogy but the very body and blood of Christ. The same body and blood of the Incarnation is given to eat and drink on the altar. Ambrose will also confess this.

In his *On the Mysteries*, at the section on the Lord's Supper, Ambrose is confronted with the hypothetical question how the body of Christ is there when what is there appears to be something else.¹⁸ Ambrose's answer rests on the solid foundation of the Lord's word. "For that sacrament which you receive is made what it is by what Christ says."¹⁹ There is no better answer that he could have given. He continues by appealing to various examples from Scripture such as Elijah bringing fire down from heaven and the creation of the world. Then he

¹⁸ Ambrose, *On the Mysteries*, chapter 9. NPNF II, 10, 324. "Perhaps you will say, 'I see something else, how is it that you assert that I receive the body of Christ?'" MPL 16, 422. "Forte dicas: Aliud video, quomodo tu mihi asseris quod Christi corpus accipiam?"

¹⁹ MPL 16, 423. "Nam sacramentum istud quod accipis, Christi sermone conficitur."

stops and asks, "But why make use of arguments?"²⁰ He continues by appealing to the Incarnation. He writes:

Let us use the examples He gives, and by the example of the Incarnation prove the truth of the mystery. Did the course of nature proceed as usual when the Lord Jesus was born of Mary? If we look to the usual course, a woman ordinarily conceives after connection with a man. And this body which we make is that which was born of the Virgin. Why do you seek the order of nature in the body of Christ, seeing that the Lord Jesus Himself was born of a Virgin, not according to nature? It is the true Flesh of Christ which crucified [sic] and buried, this is then truly the Sacrament of His body.²¹

Although Ambrose appeals to the Incarnation, he does not compare the Lord's Supper and the Incarnation analogically. The only comparison between the Incarnation and the Lord's Supper is that both do not happen naturally. Behind both are the Lord's words. And as mentioned previously there is a connection between the Incarnation and the Lord's Supper in that they hold the Lord's body in common. Ambrose confesses that the true flesh of Christ that was crucified and buried is also on the altar. The Lord has one body that was born of the Virgin, suffered, died, rose and is on the altar. It is this way because the Lord's words say so. The guests at the Lord's Altar respond to the priest's, "The body of

²⁰ MPL 16, 424. "Sed quid argumentis utimur?"

²¹ Ibid. "Suis utamur exemplis, incarnationisque exemplo astruamus mysterii veritatem. Numquid naturae usus praecessit, cum Jesus Dominus ex Maria nasceretur? Si ordinem quaerimus, viro mista femina generare consuevit. Liqueat igitur quod praeter naturae ordinem virgo generavit. Et hoc quod conficimus corpus, ex Virgine est: quid hic quaeris naturae ordinem in Christi corpore, cum praeter naturam sit ipse Dominus Jesus partus ex Virgine? Vera utique caro Christi, quae crucifixa est, quae sepulta est: vere ergo carnis illius sacramentum est."

Christ," saying, "Amen, that is true."²² Homology says the same. Ambrose simply confesses what the words say.

True flesh is explicitly mentioned rather than the true body. While the heading to the chapter from Ambrose does say "true body,"²³ the term does not widely appear until later in the Middle Ages. For example Adelmanus Leodiensis in his *Epistle to Berengar* writes that Berengar says that neither the true body of Christ nor the blood is on the altar, but only a figure and likeness of the body.²⁴ Paschasius Radbertus says that the true body and blood of Christ should not be doubted in the Lord's Supper.²⁵ Mauritius in a sermon says that the manna represents the sacrament of the altar, that is, the true body and blood of Christ.²⁶ Peter Lombard says the true body of Christ is on the altar.²⁷ Many other

²² NPNF II, 10, 325. "And you say, Amen, that is, It is true." MPL 16, 242. "Cum ergo tu petieris, dicit tibi sacerdos: corpus Christi, et tu dicis: amen, hoc est verum."

²³ NPNF II, 10, 324. "In order that no one through observing the outward part should waver in faith, many instances are brought forward wherein the outward nature has been changed, and so it is proved that bread is made the true body of Christ. The treatise then is brought to a termination with certain remarks as to the effects of the sacrament, the disposition of the recipients, and such like."

²⁴ Adelmanus Leodiensis, *Epistula ad Berengarium*. Cetedoc pg 477. "te dictis utar non esse uerum corpus Christi neque uerum sanguinem sed figuram quondam et similitudinem."

²⁵ Paschasius Radbetus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini*. chap 1, line 1. "Christi communionem uerum corpus eius et sanguinem esse non dubitandum."

²⁶ Mauritius, *Sermons VI*. Sermon 1, line 75. "Per hoc itaque mann significatur sacramentum altaris, uerum corpus et sanguis Christi."

²⁷ Peter Lombard, *Sentences*, Book 4. "De sanctorum testimonies quibus probatur uerum corpus esse in altari."

examples could be adduced as well. What is important to note is that the phrase true body found increased use during the Middle Ages. Oakley notes that during the Middle Ages “true body” no longer denoted the church but the Lord’s Supper, perhaps due to the controversy over the Lord’s Supper involving Berengar.²⁸ This controversy was prompted in part by the questions of how Christ’s body could be on the altar when he had ascended into heaven. This problem prompted speculation as to whether or not a body other than the body that ascended could be on the altar. Ultimately these speculations bore their fruit in the Sacramentarian controversy of the 16th century where it was propounded that Christ’s body could not be on the altar.

There is one final quotation that we would like to consider, as it is cited in the Solid Declaration, Article 7, 76. The confessors make use of the quotation to

²⁸ Francis Oakley, *The Western Church in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1979), 162. “In the patristic era, those connections had been so deeply felt that the church could be referred to as the ‘true’ body of Christ (*corpus Christi verum*) and when, during the Carolingian era, the term ‘mystical body of Christ’ (*corpus Christi mysticum*) became prominent in theological literature, it had been used to denote not the church but the Eucharist. From the mid-twelfth century onward, however, something of a reversal took place. Perhaps under the impact of the great controversy of the previous century concerning the nature of Christ’s presence in the Eucharist, theologians became anxious to emphasize the *real* – as opposed to a mystical or merely spiritual – presence of Christ in the sacrament. As a result, it became common to designate the Eucharist not as ‘the mystical’ but as ‘the true body of Christ,’ and the term *corpus Christi mysticum*, applied now to the church in the manner familiar to us today, fell victim to a progressive secularization.” See also Harvey, “The Eucharistic Idiom of the Gospel,” 307. “Changes in eucharistic practice and theory in the late medieval and modern contexts helped to prepare the way for the consumptive habits of modern piety. The intimate connection made by the patristic and early medieval church between the sacramental body (*corpus mysticum*) and the ecclesial body (*corpus verum*) was obscured by the dramatic reversal that took place between the meaning of sacrament and of sacrifice.”

show that once the Lord spoke the words instituting the Lord's Supper, those words remain effective until the end of the world. For our purposes, we are interested in the reference to the "true body and blood." The quotation is from John Chrysostom's sermon *De proditiōe Iudae* and is cited as it appears in the Solid Declaration.

Christ prepares this table himself and blesses it; for no human being makes the bread and wine, which are set before us, the body and blood of Christ. Rather Christ himself, who was crucified for us, does that. The words are spoken by the mouth of the priest, but when he says, "This is my body," the elements that have been presented in the Supper are consecrated by God's power and grace through the Word. Just as the saying "be fruitful and multiply, and fill the earth" [Gen. 1:28] was said only once and yet is continually effective in nature, causing it to grow and multiply, so these words were said once. But they are powerful and do their work in our day and until his return, so that in the Supper as celebrated in the church his true body and blood are present.²⁹

The quotation serves the purpose of the confessors well. Christ's words spoken on the night he was betrayed delivered what they said not only at the Last Supper but still today in the Lord's Supper. It is Christ himself who speaks in the divine service by the instrumentality of the pastor's mouth. Chrysostom in this

²⁹ KW 606. BSLK 998, 41. "Christus richtet diesen Tisch selbst zu und segnet ihn; denn kein Mensch das fürgesetzte Brot und Wein zum Leib und Blut Christi machet, sondern Christus selbst, der für uns gekreuzigt ist. Die Wort werden durch des Priesters Mund gesprochen, aber durch Gottes Kraft und Gnade, durch das Wort, da er spricht: Das ist mein Leib, werden die für gestellten Element im Abendmahl gesegnet. Und wie diese Rede: Wachset und vermehret euch und erfüllet die Erde, nur einmal geredet, aber allzeit kräftig ist in der Natur, daß sie wächset und sich vermehret: also ist auch bis auf diesen Tag und bis an seine Zukunft ist sie fräftig und wirkt, daß im Abendmahl der Kirchen sein wahrer Leib und Blut gegenwärtig ist."

quote draws on the creation account as a parallel. The Lord only told creation to be fruitful and multiply once, yet even today plants continue to grow, animals produce off-spring and people fill the earth. The Lord is at it again in his Supper. He speaks once and the words still deliver and give what they say. Having disavowed analogy, we note that the Lord spoke his word to multiply and fill the earth once, also in the Lord's Supper he spoke once. Each is a *sermo inusitata*; an analogy cannot be made from one. As was previously observed, an analogy between the creation of the world and the Lord's Supper does not hold. What is common to both the creation and the institution of the Lord's Supper is the Lord who spoke his word once, in a way that continues in his speaking them through the mouth of the priest. The Lord instituted his Supper once and his words still say and effect what they say, namely his true body and blood. In this quotation, Chrysostom says that "his true body and blood are there,"³⁰ yet Chrysostom does not actually say what the confessors report.

Christ is here, and He who spread that table spreads this one as well. For it is not man who causes the offerings to become the body and blood of Christ, but Christ Himself, who was crucified for us. The priest stands following His model and uttering the words, but the power and the grace are God's. "This is my body," he says. These words transform the offerings. And just as the words "Increase and be multiplied, and fill the earth" (Gn 1.28), though uttered only once, became for all time what, in fact, enables our nature to produce children, so too these words, though spoken

³⁰ BSLK 999. "sein wahrer Leib und Blut gegenwärtig ist."

once, from then until the present time and until His Coming, at each table in the churches accomplish the perfect sacrifice.³¹

The Solid Declaration reads “his true body and blood are there,” which follows the wording of the German Augsburg Confession, Article X, while Chrysostom wrote, “[Christ] does the completed sacrifice.” While the completed sacrifice indeed is Christ’s body and blood, Chrysostom does not speak of the body and blood here; and where he does explicitly say body and blood he does not use the adjective “true.” Are the confessors paraphrasing Chrysostom here, or did they have a different edition or translation³² of the text? We cannot say. Neither the *Bekennnisschriften* nor the recent English translations (Tappert and Kolb/Wengert) mention that the Solid Declaration’s quotation of Chrysostom does not precisely follow the Greek original. This textual anomaly does not hurt

³¹ John Chrysostom, *De proditione Iudae* 1, 6. Daniel J. Sheerin, *The Eucharist*, ed. Thomas Halton, 22 vols., Message of the Fathers of the Church, vol. 7 (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1986), 145. MPG 49, 380. Πάρεστιν ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τὴν τράπεζαν διακοσμήσας ἐκείνην, οὗτος καὶ ταύτην διακοσμεῖ νῦν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν τὰ προκείμενα γενέσθαι σῶμα καὶ αἷμα Χριστοῦ, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ὁ σταυρωθεὶς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν Χριστὸς. Σχῆμα πλτρῶν ἔστηκεν ὁ ἱερεὺς, τὰ ῥήματα φθεγγόμενος ἐκεῖνα· ἡ δὲ δύναμις καὶ ἡ χάρις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστὶ. Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, φησί. Τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα μεταρρυθμίζει τὰ προκείμενα· καὶ καθάπερ ἡ φωνὴ ἐκείνη ἢ λέγουσα· *Αἰξάνεσθε, καὶ πληθύνεσθε, καὶ πληρώσατε τὴν γῆν*, ἐρρέθη μὲν ἅπαξ, διὰ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου γίνεται ἔργῳ ἐνδυναμοῦσα τὴν φύσιν τὴν ἡμετέραν πρὸς παιδοποιίαν· οὕτω καὶ ἡ φωνὴ αὕτη ἅπαξ λεχθεῖσα καθ’ ἐκάστην τράπεζαν ἐν ταῖς Ἐκκλησίαις ἐξ ἐκείνου μέχρι σήμερον καὶ μέχρι τῆς αὐτοῦ παρουσίας, τὴν θουσίαν ἀπηρτισμένην ἐργάζεται.

³² The Latin in Migne (MPG 49, 380) reads, “sacrificium perfectum efficit.” The Latin in the Solid Declaration does not match the Latin translation of Chrysostom word for word in Migne. This indicates one of several possibilities: 1) the confessors had a different Greek text and produced their own translation; 2) the confessors used a different Latin translation than the one provided in Migne. (Many of Migne’s Latin translations were done by Erasmus.); 3) The confessors were quoting from memory and were most accurate on the point they were making regarding the creation.

the confessors' argument. Its significance for us is that Chrysostom in this quotation did not say, "the true body and blood of Christ" as reported. This may provide further evidence that the Greeks had little need to insert the adjective "true" into the phrase body and blood of Christ. It may also show that this Chrysostom quotation was for polemical use against the crypto-Calvinists and the alteration of "completed sacrifice" to "true body and blood" better served as a defense against error.

The word "true" served to confess that the same body born of the Virgin Mary was also on the altar. "True body" would not permit a symbolical or a spiritual body neither *figura* nor *similitudo* (analogy). The confession of the true body on the altar also is the same as the true body of the Incarnation. It is very fitting that the confession of "true body" and "true flesh" is given for both the Incarnation and the Lord's Supper!

True body as the Church

The confession that the church is the true body no doubt is prompted by St. Paul, after he has delivered instruction and *paradosis* of the Lord's Supper in Chapters 10 and 11, telling the church at Corinth, "You are the body of Christ."³³ This and other similar passages confessed that the church is the body of Christ. It appears that Augustine was the first to apply "true body" to the church. Like the

³³ 1Co 12:27.

other usages of “true body,” the application of the term appears to have been introduced to counter error. In the Donatist controversy, Augustine was concerned also with the nature of the church. Since there are many examples from Augustine and from others using true body to refer to the church, we are citing only one passage.

But again, even those who sufficiently understand that he who is not in the body of Christ cannot be said to eat the body of Christ, are in error when they promise liberation from the fire of eternal punishment to persons who fall away from the unity of that body into heresy, or even into heathenish superstition. For, in the first place, they ought to consider how intolerable it is, and how discordant with sound doctrine, to suppose that many, indeed, or almost all, who have forsaken the Church catholic, and have originated impious heresies and become heresiarchs, should enjoy a destiny superior to those who never were catholics, but have fallen into the snares of these others; that is to say, if the fact of their catholic baptism and original reception of the sacrament of the body of Christ in the true body of Christ is sufficient to deliver these heresiarchs from eternal punishment. For certainly he who deserts the faith, and from a deserter becomes an assailant, is worse than he who has not deserted the faith he never held. And, in the second place, they are contradicted by the apostle, who, after enumerating the works of the flesh, says with reference to heresies, “They who do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.”³⁴

³⁴ Augustine, *City of God*, Book 21, chapter 25. NPNF I, 2, 472-473. MPL 41, 741-742. Sed rursus etiam isti qui recte intelligent, non dicendum esse cum manducare corpus Christi, qui in corpore non est Christi, non recte promittunt eis qui vel in haeresim, vel etiam in gentilium superstitionem, ex illius corporis unitate labuntur, liberationem quandoque ab aeterni igne supplicii. Primum, quia debent attendere, quam sit intolerabile atque a sana doctrina nimis devium, ut multi ac pene omnes, qui haereses impias condiderunt exeuntes de catholica Ecclesia, et facti sunt haeresiarchae, meliores habeant causas, quam hi qui nunquam fuerunt catholici, cum in eorum laqueos incidissent; si illos haeresiarchas hoc facit liberari a supplicio sempiterno, quo in catholica Ecclesia baptizati sunt, et sacramentum corporis Christi in vero Christi corpore primitus acceperunt: cum pejor utique sit desertor fidei et ex desertore oppugnator ejus effectus, quam ille qui non deseruit quam nunquam tenuit. Deinde quia et his occurrit Apostolus eadem

In this passage, Augustine is discussing what happens to those who either were baptized by an heretical priest or to those who received a catholic baptism and then fell away. Note that “true body” is the catholic church in this passage. For Augustine, the true body of the church is the guarantor of the body of Christ in the sacrament of his body.

