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is concerned. When the century is nearing its close, when "Greece has awaked to life holding the New Testament in her hand," a small group of scholars fresh from the schools of Italy will make their appearance at Oxford, revive the buried Reformation of the fourteenth century, and lay the literary foundations of the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

C. J. CASHER.



ART. II.—SOME CURIOSITIES OF PATRISTIC AND MEDIÆVAL LITERATURE.

PART II.—DOCTRINAL (*continued*).

WE need do no more here than refer to the logical subtleties by which scholastic divines sought to succour and support the theology of mediæval superstition, bidding men to believe in properties from which substance had been withdrawn, in accidents remaining when their subject had ceased to exist.

The question whether or not these accidents (remaining by miracle without a subject) are capable of nourishing was answered by some of the earlier transubstantiationists, and perhaps by the earlier scholastics generally,¹ in the negative; but by the Tridentine Catechism (it would appear) in the

¹ Dr. Pusey says: "The Schoolmen thought that with the 'change of substance' that power of nourishing ceased" ("Eirenicon," p. 24). But this statement needs qualification. Thomas Aquinas maintains the contrary. He says: "Homo diu sustentari posset, si hostias et vinum consecratum sumeret in magnâ quantitate." And he concludes: "Quod species sacramentales, quamvis non sint substantia, habent tamen virtutem substantiæ" ("Summa," pars iii., vol. ii., quæ. lxxvii., art. vi.).

Nicolaus de Niisee also says distinctly: "Per sumptionem istarum specierum homo nutritur" (Tract. V., pars iii., "De Eucharistia," quæst. x.; "Resol. Theol.," f. 509; Paris, 1574).

And the author of the "Fortalitium Fidei" not only contends for *nourishment*, but argues from 1 Cor. xi.: "Vino etiam inebriari." And he adds: "Mirandum videtur cur negent homines hoc sacramentali cibo posse nutriri; refugientes hoc sacramentum in carnem et sanguinem posse converti." He supposes that the accidents have conferred upon them certain properties of substance (lib. iii., consid. vi., imposs. xvii.). He says also: "Remanent accidentia panis et vini inter quæ sunt qualitates sensibiles" (*ibid.*).

Bonaventura says: "Communior est opinio, quod percipiens sacramentum alitur et nutritur." "Concedendum est, quod recipiens hoc sacramentum alitur, et nutritur, non quia accidentia in substantiam convertantur, sed quia aliquid convertitur in substantiam comedentis, non inquam accidens, sed substantia" ("In Sent.," lib. iv., dist. xii., art. ii., quæst. i.; Op., tom. v., p. 139; Lugduni, 1668).

Thomas Waldensis (himself an Essex man) relates: "In parte Aquilonari Angliæ, dicta Norfolchia, revera opulentissima rerum et spiritualium

affirmative (pars ii., cap. iv., § xxxviii.). And this difference seems to imply of necessity some difference in the conception of "transubstantiation"—a difference as to the position of the *dividing line* between subject and accidents. In the one

et temporalium jam tarde, superstes erat devota quædam in Christo puella, dicta vulgariter Joanna Metles, id est, sine cibo : quia nunquam cibum gustasse, vel potum per tempus annorum 15 experta est : sed solo sacramento dominici Corporis diebus dominicis cum devotissimæ mentis gaudio vescebatur" ("De Sacr. Euch.," cap. lxii., f. 105 ; Venice, 1571). His conjecture as to the way in which qualities may nourish without a subject is very curious (*ibid.*).

Gaspar Contarini likewise wrote : "Ex hoc sequitur nullam substantiam subjectam esse illis accidentibus. Verum animadvertendum est non esse eandem rationem omnium illorum accedentium, nam quantitas proculdubio subjectum est figuræ albedinis, saporis, odoris, omniumque aliorum, quippe, quæ substantiæ inesse non queunt, nisi media quantitate, in hisce igitur nullum est mirum : sed omne quod mirari jure possumus, redigitur ad quantitatem, quæ in hoc sacramento per se est, et habet modum substantiæ" ("De Sacr.," lib. ii., cap. iii. ; Op., p. 353 ; Paris, 1571).

Lanfranc had taught that the change of the elemental substances was made "reservatis ipsarum rerum speciebus et quibusdam aliis qualitibus." (See Hagenbach's "Hist. of Doctrines," vol. ii., p. 95 ; Clark.)

In the "Theologia Germanica" of 1531 (to be carefully distinguished from the earlier work of the same name), it is said : "Panis et vini accidentia nobilitantur super universa cœtera accidentia : nam acquirunt vim substantialem et fiunt tegumenta, sub quibus Corpus et anima ac Deitas Christi latet. Quapropter in sacramento altaris colere debemus non solum præsentem Carnem et Sanguinem Christi, potissime suam humanitatem et sanctissimam Deitatem : sed etiam panis et vini formam tanquam vestem et signum veri Corporis et Sanguinis Christi. Non quia eadem accidentia inhæreant præsentî Corpori et Sanguini Christi : sed quia per se subsistunt absque omni substantia. Vim denique substantialem operantur utpote realiter nutriendi seu reficiendi corpus hominis : in signum spiritualis nutritionis et refectionis per eucharistiam fiendæ" (cap. lxvi.).

