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A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARTIN LUTHER'S
DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER

By

George E. Meetze

A. B., University of South Carolina

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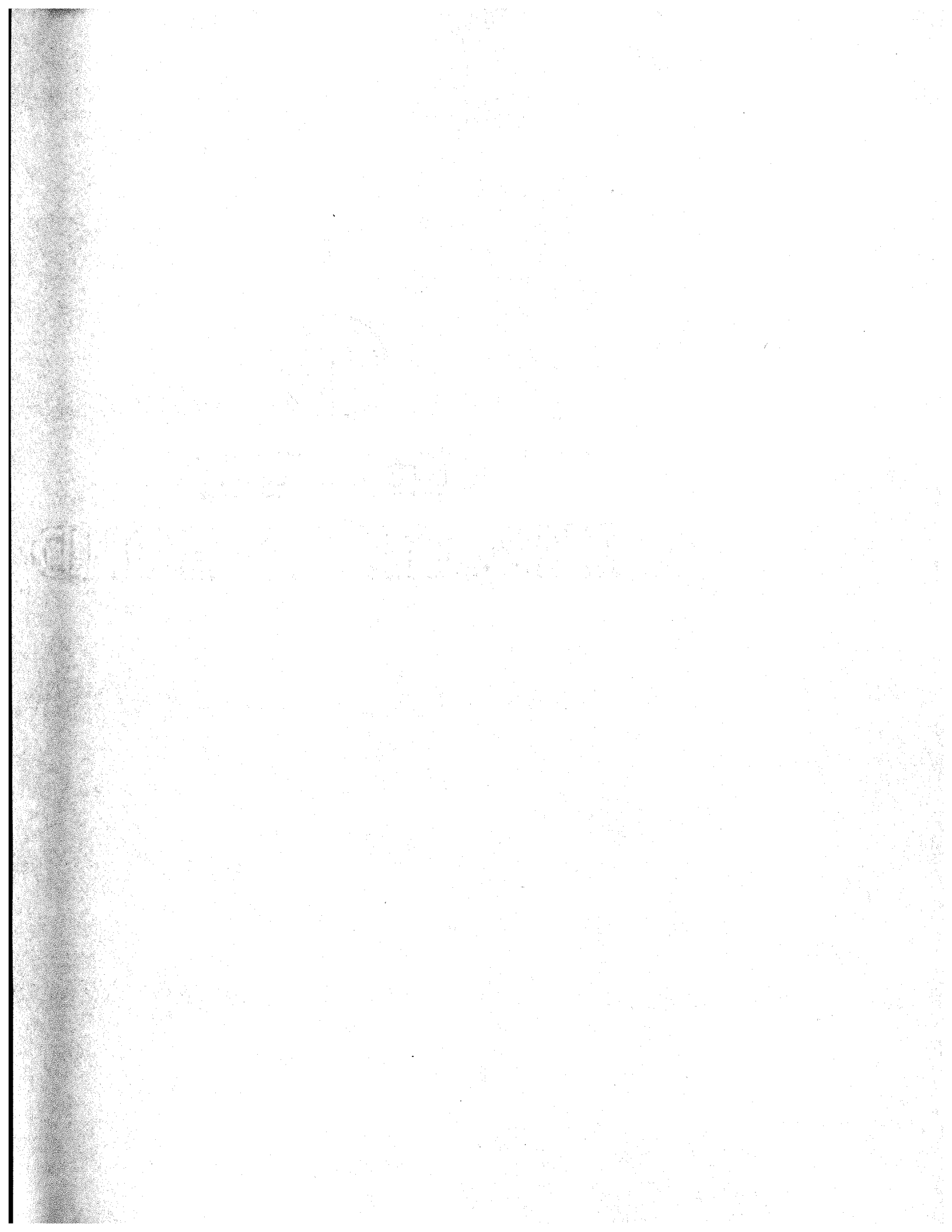


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DEEP THINGS

Life deep as Heaven
Given for food --
Shed for our drinking --
The body and blood --

Lord, whose forgiveness
Is seventy times seven,
I am too shallow
For deep things of Heaven.

Marguerite Wilkinson

INTRODUCTION

A STUDY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARTIN LUTHER'S
DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER.

INTRODUCTION.

1. Statement of the Problem.

In Luther's "Babylonian Captivity of the Church" of 1520, he wrote:

"Let me tell you what progress I have made in my studies on the administration of this sacrament. For when I published my treatise on the Eucharist (the treatise on the Blessed Sacrament, 1519), I clung to the common usage, being in no wise concerned with the question of the right or wrong of the papacy. But now challenged and attacked, nay, forcibly thrust into the arena, I shall freely speak my mind, let all the papists laugh or weep together".1

Here we have from Luther's own pen evidence of the fact that his views on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper underwent a development. This development came about as a result of controversy; and being constantly pressed, by both Papists and Protestants, his views were constantly being moulded and fortified.

"Willy nilly, I am compelled to become every day more learned, with so many and such able masters vying with one another to improve my mind".2

Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper gradually developed from an uncertain Roman Catholic viewpoint into the convictions that he passed on to the Church that bears his name. Our problem is to trace the development of his

1. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, Vol. II, p. 178.

2. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 170.

views from the year 1517, when he posted his Theses on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, to the final authoritative statement of his doctrine in the Augsburg Confession of 1530.

2. Justification of this Study.

The Lutheran Church differs from all other Protestant bodies on the point of the Lord's Supper; actually one of her principal marks of individuality lies in her doctrine concerning this Sacrament. She feels that the foundations of the Evangelical Faith are at stake in compromising truth, and holds tenaciously to her conception of the true doctrine of the Supper. G. H. Gerberding, an eminent Lutheran theologian, in speaking on this issue, says:

"We therefore find that on this point also our dear old Church is built impregnably on the foundation of Christ and His Apostles. And though she may here differ from all others, she cannot yield one jot or tittle without proving false to her Lord and His truth. It is not bigotry. It is not prejudice, that makes her cling so tenaciously to this doctrine. She knows, as the great Reformer knew that the very foundations are at stake; that if she gives up on this point, and changes the scriptures to suit human reason, she will soon have to give up other doctrines, and by and by the rock on which the Church is built will be removed, and the gates of hell will prevail.

"And further, if there is any risk of being mistaken, which she, however, does not admit -- she would rather run that risk, by taking her Master at His word, than by changing His word. In childlike confidence and trust, she would rather believe too much than not enough. She would rather trust her dear Master too far than not far enough. And therefore here she stands; she cannot do otherwise. May God help her! Amen!"¹

1. Gerberding, G. H., *The Way of Salvation in the Lutheran Church*, p. 117.

So, then, the justification for this study lies in the fact that by tracing the development of Martin Luther's thinking on this doctrine we shall come to a clearer understanding and appreciation of those views held through the centuries by the Lutheran Church.

3. Sources.

As far as possible the original sources will be used. In Holman's series of "Works of Martin Luther", are English translations of "A Treatise concerning the Blessed Sacrament", 1519, "Treatise on the New Testament", 1520, "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church", 1520, which will be analyzed. His Small and Large Catechisms will be thoroughly examined. Luther's "Grosses Bekinntniss" or "Large Confession" has been translated and published in Henkel's edition of "Luther on the Sacraments", which will be minutely examined because it is Luther's classic on the subject. In addition, there are at hand two volumes of Luther's Correspondence and contemporary letters, edited by Preserved Smith, as well as a volume of Table Talk, edited by Hazlitt. Other materials will be obtained from secondary authoritative sources such as Köstlin, and Mackinnon.

4. Method and Plan of Procedure.

The Method: The method will consist in tracing chronologically Luther's thinking on the subject from 1517 to the Augsburg Confession of 1530. This will be done in

the light of the times and the contemporary thinking on the subject. Consequently, Luther's own position will be made clearer by stating the opposing views.

The Plan: Chapter I will consist of the personal and intellectual background of Luther, his personality, type of intellect, influence of the Scholastics and the Mystics, his attitude toward the Bible, and his early views as a Catholic of the Church and the Lord's Supper. Chapters II and III will trace the development of Luther's position on the Sacrament of the Supper in his conflict with the Roman Catholic point of view. Chapters IV and V will trace the development and defence of his point of view in his conflict with the opposing wing of Protestantism. Chapter VI will consist of a general summary of the development, and a conclusion, in which will be stated the points in the Catholic position wherein Luther differed, a statement of Zwingli's position where he differed from Luther, and finally an inclusive summary in propositional form of Luther's own theological position.

CHAPTER I.

He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
He would not make his judgment blind,
He faced the spectres of the mind
And laid them: thus he came at length

To find a stronger faith his own;
And Power was with him in the night.

Alfred Tennyson

Outline of Chapter I.

THE PERSONAL AND INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND OF
MARTIN LUTHER.

- A. INTRODUCTION.
- B. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.
 - 1. Humble Origin.
 - 2. Personality.
 - 3. A Leader.
 - 4. A Portrait.
- C. INTELLECT.
 - 1. Conservative Mould.
 - 2. Thinker.
 - 3. Intellectual grasp and use of words.
 - 4. Superstitions.
- D. INFLUENCE OF THE SCHOLASTICS ON LUTHER'S THOUGHT.
 - 1. General Scholastic Influence on Luther's Mind.
 - 2. Scholastic Influence on Luther's conception of the Lord's Supper.
- E. INFLUENCE OF THE MYSTICS.
- F. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BIBLE.
 - 1. Great Knowledge of the Bible.
 - 2. Bible the Supreme Authority in Doctrinal Matters.
 - 3. Relative Value of the Books of the Bible.
 - 4. Development of Luther's Conception of the Bible from 1512 to the Diet of 1521.
- G. YOUNG LUTHER AS A ROMAN CATHOLIC.
 - 1. Early View of the Catholic Church and Rome.
 - 2. Catholic Luther's View of the Lord's Supper.
- H. SUMMARY.

Chapter I.

THE PERSONAL AND INTELLECTUAL BACKGROUND OF
MARTIN LUTHER.

A. INTRODUCTION.

Phillips Brooks once said, "Some men are events. It is not what they say or what they do, but what they are that moves the world"¹. Brooks was here speaking of Luther. So, before taking up the development of Luther's thinking on the Lord's Supper, it is appropriate that notice be taken of the personality and intellectual background of Luther. In thus noting the factors that aided in the moulding of his theological convictions, a clearer understanding of his position will be gained.

First, Luther's personal characteristics will be considered; then in order, his intellect; the influence of the Scholastics and the Mystics on his theological and religious thinking; his attitude toward the Bible; and his early views as a Catholic.

B. PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS.

1. Humble origin: It is interesting to note that Luther came out of a humble background², his father being a miner; and so was well aware of the elemental things of

1. Brooks, Phillips, Essays and Addresses, p. 385.
2. Mackinnon, J., Luther and the Reformation, I, p. 1.

life. As Carlyle expressed it, "Among things, not among show of things" he had to grow, and his task "was to bring the whole world back to reality, for it had dwelt too long with semblance."¹ George Stephenson writes, "In his

veins flowed the blood of stern, frugal, hardworking peasants, who brought their son under strict discipline."²

2. Personality: The personality of the man is very important. "It is the personality of Luther which really holds the secret of his power"³. Brooks said "he was loved and hated"³, not his books and message alone, but the man himself.⁴ Luther's personality was gripping, his friends were drawn to him and clung to him.