In the previous section, we saw three usages for the term “true body/flesh” from the church fathers. True body appears to have been first used to defend against the christological error that Christ did not have a human body but had only the image of a body or some kind of a phantom body. Around the same time, Irenaeus (at least in a chapter heading in the Latin translation of the Greek) uses the phrase “true flesh” to refer to Christ’s body in the Lord’s Supper, although it will not be until the Middle Ages when true body commonly refers to the Lord’s Supper. Prior to that the Lord’s Supper in the West was referred to as the sacramental body (*corpus mysticum*) and the church was referred to as the *corpus verum*. The controversies over the Lord’s Supper in the 12th century helped to show the dangers of referring to the Lord’s body on the altar as the mystical body which lent itself to abstraction. Perhaps this shift in understanding the church as the mystical body in the Middle Ages has contributed to some of the

verba proferens, et enumerates illis carnis operibus eadem veritate praedicens, *Quoniam qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt (Galat. v, 21).*

discussions of ecclesiology in the late 20th century. For instance, Thomas Cranmer “always shifted any reference to Christ’s real presence from the sacrament to his mystical body.”³⁵ This may also help show the dangers of abstraction. When true body is used of the Incarnation or of the Lord’s Supper, it seeks to defend against those who would say that there is a body different from that born of the Virgin Mary.

In the final example, true body refers to the church and was evidenced in the Donatist controversy. When true body refers to the church, the antithesis is false church. This antithesis is different from when true body refers to the Incarnation or the Lord’s Supper. We also observed that the phrase true body appears most at home in the West. In the East the Lord’s words regarding his body and blood were sacrosanct in the liturgy. There they might be extolled, but with no apparent need of defense against their subordination as occurred in the West. The bishops’ church or pope’s church came to secure decisive determination. Such is the background of the confession of the true body and blood of Christ in the Lutheran Confessions. “The true body and blood of Christ are truly there under the form of the bread and wine and are there given out and received.” (AC 10 German).

³⁵ McGee, “Cranmer and Nominalism,” 190-191.

The body and blood of Christ in the Lutheran Confessions

The Dominical, Scriptural and Lutheran confession of the Lord's Supper is that the true body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ are there on the altar, given and distributed into the mouths of the communicants for the forgiveness of their sins. It may be helpful to review where the Lutheran Confessions speak of the true body and blood of Christ. While there is no doubt that the confessors were aware of the three different usages of the phrase "true body" outlined above, we have only found them using "true body and blood" to confess what the Lord gives into the mouths of the communicants in the Lord's Supper. We have already seen in passing the "true body and blood" confession in the Augsburg Confession,³⁶ the Apology,³⁷ the Small Catechism³⁸ and the Formula of Concord.³⁹ For our inquiry here we will briefly revisit the Augsburg Confession, and then turn to the Small and Large Catechisms and the Smalcald Articles⁴⁰.

³⁶ AC X, BSLK 64. "wahrer Leib und Blut Christi."

³⁷ AP X, BSLK 248. "corpus et sanguis Christi."

³⁸ SC V, BSLK 519. "Es ist der wahre Leib und Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi."

³⁹ FC EP VII, BSLK 796. "wahrhaftig Leib und Blut unsers Herren Jesu Christi." And in Latin, "verum corpus et verus sanguis Domini nostri Iesu Christi."

⁴⁰ SA III, VI, BSLK 450. "wahrhaftige Leib und Blut Christi."

In CHAPTER 2 – THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION AND APOLOGY,⁴¹ we were primarily concerned with the absence of the phrase real presence and we briefly examined how the Augsburg Confession confessed that Christ’s body and blood were “truly there.”⁴² Here we are focusing on the confession of Christ’s body and blood, although the two may not be separated. The German of Article X of the Augsburg Confession confesses “the true body and blood of Christ truly there under the form of bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper.”⁴³ Maurer considers the “true” and “truly” of the German text to be “rhetorically redundant without any significance for content.”⁴⁴ Rather than seeing no significance in the usage of “true” and “truly” in the German text, it seems more likely that the German text, which is more in accord with Luther’s confession, is also better safeguarded against misunderstanding than the Latin text which omits the adjective “true” from the body and blood of Christ.⁴⁵ The German text provides a safeguard against an interpretation that would make a double spiritualization of the Lord’s Supper. First, by having *wahrer* before “Leib und Blut Christi,” the

⁴¹ See page 48 and following.

⁴² AC X, BSLK 64. “vere adsint.”

⁴³ Ibid. “wahrer Leib und Blut Christi wahrhaftiglich unter der Gestalt des Brots und Weins im Abendmahl gegenwärtig sei und da ausgeteilt und genommen werde.”

⁴⁴ Wilhelm Maurer, *Historical Commentary on the Augsburg Confession*, trans. H. George Anderson (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1986), 401-402.

⁴⁵ AC X, BSLK 64. “corpus et sanguis Christi...”

German text intends to leave no doubt that the body and blood of Christ are not spiritual but the same true body and blood of Christ that was in the arms of the Virgin, on the cross, ascended into heaven, and on the altar. Next, the use of *wahrhaftiglich* (truly) with *gegenwärtig sei* (is there) indicates that Christ's body and blood are not there on the altar only in a spiritual way. Thus the words "true" and "truly" in the German Augsburg Confession X guard against a spiritual reading of the confession, and any attempt to tamper.

While there is little doubt that the Latin of Article X allows for the possibility of a certain ambiguity that the German does not, the Latin text does not seek to confess something different than the German. We have already seen how Melancthon was loath to make a confession using words not readily found in the church fathers. In the previous section, we noted the rather infrequent usage of the specific phrase "true body" in the church fathers as a confession of the Lord's Supper. These two factors may help to explain some of the differences between the Latin and German texts. The insertion of "true" before body and blood in the German text intends to remove any ambiguity. As was indicated previously, "body" has been used to confess Christ's physical body, his body the church, and his body at the altar. Body is more readily employed in a spiritual interpretation than is blood. In fact, when body and blood occur together as a word pair there can be no spiritualizing of them. This recognition helps to

explain why the body looms so much larger than the blood in some confessions of the Lord's Supper. Since the mid-20th century, the emphasis has been on Christ rather than on his body and blood. When Christ's body is mentioned, it is almost always mentioned without the blood, and in reference to his person and to his church. Melanchthon confesses the Lord's body and blood in connection with the presence of the living Christ; the two are not separated for him in the Augustana and Apology.⁴⁶ Where Christ's body and blood are located, there is his person, and there is his church.⁴⁷ This is to confess that the Lord gathers his church around the means of grace. When the body is separated from the blood, the body is reduced more easily to a symbol of Christ's person or of the church. The Lord's blood resists the abstraction of his body to a symbol. The Latin text, admittedly less precise than the German, nevertheless, resists abstraction and spiritualization by confessing the "body and blood of Christ." The blood resists analogy in a way that the body alone cannot.

⁴⁶ Kinder, "Die Gegenwart Christi im Abendmahl nach lutherischem Verständnis," 42. "Für Melanchthon geht die Gegenwart von Leib und Blut Christi direkt über in die Gegenwart seiner Person. Er versteht die Körperlichkeit dieser Gegenwart, die er (etwa in Apologie X) stark betont, doch zugleich als die Praesentia vivi Christi. Gerade in seinem In-den-Tod-gegeben-Werden ist Christus eben höchst lebendig als Person wirksam." ("For Melanchthon the presence of the body and blood of Christ moves right over into the presence of his person. What can be said of this presence as bodily he does emphasize (in the way of Apology X), and yet predominant in this presence is that of the living Christ, and this even in his being given into death. Even here he is conceived as operative person highly alive.") Compare 1 Cor 11:26.

⁴⁷ Ignatius, *To the Smyrnaeans*, VIII, 2. *The Apostolic Fathers*, 260. ὅπου ἂν ᾖ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. "Where ever Jesus Christ is, there is the catholic church."

The recognition that the German Augsburg Confession reflects Luther's language more than does the Latin is based in part on a comparison of the text of the German Article X with other writings of Luther. Here we are primarily concerned with the Small Catechism and the Smalcald Articles. The Small Catechism confesses of the Lord's Supper, "It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."⁴⁸ These words are virtually identical to those found in the Formula of Concord.⁴⁹ Peters sees the adjective *wahre* in the Small Catechism as serving to strengthen the adverbial "truly" used in other places in the Lutheran Confessions.⁵⁰ We would agree that the adjective strengthens the adverbial forms because it is a more concrete formulation. Once again the true body and blood leave no possibility of a spiritual or of an alternative body and blood.

The Smalcald Articles confess the Lord's Supper in a way that further precludes the possibility of a spiritual interpretation. They read, "We hold that

⁴⁸ SC V, BSLK 519. "Es ist der wahre Leib und Blut unsers Herrn Jesu Christi."

⁴⁹ FC EP VII, BSLK 796. "wahrhaftig Leib und Blut unsers Herren Jesu Christi."

⁵⁰ Albrecht Peters, *Kommentar zu Luthers Katechismen*, 5 vols., vol. 4 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1993), 133, note 38. "Das Adjektiv ‚wahr‘ in der Wendung ‚der wahre Leib‘ kann auch verstärkt werden zu der Verbindung ‚der wahrhaftige Leib‘ (BSLK 450, 15 – SA III) oder ‚der wahre, wesentliche Leib‘ (BSLK 973, 20 – SD VII); dem korrespondieren die adverbialen Verknüpfungen ‚vere et substantialiter‘ (BSLK 247, 47 – Ap. X), ‚wahrhaftig und wesentlich‘ (BSLK 796, 20; 797, 33 – EP VII; 976, 27; 977, 21 – SD VII)." ("The adjective 'true' in the phrase 'the true body' can also be affirmed its tie in 'the actual body' or the 'true, essential body'; or the corresponding adverbial combinations 'true and substantial', 'true and essential.'")

the bread and wine in the Lord's Supper are the true body and blood of Christ."⁵¹ Here none of the prepositions "under," "with," and "in" are used. Instead, the bread is the body and the wine is the blood. With this confession, the Schmalkald Articles move away from the compromised Wittenberg Concord, which was found to be amenable to a spiritual interpretation. Here we have a concrete confession of the *verba domini*.⁵² Once again, "true" seeks to nullify any attempt to find a spiritual or an alternative body and blood.

If not the true body and blood of Christ, what body and blood are on the altar? While it might seem that the confession of the body and blood of Christ would be enough to prevent a spiritual understanding, this was not the case. There were some who suggested that Christ's body and blood were such as only received in some kind of a spiritual manner. The confession of the true body and blood of Christ sought to prevent such a misunderstanding. When the true body and blood of Christ are there on the altar to eat and drink, the body and blood of Christ are eaten with the mouth orally by all who partake both the faithful and the unbelievers.

⁵¹ SA III, 6. "halten wir, daß Brot und Wein im Abendmahl sei der wahrhaftige Leib und Blut Christi..."

⁵² William R. Russell, *Luther's Theological Testament: The Schmalkald Articles* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1995), 105. "Luther's usage here also represents a return to the simple use of the copula, which corresponds more closely to the biblical accounts of the Last Supper."

Manducatio Oralis or the Mouth's Eating

The true body and blood of Christ are eaten and drunk with the mouth as Christ's words testify, "take eat ... take drink." The mouth's eating is what he bids his communicants to do with what he says he is giving them to eat and to drink: nothing other than his body and his blood given and shed for you: nothing other, in fact, true. Without the mouth there is no eating and drinking. Whatever else might be received by some other way than the mouth, would not be the body and blood of Christ which he is giving them to eat and to drink: His body and blood, his own body and blood, his true body and blood given and shed for you. To remove the mouth is to remove the eating and drinking of what Christ speaks, the eating and drinking of his body and blood, just as he said and as we are told the disciples did. To confess this in a way best suited to defend against its denial, the Confessions confess the *manducatio oralis*.⁵³

The mouth's eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood was at the center of the controversy over the Lord's Supper in the 16th century⁵⁴, including

⁵³ Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, 307. "Actually the 'oral eating' (*manducatio oralis*) is merely the simple application of the statement concerning the real presence of the body of Christ." Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums*, 269. "Die manducatio oralis ist in der Tat nur die einfache Anwendung des Satzes von der Realpräsenz des Leibs Christi."

⁵⁴ Elert, *The Structure of Lutheranism*, 307. "In the controversy everything centers in the "oral" receiving. This was the one point of the Lutheran doctrine that was attacked indefatigably by the Reformed Church." Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums*, 268-269. "In der polemischen Auseinandersetzung konzentriert sich hier alles auf den „mündlichen“ Empfang. Dies war der eine Punkt der lutherischen Lehre, gegen den von reformierter Seite unermüdlich Sturm gelaufen wurde."

the charge of Capernaitic eating.⁵⁵ This accusation is based on John 6:52-65 when the residents of Capernaum asked, "How is this one able to give us his flesh to eat?"⁵⁶ In the Solid Declaration, the Confessions explicitly deny that its confession of the mouth's eating is to be understood in a fleshly or in a Capernaitic manner.⁵⁷ Luther, in fact, had identified the Sacramentarians as the true Capernautes.

Now tell me who are the real Capernautes here! Oecolampadius rebukes us for being Capernautes because we eat Christ's flesh physically in the Supper. I say, however, that the fanatics are the real Capernautes, for the Capernautes also divided the work from the Word and fastened on the physical eating of flesh, just as our fanatics do. They excise and set aside the words in which the spiritual eating consists, and meanwhile gape and gawk at the physical eating, like fools who look someone in the face and stare with fixed eyes, so that they cannot perceive the words clearly confronting them, "Take, eat, this is my body." So the Capernautes would do. We, however, certainly cannot be Capernautes, for we maintain both the physical and the spiritual eating... But here in the Lord's Supper he wants to be neither born nor seen nor heard nor touched by us but only eaten and drunk, both physically and spiritually. Accordingly, by this eating we obtain just as much and

⁵⁵ FC SD VII, 64. BSLK 994. KW 604. Tappert 581. See also Luther, *Brief Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, 1544. AE 38, 291-292. "For I can well remember, and it is also recorded in their books how altogether scandalously they blasphemed us along with our dear Lord and Savior; they call him a baked God, a God made of bread, a God made of wine, a roasted God, etc. They call us cannibals, blood-drinkers, man-eaters, Capernautes, Thysesteans, etc." WA 54, 144:30-33, 145:1. "Denn ich dencke noch wol, stehet auch noch in jren Büchern, wie gar uberaus schendlich sie uns mit unserm lieben Herrn und Heiland lesterten, hiessen jn einen gebacken Gott, einem brötern Gott, einen weinern Gott, ein gebrotenen Gott, etc. Uns hiessen sie Fleischfresser, Blutseuffer, Anthropophagos, Capernaiten, Thyestas etc."

⁵⁶ John 6:52.

⁵⁷ FC SD VII, 64. BSLK 994. KW 605.

arrive at the same point as they with their bearing, seeing, hearing, etc.; and he is just as near to us physically as we was to them.⁵⁸

The charge of Capernaitic eating arises from unbelief. As Gerhard writes, "The Capernaites regarded Christ as merely a man. They therefore thought that the eating of His flesh as of an ordinary man would be of little benefit to them. We, however, know and believe that Christ's flesh is a life-giving flesh because it is the flesh of the Son of God – John 6:55."⁵⁹ The mouth's eating stands in contrast to the spiritual eating (*manducatio spiritualis*). When the two are separated and held apart, as the Sacramentarians did, the charge of Capernaitic eating emerges. The Sacramentarians denied the mouth's eating and only affirmed the spiritual eating. The Confessions confess both the mouth's eating and a spiritual eating. However, the spiritual eating is not limited to the Lord's Supper but may also

⁵⁸ Luther, *This Is My body*, 1527. AE 37, 93-94. W² 20, 837-838; WA 23, 191:1-10, 192:6-10. "Nu sage mir hie, wer die rechten Capernaiten sind, Denn Ecolampad schillt uns, das wir Capernaiten sind, weil wir Christus fleisch leiblich essen ym abendmahl. Ich sage aber, das die schwermer rechte Capernaiten sind, Denn die Capernaiten scheideten auch das werck vom wort und fielen auff das leiblich fleisch essen, gleich wie unser schwermer thun, scheiden die wort ab und lassen sie faren, darynn das geistliche essen steht, gaffen und gehnemeulen die weil auff das leiblich essen, wie die narren eyn yns maul sehen und mit den augen anglotzen, das sie dafur nicht können gewar werden der wort, die da flerlich stehen: „Nemet, esset, das ist mein leib.“ So theten die Capernaiten... Aber von uns wil er hie widder geboren noch gesehen noch gehöret noch angerühret, sondern alleine geessen und getruncken werden beyde leiblich und geistlich, Das wir durch solch essen ja so viel haben und so ferne komen sollen als ihene mit geben, sehen, hören, tragen, etc. komen sind, und uns ja so nahe sey leiblich als er yhnen gewest ist."