So, again, it was asserted by one, whose ridiculous *quodlibets* seem to have been highly esteemed, that the accidents had all the same operations as if the substance remained ("ac si esset ibi substantia panis et vini"), "Possunt corrumpi, et generari ex eis substantia : et potest homo ex eis ali, augeri, nutriri, saturari ei inebriari . . . hoc etiam fit miraculose, quia ex accidente non potest naturaliter et de per se generari substantia" ("De Sacrosancto Euchar. Sacr. . . nova admodum et facillima quodlibeta per Cyprianum Beneti . . . Doctorem Parisiensem," qu. xiv. ; Holtzel, Nuremberg, 1516).

And Suarez declares that the opinion that the consecrated bread does not nourish, "antiquata jam est, et ut improbabilis omnino a Scholis rejecta" (Disput. lvii., § 3). Various opinions of the Schoolmen on the subject will be found in the works of J. Forbes of Corse, vol. ii., pp. 541 *sqq.* ; Amst., 1702. See also especially Valckenier's "Roma Paganizans," pp. 382 *sqq.*, 1656.

Even Innocent III. wrote : "Non solum accidentales, verum etiam naturales proprietates remanere videntur, ut paneitas, quæ saturando famem expellit, et vinitas quæ satiando sitim extinguit. Dicamus ergo, quod forma panis frangitur et atteritur, sed Corpus Christi sumitur et comeditur" ("Myst. Miss.," lib. iv., cap. ix. ; Op., tom. i., p. 379 ; Colon,

case, *paneity* (in some sense) would naturally seem to be on the side of the subject which is *gone*. In the other case, "paneitas" or "aliquitas panis" (see "Apostasia," Wyclif Soc., *Intro.*, p. xvi.), but without the *substance* of bread (see

1675). And to this sense he would reduce the "Ego Berengarius" (cap. x., p. 380). And Innocent V. wrote: "Communiter dicitur quod nutriunt, sicut patet ad sensum." And in answer to objection, "Accidens non potest converti in substantiam," he said: "Hoc verum est de eo quod est accidens, et retinet modum accidentis, sed species hæc habent modum substantiæ" (Op., tom. iv., p. 135; Tolos, 1651).

Ludovicus Pius is said to have received nothing but the Eucharist for forty days together. We are told of "some holy men" who would feed on nothing but the Eucharist. (See "Plain Representation of Transubstantiation," p. 6; London, 1687).

There was difference of opinion on the subject after the Council of Trent as well as before.

Albertinus ("De Eucharistia," lib. i., cap. xix., pp. 120, 121) names Algerus, Guitmundus, and Waldensis as denying that the consecrated elements do nourish; and Thomas, Ægidius, Ferrariensis, and Bellarmine as maintaining that *the accidents* can nourish; but Suarez, Vasques, Becanus, Gamachæus, and Ysambertus as denying, indeed, that accidents alone can nourish, but maintaining, "Eucharistiam alere, quia eo ipso momento quo species panis et vini corrumpantur, producit Deus de novo substantiam, aut materiam aliquam." But Thomas declares: "Non rationabiliter videtur dici quod miraculose aliquod accidat in hoc sacramento nisi ex ipsa consecratione." "Non potest substantia panis et vini redire, nisi Corpore aut Sanguine Christi iterum converso in substantiam panis et vini, quod est impossibile." (See Wyclif, "De Eucharistia," p. 145.)

Cardinal Alan says: "Solebant accidentia panis relicta propter officium pascendi, communi nomine cibi, panis, vel terrestris alimenti appellari" ("De Euch. Sacr." lib. i., cap. xxxvi.; "Lib. Tres.," p. 430; Antwerp, 1576).

Campion the Jesuit maintained, as against Fulke, that accidents "do feede" (Third Day's Conference, arg. iii., "True Report of Disputation"; London, 1583).

Gregory de Valentia holds that "Sacramentum ipsum, secundum panis et vini species in alimentum Corporis transit" ("Exam. Myst. Calv.," lib. iii., cap. v., arg. ii.; Op., p. 629; Paris, 1610).

The doctrine of the "Ego Berengarius" may doubtless have had its survivals. And some few among the scholastics and later divines may not only have defended its language, but made some sort of approach to its natural sense. It is a mistake, however, to argue—as has been argued—that the transubstantiation which was so strongly opposed by our Reformers and subsequent English divines was only the gross conception of the doctrine. The language of Cranmer ("On Lord's Supper," p. 112, P. S. edit.) might suffice to make it clear that it was quite well understood by our Reformers that anything like *that* doctrine had been generally rejected in favour of what may be called the scholastic spiritual doctrine (see papers on the "Eucharistic Presence," pp. 17-19. See also Forbes, "Consid. Mod.," A. C. L., vol. ii., p. 503), which Bellarmine affirms to be the "Sententia Theologorum communis" ("De Sac. Euch.," lib. i., cap. ii.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 462).