"His very presence was inspiring. The brilliant deep set eyes, ever ready to smile on a friend, and to flash fire at his opponents, left an ineffable impression on those with whom he came in contact".⁵

3. A Leader. Luther possessed all the qualities of a real leader.⁶ A man who leads a successful reformation or revolution

"must have a kingly faculty: he must have the gift to discern at all turns where the true heart of the matter lies, and to plant himself courageously

1. Carlyle, T., Heroes and Hero Worship, p. 171.

Carlyle quaintly says that Luther's humble birth "leads us back to another birth-hour, in still meaner environment, eighteen hundred years ago -- of which it is fit that we say nothing, that we think in silence".

2. Stephenson, G. M., Conservative Character of Martin Luther, p. 10.

3. Brooks, Phillips, Essays and Addresses, p. 376.

4. Mackinnon, Vol. I, p. 16.

5. Stephenson, G. M., Conservative Character of M.L., p. 15.

6. Smith, P., M. L., p. 69.

on that, as a strong true man, that other true men may rally round him there. He will not continue leader of men otherwise. Luther's clear deep force of judgment, his force of all sorts, of silence, of tolerance and moderation, among others, are very notable."¹

"Perhaps no man of so humble, peaceable a disposition ever filled the world with contention."²

Luther was one of "the bravest, if also one of the humblest, peaceablest" men then living in the world.³

4. A Portrait: Preserved Smith says that Kranach's woodcuts of Luther in 1521 "give so plain an impression of the iron will and strength of character that all who run may read"⁴. Carlyle describes Kranach's portraits of Luther:⁵

"Luther's face is expressive of him; in Kranach's best portraits I find the true Luther. A rude plebeian face; with it huge crag-like brows and bones, the emblem of rugged energy; at first, almost a repulsive face. Yet in the eyes especially there is a wild silent sorrow; an unnameable melancholy, the element of all gentle and fine affections; giving to the rest the true stamp of nobleness. Laughter was in this Luther, as we said; but tears also were there. The basis of his life was Sadness, Earnestness. I will call this Luther a Great Man; great in intellect, in courage, affection and integrity; one of our most lovable and precious men. Great, not as a hewn obelisk; but as an Alpine mountain, -- so simple, honest, spontaneous."⁶

Martyn does not speak so ideally. In the preface to his book on Luther he says, maintaining a scholarly

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1. Carlyle, p. 184.
 2. Ibid p. 175.
 3. Ibid p. 177.
 4. Smith, P., op. cit., p. 118.
 5. McGiffert, A. C., Martin Luther, the Man and His Work, 1912, p. 55.
 6. Carlyle, Thos., Heroes and Hero Worship, p. 189, 190.

attitude of mild, and honest enthusiasm: "Not an ideal Luther, but Luther as he was, frank, homely, resolute, vehement, statesmanlike, grand, yet marred by faults, human in his errors."¹

So we can see that a man of this type is not one to be easily led. He is the kind of man that stands stolidly, and ruggedly by his convictions.

C. INTELLECT.

1. Conservative Mould: Preeminent in an appraisal of the mind of Luther is the fact of its conservative mould. He did not care to throw out the child with the bath, nor the set of fine china simply because it was dusty. Stephenson in commenting on the career of Luther from 1508 to 1517 says,

"his career bears all the earmarks of a sane, conservative earnest young man, with a thirst for knowledge and a desire to get right with the world. He shows himself to have been a man of poise and deliberation, who regarded with much thought the consequences of his successive steps".²

His conservative turn of mind is also proved by the historical facts of his protest against the scandalous Tetzel. This protest

"was mild and conciliatory, and not the spectacular appeal of a man who was nursing a personal grievance or possessed of an itch for notoriety."³

1. Martyn, W. Carlos, Life and Times of Martin Luther, p. 5.
2. Stephenson, G. M., Conservative Character of M.L., p. 15.
3. Ibid, p. 22.

"Only the compelling sense of responsibility could jar him loose from the old moorings."¹

2. Thinker: In a great summarizing sentence Carlyle says, "I call him a great Thinker"². Indeed Luther's mind was gigantic.³ In the Introduction to the Henckel edition of Luther on Baptism and the Lord's Supper the author makes a sweeping statement that Luther possessed a

"more profound penetration into the nature of things, a more acute and lively perception of the natural force of words, than all his learned contemporaries together."⁴

3. Intellectual grasp and use of words: Concerning his intellectual grasp and use of words Fife remarks that

"The texture of his early training as a linguist is shown by his mastery of Greek and Hebrew at Wittenberg in the midst of the bitterest polemical crisis of his life. He was, according to the standards of his time, an accurate philologist, and in Latin he wielded a fluent though rugged style."⁵

He was a "comprehensive genius".⁶

4. Superstitions: Luther grew up amid superstitions and it is inevitable that he should absorb something of this environment that would stay with him even though he might consciously try to escape it.

1. Stephenson, G. M., *Conservative Character of M.L.*, p. 107.
2. Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship*, p. 185.
3. Mackinnon, Vol. I, p. 113. p. xi.
4. Henckel edition, *Luther on the Sacraments*, Introduction
5. Fife, R. H., *Young Luther*, p. 50.
6. Henckel, *Luther on the Sacraments*, Introduction p. xi.

"How completely the boy absorbed the mythology which surrounded his childhood may be seen in the sermons and Table Talk, where evidence meets us constantly of his persistent belief in the creations of the lower mythology of the German peasant".¹

Nevertheless in view of his conservative tendencies and his tremendous intellectual grasp, Luther was a man of independent mind; knowing what he believed and the reason why.

D. INFLUENCE OF THE SCHOLASTICS.

1. General Scholastic influence on Luther's mind:

In view of the great influence, both positive and negative, that the thought heritage of the previous centuries had on Luther, we should consider the influence of the Scholastics.

As a theological student he studied, in addition to the Bible, the sentences of Lombard,² Aquinas,³ Scotus,⁴ Occam, and the works of Gabriel Biel and Pierre D'Ailly, both of them disciples of Occam. Occam was preferred to Aquinas and Scotus. "Biel and D'Ailly he knew by heart. Long and much he read the writings of Occam",⁵ says Melancthon.

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1. Fife, Young L., p. 24.
 2. Luther's Table Talk, Hazlitt, p. 235.
 3. Works of Luther, Holman, II p. 188.
 4. Luther's Table Talk, Hazlitt, p. 235.
 5. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 53-54.

Luther considered Scotus the best commentator on the third book of the Sentences, deeming Scotus the superior of Aquinas. Martin was more attracted to Occam than to Scotus or Aquinas. He did not like the Thomist maxim, "Thus saith Aristotle" when applied to the interpretation of the Scriptures. It was from Occam that he learned to distrust the application of Aristotelian¹ logic to prove the truth of Christian doctrine.²

Mackinnon, after discussing the nature of scholastic theology, as Augustine's teaching, worked out with the aid of the logic and philosophy of Aristotle says:

"This was the theological provender on which Luther was reared and which his scholastic training in the Erfurt University had fitted him to digest and even to enjoy. At the same time, it must have proved even to Luther a dreary business at times, though in his case the real interest in this intricate synthesis was not so much the intellectual as the religious one. There came a time when, on religious grounds, he had to unlearn much that he had learned from these theologians whose teaching he had studied, directly or indirectly, and whom he ultimately denounced in his drastic fashion as 'Sow Theologians'. 'I know and confess', he wrote years afterwards (1519), 'that I learned nothing (from the scholastic theologians) but ignorance of sin, righteousness, baptism, and the whole Christian life. Briefly, I not only learned nothing, but I learned only what I had to unlearn as contrary to the Divine Scriptures'."³

⁴
Luther is considered an Occamist, and as an

1. Works of Luther, Holman, Vol. II, p. 147.
2. Ibid, op. cit. Vol. I, 54-55.
3. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 67.
4. Luther's Table-Talk, Hazlitt, p. 235-236.

Occamist he emphasizes faith as against reason, and revelation as against philosophy. "Philosophy", he says, "has brought forth many monstrosities (multa monstra)".¹

Luther, it is obvious, was influenced by both the theology and philosophy of the Nominalists; but he was by no means a follower of the school. He challenged the theory that sin, concupiscence, as far as guilt is concerned, is taken away in baptism, or even in the Sacrament of Penance. He also challenged the Nominalist teaching on the will and its powers. An attack was made against Nominalist theology all along the line.² In a letter to John Lang at Erfurt in Oct. 1516 Luther writes:

"I know what Gabriel Biel says, and it is all very good except when he speaks of grace, charity, hope, faith and virtue; I have not time to tell in these letters how much, with his Scotus, he is a Pelagian."³

He repudiated also the theory of relative merit; that of doing what in one lies (meritum de congruo), which the Nominalists assumed in the interest of man's moral responsibility.⁴

2. Scholastic influence on Luther's conception of the Lord's Supper: Here we shall note briefly the general stream of scholastic views on the sacrament,

1. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. I, 135.

2. Ibid, pp. 179-181; see also Stephenson, op. cit., p. 11, 12.

3. Smith, P., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 42.

4. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 192.

which may be kept in mind as we trace in subsequent chapters Luther's views.

For Peter Lombard and Thomas Aquinas the sacraments were not merely significative of grace; but were the instrumental cause of it (*causa instrumentalis*), though its ultimate cause (*causa principalis*), according to the latter, is God in Christ, from whom grace is derived. The sacrament is both sign and cause, not only signifying but containing grace; and sanctifies intrinsically, ¹ *ex opere operato*.

Then followed Duns Scotus and William Occam who represented a reaction in favour of a more spiritual and symbolic view. They denied the intrinsic supernatural virtue of the sacrament, and according to their conception of God as omnipotent will, asserted that the sacraments owe their efficacy to the ordinance or appointment of God, who has willed by this means thus to confer grace on those receiving them. God is the cause of their gracious effect, and grace works ² along with the sacraments rather than inheres in them.

In the *Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520) Luther expresses in his own words the influence of the various scholastics on his own conception:

1. Mackinnon, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 81.
2. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 82.

"Years ago, when I was delving into scholastic theology, the Cardinal of Cambray (Pierre D'Ailly) gave me food for thought, in his comments on the fourth book of the Sentences, where he argues with great acumen that to hold that real bread and real wine, and not their accidents only, are present on the altar, is much more probable and requires fewer unnecessary miracles -- if only the Church had not decreed otherwise. When I learned later what church it was that had decreed this -- namely, the Church of Thomas, i. e., of Aristotle -- I waxed bolder, and after floating in a sea of doubt, at last found rest for my conscience in the above view -- namely, that it is real bread and real wine, in which Christ's real flesh and blood are present, not otherwise and not less really than they assume to be the case under their accidents."¹

E. INFLUENCE OF THE MYSTICS.

It will be quite evident that Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper carried with it something mystical.

