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CITATIONS OF THE CHURCH FATHERS
IN THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION
AND THE APOLOGY
Short Title

CITATIONS OF THE CHURCH FATHERS

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

by

Robert George Beckmann

June 1960

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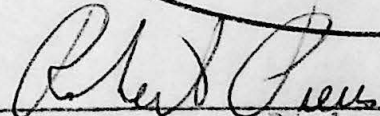
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¹ "Summa of Concord, Epitome, The Comprehensive Summary, Paragraph Seven," The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, edited by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1959), p. 463.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Book of Concord states that "Holy Scripture remains the only judge, rule, and norm according to which all doctrines should and must be understood and judged as good or evil, right or wrong."¹ At the same time all the particular creeds in the Book of Concord, with the exception of the Small Catechism of Martin Luther, contain a rather extensive number of citations of the patristic writings of the Church. The task of this paper is to examine some of these writings in two ways.

One concern will be to investigate whether these citations are validly made. This will validate or invalidate, as the case may be, any claim which these citations were intended to document.

The other concern will be to investigate why the citations are made in a confessional collection which explicitly acknowledges Holy Scripture as the "only judge, rule, and norm."² As a part of this concern another question to be considered is that of the relationship between this

¹"Formula of Concord, Epitome, The Comprehensive Summary, Paragraph Seven," The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, edited by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1959), p. 465.

²Ibid.

patristic consensus which is cited and Holy Scripture. The investigation of the individual patristic citations will be limited to the articles on the Sacraments in general and on the Holy Eucharist in particular, as presented in the Augsburg Confession and the Apology.

The paper will be organized in the following manner. As a device for orientation, chapter two will be an uncritical resume of the content of the articles in question. Chapter three will contain the investigation of the patristic references and citations together with certain relevant parts of the Pontifical Confutation. Chapter four will discuss the purpose these citations serve in the Book of Concord, as well as the allied question of their relationship to Holy Scripture.

The purpose of this study is to look again at one facet of the nature of the Church as defined by these Confessions. Such a study, with the insights it affords, is a prerequisite to an intelligent participation in the current discussions of the nature of the Church and the paths to her reunification.

The English translation of the Book of Concord will normally be that of The Book of Concord as listed in the Bibliography; any exceptions will be noted. All original language quotations from the same work will be from Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche listed in the Bibliography.

The following abbreviations will be used in the foot-
notes throughout this paper:

- AC The Augsburg Confession
 Ap The Apology of the Augsburg Confession
 FCEp The Formula of Concord, Epitome
 FCSD The Formula of Concord, Solid Declaration

The Roman numeral following one of these four combinations will refer to the article in question. The Arabic numeral following that will refer to the paragraph enumeration of the Latin version within the article cited. Thus, "AC, X, 2" will mean "Augsburg Confession, Article ten, Paragraph two."

- Conf The Pontifical Confutation: this work will be cited according to the columnization of the Latin version as given in Volume XXVII of the Corpus Reformatorum as listed in the Bibliography.

CHAPTER II

RESUME OF THE ARTICLES ON THE SACRAMENTS AND THE HOLY EUCHARIST

The basic statement of the position of the Reformers on the dogma of the Holy Eucharist is in Article ten of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology. Articles twenty-two and twenty-four in both works present the Reformers' reaction to what they consider to be aberrations from the true, catholic consensus on these matters; the former article concerns itself with Communion under both kinds and the latter with the Mass. Article thirteen in both works discusses the concept of sacraments in general.

In accord with current systematic practice the discussion of Article thirteen, concerning the Sacraments, will be presented first. It is well to note, however, that the Augsburg Confession and the Apology proceed inductively here, that is, they discuss the concept, sacrament, only after discussing those rites which they hold to be sacraments.

Article thirteen of the Augsburg Confession is concerned not so much with a precise, abstract definition of the term, sacraments, as it is with their proper use. It voices two concerns of the Reformers. One is that the Sacraments be considered not merely "marks of profession

among men," that is, purely human declarations of a fellowship existing among men. This had been Zwingli's definition.¹ Rather they ought to be considered effective signs, signa, of God's will, signs intended to awaken faith in men. The second concern is that they be so used that faith may lay hold of the promise inherent in them.²

Article thirteen of the Apology takes issue with the papalist party's insistence on the enumeration of seven sacraments, noting that the Fathers provide no uniform definition or enumeration. Its position is that the number of the sacraments is relatively unimportant, provided only that what is taught in the Scriptures is preserved.³ It

¹Zwingli wrote, in "Von der Mess," Gutachten im Ittinger Handel, "[I]t also does not belong only to the priest but to everyone. Now this is an outward association and obligation in which each one, through this Sacrament, unites and pledges himself to his brother and swears to him that he wishes to be a Christian brother to his Christian brother, and to live with him in a Christian manner, so that each one may confess and acknowledge to the other, that they have been made children of God and, therefore, brothers in God, through the death of Christ.]

"Sy ghoert ouch nit allein dem priester, sunder allen menschen zu. Aber diss ist ein usserliche verbindung und verzeichnen [Verbindung, Verpflichtung], da der mensch durch diss sacrament sich sinem bruder verzeichnet [verbindet, verpflichtet], verbindet und zu ihm schwert [schwört], das er sines christenlichen bruders christenlicher bruder sin und christenlich mit ihm leben welle, darumb, das er mit ihm und jener mit disem verjehend [bekennen] und erkennend, das sy durch den tod Christi zu kindren gottes und deshalb zu bruedren in gott gemacht sygind." Huldreich Zwingli, "Gutachten im Ittinger Handel," Corpus Reformatorum (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger, 1914), XC, 535.

²AC, XIII, 1-2.

³Ap, XIII, 1-2.

does offer as a possible definition, "rites which have the command of God and to which the promise of grace has been added."⁴ If one were to use this definition, three rites would qualify as Sacraments in the strict sense. They are "Baptism, the Lord's Supper, and absolution (which is the sacrament of penitence), for these rites have the commandment of God and the promise of grace, which is the heart

⁴The editors of Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche give Melanchthon's Loci of 1521 as the source for this definition. Melanchthon writes, "Two signs, however, have been instituted by Christ in the Gospel, Baptism and participation in the Lord's Table. For we judge those signs to be sacramental which have been divinely given as signs of God's grace. For we men can neither institute a sign of the divine will toward us, nor refer those signs as signifying the divine will which Scripture refers to something else. Even more, I wonder what has come into the mind of the Sophists, especially when they attribute justification to signs and refer to, as sacraments, those things of which Scripture has mentioned not even a word. . . . Finally, this is the sum of the matter, that grace is not signified certainly and properly except in those signs which have been divinely handed down. And thus, signs can not be called sacramental, unless they have been given with divine promises.

"Duo sunt autem signa a Christo in evangelio instituta, Baptismus et participatio mensae domini. Nos enim signa sacramentalia ea esse iudicamus, quae gratiae dei signa divinitus tradita sunt. Nam divinae voluntatis signum erga nos nec instituere homines possumus nec ad voluntatem divinam significandam ea signa referre, quae alio scriptura retulit. Quo magis miramur, quid venerit in mentem Sophistis, praesertim cum signis justificationem tribuerent, inter sacramenta referre ea, quorum ne verbo quidem scriptura meminisset. . . . Porro haec summa rei est, gratiam non significari certo ac proprie nisi iis signis, quae divinitus prodita sunt. Atque ita vocari non posse sacramentalia signa nisi ea, quae divinis promissionibus addita sunt." Philip Melanchthon, "Loci Communes, 1521," Die Loci Communes Philipp Melanchthons in Ihrer Urgestalt nach G. L. Plitt, edited by Th. Kolde (Erlangen: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger (Georg Boehme), 1890, pp. 237f.

of the New Testament." According to this definition those rites which exist only by human authority are not, strictly speaking, sacraments.⁵ Both the Word and the rite move the heart to faith, the one through the ear and the other through the eye. In this connection Augustine's description of a sacrament as a visible Word is introduced; that is to say, to be properly included as a sacrament, a rite ought to spring from and convey a Word of promise from God.⁶

In discussing the other four rites which the opponents had named sacraments, the Apology characterizes confirmation and extreme unction as "rites received from the Fathers which even the Church does not require as necessary since they do not have the command of God."⁷

Order, or the ministry, ordo, may be called a sacrament provided that it is interpreted in relation to the ministry of the Word for "the ministry of the Word has God's command and glorious promises." If the ministry is interpreted in this way, then one may also call the laying on of hands a sacrament. For "it is good to extol the ministry of the Word with every kind of possible praise in opposition to the fanatics who dream that the Holy Spirit does not come through the Word but because of their own

⁵Ap, XIII, 3.

⁶Ap, XIII, 5.

⁷Ap, XIII, 6.

preparations." The New Testament priesthood, however, is not established to offer sacrifices that merit the forgiveness of sin.⁸

Even though matrimony has God's command and certain promises, these promises pertain to physical life and not to the New Testament. If someone should wish to call matrimony a sacrament, he ought to distinguish it from the preceding ones, which in the strict sense, are effective signs of the New Testament. If one were to list matrimony as a sacrament, then government and prayer would deserve to be so classified since they too have the command and promise of God. Alms and afflictions are signs to which God has attached promises and thus they also might claim the title of sacrament.⁹

More important than their enumeration is their proper use, according to the Apology. Here the Apology's concern is directed almost exclusively against a superstitious use of the Sacraments. It underlines the necessity of faith since the Sacraments are essentially "signs of promises." Thus they become a source of comfort to devout and troubled minds.¹⁰ This superstitious use, based on the assumption that the Sacraments are efficacious without faith on

⁸Ap, XIII, 7-13.

⁹Ap, XIII, 15-17.

¹⁰Ap, XIII, 18-22.

the part of the recipient, had only succeeded in filling the Church with endless abuses.¹¹ No Father of the Church supports such a doctrine. On the contrary, St. Augustine says exactly the opposite, namely, that it is not the Sacrament, but faith in the Sacrament, which justifies.¹²

Article ten of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology are concerned with the Sacrament of the Altar. Like their

¹¹It was to express this superstitious conception of the Sacraments' efficacy that the Reformers used the term, ex opere operato, always implying even when they did not use it, sine bono motu utentis. The Roman Church used, and still uses, the term, ex opere operato, to safeguard the objectivity of the Sacraments. The Catholic Encyclopedia defines the term in this way: "Ex opere operato, that is, by virtue of the action, means that the efficacy of the action of the sacraments does not depend on anything human, but solely on the will of God as expressed by Christ's institution and promise." It rejects the idea that "the mere outward ceremony, apart from God's action, causes grace." Further, it states: "Neither can it be claimed that the phrase adopted by the council [Trent] does away with all dispositions necessary on the part of the recipient, the sacraments acting like infallible charms causing grace in those who are ill-disposed or in grievous sin. . . . Dispositions are required to prepare the subject, but they are a condition (conditio sine qua non) not the cause of the grace conferred." D. J. Kennedy, "Sacraments," The Catholic Encyclopedia, edited by Charles G. Herbermann et al. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), XIII, 297.

What the Reformers would have missed in this definition was a statement on the necessity of faith for a salutary reception. For them, this was the conditio sine qua non; this was the bonus motus utentis which they held to be indispensable. It was against such a conception of the term, ex opere operato, which implied that the Sacraments accomplished the purpose for which the rites were carried out, without the good disposition of faith on the part of the recipient, that the Symbols polemicized.

¹²Ap, XIII, 23.

parallel articles on Holy Baptism they are comparatively brief. The German version of the Augsburg Confession affirms "that the true body and blood of Christ are really present in the Supper of our Lord under the form of bread and wine and are there distributed and received. The contrary doctrine is therefore rejected."¹³

The Apology notes that there is agreement between the two parties on the question of the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament and points out that this doctrine is the teaching also of the Greek Church¹⁴ as is evidenced by the Canon of its Mass and two of its writers, Vulgarius and Cyril of Alexandria. According to the Apology, these citations from the Greek tradition are made to demonstrate "that we defend the doctrine received in the whole Church."¹⁵

The above-discussed articles, ten and thirteen, present the basic concerns of the Reformers on these respective topics. Two topics related to the Sacrament of the Altar, are presented in the latter part of both Confessions; this part deals with practices of the Medieval Church which the Reformers had either omitted or changed because they considered them to be abuses. The two subjects discussed here are

the doctrine of transubstantiation to document this contention

¹³AC, X, 1-2.

¹⁴The Symbols use the term "Greek Church" for the Eastern Orthodox Church.

¹⁵Ap, X, 4.

the question of communion under both kinds, in Article twenty-two, and the question of the Mass, in Article twenty-four.

Article twenty-two of the Augsburg Confession affirms that they of the Augsburg Confession give both kinds to the laity because Christ has clearly commanded it. Holy Scripture itself, in St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, demonstrates that the cup is not reserved for the priests. In order to document this claim also from the Church's tradition, Cyprian, Jerome, and Gelasius are cited. Further, the Apology cites the canons to the effect that no custom contrary to the Word of God is to be approved in the Church. Because the afore-mentioned division is contrary to Christ's institution, the customary processions are omitted.¹⁶

Article twenty-two of the Apology, also dealing with communion under both kinds, cites again the dominical institution of the Sacrament under both kinds for the congregation as well as the clergy.¹⁷ This practice, which is still the rule in the Greek Church, as had been demonstrated in Article twenty-two of the Augsburg Confession, was formerly also the normal practice in the Roman Church. To cite a "multitude of testimonies" to document this contention

¹⁶AC, XXII, 1-12.

¹⁷Ap, XXII, 1.

is averred to be a simple matter. Those actually cited are Cyprian, Jerome, and the Canons of the Council of Toledo.¹⁸ The argumentation of the papalists in support of their practice of communion under one kind is really not apropos.¹⁹ Their actual purpose is to effect a distinction between clergy and laity and to elevate the former over the latter.²⁰ It is not the Church but her leaders who ought to be condemned for the effrontery.²¹

Article twenty-four in both writings deals with the Mass. The central affirmation of this article in both writings is that the "Mass is retained among us and celebrated with the greatest reverence."²² Again, "we must repeat the prefatory statement that we do not abolish the Mass but religiously keep and defend it."²³ As subsequent paragraphs make clear, the Reformers refer to the Mass as ordained by Christ and cleansed of what they consider to be abuses of it.

More specifically, Article twenty-four of the Augsburg Confession notes that the Mass is retained essentially

¹⁸Ap, XXII, 4,5,10.

¹⁹Ap, XXII, 6-8.

²⁰Ap, XXII, 9.

²¹Ap, XXII, 14-17.

²²AC, XXIV, 1.

²³Ap, XXIV, 1.

unchanged, except that German hymns are added between the parts sung in Latin in order to teach the people.²⁴ The people, that is, clergy and congregation, receive the Sacrament together.²⁵ Further, the people are taught the true purpose of the Mass so that it may offer comfort and consolation to troubled consciences.²⁶ Finally, no one is admitted unless he is first heard and examined.²⁷ Article twenty-five of the Augsburg Confession sheds light on the previous statement when it says: "Confession has not been abolished in our churches, for it is not customary to administer the body of Christ except to those who have previously been examined and absolved."²⁸ As the context of Article twenty-five indicates, "confession" refers to private confession and absolution.

Regarding abuses of the Mass, the Augsburg Confession states that private Masses for pecuniary gain are abolished.²⁹ The Mass is not, and cannot be, an expiatory sacrifice, for Christ's sacrifice was an offering for all sin, not only for original sin.³⁰ The Mass does not confer grace ex opere

²⁴AC, XXIV, 2.

²⁵AC, XXIV, 5.

²⁶AC, XXIV, 7.

²⁷AC, XXIV, 6.

²⁸AC, XXV, 1.

²⁹AC, XXIV, 13.

³⁰AC, XXIV, 24-27.

operato sine bono motu utentis, but only when it is received in faith.³¹ Thus it is to awaken faith and comfort the sorrowing.³² The common practice among the Reformers is "one Mass every Holy Day" and other days if it is desired. Such celebration of the Mass always included administering the Sacrament, or Holy Communion.³³ In support of its practice of holding one Mass with Communion each Holy Day and discontinuing private Masses, the Confession cites the Biblical witness of 1 Corinthians, as well as the patristic witness of Ambrose, Chrysostom, the Canons of the Nicene Council, and Cassiodorus' Tripartite Ecclesiastical History.³⁴

In summary the Confession restates its contention that the Mass is retained among them according to the practice of the Church, as seen from the Scriptures and the Fathers. Only private Masses without communicants are omitted.³⁵

The first thirteen paragraphs of Article twenty-four of the Apology traverse basically the same material as Article twenty-four of the Augustana; the contention is that the Reformers had not abolished the Mass. Adduced as further witnesses in support of their position are the current

³¹AC, XXIV, 28-29.

³²AC, XXIV, 30-33.

³³AC, XXIV, 34.

³⁴AC, XXIV, 35-39, 41.

³⁵AC, XXIV, 40.

practices of the Greek parishes and the Church Father, Epiphanius.³⁶

Paragraph fourteen begins a rather lengthy discussion of the term, "sacrifice," a term which the Reformers had deliberately avoided in the Augustana because of its ambiguity. They discuss it here, however, because it had been introduced by the Confutation.³⁷

The Reformers first distinguish between the concepts of sacrament and sacrifice. In the former God offers us the content of the promise; in the latter we offer something to God to honor Him.³⁸

Further, it is very important properly to distinguish between the only two kinds of sacrifices which exist. The one is expiatory, that is, "a work of satisfaction for guilt and punishment that reconciles God or placates His wrath or merits the forgiveness of sins for others." The other is eucharistic, that is, one that "does not merit the forgiveness of sins or reconciliation, but by it those who have been reconciled give thanks or show their gratitude for the forgiveness of sins and other blessings received."³⁹ These types can be differentiated in the Old Testament as well

³⁶Ap, XXIV, 1-14.

³⁷Ap, XXIV, 14-15.

³⁸Ap, XXIV, 16-18.

³⁹Ap, XXIV, 19-20.

as in the Epistle to the Hebrews.⁴⁰

The death of Christ is the only authentic, vere, expiatory sacrifice.⁴¹ All other sacrifices are eucharistic. No sacrifices are acceptable unless they are offered in faith.⁴² Both the Old and New Testament conceive of worship and sacrifice as spiritual exercises, involving faith; they are never effective ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis.⁴³ Both Malachi 1:11 and Malachi 3:3 may be used, as the opponents did, to refer to the Mass and its ceremony, but neither of the passages support the contention that the Mass is efficacious ex opere operato.⁴⁴

The true daily sacrifice according to the New Testament is preserved when the whole Mass, the ceremony, the proclamation of the Gospel, faith, prayer, and thanksgiving are included and when the spiritual sacrifices of the heart are offered.⁴⁵ Thus, the daily sacrifice, when properly understood, is the use of the sacrament, "a seal and witness of the free forgiveness of sin and an admonition to timid consciences really to trust and believe that their sins are freely forgiven."⁴⁶

⁴⁰Ap, XXIV, 20-21.