It may be going perhaps somewhat too far to say, with Bishop Thirlwall, that, "according to the interpretation of Sancta Clara, the object of

§ xxxvii.), is on the side of that which remains, and that which remains can hardly be confined within the limits of the stricter definition of "accidents." On this account, probably, some preferred to speak of *qualities* as well as *accidents* remaining without a subject (see Occam, "De Sacramento Altaris," cap. xvi. and xxi.). So the "Fortalitiū Fidei": "In hoc sacramento remanent accidentia panis et vini inter quæ sunt qualitates sensibiles" (lib. iii., consid. vi., imposs. xvii.).

Dr. Pusey has endeavoured out of this distinction to make a reconciliation between the doctrines of the Church of England and the Church of Rome ("Eirenicon," p. 24, and

the Article (Art. xxviii.) was to gainsay that which *nobody ever* affirmed" ("Remains," vol. i., p. 241). But it may, we believe, be safely asserted that there is no sufficient evidence that such a carnal presence of Christ—"id est, quasi Christus modo naturali seu carnali hic existeret, et dentibus nostris masticetur"—had any defenders, considerable in numbers or weight, at the date of the Reformation.

Thomas Waldensis is one, and Cardinal Alan is another, of those who inclined to the more materialistic views. Cardinal Alan, in particular, thinks that in this matter "multi Catholici male dicunt." He professes his dissent from Aquinas. And of the scholastic teaching he says: "Aliorum quorundam scholasticorum de motu, tactu, visu, loco, fractione et comestione, doctrina est plena curiositatis et periculi." He considers that this doctrine "plurimum juvat hæreticos." He defends the "Ego Berengarius." He says of it: "Quam confessionem non solum vulgares scioli, sed doctiores quidam Scriptores putarunt (sed male) improprie, et vehementius quam oportuit, fuisse conceptum. Sed retinenda est ad amussim, ut vera fidei Catholicæ explicatio."

He himself prefers to say: "Horum accidentium medio et ministerio, sicut per eadem ante panis, ita nunc Corpus ac Sanguinem vere a nobis contrectari, manducari, circumgestari, carni nostræ immisceri, dentibus teri, in hoc vel illo loco aut vase collocari, ibidemque per particulas *hic* et *nunc* indicari, communiter cum ipsis accidentibus, sensibilibus sacrificari, et oculis visibiliter ad adorationem proponi ac elevari," etc.

He claims the support of "Paschasius, Hugo Victorinus, Guitmundus, doctissimi viri," and among scholastics, "celebris Carmelita Joannes Baconus, quem Thomas Waldensis mirè probat et sequitur in hac materiâ" ("De Euch. Sacr.," lib. i., cap. xxxvii.; "Lib. Tres.," p. 435; Antwerp, 1576).

It may be questioned, however, whether the views of Hugo would be altogether in accord with those of Alan. But it must by no means be too hastily assumed that even this teaching of Alan, as connected with his doctrine of a "communicatio idiomatum"—so divergent from the accepted teaching of later Romanism—while shielding the "Ego Berengarius," can avail to save it from the charge of being perilously near to blasphemy. Its original meaning can hardly have been that which Alan attributes to it. Its language, understood in the sense which is not only the most obvious and natural, but also the most accurate interpretation of its terms, will still be (from the standpoint of Roman orthodoxy) more heretical than the doctrine of Berengarius himself. The words "verum Corpus . . . sensualiter . . . in veritate . . . atteri," seem certainly to go beyond, in their definiteness, what could be warranted by any "communicatio idiomatum." (See "Eucharistic Worship," pp. 55-57.)

part iii., pp. 80 *sqq.*). It is true that this teaching of the Tridentine Catechism may be said to make the presence *spiritual*; but there is a vast difference between the *spiritual* of the Church of Rome and the *spiritual* of the Church of England (see Cosin's "Hist. Trans.," ch. iii.). The distinction is admirably stated by Bishop Jeremy Taylor: "We say that Christ's body is in the Sacrament really, but spiritually. They say it is there really, but spiritually. For so Bellarmine is bold to say that the word may be allowed in this question. Where now is the difference? Here: by 'spiritually' they mean 'present after the manner of a spirit'; by 'spiritually' we mean 'present to our spirits only'—that is, so as Christ is not present to any other sense but that of faith or spiritual susception; but their way makes His Body to be present no way but that which is impossible, and implies a contradiction—a body not after the manner of a body, a body like a spirit, a body without a body, and a sacrifice of body and blood without blood: *corpus incorporeum, cruor incuruentus*" ("Real Presence," sect. i., § 8; "Works," vol. vi., p. 17, edit. Eden; see also pp. 105, 106. See Bellarmine, "De Euch.," lib. i., ch. ii.; "De Contr.," tom. iii., c. 461; and Cornelius a Lapide, "Com. in 1 Cor. xi. 24"). The opinion had been maintained in the treatise "De Sacramento Altaris," in the "Works" of Hildebert (c. 1103, 1104; Paris, 1708), and by Pope Innocent V. (Op., tom. iv., p. 120).