⁵⁹ Johann Gerhard, *A Comprehensive Explanation of Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper* (1610), ed. David Berger, trans. Elmer Hohle, 1 ed., 2 vols., vol. 2 -- The Lord's Supper (Decantur, Illinois: The Johann Gerhard Institute, 1996), 142. See also SD VIII, 59, and BSLK 1035, n. 6.

take place outside of the Lord's Supper.⁶⁰ In this case, the spiritual eating of Christ's body and blood is faith's receiving the forgiveness of sins with the body and blood given and shed for you, as Christ's words say and give.⁶¹

The confession of the spiritual eating is based in part on John 6:53, "Then Jesus said to them, 'Truly, Truly I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you do not have life within you.'" From this section of John 6, the Sacramentarians quoted John 6:63, "the flesh profits nothing." They argued that the passage dismisses a mouth's eating of Christ's body and the drinking of his blood in the Lord's Supper. Luther did not understand this verse as referring to Christ's body but to the unregenerate flesh of man. This has caused some within the Lutheran confession to say that John 6 has nothing to do with the Lord's Supper. In fact, Luther himself said John 6 did not refer to the Lord's Supper⁶², yet he frequently uses John 6 to discuss the Lord's Supper and

⁶⁰ Luther, *This Is My body*, 1527. AE 37, 100. "Whether Christ's flesh is eaten physically or spiritually, then, it is the same spiritual flesh, the same imperishable food which in the Supper is eaten physically with the mouth and spiritually with the heart, according to Christ's institution, or eaten spiritually with the heart alone through the Word, as he teaches in John 6:63." W² 20, 845. WA 23, 203:31-33, 205:1-2. "Es werde nu Christus fleisch leiblich odder geistlich gessen, so ists der selbige leib, das selbige geistliche fleisch, die selbige unvergengliche speise, die ym abendmahl mit mund leiblich und mit hertzen geistlich geessen wird nach Christus einsetzung odder allein mit dem hertzen geistlich geessen durchs wort, wie er Johannis. vi. leret."

⁶¹ SC V, 8.

⁶² Luther, *The Fourteenth Sermon on John 6*, 25 February 1531. "Therefore, when this sharp and blunt preaching is heard, one should know (as you heard above), that this chapter does not speak of the Sacrament, but of the spiritual nourishment and eating." My translation, compare, AE 23, 118. WA 33, 182:13-18. "Also wenn diese scharffe und grobe Predigt angehet, sol man

to refute the Sacramentarians. It is an overstatement to say that John 6 has nothing to do with the Lord's Supper, especially in light of how Luther and the Confessors saw John 6 as describing the spiritual eating of Christ's body and blood. There is little doubt that this section of John reminds the hearers of their eating of Christ's body and blood as well. Voelz writes of this section in John:

Therefore, this discourse is worded in such a way that its words *cause* Christian hearers to think about the oral eating of the Sacrament of the Altar, and eating which occurs in the case of all communicants, while at the same time they point beyond the oral eating to the spiritual eating, an eating which occurs only in the case of believers when one believes the proclamation of the Gospel or receives by faith the blessings of Holy Baptism or of the Holy Supper.⁶³

Since the confession of the mouth's eating of Christ's body and blood is homology of the Lord's words in his institution of the Lord's Supper, the John 6 passages on the eating of Christ's flesh and the drinking of his blood are not the starting point for the confession of the mouth's eating; however, they certainly elicit the mouth's eating while confessing the spiritual eating. Because the mouth's eating is based on the Lord's words in the institution of the Lord's Supper, the John 6 passage cannot be used to disprove the mouth's eating as the Sacramentarians attempted to do.

wissen (wie jr auch droben gehört habt), das diss Capitel nicht redet von Sacramentis, sondern von der geistlichen Niessung und Essen."

⁶³ James W. Voelz, "The Discourse on the Bread of Life in John 6: Is It Eucharist?," *Concordia Journal* 15, no. 1 (1989): 34.

Ironically, this section of John 6 employed by the Sacramentarians against Luther was also used by Rome to support concomitance and the distribution in one kind to the laity. Luther writes of this in the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* in 1520.

The most learned fellow not only refers these words to the Sacrament of the Altar, but because Christ says: "I am the living bread" [John 6:51] and not "I am the living cup," he actually concludes that we have in this passage the institution of the sacrament in only one kind for the laity. But here follow the words: "For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed" [John 6:55] and, "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood" [John 6:53]. When it dawned upon the good friar that these words speak undeniably for both kinds and against one kind – presto! how happily and learnedly he slips out of the quandary by asserting that in these words Christ means to say only that whoever receives the sacrament in one kind receives therein both flesh and blood. This he lays down as his "infallible foundation" of a structure so worthy of the holy and heavenly "Observation." I pray you now to learn along with me from this that in John 6 Christ commands the administration of the sacrament in one kind, yet in such a way that his commanding means leaving it to the decision of the church; and further that Christ is speaking in this same chapter only of the laity and not of the priests. For to the latter the living bread of heaven, that is the sacrament in one kind, does not belong, but perhaps the bread of death from hell!⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Luther, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, 1520. AE 36, 15. CL 1, 429:16-35. "quae uerba, homo doctissimus, non modo ad sacramentum altaris trahit, uerum et hoc facit, ut, quia Christus dixerat: Ego sum panis uiuus, et non: Ego sum calix uiuus, concludat, non nisi unam speciem sacramenti pro licis eo loco institutam. Quod uero sequitur: Caro mea uere est cibus, et sanguis meus uere est potus, Item: Nisi manducaueritis carnem filii hominis, et biberitis eius sanguinem, cum pro utraque specie uideretur fraterno cerebro inuicte contra unam pugnare, Huiusquam foeliciter et docte eludit, in hunc modum, Quod Christus his uerbis aliud non uoluit, quam, qui unam speciem aciperet, sub eadem utrunque, carnem et sanguinem, acciperet. Haec ille, pro fundamento suo infallibili tam digne sancta coelestique obseruantia structurae. Ex isto nunc disce et tu queso mecum, Christum c. vi. Iohan. praecipere unam speciem, sic tamen, ut hoc ipsum praecipere sit id, quod relinqui arbitrio Ecclesiae. Ad hec, Christum in eodem capitulo loqui

Both Rome and the Sacramentarians used this section of John 6 to support their respective teachings of the Lord's Supper. In Rome's case, it was the teaching of concomitance; and in the case of the Sacramentarians it was used to exclude the mouth's eating and drinking the Lord's body and blood and to support only a spiritual eating of Christ's body. Both Rome and the Sacramentarians used this section of John 6 to subordinate the Lord's Words of Institution to their theorizing and analysis. Rome used, "I am the bread from heaven" to nullify Christ's words which say, "Take eat ... take drink." The Sacramentarians used the same passages in addition to "the flesh profits nothing" to nullify Christ's words which say, "Take eat, this is my body ...". In effect, both Rome and the Sacramentarians are subordinating the same words of the Lord to different conclusions yet ultimately for the same subordinating reason. We have seen a similar situation in the previous discussion on Christ's session at the right hand.

The words of the Lord are not to be pitted against each other as both Rome and the Reformed did with John 6 and the institution of the Lord's Supper. In the Babylonian Captivity, Luther says that the John 6 passage "teaches us that

duntaxat de laicis, non de presbyteris. Nam ad hos non pertinet panis uiuus de cello, id est, una species sacramenti, sed forte panis mortis de inferno."

he is speaking of faith in the incarnate Word.”⁶⁵ This is understood to be the spiritual eating of Christ’s body and blood. The Lord’s words instituting the Lord’s Supper give us the mouth’s eating of his body and blood. The Lutheran Confessions confess both the mouth’s eating and a spiritual eating of Christ’s body and blood. All who come to the Lord’s Table eat and drink with their mouth the Lord’s body and blood whether or not they spiritually eat.

Once again we see that like the confession of the sacramental union, the confession of the mouth’s eating (*manducatio oralis*) serves to confess and extol the unique and creaturely way the Lord gives his gifts from outside ourselves and yes surely into us as the creatures we are. The mouth’s eating confesses that Christ’s body and blood are there on the altar to eat and drink, and that they are given into the communicant by the mouth. Yet, the mouth’s eating of Christ’s body and blood is not the same as the eating of a piece of meat.⁶⁶ If it were, such eating would be a Capernaitic eating, but it is not because the body and blood of Christ are living and life-giving. The communicant consumes, that is eats, the

⁶⁵ Luther, *Babylonian Captivity*, 1520. AE 36, 15. CL 1, 430: 2. “cum ipse doceat, se loqui de fide incarnati uerbi.”

⁶⁶ Luther, *This Is My body* 1527. AE 37, 100. “Therefore, Zwingli should not conclude, ‘If Christ’s flesh is eaten, nothing but flesh comes of it.’ This would be quite true if we were speaking of beef or pork, and Capernaites talk this way.” W² 20, 845. WA 23, 205:6-9. “Drumb solt der Zwingel nicht also schliessen: ‚Wird Christus fleisch geessen, so wird nichts denn fleisch draus‘. Solchs gilt wol, wenn man von rindfleisch odder sewfleisch redet, Und Capernaiten reden also.”

life-giving flesh of Christ. When the life-giving flesh and blood of Christ are not confessed and discerned by the communicant such eating becomes an eating unto judgment (temporal punishment) and destruction (eternal punishment), that is, the final condemnation.⁶⁷

Manducatio Impiorum

The eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood by the unworthy and godless is closely related to the mouth's eating and drinking; in fact, the *manducatio impiorum* goes along with confessing the *manducatio oralis*. The eating by the godless runs with the mouth's eating. The *manducatio impiorum* was brought to the fore after the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, when some South Germans distinguished between three kinds of eating: *manducatio dignorum* (eating by the worthy), *manducatio indignorum* (eating by the unworthy), and *manducatio impiorum* (eating by the godless). Bucer made such a distinction, which considered the "unworthy" to be weak believers while the "godless" were unbelievers.⁶⁸ The Lutheran confessions, however, do not distinguish between the "unworthy" and the "godless." This leads to the recognition that there are

⁶⁷ 1Co 11:27-32.

⁶⁸ Eells, *Martin Bucer*, 200. "Second, he divided the 'wicked' into two classes: unworthy and unbelievers. The first he was ready to agree received the body of Christ to their judgment, but the second ate no more than might a worm."

only two kinds of guests at the Lord's Table, the worthy, those who believe, and the unworthy, the godless, the unbelievers.

In part because of the result of the Wittenberg Concord and also because of the Crypto-Calvinists,⁶⁹ the Formula of Concord sought to clarify the issue of the *manducatio impiourum*. Solid Declaration VII, 68 & 69 confess:

It is essential to explain with great diligence who the unworthy guests at this Supper are, namely, those who go to the sacrament without true contrition or sorrow over their sins and without true faith or the good intention to improve their lives. With their unworthy eating of Christ's body they bring down judgment upon themselves, that is, temporal and eternal punishments and they become guilty of Christ's body and blood. ¶The true and worthy guests, for whom this precious sacrament above all was instituted and established, are the Christians who are weak in faith, fragile and troubled, who are terrified in their hearts by the immensity and number of their sins and think that they are not worthy of this precious treasure and of the benefits of Christ because of their great impurity, who feel the weakness of their faith and deplore it, and who desire with all their heart to serve God with a stronger, more resolute faith and purer obedience.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ KW 592, n. 172. Kolb notes that this group is "improperly called 'Crypto-Calvinist'" and should be referred to as "Crypto-Philippists," since they further developed Melancthon's ideas on the Lord's Supper in a spiritualizing direction. These Crypto-Philippists happened also to be making contacts with various Reformed groups but their theology was derived from Melancthon and not Calvin.

⁷⁰ KW 605. BSLK 996:14-35 – 997:1-3. "Es muß aber mit Fleiß erklärt werden, welche da sein die unwirdigen Gäste dieses Abendmahls, nämlich die ohne wahre Reue und Leid über ihre Sünden und ohne wahren Glauben und guten Fürsatz, ihr Leben zu bessern, zu diesem Sakrament gehen und ihnen selbst das Gericht, das ist, zeitliche und ewige Strafen, mit ihrem unwirdigen mündlichen Essen des Leibs Christi uf den Hals laden und am Leibe und Blut Christi schuldig werden. ¶Denn schwachgläubigen, blöden, betrübten Christen, die vonwegen der Größe und Menge ihrer Sünden von Herzen erschrocken sein und gedenken, daß sie in dieser ihrer großen Unreinigkeit dieses edlen Schatzes und Guttaten Christi nicht wert sein, und ihre Schwachheit des Glaubens empfinden und beklagen und von Herzen begehren, daß sie mit stärkerm, freidigern Glauben und reinem Gehorsamb Gott dienen möchten, die sind die rechten,

This confession recognizes that there are two kinds of guests at the Lord's Supper, rather than three and so safeguards against the Bucerian notion that the guest's faith or lack thereof determines whether or not Christ's body and blood are there to eat and to drink. Christ's body and blood is given to each guest in the Lord's Supper to eat and drink whether or not they are worthy, unworthy, or godless. Such a confession confesses that the Lord's Supper does not in any way depend on us to be what it is, and from such a Lord whose gifts are for sinners and those weak in faith. This repudiates the notion that those weak of faith are the unworthy when, in fact, the unworthy are the godless and the hypocrites who do not believe.

We had noted previously that the charge of Capernaitic eating flows from unbelief; likewise, the unworthy are guilty of unbelief according to the Formula of Concord. It would seem, then, that those who do not confess that Christ's body and blood are there on the altar to eat and drink are not worthy guests.⁷¹ The Formula of Concord, however, does not state the matter so pointedly and is content to confess that the two kinds of guests are believers and unbelievers. It leaves unsaid whether unbelievers are those who do not confess that Christ's

wirdigen Gäste, für welche dies hochwürdige Sackrament fürnehmlich eingesetzt und verordnet ist."

⁷¹ Charles R. Schulz, "The Worthy Communicant in SD VII," *Logia* 8, no. 2 (1999): 35. "Confessing the body and blood in the sacrament is thus essential to worthy reception."

body and blood is on the altar to eat and drink.⁷² It would seem at this point that while Chytraeus followed closer to Melancthon, both Andreae⁷³ and Chemnitz followed closer to Luther. In the Small Catechism, the question is asked, "Who then receives this Sacrament worthily?"⁷⁴

Answer: Fasting and bodily preparations are a good external discipline, but he is truly worthy and well prepared who believes these words: "given for you" and "shed for you for the forgiveness of sins." But he who does not believe these words or doubts them, he is unworthy and unprepared; for the words "for you" require truly believing hearts.⁷⁵

According to the Small Catechism, the worthy guest believes Christ's words, "This is my body given for you ... This is my blood shed for you." If the guest confesses that only bread and wine are on the altar to eat and drink then he does

⁷² Green, "The Holy Supper," 221. "Although Andrea's contention – that those who deny the doctrine of the real presence thereby (1 Cor. 11:29) eat and drink judgment to themselves – seems the logical conclusion of the Lutheran position, it is noteworthy that the Formula of Concord chose not to retain that assertion. The irenic spirit of Melancthon's pupil prevailed."

⁷³ Ibid. "And who, then, are the 'unworthy'? Andrea ... identified them as impenitent hypocrites, as unbelievers, as those who think that only bread and wine are given in the sacrament and not the body and blood of Christ." See also Schulz, "The Worthy Communicant in SD VII," 34. "Andreae continues, true faith at the altar grasps the words of institution." Therefore, if someone held that Christ's words which say, "This is my body ... This is my blood" were to be interpreted symbolically then they do not have true faith.