So, it is well to consider the influence of the Mystics
²
 on Luther.

Rufus Jones seeks to make out a complete case for the Mystical influence on Luther. "The surest response of Luther's mind to the appeal of German mysticism is to be found on the margins of his copy of Tauler's sermons."³

"Absolute poverty and destitution of spirit, self-annihilation and crucifixion of the will are essential steps in the path toward life in God with God."⁴

These, Jones maintains, Luther got from the mystics.

"It seems pretty clear from his own comments and references that his beloved German mystics did most to pull him out of his despair into his joyous discovery.

1. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, Vol. II, p. 188.
2. Mackinnon, Jas., Luther & the Reformation, Vol. I, pp. 212-235.
3. Jones, Rufus, Some Exponents of Mystical Religion, p. 135;
 Smith, P., Luther's Correspondence, II, p. 135.
4. Ibid, pp. 135, 140, 141.

They may quite well not have been the only influence which brought his transformation, but, in the light of our present historical knowledge, they may safely be taken as the major influence. It was they who awakened him and brought new depth to his experience, a more intense glow of conviction, a greater certainty of love of God, the reality of God's recreating work within, the necessity of personal self-surrender and crucifixion, and an eager passion to find Christ Himself as the bridegroom of the soul. The message of these passionate lovers of God bit into his life more deeply than anything else ever did, and under their touch he became the man he was -- one whose supreme interest was inner religion and who cared more seriously about his relation to God than he cared for any other thing in the universe."¹

In a letter to Spalatin on Dec. 14, 1516 Luther himself says:

"I will add a piece of advice. If you delight in reading pure, sound, theology, like that of the earliest age, and in German, read the sermons of John Tauler, the Dominican, of which I send you, as it were, the quintessence. I have never read either in Latin or in our own tongue theology more wholesome or more agreeable to the gospel. Taste and see, therefore, how sweet is the Lord, as you have first tasted and seen how bitter is everything in us."²

Stephenson makes a statement that "next to the Bible Luther read the writings of Augustine and John Tauler"³, which may have lent influence to his "mystical conception of the Eucharist"⁴.

Too, it was the mystic-evangelical message of Bernard and Gerson, who found "in the cross the great reassurance in the face of doubt and trial, the guarantee

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1. Ibid, pp. 135, 140, 141.
 2. Smith, P., Luther's Correspondence, Vol. I, p. 48.
 3. Stephenson, G.M., Conservative Character of M.L., p. 20.
 4. Ibid, p. 115.

of God's mercy and goodness."¹

F. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BIBLE.

Luther's attitude toward the Bible and its truth must be considered in any preliminary discussion of any of the subjects of his controversy. Often it was his attitude toward the Bible alone that laid him open to withering denunciations, and decided the issue for him.²

1. Great knowledge of the Bible: Luther had his first thorough acquaintance with the Bible at the Erfurt Monastery;³ and it was through his knowledge of the Bible that he learned that a man was saved not by singing masses, but by the infinite grace of God.⁴ It is interesting to note that the University of Paris could offer no one with enough knowledge of the Scriptures to argue with Luther. Bibles were scarce and it is the testimony of Pellican, another Reformer, "that a Greek testament could not be procured at any price in all Germany."⁵ This, of course, was before Erasmus's version in 1516.

2. Bible the supreme authority in doctrinal matters: Not only did Luther have a great knowledge of

1. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 128.
2. Stephenson, G. M., op. cit., pp. 62, 63. p.41.
3. Ibid, pp. 13, 14; see also Mackinnon, op.cit., Vol. I,
4. See Mackinnon, op.cit., Vol. I, pp. 92, 93, 106, 107, 108, 109, 119; cf. Mackinnon's footnote on p. 144; see also pp. 151-153.
5. Scott, John, Luther & the Lutheran Reformation, p. 16.

the Bible, but he believed that therein lay the supreme authority in doctrinal questions.¹ In the controversy with Eck at Leipsig, when Eck derived his authority for the Papacy from St. Bernard and the Fathers, Luther said:

"The word of God is above all words of man.
In this discussion the genuine and specific sense of Scripture is to be accepted and to decide the issue."²

3. Relative value of the books of the Bible:

Luther believed in the relative value of the books of the Bible and the authority of its component parts. He considered, for instance that the Epistle of James was inferior to those of Paul.³

4. Development of Luther's conception of the Bible from 1512 to Diet of 1521:

It is interesting to note how the above views compare with Luther's views held even in 1512 when he received his doctorate. Then, the interpretation of the Bible, he believed, was conditioned by the authority of the Church and the accumulated tradition which the Church sanctioned. Later, as we saw above, his conscience led him to think otherwise.⁴ But, even when he published his Commentary on the Romans, (1516) he believed in the absolute authoritative testimony of the Church. Also he believed the Bible to be the literal

1. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 147; also see p. 172; cf. Luther's Table-Talk, Hazlitt, p. 3.
2. Ibid, Vol. II, p. 136; cf. Table-Talk, p. 3.
3. Ibid, p. 162.
4. Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 147, 148.

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Word of God or Christ. Mackinnon says:

"Throughout the Commentary the Bible is the supreme authority. Christ and the Word of Christ are the grand source and summa of theology, the touchstone of traditional doctrines and beliefs, though he may not always use the Word with historic discrimination....
..... he begins his lectures on the assumption that the whole Bible, especially the prophets, is to be understood of Christ, though not according to the superficial sense of the letter. It is a revelation of the will and grace of God in Christ, no mere summa or system of theology, and is to be experimentally understood and applied."²

At the Wartburg (1521) he sends out message after message to his adherents and against his theological enemies: "The Bible and the Bible alone", is the battle-
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cry.

At the Diet of Worms Luther uttered a very involved sentence. "But this utterance was to prove the most fateful in modern religious history", says Mackinnon. The great statement was:

"Unless I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture, or by an evident reason (ratione evidente) -- for I confide neither in the Pope nor a Council alone, since it is certain that they have often erred and contradicted themselves -- I am held fast by the Scriptures adduced by me, and my conscience is taken captive by God's Word, and I neither can nor will revoke anything, seeing that it is not safe or right to act against conscience. God help me."⁴

In a letter to the Emperor Charles V. at Worms, April 28, 1521, Luther again reveals his attitude toward

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1. Ibid, p. 170.
 2. Ibid, p. 172.
 3. Mackinnon, op. cit. Vol. III, p. 7.
 4. Mackinnon, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 301, 302.

the Bible:

" it seemed to me neither right nor just that I should deny the Word of God and thus revoke my books (let my errors be refuted) by the gospels and the prophets.

" as my conscience was bound by the Scripture I was by no means able to recant without better instruction.

" as it is above all things it ought to be held free and unbound in all". 1

Such is Luther's conception of the Bible and its truth. Consequently we may expect that its conception of the sacraments will be tremendously influenced by his views on the Bible. The human reason, the finite, must kneel in humble submission to the revealed truth of the infinite God found in the Bible.

G. YOUNG LUTHER AS A ROMAN CATHOLIC.

Because of the break in doctrine and practice; of which break the doctrine of the Sacrament played an important part, we should take brief note of Luther's early views toward the Church, Rome, and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

1. Early view of the Church and Rome: When Luther became a monk in the Augustinian Convent at Erfurt he was thoroughly Catholic, and believed all that was told him. He believed that he was to pray to the saints to intercede for him against the righteous judgments of a

1. Smith, Preserved, Luther's Correspondence, Vol. I, pp. 547-549.

terrible and cruel God. He believed that he must regard with reverent awe the pope, Christ's vicar on earth. The doctrines of the Church were firmly impressed on his young and plastic mind.¹

When he came in sight of Rome at the age of 27 he prostrated himself and cried: "Hail, holy Rome". Later he said: "I was a foolish pilgrim and believed all I was told".²

So thoroughly Catholic was Luther in the days of his monastery life, and so hard did he try to live according to the Catholic Gospel, and failed, that he said in after life: "If ever a monk gained heaven by his monkery, I must have done so."³

2. Catholic Luther's view of the Lord's Supper: Being a thorough Catholic, Luther accepted blindly the medieval doctrine of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It might be briefly said that medieval piety and worship reached their highest point in the Lord's Supper. To the medieval monk and believer it was the continuation of the incarnation, the repetition of the passion, the source of spiritual upbuilding to the recipient, the evidence of his union with Christ, and a sacrifice well pleasing to God, inclining Him to be gracious to those in need on earth and

1. Stephenson, G. M., op. cit. p. 10.
2. Ibid p. 17.
3. Ibid p. 13.

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in purgatory.

The nearest official formulation of Catholic doctrine to the times of Luther was the reactionary Council of Trent. It may be an improvement on the doctrine as Luther fought it, but the issue may be clearly seen. The quintessence of the doctrine of the Supper laid down at the Council of Trent is that:

"In the Eucharist the Body and Blood of the God-Man are truly, really, and substantially present for the nourishment of our souls, by reason of the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, and that in this change of substances the unbloody Sacrifice of the New Testament is also contained."²

The sacrament was defined by the earlier schoolmen, following Augustine, as "the visible sign of invisible grace"; but the prevailing ecclesiastical tendency was to emphasize the efficacy of the sign or sacramental rite as conveying grace in itself. This tendency dominated the sacramental theory of the theologians from Hugo³ of St. Victor onwards.

H. SUMMARY.

Notice has been taken of the personal characteristics of Luther; his intellect; the influence of the Scholastics, and Mystics on his theological and religious thinking; his attitude toward the Bible; and his views

1. Walker, Williston, History of the Christian Church, p.
2. Catholic Encyclopedia, p. 573. 275.
3. Mackinnon, Jas., op. cit. p. 81; Harnack, History of Dogma, vi. 200 f. sup. 53.

as a Catholic, in order that there may be a clearer understanding of his thinking on the specific point of our study, namely, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. It is believed that one's thinking can never be divorced from one's personal and intellectual background.

CHAPTER II.

By doubting we are led to enquire;
by enquiry we perceive the truth.

Pierre Abelard

Outline of Chapter II.

DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER
FROM THE POSTING OF THE NINETY-FIVE THESES (1517)
TO THE REFORMATION MANIFESTOS OF 1520.

- A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND PERSPECTIVE.
 - 1. Ninety-Five Theses.
 - 2. Picture of the Times.
 - 3. Importance of the years 1517-1520.
 - 4. The letter and spirit of the age.
- B. DIET OF AUGSBURG (1518). Denied the inherent efficacy of the Sacrament of the Supper, and emphasized the absolute necessity of faith.
- C. TESSARADecas CONSOLATORIA (1519). The Sacrament is a Communion of the Saints with Christ.
- D. A TREATISE CONCERNING THE BLESSED SACRAMENT OF THE HOLY AND TRUE BODY OF CHRIST AND CONCERNING THE BROTHERHOODS (1519).
 - 1. The Outward Sign of the Sacrament.
 - 2. The Inner Significance of the Sacrament.
 - 3. Faith -- On which all depends.
 - 4. Luther's Conclusion.
- E. OPPOSITION AROUSED BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE TREATISE OF 1519.
- F. SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT FROM 1517-1520.