But whether the term "accidents" be understood in the wider or narrower sense, it is certain that the "Ego Berengarius" can never be reconciled in its natural and obvious sense with the Romish doctrine in its developed form. By the doctrine of transubstantiation, the Body of Christ, though present, is not the object of any natural sense.

All that is subject to the senses in the Eucharist—all that is seen, felt, touched¹—all this is to be regarded as not the

¹ It will, indeed, be found that transubstantiationists sometimes, in the use of incautious or inaccurate language, speak of seeing, touching, etc., as when Pope Innocent III. wrote: "Cum sacramentum tenetur, comeditur et gustatur, Christus corporaliter adest in visu, in tactu, et in sapore" ("Myst. Miss.," lib. iv., cap. xv.; Op., tom. i., p. 383; Colon, 1575. Compare Hugo de Sancto Victore, Op., tom. iii., ff. 155, 290; Venice, 1588). But such language has its explanation in the words of Gerson: "Dicimus, nos videre Corpus Christi, dum videmus accidentia panis illius, qui in ipsum transubstantialiter conversus est" ("Tract. nonus super Magnificat.," Op., tom. iv., c. 405; Antw., 1706). And so the use of such language is sometimes defended by maintaining that Christ is seen "ut est in sacramento," meaning that the species is seen under which He is veiled. "Quamvis Corpus Christi non cadat sub sensu, tamen species quæ ipsum significat et continet cadit sub sensu" (Innocent V., in iv. sentent., dist. x., quæst. iii., art. ii.; Op., tom. iv., p. 113; Tolos, 1651).

So Peter de Alliaco: "Vulgo dicitur hodie vidi Corpus Christi, etc. Hic

Body of Christ, but only the accidents of a substance, which has been changed by consecration into another substance—a substance unfelt, unseen, untouched, but really a substance present under the forms of the elements.¹

dico quod istæ propositiones *video Corpus Christi, vel tango, etc.*, non sunt veræ nisi ad istum sensum *video et tango species sub quibus est Corpus Christi, et sic intelligitur illud capitulum*” [i.e., “Ego Berengarius”] (“Quarti Sententiarum,” questio quinta, U.U.). “Corpus Christi, ut est hic, non potest tangi, nec approximari, nec est coloratum” (Faber, i. 178). “Oculi sunt in manibus, manus in pedibus” (*ibid.*, 137). See Edgar’s “Variations of Popery,” p. 350.

So Thomas Aquinas: “Hoc modo intelligenda est Confessio Berengarii, ut fractio et attritio dentium referatur ad speciem sacramentalem, sub qua vere est Corpus Christi” (pars iii., quæst. lxxvii., art. vii.).

Thomas Waldensis holds that the Body is broken “in sua essentia,” but not “secundum essentiam.” He adds: “Concedi debet etiam substantiam Corporis Christi ibi teneri, et frangi: sed hoc per medium sacramenti” (“De Sacr. Euch.,” cap. lvi., f. 94; Venice, 1571).

Juveninus has said: “Propter intimam et mirabilem specierum cum Corpore Christi conjunctionem communicatio idiomatum aliquo modo locum habet in Eucharistia” (“De Sacr.,” diss. iv., quæst. iv.). And this “communicatio idiomatum” was strongly maintained by Cardinal Alan (“De Euch. Sacr.,” cap. xxxvii.).

And so Pope Benedict XIV. declares: “Si accurate et Theologicè loquamur, non est dicendum: *Frangitur Corpus Christi, sed franguntur species*: quanquam Theologicè etiam dici potest: *frangitur Corpus Christi*; nam etiam in Eucharistia idiomatum communicationis locus esse potest” (“De Sacrificio Missæ,” cccxxvi.; Op., pars ii., p. 124; Patav., 1745).

This notion, however, of the “communicatio idiomatum” was generally disallowed by later theologians. It was strongly opposed and ably refuted by Bellarmine (“De Euch.,” lib. i., cap. ii., c. 462, 463; see also c. 499), who gives his own explanation thus: “Quamvis Corpus Christi in Eucharistia per se non videatur, nec tangatur, nec moveatur; tamen ratione specierum, sive accidentium, quibus conjunctum est, potest dici, videri, tangi, moveri, etc. Id patet, quia species illæ vere videntur, tanguntur, moventur; et quod eis convenit, usitate etiam tribuitur ei, quod est cum illis conjunctum” (“De Sacr. Euch.,” lib. i., cap. ii.; “De Controv.,” tom. iii., c. 461; Ingold., 1601).

Gregory de Valentia says: “Nulla est de hâc quæstione controversia inter Scholasticos et Pontificios doctores. Nam quando dicunt, *non frangi, intelligunt Corpus ipsum secundum se. Quando dicunt frangi, intelligunt secundum species intime ipsi Corpori Christi conjunctas*” (“Ex. Myst. Calv.,” lib. ii., cap. x., § 3; “De Rebus Fid.,” p. 608; Paris, 1610).