⁷⁴ SC V. BSLK 521:1-2. "Wer empfähet denn solch Sakrament würdiglich?" KW 363; Tappert 352.

⁷⁵ SC V. BSLK 521:3-11. "Fasten und leiblich sich bereiten ist wohl eine feine äußerliche Zucht; aber ist recht würdig und wohl geschickt, wer den Glauben hat an diese Wort: „Für Euch gegeben“ und „vergossen zur Vergebung der Sunden“. Wer aber diesen Worten nicht gläubt oder zweifelt, der ist unwürdig und ungeschickt; denn das Wort „für Euch“ fodert eitel gläubige Herzen.“ KW 363; Tappert 353.

not believe Christ's words, "given for you." On the cross Christ accomplished salvation, in the Lord's Supper he distributes it. To say to the Lord, "Your body and blood cannot be on the altar," is unbelief.

Chemnitz lists three conditions that make a guest unworthy: 1) not discerning the body, 2) persisting unrepentant in a sinful life, 3) no true faith, that is they do not seek the Lord's grace. Concerning the first item Chemnitz writes, "They that do not discern the body of the Lord, that is [they] that do not hold that the very sacred food of this Supper is the body and blood of Christ, but handle and use it with no greater reverence and devotion than other common foods."⁷⁶ It would seem then that Chemnitz would categorize those who do not discern the body and blood of Christ as unbelievers.

In the confession of the *manducatio impiorum*, the primary concern of the Solid Declaration is that the Lord's Supper is a comfort to sinners and those weak of faith. It confesses that there are godless eaters of Christ's body and blood but this is not the main focus. The Formula of Concord works with a negative definition, in that it says who the unworthy are not, that is, the unworthy are not those of weak faith. It confesses that the Lord's Supper was instituted precisely for those weak of faith and for sinners. This confession is a mark of distinction

⁷⁶ Martin Chemnitz, *Ministry, Word, and Sacraments: An Enchiridion*, trans. Luther Poellot (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1981), 130.

from the Roman confession with the emphasis on works and the Reformed confession with the emphasis on the claim of faith, both of which introduce doubt into the hearts of the communicants or conversely helps to create secure sinners who trust in themselves rather than the body and blood of Christ which they do not so desperately need. In dealing with the worthy and unworthy guests at the Lord's Supper, the Formula of Concord seeks to comfort terrified hearts with the Gospel.

So then, the Formula of Concord is able to give the right answer as to who the worthy and unworthy guests are, when the right question is asked. Perhaps, a better way to state the foregoing, when the wrong question is asked of who are the worthy and unworthy guests, the Formula does not provide the answer. As previously stated, the Formula seeks to give comfort to terrified sinners by calling them worthy to receive the Lord's body and blood to eat and to drink for the forgiveness of sins. If you fear that you are too great of a sinner to receive the Lord's body and blood worthily, the Formula proclaims that the Lord invites and bids you to eat and drink his body and his blood. The Lord's Supper is for penitent sinners and the weak of faith.

The Formula, while confessing that both worthy and unworthy (that is unbelievers) guests eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, does not yet seek to answer the question whether a guest of a heterodox confession eats

unworthily. As previously stated, one may infer a conclusion but the Formula does not answer this question. To put this question to the Formula is to ask the wrong question. It is clear that Chemnitz and Andreae considered those who denied that Christ's body and blood were there on the altar to be unworthy guests. Since hypocrites by definition cannot be detected, this primarily has implications in fellowship issues between different confessions. Whether the altar is left open or is closed serves as a test for the confession that Christ's body and blood are there on the altar to eat and to drink.

"Let this suffice concerning the true presence and the twofold participation in the body and blood of Christ, the one through faith spiritually, the other orally, which happens in the case of both the worthy and the unworthy."⁷⁷

The body and blood of Christ ≠ the Person of Christ

The confession that the body and blood of Christ are there on the altar to eat and drink is not equivalent to the supplied confession that the person of Christ or that Christ himself is there in the Lord's Supper. Pieper noted early in the 20th century that some "glibly substitute the 'whole Christ' for the body and

⁷⁷ FC SD VII, 72. Tappert, 582. KW, 606. BSLK 997:28-33. "Das sei von der wahren Gegenwärtigkeit und zweierlei Nießung des Leibes und Bluts Christi, so entweder mit dem Glauben geistlich, oder auch mündlich, beide, von Wirdigen und Unwirdigen, geschieht, bis hieher geredt."

blood of Christ.”⁷⁸ One such theologian cited by Pieper was Friedrich Nitzsch, who through a shift away from the substance of Christ’s body and blood to the “living personality of Christ” made the sacramental union as confessed by the Lutherans in the past impossible.⁷⁹ Thus, we see that something is said of Christ himself in place of what he says his body and blood to be eaten and drunk. Such distinctions between Christ and Christ’s body and blood were made during the Sacramentarian controversy. In the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 the phrase “true presence” was agreed upon by all at the Concord, yet, “to one side it meant the true presence of Christ and to the other side it meant the true presence of Christ’s body.”⁸⁰ While these differing confessions may have been suspected during the conference, they were not manifest until after the agreement was published. Even Melanchthon in 1538 said that the confession that “Christ is truly there”⁸¹ in

⁷⁸ Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, trans. Walther W. F. Albrecht, 4 vols., vol. 3 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 356. “Modern theologians, too, including some who call themselves Lutheran, glibly substitute the ‘whole Christ’ for the body and blood of Christ, prompted to some extent by the notion that they are thus enriching Christ’s Sacrament.”

⁷⁹ Friedrich Aug. Berth Nitzsch and Horst Stephan, *Lehrbuch der Evangelischen Dogmatik*, 3 ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1912), 667. “Das Verhältnis der materia coelestis zur materia terrestris, überhaupt die Auffassung der materia coelestis ist völlig verändert. Denn statt der Substanzen, nämlich Leib und Blut Christi, ist die lebendige Persönlichkeit Christi selbst und ihr Handeln in den Vordergrund getreten; eine unio sacramentalis zwischen ihr und den irdischen Elementen aber ist im alten Sinne unmöglich.”

⁸⁰ Eells, *Martin Bucer*, 204.

⁸¹ Melanchthon, *Viro optimo, D. Vito Theodoro, docenti Evang. in Ecclesia Noriberg*, 23 April 1538. CR 3, 514. “Egoque ne longissime recederem a veteribus, posui in usu Sacramentalem praesentiam, et dixi, datis his rebus, Christum vere adesse, et efficacem esse. Id profecto satis est.”

the Lord's Supper "is a truly sufficient" confession of the "sacramental presence." Melancthon's confession in his 1538 letter appears to be a departure from his confession in the Augsburg Confession of 1530 that the "body and blood of Christ are truly there and are distributed to those who eat in the Supper of the Lord."⁸²

This may suggest that some Lutherans from the Sacramentarian controversy to the present day have been tempted to substitute the less than homological "Christ is there" for "the body and blood of Christ are there on the altar to eat and drink." Such a substitution may be motivated by the desire for peace, ignorance, carelessness, or even unintentionally.⁸³ Take for example, verse 5 of the hymn "You Satisfy the Hungry Heart" in the Missouri Synod's *Hymnal Supplement 98*. Verse 5 reads, "You give yourself to us; Then selfless let us be, To serve each other in Your name In truth and charity."⁸⁴ This verse confesses that

⁸² AC X. BSLK 64:3-4. "corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuantur vescentibus in coena Domini." KW 44-45. Tappert 34.

⁸³ Take for instance the following example which may fall into the careless or unintentional category. Schulz, "The Worthy Communicant in SD VII," 33. "According to the Lutheran Confessions, Christ is not present in the Lord's Supper in those 'communions' that twist and reinterpret the words of institution." The Lutheran Confessions are not critiquing another confession but recognizing what that differing confessional group confesses, namely that they do not confess that Christ's body and blood are there on the altar to eat and drink. Secondly, the point at issue is not that "Christ is not present in the Lord's Supper," but that his body and blood are not there according to these confessions.

⁸⁴ Commission on Worship of the Lutheran Church -- Missouri Synod, *Hymnal Supplement 98* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1998), 855.

Christ gives himself to us; it does not sing of the Lord putting his body and blood on our tongues to eat and drink. Next the hymn speaks of a horizontal dimension of church fellowship in which we are exhorted to serve each other. While this hymn does not use these words, others have described this emphasis as the real presence of Christ in the life of the believer. Although this hymn may helpfully extol an area of Christian life, it does not provide the proper emphasis for the Lord's Supper. The Archdiocese of Philadelphia holds the copyright to this hymn and may show how alien influences enter into Lutheran liturgy and hymnody.

Such influences may slip in to Lutheran usage when we are not reminded that the Lutheran Confessions do not confess as the *proprium* that Christ gives himself in the Lord's Supper but that Christ's body and blood are there on the altar to eat and to drink; where the Lord's body and blood are there is Christ himself.⁸⁵ This kind of substitution is then not a new idea but is also found in the 16th century. However, it was not until the mid-20th century that some Lutherans were willing to confess the person of Christ as a substitution for Christ's body and blood. The discussion over the presence of the person of Christ or the presence of his body and blood to eat and to drink is still going on in the late 20th

⁸⁵ Nagel, "Luther's Understanding of Christ in Relation to His Doctrine of the Lord's Supper", 446. "Similar steadfastness to the Verba means also that the treasure is the body and blood, and is not personalized to Christ Himself. This does not mean that for Luther Christ could be disjoined from His body and blood, but rather that in the exposition of the Eucharist he begins with the Verba and not from christological consideration. Christ is of course present, but this fact is connected with His words rather than with His body and blood."

century. Von Hagel argues that the Lord's Supper should be seen eschatologically. He comments that the Reformers' theology, specifically "their christological and eucharistic theology certainly views the Lord's Supper as an eschatological event. In addition, it lays the groundwork for favorably comparing the advent of Jesus in his Supper to other divine advents."⁸⁶ One danger in making such comparisons to "other divine advents" is that the Lord's Supper is *inusitata*, that is, one of a kind; and doctrine may not be based on such comparisons. As Gibbs points out, nowhere does Scripture call the Lord's Supper an advent.⁸⁷ However such comparisons may simply indicate pious reflections. In this case, it seems that Von Hagel expounds a theme discussed by Sasse who wrote that the church survived the disappointment of the delay in the *parousia* by partaking of the Lord's Supper.⁸⁸ Some interpreted Von Hagel as emphasizing a

⁸⁶ Thomas A. Von Hagel, "A Eucharistic Interpretation of the Synoptic Apocalypse," *Logia* VIII, no. 3 (1999): 26.

⁸⁷ Jeffrey K. Gibbs, "Correspondence," *Logia* IX, no. 3 (2000): 4. "Jesus never speaks of the Lord's Supper as his 'advent' or his 'coming.' Moreover, no biblical text of which I am aware explicitly describes the Lord's Supper as Jesus' 'coming' or 'advent' to his creation."

⁸⁸ Hermann Sasse, "The Lord's Supper in the New Testament 1941," in *We Confess the Sacraments* (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1985), 93. "From this it becomes easy to understand what the Lord's Supper must mean for the church's *preservation*, as it turned out that the eschatological expectations, as the apostolic age cherished them, did not come to fulfillment. Humanly speaking, there was perhaps never a deeper disappointment than the nonappearance of the Parousia, which they had believed to be so near. How was it possible for the church to survive this disappointment? How was it able to preserve hope for the Day of Jesus Christ through so many centuries in spite of the mockery of the world and doubt in its own ranks? The Lord's Supper alone has made that possible. It is the Sacrament of the church that waits for the fulfillment of the promises. The church that celebrates it understands itself to be the new people of God, who have been freed from the slavery of Egypt but have not yet arrived in the Promised

personal presence over against the Lord's body and blood seeming to suggest that the Lutheran Confessions confess that the Lord's body and blood are there in the Lord's Supper apart from his person.⁸⁹ One pastor strongly objects to such a spurious alternative.⁹⁰ In the Lord's Supper, Christ is, in fact, there in his person and in his body and blood. One may not be emphasized to the exclusion of the other. However, the *proprium* of the Lord's Supper is indeed his body and his blood. To exclude Christ's person from his body and his blood is to commit the same error in the opposite fashion of those who emphasize Christ's person to the exclusion of his body and his blood. Both of these positions threaten to separate or undo the personal union, the incarnation. Where the Lord's body and blood are at there too is his person. In the Lord's Supper, the Lord has bidden us to eat

Land. It is what later came to be called food of travelers [*cibus viatorum*], eaten in haste by pilgrims like the first Passover according to Ex. 12:11."

⁸⁹ Al Loeschman, "Correspondence," *Logia* IX, no. 3 (2000): 5. "The Reformed accused the Lutherans of Romish doctrines; that is, that Christ was giving himself personally, wholly, completely, both body and soul, in the bread and wine. The Lutherans did not claim that at all. They insisted that Christ was the host of the meal, offering the body and blood with which he obtained forgiveness by his death on the cross of Calvary. The definitive descriptions of the doctrine of the real presence in the Confessions never use 'Christ's presence' or 'Christ himself' or 'Jesus himself' or even bodily presence,' but always 'the real presence of Christ's true body and blood in the bread and wine' (AC X; SC; FC SD VII). We would like to note that the Confessions never use 'real presence' and only use 'true presence' in FC EP VII, 4. We also note that Apology X, does confess the "bodily presence of Christ." Apology X, 2. BSLK 248: 12-13. "corporalem præsentiā Christi."

⁹⁰ Burnell Eckardt, "Correspondence," *Logia* IX, no. 4 (2000): 3. "Does he truly mean to suggest that Jesus is *not* personally present in the bread and wine? Evidently so, for Loeschman makes the outlandish claim that the phrase, 'Christ is present with his body and blood' (FC SD VII, 122) 'does not mean that [Christ] is 'in' his body and blood.'"

and to drink his body and his blood. He has given no explicit command to regard his person, yet neither do we deny that he is personally present in the Lord's Supper, provided that his person is there with his body and his blood. Whether or not Von Hugel commits the error with which he is charged is not of concern to us here, but this example is provided to show that at the end of the 20th century, the discussion over whether the Lord's body and blood or his person has superiority in the Lord's Supper is still very much an issue. It may now be helpful to review the prime example of this substitution of Christ's body and blood with his person, the Arnoldshain Theses of 1957, which brought to the fore the discussion over Christ's personal presence. These subsequently became the basis of several agreements between Lutherans and Reformed.

Since the Arnoldshain Theses of 1957 were the culmination of a sequence of events, it may be helpful to briefly review the developments in scholarship and church politics that contributed to their formulation. The two main assumptions that contributed to the development of the Arnoldshain Theses were given as: 1) The Gospel accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper were not reliable and therefore, one could not be certain if the Lord's Supper was instituted by Jesus; 2) That body did not refer to the substance of Jesus' body but to the entire personality of Jesus. Parts 1 and 2 were the product of a 19th century philosophy and worldview and provided the philosophical and exegetical

framework for the agreement. A third factor that provided the final impetus to reach an agreement was the breakdown of the territorial church boundaries during World War II which prompted people holding the Reformed confession to attend Lutheran churches and Lutherans to attend Reformed churches as the war forced movements of displaced people from one territory to another.

The third factor was the sociological and political contribution to the agreement. Although the social factors that contributed to the people movements in Germany, namely the emergency situation of the war that caused people to move from one territory to another, were not present in other countries such as America, this factor in subsequent agreements was likened to the ease of travel which the twentieth century brought, which consequently weakened the awareness of belonging to a confessional tradition even among pastors.⁹¹ Although the lack of confessional identity may indeed have a sociological component, it also has a theological component – the lack of catechesis and of pastoral care. Whenever there is a waning in “confessional identity,” one may suspect that the people had not been taught or never learned to confess the Small Catechism. This may suffice for an explanation of the third contributing factor to

⁹¹ Albert B. Collver III, "Lutheran-Reformed Altar Fellowship and Augustana X," *Logia* 9, no. 3 (2000): 30.

the Arnoldshain Theses. It may now be helpful to review the exegetical findings that contributed to the first two factors mentioned above.