⁴¹Ap, XXIV, 22-24.

⁴²Ap, XXIV, 25-26.

⁴³Ap, XXIV, 27-30.

⁴⁴Ap, XXIV, 31-34.

⁴⁵Ap, XXIV, 35-49.

⁴⁶Ap, XXIV, 49.

Candles, golden vessels, and similar ornaments are fitting adornments for the church but the true and proper adornment is right teaching and the godly use of the Sacraments.⁴⁷ The opponents misapply the Hebrews passages about priests and the sacrifice for they misunderstand the Levitical priesthood and its fulfillment in the one sacrifice of Jesus Christ; only Christ's sacrifice is meritorious.⁴⁸ The only New Testament priesthood, in the strictest sense, is that of Christ.⁴⁹ Although the Fathers of the Church call the Mass a sacrifice, they imply, neither that the sacrifice is expiatory, nor that it benefits anyone ex opere operato.⁵⁰

After reviewing its statements of Article thirteen about the sacraments, the Apology declares that as a sacrament, the Eucharist ministers comfort and quickening to those who receive it.⁵¹ As a sacrifice of thanksgiving it is the vehicle for our reaction to the love of God.⁵² Besides the evidence of Holy Scripture, patristic evidence is cited to document this understanding of the Eucharist.⁵³

⁴⁷Ap, XXIV, 51.

⁴⁸Ap, XXIV, 52-56.

⁴⁹Ap, XXIV, 59.

⁵⁰Ap, XXIV, 66-67.

⁵¹Ap, XXIV, 68-73.

⁵²Ap, XXIV, 74.

⁵³Ap, XXIV, 75-77.

It is improper to argue merely from the words, "Mass," "liturgy," or "sacrifice," that an expiatory act is implied or that its benefits are received ex opere operato.⁵⁴ As far as the opponents' practice of offering Mass for the dead, "since the Mass is not a satisfaction for either guilt or punishment, ex opere operato, and without faith, it follows that it is useless to transfer it to the dead."⁵⁵

In discussing the Canon of the Eastern Mass, the Reformers acknowledge the presence there of the concept of sacrifice for the dead. They state, however, that for the Greeks the sacrifice is not considered to be meritorious, that they include in the sacrifice the entire service, not merely the host, and that it is to benefit the communicants.⁵⁶

In this connection the Reformers do not reject out of hand prayers for the dead; what they do reject is the transfer of the Mass to the dead, ex opere operato.⁵⁷ Further, they do not support the Arian heretic, Aetius, who believed that prayers for the dead were useless; it is, rather again, the transfer of the Mass ex opere operato which they disallow.⁵⁸ Even in the Old Testament the sacrifices did not

⁵⁴Ap, XXIV, 78-88.

⁵⁵Ap, XXIV, 92.

⁵⁶Ap, XXIV, 93.

⁵⁷Ap, XXIV, 94.

⁵⁸Ap, XXIV, 96.

merit the forgiveness of sins ex opere operato.⁵⁹

⁵⁹Ap, XXIV, 97.

Our task in this chapter is to investigate the validity of the patristic citations made in the articles discussed in the previous chapter. Our method will be first, to establish the context in which the citation is made by the authors. Then we shall investigate the context of the patristic work cited. Thus we shall be able to judge the validity of the citation. We will in this chapter also investigate certain relevant parts of the Pontifical Constitution.

The citations may be grouped into six basic groups, although some of them are not completely exclusive of each other. The groupings are: (1) The nature of a sacrament; (2) The real presence; (3) Communion under both kinds; (4) Ex opere operato and ex opere operantis; (5) Private Masses; (6) The Mass as a sacrifice. We will look at them in the order named.

The Nature of a Sacrament

In their discussion of the nature of a sacrament in Article thirteen of the Apostolic, the Reformers quote

CHAPTER III

A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE CONFESSIONS' PATRISTIC CITATIONS AND RELEVANT SECTIONS OF THE CONFUTATION

Our task in this chapter is to investigate the validity of the patristic citations made in the articles discussed in the previous chapter. Our method will be first, to establish the context in which the citation is made by the Symbols. Then we shall investigate the context of the patristic work cited. Thus we shall be able to judge the validity of the citation. We will in this chapter also investigate certain relevant parts of the Pontifical Confutation.

The citations may be grouped into six basic groups, although some of them are not completely exclusive of each other. The groupings are: (1) The nature of a sacrament; (2) The real presence; (3) Communion under both kinds; (4) Ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis; (5) Private Masses; (6) The Mass as a sacrifice. We will look at them in the order named.

The Nature of a Sacrament

In their discussion of the nature of a sacrament in Article thirteen of the Apology, the Reformers quote

St. Augustine.¹ He characterizes the sacrament as a "visible Word." The thrust of the Reformers' concern is that a rite can properly be called a sacrament only when it exists by virtue of a Word of God and conveys grace by virtue of a Word of God. God uses the Word and the rite to move men's hearts to faith, the former through the ear and the latter through the eye. But the effect of both is the same. Thus one could characterize a sacrament as a visible Word.

The Apology states:

As the Word enters through the ears to strike the heart, so the rite itself enters through the eyes to move the heart. The Word and the rite have the same effect, as Augustine said so well when he called the sacrament "the visible Word," for the rite is received by the eyes and is a sort of picture of the Word, signifying the same thing as the Word. Therefore both have the same effect.²

The reference is to Augustine's "Tractate LXXX," a

¹Bishop of Hippo, d. 450.

²"Sicut autem verbum incurrit in aures, ut feriat corda: ita ritus ipse incurrit in oculos, ut moveat corda. Idem effectus est verbi et ritus, sicut praeclare dictum est ab Augustino sacramentum esse verbum visibile, quia ritus oculis accipitur et est quasi pictura verbi, idem significans, quod verbum. Quare idem est utriusque effectus." Ap, XIII, 5.

With reference to future quotations, whenever the first reference in a footnote is to an English title, that work is the source for the English translation in the body of the paper. Whenever the footnote begins with an original language quotation, this indicates that the translation is that of the writer. Excepted are all quotations from the Book of Concord; even though these footnotes will begin with the original language quotation, the translation will not be the writer's but that of The Book of Concord.

homily on John 15:1-3. There Augustine uses the phrase, "visible Word," to characterize a sacrament, in this case, Baptism. Augustine's contention is that it is the Word of God which gives a sacrament its validity and efficacy as a sacrament so that one might call a sacrament a different species under the genus, Word; the one species is the audible Word and the other, the visible Word.

The immediate context of the phrase, "visible Word," in "Tractate LXXX" is:

Now ye are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you. Why does He not say, Ye are clean through the baptism wherewith ye have been washed, but "through the word which I have spoken unto you," save only that in the water also it is the word that cleanseth? Take away the word and the water is neither more nor less than water. The word is added to the element, and there results the Sacrament, as if itself also a kind of visible word. For he had said also to the same effect, when washing the disciples' feet, "He that is washed needeth not, save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit."³

³ Aurelius Augustine, "Tractate LXXX," A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, edited by Philip Schaff (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), VII, 344.

"Iam vos mundi estis propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis. Quare non ait, mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis, sed ait: 'propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis,' nisi quia et in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tamquam visibile verbum. Nam et hoc utique dixerat, quando pedes discipulis lavit: 'Qui lotus est, non indiget nisi ut pedes lavet, sed est mundus totus.'" Aurelius Augustinus, "Tractatus LXXX," Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols, MCMLIV), XXXVI, 529.

The other specific patristic reference of Article thirteen is to Augustine in reference to the question of how the individual receives the benefits of a sacrament. The common teaching of the Medieval Church was that a sacrament benefited the recipient ex opere operato, without the good disposition of faith.⁴ To that opinion the Reformers object, stating that faith on the part of the

The editors of Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche make a further reference here, to Augustine's "De cataclysmo." Although the phrase, "visible Word," does not occur, Augustine does speak to the Apology's concern in that he attributes the efficacy of Baptism to the Word of God. There is a verbal contact in the "visible" of the first sentence. Augustine writes:

"[That font is the visible symbol of the eternal font. Be born again of that water and the Spirit. That water washes not only the filthiness of the body but frees the soul from sins. You ought, however, to know why the virtue of that water is beneficial to both the mind and body. For not all water cleanses; this water is sanctified by the consecration of the Word. Remove the Word and what is the water but water? The Word comes to the element and it becomes a sacrament. The power of the Word has washed us through the water because He walked over the waters.]

"Fons iste visibilis similitudo est aeterni fontis. Renasce-
mini ex aqua et Spiritu. Aqua illa non solum corporis sor-
des mundat, sed animam a peccatis liberat. Debetis autem
nosse cur virtus illius aquae et animae prosit et corpori.
Non enim omnis aqua mundat: sanctificatur haec per consecra-
tionem verbi. Tolle verbum, et quid est aqua, nisi aqua?
Accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum. Virtus
verbi per aquam mundavit nos, quia super aquas ambulavit."
Aurelius Augustinus, "De cataclysmo sermo ad catechumenos,"
Patrologiae: Patrum Latinorum, edited by J. P. Migne
(Paris: n.p., 1887) XL, 694. Hereafter Migne's edition
will be referred to as MPL for the Latin Fathers, and MPG
for the Greek Fathers.

⁴Supra, p. 5.

recipient is necessary for a salutary reception. The quotation in the Apology is:

Words cannot describe the abuses which this fanatical notion, about the sacrament ex opere operato without a good disposition in the one using them has spawned in the church. From it has come the endless desecration of Masses, which we shall discuss a little later. (Article XXIV) No one can produce a single word from the Fathers that supports the scholastics on this question. In fact, Augustine says the opposite: that faith in the sacrament, and not the sacrament, justifies.⁵

This reference to Augustine appears to come to the Apology via Luther.⁶ We will look first at what Augustine says and then Luther's discussion of Augustine to which the Apology presumably refers.

The Apology's reference is undoubtedly to Augustine's "Tractate LXXX" on John 15:1-3. Augustine writes:

And whence has water so great an efficacy, as in touching the body to cleanse the soul, save by the operation of the word; and that not because it is uttered, but because it is believed? For even in the word itself, the passing sound is one thing, the abiding efficacy another. "This is the word of faith which we preach," says the apostle, "that if thou shalt confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and shalt believe in

⁵"Quantum autem in ecclesia abusum pepererit illa fanatica opinio de opere operato sine bono motu utentis, nemo verbis consequi potest. Hinc est illa infinita profanatio missarum; sed de hac infra dicemus. Neque ulla littera ex veteribus scriptoribus proferri potest, quae patrocinetur hac in re scholasticis. Imo contrarium ait Augustinus, quod fides sacramenti, non sacramentum justificet." Ap, XIII, 23.

⁶Bekennnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, Die, herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann et al. (Vierte Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1959), p. 296, footnote 1.

thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved. For with the heart man believeth unto righteousness and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." Accordingly we read in the Acts of the Apostles, "Purifying their hearts by faith," and, says Blessed Peter in his Epistle, "Even as baptism doth also now save us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience." "This is the word of faith which we preach," whereby baptism, doubtless, is also consecrated, in order to its possession of the power to cleanse. For Christ, who is the vine with us, and the husbandman with the Father, "loved the church, and gave Himself for it." And then read the apostle, and see what he adds, "that He might sanctify it, cleansing it with the washing of water by the word." The cleansing, therefore, would on no account be attributed to the fleeting and perishable element, were it not for that which is added, "by the word." This word of faith possesses such virtue in the church of God, that through the medium of him who in faith presents, and blesses, and sprinkles it, He cleanseth even the tiny infant, although itself unable as yet with the heart to believe unto righteousness, and to make confession with the mouth unto salvation. All this is done by means of the word, whereof the Lord saith, "Now you are clean through the word which I have spoken unto you."⁷

⁷Augustine, "Tractate LXXX," A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, VII, 344f.

"Unde ista tanta virtus aquae, ut corpus tangat et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo, non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur? Nam et in ipso verbo, aliud est sonus transiens, aliud virtus manens. 'Hoc est verbum fidei quod praedicamus,' ait Apostolus, 'quia si confessus fueris in ore tuo quia Dominus est Iesus, et credideris in corde tuo quia Deus illum suscitavit a mortuis, salvus eris. Corde enim creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad salutem.' Unde in Actibus Apostolorum legitur, 'Fide mundans corda eorum'; et in epistola sua beatus Petrus, 'Sic et vos,' inquit, 'baptisma salvos facit; non carnis depositio sordium, sed conscientiae bonae interrogatio.' 'Hoc est verbum fidei quod praedicamus,' quo sine dubio ut mandare possit, consecratur et baptismus. Christus quippe nobiscum vitis, cum Patre agricola, 'dilexit ecclesiam, et seipsum tradidit pro ea.' Lege apostolum, et vide quid adiungat, 'Ut eam sanctificaret,' inquit, 'mundans eam lavacro aquae in verbo.' Mundatio igitur nequaquam fluxo et labili tribueretur

"Tractate LXXX," as previously mentioned, is a discussion of Holy Baptism. The point Augustine makes is that Baptism is efficacious because of the operation of the word, faciente verbo. He further characterizes this word as the "word of faith." Speaking of the Baptism of infants, he explicitly refers this to the faith of the ministrant.

Luther appears to have had this discussion of Augustine in mind when he lectured on Hebrews in 1517. In discussing the necessity of a personal faith, he says:

Thus it happens that no one receives grace because he is absolved or baptized or communicated or anointed, but because he believes that in being absolved, baptized, communicated, and anointed, he receives grace. For that well-known and generally approved statement is true, "Not the sacrament, but the faith of the sacrament, justifies"; and that word of Blessed Augustine, "It justifies, not because it is done, but because it is believed." From these things it follows that it is a most pernicious error to say that the sacraments of the new law are efficacious signs of grace in such a way, that they do not require any dispositions on the part of the recipient, except that he does not place an obstacle; and they call an obstacle an act of mortal sin.⁸

to cleanse the soul.

elemento, nisi adderetur: 'in verbo.' Hoc verbum fidei tantum valet in ecclesia Dei, ut per ipsum credentem, offerentem, benedicientem, tingentem, etiam tantillum mundet infantem, quamvis nondum valentem corde credere ad iustitiam, et ore confiteri ad salutem. Totum hoc fit per verbum, de quo Dominus ait: 'Iam vos mundi estis propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis.'" Augustinus, "Tractatus LXXX," Corpus Christianorum Series Latina, XXXVI, 529.

⁸"Inde fit, ut nullus consequatur gratiam, quia absolvi-
tur aut baptizatur aut communicatur aut inungitur, sed quia credit sic absolvendo, baptizando, communicando, inungendo se consequi gratiam. Verum enim est illud vulgatissimum et probatissimum dictum: 'Non sacramentum sed fides sacramenti

If it is this passage in Luther which the Apology has in mind, we must concede that the Apology has here misread Luther. Luther cites the phrase, "Not the sacrament, but the faith of the sacrament, justifies," simply as a general theological axiom, not as the statement of Augustine.

Further, Luther's quotation of Augustine is inaccurate. Augustine does not speak explicitly of justification; the closest that he comes to that concept is that the water "cleanses the soul." Also, Augustine does not attribute this power to cleanse to the sacrament, as such, but rather to the Word spoken in connection with it. Finally, Augustine speaks of the faith of the ministrant, not the recipient, as assuring the efficacy of Baptism.

At the same time, it should be said that Augustine speaks in a sacramental context when he attributes the efficacy to the Word; for by the operation of that uttered Word, it is the water which has such great efficacy so as to cleanse the soul.

The Confutation had approved the Augsburg Confession's statement on the sacraments, with the exception that it

justificat,' et illud B. Augustini: 'Justificat, non quia fit, sed quia creditur.' Ex quibus sequitur, quod perniciosissimus error est dicere sacramenta nove legis ita esse efficaciam signa gratie, ut non requirant ullam in suscipiente dispositionem, nisi ut non ponat obicem, obicem vocantes peccatum mortale in actu." Martin Luther, "Commentariolus in epistolam divi Pauli apostoli ad Hebreos. 1517," D. Martin Luthers Werke, bearbeitet von J. Ficker (Weimar: Herman Boehlaus Nachfolger, 1939), LVII, Teil drei, 170.

sought the enumeration of seven sacraments;⁹ this the Reformers declined to do. Specifically, they attached little importance to the question, provided only that no violence was done to the Scriptures. In support of this contention they stated that the ancient church had not followed, nor insisted on, a uniform enumeration. The Apology states:

We do not think it makes much difference if, for purposes of teaching, the enumeration varies, provided what is handed down in Scripture is preserved. For that matter, the Fathers did not always use the same enumeration.¹⁰

This contention of the Apology is confirmed by modern discussions of the question, both Roman and non-Roman.

Ludwig Ott, a Roman theologian, names Trent as the Council which defined the seven sacraments.¹¹ His own summation of the question is:

Holy Writ incidentally mentions all seven Sacraments, but does not yet summarize them in the figure seven. Again no formal enumeration of the Sacraments is found in the Fathers. The formal numeral seven presupposes a well-developed concept of Sacrament. This emerged only around the middle of the twelfth century.¹²

⁹Conf, 114.

¹⁰"Nec multum referre putamus, etiamsi docendi causa alii numerant aliter, si tamen recte conservent res in scriptura traditas. Nec veteres eodem modo numeraverunt." Ap, XIII, 2.

¹¹Denzinger #844.

¹²Ludwig Ott, Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma, translated by Patrick Luch, edited by James Canon Bastible (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, n.d.), pp. 336f.; cf. also the discussion in A. A. Cayre, Manual of Patrology and History of Theology, translated by H. Howitt (Paris: Desclee and Co., 1936), pp. 266, 710f.

Reinhold Seeberg states that in a division stemming from Isidore,¹³ the Sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Holy Eucharist were often numbered as four Sacraments, namely, Baptism and Chrism, Body and Blood.¹⁴

Friedrich Heiler notes that Augustine named eight rites as sacraments; these were Exorcism, Salt, the Sign of the Cross, the Laying on of Hands, Ordination, Marriage, Baptism, and the Eucharist. For John of Damascus,¹⁵ according to the same author, there were three sacraments, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist, while Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite¹⁶ recognized six sacraments, namely, Baptism, the Eucharist, Confirmation, Ordination of Priests, Profession of Monks, and the Office of the Dead.¹⁷

It should be noted that the Confutation, to which the Apology was here responding, had merely expressed the desire that the Reformers might enumerate seven sacraments. It had offered no patristic evidence for the antiquity of this enumeration.¹⁸

¹³Archbishop of Seville, d. 636.