¹ It should, however, be noted that there were not inconsiderable varieties of opinion among the Schoolmen (especially among the Scotists) on the subject, and that (notwithstanding the definition of Innocent III. in 1215) the doctrine of transubstantiation was not strictly *de fide* before the Council of Trent. See especially the Preface of P.A.E.A.P. (Pet. Allix, Eccles. Angli. Presbyter) to his edition of the “Determinatio Joannis Parisiensis de modo existendi Corpus Christi”; London, 1686; and Morton on “Eucharist,” book iii., ch. ii., § 4, p. 152. And even since, some Romish Minimisers have by tension aimed at making the doctrine elastic enough to cover a somewhat wide diversity of opinion, and the net has sometimes broken. See Picherellus, *Opuscula*, pp. 13 *sqq.*, and Archbishop Wake in Gibson’s “Preservative,” vol. x., pp. 8-20; London,

The doctrine can hardly be better expressed than in the words of Archbishop Cranmer: "The Papists say that in the Supper of the Lord, after the words of consecration (as they call it), there is none other substance remaining, but the substance of Christ's flesh and blood. . . . And although all the accidents, both of the bread and wine, remain still, yet, say they, the same accidents be in no manner of thing, but hang alone in the air, without anything to stay them upon. . . . Nor in the bread and wine, say they, these accidents cannot be, for the substance of bread and wine, as they affirm, be clean gone. And so there remaineth whiteness, but nothing is white; there remaineth colours, but nothing is coloured therewith; there remaineth roundness, but nothing is round; and there is bigness, and yet nothing is big; there is sweetness without any sweet thing; softness without any soft thing; breaking without anything broken; division without anything divided; and so other qualities and quantities without anything to receive them. And this doctrine they teach as a necessary article of our faith" ("On the Lord's Supper," p. 45, P. S. edit.; see also pp. 254, 256, 324, 326; and Jewel's "Works," vol. ii., pp. 562 *sqq.*).

The Tridentine Catechism distinctly teaches, "panis et vini species in hoc sacramento sine aliqua re subjecta constare." It

1848; and Pusey's "Eirenicon," part iii., pp. 79-88. For an account of the different views maintained by Dominicans and Franciscans at the Council of Trent, see Sarpi's "Historia Conc. Trid.," lib. iv., p. 309. For an account of the very discordant opinions on transubstantiation held by Romish divines, see Albertinus, "De Eucharistia," lib. i., cap. xxiii.; and Morton on "Eucharist," book iii., ch. iii., § 1; and Edgar's "Variations of Popery," ch. xii., especially pp. 379, 380.

The Reformers frequently appealed to the testimony of pre-Tridentine divines who had asserted that the doctrine of transubstantiation could not be made to rest on the words of institution, nor on any other sufficient Scriptural warrant, that it would have been possible, or easy (some would have said easier), to understand the words of Scripture otherwise, but for the determination of the Roman Church. Quotations to this effect will be found in Bishop Cosin's "History of Transubstantiation" (ch. v., § 3), from Scotus, Durandus, Biel, Occam, Peter d'Alliaco, Cajetanus, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (see the notes in A. C. L. edit., pp. 55, 56). Even Bellarmine declares: "Etiam si Scriptura . . . videatur nobis tam clara, ut possit cogere quæ mihi satis clara ad hominem non protervum: tamen, an ita sit, merito dubitari potest, cum homines doctissimi et acutissimi, qualis imprimis Scotus fuit, contrarium sentierunt." ("De Euch.," lib. iii., c. xxiii.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 752; Ingold., 1601). See also Cosin, "Hist. Transubs.," ch. vii., § 26, and Forbes, "Consid. Mod.," A. C. L., vol. ii., pp. 462 *sqq.*

Cajetan's admission that "transubstantiation is not expressly taught in the Gospel" was so pointed that Pius V. ordered it to be expunged from the Roman edition of the Cardinal's works. See Edgar's "Variations of Popery," p. 362.

adds: "Quoniam ea accidentia Christi corpori et sanguini inhærere non possunt: relinquitur, ut supra omnem naturæ ordinem ipsa se nullâ alia re nisa sustentent." And this, it assures us, "perpetua et constans fuit catholicæ Ecclesiæ doctrina" (pars ii., cap. iv., § xliv.). For a refutation of this astounding assertion we may refer to Morton, "On Eucharist," book iii., ch. iii., §§ 11-14, and ch. iv., § 9; and Albertinus, "De Eucharistia," lib. ii.; "Examen, August.," cap. xii., pp. 741 *sqq.*

It was well said by Wyclif: "Certum est quod omne simpliciter impossibile est summe hereticum; et iterum certum est quod summe impossibile est, quod quantitas, qualitas vel aliquod accidens potest esse sine subjecto" ("De Eucharistia," p. 150; Wyclif Soc.).

Des Cartes, seeing that it is of the essence of an accident to subsist in a subject, and that, therefore, to suppose accidents made by omnipotence to subsist of themselves without a subject, is to suppose the same things to be what they are, and to be not what they are, gave utterance to language which caused much uneasiness to the upholders of transubstantiation. His philosophy accordingly was attacked by Arnault, as destructive of the true doctrine of the Sacrament. Des Cartes met the force of the opposition by "A New Hypothesis of the Superficies," saying that he hoped the time would come when the divines of the Church of Rome would hiss the doctrine of real accidents out of the world as an unreasonable, incomprehensible, and unsafe doctrine to be believed (see "The Absolute Impossibility of Transubstantiation Demonstrated," p. 38; London, 1688).