Simply put, the conclusion that the Gospel accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper are not reliable is the product of late 19th century and early 20th century scholarship and the presuppositions associated with it. One may suspect that Schleiermacher first suggested that the Lord's Supper accounts were not reliable. Yet he does not take up the question whether or not the Last Supper celebrated by the Lord is the same as the Lord's Supper celebrated by the church.⁹² His contribution to the Lord's Supper lay in his concept of fellowship, namely, that "since the Lord's Supper is a fellowship (*koinonia*), and since this term evidently includes both altar and church fellowship, they are both brought about 'by the voluntary actions of men, and only through these can they continue to exist.'"⁹³ Schleiermacher's views no doubt have influenced church fellowship issues, but this did not have an immediate effect on questioning the reliability of Jesus' words. Although Strauss (1836) suggested that the Lord's command to repeat the Lord's Supper was unauthentic and Bauer (1842) did not think if Jesus were a real human being he could have thought to offer his body and blood to

⁹² Michael Reu, *Can We Still Hold To The Lutheran Doctrine Of The Lord's Supper?* (Columbus, OH: The Wartburg Press, 1941), 8. "It is strange that these statements or questions were entirely overlooked. At least, neither during Schleiermacher's lifetime nor in the decades that followed did any one challenge these statements."

⁹³ Elert, *Eucharist and Church Fellowship in the First Four Centuries*, 2.

eat and drink, and Renan (1863) declared that the Lord's Supper was really just an evening meal, none of their questions concerned the origin of the Lord's Supper but rather the meaning of the Supper. As Reu helpfully points out, until the last decade of the 19th century no one expressed doubts that the Lord instituted the Last Supper.⁹⁴

With the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, scholars concluded that the Gospel accounts of the Lord's Supper were not reliable and that the Lord's Supper was not instituted by Jesus but rather may best be understood originating from Paul or the early church. The question, "What then of the Lord's Supper?" was still asked. There were two basic answers to this question. One group held that the Lord's Supper was nothing more than an evening meal; another group held that the Lord's Supper symbolized that Jesus gave himself. Thus, "This is my body" does not refer to Jesus' earthly body or to his eschatological body. "Jesus' 'body' represents Jesus Himself, His personality, all that He symbolized and included of religious values and experiences."⁹⁵ Thus, in the attempt to explain the meaning of the Lord's Supper, which was not instituted by Jesus, the conclusion was drawn by many scholars that the "meal" symbolized that Jesus gave himself to his followers.

⁹⁴ Reu, *Can We Still Hold To The Lutheran Doctrine Of The Lord's Supper?* , 8.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

Since the early 20th century, much exegetical scholarship has concluded that Jesus gave not his body and blood but himself, his whole personality. Reinhold Seeberg is one of the first to introduce this notion within Lutheran circles.

In the usage of his time the word which the Lord used for 'body' (*gûf*) had a wider significance than nowadays. Something like this may be found in the German of the Middle Ages. In this way the body is the whole person and not just the visible organism of the individual. That the body of Christ is said to be there means nothing other than that he himself will be there. Christ does not speak of his 'flesh and blood' as the parts which make up a man (compare Matthew 16:17; Hebrews 2:14). No, Christ uses the notion of a body as complete by itself. The word he uses does not speak of the body as if first one part of Christ is present in the Supper, and thereafter another part, his blood. The word used to speak of the body is much rather spoken of a while. It signifies the entire presence of Christ; it says that he himself will be there, and that is what we mean when we say in German *leibhaftig*.⁹⁶

At issue is not if $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ or *gûf* may be used to indicate the whole person rather than the physical body, but whether or not it does so in the Gospel and Pauline accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper. While there are some scholars

⁹⁶ Reinhold Seeberg, *Das Abendmahl im Neuen Testament*, ed. Prof. Dr. Kropatscheck, 2 ed., *Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen* (Berlin: Edwin Runge, 1907), 18. "Das Wort 'Leib', das der Herr braucht (*gûf*), hatte in der Sprache seiner Zeit, wie etwa auch in dem mittelalterlichen Deutsch, einen weiteren Sinn als heute, Leib ist die ganze Person, nicht nur der sichtbare Organismus des Individuums. Daß Christi Leib gegenwärtig sein soll, bedeutet also nichts anderes, als daß er selbst da sein wird. Nicht spricht Christus von seinem 'Fleisch und Blut' ist der Mensch (z.B. Matth. 16,17. Hebr. 2,14). Nein, Christus braucht den in sich geschlossenen Begriff des Leibes. Nicht soll das Wort vom Leib also besagen, daß zuerst ein Teil Christi, dann ein anderer Teil, das Blut, im Abendmahl gegenwärtig sein wird. Das Wort über den Leib ist vielmehr in sich abgeschlossen, es bezeichnet die ganze Gegenwart Christi; es sagt, daß er selbst leibhaftig – wie wir sagen – da sein wird."

who say that it does and while *gûfi* may be understood as “I myself,” “the fact that the Early Christians did not take it in this sense, as well as our Lord’s reference to His Blood at the administration of the wine, necessitates the translation ‘My body.’”⁹⁷ It is also important to note that such discussions usually omit the blood. As in the case of fellowship issues, the body is the focus of investigation, leaving the body separated from the blood. When the body is separated from the blood, the body may be more easily analogized. In this specific instance, the body is analogized to indicate the personality of Jesus rather than his actual body. Blood is physical and cannot be easily symbolized or analogized. The body apart from the blood is subject to abstraction. Hence, the body refers to the person of Jesus and the Lord’s words, “This is my body” is interpreted to mean, “This is I.”

This brief history of the exegesis of the Lord’s Supper texts intends to show that the presuppositions behind the Arnoldshain Theses which were approved in November 1957. The Arnoldshain Theses both provide a good example of the above substitution and are also the foundation of several subsequent agreements between the Lutherans and Reformed in various parts of the world. Additionally, the Arnoldshain Theses provide a point after which the

⁹⁷ Sasse, “The Lord’s Supper in the New Testament 1941,” 71. In this passage, Sasse is citing Dalmann.

term real presence generally refers to the presence of Christ or the personality of Christ and not his body and blood.

The Arnoldshain Theses begin with the question, "What do we as members of one apostolic church heed as the decisive content of the biblical witness of the Lord's Supper?"⁹⁸ This question presupposes the previously noted third factor behind the Arnoldshain Theses. The territorial churches which were Reformed or Lutheran or mixed (Union) are confessing the Arnoldshain Theses as "one apostolic church" and not as Lutherans or Reformed.⁹⁹ With this the formulators of the Arnoldshain Theses would like to put the confession and formulations of their 16th century forebears behind them. Neither the Lutheran Confessions nor their Reformed counterparts are seen as being relevant to the current discussion (in part because both the Lutheran and Reformed confessions of the 16th century assume that Christ instituted the Lord's Supper). Early 20th century exegesis has brought to light truths about the text that the 16th century confessors could not have known. Making use of these new discoveries and by

⁹⁸ EKD, "Das Abendmahlsgespräch der EKD," 426. "Was hören wir als Glieder der einen apostolischen Kirche als entscheidenden Inhalt des biblischen Zeugnisses vom Abendmahl?" Cf. Bretscher, "The Arnoldshain Theses on the Lord's Supper," 85.

⁹⁹ Thomas F. Torrance, "The Arnoldshain Theses on Holy Communion," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 15 (1962): 4. "These theses are propounded by men who listen to the Word of God *as members of the one apostolic Church*, i.e. not as members of the Lutheran, or Reformed, or a Union Church, but as those who, bound together by obedience to the apostolic foundation of the Church in Christ, listen together to the Biblical Witness. They admit that their hearing is determined by their recognition of the unity and apostolicity of the Church." Italics in the original.

putting away their outdated confessions, the churches in Germany claim to confess together as “one apostolic church.”

Thesis 1 of the Arnoldshain Theses says, “the Lord’s Supper, which we celebrate, is founded on the institution and by the command of Jesus Christ.”¹⁰⁰ This appears to confess that the Lord’s Supper was instituted by Jesus and therefore runs counter to the exegetical conclusions of the early 20th century. However, the commentary to this thesis reveals the built-in ambiguity of the wording. “The formulation of the theses consciously leaves the question open whether and in what way the Lord’s Supper in the congregation is related to the last meal of Jesus.”¹⁰¹ According to Gollwitzer, “New Testament scholarship has not succeeded in solving the problem which surrounds the historicity of the institution of the Lord’s Supper. For this reason Thesis 1 is unable to present a historical judgment on the issue.”¹⁰² According to the authors of the Arnoldshain Theses, there is no longer certainty that the Lord instituted the Lord’s Supper. Without the dominical certainty, all that remains is the reason of men who are like-mindedly deciding to have fellowship.

¹⁰⁰ EKD, “Das Abendmahlsgespräch der EKD,” 426. “Das Abendmahl, das wir feiern, gründet in der Stiftung und im Befehl Jesu Christi.”

¹⁰¹ Eugene M. Skibbe, “Reaction to the Arnoldshain Theses,” *Lutheran Quarterly* XII (1960): 252.

¹⁰² Egil Grisli, “The Arnoldshain Theses on the Lord’s Supper in Recent Discussion,” *Lutheran Quarterly* 13 (1961): 336.

In the 4th thesis, a shift occurs from a confession that the Lord gives his body and blood to eat and drink to a personification. "The words, which our Lord Jesus Christ says with the offering of the bread and the cup, tell us what he himself gives to all who come to this meal."¹⁰³ This is to say that the Lord gives himself to the communicant. It does not speak of the Lord's body and blood to eat and drink, but refers to the Lord's body and blood in connection with the crucifixion. "Contemporary exegetical studies have opened our eyes to this situation by showing that the words of institution do not really describe the body and blood as things, but state what precisely happens with the body and blood: 'the dying and rising of Jesus.'"¹⁰⁴ This thesis is seen as a breakthrough since it avoids the traditional Lutheran language of the Lord's own body and blood and avoids the Reformed giving of bread and wine. The gift is the giver who is Christ. Grass notes that "according to the wording of Thesis IV there can be no doubt that the real presence is understood as the personal presence. What was said concerning the body and blood does not serve the purpose of the gift of the Lord's Supper as such or even of the elements, but it serves the immediate

¹⁰³ EKD, "Das Abendmahlsgespräch der EKD," 426. "Die Worte, die unser Herr Jesus Christus beim Reichen des Brotes und des Kelches spricht, sagen uns, was er selbst in diesem Mahle allen, die hinzutreten, gibt."

¹⁰⁴ Grislis, "The Arnoldshain Theses on the Lord's Supper in Recent Discussion," 342.

purpose of the person, who is the gift of the Lord's Supper."¹⁰⁵ With this new understanding a Scottish Presbyterian can confess "the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ."¹⁰⁶ This, for Torrance, confesses the reconciliation which God made through the body and blood of Christ between himself and mankind.

Arnoldshain is significant because it represents one of the first, large-scale practical applications of the early 20th century exegetical scholarship. It put into practice the findings that cast doubt on whether or not Christ actually instituted the Lord's Supper, also the assertion that the body was to be understood, not as a thing, but as a whole person, or personality. Notably absent is the Lord's blood; where the blood is mentioned the reference refers to the Lord's saving work on the cross rather than the blood to drink. When the Lord's body is separated and discussed apart from his blood in the Lord's Supper, the body tends toward abstraction and analogy to the church or to the personality of Christ. The Lord did not promise to give himself but he gives his body and blood to eat and drink in the Lord's Supper.

¹⁰⁵ Hans Grass, "Die Arnoldshainer Thesen und die lutherische Abendmahlslehre," *Neue Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie* 2 (1960): 74. "Nach dem Wortlaut der These IV kann kein Zweifel darüber sein, daß die Realpräsenz als Personalpräsenz verstanden ist. Was über Leib und Blut gesagt wird, dient nicht der Bestimmung der Abendmahlsgabe als solcher oder gar der Elemente, sondern es dient der Näherbestimmung der Person, die die Abendmahlsgabe ist."

¹⁰⁶ Torrance, "The Arnoldshain Theses on Holy Communion," 19.

For those who confess the Arnoldshain Theses and the Leuenberg Concord, the real presence is understood to be some presence of Christ and not of "his body and of his blood for us Christians to eat and to drink."¹⁰⁷ The exegetical and linguistic theories that directed Arnoldshain to conclude that Christ gives himself in the Lord's Supper have led to further ambiguity and uncertainty in the late-20th century. Jenson wonders what can be said of Christ's body since "every linguistic translation of a sacramental sign must be a distortion."¹⁰⁸ He concludes that the Lord's words, "This is my body" simply promise and assure the communicants that Christ is bodily in the world. His body is in the world not in a spiritual sense but actually in the church which is his human body.¹⁰⁹ What such a confession says of the person of Christ cannot be explored here in christological diagnosis. It poses a different, but not unrelated, problem from that caused by the insistence of some in the 16th century that

¹⁰⁷ Lothar Lies, "Realpräsenz bei Luther und den Lutheranern Heute," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 119 (1997). Lies, a Roman Catholic scholar, notes that the Lutherans who confess Arnoldshain and Leuenberg have abandoned Luther's teaching of the real presence of Christ's body and blood and have replaced it with some kind of personal presence of Christ. What is, perhaps, more alarming is the anachronistic imposition of a personalistic presence on Luther.

¹⁰⁸ Robert W. Jenson, *Systematic Theology: The Works of God*, 1 ed., 2 vols., vol. 2 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 220.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* "The Eucharist promises: *there is* my body in the world, and you here are eating and drinking commune in it. It promises: *there is* the actual historical church, and you are she. That the risen Christ is not merely 'spiritually' is itself a vital promise of the gospel, and the one made specifically by the bread and cup."

Christ's divinity is everywhere but his human nature is confined in heaven. It is also different from the personalizing emphasis of Arnoldshain. The progression has moved from Christ's body and blood to his person, to the community. Abstraction abounds. Now the body/human nature of Christ is to be found not in heaven or in our hearts but in the communal action of the church in the Eucharist. Where then is Christ's body really present? In heaven? In our hearts? In the communal action of the church? Such a progression has drifted off far from the Lord's words, "This is my body," which would have us seek his very same body crucified and blood shed on the cross at the altar to eat and to drink with our mouths and on our tongues.

The Problem of the Real Presence Re-visited

What then is the "real presence?"¹¹⁰ "Some troubles stem from supposing that the phrase raises no questions."¹¹¹ One of the chief troubles with the phrase

¹¹⁰ Torrance, "The Arnoldshain Theses on Holy Communion," 10. Torrance following in the footsteps of Arnoldshain writes, "Only when we are able to give the human nature of Christ the saving significance it occupies in the New Testament, and see the relation of His whole life to reconciliation, will we be in a proper position to understand what it means to eat and drink the body and blood of Christ, and understand what the real presence actually means." Torrance continues on pages 11 and 12, "Surely we must think of the real presence not as the presence of a naked Christ, but as the presence of the Christ clothed with His Gospel, and think of that presence as the presence of Him who was really incarnated in our humanity, the presence of the Being of God in our temporal and corporeal existence. I believe if we think out again on a biblical basis the relation of the Incarnation to the Atonement we will find ground for a true consensus on the real presence." Torrance locates the real presence in the person of Christ and in his work on the cross, but not in his body and blood given to eat and drink on the altar. Torrance appeals analogically to the incarnation as the basis of the real presence. If the Lord did not institute the Lord's Supper all that can possibly save the Lord's Supper is an appeal analogically to the incarnation as Ernst Sommerlath attempted to do. We repeat once again, the Book of Concord

real presence is that different groups use it freely but with differing content. Even within a particular group, the phrase may often be used ambiguously. Perhaps more troubling is the difficulty in recognizing what the term conveys. Both "real" and "presence" often derive their usage from philosophy, and as the dominant philosophical system changes so do the usages of "real" and "presence." Sometimes the differences in the confession of the Lord's Supper are contrasted by the words "realistic" and "symbolic." Note that what is "realistic" is not real and only approximates or approaches reality. The descriptor "realistic" is a biased term in that it implies that a realistic view is not the real view. For instance, when a church father is described as having a realistic view of the Lord's Supper or of using realistic language, realistic describes that his confession sounds as if the communicant is eating and drinking the body and blood of Christ, but implies that it cannot be so. Robinson highlights the difficulty of his investigation into "the Real Presence of our Lord" in the eucharist by saying that no one "gives much attention to the word *real*, though you don't have to go far into philosophy to discover that what is meant by *reality* has been a recurring question during the two and a half thousand years of

confesses that the Lord's Supper rests on the Lord's words and is not arrived at by incarnational analogy.