¹⁴Reinhold Seeberg, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte (Zweite und dritte Auflage; Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachfolger, 1913), III, 269.

¹⁵D. about 749.

¹⁶D. about 500.

¹⁷Friedrich Heiler, "Die Siebenzahl der Sakramente," Die Heiligen Sakramente, Die Hochkirche, XV (Januar, Februar, 1933), 6.

¹⁸Conf, 114.

The Real Presence

The position of the Augsburg Confession on the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist had been accepted by the Confutation with the exception that it sought a statement that the whole Christ was present under either kind.¹⁹ The Reformers' position on the Real Presence was not challenged. Hence the patristic citations of the Apology were made, not to document their position over and against that of the papalist party, but rather to demonstrate their oneness with the entire Church.²⁰ All of the citations in this connection are made

¹⁹Conf, 106.

²⁰The story of the attempted rapprochement between the Reformers and the Eastern Church is most interesting. In the Leipzig Debate in 1519 Luther had already made reference to the Eastern Church as a true church even though it did not acknowledge the primacy of the Bishop of Rome. The first overt encounter came in 1559 at the occasion of the visit to Wittenberg of an emissary from the Ecumenical Patriarch, Joasaph II. The emissary, Demetrios Mysos, had been sent by Joasaph for information on the situation at Wittenberg. Upon the emissary's return Melanchthon addressed a letter to the Patriarch, expressing his joy at this contact with the Eastern Church. With the letter he included a copy of a Greek version of the Augustana which he had prepared.

It was from 1573 to 1581 that the most extended contact took place through the medium of an exchange of correspondence between the then-Patriarch, Jeremias II, and Martin Crusius. The latter was professor of Latin and Greek at Tuebingen University and was known as a friend of the Greeks and Greek culture.

Although the Greek Augustana of Melanchthon, which formed

from the tradition of the Eastern Church. The Apology says:

We have quoted all of this here, not to begin an argument on this subject (his Imperial Majesty does not disapprove this article), but to make clear to all our readers that we defend the doctrine received in the whole church -- that in the Lord's Supper the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present. . . .²¹

the basis for this entire correspondence, had been recast with an expanded number of citations from the tradition of the Eastern Church, and although the correspondence continued over a period of about eight years, still there were no apparent lasting results. Ultimately, it was on the question of Biblical authority in relationship to the authority of tradition that the attempt foundered.

Jeremias' final words, in a letter dated June 6, 1581, were: "Please do not trouble us further or correspond with us about these matters since you are inconsistent in your attitude toward the leaders and teachers of the church; you pay them high honor with words but repudiate them in fact. . . . Thus you have released us from any concern for you. Go your way. Do not write us any more about dogmas; you may, if you like, write for the sake of friendship. Farewell." (translated from the German of Wort und Mysterium, p. 213).

For a complete discussion of this contact, together with a German translation of the correspondence between the Reformers and the Eastern Church, see Wort und Mysterium (Witten: Luther Verlag, 1958); the above material is taken from that work. For a copy of the Greek Augustana, published as the work of Paulus Dolscius, but probably prepared by Melancthon, see Augustana Confessio germanica et latina cum versione graeca Pauli Dolscii soluta (Lipsiae: Officina Breitkopfiana, MDCCXXX),. For a brief discussion of the authorship of the Greek Augustana, see George Florovsky, "An Early Ecumenical Correspondence," World Lutheranism of Today: A Tribute to Anders Nygren, edited by Yngve Brilioth (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1950), pp. 98-111.

²¹ Haec recitavimus, non ut hic disputationem de hac re institueremus, non enim improbat hunc articulum Caes. Maiestas, sed ut clarius etiam perspicerent, quicumque ista legent, nos defendere receptam in tota ecclesia sententiam, quod in coena Domini vere et substantialiter adsint corpus et sanguis Christi. . . . Ap, X, 4.

The first reference to the Eastern Church's doctrine of the Real Presence is from the Canon of their Mass. The statement of the Apology is:

We know that not only the Roman Church affirms the bodily presence of Christ, but that the Greek Church has taken and still takes that position. Evidence for this is their canon of the Mass, in which the priest clearly prays that the bread may be changed and become the very body of Christ.²²

That their contention is a valid one is clear when one investigates some of the liturgies of the Eastern Church.

The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom reads:

Then the deacon, bowing his head, and pointing with his orarion to the holy bread, saith in a low voice, "Sir, bless the holy bread." The priest standeth up, and thrice maketh the sign of the cross on the holy gifts, saying, "And make this bread the precious Body of Thy Christ." Deacon, "Amen." And he again pointing with his orarion to the holy cup, says, "Sir, bless the holy cup." And the priest, blessing, says, "And that which is in this cup, the precious Blood of Thy Christ." Deacon, "Amen." And the deacon again pointing with his orarion to both the holy things, says, "Sir, bless them both." And the priest, blessing both the holy things, says, "Changing them by Thy Holy Spirit." Deacon, "Amen, Amen, Amen."²³

²²"Et comperimus non tantum romanam ecclesiam affirmare corporalem praesentiam Christi sed idem et nunc sentire et olim sensisse graecam ecclesiam. Id enim testatur canon missae apud illos, in quo aperte orat sacerdos ut mutato pane ipsum corpus Christi fiat." Ap, X, 2.

²³Adapted from The Liturgies of SS. Mark, James, Clement, Chrysostom, and Basil, and the Church of Malabar, Translated, edited by J. M. Neale and R. F. Littledale (2nd edition; London: J. T. Hayes, 1869), p. 115. Hereafter this volume will be referred to as The Liturgies, Translated.

Ἔπειτα τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑποκλίνας ὁ διάκονος δεκνύει εὐχὴν ἐν τῷ ὠραρίῳ τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον λέγων μυστικῶς: Ἐυλόγησον

The Liturgy of St. Basil demonstrates the same thing. This quotation omits everything except the words of the priest and includes a longer excerpt from the prayer of invocation than the previous citation. It reads:

we beg and beseech Thee, the Holy of Holies, through the good will of Thy goodness, that Thy All-holy Spirit may come upon us and upon these gifts lying before Thee and bless them, and sanctify and show that this bread is the very Body of our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ. . . and that this cup is the precious Blood itself of our Lord and God and Savior, Jesus Christ. . . which was poured out for the life of the world. . . changing them by Thy Holy Spirit.²⁴

δέσποτα τὸν ἅγιον ἄρτον.²⁴ Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀνίστάμενος σφραγίζει τρίς τὰ ἅγια δῶρα λέγων: "Καὶ ποιήσου τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου." Ὁ διάκονος: "Ἀμήν." Καὶ αὖθις ὁ αὐτὸς δεκνύων σὺν τῷ ὠραρίῳ τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον: "Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα τὸ ἅγιον ποτήριον." Καὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς εὐλογῶν λέγει: "Τὸ δὲ ἐν τῷ ποτηρίῳ τούτῳ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ σου." Ὁ διάκονος: "Ἀμήν." Καὶ αὖθις ὁ διάκονος δεκνύων μετὰ τοῦ ὠραρίου ἀμφότερα τὰ ἅγια λέγει: "Εὐλόγησον δέσποτα τὰ ἀμφότερα." Ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς εὐλογῶν ἀμφότερα τὰ ἅγια λέγει: "Μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ Ἁγίῳ." Ὁ διάκονος: "Ἀμήν ἀμήν ἀμήν."

Liturgies Eastern and Western, edited by F. E. Brightman (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1896), I, 387.

²⁴ "δεόμεθα καὶ σὲ παρακαλοῦμεν ἄγιε ἁγίων εὐδοκία τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος ἐλθεῖν τὸ Πνεῦμά σου τὸ Πανάγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα καὶ εὐλογήσαι αὐτὰ καὶ ἁγιάσαι καὶ ἀναδείξαι τὸν μὲν ἄρτον τοῦτον αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον σῶμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ

The second reference in this connection is from the work of Theophylact.²⁵ The Apology says, "And Vulgarius, who seems to us to be a sensible writer, says distinctly that 'the bread is not merely a figure but is truly changed into flesh.'"²⁶

The reference is to Theophylact's "Commentary on Mark"; in his discussion of Mark 14:22, he speaks of the Eucharist and contends that in the Sacrament, the Body of Christ is truly present. He writes:

But having blessed it, that is, having given thanks, He broke the bread. We do the same, saying over it our prayers. This is my body which you are now receiving. For the bread is not a figure of the Body of Christ, but it is changed into that very

θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. . . τὸ δὲ ποτήριον τοῦτο αὐτὸ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. . . τὸ ἐκχυθὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου σωτῆς. . . μεταβαλὼν τῷ Πνεύματί σου τῷ ἀγίῳ."

Brightman, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-330; and The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, edited by J. M. Neale (3rd edition; London: J. T. Hayes, 1875), p. 162.

²⁵Archbishop of Achrida and Metropolitan of Bulgaria, d. about 1107.

²⁶"Et Vulgarius, scriptor ut nobis videtur non stultus, diserte inquit, panem non tantum figuram esse, sed vere in carnem mutari." Ap, K, 2. The editors of Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, p. 248, footnote 2, state that the designation of Vulgarius as a sensible writer is directed against a statement of Oecolampadius. Cf. Gustav Plitt, Die Apologie der Augustana geschichtlich erklart (Erlangen: Andreas Deichert, 1873), pp. 156f.

Body of Christ. For the Lord also says, "The bread which I will give is my flesh." He did not say: It is a figure of my flesh, but, "it is my flesh." And again, "Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man. . . ."27

It is well to note that the Apology makes these references to the canon of the Eastern Mass and to Theophylact without criticizing its sources for speaking of a change in the elements. The Eastern canon says the priest asks God to make, ποιέω, the bread into the Body of Christ; both the Eastern canon and Theophylact say that the bread is changed, μεταβάλλω, into the Body of Christ.²⁸

27 "Εὐλογήσας δὲ, ἀντὶ τοῦ, εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασε τὸν ἄρτον. Ὅπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν, εὐχὰς ἐπιλέγοντας. Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμα μου, τοῦτο ὁ νῦν λαμβάνετε. Οὐ γὰρ ἀντίτυπος τοῦ Κυριακοῦ σώματος ἐσὶν ὁ ἄρτος ἀλλ' εἰς αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο μεταβάλλεται τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. Καὶ ὁ Κύριος γὰρ λέγει: 'Ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἢ σὰρξ μου ἐστίν.' Οὐκ εἶπεν: 'Ἀντίτυπός ἐσσι τῆς σαρκός μου, ἀλλ': 'Ἡ σὰρξ μου ἐστίν.' Καὶ πάλιν: 'Ἐὰν μὴ φάγητε τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. . . .'"
 MPG, CXXIII, 649.

28 It is interesting to note that John Gerhard (d. 1637) while rejecting the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, approved of terminology which speaks of a change in the elements. He writes: "[We have shown that between an essential change and an apparent one, there is a third possibility, namely a sacramental change. . . .] "Ostendimus superius, inter mutationem essentialem et adumbrationem significativam dari tertium, videlicet mutationem sacramentalem. . . ." Joannes Gerhardus, Loci Theologici, adjecit Ed. Preuss (Berolini: Gust. Schlawitz, 1867), V, 153.

Again he writes: "[This sacramental change consists in this one thing that the eucharistic bread, through the blessing, is set aside for sacramental use so that it might be the

The third reference to the tradition of the Eastern Church is from St. Cyril of Alexandria.²⁹ The Apology says:

There is a long exposition of John 15 in Cyril which teaches that Christ is offered to us bodily in the Supper. He says: "We do not deny that we are joined to Christ spiritually by true faith and sincere love. But we do deny that we have no kind of connection with him according to the flesh, and we say that this would be completely foreign to the sacred Scriptures. Who has ever doubted that Christ is a vine in this way and that we are truly branches, deriving life from him for ourselves? Listen to Paul say, "We are all one body in Christ" (Romans 12:5); "We who are many are one body, for we all partake of the same loaf" (1 Cor. 10:17). Does he think perhaps that we do not know the power of the mystical benediction? Since this is in us, does it not also cause Christ to dwell in us bodily through the communication of the flesh of Christ?" A little later he says, "Therefore we must consider that Christ is in us, not only according to the habit which we understand as love, but also by a natural participation," etc.³⁰

ὄχημα, ὄργανον, or medium through, with, and in which the Body of Christ is distributed, offered, and eaten. . . . "mutatio illa sacramentalis in eo unice consistit, quod panis eucharisticus per benedictionem a communi usu sequestratur, ut sit *ὄχημα, ὄργανον*, ac medium per quod, cum quo, et in quo corpus Christi distribuatur, exhibeatur, manducetur. . . ." Gerhardus, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

²⁹Patriarch of Alexandria, d. 444.

³⁰"Et longa sententia est Cyrilli in Johannem cap. 15., in qua docet, Christum corporaliter nobis exhiberi in coena. Sic enim ait: non tamen negamus recta nos fide caritateque sincera Christo spiritualiter coniungi. Sed nullam nobis coniunctionis rationem secundum carnem cum illo esse, id profecto pernegamus. Idque a divinis scripturis omnino alienum dicimus. Quis enim dubitavit Christum etiam sic vitam esse, nos vero palmites, qui vitam inde nobis acquirimus? Audi Paulum dicentem: Quia 'omnes unum corpus sumus in Christo,' quia 'etsi multi sumus, unum tamen in eo sumus. Omnes enim uno pane participamus.' (1 Kor. 10: 17., Roem. 12:5., Gal. 3:28.) An fortasse putat ignotam nobis mysticae benedictionis virtutem esse? Quam cum in nobis sit, nonne corporaliter quoque facit, communicatione

The quotation is from Cyril's "Commentary on John" 15:1. The section from which it comes is entitled: "That the Son Is Consubstantial with God and the Father, not however of a Nature or Kind Different from Him, as Certain Perverse Heretics Imagine." The discussion, as the title indicates, is concerned with the deity of Jesus Christ. In the section quoted by the Apology St. Cyril speaks of the Christian's connection with this Christ and he dissents from those who would speak only of a spiritual connection by faith. He does not deny such a relationship but he does affirm that Christ dwells in us bodily by a communication of His Flesh. Cyril writes:

For the word of our dogmas in no way denies that by an intellectual intention according to perfect love and by a correct and unerring faith and by virtuous and pure reasoning we are spiritually united with Christ. Indeed, we agree that it is most proper to speak in this way. But to say boldly that no one of us has a connection with Him according to the flesh, that word, we point out, dissents completely from the God-inspired Scriptures. How could this be disputed, or who in his right mind, has ever doubted that as Christ is a vine in this way, we as branches receive for ourselves that life out of Him and from Him, as indeed Paul says, "For we many are one Body in Christ, for we many are one loaf because we all share in that one loaf." Let someone tell us the reason, or let someone step forward to teach us the power of that mystical blessing. For why does it happen among us; is it not that it causes Christ to dwell in us bodily by participating in and sharing in His holy Flesh? . . . But the Savior Himself also says, "He who eats My flesh and

carnis Christi, Christum in nobis habitare? Et paulo post: Unde considerandum est non habitudine solum, quae per caritatem intelligitur, Christum in nobis esse, verum etiam participatione naturali etc." Ap, X, 3.

drinks My blood, abides in me and I in him." For from this it is most proper to observe, as Christ says, that He will be in us, not only according to a certain intellectual intention, but also according to a physical participation.³¹

That Cyril is here thinking of the Sacrament of the Altar is clear from his choice of Biblical references, one

³¹ "ὅτι μὲν γὰρ διασέσει τῇ νοουμένη κατὰ τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην, ὁρῶν τε καὶ ἀδιαστροφῶ πίστει, φιλαρέτῳ τε καὶ ἐσκληρινεῖ λογισμῶ συνενούμεθα πνευματικῶς τῷ Χριστῷ οὐδαμῶς ἐξαρνήσεται τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν δοχμάτων ὁ λόγος· συνερούμεν γὰρ ὅτι δὴ μάλα τοῦτό φασιν ὀρθῶς. Τὸ δὲ γε καταθαρσῆσαι λέγειν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν συναφείας τῆς κατὰ σάρκα πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ λόγος, ὀλοκλήρως ἀπάδου ταῖς θεοπνεύστοις Γραφαῖς ἐπιδείξομεν. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἀμφίλογον, ἢ τίς ἂν ὄλως ἐνδοιάσαι ποτὲ τῶν εὐφρονεῖν εἰωθότων, ὡς ἀμπελος μὲν ἐστὶ κατὰ τοῦτο Χριστὸς· ἡμεῖς δὲ κλημάτων ἀποτελοῦντες σχῆμα τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ ζωὴν εἰς αὐτοὺς κομιζόμεθα, καίτοι τοῦ Παύλου λέγοντος, Οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐν σῶμα ἔσμεν ἐν Χριστῷ ὅτι εἰς ἄρτος οἱ πολλοὶ ἐσμεν· οἱ γὰρ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἄρτου μετέχομεν. Λεγίτω γὰρ τις ἡμῖν τὴν αἰτίαν, καὶ διδασκέτω παρελθὼν τῆς μυστικῆς εὐλοχίας τὴν δύναμιν. Γίνεται γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν διατί; Ἄρ' οὐχὶ καὶ σωματικῶς ἡμῖν ἐνοσκίζουσα τὸν Χριστὸν τῇ μεθέξει καὶ κοινωνίᾳ τῆς ἀγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκός; . . . Ἄλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Σωτὴρ, ὁ τρώγων μου τὴν σάρκα, φησὶ, καὶ πίνων μου τὸ αἷμα, ἐν ἐμοὶ μένει, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ. Ἐν γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ μάλιστα κατιδεῖν ἄξιον, ὡς οὐ κατὰ σχέσιν τινὰ μόνην τὴν ἐν διασέσει νοουμένην ἐν ἡμῖν ἔσεσθαι φησὶν ὁ Χριστὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ μέθεξιν φυσικὴν."

of which is 1 Corinthians 10:17, an explicitly sacramental passage.

Communion Under Both Kinds

Article twenty-two of the Augsburg Confession and the Apology deal with the question of Communion under both kinds. In support of their position that it is improper to withhold the cup from the congregation, both the Augsburg Confession and the Apology cite St. Cyprian.³² The Augsburg Confession says, "Cyprian in several places testifies that the blood was given to the people."³³ The Apology states, "In the Greek Churches this practice still remains, and once it prevailed in the Latin Church, as Cyprian and Jerome testify."³⁴

St. Cyprian clearly speaks to the concern of the Reformers on this question. In "Epistle 57"³⁵ Cyprian discusses the question of whether the lapsed should be reconciled to the Church. As the first paragraph of the letter

³²Bishop of Carthage, martyr, d. 258.