But the existence of accidents apart from their subject was quite unknown and unheard of in the early ages of Christianity. Evidence of this may be seen in Stillingfleet's "Doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation Compared" (pp. 25-27; London, 1687). Anyone questioning this should read the long quotation from Maximus which is found in the "Præp. Evangel." of Eusebius (lib. vii., cap. xxii., pp. 337 *sqq.*; edit. Viger; Paris, 1628).

Stillingfleet says: "That no accidents can be without their subject is in general affirmed by Isidore Hispalensis, Boethius, Damascen, and others" (p. 26). And again: "The Fathers do not only assert that accidents cannot be without their subject, but they confute hæretics on that supposition; which showed their assurance of the truth of it" (p. 27).

See now how literalism has gone to seed, and mark well the seed it has produced. See rather how literalism, having attained to its full growth, has committed self-destruction. See how it has fallen into the pit which it made for others.

See how literalism in its perfection has become the very perfection of all that is forced and unnatural in interpretation.¹

See how the words of institution have come now to be interpreted: "Take, eat. This is My Body. Take, but don't think that *this* is what you see Me give. Take, but don't think you can touch and handle what you take. Eat, but don't think to do what is commonly meant by eating." You are indeed to *swallow*² the Body of Christ—even the Body

¹ Thus it was truly said by Wyclif: "Minus tropicat nostra sententia illud dictum quam sententia contraria que intelligit quod accidencia panis erunt figura Corporis Christi, quia illud infundabiliter tropicat utrumque extremum" ("De Eucharistiâ," p. 296, Wyclif Soc.).

Bellarmino himself will thus be found to be on the side of the *tropical* and *figurative* interpretation of the language of *seeing*, and *touching*, and *taking*, and *eating*. He speaks of the doubt whether such words "dicantur de ipso vere, et proprie, an per aliquem *tropum*." And after stating the views of those who maintain the "vere et proprie," he says: "At sententia Theologorum communis contrarium docet" ("De Sacr. Euch.," lib. i., cap. ii.; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 462). And he argues decidedly and forcibly in favour of the rule, that words which signify other changes than local motion—"dicuntur quidem de Corpore Christi ratione specierum, sed improprie, et *figurate*" (*ibid.*).

Have we not here a teaching which demands a *figurative* interpretation of the words of institution, and maintains a *trope* very far more forced (if not more tropical) than that of Berengar, Wyclif, and the Reformed? And yet, after this, Suarez could write: "Neque immorari nos oportet in referendis, et refutandis *tropis*, *figuris*, et metaphoris, quibus Protestantibus hæc clarissima verba corrumpere conati sunt" ("Defensio Fidei Cath.," c. 149; Col. Ag., 1614).

² "Mira res," says Hugo de Sancto Victore, "caro, quæ comeditur in imis, integra manet in excelsis" (Op., tom. iii., f. 154; Venice, 1588). "Ad id quod objicitur, quod Corpus Christi verum manducatur, dicendum quod in manducatione tria sunt. Masticatio, in ventrem trajectio, et incorporatio: et hæc tria respondent tribus, quæ sunt in sacramento. Masticatio namque est specierum tantum: incorporatio est quantum ad Corpus Christi mysticum: *in ventrem trajectio est non solum specierum, sed etiam Corporis Christi veri*, quod ibi est quamdiu est species panis: non ergo dicitur Corpus Christi verum vere manducari corporaliter, quia corporaliter masticatur: sicut enim non fraugitur, sic nec masticatur" (Bonaventura, "In Sent.," lib. iv., dist. xii., pars i., art. iii., quæst. i.; Op., tom. v., p. 143; Lugd., 1668). See Cosin, "Hist. Transub.," cap. vii., § 24. Other opinions were also held by some (see Ridley's "Works," p. 200, P. S. edit.).

Alexander Alensis says ("Sum. Theol.," pars iv., quæst. xi.; "De manducatione Euch.," memb. ii., art. ii., § 1): "Si canis vel porcus deglutiret hostiam consecratam, non video quare vel quomodo Corpus Domini non simul cum specie traheretur in ventrem canis vel porci." And Thomas Aquinas (Op., 1593, tom. vii., f. 26): "Species possunt a brutis manducari, ergo et Corpus Christi." (See Cosin's "Works," vol. iv., p. 97, A. C. L., note A, from which these quotations are taken.)

To teach the contrary has been forbidden by a Pope (Gregory XI.), under pain of excommunication (A.D. 1371), and is declared by Thomas Aquinas to derogate from the truth of the Sacrament. (See Cosin, "Hist. Transub.," cap. vi., § 2, cap. vii., § 27.)