¹¹¹ Ian Robinson, "Thomas Cranmer on the Real Presence," *Faith and Worship* 43 (1997): 2.

Western philosophical thought.”¹¹² This then begs the question of what is real presence. To answer this question properly one needs to ask as the journalist does “who” is using it, “what” is the context in which it is used, “when” is it being used, and “where” is it being used. The “when” question is particularly important to help identify which philosophical presuppositions may be controlling the term.

For instance, in the Middle Ages the heritage of Plato and Aristotle dominated the philosophical thinking. Macy highlights some of the difficulties these philosophical systems present for understanding what is real presence.

For any true follower of Plato and Aristotle, real would not have to include the bodily. The real was the world of the forms or the substance that underlay sense data. The real was the world of the spirit. This is the way that some of the early church writers would have preferred to have understood the risen Lord to be present, and, of course, the way in which Zwingli saw the issue. But if they are right, then the gnostics, Manichees and Cathars are also right, and Jesus didn't need to have a body and be a real human being. That's OK, but it's *not* Christianity, which does believe that Jesus was really human and really divine. Zwingli (and Ratramnus and Berengar) had a point, however. If one argued that the body and blood of the risen Lord were present, what did *present* mean? Surely it could not mean that the body and blood were sensed (seen, tasted, heard, smelled) because they plainly weren't. If they weren't sensed, then maybe they weren't there at all.¹¹³

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Gary Macy, *The Banquet's Wisdom: A Short History of the Theologies of the Lord's Supper* (New York: Paulist Press, 1992), 194-195.

Macy describes the difficulty of reason attempting to explain the Lord's words which say, "Take, eat, this is my body... take, drink, this is my blood." What the Lord said did not seem to correlate with human sensory experience. This was not a problem within a Platonic system that saw reality as an idea or within an Aristotelian system that found reality in the unseen substance of a thing.

You will notice that all the theologians we have discussed were trying to say that they *really* experienced the risen Lord in the liturgy. The problem was describing what "*really*" meant. If one followed Plato, the forms were real, so the form of the risen Lord had to be present; if one followed Aristotle, substance was real, therefore the substance of the risen Lord must be present. Both approaches, however, tended to denigrate the bodily and thus reinforce the belief that everyday earthly existence didn't matter. Forms definitely belonged to another world, and if our souls were substance, then substance also awaited a better and different life than this one.¹¹⁴

The problem with trying to explain "real" or "really" from a Platonic or Aristotelian perspective is that it separates reality into two levels, one of which is more real than another. When such an explanation is applied to the Lord's Supper, then the Lord Himself is subjected to varying degrees of real presence; he is really present on the altar but more present on the last day, etc. The above quotation also demonstrates how easily philosophy can slip into the definition. Furthermore, when Macy refers to Luther and Calvin, he states that "they *really* experienced" the Lord. Yet Luther does not speak of experiencing the Lord.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 195.

Experiencing something is a more apt way to describe an event from the point of view of the early 20th century than that of the 16th century.¹¹⁵

Even Rome has exchanged one philosophy for another in their discussions on real presence. Lucien Deiss writes:

Trent's doctrine on the real presence ended in extreme reification. Instead of contemplating Christ seated at the right hand of the Father, many imagined him entering the bread as one enters a house, and then shutting himself up in the tabernacle. They were thus led to localize and materialize him in the "accidents" of the bread. The very word *transubstantiation* expresses this real presence in terms of things. Here, we prefer to express the mystery in terms of persons. Indeed, according to existential phenomenology, the presence of a person is not realized solely by the fact of being in-oneself or for-oneself, but essentially by the fact of being for-others. In the Eucharist, this presence is not willed for itself, but primarily for the faithful. Always offered, it attains its fullness when it is accepted. It functions on the level of interpersonality. There is a real presence in the host, assuredly, but it is secondary to that of Christ-Eucharist in the hearts of the faithful.¹¹⁶

Here we see the shift from things to person that we saw in connection with the Arnoldshain Theses. The theologians of the mid-20th century exchanged existential phenomenology for Plato and Aristotle. In such an exchange, we see another separation, that of the person from his body and blood. Using this as the

¹¹⁵ Robinson, "Thomas Cranmer on the Real Presence," 9. Robinson in his article on the real presence expresses a similar sentiment when he says, "Christ is really present to our experience. What can help us if we deny our experience?" From Robinson's viewpoint, real presence is determined by our experience.

¹¹⁶ Lucien Deiss, *It's The Lord's Supper: The Eucharist of Christians*, trans. Edmond Bonin (New York: Paulist Press, 1976), 134.

guiding principle to understand real presence, there is a move similar to the so-called *extra calvinisticum* where the body and blood of Christ are separated from his personality. Since body in the Lord's Supper does not refer to a thing (i.e. the body) but to the personality of Christ, where is the body? At least in the 16th century, one was reasonably certain that the body of Christ was in heaven at the right hand of God, but under the mid-20th century outlook the body has ceased to be important so long as the person of Christ is there. This is not entirely correct. The body of Christ is still important, but in the late 20th century it is understood to be his body as manifested by the church in the world. Thus, the church takes the place of his human nature. In the above quotation, even though Deiss maintains that Christ is there in the host, this presence is secondary or lesser than the presence of Christ in the believer's heart. This leads to the notion that "the corporal presence is not our Lord's but our own."¹¹⁷ What is expressed here by an Anglican author, may also be found in some Roman Catholic authors – even to gnostic rootage in symbol.

Real presence, the root of all symbol, invites not spectators, but participants: *real presence is a question of commitment*. Conversion in Scripture is always the result of God's presence enabling us to respond in presence. This presence includes participation in God's work which heals others, too. Prescinding from a more precise definition for a moment, we can say that sacramental symbols are expressions of Christ's healing presence among us. The only

¹¹⁷ Robinson, "Thomas Cramner on the Real Presence," 9.

adequate response to such symbols is participation in Christ's work for others. If, however, we Christians use these symbols as if we were participants but, in effect, remain spectators, then indeed symbol becomes one-sided. This situation does not deny Christ's continuing power in sacrament but rather our refusal of it.¹¹⁸

Here a person has to be at the place where the Lord delivers his gifts in order to receive those gifts, but it also seems to say much more by suggesting that Christ's real presence is found in the people who receive those gifts. The same author clarifies why he thinks the church has emphasized Christ's real presence on the altar at the expense of his real presence in his people.

The one-sided development of sacrament provides a partial answer to why there can be so much sacrament and so little ecclesial and eschatological commitment. At critical moments when a credibility gap exists between sacramental symbol and praxis, the objective sacramental presence of Christ can unwittingly be used to excuse the subjective lack of presence in communities and individuals. We can stress the "real presence" of Christ in the Eucharist, for example, to avoid dealing with the lack of real presence in a crowded church on Sunday morning.¹¹⁹

Here we see a shift in the usage of real presence from the real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper to the real presence of Christ in the believer. Such a shift is made possible by the personalizing of the real presence.

Such a shift has also been found in recent Lutheran theologians who hold the so-called new Finnish interpretation of Luther. According to this

¹¹⁸ Regis A. Duffy, *Real Presence: Worship, Sacraments, and Commitment* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1982), 23.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 25.

interpretation not only does Christ justify the sinner but he also makes the sinner righteous. The basis for being made righteous is that "Christ is really present and that he indwells the Christian."¹²⁰ Braaten commenting on Peura says, "the righteousness of God in Christ is both 'grace' and 'gift,' that is, not only forensically imputed to sinners but also a Real Presence in whom sinners participate through faith empowered by the Holy Spirit."¹²¹ So we see that "Christ is really present in the faith of the Christian."¹²² Note that the Lord's body and blood are not spoken of, but only the real presence of Christ. So the progression goes from Christ's body and blood to the person of Christ to the indwelling of Christ in the believer. Thus we have real presence language being used outside of the Lord's Supper.

¹²⁰ Simo Peura, "Christ as Favor and Gift (donum): The Challenge of Luther's Understanding of Justification," in *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther*, ed. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 48. "This interpretation is based on the thesis that both grace and gift are a righteousness given in Christ to a Christian. This donation presupposes that Christ is really present and that he indwells the Christian. Christ on the one hand is the grace that is given to the sinner that protects him against the wrath of God (the forensic aspect), and on the other hand he is the gift that renews and makes the sinner righteous (the effective aspect). All this is possible only if Christ is united with the sinner through the sinner's faith. So, the crucial point of this interpretation rests in the notion of *unio cum Christo*."

¹²¹ Carl E. Braaten, "Response to Simo Peura, 'Christ as Favor and Gift,'" in *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther*, ed. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 73.

¹²² Tuomo Mannermaa, "Justification and *Theosis* in Lutheran-Orthodox Perspective," in *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther*, ed. Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998), 28.

Real presence in connection with the Lord's Supper is understood by many as a reference to the person of Christ and not to his body and his blood. When the Lord's body is understood as referring to his person and life, those traditions that have been reluctant in the past to speak of Christ's real presence can now do so. Consider the *Baptism, Eucharist, and Ministry* document produced by theologians from the Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Anglican, Reformed, Methodist, Baptists, et al. traditions for the World Council of Churches.¹²³ In this document, they can all affirm "a real presence of Christ at the Eucharist."¹²⁴ If all these differing traditions can affirm a real presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, is the term real presence able to confess the Lord's Supper in the way of the Small Catechism? How does confessional Lutheran theology respond?

Lutherans today follow Scripture and their own historical witness not merely by saying "real presence" or "real Christ" but also by repeating four or five words after Chemnitz, Luther, and the Lord Jesus Christ: *This is my body. This is my blood.* The Small Catechism makes its stand upon the body and blood on the tongue for eating and drinking.¹²⁵

¹²³ *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 12. "The eucharistic meal is the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the sacrament of his real presence." The commentary further explains, "Some other churches, while affirming a real presence of Christ at the eucharist, do not link that presence so definitely with the signs of bread and wine."

¹²⁵ Scott Arthur Bruzek, "A Five-Word Faith: The Eucharistic Theology of Martin Chemnitz' *Fundamenta Sanae Doctrinae*" (unpublished Doctor of Philosophy dissertation, Princeton Theological Seminary, 1995), 264-265.

The Small Catechism confesses the words of the Lord that he gives his body and blood to eat and to drink for the forgiveness of sins. Anything less concrete leaves doubt about what the Lord gives and therefore may not be good news for you. At the very best, the term real presence may be used by some to confess that the body and blood of Christ are there on the altar, but it is not able to say whether or not his body and blood are for you. At its worst, real presence leaves us in doubt over what is real and over what or who is present.

The Lord is not divisible into parts. The whole or entire Christ is just that entire Christ who is one person in two natures, divine and human. The entire Christ includes not only his personality but also his body and his blood. The Lord does not separate his personality from his body and from his blood.¹²⁶ In the Incarnation, Jesus Christ is God and man in one person. In the Lord's Supper, Christ does not say that he is giving his personality but that he gives his body and blood into our mouths to eat and drink. This statement does not emphasize "things" over the "person," since the person includes his body and blood. The Lord's person is found in his body and blood. Yet the Lord did not speak of his

¹²⁶ Kinder, "Die Gegenwart Christi im Abendmahl nach lutherischem Verständnis," 42. "Gegenwart Christi im Abendmahl heißt ja nicht nur seine persönliche Anwesenheit, sondern seine spezifisch handelnde Gegenwart, und war hier eben in seinem Leib und Blut." ("The presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper may not be limited to the fact that he is on the scene, but rather there in what he specifically does, in doing that he is present, and that precisely with his body and blood.")

“naked” personality, but of his body and blood to eat and drink. A personality is not eaten and drunk with the mouth, but the Lord’s body and blood are.

Although one may argue that it is permissible to speak only of the Lord’s person since the person of Christ includes his body and blood, the Lord in His Supper did not give such a confession. Such homology confesses that his true body and blood are on the altar and are given into our mouth to eat and to drink. Altar and mouth confess this location. To move away from here is to go somewhere of which the Lord does not speak. That move has been made in a variety of ways. Such variety may be found within the “reconciled diversity” of real presence. Reconciled in that everyone agrees to confess the real presence; diversity in that everyone has their own understanding of the term. Such usage of the term can only be sustained as long as the variety of presuppositions can be sustained. Each may claim finality in its turn but the sequence goes on and on. As a result there is no certainty regarding the real presence. The Lord, however, does not leave us in doubt or with uncertainty about his words.

One such uncertainty is the semi-Nestorian or so-called *extra calvinisticum* real presence of Christ which seeks to divide the whole Christ into fragments and parts. In the West, from the time of Augustine forward, there were those who sought to confess the actual humanity of Christ and in so doing to protect the human nature of Christ from abuse. To this endeavor the human body of Christ

was imagined to be seated at the right hand of God in a physical way and at the same time Christ was confessed to fill the heaven and the earth. The resolution to this apparent contradiction was to separate the divinity from the humanity in such a way that the human nature remained seated in heaven while the divine nature of Christ was everywhere. By concomitance the whole Christ was present even though the human nature remained in heaven. While both Rome and the Reformed held such a so-called *extra calvinisticum*, each produced contradicting conclusions from it. For Rome this prompted transubstantiation and for the Reformed it prompted the confession that Christ's body and blood were not on the altar to eat and drink. Both conclusions were reached by holding the divine and human natures of Christ apart. A real presence based upon such a confession may lead to doubt and uncertainty about what or who is really present.

The mid-20th century saw a variation, a kindred to the so-called *extra calvinisticum*, that produced a different sort of separation: the pulling apart of Christ's person or personality from Christ's body and blood. Such a separation was seen by some as freeing the church from the captivity of Plato and Aristotle who emphasized things over persons and being over event. Although the desire to free the church's theology from the bonds of Plato and Aristotle may be noble, the resulting confession, like Plato and Aristotle, de-emphasized the tangible

body and blood of Christ and preferred the intangible person or personality of Christ. While one outcome of the 16th century's struggle over the Lord's Supper was a spiritualization of Christ, one outcome of the 20th century's struggle was a personalization of Christ. While some in the 16th century separated the Lord's body and blood from his divinity or spirit, some in the 20th century remove the Lord's body and blood from his person. In the 16th century, it was almost universally agreed that the body of Christ was located at the right hand of God, although there were differing confessions regarding what was the right hand. In the 20th century the body of Christ has become of almost no consequence for some or simply is seen as the church. A confession of the Lord's Supper that reduces the presence of Christ to only his person or personality is a less than dominical confession. Any real presence based on such a confession is less than the Lord would give us.

The Lutheran Confessions do not posit an either or, nor do they divide Christ either by his divine and human natures or by his body and blood, and his person or personality. The whole Christ, undivided and without separation, is confessed to be there on the altar in his body and blood to eat and drink for the forgiveness of sins. Of utmost importance for the Confessions is to confess that the Lord's Supper is gospel and gift, that is, it is for you.¹²⁷ To divide Christ may

¹²⁷ SC V.

introduce doubt and uncertainty about what is given to eat and drink. A naked spirit, a naked divinity, or a naked personality cannot easily, if at all, be eaten.¹²⁸ Jenson is correct when he says, "A disembodied personal presence to me could only mean bondage, no matter how benevolent in intention; and were the person in question God, the bondage would be absolute."¹²⁹ Unfortunately, Jenson does not see the personal presence of Christ embodied in his flesh and his blood but in the body of Christ, which is the church.

In the Lord's Supper when Christ's body and blood are eaten and drunk, the Lord's spirit, divinity, and person are eaten and drunk as well in, with, and under the body and blood. This is to confess that the whole Christ is eaten and drunk, but the whole Christ does not come by itself or separated from his body and blood. The Lord has chosen to give us his true body and blood to eat and drink; he desires and bids us to seek him where he has promised to be on the altar in his body and blood for you to eat and drink for the forgiveness of sins. To seek him elsewhere than where he has promised to be is to invite doubt and uncertainty. Although the Lutheran confessors were aware of the term real presence, they chose not to use it in their confession of Christ's body and blood there on the altar to eat and drink for the forgiveness of sins. The term simply

¹²⁸ See footnote 34 on page 172. In this footnote, Kinder states that Christ does not give himself as a naked personality.