³³"Cyprianus aliquot locis testatur sanguinem populo datum esse." AC, XXII, 5.

³⁴"Et manet mos adhuc in ecclesiis graecis et fuit quondam etiam in latinis ecclesiis, sicut Cyprianus et Hieronymus testantur." Ap, XXII, 4.

³⁵"Epistle 57" is the Oxford enumeration; MPL, IV, 358 lists it as "Epistle 54"; The Ante-Nicene Fathers, V, 336 lists it as "Epistle 53."

indicates, this is not simply his private opinion but rather the consensus of the entire African Synod. Cyprian says:

But now indeed peace is necessary, not for the sick, but for the strong; nor is communion to be granted by us to the dying, but to the living, that we may not leave those whom we stir up and exhort to the battle unarmed and naked, but may fortify them with the protection of Christ's body and blood. And, as the Eucharist is appointed for this very purpose that it may be a safeguard to the receivers, it is needful that we may arm those whom we wish to be safe against the adversary with the protection of the Lord's abundance. For how do we teach or provoke them to shed their blood in confession of His name, if we deny to those who are about to enter on the warfare the blood of Christ? Or how do we make them fit for the cup of martyrdom, if we do not first admit them to drink, in the Church, the cup of the Lord by the right of communion?³⁶

The first answer of Cyprian had been that peace should be given only after a long period of repentance, unless serious illness intervened; then it should be given only

³⁶Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, "The Epistles of Cyprian," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1907) V, 337. Hereafter this edition will be referred to as ANF.

"At vero nunc non infirmis sed fortibus pax necessaria est nec morientibus sed viventibus communicatio a nobis danda est, ut quos excitamus et hortamur ad proelium non inermes et nudos relinquamus, sed protectione sanguinis et corporis Christi muniamus, et cum ad hoc fiat eucharistia ut possit accipientibus esse tutela, quos tutos esse contra adversarium volumus, munimento dominicae saturitatis armemus, nam quomodo docemus aut provocamus eos in confessione nominis sanguinem suum fundere, si eis militaturis Christi sanguinem denegamus? Aut quomodo ad martyrii poculum idoneos facimus si non eos prius ad bibendum in ecclesia poculum Domini jure communicationis admittimus?" Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, "Epistolae," Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum, ex recensione G. Hartelli (Vindobonae: C. Geroldi Filius, MDCCCLXXI) III, II, 652. Hereafter this edition will be referred to as CSEL.

if the penitent was at the point of death. Now, however, because of an imminent persecution, the decision is that they should be reconciled to the Church, that is, communicated, in order to fortify them for the battle ahead.

Three times in this letter Cyprian speaks of the blood of the Lord as that which is given to the congregation. This was the point at issue for the Confessions.

Cyprian speaks in the same way in his "Epistle 63."³⁷ He writes, "For by baptism the Holy Spirit is received; and thus by those who are baptized and have attained to the Holy Spirit, is attained the drinking of the Lord's cup." Again, "But the cup of the Lord is always both thirsted for and drunk in the Church." Again, "But how can we shed our blood for Christ who blush to drink the blood of Christ?"³⁸

"Epistle 58"³⁹ uses the same terminology:

For you ought to know and to believe, and hold it for

³⁷"Epistle 63" is the Oxford enumeration; MPL, IV, 359f. lists it in the same way; The Ante-Nicene Fathers, V, 360, lists it as "Epistle 62."

³⁸ANF, "The Epistles of Cyprian," V, 360ff.

"Per baptismam enim Spiritus sanctus accipitur, et sic a baptizatis et Spiritum sanctum consecutis ad bibendum calicem Domini pervenitur." Again: "Caeterum calix Domini in Ecclesia semper et sititur et bibitur." Again: "Quomodo autem possumus propter Christum sanguinem fundere, qui sanguinem Christi erubescimus bibere?" MPL, "Epistolae," IV, 391ff.

³⁹"Epistle 58" is the Oxford enumeration; MPL, "Epistolae," IV, 359 lists it as "Epistle 56"; ANF, "The Epistles of Cyprian," V, 347, lists it as "Epistle 56."

certain, that the day of affliction has begun to hang over our heads, and the end of the world and the time of Antichrist to draw near, so that we must all stand prepared for the battle; nor consider anything but the glory of life eternal, and the crown of the confession of the Lord; and not regard those things which are coming as being such as were those which have passed away. A severer and a fiercer fight is now threatening, for which the soldiers of Christ ought to prepare themselves with uncorrupted faith and robust courage, considering that they drink the cup of Christ's blood daily, for the reason that they themselves also may be able to shed their blood for Christ.⁴⁰

In addition to Cyprian, both the Augsburg Confession and the Apology quote St. Jerome⁴¹ in slightly different versions of what is obviously the same original. The Augsburg Confession says, "The same is testified by Jerome, who said, 'The priests administer the Eucharist and distribute the blood of Christ to the people.'⁴² The Apology cites him in this way: "In his commentary on Zephaniah Jerome says,

⁴⁰ANF, "The Epistles of Cyprian," V, 347.

"Scire enim debetis et pro certo credere ac tenere pressuram diem super caput esse coepisse et occasum saeculi atque Antichristi tempus appropinquasse, ut parati omnes ad praetium stemus, nec quidquam nisi gloriam vitae aeternae et coronam confessionis Dominicae cogitemus. Nec putemus talia esse quae veniunt qualia fuerunt illa quae transierunt: gravior nunc et ferocior pugna imminet, ad quam fide incorrupta et virtute robusta parare se debeant milites Christi, considerantes idcirco se quotidie calicem sanguinis Christi bibere, ut possint et ipsi propter Christum sanguinem fundere." MPL, "Epistolae," IV, pp. 359f.

⁴¹D. 420.

⁴²"Idem testatur Hieronymus, qui ait: Sacerdotes eucharistiae ministrant et sanguinem Christi populis dividunt." AC, XXII, 6.

'The priests who serve the Eucharist and distribute the blood of the Lord to the people.'⁴³

The reference is to Jerome's commentary on Zephaniah 3 in which he speaks of the unfaithful priests and leaders who tear down the people of God instead of building them up; they act impiously when, engaged as they are in the service of the Eucharist, they fail to live as pious priests ought to live. He writes:

When you teach another thing and you yourself do not do it, you ought to be called not so much a teacher as a despiser, concerning whom it is written in Habakkuk: "Behold, despisers, and look and be amazed at the strange things and be destroyed." (Habakkuk 5:1) The priests also who are engaged in the service of the Eucharist and distribute the blood of the Lord to His people act impiously over and against the law of Christ, imagining that the words, not the life, of one praying make a Eucharist, and that only the solemn prayer is necessary not the merits of the priests; concerning these it is said: "And the priests in whom there will be faults, shall not approach to offer sacrifices to the Lord." (Leviticus 21, according to the Septuagint)⁴⁴

43 "Sic enim inquit Hieronymus in Sophoniam: Sacerdotes, qui eucharistiae serviunt et sanguinem Domini populis eius dividunt etc." Ap, XXII, 4.

44 "Caeterum tu cum alium doceas et ipse non facias, non tam doctor quam contemptor vocandus es, de quo et in Abacuc scribitur: Videte contemptores et respicite et admiramini mirabilia, et disperdimini. (Abac. 1:5) Sacerdotes quoque qui Eucharistiae serviunt et sanguinem Domini populis ejus dividunt, impie agunt in legem Christi, putantes *εὐχαριστίαν* imprecantis facere verba, non vitam, et necessariam esse tantum solemnem orationem, et non sacerdotum merita, de quibus dicitur: Et sacerdos in quo fuerit macula, non accedet offere oblationes Domino (Levit. 21, juxta LXX)." MPL, "Commentarius in Sophoniam prophetam," XXV, 1374f.

Even though Jerome is not here discussing the question of communion under both kinds, his words are apropos to the Reformers' contention. The slight differences in wording are unimportant and do not affect the point at issue.

The next patristic authority to be cited by the Augustana is Gelasius.⁴⁵ The Augustana states, "In fact, Pope Gelasius commanded that the sacrament should not be divided. It is only a custom of quite recent times that holds otherwise."⁴⁶

As the original texts indicate, the reference is to the word of Gelasius included in Gratian's Decretum, Part III, De consecratione, distinction two, chapter twelve. Taken from a letter by Gelasius to Bishops Majorcus and John, it is entitled: "The priest ought not to receive the Body of Christ without His Blood."⁴⁷ The quotation itself is:

It has come to our attention, however, that some people, after they have received a certain portion of the sacred Body, abstain from the chalice of sacred Blood. These,

⁴⁵Bishop of Rome, d. 496.

⁴⁶"Imo Gelasius Papa mandat, ne dividatur sacramentum, Dist. 2. de consecratione, c. Comperimus. Tantum consuetudo non ita vetus aliud habet." AC, XXII, 7-8. The customary method of citing canon law at that time was to cite the first word of the particular chapter. In this case "Comperimus" is the first word of the dictum of Gelasius.

⁴⁷"Corpus Christi sine eius sanguine sacerdos non debet accipere." Franciscus Gratianus, "Decretum," Corpus Iuris Canonici, instruxit Aemilius Friedberg (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1955), I, 1318.

no doubt, (for I do not know by what superstition they are being taught to be obligated) ought either to receive the complete sacraments or they should be kept away from them, because the division of the one and same mystery cannot happen without great sacrilege.⁴⁸

The body of Gelasius' statement apparently refers not only to the priest but first and foremost to the lay communicants. The last phrase is particularly significant because it condemns any division of the Sacrament on principle; this would apply equally to clerical or lay communion.⁴⁹

The Augsburg Confession had stated that the origin of the practice of Communion under one kind could not be documented.⁵⁰ In reply to this, the Confutation, quoting Acts 2:42, stated that "in the first church the saints communed under the form of bread." Further, it saw this same practice implied in Acts 20:7, "On the first day of the week, when we were gathered to break bread. . . ." According to the

⁴⁸"Comperimus autem, quod quidam sumpta tantummodo sacri corporis portione a calice sacrati cruoris abstineant. Qui proculdubio (quoniam nescio qua superstitione docentur astringi) aut integra sacramenta percipiant, aut ab integris arceantur, quia divisio unius eiusdemque misterii sine grandi sacrilegio non potest provenire." Ibid.

⁴⁹The Confutation had accused the framers of the Augsburg Confession of superficiality at this point. It rejected the reference on the ground that it referred to the communion of priests and not of laymen. Conf, 134f.

That Gelasius did decree the reception of the Eucharist under both kinds for laity as well as clergy is conceded in the article on him in The Catholic Encyclopedia. John F. X. Murphy, "Gelasius I," The Catholic Encyclopedia, edited by Charles G. Herbermann et al. (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908) VI, 406.

⁵⁰AC, XXII, 7-8.

Confutation, Christ himself intended the Holy Communion to be administered under one kind, as His post-resurrection supper with the two disciples at Emmaus and His words in John 6 indicate; Augustine, Chrysostom, Theophylact, and Bede assert that the Emmaus incident was a celebration of the Sacrament. St. Ignatius, a pupil of St. John, the Apostle, speaks only of bread in connection with the Sacrament.

Following this the Confutation cites a number of Fathers and Councils who had spoken of lay-communion; it says that lay-communion is communion under one kind. It sees this practice prophesied already in the Old Testament in 1 Samuel 2:36 which speaks about Eli and his sons.

Further, the Confutation states that even though there had been a time when the laity could be given both kinds, that time no longer existed now for the church had decreed otherwise; the Council of Constance first recognized the practice of communion under one kind and the Council of Basel had decreed it as obligatory for the faithful.⁵¹ According to the Confutation, the Church's purpose here was to emphasize that the whole Christ is present under either form.

⁵¹The earliest decree listed by Denzinger authorizing the withdrawal of the cup from the laity is that of the Council of Constance in 1415. Denzinger #626. Ludwig Ott gives the decree of Trent on this question as that which followed "the precedent of the Council of Constance." Ott, *op. cit.*, p. 395. Mansi records a decree of the Council of Basel of 1431 to the same effect. Joannes Dominicus Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Editio iterata; Paris: H. Welter, 1904), XXIX, 158.

Although Christ instituted both kinds, He nowhere commanded that the laity was to receive both kinds. "Drink ye all of it," was spoken only to the twelve apostles and they were priests. The Confutation makes no attempt to invalidate the patristic citations of the Augsburg Confession, as discussed above, except that of Gelasius.⁵²

In essence the reply of the Apology to the Confutation is simply that its arguments are beside the point. It notes that the mention of bread only does not necessarily mean that only bread was used or given, for it is a common figure of speech to speak of a part for the whole.⁵³ Further it rejects the Confutation's statement that lay-communion refers to communion under one kind; according to the Apology, it simply means that a priest was not permitted to consecrate the elements.⁵⁴ Further, the fact that a Council had decreed something did not imply that it was right.⁵⁵ The Apology cites again the practice of the Eastern Church which still had communion under both kinds; Cyprian and Jerome, previously cited in the Augsburg Confession, are again referred to. Instead of the citation from Gelasius, which the Confutation had rejected, the Apology cites the Fourth Council of

⁵²Conf, 129-135.

⁵³Ap, XXII, 7.

⁵⁴Ap, XXII, 8.

⁵⁵Ap, XXII, 17.

Toledo of 633: "The Council of Toledo gives the same testimony, and it would not be hard to collect a great multitude of testimonies."⁵⁶

Canon seven of that Council reads:

It has come to our attention that throughout some churches on the Friday of the week of the Lord's passion, the doors of the basilicas are closed and neither is the Eucharist celebrated nor is the passion of the Lord preached to the people, even though our Savior commanded the same to His apostles, saying, "Preach my passion, death, and resurrection to all." (Mark 16) Therefore it is necessary that on the same day the mystery of the cross, which the Lord himself wanted to be proclaimed to all, be preached and that all the people ask for the forgiveness of sins with a clear voice, so that, cleansed by the contrition of repentance, we might be accounted worthy to welcome the venerable day of the Lord's resurrection with our sins forgiven, and that we, cleansed of sins, might receive the Sacrament of His Body and Blood.⁵⁷

The final phrase of this citation is the significant one.

In the statement of the Apology concerning St. Cyprian,⁵⁸ the Reformers refer to the practice of the Eastern Church

⁵⁶"Idem testatur synodus Toletana. Nec difficile fuerit magnum acervum testimoniorum congerere." Ap, XXII, 4.

⁵⁷"Comperimus, quod per nonnullas ecclesias in die sextae feriae passionis domini, clausis basilicarum foribus, nec celebratur officium, nec passio domini populis praedicatur; dum idem salvator noster apostolis suis praeceperit, dicens: 'Passionem et mortem et resurrectionem meam omnibus praedicate.' (Marc. 16) Ideo oportet eodem die mysterium crucis quod ipse dominus cunctis nuntiandum voluit, praedicari, atque indulgentiam criminum clara voce omnem populum postulare: ut poenitentiae compunctione mandati, venerabilem diem dominicae resurrectionis, remissis iniquitatibus suscipere mereamur; corporisque ejus, et sanguinis sacramentum mundi a peccatis sumamus." Mansi, op. cit., X, 620.

⁵⁸Supra, p. 39.

which still preserves the Communion under both kinds.⁵⁹ That this was the practice of the Eastern Church is clear from some of their more generally used liturgies. Toward the end of the prayer of consecration in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, the priest says the following:

Hear us, O Lord Jesus Christ our God, out of Thy holy dwelling-place and from the throne of the glory of Thy kingdom, and come and sanctify us, Thou that sittest above with the Father and art here invisibly present with us: and by Thy mighty hand make us worthy to partake of Thy spotless Body and precious Blood, and by us, all Thy people.⁶⁰

The significant phrase is the last one, in which all the people are included. From the same liturgy, the following is the formula for communicating of the laity or congregation:

N., the servant of God, is made partaker of the pure and holy Body and Blood of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ, for the remission of his sins,

⁵⁹Ap, XXII, 4.

⁶⁰The Liturgies, Translated, p. 119.

"Πρόσχες Κύριε Ἰησοῦ Χριστέ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν ἐξ ἁγίου κατοικητηρίου σου καὶ ἀπὸ θρόνου δόξης τῆς βασιλείας σου καὶ ἔλθε εἰς τὸ ἁγιάσαι ἡμᾶς ὁ ἄνω τῷ Πατρὶ συγκαθήμενος καὶ ᾧδε ἡμῖν ἀοράτως συνῶν καὶ καταβιώσον τῇ κραταίᾳ σου χειρὶ μεταδῶναι ἡμῖν τοῦ ἀχράντου σώματός σου καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος καὶ δὲ ἡμῶν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ."

Brightman, op. cit., pp. 392f.

and life everlasting.⁶¹

The formula for communicating the assisting clergy or the laity in the Liturgy of St. Mark indicates the same thing. When used for the communicating of the laity, the entire formula would, of course, be said at the giving of the cup since the laity do not receive the bread separately.

The formula with its rubrics is:

And whenever he communicates the clergy (or the people), he says, "Holy Body of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ." And at the cup he says, "Precious Blood of our Lord and God and Savior Jesus Christ."⁶²

The closing prayer from the same liturgy is significant because it is spoken to the people as those who have received "His spotless Body and Precious Blood." It reads:

⁶¹The Liturgies, Translated, p. 123.

"Μεταλαμβάνει ὁ δούλος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ δεῖνα, τὸ τίμιον καὶ ἅγιον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ εἰς ἄφεσιν αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον."

Brightman, op. cit., p. 396.

⁶² "Καὶ ὅταν μεταδεδῶκε τὸν κλήρον (ἢ τὸν λαόν) λέγει: Σῶμα ἅγιον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ. Καὶ εἰς τὸ ποτήριον λέγει: Αἷμα τίμιον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ."

Brightman, op. cit., p. 140.

Then the priest turns to the people, and saith, "Mighty King and Co-sharer of Thy Father's rule, Who didst by Thy might spoil hell and trample on death, and didst raise Adam from the tomb, by Thy god-like might and by the illuminative splendour of Thine ineffable Godhead, do Thou, O Lord, by the participation of Thy spotless Body and precious Blood, send forth Thine invisible right hand, that is full of blessings, and bless us all. . . ."63

It should be noted that in the Eastern rite the celebrants and the congregation receive both the bread and wine and with it, the Body and Blood of the Lord. After the consecration the priest breaks the bread and places part of it into the chalice; from this chalice the congregation is communicated by the priest with a spoon. The clergy commune by receiving the bread and the cup separately. Thus, the reception of bread and wine, by the laity also, is an integral part of the Eastern rite.⁶⁴

⁶³The Liturgies, Translated, p. 29.