Bellarmino asserts: "Vere et proprie dicemus, Corpus Christi in

which is now glorified in heaven—but you are not to think that what you press with your teeth is Christ's Body. All that you touch, and handle, and wound are but the accidents

Eucharistiâ . . . transferri a manu ad os, et ab ore ad stomachum" ("De Euch.," lib. i., ch. ii. ; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 462 ; Ingold., 1601).

Again : "Respondeo, Corpus Christi vere ac proprie manducari etiam corpore in Eucharistia. Nam ad rationem manducationis non est necessaria attritio, sed satis est sumptio, et transmissio ab ore ad stomachum. . . . Non enim dicimus, Corpus Christi absolute manducari, sed manducari sub specie panis ; quæ sententia significat ipsas species manducari visibiliter ac sensibiliter, ac proinde ipsas dentibus atteri : sed sub illis invisibiliter, sumi etiam et transmitti ad stomachum Corpus Christi" ("De Sacr. Euch.," lib. i., cap. xi. ; "De Controv.," tom. iii., c. 512 ; Ingold., 1601.)

Jeremy Taylor calls this "a pretty device, that we take the flesh, and swallow down flesh, and yet manducate or chew no flesh," quoting from Hesychius ("In Levit.," lib. ii., c. 1) : "Non comedet ex eo quisquam, i.e., non dividetur, quia dentium est dividere et partiri cibos, cum aliter manducari non possint" ("Real Presence," § 3 ; "Works," vol. vi., p. 29, edit. Eden).

For a differing authority, see Wyclif, "De Eucharistiâ," p. 309. And observe that even the gloss there quoted recognises concerning the *Corpus Christi* that it "*ducitur per gulam.*"

Bishop Cosin says truly : "Ex hypothesi transubstantiationis necessario quidem deducitur Corpus Christi posse esse in ventre muris sub specie panis. Contraria vero opinio non modo hodie a pontificis non tenetur, sed, ne deinceps teneatur, ipse etiam Pontifex Romanus, additâ excommunicationis pœnâ, prohibuit : adeo ut dubitare illis non liceat, quin res sit de fide, quæ a fide maxime abhorret" ("Hist. Trans.," cap. vi., § 2 ; "Works," A. C. L., vol. iv., p. 97).

As regards consumption, however, by irrational animals, Bonaventura said : "Est alia opinio, quod Corpus Christi nullo modo descendet in ventrem muris. . . . Et hæc opinio communior est, et certe honestior et rationabilior" ("Ad Sent.," iv., dist. xiii., art. ii., quæst. i.). This opinion, however, met with disapproval at the Synod of Paris, A.D. 1300. The doctrine of Aquinas also on this point was modified so far as this, that he held that an animal could partake of the body of Christ only *accidentaliter*, not *sacramentaliter* (see Hagenbach, "Hist. of Doctrines," vol. ii., p. 101 ; Clark), making a distinction which is not altogether easy of apprehension.

Thomas Waldensis held : "Quia gloriosum Corpus Christi caret ratione respectiva, ut sit cibus brutorum : idcirco quamvis reperiat in ore bestię, aut in ventre, non tamen ibi comeditur : sicut nec comederetur ab eo auri massa, quamvis reperietur in ore vel stomacho : sed potest deglutiri, per gulam trajici, vel vorari" ("De Sacr. Euch.," cap. lx., f. 101 ; Venice, 1571).

It should be added that Pope Innocent III. seems to have turned away from all such conceptions, and that his teaching lies under the condemnation of Pope Gregory XI. (see "Myst. Miss.," lib. iv., cap. xi. ; Op., tom. i., p. 380). He further teaches (following Hugo de Sancto Victore) : "Dispensatione completâ, Christus de ore transit ad cor. Melius est enim ut procedat in mentem, quam ut descendat in ventrem. Cibus est non carnis, sed animæ. Venit ut comedatur, non ut consumatur : ut gustetur, non ut incorporetur" (cap. xv., p. 383. See also Hugo de Sancto Victore, Op., tom. iii., ff. 155, 290 ; Venice, 1588 ; "De Sacr. Fid.," lib. ii., pars x., cap. xiii. ; and Peter Damiani, "Expositio Can. Missæ," § 6 ; in Mai's "Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.," tom. vi., pars ii., p. 215 ; also "Syn. Carisiac.,"

of bread which no longer exists. You handle and bite nothing but the accidents of bread; you swallow and eat the Body of Christ.

This comes in the end of refusing to see a trope in the words of Christ, and insisting on their being understood *ut verba sonant*. Surely we may well ask, Is *this* to interpret them *ut verba sonant*?¹

and "Florus Magister," as quoted in "Eucharistic Worship," p. 348). And this doctrine is followed by the "Fortalium Fidei" (lib. iii., consid. vi., impos. xxiii., f. 74; Nuremberg, 1485).

But this teaching had been again corrected by Petrus de Tarantasia (afterwards Pope Innocent V.), who wrote: "Corpus Christi cibus est ventris susceptive, sed mentis finaliter, quia non nutrit ventrem sed mentem" (in iv. sent., dist. x., quæ. i., art. iv.; Op., tom. iv., p. 102; Tolos, 1651). And it has since been put (as it seems to us) under the anathema of the Council of Trent: "Si quis dixerit, Christum in Eucharistiâ exhibitum, spiritualiter tantum manducari, et non etiam sacramentaliter ac realiter: anathema sit" (sess. xiii., canon viii.).