¹²⁹ Jenson, *Systematic Theology: The Works of God*, 214.

was not an adequate confession of the Lord's Supper. Instead, they confess the Lord's Supper using the Lord's words.

The term real presence was ambiguous in the 16th century as it is also in the 20th century. Different groups use real presence in different ways, although by the end of the late 20th century most traditions seem to use the term to refer to the person of Christ rather than to his body and blood on the altar. The Lutheran Confessions do not confess the Lord's Supper with such ambiguity inherent with the phrase real presence. They would rather confess what the Lord said on the night he was betrayed as the Small Catechism confesses of the Lord's Supper, "It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ under the bread and wine instituted for us Christians to eat and to drink by Christ himself."¹³⁰

¹³⁰ SC V, 1. BSLK 519:41-41, 520:1-2.

CONCLUSION

As we have observed, the term real presence has had a long history and development, and an ambiguous theological usage. Prior to the 16th century, the term appears infrequently and then in deference to the Subtle Doctor, Duns Scotus, who is the first prominent theologian to employ it after Urban IV first used it in the institution of the Corpus Christi festival.¹ For reasons that are not entirely clear, Duns Scotus used real presence where other scholastics used true presence, even though linguistic usage shows that real and true are not interchangeable. While these differences were noted, little was made of them because the fact of the Lord's body and blood given, distributed and received, that is, eaten and drunk, in the Lord's Supper was not in dispute. There were indeed heretics and individual theologians who did not confess that the Lord's body and blood were there in the Lord's Supper to be eaten and drunk, yet the controversies surrounding these instances were localized and did not plunge the entire Western church into schism as had happened in the 16th century.

What had been taken for granted in the teaching of the Lord's Supper that Christ's body and blood were there to be eaten and drunk could no longer be assumed after the early 1500s in the Western church. As a result of this schism over the Lord's Supper, there were two basic confessions: the confession that the

¹ See the section Urban IV and Real Presence beginning on page 34.

Lord's body and blood are there on the altar to eat and to drink and the confession that his body and blood are not there. No one disputed that Christ was there in some way, yet those who confessed his body and his blood did not recognize the confession that Christ's person was there in the Lord's Supper as adequate since it came short of what the Lord himself had said. Real presence then was used to confess two assertions: one, Christ was present in the Lord's Supper; two, his body and his blood were present in the Lord's Supper. The term was used for both confessions despite the fact that the adverb *realiter* was initially used to counter *figura*. But there was a shift in emphasis from Christ's body and his blood to the person of Christ. Once this occurred, distinctions between really and figurative no longer mattered. Christ himself was there. While this was argued to some degree in the 16th century, the full implications or fruit of this thinking were not fully realized and acted upon until the mid-20th century.

Around the time of the Augsburg Confession, Rome introduced real presence as a way to counter a figurative presence. Although the Lutherans were aware of the term from Gabriel Biel and were reminded of it by Rome, they declined to use it in their Confessions. The Lutherans also rejected a figurative presence but apparently found the confession of the true (and substantial)²

² Substantial was inserted into the Apology by Melancthon after Rome prompted him to employ *realiter*.

presence of the true body and blood adequate. There is no written objection by the Lutherans to the terms really present or real presence. One may adduce that there was no objection to it by the Lutherans from the English confessions which contain *realiter* written with the help of Melanchthon. Yet it is simply not used by the Lutherans in their confessions, and it occurs rarely in their private writings. And it certainly was not employed in their preaching and catechesis, if only for the reason that German had no cognate for the term at that time. Consequently, the term did not embed itself in the Lutheran manner of confession and way of confessing the Lord's Supper.

For the English, the matter was different both in the tradition out of which the English Reformers emerged, and in the manner in which the English Reformation took place. An Englishman, John Duns Scotus, promulgated the term and many of the English reformers were familiar with his writings on the Lord's Supper. English also provided a ready cognate to *realis praesentia* in real presence. The availability of an English cognate assisted in the popularization of the term in sermons and catechetical materials. In England, the term first was used favorably as a confession of the Lord's Supper that was in agreement with the Augsburg Confession. During the reign of Edward VI, the term was used to distinguish the English teaching from that of the Lutheran confession. In Mary's reign, the term was primarily associated with Rome, although the English

Reformers would claim the term as theirs, if only to save their bodies from the flames. Once Protestant rule was restored in England, the term was freighted with all of the proceeding depending on the context in which it was used. Thus real presence could be used to confess transubstantiation, consubstantiation, what the Lutherans confessed, or what the Anglicans confessed whether that be a real spiritual presence or a real presence according to the faith of the believer. So the Anglicans indeed confessed a real presence of Christ, but what that precisely meant even eluded the Anglicans themselves.

One great point for which our divines have contended, in opposition to Romish errors, has been the reality of that presence of Christ's Body and Blood to the soul of the believer which is affected through the operation of the Holy Spirit notwithstanding the absence of that Body and Blood in Heaven. Like the Sun, the Body of Christ is both present and absent; present, really and truly present, in one sense – that is, by the soul being brought into immediate communion with – but absent in another sense – that is, as regards the contiguity of its substance to our bodies. The authors under review, like the Romanists, maintain that this is not a Real Presence, and assuming their own interpretation of the phrase to be the only true one, press into their service the testimony of divines who, though using the phrase, apply it in a sense the reverse of theirs. The ambiguity of the phrase, and its misapplication by the Church of Rome, have induced many of our divines to repudiate it, etc.³

³ Bishop Goode's *On Eucharist*, vol. II, 757 cited from Upton Sinclair, *The Profits of Religion: An Essay in Economic Interpretation* (Pasadena, California: Upton Sinclair, 1918), 59.

Bishop Goode indicates that there may be more than one interpretation of real presence, an observation also made by Hugh Latimer 400 years earlier. This ambiguity of interpretation caused many in England to reject the term.

For Rome, the term remained relatively obscure until the 16th century even though it had been a part of her tradition since Urban IV and Scotus. At Trent the term took a more prominent role when it was elevated to a doctrine. Real presence, which originally was to defend against a figurative presence, came to be a general description for Christ's body and blood being present after transubstantiation.

The use of real presence by the Lutherans is a story of coming in from the outside. When Melanchthon incidentally used the term, he used it at Rome's urging. The 17th century Lutheran dogmaticians employed the terms their opponents used. In both of these situations, the term appeared in Latin but did not in German. In the 19th century, Rocholl used the cognate *Die Realpräsenz*, a word he knew from both English and Latin. This prompted the increased use of *Die Realpräsenz* in Germany among the Lutherans. In American and in English speaking countries, Lutherans learned from others to employ the phrase, real presence. Charles Hodge characterizes the Lutherans as holding the real presence in the Lord's Supper.

Calvin denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, in the sense in which that presence was asserted by the Romanists and Lutherans.⁴

Note that Hodge says Calvin only denied the real presence in the sense taught by the Romanists and the Lutherans; he did not deny the real presence as such.

When Francis Pieper acknowledges this quotation from Hodge in his *Dogmatik*, he writes the term as real presence rather than *die Realpräsenz*,⁵ although he will use *Realpräsenz* in other places⁶ as well as other formulations.⁷ All of these

⁴ Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology: Soteriology*, vol. 3 (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1989), 628.

⁵ Francis Pieper, *Christliche Dogmatik*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1920), 355. "Calvin lehnt dabei die 'real presence' im Sinne der lutherischen Lehre ab, wie Hodge richtig bemerkt." Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 303. "In spite of what he says, Calvin declines to teach the 'Real Presence' in the Lutheran sense, as Hodge correctly states."

⁶ Francis Pieper, *Christliche Dogmatik*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), 211. "Zwingli und Verbündete griffen die Abendmahlswort „Nehmet, esse; das ist mein Leib“ mit der Verhauptung an, daß die Realpräsenz des Leibs Christi im Abendmahl eine Unmöglichkeit in sich schlietze, weil Christus gen Himmel gefahren sei, zur Rechten Gottes sitze, und Christi Leib doch nur eine lokale, sicht- und greisbare Existenzweise zukommen könne. Die Unmöglichkeit der Realpräsenz ist ja der immer wiederkehrende Einwand gegen die eigentliche Fassung der Abendmahlsworte." Francis Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, trans. Walther W. F. Albrecht, 4 vols., vol. 2 (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1951), 191. "Zwingli and his followers attacked the words of institution by contending that the Real Presence is impossible because Christ has ascended into heaven and is sitting at the right hand of God and because Christ's human nature has only the local and tangible modes of subsistence. To this day the impossibility of the Real Presence is the constant objection to a literal understanding of the words of institution."

⁷ Pieper, *Christliche Dogmatik*, 210. "Es ist eine von den reformierten Theologen aufgebrachte Sage, daß Luther die Lehre von der Teilhaberschaft der menschlichen Natur Christi an der göttlichen Allgegenwart konstruiert habe, um damit seine Lehre von der realen Gegenwart des Leibes und Bluts Christi im Abendmahl zu begründen." Note that Pieper used the phrase "der realen Gegenwart." Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 190. "A Reformed myth has it that Luther fabricated the doctrine of the participation of Christ's human nature in the divine omnipresence to uphold his teaching of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Lord's Supper."

various phrases used by Pieper were translated as real presence. One may see various influences in the translation of Pieper from German into English. For instance, Pieper writes of "eine substantielle Gegenwart"⁸ translated as "a real, objective presence."⁹ Whether or not this translation may be considered a correct interpretation of *substantielle* is not at issue here. Of concern is the use of Pusey's phrase "real, objective presence"¹⁰ for "substantial" found in the Apology, the Formula of Concord, and Chemnitz. This may indicate some influence of Anglican usage. Walther, we may note, took comfort in the fact that some called the Lutherans of the Missouri Synod, Puseyites.¹¹ Such linguistic influences historically have been seen as part of the struggle to preserve the confessional

⁸ Pieper, *Christliche Dogmatik*, 355. "2. ein gesteigertes Bemühen, sich in der Redeweise der Schrift und der lutherischen Kirche zu akkommodieren und den Eindruck hervorzurufen, als ob er auch eine substantielle Gegenwart des Leibes und Blutes Christi im Abendmahl lehre."

⁹ Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 303. "(2) an intensified endeavor to accommodate himself to the Scriptural and Lutheran manner of speech and to create the impression, as though he, too, were teaching a real, objective presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper."

¹⁰ For more on Pusey's real, objective presence see page 19 and following.

¹¹ Carol. Ferd. Guil. Walther, "Vorwort des Herausgabers zum dritten Jahrgang des 'Lutheraner'," *Der Lutheraner*, 5 September 1846. "mag man sie daher Altlutheraner, Puseyiten, ja gar geheime Jesuiten u. dergl. nennen – wir sind getrost!" ("There are those who on account of this call us Old Lutherans, Puseyites, yes, and even crypto-Jesuits, and other such things – we find this reassuring!") Neither did Löhe mind being called a Puseyite. Walter H. Conser Jr., *Church and Confession: Conservative Theologians in Germany, England, and America 1815-1866* ([Macon, GA]: Mercer University Press, 1984), 206. "In August 1844 Wilhelm Löhe quipped that his work was seen as the 'product of German Puseyism.' The following month he told a friend that he did not mind if he was called a Puseyite, for his antagonists had no understanding of the true church."

integrity of Lutheranism.¹² A similar change occurs in the English translation of Pieper in the discussion on the later dogmaticians views on the omnipresence of Christ's body. Whereas the German text in a footnote speaks of a "substantial presence (of course without physical extension),"¹³ the English translation places the footnote in the main body and renders it as "*praesentia substantialis*, that is, as true and real presence, though of course without any local extension."¹⁴ Since the context concerns the later dogmaticians, the English translation of Pieper may be seen as an attempt to expound their teaching using their words. We have seen the adverbs *truly*, *really*, and *substantially* in Gerhard, Calov, and Quenstedt.¹⁵ However, as was noted in that treatment, the dogmaticians tended to use all three words together. When they did not use all three together, they usually spoke of a "true presence" after the Formula of Concord¹⁶ or of a "substantial

¹² David L. Scheidt, "Recent Linguistic Transition in Lutheranism," *Lutheran Quarterly* XIII, no. 1 (1961): 35. "Third, the language problem has asserted itself in the struggle to preserve the confessional identity of Lutheranism. Unionistic leanings toward Episcopalianism can be regarded as an extreme of anglicizing tendencies."

¹³ Pieper, *Christliche Dogmatik*, 230, fn 487. "die praesentia intima oder partialis als praesentia *substantialis* (natürlich ohne physische Ausdehnung) zu denken sei."

¹⁴ Pieper, *Christian Dogmatics*, 208.

¹⁵ See page 69 and following.

¹⁶ FC EP VII, 4.

presence” after Chemnitz.¹⁷ In this particular example, it is difficult to decide if the translator was attempting to represent the dogmaticians with their own vocabulary or translating with an Anglican influence.

Around the time the Lutherans in America were transitioning from German to English, *Realpräsenz* appeared in German.¹⁸ Since the Lutherans began using the term both in English and German, it seems possible that the newness of real presence in Lutheran usage may have gone unnoticed. Yet the use of quotation marks around “real presence” in both German and English may indicate that the Lutherans were aware of their new use of real presence.¹⁹ Whatever may be the case, the term real presence found frequent use among Lutherans in the 20th century in both German speaking and English speaking countries.

¹⁷ Chemnitz, *The Lord's Supper*, 86. “When the words of the Supper are taken in their proper and natural sense, then we have the one sure meaning regarding the substantial presence, distribution, and reception of the body and blood of the Lord.”

¹⁸ We have found no occurrence of the term before Rocholl. Before Rocholl, it seems the preferred way for Lutherans to discuss Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper is the language of the Lutheran Confessions, especially, that of the Small Catechism and the Augsburg Confession. See the entry “Abendmahl – Gegenwart” in Ernest Eckhardt, *Homiletisches Reallexikon nebst Index Rerum*, 8 vols., vol. 1 (Blair, Nebraska: Success Printing Co., 1907), 22-31.

¹⁹ Peter Brunner, *Pro Ecclesia: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur dogmatischen Theologie* (Berlin and Hamburg: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1962), 188-189. “Der Sinn dieser „Realpräsenz“ im Abendmahl ist offenbar der, daß Christus in der Stiftung dieses Mahls seiner Kirche auf Erden bis zum Jüngsten Tag in Abendmahl eine solche Gegenwart schenkt, die in ihrem Wesen identisch ist mit der heilserfüllten Gegenwart, die seinen Jüngern bis zu seinem Tode, beziehungsweise bis zu seiner Himmelfahrt gegeben war und als solche das Werk seines Lebens und Sterbens enthält.”

While the history of a term's development may indicate some of the freight the term carries, its use or non-use may not be determined solely by that history. More important is the usage of the term. Throughout the history of the term, its use has been ambiguous. The situation today has not changed. In fact, in a day when everyone can confess the real presence, the term may be more ambiguous than ever. If this is so, how helpful is the term? This question may be asked in several situations. How helpful is it in discussions between church bodies? How helpful is it in the confession of doctrine? Is it helpful in preaching and catechesis or in the liturgy? The attempt to answer those questions is beyond the scope of this work, but it may provide some help in the formulation of those answers. Before one attempts to answer those questions, one might begin by asking does the term real presence confess what the Lord has said? Does it serve the Gospel?

Of course, as a hypothetical question, the term may indeed confess what the Lord has said. However, in the context and usage of the term does it do so? Because of the term's ambiguous use, it is not always easy to determine what the term confesses of the Lord's Supper. Does it confess the real presence of Christ's body and blood to eat and to drink by all who partake both to the worthy and to the unworthy, or to the worthy alone? Does it confess the real presence of Christ's body and his blood to eat and to drink and of his person or simply that

of his person, as if his body and his blood can be separated from his person? Is the real presence of Christ that of his real presence in the divine service in the proclamation of the word or that in the narrower sense of his body and his blood in the Lord's Supper? Or is it our real presence in the divine service that ultimately matters as some authors have suggested. This work may have shown that there can be many kinds of real presence and that the term real presence may bear a heavy freight amid a swirl of ambiguity and uncertainty. Such ambiguity may be desired when the goal is to reach agreement without an honest discussion of the disagreements.