Chapter II.

DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER
 FROM THE POSTING OF THE NINETY-FIVE THESES (1517)
 TO THE REFORMATION MANIFESTOES OF 1520.

A. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND PERSPECTIVE.

1. Ninety-Five Theses: Luther's Ninety-Five

Theses were posted on the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. His purpose was to stimulate discussion in the University, but he laid the fire-wood for a great conflagration. Here the restoration of the holy faith was begun.

2. Picture of the times: The times were ripe and the right man appeared. C. P. Krauth draws a picture of the Germany of that day which it will be well for us to keep in mind:

"The soul of the best men of the time was alive to the wretched condition into which the Church had fallen. A profound longing for the Reformation filled the hearts of nations; science, literature, art, discovery, and invention were elevating Europe, and preparing the way for the triumphal march of pure religion, the queen of all knowledge. In the Papal chair sat Leo X, a lover of art and literature, careless and indolent in all things else. Over the beautiful plains of Germany wandered Tetzels, senseless and impudent, even beyond the class to which he belonged, exciting the disgust of all thinking men, by the profligate manner in which he sold indulgences. To protect the trembling flame of the truth from the fierce winds which, at first, would have extinguished it; to protect it till the tornado

1. See Michelet, M., Life of Luther, Introduction.
2. Krauth, C. P., The Conservative Reformation and its Theology, p. 3.

itself should only make it blaze more vehemently God had prepared Frederick, the Wise, a man of immense influence, universally revered, and not more revered than his earnest piety, his fidelity, his eminent conscientiousness deserved. The Emperor Charles V., with power enough to quench the flame with a word, with a hatred to it which seemed to make it certain that he would speak that word, was yet so fettered by the plans of his ambition that he left it unsaid, and thus made the involuntary protector of that which he hated".¹

3. Importance of years 1517-1520: The years from 1517 to 1520 are of supreme importance in the Reformation movement.² There were two outstanding historical events,³ the Diet of Augsburg, where Luther met the Cardinal Legate Cajetan and ended his appeal "from the pope ill-informed to the pope to be better informed";⁴ and the Leipsig Debate with Eck in 1519,⁵ where Luther finally denied the superiority of the Pope, Church, and infallibility of the Councils.

Mackinnon says that the history of Luther's life and his religious development to 1517 might be described as the prologue to the Reformation drama.⁶ The four succeeding years constitute the first act of this drama, and Kalkoff has justly termed these the "decisive years of

1. Krauth, op. cit. pp. 17, 18.
2. Mackinnon, op. cit., p. v. of the Preface to Vol. II.
3. Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 72-97; On our subject, p. 87.
4. Luther's letter to Spalatin Oct. 31, 1518; Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 128.
5. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 128-146.
6. Ibid, Vol. II, Preface, p. v.

the Reformation."

4. The letter and spirit of the age: There is one further point that we must consider.

"The historian writes in the sand, and every age writes its own history. The documents of the past --- the historian's material, reflect the letter but not the spirit of the age in which it was written."¹

The spirit as well as the letter of the age must be understood. Consequently, we must sympathetically approach the crudities of thought and action. For instance, we must not overly condemn the Dominican who said: "would that I could fasten my teeth in Luther's throat; I should not fear to go to the Lord's supper with his blood on my mouth."²

B. DIET OF AUGSBURG -- FIRST CONTROVERSY.

As a result of the heat created by the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses Luther found himself becoming involved in a death struggle. He was directed by the Elector to appear at Augsburg in Oct. 1518. Here he faced the Cardinal Legate Cajetan, who defended the Roman Church.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was one of the chief points of controversy at the Diet. Cajetan adduced the Thomist view of the inherent efficacy of the sacramental grace,³ claiming that the eating of the sacrament worked automatically. Luther was adamant in maintaining that individual faith gave efficacy to the sacrament. He had struck in this first blow the heart of Catholic doctrine.

1. Stephenson, op. cit., p. 103.
2. A letter from Erasmus "to his persistent slanderer" 1520. Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 376.
3. Mackinnon, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 87, p. 79.

In a letter from Augsburg of Oct. 1518 to Carlstadt at Wittenberg Luther writes:

"Our chief difficulty was over two articles. 1. That I said indulgence was not the treasury of the merits of our Lord. 2. That a man going to the sacrament must believe

"He (Cajetan) alleged for his side the common, though insane opinion of the schoolmen of the power and effect of the sacrament, and also the uncertainty of the recipient of the sacrament."¹

Cajetan claimed that the recipient would never know for a surety that he had received the blessing if it depended on his faith.

C. TESSARADecas CONSOLATORIA.

Luther makes a significant statement in his little treatise Tessaradecas Consolatoria,² or The Fourteen of Consolation, in August-September 1519. He emphasises the fact of the Communion of Saints, when he writes:

"all things belong to all; as the Sacrament of the Altar signifies in the bread and wine".

We are "one body, one bread, one cup".³

D. A TREATISE CONCERNING THE BLESSED SACRAMENT OF THE HOLY AND TRUE BODY OF CHRIST AND CONCERNING THE BROTHERHOODS.

The first extended setting forth of his views on the Lord's Supper was in the Treatise concerning the

1. Smith, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 119.
2. Written privately for the special comfort of Elector Frederick during his illness.
3. Tessaradecas Consolatoria, Holman series, Vol. I, p.166.

Blessed Sacrament which was published in October 1519.¹

So significant was this document that we shall analyze its contents. There are three divisions of the treatise: sections 1 - 3 deal with "the outward sign of the sacrament"; sections 4 - 16, the "inner significance"; sections 17 - 22 deal with "faith". The Sacrament has three parts:

"The first is the sacrament or sign, the second is the significance of this sacrament, the third is the faith required by both of these; the three sacrament must be external and visible, and have some material form; the significance must be internal and spiritual, within the spirit of man; faith must apply and use both of these".²

1. The Outward Sign of the Sacrament.

a. A sacrament must have an outward or external sign:

"The sacrament or outward sign, is in the form of bread and wine, just as baptism has as its sign water; although the sign is not simply the form of bread and wine, but the use of the bread and wine in eating and drinking, the sacrament must be received or must at least be desired, if it is to work a blessing".³

b. Suggests Sacrament in both kinds:

"I deem it well, however, that the Church in a general council should again decree that all persons and the priests, be given both kinds. Not that one kind were insufficient, since indeed the simple desire of faith suffices as St. Augustine says: 'Why preparest thou stomach and teeth? Only believe and thou hast already partaken of the sacrament;' but because it would be meet and right that the form, or sign, of the sacrament

1. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, Vol. II, p. 9.
2. This treatise, along with one on Penance, and Baptism form a trilogy which Luther dedicated to one Duchess Margaret of Braunschweig and Lüneburg.
3. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, Vol. II, p. 9.

be given not in part only, but in its entirety,
For this sacrament signifies the complete union and
the undivided fellowship of the saints, as we shall
see, and this is poorly and unfittingly indicated by
only one part of the sacrament." 1

2. The Inner Significance of the Sacrament:

a. A Fellowship or Communion (synaxis or communio)

of all the saints. When we partake of the Supper:

"Christ and all saints are one spiritual body, just as
the inhabitants of a city are one community and body,
each citizen being a member of the other and a member
of the entire city." 2 "To receive the bread and wine
of this sacrament, then, is nothing else than to re-
ceive a sure sign of this fellowship and incorporation
with Christ and all saints. As though a citizen were
given a sign, a document, or some other token as a
proof that he is a citizen of the city, a member of the
community. Even as St. Paul says: 'We are all partak-
ers of one bread and of one cup'. "This fellowship
is of such a nature that all the spiritual possessions
of Christ and His saints are imparted and communicated
to him who receives this sacrament; again all his suf-
ferings and sins are communicated to them, and thus
love engenders love and unites all." 3

So in the communion with Christ He takes our sins
and we His purity. The communion is compared with the
natural body: when a toe is hurt,

"the eye at once looks
toward it, the fingers grasp it, the face frowns, the
whole body bends to it, and all are concerned with this
small member; on the other hand, if it is cared for
all the other members rejoice" 4

We, of course, must be willing to share all the burdens
of Christ and the saints.

b. The Sacrament is for strengthening. ⁵ Ps.

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1. Ibid, II, pp. 9, 10.
 2. Ibid, II, p. 10.
 3. Ibid, II, p. 11
 4. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, II, p. 11.
 5. Ibid, II, p. 11.

Ps.104: 15; Acts 9: 19:

"If anyone be in despair, -- distressed by his sinful conscience -- let him go joyfully to the sacrament of the altar and lay down his grief in the midst of the congregation and seek help from the entire company of the spiritual body and especially ... Christ."¹

As it is a sacrament of love, we must give strength, as well as receive strength.²

c. Preparation for the Sacrament consists in feeling a need, anxiety, adversity, and a sorrowful heart.³

Luke 1: 53, Matt. 26: 21 ff.

d. Taken often in remembrance of Him, and to exercise ourselves in the fellowship.⁴

"For the sacrament has no blessing and significance unless love grows daily".⁵

e. The signs of the Sacrament symbolize the fellowship. As bread is made out of many grains of wheat, and wine out of many grapes, so

"Christ with all saints, by His love, takes upon Himself our form, fights with us against sin, death and all evil; this enkindles in us such love that we take His form, rely upon His righteousness, life and blessedness, and through the interchange of His blessings and our misfortunes are one loaf, one bread, one body, one drink, and have all things in common. This is a great sacrament ('mystery') says Paul, that Christ and the Church are one flesh and bone".⁶

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1. Ibid, II, p. 13.
 2. Ibid, II, p. 14.
 3. Ibid, II, p. 15.
 4. Ibid, II, p. 16.
 5. Ibid, II, p. 17.
 6. Ibid, II, pp. 17, 18.

f. The Sacrament is more than symbol of twofold form (Transubstantiation). Christ gives us His "true natural flesh, in the bread, and His natural and true blood, in the wine".

"For just as the bread is changed into His true natural body and the wine into His true natural blood, so truly are we also drawn and changed into the spiritual body, that is, into the fellowship of Christ and all saints".¹

The bread represents His flesh, His life, His good works; while the wine represents His blood, His death, and by taking the sacrament we enjoy them.

3. Faith -- on which all depends:

It is faith that makes effective what the sacrament is and signifies:

"For it is not enough to know what the sacrament is and signifies ; you must also desire it and firmly believe that you have received it".²

a. Real Presence through Transubstantiation.

"There are those who practice their arts and subtleties to such an extent that they ask where the bread remains when it is changed into His blood; also in what manner the whole Christ, His flesh and His blood, can be comprehended in so small a portion of bread and wine. What does it matter? It is enough to know that it is a divine sign, in which Christ's flesh and blood are truly present -- how and where, we leave to Him".³

b. Slanderers and despisers of others receive death in the Sacrament. I Cor. 11: 29:

1. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, II, p. 19.
2. Ibid, II, p. 20. ian
3. Ibid, II, p. 20; compare Babylon/Captivity, p. 192.