"Εἶτα ὁ ἱερεὺς στρέφεται πρὸς τὸν λαὸν λέγων: Ἄναξ μέγιστε καὶ τῷ Πατρὶ συνάναρχε ὁ τῷ σῶ κράτει τὸν ἄδην σκυλεύσας καὶ τὸν θάνατον πατήσας καὶ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν δεσμεύσας καὶ τὸν Ἄδὰμ ἐκ τάφου ἀναστήσας τῇ θεουρχικῇ σου δυνάμει καὶ φωτιστικῇ αἴχλῃ τῆς σῆς ἀρρήτου θεότητος· αὐτὸς δέσποτα διὰ τῆς μεταλήψεως τοῦ ἀχράντου σου σώματος καὶ τοῦ τιμίου σου αἵματος ἐξῆπόστειλον τὴν ἀόρατὸν σου δεξιάν τὴν πλήρη εὐλογιῶν καὶ πάντας ἡμᾶς εὐλόγησον. . . ."

Brightman, op. cit., p. 142.

⁶⁴Cf. "The Liturgy of St. Chrysostom," The Liturgies, Translated, pp. 92-126; cf. also "The Office of the Prothesis," The Liturgies, Translated, pp. 179-192; cf. also the explanation of the Eastern rite in The Liturgies, Translated, pp. xxi-xl.

With reference to communion under both kinds, modern scholarship, both Roman and non-Roman, concurs in saying that, even though there were certain exceptions, the normal practice was that the congregation received communion under both kinds up to about the thirteenth century.⁶⁵

To cite one document with reference to the practice of the early church, the Didache, dated by some between 70 and 90 A.D. and by others between 120 and 150 A.D., says in chapter nine:

But let no one eat or drink of our Eucharist, except those who have been baptized in the Name of the Lord. For also of this the Lord has said, "Give not that which is holy to the dogs."⁶⁶

Ex Opere Operato Sine Bono Motu Utentis

The chief discussion of the ex opere operato concept is in Article twenty-four of the Augsburg Confession and Apology. It is also discussed in less detail in Article thirteen of both works.⁶⁷

⁶⁵Ott, op. cit., p. 383; The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, edited by F. L. Cross (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 320.

⁶⁶English adapted from The Apostolic Fathers, edited by J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1926), p. 232.

"μηδεις δε φαγεται μηδε πινει απο της ευχαριστιας υμων, αλλ' οι βαπτισθεντες εις ονομα κυριου. και γαρ τουτου ειρηκεν ο κυριος: Μη δωτε το αγιον τοις κυσι."

Ibid., p. 221.

⁶⁷For a discussion of the term, cf. supra, p. 8.

The Augsburg Confession cites only one Father in reference to this question, and that only in the Latin version. The Father is cited as Ambrose.⁶⁸ Modern scholarship, however, has rejected the Ambrosian authorship of this work. Little is known definitely about this author. He was probably a contemporary of St. Ambrose. Today he is usually designated as Ambrosiaster. For the purposes of our investigation, it is sufficient that the Reformers make this reference under the impression that it comes from the pen of the highly respected Bishop of Milan since we are investigating their citations of, and attitude toward, the church's patristic tradition; and for them this writer represents that tradition.

The point at issue in the Augustana is that the Mass cannot be simply a rite whose mere performance benefits the recipient if only he does not interpose an obstacle. Rather, the Augustana contends that the Mass was instituted, and is to be celebrated, so that the faith of the recipient may remember the gifts which Christ gives. Thus he is comforted and set free from an uneasy and anxious conscience. Nor is an historical knowledge sufficient; to receive the Sacrament properly there must be a faith born of need. It is in this connection that Ambrosiaster is cited:

Consequently the Mass is to be used to this end, that

⁶⁸Bishop of Milan, d. 397.

the sacrament is administered to those who have need of consolation. So Ambrose said, "Because I always sin, I ought always take the medicine."⁶⁹

The reference is undoubtedly a free citation of a statement in Ambrosiaster's "De sacramentis"; as the title indicates, the entire work is concerned with the sacraments. Paragraph twenty-five is an application of the Fourth Petition of the Lord's Prayer to the Sacrament of the Altar. Here the writer emphasizes the value of daily reception, stating that the Christian should so live that he may be worthy to partake each day. Further, he ought to partake each day because he needs the gifts there offered. The quotation, in its context, is:

If it is daily bread, why do you receive it only once a year as the Greeks attempt to make it in the East? Receive it daily because daily it is good for you. So live that you may daily be worthy to receive. Whoever is not worthy to receive daily is not worthy to receive once a year. Did not Job, the holy one, offer a daily sacrifice for his sons (Job 1:5), lest perchance they had committed some sin in their heart or in word? For you know that whenever the sacrifice is offered, the death, resurrection, and ascension of the Lord is signified, together with the remission of sins; and you do not daily receive that bread of life (1 Cor. 11:26)? Whoever has a wound needs medicine. The wound is that we are under sin. The medicine is the heavenly and venerable sacrament.⁷⁰

⁶⁹"Est igitur ad hoc facienda missa, ut ibi porrigatur sacramentum his, quibus opus est consolatione, sicut Ambrosius ait: Quia semper pecco, semper debeo accipere medicinam." AC, XXIV, 33.

⁷⁰"Si quotidianus est panis, cur post annum illum sumis, quemadmodum Graeci in Oriente facere consuerunt. Accipe quotidie, quod quotidie tibi prosit. Sic vive, ut quotidie merearis accipere. Qui non meretur quotidie accipere, non

The citation is significant in that it points out the relationship between a proper reception of the Sacrament and a sense of need on the part of the recipient. Such a sense of need is the basic prerequisite to faith; this faith is what the Reformers maintain to be the indispensable disposition for a salutary reception.

The other reference to the works of Ambrose, which occurs in Article twenty-four of the Apology, is authentic. It is quoted in a section of the Apology which is directed against both the Zwinglians and the papalist party. Against the Zwinglians it affirms that the Mass is more than a symbol of our profession that we are Christians; rather, it is a true Sacrament, an effective sign of grace, conveying the grace of God to terrified man for his consolation and reviving. Against the papalist party it affirms that even though the Mass may properly be termed a sacrifice, it is always a eucharistic sacrifice, never an expiatory one. In support of its first contention, directed against the Zwinglians, it cites Ambrose. The Apology states:

The Fathers speak of a twofold effect, of the comfort for the conscience and of thanksgiving or praise; the

meretur post annum accipere. Quomodo Job, sanctus pro filiis suis offerebat quotidie sacrificium (Job I:5) ne forte aliquid vel in corde, vel in sermone peccassent? Ergo tu audis quod quotiescunque offertur sacrificium, mors Domini, resurrectio Domini, elevatio Domini significetur, et remissio peccatorum: et panem istum vitae non quotidianum assumis (I Cor. XI:26)? Qui vulnus habet medicinam requirit. Vulnus est, quia sub peccato sumus: medicina est coeleste et venerabile sacramentum." MPL, "De sacramentis," XVI, 471f.

first of these belongs to the nature of a sacrament, and the second to the sacrifice. Ambrose says about the comfort: "Go to Him and be absolved, for He is the forgiveness of sins. Do you ask who He is? Hear His own words (John 6:35), 'I am the bread of life; he who comes to me shall not hunger, and he who believes in me shall never thirst.'"⁷¹

The reference is a quotation from Ambrose's "Exposition of Psalm 118."⁷² The Apology's reference is from the section dealing with verse 141 of that Psalm. There Ambrose discusses how Joseph was despised by his brothers when he was young since they sold him into slavery; David, likewise, was despised as a youth in that his father did not even present him to Samuel when the latter was come to anoint the next king. Those who are God's people through Holy Baptism are also despised and yet they are highly honored in being given a participation in the heavenly Sacrament, the Holy Eucharist; there they are fed with the flesh and blood of God. This true bread exists in the Church, not in the synagogue of the Jews; therefore the Jews also ought to come and receive this bread of life that they may live and not die. Then follows the section from which the Apology quotes:

⁷¹"Ac patres quidem de duplici effectu loquuntur, de consolatione conscientiarum et de gratiarum actione seu laude. Horum effectum prior ad sacramenti rationem pertinet, posterior pertinet ad sacrificium. De consolatione ait Ambrosius: Accedite ad eum et absolvimini quia est remissio peccatorum. Qui sit iste, quaeritis? Audite ipsum dicentem: Ego sum panis vitae, qui venit ad me, non esuriet, et qui credit in me, non sitiet unquam." Ap, XXIV, 75.

⁷²Psalm 119 in the English enumeration.

What do you seek, Jew, so that he might give you the bread which he daily and always gives to all? It is in you yourself that you should accept this bread; approach to this bread and accept it. Concerning this bread it has been said, "All who keep themselves away from you will perish (Psalm 72:27)." If you keep yourself away from it, you will perish; if you draw near to it, you will live. This is the bread of life; therefore whoever eats life cannot die. For how will he die for whom this food is life? How will he fail who has this life-giving substance? Approach to Him and be satisfied because He is bread; approach to Him and drink because He is a fountain; approach to Him and be illuminated because He is light; approach to Him and be set free because "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty (2 Cor. 3:17)"; approach to Him and be absolved because He is the remission of sins. Who is this, you ask? Hear Him saying, "I am the bread of life; he who comes to Me will not hunger and he who believes in Me will never thirst (John 6: 35)." You have heard Him and you have seen Him and you have not believed in Him; therefore you are dead; otherwise believe now so that you may be able to live.⁷³

That Ambrose is here speaking of sacramental eating and drinking is clear from a preceding paragraph. It reads:

⁷³"Quid petis, Judaea; ut tribuat tibi panem, quem dat omnibus, dat quotidie, dat semper? In te ipso est, ut accipias hunc panem: accede ad hunc panem et accipies eum. De hoc pane dictum est: 'Omnes qui elongant se abs te, peribunt (Ps. LXXII:27).' Si te elongaveris ab eo, peribis; si appropinquaveris ad eum, vives. Hic est panis vitae: qui ergo vitam manducat, mori non potest. Quomodo enim morietur, cui cibus vita est? Quomodo deficiet, qui habuerit vitalem substantiam? Accedite ad eum, et satiamini, quia panis est; accedite ad eum et potate, quia fons est; accedite ad eum, et illuminamini, quia lux est; accedite ad eum et liberamini quia 'ubi spiritus Domini, ibi libertas (II Cor. III:17)'; accedite ad eum et absolvimini, quia remissio peccatorum est. Quis sit iste, quaeritis? Audite ipsum dicentem: 'Ego sum panis vitae: qui venit ad me, non esuriet, et qui credit in me, non sitiet umquam (Joan. VI: 35).' Audistis eum, et vidistis eum et non credidistis ei; ideo mortui estis: vel nunc credite, ut possitis vivere." MPL, "Expositio in Psalmum CXVIII," XV, 1538.

I, as that despised one as far as the people of sins are concerned, have an adorable participation in the heavenly sacraments. . . . It is possible for me not to be seeking the streams and fountains; Christ is food for me, Christ is drink for me; the flesh of God is food for me and the blood of God is drink for me.⁷⁴

Although the Apology does not here refer to Ambrose as a patristic authority for its contention that faith is a sine qua non for a salutary reception of the Sacrament, yet the last sentence of the longer quotation very clearly affirms this.

The other patristic citation of the Apology in connection with the question of ex opere operato benefits, is made in the discussion of the nature of a sacrament.⁷⁵

Besides citing the above patristic authorities, the Reformers, in the Apology, also reject as irrelevant certain patristic citations of the opponents.

In discussing the Mass, the Confutation had adduced Augustine in a general way, as a patristic authority in support of its position that Malachi 1:10-11 refers to the sacrifice of the Mass.⁷⁶ The Reformers do not attempt to refute the citation; they do, however, reject it as

⁷⁴"Ille ante despectus populus peccatorum, habeo coelestium sacramentorum veneranda consortia. . . . Potui meo non flumina quaerenda, non fontes: Christus mihi cibus, Christus mihi potus, caro Dei cibus mihi et Dei sanguis potus est mihi." Ibid., 1537.

⁷⁵Supra, p. 24.

⁷⁶Conf, 150f.

irrelevant to the question at hand. They say:

Our opponents misinterpret this passage and apply it to the Mass, and for this they quote patristic authority. The answer is easy. Even if this were a reference to the Mass, it would not follow that the Mass justifies ex opere operato or that it merits the forgiveness of sins when it is transferred to others.⁷⁷

In this same connection the Confutation had cited Augustine as a patristic witness in support of its contention that the rejection of the sacrifice of the Mass on behalf of the dead was an Arian heresy.⁷⁸ The first draft of the Apology had merely defended the position of the Reformers against the charge of Arianism. Later, however, with copies of both St. Augustine and St. Epiphanius of Salamis before him, Melancthon was able to correct the Confutation's contention. He also rejects the Confutation's citation as irrelevant and as a misrepresentation of the Reformers' position. The Apology states:

Our opponents also misapply against us the condemnation of Acrius, who they say was condemned because he denied that in the Mass there was an offering for the living and the dead. They often use this dodge. They cite ancient heresies and by falsely comparing them with our position, they try to crush us. Epiphanius testifies that Acrius believed that prayers for the dead were useless. This he rejects. We do not support Acrius either. But we are at suit with you for wickedly defending a heresy that clearly conflicts

⁷⁷"Hunc locum detorquent adversarii ad missam, et allegant auctoritatem patrum. Facilis est autem responsio, quod, ut maxime loqueretur de missa, non sequatur missam ex opere operato iustificare, aut applicatam aliis mereri remissionem peccatorum etc." Ap, XXIV, 31.

⁷⁸Conf, 150f.

with the prophets, apostles, and holy Fathers, namely, that the Mass justifies ex opere operato and that it merits the forgiveness of guilt and punishment even for the wicked to whom it is applied, if they make no objection. We reject these wicked errors which rob Christ's suffering of its glory and utterly destroy the doctrine of righteousness by faith.⁷⁹

Private Masses

The Reformers held that among their people the Mass had been retained, cleansed of its abuses. One of those abuses, which the Reformers saw as the result of the opponents' teaching concerning the expiatory character of the Mass was the practice of holding private Masses. At these Masses, said for the particular intentions of individuals, there would be no communicants. The Reformers held that this practice was contrary, not only to Holy Scripture, but also to the Church's patristic tradition. In support of their claim, the Reformers cite St. Chrysostom, the Canons of the Nicene Council, and Cassiodorus' Tripartite Ecclesiastical History, all in the Augsburg Confession.

⁷⁹"Falso etiam citant adversarii contra nos damnationem Aerii, quem dicunt propterea damnatum esse, quod negaverit in missa oblationem fieri pro vivis et mortuis. Saepe hoc colore utuntur, allegant veteres haereses, et cum his falso comparant nostram causam, ut illa collatione praegravent nos. Epiphanius testatur Aerium sensisse, quod orationes pro mortuis sint inutiles. Id reprehendit. Neque nos Aerio patrocinamur, sed vobiscum litigamus, qui haeresin manifeste pugnantes cum prophetis, apostolis et sanctis patribus scelestis defenditis, videlicet quod missa ex opere operato justificet, quod mereatur remissionem culpae et poenae, etiam iniustis, pro quibus applicatur, si non ponant obicem. Hos perniciosos errores improbamus, qui laedunt gloriam passionis Christi, et penitus obruunt doctrinam de justitia fidei." Ap, XXIV, 96.

The citation of St. Chrysostom⁸⁰ is undoubtedly a combination of two of his statements. The Augsburg Confession says, "Chrysostom says that the priest stands daily at the altar, inviting some to Communion and keeping others away."⁸¹

The first statement of Chrysostom to which the Augsburg Confession seems to refer is from his "Homily III" on Ephesians 1:15-20. There Chrysostom, while discussing the Church as the Body of Christ, turns his attention to the Body of Christ in the Sacrament. He laments the people's lack of concern and their irresponsibility toward the Sacrament; they come with unclean hearts and then only on special days. On the other hand, he is concerned that the people partake regularly and often and that they partake worthily, with pure hearts. He writes:

Now then, thou wouldest not choose to make use of a soiled vessel, and dost thou approach with a soiled soul? Observe the vast inconsistency of the thing. At the other times ye come not, no not though often ye are clean; but at Easter, however flagrant an act ye may have committed, ye come. Oh! the force of custom and prejudice! In vain is the daily Sacrifice, in vain do we stand before the altar; there is no one to partake. These things I am saying, not to induce you to partake anyhow, but that he should render yourselves worthy to partake. Art thou not worthy of the Sacrifice, nor of participation? If so, then neither art thou of prayer. Thou hearest the herald standing and saying, "As many as are in penitence, all depart." As many as do not partake are in penitence.

⁸⁰Bishop of Constantinople, d. 407.

⁸¹"Chrysostomus ait: Cotidie sacerdotum stare ad altare et alios accersere ad communionem, alios arcere." AC, XXIV, 36.

If thou art one of those that are in penitence, thou oughtest not to partake; for he that partakes not is one of those that are in penitence.⁸²

The other statement to which the Augsburg Confession presumably refers is from Chrysostom's "Homily XVII" on Hebrews 9:24-26. It reads:

However, that thou mayest not have even this excuse to offer, for this cause, with a loud voice and with an awful cry, like some herald lifting up his hand on high, standing aloft, conspicuous to all, and after that awful silence crying out aloud, he invites

⁸² John Chrysostom, "Homily III," A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church Anterior to the Division of the East and West (Oxford: John Henry Parker, MDCCCXL), V, 132.

"Νῦν δὲ ῥυπαρῶ μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔλοιο χρήσασθαι σκευῆι ῥυπαρᾷ δὲ ψυχῇ προσέρχῃ; πολλὴν ὄρω τοῦ πράγματος ἀνώμαλιν. Ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις καιροῖς οὐδὲ καθαροὶ πολλάκις ὄντες προσέρχεσθε, ἐν δὲ τῷ πάσχῃ, κἂν ἦτε τετολημμένον ὑμῖν, πρόσсите.
 "Ὡ τῆς συνηθείας, ὡ τῆς προλήψεως· εἰκὴ θυσίᾳ καθημερινῇ, εἰκὴ παρεστήκαμεν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ οὐδεὶς ὁ μετέχων.