It had been urged in the Council that "posset articulus sic formari, exhiberi in Eucharistiâ Christum, sed spiritualiter tantum manducari per fidem, et non sacramentaliter" (Theiner, "Acta Conc. Trid." tom. i., p. 416); against which it was argued by Visdomini: "Si vero intelligat, Christum vere non suscipi, dum etiam per fidem spiritualiter manducatur, falsus est: nam et vere in eos [? os] recipitur, et in stomachum etiam, si salvæ sint species, traducitur" (*ibid.*, pp. 428, 429).

Such teaching is defended by appealing to the sayings of the Fathers. But that such Patristic language is intended to be *sacramentally* understood is clear from its going too far to be understood of anything more than the sacramental signs. See the forcible argument of the following:

"*Theophilus the Christian*: How think you? Must this [the language of the Fathers asserting nourishment by the body of Christ] be referred to the natural and true body and blood of Christ, or else to the signs bearing those names when once they be sanctified? *Philander the Jesuit*: No doubt to the signs. *Theoph.*: And were it not open madness to avouch it to be really true of the things themselves whose signs those are? *Philand.*: It were. *Theoph.*: Why, then, since corporal eating serveth only for corporal nourishing, and hath a continual and natural coherence with it, do you confess the trnth in the latter and not as well in the former part of the action? Why do you not expound them both alike? *Philand.*: To say the immortal flesh of Christ is converted and turned into the quantity and substance of our mortal flesh is an horrible heresy. *Theoph.*: And to say that His flesh is eaten with our mouths and jaws, and lieth in our stomachs, is the very pathway and right introduction to that heresy, or at least to as brutish and gross an error as that is. *Philand.*: The Fathers affirm that His body is eaten with our mouths. *Theoph.*: And so they affirm that His body and blood do increase and augment the substance of our mortal and sinful bodies" (Bishop Bilson's "True Difference," pp. 770, 771; Oxford, 1585).

¹ "Quis audeat manducare Dominum tuum?" (Lombard, "Sent.," lib. iv., dist. xii., f. 314; Paris, 1558).

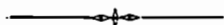
Lombard distinguishes between the action of the hands and the teeth: "Illa Berengarii verba ita distinguenda sunt, ut sensualiter *non modo in sacramento*, sed in veritate dicatur Corpus Christi tractari manibus sacerdotum: frangi vero et atteri dentibus vere quidem, sed *in sacramento tantum*. Vera ergo est ibi attritio et partitio: sed in singulis partibus

Well did Bishop Andrewes write: "Vestri homines, dum figuram unam fugiunt, mille se quæstionibus involvunt" ("Ad Bell. Resp.," p. 214. See Cosin, "Hist. Transubs.," ch. vii., § 24; and especially Bramhall, "Works," A. C. L., vol. i., pp. 14-19).

No wonder the "Ego Berengarius" stands condemned by such a teaching as this. How could the literal and natural stand before such a forced and unnatural¹ interpretation as that which results from the full-grown doctrine of transubstantiation? No wonder that the orthodox gloss of the thirteenth century condemned the orthodox language of the eleventh century. No wonder that the "Ego Berengarius" had to bear in its margin the words, "Nisi sane intelligas verba Berengarii, in majorem incidēs hæresim, quam ipse fuit."

N. DIMOCK.

(To be continued.)



ART. III.—ABSOLUTION.

(Concluded.)

THERE is no doubt that this is the sense of the "Absolution" in morning and evening prayer. (1) It is there simply declaratory; but even there we must be carefully on our guard against the idea that God's pardon is conveyed by this declaration. The message of pardon is thereby conveyed, but the pardon itself is given direct from heaven to all believers, whether present at the time or not. "He pardoneth and absolveth *all them* that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe His holy Gospel," a statement which is conclusive that the pardon is not conveyed by the message, but by faith to every believer direct from God. (2) The "Absolution" in the

otus est Christus" (Lombard, "Sent.," lib. iv., dist. xii., f. 315; Paris, 1588).

See also Bonaventura's "Apology for the Ego Berengarius," in "Sent.," lib. iv., pars i., dist. xii., quæ. i.; Op., tom. v., p. 143.

Note also the following: "Sub speciebus illis erat passibilis, sed erat ibi impassibiliter" (p. 133).

¹ According to Bellarmine (to use the words of Jeremy Taylor): "The pronoun demonstrative does only point to the accidents, and yet does not mean the accidents, but the substance under them; and yet it does not mean the substance that is under them, but that which shall be; for the substance which is meant is not yet: and it does not point to the substance, but yet it means it: for the substance indeed is meant by the pronoun demonstrative, but it does not at all demonstrate it, but the accidents only" ("Real Presence," sect. v., § 4; "Works," vol. vi., p. 50, edit. Eden; see also sect. vi., § 8, pp. 64, 65).