"For they do not unto their neighbor what they seek from Christ".1

c. Sacrament is not opus operatum. The Sacrament as such is not a good work:

"For it was not instituted for its own sake, that it might please God, but for our sake, that we might use it rightly, exercise our faith by it, and by it become pleasing to God. If it is merely an opus operatum (a work done without reference to the doer of it), it works only harm; it must become an opus operantis (a work considered with reference to the doer of it)".2

The sacrament prepared is opus operatum; but when taken in faith it is opus operantis. Let every Christian take the Sacrament opus operantis.

d. Faith is our guide and agent in eternal things.

"Thus the sacrament is for us a ford, a bridge, a door, a ship, and a litter, in which and by which we pass from this world into eternal life. Therefore all depends on faith. He who does not believe is like one who must cross the sea but is so timid that he does not trust the ship; and so he must remain and never be saved, because he does not embark and cross over. This is due to our dependence on the senses and to untried faith which shrinks from the passage across the Jordan of death".3

So the Sacrament depends entirely in faith, without which there is no effective sacrament.

4. Luther's Conclusion:

a. There are therefore, two principal sacraments

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1. Ibid, II, p. 21.
 2. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, II, pp. 22, 23.
 3. Ibid, II, p. 25.

in the Church, baptism and the bread:

"Baptism leads us into a new life on earth; the bread guides us through death into a new life".¹

b. Blessings of the Sacrament: Fellowship and love, giving us strength against death and all evil. In love we partake, and are partaken of by the Christian brethren.

E. OPPOSITION AROUSED BY THE PUBLICATION OF THE TREATISE ON THE BLESSED SACRAMENT.

Luther's suggestion that a General Council be called to restore communion in both kinds struck the Anti-Hussites as rank Bohemian heresy. The Anti-Hussites saw in this "but the presage in Germany of a Hussite revolution and civil war".²

Erasmus wrote a letter from Louvain late in 1519 to Martin Lipsius of Brussels saying:

"They are starting a foolish and pernicious tragedy against Luther. They will later know that I favor not Luther, but the peace of Christendom. However Luther may have written, this tumult does not please any wise man".³

Duke George of Saxony was very much disturbed by the treatise. On Dec. 27, 1519 he wrote from Dresden to the Elector Frederick of Saxony:

"On Christmas eve I received a book containing a sermon

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1. Ibid, 26.
 2. Mackinnon, op. cit., II, p. 166.
 3. Smith, op. cit., I, p. 268.

published by Dr. Luther on the body of our Lord. When I had looked through it I found that it was very Bohemian and had much heresy and scandal in it"

"For many already have thought that the Scripture commands that the sacrament be taken in both kinds, and hold many other articles which are unchristian."¹

Luther in commenting on Duke George's unrest over the suggestion concerning giving both kinds writes from Wittenberg Jan. 10, 1520 to Spalatin at Zerbst:

"And yet, although Christ's gospel ordained this, I would not command it to be done except by authority of a Council."²

F. SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER FROM 1517 TO 1520.

By Dec. 1519 Luther had reduced the number of sacraments to three, penance, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

On Dec. 18, he wrote to Spalatin:

"But there is no reason why you or any man should expect from me any sermon on the other sacraments, until I learn by what text I can prove that they are sacraments. I esteem none of the others (3) a sacrament, for that is not a sacrament, save what is expressly given by a divine promise exercising our faith. We can have no intercourse with God save by the word of Him promising, and by the faith of man receiving the promise. At another time you will hear more about their fables of the seven sacraments"⁴

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1. Ibid, I, pp. 266, 267.
2. Ibid, I, p. 272.
3. Catholic Church has seven sacraments: Baptism, Confirmation, Lord's Supper, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and matrimony; see Walker, A History of the Christian Church, p. 273.
4. Smith, op. cit., I, p. 265.

At ^{the} Diet of Augsburg he denied the efficacy of the Sacrament on any grounds other than individual faith.

In Tessaradecas Consolatoria he emphasises the fact that the Sacrament is the Communion of the Saints.

The Sermon on the Blessed Sacrament of 1519 is as significant for what it does not contain as for what it does. There is no mention of what was then the chief doctrine of the Church on the Supper, namely, the Sacri-
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 fice of the Mass.

Summary of the ideas in the Sermon on the Blessed Sacrament:

First, Suggests that a General Council restore Communion in both kinds.

Second, External sign is in the form of bread and wine.

Third, Inner significance is fellowship.

Fourth, In fellowship with Christ, He takes on Him our burdens of sin and sorrow.

Fifth, Faith only makes effective what the sacrament signifies. All depends on faith.

Sixth, Emphasis on the Spiritual Body. Especially since he was expecting at almost any time to be excommunicated; thus being deprived of external communion.

1. cf. J. J. Schindel, Introduction to Treatise on the Blessed Sacrament, Holman, II, p. 7.

No one can be deprived of the true spiritual communion and membership in the body of Christ through faith.

Seventh, Natural body of Christ made of less importance than the spiritual. How Christ is present he does not attempt philosophically to explain. "how and where we leave to Him".

Eighth, Still held to the Catholic view of transubstantiation, but did not lay much store by that doctrine.¹

1. See Luther's letter of Oct. 3, 1519 to Staupitz, Smith, op. cit., I, p. 220; also Faulkner's article in Lutheran Quarterly of April, 1915, p. 206.

CHAPTER III.

Thou spread'st a table in my sight;
Thy unction grace bestoweth;
And O, what transport and delight
From Thy pure chalice floweth.

Henry Williams Baker

Outline of Chapter III.

DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN THE REFORMATION MANIFESTOS OF 1520 TO 1522.

- A. INTRODUCTION.
- B. TREATISE ON GOOD WORKS (1520).
 - 1. Faith and the Mass.
 - 2. Christ's testament: forgiveness of sins.
- C. TREATISE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT (1520).
 - 1. Christ abolished the old law of Moses.
 - 2. The true Mass.
 - 3. The chief thing in the Mass.
 - 4. The Promise of God in the Mass: a New Testament and its benefits.
 - 5. The efficacy of Faith in the Mass of the New Testament.
 - 6. Preparation for the Mass of the Supper.
 - 7. Parts of the Testament.
 - 8. The Abuses of the Mass.
 - 9. Priesthood of Believers.
 - 10. The Mass as a Proclamation of the Gospel.
- D. THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE CHURCH (1520).
 - 1. First Captivity: Withholding of the Cup.
 - 2. Second Captivity: Transubstantiation.
 - 3. Third Captivity: Mass a Good work and Sacrifice.
- E. ON THE MISUSE OF THE MASS (1521-22).
 - 1. The atoning element in the sacrament of the Supper.
 - 2. Pledge.
 - 3. Necessity of actual partaking.
- F. SUMMARY.

Chapter III.

DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER
IN THE REFORMATION MANIFESTOES OF 1520 TO 1522.

A. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter will be scene two of act one in the development of Luther's doctrine. The whole of act one includes the complete controversy with the Roman Catholics (1517-1522), during which time his doctrine was practically moulded, with the exception of a clear understanding of the exact relation of the body and blood with the bread and wine.

In the Reformation Manifestoes and other writings of 1520-22 Luther approaches his most spiritual interpretation of the Sacrament. He was influenced, of course, considerably by the fact that ex-communication from the external church was threatening. Luther said that the Pope could ex-communicate him from the external church, but could not withhold him from the true sacrament, because only faith in the words of promise was absolutely needed.¹ He quotes Augustine, "Believe and you have eaten already".

The outstanding works bearing on the Lord's Supper of this period are: 1. A paragraph in the Treatise on Good Works, of June 1520; 2. Sermon on the New Testament,

1. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, op. cit., I, p. 306.

- of Aug. 1520, which includes the Misuses of the Mass; and
3. The famous Babylonian Captivity of the Church, Oct. 1520;
 4. On the Misuse of the Mass, 1521-22.

1

B. TREATISE ON GOOD WORKS.

In this treatise Luther emphasises the fact that the sacrament essentially is faith in a testament; the last will and testament of Christ which was made operative by His death, and which we may claim through faith.

1. Concerning faith and the Mass he said: "We attend the mass with our hearts when we exercise faith in the words of institution".
2

2. Christ's Testament: Christ has willed to us "forgiveness of all sins, grace and mercy unto eternal life". When He died this will became effective, permanent, and irrevocable. "In proof and evidence of which, instead of letter and seal, He has left with us His own Body and Blood under the bread and wine".
3

Furthermore there are no benefits to any who are present and do not believe.

In this treatise he promises that he will later write more fully on the subject, "of this more another time". This was in May-June; on Aug. 3, there appeared the Treatise on the New Testament.

- 184 ff.
1. Translation by W. A. Lambert, Holman, op. cit., I, p.
 2. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, op. cit., I, p. 223.
 3. Ibid, I, p. 223.

C. TREATISE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.¹

Section 1 of the Treatise is the introduction, and Section 40 the conclusion. Sections 2 - 15 are the positive, constructive part, dealing with the question, What is the Lord's Supper? In sections 16 - 24 the sacrificial theory of the Roman Church is rejected. Sections 25 - 31 discuss (1) in how far we may speak of making an offering in the sacrament, and (2) what follows for the conception of a true priesthood in the Church, viz. the priesthood of all believers. Sections 33 - 39 deal with the abuses of the Mass.

Outstanding points of emphasis in the Treatise on the New Testament are:

1. Christ abolished the old law of Moses, and instituted the Mass "in order that He might prepare for Himself an acceptable and beloved people which should be bound together in unity through love",²

2. The true Mass: Luther says the true Mass has been covered over by "the inventions of men", and that

"The nearer now, our masses are to the first mass of Christ, the better, without doubt, they are; and the farther from Christ's mass, the more perilous."³

3. The chief thing in the Mass: The chief thing, without doubt, he says is the "words of Christ" in insti-

1. Translated by J. J. Schindel, Holman, I, p. 294 ff.
2. Works of M. L., Holman, I, p. 295.
3. Ibid, I, p. 296.

tuting the sacrament:

"If we desire to say mass rightly and understand it, then we must give up everything that the eyes and all the senses behold and suggest in this act, such as vestments, bells etc., until we first lay hold of and consider well the words of Christ, by which He completed and instituted the mass and commanded us to observe it. For therein lies the whole mass, its nature, work, profit and benefit, and without them (i. e. the words) no benefit is derived from the mass. But these are the words: TAKE AND EAT, THIS IS MY BODY, WHICH IS GIVEN FOR YOU. TAKE AND DRINK YE ALL OF IT, THIS IS THE CUP OF THE NEW TESTAMENT IN MY BLOOD, WHICH IS SHED FOR YOU AND FOR MANY FOR THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS. These words every Christian must have before him in the mass and hold fast to them as the chief part of the mass".¹

4. The Promise of God in the Mass, viz. the New Testament and its benefits: In the Mass Christ makes a solemn vow which we are to believe and thereby come to godliness and salvation -- this is "the cup of the New Testament", Christ's Testament which was made operative by His death.²

In instituting the New Testament the Old was annulled. The Old Testament was made through Moses to the people of Israel, to whom was promised the land of Canaan. The paschal lamb died for this testament -- this was a temporal and transitory testament,

"But Christ, the true Paschal Lamb, is an eternal divine Person, who dies to establish the new testament; therefore the testament and the possessions therein bequeathed are eternal and abiding ...".³

1. Ibid, I, p. 297; also see 303 and 324; Matt. 26: 26, 27, 28; Mk. 14: 22-24; Luke 22: 19, 20.
2. Ibid, I, p. 299.
3. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, I, p. 300.