Ταῦτα οὐχ ἕνα ἀπλῶς μετέχῃτε, λέγω, ἀλλ' ἕνα ἀβίους ἑαυτοὺς κατασκευάζῃτε. Οὐκ εἶ τῆς θυσίας ἀβίος, οὐδὲ τῆς μεταλήψεως; Οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῆς εὐχῆς. Ἀκούεις ἐστῶτος τοῦ κήρυκος, καὶ λέγοντος, ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀπέλθετε πάντες. Ὅσοι μὴ μετέχουσιν, ἐν μετανοίᾳ εἰσὶν. Εἰ τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ εἶ, μετασχέιν οὐκ ὀφείλεις· ὁ γὰρ μὴ μετέχων, τῶν ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἐστί."

some and some he forbids, not doing this with his hand, but with his tongue more distinctly than with his hand. For that voice, falling on our ears, just like a hand, thrusts away and casts out some, and introduces and presents others.⁸³

Both of these quotations occur in the context of a discussion of the Eucharist. In the latter it is through the cry of the deacon, "Holy things for the holy!" that some are invited to the altar and some are kept back from it. Both quotations speak to the concern of the Augustana here in that they presuppose a situation in which the normal practice would be to have people present at the celebration of the Eucharist in order to receive holy Communion.

The Augustana's second patristic citation in this connection is Canon eighteen of the Council of Nicaea; its specific concern is that when the Mass is celebrated, there should be communicants present and participating. It says:

⁸³ John Chrysostom, "Homily XVII," A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, edited by Philip Schaff (New York: The Christian Literature Co., 1890), XIV, 450.

"Πλὴν ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ δὲ τοῦτο ἔχῃς προφασίσεσθαι, τούτου χάριν μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ, φρικτῇ τῇ βοῇ, καθάπερ τις κήρυξ τὴν χεῖρα αἶρων εἰς τὸ ὕψος, ὑψηλὸς ἑστὼς, πᾶσι κατάδηλος γεχονῶς, καὶ μέγα ἐπ' ἐκείνη τῇ φρικτῇ ἢ συγία ἀνακραυγᾶρων, τοὺς μὲν καλεῖ τοὺς δὲ ἀπείρχει ὁ ἱερεὺς, οὐ τῇ χειρὶ τοῦτο ποιῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ γλώττῃ τῆς χειρὸς τραυότερον. Ἡ γὰρ φωνὴ ἐκείνη εἰς τὴν ἀκοὴν ἐμπέπλουσα τὴν ἡμετέραν, καθάπερ χεὶρ τοὺς μὲν ὠθεῖ καὶ ἐκβάλλει, τοὺς δὲ εἰσάγει καὶ παρίστησιν."

MPG, "ΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΙΖ'," LXIII, 132f.

It appears from the ancient canons that some one person or other celebrated Mass and the rest of the presbyters and deacons received the body of the Lord from him, for the words of the Nicene canon read, "In order, after the presbyters, let the deacons receive Holy Communion from the bishop or from a presbyter."⁸⁴

Canon eighteen of the Nicene Council reads:

It has come to the knowledge of the holy and great Synod that, in some districts and cities, the deacons administer the Eucharist to the presbyters, whereas neither canon nor custom permits that they who have no right to offer should give the Body of Christ to them that do offer. And this also has been made known, that certain deacons now touch the Eucharist even before the bishops. Let all such practice be utterly done away, and let the deacons remain within their own bounds knowing that they are the ministers of the bishop and the inferiors of the presbyters. Let them receive the Eucharist according to their order, after the presbyters, and let either the bishop or the presbyter administer to them. Furthermore, let not the deacons sit among the presbyters, for that is contrary to canon and to order. And if, after this decree, anyone shall refuse to obey, let him be deposed from the diaconate.⁸⁵

84"Et ex canonibus veteribus apparet unum aliquem celebrasse missam, a quo reliqui presbyteri et diaconi sumpserunt corpus Domini. Sic enim sonant verba canonis Nicaeni: Accipiant diaconi secundum ordinem post presbyteros ab episcopo vel a presbytero sacram communionem." AC, XXIV, 37f.

85"The Canons of the 318 Holy Fathers Assembled in the City of Nice in Bithynia," A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, Second Series, edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmanns Publishing Company, 1956), XIV, 38.

"Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην σύνοδον ὅτι ἐν
 τισι τόποις καὶ πόλεσι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τὴν
 εὐχαριστίαν οἱ διάκονοι διδόναι, ὅπερ οὔτε ὁ κανὼν
 οὔτε ἡ συνήθεια παρέδωκε, τοὺς ἐξουσίαν μὴ ἔχοντας
 προσφέρειν τοῖς προσφέρουσι διδόναι τὸ σῶμα τοῦ
 Χριστοῦ. Κάκεῖνο δὲ ἐγνωρίσθη, ὅτι ἤδη τινὲς τῶν

The point of Canon eighteen is that the deacons are to remain within their proper sphere. At the same time it supports the Augustana's contention that someone, besides the celebrant, customarily received at the Mass in the ancient church; if no one else, at least the deacons did.

Another practice, condemned by the Augsburg Confession in this connection, was the proliferation of private Masses; it sees also this abuse arising out of the false view of the Mass as an expiatory sacrifice. In defense of its position, the Augustana quotes the Tripartite Ecclesiastical History of Cassiodorus.⁸⁶ The Apology states:

διακόνων καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς εὐχαριστίας ἄπτονται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα περιηρήσω· καὶ ἐμμενέτωσαν οἱ διάκονοι τοῖς ἰδίοις μέτροις, ἐξδότες ὅτι τοῦ μὲν ἐπισκόπου ὑπηρεταί εἰσὶ, τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων ἐλάττους τυγχάνουσι· λαμβανέτωσαν δὲ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν μετὰ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, ἢ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου διδόντος αὐτοῖς ἢ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου. ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ καθῆσθαι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐβέστω τοῖς διακόνοις· παρὰ κανόνα γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τάξιν ἐστὶ τὸ γινόμενον. εἰ δὲ τις μὴ θέλοι πειθαρχεῖν καὶ μετὰ τούτους τοὺς ὅρους, πεπαύσθω τῆς διακονίας."

Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien nebst den Apostolischen Kanones, herausgegeben von Friedrich Lauchert, in Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften, herausgegeben von G. Krueger (Freiburg i. B.: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1896), XII, 42.

⁸⁶Roman monk and author, d. about 500.

In former times, even in churches most frequented, Mass was not held every day: as the Tripartite History testifies in Book nine, "Again in Alexandria, the Scriptures are read and the doctors expound them on Wednesday and Friday, and all things are done except for the solemn remembrance of the sacrifice."⁸⁷

The Tripartite History, one of the principal sources of church history for the sixteenth century, says:

But also with reference to the solemn celebration in public worship, a certain diversity is found. For while in churches throughout the world the sacrifices are celebrated on Saturday of each week, according to no ancient tradition do they do this in Alexandria or Rome. The Egyptians near Alexandria and the inhabitants of the Thebaid do have public worship on the Sabbath, but they do not, as is the custom, receive the Sacrament. For after they have feasted and been filled with all foods, they communicate around evening, the sacrifice having been made. Again, however, in Alexandria, on Wednesday and Friday the Scriptures are read and the doctors interpret them and all things are done except for the solemn custom of the sacrifice; for Origen seems to have taught many things on those days.⁸⁸

⁸⁷"Nam olim ne quidem in frequentissimis ecclesiis ubique fiebat cotidie missa, ut testatur Historia Tripartita lib. 9.: Rursus, autem in Alexandria quarta et sexta feria scripturae leguntur easque doctores interpretantur, et omnia fiunt praeter solemnem oblationis morem." AC, XXIV, 41.

⁸⁸"Sed etiam circa celebritatem collectarum quaedam diversitas invenitur. Nam dum per ecclesias in universo terrarum orbe constitutas die sabbatorum per singulas ebdomadas sacrificia celebrentur, hoc in Alexandria et in Roma quadam prisca traditione non faciunt. Aegyptii vero Alexandriae vicini et Thebaidis habitatores sabbato quidem collectas agunt, sed non, sicut moris est, sacramenta percipiunt. Nam postquam fuerint epulati et cibis omnibus adimpleti, circa vespera oblatione facta communicant. Rursus autem in Alexandria quarta et sexta feria scripturae leguntur easque doctores interpretantur, et omnia fiunt praeter solemnem oblationis morem; Origenis [sic] enim plurima in his diebus videtur edocuisse." CSEL, Historia Ecclesiastica Tripartita, LXXI, 562.

The citation is a valid one in that it establishes that there was in a part of the ancient church no uniform practice of holding daily Mass, much less a number of Masses daily.

The one other patristic citation by the Reformers with reference to the proliferation of private Masses is in the Apology; it reads:

Epiphanius writes that in Asia Minor there were no daily Masses but Communion was celebrated three times a week, and that this practice came from the apostles. He says, "Assemblies [Συνάξεις] were appointed by the apostles to be held on the fourth day, on Friday, and on the Lord's Day."⁸⁹

The quotation in the Apology is an exact citation of the passage from Epiphanius' Heresies, Book III. The sentence cited by the Apology stands at the beginning of a new section in that work. That sentence, together with its following context, reads:

Assemblies having been appointed by the apostles were to have been held on Wednesday and Friday and the Lord's Day. But on Wednesday and Friday in fasting until the ninth hour, since at the dawning of Wednesday the Lord was taken prisoner and on Friday He was crucified. And the apostles permitted the fastings

⁸⁹The English is adapted from The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, edited by Theodore G. Tappert (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, c.1959), p. 250.

"Epiphanius scribit, in Asia synaxin ter celebratam esse singulis septimanis, nec cotidianas fuisse missas. Et quidem ait hunc morem ab apostolis traditum esse. Sic enim inquit: **Συνάξεις δὲ ἐπιτελούμεναι ταχέως εἶσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τετράδι καὶ προσάββατω καὶ κυριακῇ.**" Ap, XXIV, 8.

to be appointed in their midst as a fulfilling of the word that when "the bridegroom is taken away from them, then they will fast in those days." And the fasting is appointed for us, not that we might acquire grace from Him who suffered for us, but that we might declare to ourselves what He took upon Himself and that, in the place of our sins, these fastings might become blessed by God for us.⁹⁰

Interesting is Epiphanius' comment on fasting; evidently their tradition was that the betrayal of Jesus took place on Wednesday evening or early Thursday morning. Interesting also is Epiphanius' explicit denial that fasting merits the grace of God.

In support of its position on the proliferation of private Masses, the Apology notes that as recently as the

⁹⁰ "Συνάβριος δὲ ἐπιτελούμεναι ταχθεῖσαι εἰσι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τετράδι καὶ προσαββάτῳ καὶ κυριακῇ· τετράδι δὲ καὶ προσαββάτῳ ἐν νηστεία ἕως ὥρας ἐνάτης, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐπιφωσκούση τετράδι συνελήφθη ὁ κύριος καὶ τῷ προσάββατῳ ἐσταυρώθη. καὶ παρέδωκαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι ἐν ταύταις νηστείας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι πληρουμένου τοῦ ῥητοῦ ὅτι ὅταν ἀπαρῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὁ γυμνός, τότε νηστεύσουσιν ἐν ἐκαίναις ταῖς ἡμέραις· καὶ οὐχ ἵνα χάριν ποιήσωμεν τῷ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πεπονθότι, ἢ νηστεία ἡμῶν προστέτακται, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὁμολογήσωμεν εἰς ἡμῶν αὐτὸς ἀνεδέξατο, καὶ ὅπως ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμῶν ἀμαρτιῶν αἱ νηστεῖαι ἡμῶν εὐλόγηστοι θεῷ γένωνται."

Epiphanius, "Panarion Haereses 65-80," dritter Band in Ancoratus und Panarion, herausgegeben von Karl Holl, in Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der Ersten Drei Jahrhunderte (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1933), III, 522f.

thirteenth century St. Francis⁹¹ had sought to limit the number of Masses by providing that only one common Mass be held daily. It states:

But it is clear that the prevalence of the mendicant friars brought on the multiplication of private Masses; so superstitious and so mercenary have they been that for a long time good men have wanted some limits set to them. Although St. Francis sought to regulate this with the provision that each community should be content with a single common daily Mass, reasons of piety or of profit later changed this. So when it suits them, they change the institutions of the Fathers and then quote the authority of the Fathers against us.⁹²

The intent of St. Francis is very clear from his "Letters to the General Chapter." The pertinent section reads:

I admonish therefore, and exhort in the Lord, that in those places in which the brothers stay, only one Mass be celebrated in a day, according to the regulation of Holy Church. If more priests are truly in the place, the one, by the love of charity, should be content if he hears the celebration of the other priests, because the Lord Jesus Christ satisfies the present and absent ones, who are worthy through Him. He, even though He seems to be in many places, nevertheless remains undivided and knows no other disadvantages but acts as one everywhere; just as it pleases Him, He works with the Lord God and Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, forever and ever. Amen.⁹³

⁹¹Founder of the Franciscan Order, d. 1226.

⁹²"hoc constat, quod, postquam monachi mendicantes regnare coeperunt, ex falsissimis persuasionibus et propter quaestum ita auctae sunt, ut omnes boni viri diu iam eius rei modum desideraverint. Quamquam S. Franciscus recte voluit ei rei prospicere, qui constituit, ut singula collegia cotidie unica communi missa contenta essent. Hoc postea mutatum est sive per superstitionem, sive quaestus causa. Ita, ubi commodum est, instituta maiorum mutant ipsi, postea nobis allegant auctoritatem maiorum." Ap, XXIV, 7.

⁹³"Moneo preterea et exhortor in Domino, ut in locis in

The Mass as a Sacrifice

In order to avoid confusion, the framers of the Augsburg Confession had refrained from using the term "sacrifice" in reference to the Mass.⁹⁴ The Confutation, however, had used the term repeatedly and thus necessitated the discussion of the term by the Apology.

The position of the Confutation was that the Mass is an expiatory sacrifice; it attempted to document that position by quoting both the Old and New Testament Scriptures and the Canon of the Mass of the Eastern Church. Further it referred to eight Fathers, quoting two of them.⁹⁵

Without analyzing the patristic Citations of the Confutation, the Apology had replied that even if one granted that all of these citations spoke of the Mass as a

quibus fratres morantur, una tantum missa celebretur in die secundum formam sancte ecclesie. Si vero plures in loco fuerint sacerdotes, sit per amorem caritatis alter contentus audita celebratione alterius sacerdotis, quia presentes et absentes replet, qui eo digni sunt, Dominus Jesus Christus. Qui, licet in pluribus locis esse videatur, tamen indivisibilis manet et aliqua detrimenta non novit sed unus ubique, sicut ei placet, operatur cum Domino Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto Paraclito in secula seculorum. Amen." Franciscus von Assisi, "Epistola ad capitulum generale," Analekten zur Geschichte des Franciscus von Assisi, herausgegeben von Heinrich Boehmer und Friedrich Wiegand, in Sammlung Ausgewählter Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichtlicher Quellschriften, herausgegeben von Gustav Krueger (Zweite Auflage; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1930), IV, 40.

⁹⁴Ap, XXIV, 14.

⁹⁵Conf, 150ff.

sacrifice--and some of them obviously did--still there had been no evidence presented in the Confutation that these patristic citations viewed the sacrifice as expiatory. After quoting appropriate passages from Holy Scripture, the Apology then cited instances in catholic tradition which specifically denied the expiatory character of the sacrifice of the Mass.

The first patristic witness of the Apology in this connection was Pseudo--Cyprian, whose work the Apology cited as Cyprian's. The fact that this person was a certain Arnold of Bonneval, a twelfth century abbot, is irrelevant to our present concern since he is cited as an authentic patristic witness, and our concern is with their citations of tradition.

The Apology had stated that the Fathers of the Church speak of a two-fold effect of the Eucharist, namely, "of the comfort for the conscience and of thanksgiving or praise."⁹⁶ With reference to the Eucharist as a source of comfort, it quoted Ambrose.⁹⁷ Pseudo--Cyprian is cited in reference to the second concern. The Apology states:

There are also statements about thanksgiving, like the beautiful statement of Cyprian about the godly communicant, "Piety distinguishes between what is given and what is forgiven, and it gives thanks to the Giver of such a generous blessing." That is, piety looks at

⁹⁶Ap, XXIV, 75.

⁹⁷Supra, p. 55.

what is given and at what is forgiven; it compares the greatness of God's blessings with the greatness of our ills, our sin and our death: and it gives thanks. From this the term "eucharist" arose in the church.⁹⁸

The reference is to "De coena Domini et prima institutione," which is part six of "Liber de cardinalibus operibus Christi usque ad ascensum ejus ad Patrem" by Arnold of Bonneval. As the title of part six indicates, the discussion is concerned with the Eucharist, which it describes as a source of comfort for men. The section from which the Apology quotes is:

That bread of angels, which contains all delight, by its wonderful power, (Wisdom 16), makes all those wise who partake worthily and with devotion, according to His will; and more fully than that manna in the wilderness it fills and satisfies the appetite of the eaters and exceeds all yearnings for carnal wisdom, the enjoyment of all pleasures. See how, for those who commemorate the passion of Christ in the sacred office, the torrents come forth as through certain channels from inner fountains, and beyond all delights the soul is delighted with sweet tears; they elicit deep sighs of contemplation which is great pleasantness for the soul inquiring where its God is. . . . Piety excites those sighs, and affection, viewing itself during the day and night, before and afterward, and dividing itself among the things which are given for its forgiveness, gives thanks to the liberal giver of such rich blessings; and knowing itself healed and sanctified, purifies itself with weeping and

⁹⁸"Praeter haec leguntur et sententiae de gratiarum actione, qualis illa est suavissime dicta a Cypriano de pie communicantibus: Pietas, inquit, inter data et condonata se dividens, gratias agit tam uberis beneficii largitori. Id est, pietas intuetur data et condonata, hoc est, confert inter se magnitudinem beneficiorum Dei et magnitudinem nostrorum malorum, mortis et peccati, et agit gratias etc. Et hinc exstitit appellatio εὐχαριστίας in ecclesia." Ap, XXIV, 76.

baptizes itself with tears.⁹⁹

The Apology's quotation is not verbatim but it does not alter the intent of the original. The point of the sentence in Arnold is that in the Eucharist, affection sees itself, not as offering something to God, but rather, as receiving something from Him. Thus the only offering which can properly be brought is the sacrifice of thanksgiving, the eucharistic sacrifice.