In the range of possible uses for real presence, it seems to us that at its best and most charitable reading, the term may confess that Christ's body and blood are there to eat and to drink in the Lord's Supper. At its worst, because of its inherent ambiguity the term may be used in an expedient manner to accomplish the goals of the person using it. But even at its best the term comes short in one critical way. It does not confess that Jesus' body and blood are for you to eat and to drink for the forgiveness of sins. At its best, real presence confesses that the body and blood of Christ are there. The recipient, however, does not know if Christ's body and blood are there to save him or to kill him. The Lord being there or his body and blood being there is not yet good news.

“This sacrament is the Gospel.”²⁰ The Gospel does not leave us in doubt, uncertainty, or in ambiguity. Christ is not simply there in the Lord’s Supper in some uncertain way, but he is there for you to eat his body and to drink his blood for the forgiveness of sins. There is no doubt that he gives his body to be eaten and his blood to be drunk. He does not leave us in doubt or in ambiguity about where he is located. He puts his body and his blood into our mouths for the forgiveness of sins. This is the confession of the Small Catechism. The sacrament of the altar is “the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine for us Christians to eat and to drink, instituted by Christ himself.”²¹

²⁰ Luther, *The Adoration of the Sacrament*, 1523. WA 11, 142: 22-23. “disz sacrament ist das Euangelion.” See also AE 36, 289.

²¹ SC V, 1. BKLK 519-520.

APPENDIX A – MAP OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE



22

²² Donald Jenks Ziegler, *Great Debates of the Reformation* (New York: Random House, 1969).

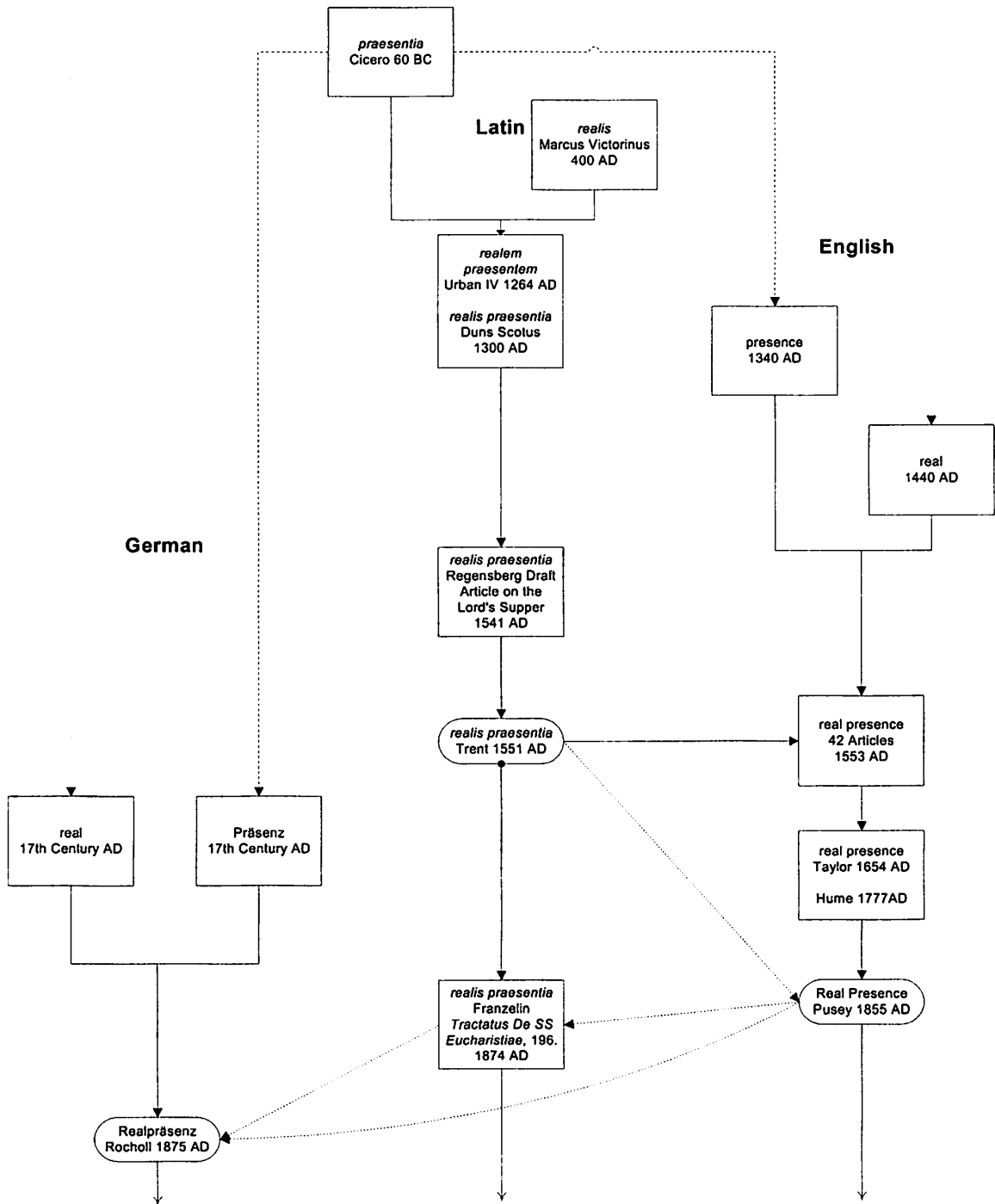
APPENDIX B – WOODCUT OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT



23

²³ Chemnitz, *Examen, das ist, Erörterung desz Trientischen Concilij .../ ausz dem Latein auff's treuwlichste verteutschet durch Georgium Nigrinum.*

APPENDIX C – MORPHOLOGY OF “REAL PRESENCE”



APPENDIX D – JESU, MY LORD AND GOD, BESTOW

The following is a hymn by John and Charles Wesley from their *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*.

Hymn 66²⁴

1. Jesu, my Lord and God bestow
All which Thy sacrament doth show,
 And make the real sign
A sure effectual means of grace,
Then sanctify my heart, and bless,
 And make it all like Thine.

2. Great is Thy faithfulness and love,
Thine ordinance can never prove
 Of none effect, and vain;
Only do Thou my heart prepare
To find Thy real presence there,
 And all Thy fullness gain.

²⁴ John Ernest Rattenbury, *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley* (London: The Epworth Press, 1948), 216.

APPENDIX E – REAL PRESENCE IN LITERATURE

There are several occurrences of the term real presence in 19th century and early 20th century literature. Most of the authors are English; however, there are a few American authors who also use the term. A brief look at the term real presence in literature may help illumine how the term was used and understood outside of ecclesiastical usage. This in turn may provide us with a better indication of the term's nuances and may help confirm the usages we have observed already.

The first occurrence that we will look at comes from the English author Charles Dickens in his *David Copperfield*, first published in 1850. The passage is from Chapter XIX – I look about me, and make a Discovery.

I was so filled with play, and with the past – for it was, in a manner, like a shining transparency, through which I saw my earlier life moving along – that I don't know when the figure of a handsome well-formed young man, dressed with a tasteful easy negligence which I have reason to remember very well, became a real presence to me. But I recollect being conscious of his company without having noticed his coming in – and my still sitting, musing, over the coffee-room fire.²⁵

In this passage, David Copperfield in a moment of reflection becomes aware of the difference between his past self and his present self. He realizes that he is

²⁵ Charles Dickens, *The Personal History of David Copperfield*, 21 vols., The Oxford Illustrated Dickens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 286.

now a young man. This realization is described as a real presence. While this passage does not have an ecclesiastical overtone, it may reflect the usage that real presence involves a state of mind or recognition by faith. What is believed to be true is a real presence – hence a spiritual real presence.

Some nine years later in 1859, Dickens again uses real presence in his novel *A Tale of Two Cities*. In this passage from Chapter VII – A Knock at the Door, his usage appears to be different from the prior passage.

‘I HAVE saved him.’ It was not another of the dreams in which he had often come back; he was really here. And yet his wife trembled, and a vague but heavy fear was upon her.

All the air around was so thick and dark, the people were so passionately revengeful and fitful, the innocent were so constantly put to death on vague suspicion and black malice, it was so impossible to forget that many as blameless as her husband and as dear to others as he was to her, every day shared the fate from which he had been clutched, that her heart could not be as lightened of its load as she felt it ought to be. The shadows of the wintry afternoon were beginning to fall, and even now the dreadful carts were rolling through the streets. Her mind pursued them, looking for him among the Condemned; and then she clung closer to his real presence and trembled more.²⁶

In this passage Lucie is clinging to the real presence of her husband, Charles St. Evrémonde, who is also known as Charles Darnay. Here real presence is not a memory, a wish, or a realization but his actual, physical presence. Her husband

²⁶ Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, 21 vols., The Oxford Illustrated Dickens (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 274.

is in the same room as she. In her mind's eye she is looking for her husband among the condemned but she is actually clinging to him, to his real presence.

The next example comes from *Uncle Tom's Cabin* originally published in 1852. Harriet Beecher Stowe was the daughter of a congregational pastor, Lyman Beecher. He later became president of Lane Theological Seminary in Ohio, where Harriet met her husband Calvin Stowe who was a professor and clergyman opposed to slavery. Lyman Beecher later became one of the founders of the American Bible Society. Some credit Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with raising the public's awareness of slavery, and so a factor toward the American Civil War. The passage is from Chapter IX – In Which It Appears That a Senator Is But a Man.

He was as bold as a lion about it, and "mightily convinced" not only himself, but everybody that heard him; – but then his idea of a fugitive was only an idea of the letters that spell the word, – or at the most, the image of a little newspaper picture of a man with a stick and bundle with "Ran away from the subscriber" under it. The magic of the real presence of distress, – the imploring human eye, the frail, trembling human hand, the despairing appeal of helpless agony, – these he had never tried. He had never thought that a fugitive might be a hapless mother, a defenceless child, – like that one which was now wearing his lost boy's little well-known cap; and so, as our poor senator was not stone or steel, – as he was a man, and a downright noble-hearted one, too, – he was, as everybody must see, in a sad case for his patriotism. And you need not exult over him, good brother of the Southern States; for we have some inklings that many of you, under similar circumstances, would not do much better. We have reason to know, in Kentucky, as in Mississippi, are noble and generous hearts, to whom never was tale of suffering told in vain. Ah, good brother! is it fair for you

to expect of us services which your own brave, honorable heart would not allow you to render, were you in our place?²⁷

This passage describes “the magic of the real presence of distress.” This is the real presence of a feeling or an idea that exists in the mind. It is in the recognition of this feeling of distress that it becomes real or really present.

The next passage is from Mark Twain’s *Roughing It* first published in 1871.

The passage is taken from Chapter IX.

We fed on that mystery the rest of the night – what was left of it, for it was waning fast. It had to remain a present mystery, for all we could get from the conductor in answer to our hails was something that sounded, through the clatter of the wheels, like “Tell you in the morning!”

So we lit our pipes and opened the corner of a curtain for a chimney, and lay there in the dark, listening to each other's story of how he first felt and how many thousand Indians he first thought had hurled themselves upon us, and what his remembrance of the subsequent sounds was, and the order of their occurrence. And we theorized, too, but there was never a theory that would account for our driver's voice being out there, nor yet account for his Indian murderers talking such good English, if they *were* Indians.

So we chatted and smoked the rest of the night comfortably away, our boding anxiety being somehow marvelously dissipated by the real presence of something to be anxious *about*.²⁸

²⁷ Harriet Beecher Stowe, ed., *Uncle Tom’s cabin, or, Life among the lowly* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), 156-157.

²⁸ Samuel Langhorne Clemens, *Roughing It* (Hartford, CT: American Publishing Company, 1891), 78.

Here real presence seems to refer to an actual threat, in this case the impending attack of Indians. Yet from the passage it is not clear if that “something to be anxious *about*” is really present or only imagined.

The remaining three examples are from British authors. The next example is from Thomas Hardy’s *Jude the Obscure* first published as a book in 1895. The main character of the book is named Jude Hawley. He has ambitions of serving the church, but events in his life prevent this from happening. Early in the story he meets Arabella Donn, whose father is a pig breeder. Arabella sets out to make Jude her husband. When they marry Jude’s studies for the ministry cease in the daily struggle of life. He later meets up with his cousin Sue in London. Both his wife Arabella and his cousin Sue were country girls, however, unlike his wife Arabella, London had taken all the rawness out of Sue. Jude desired a refined woman like Sue and later falls in love with her. As a result, Jude and Sue frequently correspond. In the following passage from Part Third At Melchester, Chapter 6, Jude comments on Sue’s real presence.

Finding her to be in this evasive mood he felt inclined to give her the information so long withheld.

“You have not seen Mr. Phillotson to-day?” he ventured to inquire.

“I have not. But I am not going to be cross-examined about him; and if you ask anything more I won’t answer!”

“It is very odd that – “ He stopped, regarding her.

“What?”

“That you are often not so nice in your real presence as you are in your letters!”

“Does it really seem so to you?” she said, smiling with quick curiosity. “Well, that’s strange; but I feel just the same about you, Jude. When you are gone away I seem such a coldhearted ----”

As she knew his sentiment towards her Jude saw they were getting upon dangerous ground. It was now, he thought, that he must speak as an honest man.²⁹

Here real presence is a face-to-face presence. This stands in contrast to the presence of a person in a letter.

The next quotation is from Bram Stoker’s *Dracula* published in 1897. The passage is from Chapter 8 – Mina Murray's Journal and may make an allusion to John 6.

He is a selfish old beggar anyhow. He thinks of the loaves and fishes even when he believes he is in a Real Presence. His manias make a startling combination. When we closed in on him he fought like a tiger. He is immensely strong, and he was more like a wild beast than a man. I never saw a lunatic in such a paroxysm of rage before; and I hope I shall not again. It is a mercy that we have found out his strength and his danger in good time. With strength, and determination like his, he might have done wild work before he was caged. He is safe now at any rate. Jack Sheppard himself couldn’t get free from the strait-waistcoat that keeps him restrained, and he’s chained to the wall in the padded room. His

²⁹ Thomas Hardy, *Jude the Obscure* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1996), 145-146.

cries are at times awful, but the silences that follow are more deadly still, for he means murder in every turn and movement.³⁰

The usage here, “he believes he is in a Real Presence,” is ambiguous. The reference to the loaves and the fish may be a reference to John 6 with overtones to the Lord’s Supper. The context obviously is not that of the Lord’s Supper.

The final selection is from Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness*, published in 1902. Conrad was born in Russia and later immigrated to England.

For the moment that was the dominant thought. There was a sense of extreme disappointment, as though I had found out I had been striving after something altogether without a substance. I couldn't have been more disgusted if I had travelled all this way for the sole purpose of talking with Mr. Kurtz. Talking with . . . I flung one shoe overboard, and became aware that that was exactly what I had been looking forward to – a talk with Kurtz. I made the strange discovery that I had never imagined him as doing, you know, but as discoursing. I didn't say to myself, “Now I will never see him,” or “Now I will never shake him by the hand,” but, “Now I will never hear him.” The man presented himself as a voice. Not of course that I did not connect him with some sort of action. Hadn't I been told in all the tones of jealousy and admiration that he had collected, bartered, swindled, or stolen more ivory than all the other agents together? That was not the point. The point was in his being a gifted creature, and that of all his gifts the one that stood out preeminently, that carried with it a sense of real presence, was his ability to talk, his words – the gift of expression, the bewildering, the illuminating, the most exalted and the most contemptible, the pulsating stream of light, or the deceitful flow from the heart of an impenetrable darkness.³¹

³⁰ Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, 1st ed. (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Company, 1897), 105.

³¹ Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* (New York: Signet Classics, 1902), 119-120.

Here real presence is used to describe a quality, a man's ability to talk, "the gift of expression." This quality is not tangible, but rather within a person or within the mind.

In summary, the passages, which we have surveyed briefly, cover approximately 50 years from 1850 to 1900. All of the authors were English, except for two who were Americans. Most of the authors had religious training within the Anglican Church or one of the bodies that originated from it. Most often real presence is used to describe an intangible presence, a mental image, feeling, or idea. In a few examples, real presence is used tangibly to describe the bodily presence of a person. These usages are found already in 16th century English usage. What distinguishes these passages from those of the 16th century is their secular, non-ecclesiastical usage. Still ecclesiastical usage colors them. These examples may further show the ambiguous usage of real presence in popular speech.

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