"It is a new and everlasting testament, in His own blood, for the forgiveness of sins".¹

On receiving the promise, we are "strengthened in faith, confirmed in hope and made ardent in love" to Christ.¹

In the history of the race God has given a sign in all His promises in addition to the word of promise, "for the greater assurance and strengthening of our faith". To Noah God gave the rainbow as a sign, to Abraham circumcision.

"Thus Christ has done in this testament and has affixed to the words a powerful and most precious seal and sign; this is His own true body and blood under the bread and wine. For we poor men, since we live in our five senses, must always have, along with the words, at least one outward sign, on which we may lay hold, and around which we may gather; but in such wise that this sign may be a sacrament, that is, that it may be external and yet contain and express something spiritual, so that through the external we may be drawn into the spiritual, comprehending the external with the eyes of the body, the spiritual and inward with the eyes of the heart".²

Let us keep in mind this last "comprehending the external with the eyes of the body, the spiritual and inward with the eyes of the heart" when we study Luther's conception of the sacrament in itself.

5. Efficacy of FAITH in the Mass of the New Testament: Man must accept the promise of God through faith, in order to make the testament of forgiveness effective. God promises; man must believe; and man receives. It

1. Ibid, I, p. 299.

2. Ibid, I, p. 301.

was through faith that God always gave His promises, even
 to Adam, Noah, and Abraham.¹

"If man is to deal with God and receive anything from Him, it must happen in this wise, not that man begin and lay the first stone, but that God alone, without any entreaty or desire of man, must first come and give him a promise"

"This word (of promise) man must gratefully accept, and faithfully believe the divine promise, and by no means doubt that it is and comes to pass just as He promises".²

6. Preparation for the Mass of the Lord's Supper: Luther says that the first and by far the best preparation for the supper is "a hungry soul and a firm joyful faith of the heart accepting such a testament".³ Let the "poor tortured consciences" that feel a need of forgiveness from sins come with joy knowing that they are forgiven because they take believing the promise.⁴

7. Parts of the Testament: He divides the giving of the testament into six parts:

"First, the testator who makes the testament, Christ. Second, the heirs to whom the testament is bequeathed, we Christians. Third, the testament in itself, the words of Christ when He says: 'This is My body which is given for you. This is My blood which is shed for you, a new eternal testament etc.' Fourth, the seal or token, the sacrament, bread and wine, and under them His true body and blood. Fifth, the bequeathed blessing which the words signify, namely, remission of sin and eternal life. Sixth, the obligation remembrance or requiem which we should observe for Christ, to wit, that we preach this His love and grace, hear and medi-

1. Treatise on the New Testament, Holman, I, p. 298.
2. Ibid, I, p. 297; see also p. 317: "The mass is best for him who believes most, and it serves only to increase faith, and for nothing more", p. 323.
3. Ibid, I, p. 303.
4. Ibid, I, p. 324.

tate upon it 'As oft as ye eat this bread and drink/this cup ye show the death of Christ'.¹
of

8. The ABUSES of the Mass. The last half of the document deals with the abuses of the mass by the Church.

a. Suppression of the Words: The first abuse of the mass is the withholding of the words of institution from the laity.² The priests were in the habit of mumbling or whispering the words of institution; and Luther, maintaining that the chief thing in the Sacrament was the words, spoke vehemently against suppression. The words are much more important than the sign, and in fact only the words are needed; since we are saved by the testament and not the sign:

"For the signs might be lacking, if only one have the words, and thus one might be saved without sacrament, yet not without testament. For I can daily enjoy the sacrament in the mass, if I only keep before my eyes the testament, that is, the words and covenant of Christ, and feed and strengthen my faith thereby".³

b. The Mass a good work: The second abuse of the mass is making it a good work, done by man. This is contrary to the idea of a testament, since God is giving and we are receiving:

"For a testament is not beneficium acceptum, sed datum; it does not derive benefit from us, but brings us benefit".⁴

c. The Mass as a sacrifice: The third, and "worst

1. Ibid, I, pp. 301, 302.
2. Abuses of the Mass, in Treatise on N.T., Holman, I, p.305.
3. Ibid, I, p. 306.
4. Ibid, I, p. 308.

abuse" is considering the sacrament a sacrifice to God. This is impossible, since God is giving us what the words signify, namely, "forgiveness of sins".

"For to be brief and to the point, we must let the mass be a sacrament and testament, and this is not and cannot be a sacrifice".¹

However there is a sense in which the sacrament may be considered a sacrifice, but only in a secondary way: Christ at the right hand of God intercedes for us, and "Christ offers us",² and not we Christ.

Emphatically^{he} believes that masses are^{not} a benefit to souls in purgatory, and he proposes that foundations³ for masses be abolished.

9. Priesthood of Believers: Luther ever emphasises the necessity of individual faith in the sacrament, from which and from which alone its efficaciousness is derived. His definition of the priesthood of believers is clearly stated:

"All those who have the faith that Christ is a priest for them in heaven before God, and who lay on Him their prayers and praise, their need and their whole selves, and present them through Him -- are true priests for faith is everything. Therefore all Christians are priests".⁴

10. The Mass as a Proclamation of the Gospel:

Luther paraphrases I Cor. 11: 26 in saying that the Sacra-

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1. Ibid, I, p. 312.
2. Ibid, I, p. 314.
3. Works of Luther, Holman, I, p. 317; see Smith, P., History of Christian Theophagy, p. 109.
4. Ibid, Holman, I, p. 316.

ment of the Supper is a proclamation of the Gospel: "As oft as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye shall preach and proclaim the death of the Lord until He come".¹

The sacrament of the Supper is a summary of the whole Gospel:

"Christ has comprehended the whole gospel in a short summary with the words of this testament or sacrament. For the whole gospel is nothing but a proclamation of God's grace and of the forgiveness of all sins, granted us through the sufferings of Christ, as St. Paul proves in Romans 10, and Christ in Luke 24".^{2a.}

D. THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE CHURCH.^{2b.}

In a letter to Spalatin on Dec. 18, 1519 Luther³ mentions his scepticism about the remaining four sacraments of the Catholic Church, namely confirmation, matrimony, orders, and extreme unction,⁴ and his intentions to discuss the subject in a future work. This promised work took shape in his mind as a result of frequent and intensive discussions with Philip Melancthon on the priestly office and the sacramental system. In these discussions he realized the priesthood of all believers and the priestly office as a ministry of the Word and sacraments for the benefit of the Christian community. This type of ministry is quite different from the official priesthood which

1. Ibid, I, p. 320.

2a. Ibid, I, p. 321.

2b. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, II, p. 170, translated by A. T. W. Steinhaeuser.

3. Smith, L. Correspondence, I, p. 265.

4. Walker, W., A History of the Christian Church, p. 345.

which is the creation of human ordinances, and which the Roman Curia had imposed on the Church in bondage.

"It was this fundamental change in his view of the priesthood and the sacraments that he worked out in the course of the discussions with Melancthon and now developed in the Babylonian Captivity of the Church in Oct. 1520."¹

The genesis of the Babylonian Captivity is found in his major earlier writings which we have discussed in detail: Sermons on Penance, Baptism, and Blessed Sacrament of 1519; the Sermon on Good Works; and the Sermon on the New Testament of 1520.

We shall note in detail his ideas on the Lord's Supper in the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, namely, what he considered to be "the bondage of the bread". In the Preface to this work he admits that in his earlier writings he was still "sunk in a mighty superstitious veneration for the Roman tyranny"². He now denies that there are seven sacraments, and holds to but three, baptism, penance and the bread; and speaks of one sacrament, namely the Sacrament of the Word:

"To be sure, if I desired to use the term in its Scriptural sense, I should allow but a single sacrament (cf. I Timothy 3: 16) with three sacramental signs; but this I shall treat more fully at the proper time"³

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1. Mackinnon, op. cit., II, p. 248; cf. Vedder, The Reformation in Germany, p. 120 f.
2. Works of Luther, Preface to the Babylonian Captivity, Holman, II, p. 170.
3. Ibid, II, p. 177.

1. First Captivity, The Withholding of the Cup:

This was a sore spot in Luther's doctrine as evidenced by the reaction of Duke George in 1519.^{1a.} Dr. Luther argues vehemently for the giving of both the bread and the cup to the laity. This captivity concerned the "completeness"^{1b.} of the sacrament.

He said, in the first place that John 6 is to be excluded from the discussion because it cannot refer to the sacrament because of the context speaking only of the Word made flesh, and because the sacrament had not yet² been instituted.

Then he proceeds to give two passages "that do clearly bear on this matter": the Gospel narratives of the institution of the Lord's Supper, and Paul in I Cor. 11. Matthew, Mark, and Luke agree that Christ gave the whole sacrament to all the disciples, and it is certain that Paul delivered both kinds.

"Further, Matthew reports that Christ said not of the bread, 'Eat ye all of it'; and Mark likewise says not, 'They all ate of it', but, 'They all drank of it'.³

The references are Matt. 26: 27; Mark 14: 23; Luke 22. Luther stressed the "given for you and for many",⁴ not only for the priests but also for the laity.

1a. Smith, op. cit., I, pp. 266, 267.

1b. Works of L., Holman, II, 186.

2. Works of Luther, Holman, II, p. 178.

3. Ibid, II, 179.

4. Ibid, II, 182.

"Finally, Paul stands invincible and stops every mouth, when he says in I Cor. 11: 'I have received from the Lord what I also delivered unto you,'

"This shows that he delivered both kinds to them; and 'delivered' means the same as 'commanded', for elsewhere he uses the word in this sense".¹

So Paul "commanded" the use of both kinds.

Evidence for both kinds is found in Cyprian.²

2. Second Captivity: Transubstantiation. It

must be remembered that when Luther first wrote on the Lord's Supper he acquiesced in the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation. But in the Babylonian Captivity he definitely and unequivocally stands out against transubstantiation:

"after floating in a sea of doubt, at last I found rest for my conscience in the view, namely, that it is real bread and real wine, in which Christ's real flesh and blood are present".³

Concerning the medieval view that the "substance" and not the "accidents" (taste, color, smell etc.) were transformed into the substance of Christ's body, Luther said:

"It is an absurd and unheard of juggling with words, to understand 'bread' to mean 'the form', or accidents of bread', and 'wine' to mean 'the form, or accidents of wine'.

"Transubstantiation is forsooth, a monstrous word for a monstrous idea!"⁴

He takes up their own Aristotelian logic and says that according to the normal grammatical agreement of sub-

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1. Ibid, II, 183.
 2. Ibid, II, 185.
 3. Works of Luther, Holman, II, p. 188.
 4. Ibid, II, p. 190.

ject and predicate there cannot be a transubstantiation¹ without a transaccidentation.