The second patristic reference in this connection is made to the Apostolic Canons and is concerned with the appropriateness of the Confutation's attempt to prove that the Mass is a sacrifice by deriving the term, "Mass," from the Hebrew word, **מזבח**, altar.¹⁰⁰ While the Apology holds that the question of the etymology of the term is ultimately irrelevant, it does offer as a more reasonable derivation

⁹⁹"Panis iste angelorum omne delectamentum habens virtute mirifica (Sap. XVI) omnibus qui digne et devote sumunt, secundum suum desiderium sapit; et amplius quam manna illud eremi implet et satiat edentium appetitus, et omnia carnalium saporum irritamenta, et omnium exsuperat dulcedinum voluptates. Vide quomodo his qui Christi commemorant passionem intra sacra officia, quasi per quosdam canales de interioribus fontibus egrediantur torrentes, et super omnes delicias lacrymis nectareis anima delectetur; quantam suavitatem animae inquirenti ubi sit Deus suus, suspiria contemplationis eliciant. . . . Gemitus illos pietas excitat, et inter diem et noctem retro et ante se affectio intuens, inter data condonando se dividens, gratias agit tam uberis beneficii largitori; et se sanata et sanctificata agnoscens, fletibus se abluit, et lacrymis se baptizat." MPL, "Liber de cardinalibus operibus Christi," CLXXXIX, 1647.

¹⁰⁰Conf, 155f.

the Hebrew word, **קָדַשׁ**, offering, which occurs in Deuteronomy 16:10. There it denotes the offering of the people to God.

The Apology states:

Why go so far afield for the etymology when the term occurs in Deuteronomy 16:10, where it means the collections or gifts of the people rather than the offering of the priest? Individuals coming to the celebration of the Passover had to bring some gift as a contribution. Originally the Christians kept this practice. The apostolic canons show that when they gathered they brought bread, wine, and other things. Part of this was taken to be consecrated, the rest was distributed to the poor. With this practice they also kept the term "Mass" as the name for the contributions. . . . But let us pass over these trifles. . . . For even though the Mass is called an offering, what does that term have to do with these dreams about the efficacy of the act ex opere operato and its supposed applicability to merit the forgiveness of sins for others?¹⁰¹

The Apostolic Canons is a collection, which like the Apostolic Constitutions of which it is a part, professes to be a series of ecclesiastical regulations laid down by the apostles and published by Clement of Rome. Actually the document comes from the latter half of the fourth century and was probably composed from older sources by some Syrian cleric. It was generally received as genuine and found its

¹⁰¹"Quorsum opus est procul quaerere etymologiam, cum exstet nomen missa Deuter. 16, ubi significat collationes seu munera populi, non oblationem sacerdotis. Debebant enim singuli venientes ad celebrationem paschae aliquod munus quasi symbolam affere. Hunc morem initio retinuerunt et Christiani. Convenientes afferebant panes, vinum et alia, ut testantur canones apostolorum. Inde sumebatur pars, quae consecraretur; reliquum distribuebatur pauperibus. Cum hoc more retinuerunt et nomen collationum missa. . . . Sed omittamus has nugas. . . . Nam etiamsi missa dicitur oblatio, quid facit vocabulum ad illa somnia de opere operato et applicatione, quam fingunt aliis mereri remissionem peccatorum?" Ap, XXIV, 85-87.

way into Eastern and Western collections. Even today the Canons form the beginning of the canonical system of the Eastern Church. Canons three to five read:

3. If any bishop or presbyter, otherwise than our Lord has ordained concerning the sacrifice, offer other things at the altar, as honey, milk, or strong beer, instead of wine; any necessaries, or birds or animals or pulse, excepting grains of new corn, or ears of wheat, or bunches of grapes in their season, let him be deprived.
4. For it is not lawful to offer anything besides these at the altar, and oil for the holy lamp, and incense in the time of the divine oblation.
5. But let all other fruits be sent to the house of the bishop, as first fruits to him and to the presbyters, but not to the altar. Now it is plain that the bishop and presbyters are to divide them to the deacons and to the rest of the clergy.¹⁰²

¹⁰²"Constitutions of the Holy Apostles, Book VIII, Paragraph XLVII: The Ecclesiastical Canons of the Same Holy Apostles," The Ante-Nicene Fathers, edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1896), VII, 500.

- III. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος παρὰ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου διάταξιν, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ, προσενέγκῃ ἕτερά τινα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ μέλι ἢ γάλα ἢ ἀντὶ οἴνου σίκερα ἢ ἐπιτηδευτὰ ἢ ὄρνεις ἢ ψῶά τινα ἢ ὄσπρια, ὡς παρὰ τὴν διάταξιν κυρίου ποιῶν, καθαιρεῖσθω, πλὴν νέων χίδρων ἢ σταφυλῆς, τῷ καιρῷ τῷ δέοντι.
- IV. (III.) Μὴ ἔβδν δὲ ἔστω προσάγεσθαί τε ἕτερον εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἢ ἔλαιον εἰς τὴν λυχνίαν καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῆς ἁγίας προσφορᾶς.
- V. (IV.) Ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα δῶρα εἰς οἶκον ἀποστελλέσθω, ἀπαρχὴ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις,

These Canons speak to the concern of the Apology here in documenting the fact that originally the sacrifice of the Eucharist was not the sacrifice of the body of Christ, but rather the offering of the bread and wine. As noted above, the Apology's real conclusion is that the entire question of terminology is beside the point, for even though the Mass is called an offering, that still would not prove that it confers its benefits ex opere operato, nor that it merits the forgiveness of sins for others.

The next citation is from the Canon of the Greek Mass, quoted to establish again, that the mere use of the term "offering" does not necessarily imply an expiatory sacrifice.

The Apology states:

The Greek Canon also says much about an offering; but it clearly shows that it is not talking about the Body and Blood of the Lord in particular, but about the whole service, about the prayers and thanksgiving. This is what it says: "And make us worthy to come to offer Thee entreaties and supplications and bloodless sacrifices for all the people." Properly understood, this is not offensive. It prays that we might be made worthy to offer prayers and supplications and bloodless sacrifices for the people. It calls even prayers "bloodless sacrifices." So it says a little later: "We offer Thee this reasonable and bloodless service." It is a misinterpretation to translate this as "reasonable victim" and apply it to the Body of Christ itself. For the Canon is talking about the whole service; and by "reasonable service" (Romans 12:1) Paul meant the service of the mind, fear, faith,

ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον. δῆλον δὲ, ὡς ὁ
ἐπίσκοπος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιμερίζουσι τοῖς
διακόνοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς κληρικοῖς."

Lauchert, op. cit., p. 17.

prayer, thanksgiving, and the like, in opposition to a theory of ex opere operato.¹⁰³

The wording of the Greek Canon, as quoted by the Apology, is a verbatim extract from the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom. The first is from the First Prayer of the Faithful at the beginning of the Mass of the Faithful. In its context it reads:

We yield Thee thanks, Lord God of Sabaoth, who hast thought us worthy to stand even now at Thine altar, and to fall down before Thy mercies, for our sins and the ignorance of Thy people: receive, O God, our supplications; make us worthy to offer to Thee supplications and prayers and unbloody sacrifices for all Thy people; and strengthen us, whom Thou hast placed in this Thy ministry, with the strength of the Holy Ghost, that we may without offence, and without scandal, in a pure testimony of our conscience, call upon Thee in every time and place: that hearing us, Thou mayest be merciful to us in the multitude of Thy goodness.¹⁰⁴

103. "Graecus canon etiam multa dicit de oblatione, sed palam ostendit se non loqui proprie de corpore et sanguine Domini, sed de toto cultu, de precibus et gratiarum actionibus. Sic enim ait: **Καὶ ποιήσον ἡμᾶς ἀξίους γενέσθαι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοὶ δεήσεις καὶ ἰκεσίας καὶ θυσίας ἀναίμακτους ὑπὲρ παντὸς λαοῦ.** Nihil offendit recte intellectum. Orat enim nos dignos effici ad offerendas preces et supplicationes et hostias incruentas pro populo. Nam ipsas preces vocat hostias incruentas. Sicut et paulo post: **"Ἐτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναίμακτον λατρείαν,** offerimus, inquit, hunc rationalem et incruentum cultum. Inepte enim exponunt, qui hic rationalem hostiam malunt interpretari et transferunt ad ipsum corpus Christi, cum canon loquatur de toto cultu, et **λογικὴ λατρεία** a Paulo dicta sit contra opus operatum, videlicet de cultu mentis, de timore, de fide, de invocatione, de gratiarum actione etc." Ap, XXIV, 88.

104. The Liturgies, Translated, p. 104.

"Εὐχαριστοῦμεν σοι Κύριε ὁ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων τῷ καταξιώσαντι ἡμᾶς παραστῆναι καὶ νῦν τῷ ἁγίῳ σου

The second comes from the Invocation in the same Liturgy:

Moreover we offer unto Thee this reasonable and unbloody sacrifice, and beseech Thee and pray and supplicate: send down Thy Holy Ghost upon us and on these proposed gifts.¹⁰⁵

The Apology's argument is that even though the Greek Canon speaks of an offering or sacrifice, it means by this to include more than simply the Body and Blood of Christ; as the first quotation indicates, it explicitly includes also the supplications and prayers of the people. Therefore, it is also improper to restrict the "reasonable service" of the second quotation to the Body of Christ as that which is offered; it is rather the entire service which is offered to God. St. Paul's use of the phrase in Romans 12:1 also

Θυσιασθηρίῳ καὶ προσπεσεῖν τοῖς οἰκτιρμοῖς σου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀχνοημάτων· πρόσδεξαι ὁ θεὸς τὴν δεήσιν ἡμῶν, ποιήσον ἡμᾶς ἀξίους γενέσθαι τοῦ προσφέρειν σοι δεήσεις καὶ ἰκεσίας καὶ θυσίας ἀναιμάκτους ὑπὲρ πάντος τοῦ λαοῦ σου, καὶ ἱκανῶσον ἡμᾶς οὓς ἔθου εἰς τὴν διακονίαν σου ταύτην ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ πνεύματός σου τοῦ ἁγίου ἀκαταγνώστως καὶ ἀπροσκόπως ἐν καθαρῷ τῷ μαρτυρίῳ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἡμῶν ἐπικαλεῖσθαί σε ἐν πάντι καιρῷ καὶ τόπῳ ἵνα εἰσακούων ἡμῶν ἴλεως ἡμῖν εἴης ἐν τῷ πλήθει τῆς σῆς ἀγαθότητος."

Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

¹⁰⁵The Liturgies, Translated, p. 114.

"Ἐτι προσφερόμεν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην καὶ ἀναιμάκτον λατρείαν καὶ παρακαλοῦμέν σε καὶ δεόμεθα καὶ ἰκετεύομεν κατὰπεμπσον τὸ πνεῦμά σου τὸ ἅγιον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα."

Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

indicates that it has a wider significance than the offering of Christ's Body in the Mass.

The final reference to the Greek Canon is in connection with the practice of saying Mass for the dead in order to release from purgatory the soul of the one for whom it is offered. The Apology concludes its discussion of this question by saying:

The Greek Canon does not apply the offering as a satisfaction for the dead because it applies it equally to all the blessed patriarchs, prophets, and apostles. Therefore it seems that the Greeks offer it only as a thanksgiving and do not apply it as a satisfaction for penalties. [The German translation adds at this point: For it could certainly not be their intention to free the apostles and prophets from purgatory, but only to offer thanks in addition to and together with them for the great, eternal blessings which are given to them and us.] But they speak not only of offering the body and blood of the Lord, but about the other parts of the Mass, namely, prayers and thanksgivings. For after the consecration they pray that it may benefit the communicants; they do not talk about others. They add, "Yet we offer Thee this reasonable service for those who have departed in faith, forefathers, fathers, patriarchs, prophets," etc. And "reasonable service" does not mean the host itself, but the prayers and everything that goes on there.¹⁰⁶

106. "Nec graecus canon applicat oblationem tamquam satisfactionem pro mortuis, quia applicat eam pariter beatis omnibus patriarchis, prophetis, apostolis. Apparet igitur, Graecos tamquam gratiarum actionem offerre, non applicare tamquam satisfactionem pro poenis. [The German version adds at this point: Denn es wird freilich nicht ihr Meinung sein, die Propheten und Aposteln aus dem Pegfeuer zu erloesen, sondern allein Dank zu opfern neben und mit ihnen fuer die hohen ewigen Gueter, so ihnen und uns gegeben sind.] Quamquam etiam loquuntur non de sola oblatione corporis et sanguinis Domini, sed de reliquis missae partibus, videlicet orationibus et gratiarum actionibus. Nam post consecrationem precantur, ut sumentibus prosit, non loquuntur de aliis. Deinde addunt: Ἐτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην

The analysis of the Eastern Canon made here by the Apology is that the former does not conceive of the Mass as an expiatory sacrifice, efficacious ex opere operato for the release from purgatory of the soul of anyone who has died. The following strands of its analysis may be isolated: (1) The Mass cannot be an expiatory sacrifice because it is referred to the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, who need no expiatory sacrifice on their behalf; (2) The offering consists of the entire service, including the prayers and thanksgivings, not just the Body and Blood of the Lord; therefore it is not an expiatory but a eucharistic sacrifice; (3) The benefit is to be for those who receive the Sacrament, that is, the faithful who are present and receive holy communion.

An analysis of the Eastern Liturgy of St. Chrysostom indicates the presence of the concepts isolated by the Apology's analysis. The first specific of the Apology's analysis is amply documented by the quotation from the Intercession. The complete sentence from which it is taken is:

And further we offer to Thee this reasonable service on behalf of those who have departed in the faith, our ancestors, fathers, patriarchs, prophets, apostles,

λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσμένων προπατόρων, πατέρων, πατριάρχων, προφητῶν, ἀποστόλων etc. At λογική λατρεία non significant ipsam hostiam, sed orationes et omnia quae ibi geruntur." Ap, XXIV, 93.

preachers, evangelists, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and every just spirit made perfect in the faith.¹⁰⁷

With reference to the second specific of the Apology's analysis, there are two points in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom which indicate that that which is being offered includes more than the Body and Blood of Christ, specifically that it includes the prayers and the entire service. One of them is the First Prayer of the Faithful in the Mass of the Faithful.¹⁰⁸ The other is the Prayer of Oblation, which reads:

Lord God Almighty, Only Holy, Who receivest the sacrifice of praise from them that call upon Thee with their whole heart, receive also the supplication of us sinners, and cause it to approach to Thy holy altar, and enable us to present gifts to Thee, and spiritual sacrifices for our sins, and for the errors of Thy people: and cause us to find grace in Thy sight, that this our sacrifice may be acceptable unto Thee, and that the good Spirit of Thy grace may tabernacle upon us, and upon these gifts presented unto Thee, and upon all Thy people.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷The Liturgies, Translated, p. 116.

"Ἐτι προσφέρομέν σοι τὴν λογικὴν ταύτην λατρείαν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν πίστει ἀναπαυσαμένων προπατόρων πατέρων πατριαρχῶν προφητῶν ἀποστόλων κηρύκων εὐαγγελιστῶν μαρτύρων ὁμολογητῶν ἔγκρατευτῶν καὶ παντὸς πνεύματος δικαίου ἐν πίστει τετελειωμένου."

Brightman, op. cit., pp. 387f.

¹⁰⁸This prayer is quoted supra, p. 77, footnote 104.

¹⁰⁹The Liturgies, Translated, pp. 110f.

"Κύριε ὁ θεὸς παντοκράτωρ ὁ μόνος ἅγιος ὁ δεχόμενος θυσίαν αἰνεσίως παρὰ τῶν ἐπικαλουμένων σε ἐν

With reference to the third specific, that it is to benefit those who receive, the prayer immediately following the consecration reads:

So that they may be to those that participate, for purification of soul, forgiveness of sins, communion of the Holy Ghost, fulfillment of the kingdom of heaven, boldness towards Thee, and not to judgment nor to condemnation.¹¹⁰

There are statements in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom which state that the Body and Blood of Christ are offered. As an example, the prayer of the priest shortly before the Great Entrance, reads:

and strengthen, with the might of Thy Holy Ghost, me that have been endued with grace of the Priesthood,

ὅλη καρδία πρόσδεξαι καὶ ἡμῶν τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν τὴν δέησιν καὶ προσάγαγε τῷ ἁγίῳ σου θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἱκάνωσον ἡμᾶς προσενεγκεῖν σοι δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίας πνευματικὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων καὶ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων καὶ καταξίωσον ἡμᾶς εὐρεῖν χάριν ἐνώπιόν σου τοῦ γενέσθαι σοι εὐπρόσδεκτον τὴν θυσίαν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπισκηνῶσαι τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς χάριτός σου τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προκείμενα δῶρα ταῦτα καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν λαὸν σου."

Brightman, *op. cit.*, pp. 380f.

¹¹⁰The Liturgies, Translated, p. 115.

"Ὡστε γενέσθαι τοῖς μεταλαμβάνουσιν εἰς νῆψιν φυγῆς εἰς ἄφεσιν ἀμαρτιῶν, εἰς κοινωνίαν, τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος εἰς βασιλείας οὐρανῶν πλήρωμα, εἰς παρρησίαν τὴν πρὸς σέ, μὴ εἰς κρίμα ἢ εἰς κατάκριμα."

Brightman, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

that I may stand by Thy holy Altar, and sacrifice Thy holy and spotless Body and precious Blood. . . . For Thou art He that offerest and art offered, and receivest and art distributed, Christ, our God. . . .¹¹¹

The second statement here clearly conditions the first.

And yet, the Apology did not deny that, according to the Eastern Liturgy, the Body and Blood of Christ are offered in the Eucharist. Their concern was that the offering of the Eucharist should not be restricted to the offering of the Body and Blood of Christ, that it should not be considered an expiatory offering, and that it should not be viewed as efficacious ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis.

In summary of this chapter, one must conclude that the Confessions are honest in their use of the Church's tradition. Their patristic citations do not, as a rule, violate the context or content of the work from which they are made. Thus, they are valid citations.

¹¹¹The Liturgies, Translated, pp. 106f.

"Καὶ ἰκάνωσόν με τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἁγίου σου πνεύματος ἐνδεδυμένον τὴν τῆς ἱερατείας χάριν παραστήναί τῇ ἁγίᾳ σου ταύτῃ τραπέζῃ καὶ ἱερουργῆσαι τὸ ἅγιον καὶ ἀχραντὸν σου σῶμα καὶ τὸ τίμιον αἷμα. . . . σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ προσφέρων καὶ προσφερόμενος καὶ προσδεχόμενος καὶ διαδεδόμενος Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν. . . ."

Brightman, op. cit., pp. 377f.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It has been demonstrated in the previous chapter that the patristic citations investigated are, in general, validly made from the Church's tradition. Our purpose in this chapter is to attempt to establish the attitude of the Reformers toward this tradition as a means toward understanding their conception of the nature of the Church.