Luther maintains that the bread is the body of Christ, but not through any transubstantiation. How this comes about will be seen in his subsequent controversies. Here he simply says that if he cannot comprehend the fact by reason, he will take his reason

"captive to the obedience of Christ, and clinging simply to His word, firmly believe not only that the body of Christ is in the bread, but that the bread is the body of Christ".²

The relation of the body and bread is here, as in later writings, compared to the relation of Christ and the Godhead:

"In order that the Godhead may dwell in Him, it is not necessary that the human nature be transubstantiated and the Godhead be contained under its accidents; but both natures are there in their entirety, and it is truly said, 'This man is God', and 'This God is man'. Even though philosophy cannot grasp this, faith grasps it, and the authority of God is greater than the grasp of the intellect".³

3. The Third Captivity: The mass a Good Work and a Sacrifice: The prominent Roman doctrine of the Supper, as before pointed out, was the doctrine of the Supper as a Good Work and Sacrifice. In his earlier writings Luther either ignores the doctrine, as in the Sermon of 1519, or speaks rather mildly against it as in

1. Ibid, II, p. 192.

2. Ibid, II, p. 193.

3. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, I, p. 193.

the Sermon on the N. T. of Aug. 1520, but here he calls it the third captivity of the sacrament of the bread.

There is no Biblical basis for a doctrine of a Sacrifice, declares Luther, because the whole mass rests on the words of Christ's institution,

"by which He instituted this sacrament, made it perfect, and committed it to us. For in that word, and in that word alone reside the power, the nature, and the whole substance of the mass. All else is the work of man, added to the word of Christ; and the mass can be held and remain a mass just as well without it".1

The sacrament of the bread is a testament which became good when the testator died, and by which the heirs lay hold of the heavenly inheritance,

"Herefrom you will see that nothing else is needed for a worthy holding of mass than a faith that confidently relies on this promise, believes Christ to be true in these words of His, and doubts not that these infinite blessings have been bestowed upon it. Hard on this faith there follows, of itself, a most sweet stirring of the heart, whereby the spirit of man is enlarged and waxes fat -- that is love, given by the Holy Spirit through faith in Christ -- so that he is drawn unto Christ, that gracious and good Testator, and made quite a new man".2

So, in the very nature of a testament, the sacrament cannot be a good work or sacrifice. ³ Man receives from God, and in the sacrament itself offers nothing.

"The body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine" constitute a "memorial sign of this great promise".

1. Ibid, I, p. 196. 126
 2. Ibid, I, pp. 199, 200.
 3. Works of Martin Luther, Holman, II, pp. 207, 213.

"The word of Christ is the testament, and the bread and wine are the sacrament". "A man can have and use the word, or testament, apart from the sign, or sacrament. 'Believe', says Augustine, 'and thou hast eaten'."¹

There is a sense in which we impart good works in the mass, namely the prayers that we offer in the ceremonies:

"I am ready, however, to admit that the prayers which we pour out before God when we are gathered together to partake of the mass, are good works or benefits, which we impart, apply and communicate to one another".²

E. ON THE MISUSE OF THE MASS.

In his little treatise Vom Missbrauch der Messe of 1521-22 we have several interesting points.

1. The atoning element in the sacrament. Previously the death of Christ had been taken for granted as the thing which gave validity to the blessings of the sacrament, forgiveness is granted because of the reconciling nature of Christ's death. So, for the first time Luther maintains that Christ's death has an inner relation to the forgiveness granted in the Supper, because the sacrament grants the means of its acquisition. The body and blood of Christ are the same substances as those by which Christ won forgiveness in His death.³

2. Pledge: The word pledge (pfand) which is practically equivalent to sign and seal, is used by Luther

1. Ibid, II, pp. 203, 204.

2. Ibid, II, p. 210.

3. Faulkner, J. A., Luther and the Lord's Supper; in Lutheran Quarterly, April, 1915, p. 212.

to designate the body and blood. The word is used in two ways: first, the flesh and blood are the pledge, seal and sign of the promise made by Christ in His death; and second, the Supper as a whole is a pledge, seal and sign of the grace and favor of God.¹

3. Necessity of actual partaking: For the first time Luther emphasises the necessity of actual partaking of the elements. This is done on the basis of the words "TAKE, EAT, DRINK". There is no mass unless the priest really breaks and divides among the communicants.²

F. SUMMARY.

Although controversy with the Catholics continued, it had reached its constructive climax by 1522. In the Treatise on the New Testament and the Babylonian Captivity of the Church Luther reaches his highest spiritual conception of the Sacrament.³ The development of Luther's doctrine at this stage may be summarized as it differed from that of the Roman Catholic on cardinal points:

1. Transubstantiation: In the Treatise of 1519 he spoke of the "shape and form of the bread", and still held to the transubstantiation conception. In the Treatise on the New Testament he chooses the expression

1. Faulkner, J. A., Lutheran Quarterly, April, 1915, p. 212.
2. Ibid, p. 212.
3. Mackinnon, op. cit., II, p. 260.

"His own true flesh and blood", and apparently held the opinion later expressed in the Babylonian Captivity. He holds to the real presence of Christ's "Own true flesh and blood". The body of Christ is a sign only, a thing signifying the blessing of the sacrament which is forgiveness of sins and life eternal. However, the bread and wine remain bread and wine. He does not yet speak of any value which the Eucharistic body, sacramentally imparted, has in and of itself.

2. Priesthood of the believers: All Christians are priests through Christ.

3. The taking of sacrament does not work *ex opere operato*, effective in and of itself, by magic as it were.

4. The effectiveness of the Sacrament depends on faith. In faith "the power lies" -- "all depends on faith".

5. Means of Grace: Through faith as the organ receiving the sign (body and blood under bread and wine) the recipient receives that which is signified, namely, the promise of God and the testament of Christ that our sins are forgiven through His death.

6. Sacrament of the word: In essence there is only one sacrament and two sacramental signs: The Sacrament of the Word, and the sacramental signs of baptism, and the bread and wine.

7. The mass of the Supper is not a sacrifice but

a testament. Only the prayers along in the ceremony are offered to God, all else in the Sacrament is offered by God to the believer.

8. Masses are not beneficial for souls in purgatory.

9. Communion should be given in both kinds, both the bread and wine.

10. Auricular confession is not a necessary preparation for communion.¹

11. On receiving the elements: In 1520 he maintains that only the WORDS are needed, "for the signs may be lacking", "for we are saved by the testament and not by the sacrament". In 1522 he maintains for the first time on the strength of "Take, eat, drink", that the elements must be partaken of, and there is no sacrament without partaking.

In this last point of the summary we feel a new controversy opening up. It did open up. There were those who deemed that the truth lay farther away from the Roman Church than Luther cared to go. Therein lay the new fight; the fight with the "fanatics". Now, however the controversy lay in more specific points than before.

In as much as the new controversy deals more speci-

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1. Smith, P., History of Christian Theophagy, p. 99; see Works of M. L., Holman, II, p. 422.

ifically with the definite relation of the body and blood with the bread and wine, we shall summarize the development of this idea. This is best done by Graebke:

"All the time the old scholastic formula of sign (signum) and things (res) was taken for granted. By 1520 the sign was not only bread and wine but also body and blood, and the thing (res) was the unity of believers (1518), the spiritual body of Christ (1519), and the new testament assuring forgiveness of sins (1520). As to the relation of sign and thing: bread and wine are the images or pictures of the thing (1518-19), or the change from bread and wine into body and blood is a picture of our change into the spiritual body of Christ (1519). The next year (1520) it was taught that the body and blood support the credibility of the Word containing the forgiveness because they are the outward signs of the death that was necessary for the legal validity of the testament of Christ; and in 1521 they do this same because they are identical with the means through which the forgiveness is attained. Finally, the partaking of the sign is not necessary for the appropriation of the thing. That partaking is demanded only in 1521, and then on external grounds, not on grounds that are a part of the construction of the doctrine of the Supper".¹

1. Lutheran Quarterly, April 1915, pp. 215, 216. Die Konstruktion der Abendmahlslehre Luther's in ihrer Entwicklung dargestellt, Lpz.: Deichert, 1908, pp. 47, 48.

CHAPTER IV.

Turning to scorn, with lips divine,
The falsehood of extremes.

Alfred Tennyson

Outline of Chapter IV.

DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER
FROM 1522 TO HIS CONTROVERSY WITH ZWINGLI.

- A. INTRODUCTION.
 - 1. Historical.
 - 2. Theological.
- B. HONIUS AND WESSEL GANSFORT. Symbolical Interpretation.
- C. LUTHER AND THE BOHEMIAN BRETHREN.
 - 1. Views of the Brethren. Spiritual Interpretation.
 - 2. Luther against the Brethren. "On the Adoration of the Sacrament of the Sacred Body of Christ" (1523).
- D. LUTHER AND CARLSTADT.
 - 1. Carlstadt, and his views on the Lord's Supper.
 - 2. Luther against Carlstadt. "Against the Heavenly Prophets of Images and the Sacrament" (1525).
- E. SUMMARY.

Chapter IV.

DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER
FROM 1522 TO HIS CONTROVERSY WITH ZWINGLI.

A. INTRODUCTION.

1. Historical: "On the seventeenth day before the first of July" (Friday, June 15th) of 1520, the Pope issued the "Bull of Leo X. Against the Errors of Martin Luther and His Followers"¹ condemning among the "errors" Luther's conception of the Lord's Supper. Luther burned the bull on December 10, "near the Black Cloister"².

On April 17 and 18, 1521 Luther appeared before the Emperor and Diet at Worms;³ and spent the time from May 4 to 1522 in hiding at the Wartburg.⁴ In the early part of 1522 he was called back to Wittenberg, where the Reformation was getting out of control.⁵

2. Theological: So far we have traced the development of Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper in controversy with the Catholics; but from this point on it is developed further and defended in controversy with the radical wing of Protestants. Negatively his doctrine had to be free from the errors and superfluous miracles of

1. Jacobs, H. E., Martin Luther, Appendix I, p. 413.
2. Smith, P., Martin Luther, pp. 100, 101.
3. Ibid, 103f., also Carlburg, G., Luther's Break with Rome, pp. 53 ff.
4. Ibid, 121 f.
5. Mackinnon, op. cit., III, pp. 68-79.

Rome; and positively, it had to be developed against a theory which denied that the Sacrament was a means of grace at all, and which, in particular, refused to allow any real presence of Christ in the Supper.¹

In this chapter we shall take note of an early view against Luther's, that of Honius, or Hoen, which later played an important part in discussions. Then we shall survey the differences of Luther and the Brethren, and Luther and Carlstadt; which leads up to the principal controversy against the radicals, namely, the controversy with Zwingli, the Swiss (Chapter V.).

B. HONIUS AND WESSEL GANSFORT.

As early as 1522 the view afterwards advocated by Zwingli was being circulated on the ground of the Reformation, and² brought to Luther's attention. This view was expressed by Honius² and Wessel Gansfort.³ Honius' view may be summarised:

1. The Sacrament is a promise and pledge of the forgiveness of sins, as the ring presented by a bridegroom to his bride, and demands from the recipient the faith that Christ, the Bridegroom, belongs to us. This Luther acknowledged with him.