Two different but related questions are involved here. The first is: what is the Reformers' conception of the relationship between this tradition and the Holy Scriptures? The second is: why do they cite it; or, to rephrase the question, what kind and what measure of probative force does this tradition have for them?

The Confessions do not devote separate articles either to Holy Scripture or tradition. Their most detailed discussion of these concepts and their relationship is in the introductory section to the Formula of Concord and the Preface to the Book of Concord. Since there is also little explicit discussion of these concepts in the material examined in the previous chapter, it will be necessary to refer to the Formula of Concord and the Preface to the Book of Concord.

It is very clear that for the Reformers the Word of

God must be given primacy over every purely human writing in the Church. As a corollary to that, the Holy Scriptures are the only rule and norm according to which all teaching is to be judged. The following are some of the statements made on this question.

On the contrary, we mean specifically to condemn only false and seductive doctrines and their stiff-necked proponents and blasphemers. These we do not by any means intend to tolerate in our lands, churches, and schools inasmuch as such teachings are contrary to the expressed Word of God and cannot coexist with it.¹

It is furthermore to be hoped that when they are rightly instructed in this doctrine, they will, through the guidance of the Holy Spirit, turn to the infallible truth of the divine Word and unite with us and our churches and schools.²

At a later date our sainted predecessors and some of us gathered at Naumburg in Thuringia. We took up the repeatedly mentioned Augsburg Confession, which had been submitted to Emperor Charles V in the great imperial assembly at Augsburg in the year 1530, and again unanimously subscribed this Christian confession, based as it is on the witness of the unalterable truth of the divine Word, in order thereby to warn and, as far as we might, to secure our posterity in the future against doctrine that is impure, false, and contrary

1. "sondern dasz allein damit die falschen und verfuehrischen Lehren und derselben halsstarrige Lehrer und Laesterer, die wir in unsern Landen, Kirchen und Schulen keineswegs zu gedulden gedenken, eigentlich verworfen werden, die weil disselbe dem ausgedruckten Wort Gottes zuwider und neben solchem nicht bestehen koennen. . . ." Preface to the Book of Concord.

2. "und sich verhoffentlich, wann sie in der Lehr recht unterrichtet werden, durch Anleitung des heiligen Geistes zu der unfehlbaren Wahrheit des goettlichen Worts mit uns und unseren Kirchen und Schulen begeben und wenden werden." Preface to the Book of Concord.

to the Word of God.³

These are some of the many statements, chosen almost at random, dealing with the primacy of the Word of God. The following refer explicitly to the Holy Scriptures.

We pledge ourselves to the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments as the pure and clear fountain of Israel, which is the only true norm according to which all teachers and teachings are to be judged and evaluated.⁴

We believe, teach, and confess that the prophetic and apostolic writings of the Old and New Testaments are the only rule and norm according to which all doctrines and teachers alike must be appraised and judged, as it is written in Ps. 119:105, "Thy Word is a lamp to my feet and a light to my path." And St. Paul says in Gal. 1:8, "Even if an angel from heaven should preach to you a gospel contrary to that which we preached to you, let him be accursed."⁵

3"Darauf dann folgens unsere selige Vorfahren und zum Teil wir uns gegen der Naumburg in Thoeringen zusammengetan, mehrgedachte Augsburgische Konfession, so Kaiser Karl dem V. in der groszen Reichsversammlung zu Augsburg Anno 1530. ueberantwortet, an die Hand genommen und solch christlich Bekanntnus, so auf das Zeugnes der unwandelbaren Wahrheit goettliches Worts gegruendet, damit kuenftiglichen auch unsere Nachkommen fuer unreiner, falscher und dem Wort Gottes widerwaertiger, soviel an uns, zu warnen und zu verwahren, abermals einhelliglichen unterschrieben. . . ." Preface to the Book of Concord.

4"Als erstlich zu den prophetischen und apostolischen Schriften Altes und Neues Testaments als zu dem reinen, lautern Brunnen Israels, welche alleine die einige wahrhaftige Richtschnur ist, nach der alle Lehrer und Lehre zu richten und zu urteln sein." PCSD, Summary Formulation, 3.

5"Wir glauben, lehren und bekennen, dasz die einige Regel und Richtschnur, nach welcher zugleich alle Lehren und Lehrer gerichtet und geurteilt werden sollen, seind allein die prophetischen und apostolischen Schriften Altes und Neues Testamentes, wie geschrieben stehet: 'Dein Wort ist meines Fusztes Leucht und ein Licht auf meinem Wege,' Psal. 119. Und S. Paulus: 'Wann ein Engel vom Himmel kaeme und predigte anders, der soll verflucht sein,' Gal. 1." FCEp, Comprehensive Summary, 1.

In this way the distinction between the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testaments and all other writings is maintained and Holy Scripture remains the only judge, rule, and norm according to which as the only touchstone all doctrines should and must be understood and judged as good or evil, right or wrong.⁶

It was on this basis that the ancient church rejected and condemned all heresies and errors. The Formula says:

It is on this basis that the Apology condemns the teaching of the Scholastics:

Here we condemn the whole crowd of scholastic doctors who teach that unless there is some obstacle, the sacraments confer grace ex opere operato, without a good disposition in the one using them. . . . In opposition to this, Paul denies that Abraham was justified by circumcision, but says that circumcision was a sign given to exercise faith.⁸

Further, it is not safe to establish a new cultus without the authority of the Scriptures. The Apology says,

6"Solchergestalt wird der Unterschied zwischen der Heiligen Schrift Altes und Neuen Testaments und allen andern Schriften erhalten, und bleibt allein die Heilige Schrift der einig Richter, Regel und Richtschnur, nach welcher als dem einigen Probierestein sollen und muessen alle Lehren erkannt und geurteilt werden, ob sie gut oder boes, recht oder unrecht sein." FCEp, Comprehensive Summary, 7.

7"Zum ersten, dasz wir vorwerfen und vordammen alle Ketzerei und Irrtumben, so in der ersten, alten, rechtgläubigen Kirchen aus wahren, beständigen Grunde der heiligen goettlichen Schrift vorworfen und vordampt sein." FCSD, Summary Formulation, 17.

8"Hic damnamus totum populum scholasticorum doctorum, qui docent, quod sacramenta non ponenti obicem conferant gratiam ex opere operato sine bono motu utentis. . . . Paulus reclamatur et negat, Abraham iustificatum esse circumcisione, secus circumcisionem esse signum propositum ad exercendam fidem." Ap, XIII, 18f.

"Clearly this transference to the dead cannot be proved from the Scriptures, and it is not safe to institute services [cultus] in the church without the authority of Scripture."⁹

Further, the Apology declares that, although the opponents were misinterpreting the Fathers and citing them unfairly to prove their contentions, the Fathers themselves were not infallible. It states:

There is also great variety among the Fathers. They were men and they could err and be deceived. If they came back to life now and saw their sayings being twisted to support the obvious lies which our opponents teach about transfer ex opere operato, they would express themselves far differently.¹⁰

Even the writings of the Fathers must be judged by Holy Scripture. The Epitome of the Formula of Concord states:

Other writings of ancient and modern teachers, whatever their names, should not be put on a par with Holy Scripture. Every single one of them should be subordinated to the Scriptures and should be received in no other way and no further than as witnesses to the fashion in which the doctrine of the prophets and apostles was preserved in post-apostolic times.¹¹

⁹"Constat enim, quod illae applicationes pro mortuis nulla habeant ex scripturis testimonia. Nec tutum est in ecclesia cultus instituere sine auctoritate scripturae." Ap, XXIV, 92.

¹⁰"Et patrum magna dissimilitudo est. Homines erant et labi ac decipi poterant. Quamquam si nunc reviviscerent, ac viderent sua dicta praetexti luculentis illis mendaciis, quae docent adversarii de opere operato, longe aliter se ipsi interpretarentur." Ap, XXIV, 95.

¹¹"Andere Schriften aber der alten oder neuen Lehrer, wie sie Namen haben, sollen der Heiligen Schrift nicht gleich gehalten, sondern alle zumal miteinander derselben unterworfen und anders oder weiter nicht angenommen werden, dann als Zeugen, welchergestalt nach der Apostel Zeit und an welchen Orten solche Lehre der Propheten und Apostel erhalten worden." FCEp, Comprehensive Summary, 2.

Other symbols and other writings are not judges like Holy Scripture, but merely witnesses and expositions of the faith, setting forth how at various times the Holy Scriptures were understood in the church of God by contemporaries with reference to controverted articles, and how contrary teachings were rejected and condemned.¹²

The Augsburg Confession points out that this attitude is not a novelty but that medieval canon law already acknowledges that the highest authority in the church is revealed truth and that it takes precedence over any custom. In its discussion of Communion under both kinds, the Augsburg Confession insists that "it is evident that a custom introduced contrary to the commands of God is not to be approved, as the canons testify (Dist. 3, chap. 'Veritate' and the following chapters)."¹³

The first canon cited is Part I, distinction eight, chapter four, of Gratian's Decretum. The quotations it contains are from Augustine. Chapter four reads:

"The truth having been revealed, let custom yield to the truth"; clearly, who would doubt that custom should yield to revealed truth? Again, "Let no one place custom before the truth and reason, because

¹²"Die andere Symbola aber und angezogene Schriften sind nicht Richter wie die Heilige Schrift, sondern allein Zeugnis und Erklarung des Glaubens, wie jderzeit die Heilige Schrift in streitigen Artikuln in der Kirchen Gottes von den damals Lebenden vorstanden und ausgelegt, under derselben widerwaertige Lehr vorworfen und vordambt worden." *PCBP*, Comprehensive Summary, 8.

¹³"Constat autem, quod consuetudo contra mandata Dei introducta non sit probanda ut testantur canones, Dist. 8. c. Veritate, cum sequentibus." *AC*, XXII, 9.

reason and truth always exclude custom."¹⁴

Chapter five, containing an excerpt from a letter of Gregory VII to Bishop Wimundus Auersanus, reads:

"If you should perchance oppose custom, it is to be remembered, that the Lord says, 'I am the truth.' He did not say: I am custom, but truth." And certainly, to use the statement of Blessed Cyprian, every custom no matter how old, no matter how wide-spread, is always to be ranked lower than the truth, and that practice which is contrary to the truth is to be abolished.¹⁵

The remaining chapters of this "distinction" in the Decretum discuss the precedence of truth and reason over custom.

And yet, having said this, one cannot escape the fact that the tradition of the church was highly significant for the Reformers. The Augsburg Confession and the Apology are liberally sprinkled with patristic citations. Further, not until the fourth article of the Augustana is any passage of Holy Scripture cited in support of its position. The specific documentation provided for the Augustana's first

14. "Veritate manifestata cedat consuetudo veritati": plane quis dubitet veritati manifestatae consuetudinem cedere? Item 'Nemo consuetudinem rationi et veritati preponat, quia consuetudinem ratio et veritas semper excludit.'" Franciscus Gratianus, "Decretum," Corpus Iuris Canonici, Instruxit Aemilius Friedberg (Grasz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1955), I, 14.

15. "Si consuetudinem fortassis opponas, advertendum est, quod Dominus dicit: 'Ego sum veritas.' Non dixit: ego sum consuetudo, sed veritas.' Et certe (ut B. Cipriani utamur sententia) quelibet consuetudo, quantumvis vetusta, quantumvis vulgata, veritati est omnino postponenda, et usus, qui veritati est contrarius, abolendus est." Ibid.

article is a decree of the Council of Nicaea.

A definitive statement on the relationship between Holy Scripture and tradition is beyond the scope of this investigation. However, in answer to the second of the two questions posed at the beginning of this concluding chapter, namely, why is this tradition cited, we may note the following.

The Reformers had been charged with novelty; they were the innovators who were destroying the peace of Israel. Hence, the chief reason for their citing of the patristic consensus was to refute this charge and to establish their contention that their position was truly catholic. The Preface to the Book of Concord states:

Subsequently many churches and schools committed themselves to this confession [the Augustana] as the contemporary symbol of their faith in the chief articles in controversy over against both the papacy and all sorts of factions. They referred and appealed to it without either controversy or doubt in a Christian and unanimous interpretation thereof. They have held fast and loyally to the doctrine that is contained in it, [a doctrine] that is based solidly on the divine Scriptures and that is also briefly summarized in the approved ancient symbols, recognizing the doctrine as the ancient consensus which the universal and orthodox church of Christ has believed, fought for against many heresies and errors, and repeatedly affirmed.¹⁶

¹⁶"Als haben sich folgens zu solchem Bekenntnues viel Kirchen und Schulen als dieser Zeit zum Symbolo ihres Glaubens in den fuernehmsten streitigen Artikeln wider das Papsttumb und allerlei Rotten bekennet und darauf in christlichem, einmuetigen Verstand und ohne einigen Streit und Zweifel sich gezogen, berufen und die darin begriffene und in goettlicher Schrift wohlgegruendte, auch in den bewaehrten alten Symbolis kurz vorfazte Lehre fuer den einigen alten

The conclusion of the Catalog of Testimonies is very explicit on this question. Even though it is not an official part of the Book of Concord, yet its evidence may be admitted as pointing in the same direction as that of the Book of Concord since it was framed by Chemnitz and Andreae. It says:

Christian reader, these testimonies of the ancient teachers of the Church have been here set forth, not with this meaning that our Christian faith is founded upon the authority of men. For the true saving faith is to be founded upon no church-teachers, old or new, but only and alone upon God's Word, which is comprised in the Scriptures of the holy prophets and apostles, as unquestionable witnesses of divine truth. But because fanatical spirits, by the special and uncanny craft of Satan, wish to lead men from the Holy Scriptures--which, thank God! even a common layman can now profitably read--to the writing of the fathers and the ancient church-teachers as into a broad sea, so that he who has not read them cannot therefore precisely know whether they and their writings are as these new teachers quote their words, and thus is left in grievous doubt,--we have been compelled by means of this Catalogue to declare, and to exhibit to the view of all, that this new false doctrine has as little foundation in the ancient pure church-teachers as in the Holy Scriptures, but that it is diametrically opposed to it. Their testimonies they quote in a false meaning, contrary to the will of the Fathers, just as they designedly and wantonly pervert the simple, plain, and clear words of Christ's testament and the pure testimonies of the Holy Scriptures. On this account the Book of Concord directs every one to the Holy Scriptures and the simple Catechism; for he who clings to this simple form with true, simple faith provides best for his soul and conscience, since it is built upon a firm

und von der allgemeinen rechtlehrenden Kirchen Christi geglaubten, wider viel Ketzereien und Irrtumben erstrittenen und wiederholeten Konsens erkannt, fest und bestaendig gehalten." Preface to the Book of Concord.

and immovable rock, Matt. 7 and 17, Gal. 1, Ps. 119.¹⁷

Could one say that these patristic citations have any measure of probative force for the Reformers? Looking at Article one of the Augsburg Confession, one might say that authentic tradition does. And yet, the ultimate authority

¹⁷"Conclusion, Catalog of Testimonies," Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 1149.

"Diese Zeugnisse der alten Kirchenlehrer, christlicher Leser, sind nicht der Meinung hiehergesetzt worden, dasz unser christlicher Glaube auf Ansehen der Menschen gegruendet sei. Dann der wahrhaftig seligmachende Glaube auf keines alten oder neuen Kirchenlehrers, sonder einig und allein auf Gottes Wort gegruendet sein soll, so in den Schriften der heiligen Propheten und Aposteln als ungezweifelten Zeugen der goettlichen Wahrheit begriffen ist. Sondern weil die Irrgeister durch besondere und geschwinde Liste des Satans, die Leute aus der Heiligen Schrift, die gottlob, jtzunder auch ein gemeiner Laie nuetzlich lesen kann, gerne wiederumb in der Vaeter und alten Kirchenlehrer Schriften als in das weite Meer fuehren wollten, auf dasz, wer dieselbige nicht gelesen hat, demnach auch nicht eigentlich wissen koenne, ob sichs mit ihnen und ihren Schriften also halte, wie diese neue Lehrer derselben Wort anziehen, und also in einem beschwerlichen Zweifel gelassen werden moechten: hat man Not halben mit dieser Verzeichnues anzeigen und zum Augenschein allermaenniglich weisen muessen, dasz diese neue falsche Lehr sowenig in der alten reinen Kirchenlehrer Schriften als in Heiliger Schrift gegruendet, sondern derselben stracks zuwider sei. Deren Zeugnuessen sie in falschem Verstande wider der Vaeter Willen anziehen, gleichwie sie die duerre, helle, klare Wort des Testaments Christi und die lautern Zeugnuessen Heiliger Schrift vorsaeztlich und mutwillig verkehren. Derwegen dann das Buch der Konkordien maenniglich in die Heilige Schrift und in den einfaltigen Katechismus weiset. Dann wer sich zu derselben Einfalt mit rechtem einfaltigen Glauben haelt, der verwahret seine Seele und Gewissen sum besten, als das auf einem festen und unbeweglichem Felsen gebauet ist. Matth. 7.17. Gal. 1. Psalm 119."

"Beschluss, Vorzeichnues der Zeugnisse," Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche, herausgegeben von Hans Lietzmann et al. (Vierte Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1959), pp. 1134f.

must still be the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures, characterized by the Formula of Concord as "the pure and clear fountain of Israel."¹⁸

What does this mean for a church in 1960 which is officially committed to the doctrine of the Book of Concord?

First, it means that if she is to take seriously her confession, she must, as they do, take seriously the tradition of the church; she cannot assume that the Holy Spirit ceased enlightening His people between the time of the completion of the New Testament Canon and the year 1960. The Church has always existed and the Spirit has always been at work. If this is true, the church of 1960, like the church of 1580, must listen to that voice for she is inextricably bound up with what was said, and in hearing that voice she is hearing something that is at the same time a part of herself and the means by which she can the more clearly understand herself. Even more, if what she hears does not contradict that which the Spirit spoke once and for all in the Holy Scriptures, she may legitimately use these insights in establishing and ordering her structure and life.

Second, the Book of Concord conceives of the Church as a catholic organism, embracing the totality of the people of God. This means that a church which subscribes to the Book of Concord, like the church which first framed it,

¹⁸FCSD, Summary Formulation, 3.

must possess and implement a concern for the people of God in the entire Church.

Finally, it means that she must learn to know her past; she must study her patristic heritage so that she may be able to appropriate it.

All of this is not to deny the primacy of the Holy Scriptures or to imply that she has another absolute norm for faith and life beside those Scriptures. But having both Scripture and tradition, she will be able to listen and speak to the total situation in the Church of 1960 and thus carry out whatever role her Lord may be fitting her for in His goal for the visible manifestation of the oneness of His people.

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