2. Denied the bodily presence of Christ; and

1. Barclay, A., The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, p. 37, from Seeberg, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte, IV, p. 328.
2. Smith, P., Hist. of Christian Theophagy, pp. 96, 126, 141.
3. Mackinnon, op. cit., III, p. 306.

defended this position by quoting Matt. 24: 23: "Here is Christ, there is Christ".

3. Acknowledged in the reception of the Supper only a spiritual relation to Christ.

4. He declared the "est" of the words of institution to be equivalent to "significat", because the expression is like that in Matt. 16: 18 and I Cor. 10: 4 where Christ is called the Rock.

5. The bestowal of a gift upon the part of Christ is the central point of the sacrament.¹

The letter of Hoen, that "learned and pious Dutchman",² came into the hands of Zwingli. The chief contribution being the exegesis derived from John 6, and that "est" means "signify".

John Wessel of Gansfort (1420-1489)³ wrote a treatise, De Sacramento Eucharistiae, in which he taught that the Lord's Supper is the rite in which the death of Christ is presented to and appropriated by the believer. It is chiefly a commemoration of the death, and a communion or participation in the benefits which were made possible. The communion with the spiritual presence of Jesus is of far more importance than any corporeal contact with the body of Christ, and that communion is shared in through

1. K stlin, J., The Theology of Luther, II, p. 62.
2. Barclay, A., The Protestant Doctrine of the Lord's Supper.
3. Stone, D., A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, I, pp. 371-373.

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faith.

C. LUTHER AND THE BOHEMIAN BRETHERN.

1. Views of the Brethren. The doctrinal descendants of John Hus, the Bohemian Brethren, maintained their stand against Rome; but their views of the Lord's Supper were not exactly in accord with Luther.² Their view, although not exactly known, may be summarised as follows:

- a. Demanded the cup for the laity.
- b. Denied the efficacy of masses for the dead.³
- c. Denied Transubstantiation.
- d. Christ is present in the Sacrament only spiritually. With the words of consecration Christ's true (verum) body is present;⁴ but in another mode of existence (per aliam existentiam) than at the right hand of God. Kōstlin narrowly defines the Bohemian position on the presence:

"He is not here personally, with the natural substance (substantia) of His body. In this sense, He will not be present upon earth until the Day of Judgment. With this actual substance of His body He has but one place, namely, that to which He ascended before the eyes of His disciples. Christ, with His natural body, is not here 'abiding actually and corporeally' (mansione existenter et corporaliter). . . . Christ is present 'spiritualiter, efficaciter, potenter, in virtute'."⁵

- 1. Barclay, op. cit., pp. 52, 53.
- 2. Kōstlin, op. cit., II, p. 59.
- 3. Smith, Hist. of Christian Theophagy, pp. 97, 98.
- 4. Barclay, op. cit., p. 34.
- 5. Kōstlin, op. cit., p. 60.

They disavowed fellowship, however, with those who considered the Supper as a mere memorial feast, or the bread as merely "figuratively" the body of Christ dwelling in heaven.¹ However, Martin Hansk, the Hussite taught that

"in the sacrament of the altar there is not the true body and blood of Christ, but only bread, which is a sign, and that only when it is taken, of the body and blood of Christ".²

The Brethren, furthermore were troubled about the question of the adoration of the Sacrament.

2. Luther against the Brethren. Luther found himself now, (1522-23), forced ~~not~~ to combat^{not} Romish errors, but false teaching on the ground of the Reformation itself.

In a letter to Paul Speratus at Iglau, of date June 13, 1522,³ Luther says concerning adoration:

"I should say that a man is free to adore or invoke Christ in the sacrament, and he who does not adore Him commits no sin, neither does he commit sin who adores Him.

*Where faith and love are present there can be no sin either in adoring or not adoring Christ in the sacrament.

*For faith adores Christ, because it sets before it only Him whose body and blood it doubts not to be present. If the contentious are unwilling to call this 'concomitance', let them call it something else. *For no one denies -- not even the Brethren, I take it -- that the body and blood of Christ, who is the object of adoration, are present, and this is reason enough for using the term 'concomitance'. But if there are any who wish to discover how the Deity is contained in the sacrament by way of concomitance, show them that

1. Köstlin, op. cit., p. 60.
2. Smith, op. cit., 98.
3. Smith, P., Luther's Correspondence, II, p. 125 f.

their curiosity is foolish and that they are rushing headlong into the mysteries of God with carnal imaginations".¹

He does not advise adoration because there is no Scriptural command to adore.

In this same letter he says concerning "whether the body of Christ alone is present under the bread by virtue of the words, etc."²:

"Judge for yourself whether there is any need to involve the ignorant multitude in these hair-splittings, when otherwise they can be guided by the sound and safe faith that under the bread there is the body of Him who is true God and true man. What is the use of wearying ourselves with the question how blood, humanity, Deity, hair, bones, and skin are present by concomitance, for these things we do not need to know.....

"Faith wishes to know nothing more than that under the bread is present the body, under the wine the blood of the Christ who lives and reigns".²

In 1523 he addressed his treatise "On the Adoration of the Sacrament of the Sacred Body of Christ" to the Bohemian Brethren. In the introduction, he referred to their own Catechism which taught that Christ is in the Sacrament not independently or naturally, and also that the Sacrament is not to be adored.³ Then, he proposes to consider how "so many frivolous spirits have taken offence at Christ's words of Institution, upon which everything depends".⁴

He does not name definitely the parties whom he is opposing

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1. Ibid, II, p. 127.
 2. Ibid, II, pp. 127, 128.
 3. K stlin, op. cit., II, 64.
 4. Barclay, op. cit., p. 35.

but evidently he has the symbolical interpretation of Honius (Hoen) in mind.

The first part of "On the Adoration etc." is directed dogmatically against the symbolical interpretation of "This is My body". He maintains that the words "This is My body" are not to be figuratively but literally understood. Furthermore, if reason cannot comprehend how the body and blood can be in the bread and wine, the fact is not invalidated, because of the plain testimony of the words. Unless Scripture declared contrary, we are bound to accept the passage as it stands, and have no alternative but to believe in the bodily presence. To substitute, without this warrant, "signifies" for "is" is to deal arbitrarily with the text, and this principle of exegesis is sacrilegious and endangers the whole truth of the Bible.¹

The second part of "On the Adoration etc." deals specifically with the spiritual interpretation of the Bohemians. Luther distinguishes clearly between the spiritual body of Christ, which we as believers constitute, and the natural body which is given and distributed for us in the Supper. Referring to I Cor. 10: 16 which reads, "The bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the body of Christ", he interprets as:

"When we eat such bread, we all together, each as much as the other, receive and enjoy, not simply bread, but

1. Mackinnon, op. cit., III, p. 308; K stlin, II, 64; Barclay, pp. 35, 36.

the body of Christ."¹

Paul declares the bread broken by us to be the communion of the body of Christ; and Luther sees a common enjoyment of the real natural body of Christ by all who break the bread (participate in the celebration of the Sacrament). He depends mainly upon the apostle's declaration concerning the "breaking". This, without doubt, means the handling of the sacrament in giving and taking. Consequently Paul is speaking of that communion which the "breakers of the sacrament" enjoy. Kbstlin points out that

"Luther not only finds in I Cor. 10 a testimony to the real presence of the body of Christ in the sacrament; but the passage further conveys for him especially the idea, that there is a reception of this body upon the part of such also as are not spiritually united to Christ, i. e., upon the part of every one who, with other participants, receives the bread. The doctrine that unworthy guests at the communion also receive the body of the Lord, is thus here already plainly enough expressed".²

Luther had never spoken specifically on this point before, although he may have held the view in connection with his "unwavering faith in the presence of the body".²

In this treatise we find also that adoration (anbeten) is admissible, but the best communicants are those who are already engaged with the Word of the Sacrament.

Luther said:

1. Barclay, op. cit., p. 36; see Mackinnon, III, p. 308.
2. Kbstlin, op. cit., II, 66, 67.

"Let one but exercise faith aright in the Word of the Sacrament and the adoration will come in very suitably of itself".¹

So, in his treatise of 1523 "On the Adoration etc.", we have the following points:

- a. Discussion against Honius' symbolical view.
- b. Discussion against the spiritual view of the Brethren.
- c. The unworthy partake of the body of Christ.
- d. All rests upon the power of the Word (Hauptstuck).
- e. Adoration of the sacrament is permissive, if it is understood that it is adoration of Christ and not the elements.

D. LUTHER AND CARLSTADT.

1. Carlstadt and his view of the Lord's Supper.

Andrew Bodenstein of Carlstadt was a professor at Wittenberg and for a long time was in perfect sympathy with Luther. When Luther was in hiding in the Wartburg, Carlstadt, by the rashness of his temperament led not only the people but also the Council and University into a dangerous revolution.² On Christmas Day, 1522, he celebrated the Lord's Supper, leaving out all the most

1. Barclay, op. cit., 37, from Seeberg, Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte (1898) IV, p. 328.

2. Mackinnon, op. cit., III, p. 68 f.

3. Smith, P., Luther's Correspondence II, p. 78; also Barclay, op. cit., p. 38.

essential features of the Roman Liturgy. Other sweeping reforms were in process when Luther came back to quiet the radicalism. Carlstadt migrated to Orlamunde as a parish priest.

From this point Luther and Carlstadt seemed antagonistic to one another. Carlstadt wrote a series of pamphlets setting forth his views and attacking the views of Luther; one was completed near the end of the year 1523, and the other four in August-October 1524. "On the Priesthood Sacrifice of Christ" was finished in 1523, written in answer to Luther's "Adoration of the Sacrament". "Exposition of the Words: Hoc est Corpus Meum" appeared in 1525.

Summary of Carlstadt's view:

- a. Bread and wine are mere memorials.
- b. Denied Sacrament as a means of grace.¹
- c. Denied the real presence, since it stands in contradiction to the doctrine of the universal priesthood.²
- d. "This" refers to Christ's body to which He pointed.
- e. "Broken" refers to bread.

Preserved Smith has summed up Carlstadt's argument:

"He (Carlstadt) first proves that Christ could not be in the bread, by Paul's words (I Cor. 2: 2) 'I know nothing

1. Barclay, op. cit., p. 37; see Köstlin, II, p. 76.
 2. Smith, P., History of Christian Theophagy, p. 126.

among you save Christ and him crucified'. His body therefore could have been nowhere else save on the cross. He calls it foolish to seek forgiveness of sins in mere signs. In his exegesis of 'this is my body', he said Christ pointed to his own body, and this he proved by alleging that in Greek 'this', touto, could not agree, being neuter, with 'bread', artos, being masculine, but must agree with the neuter 'body', soma. Calling Luther 'the Antichrist's (pope's) younger friend', he asserts that he has the witness of the 'Spirit' which Christ promised".¹

In 1521 Erasmus agreed with Luther and wrote:

"A new opinion has lately been advanced, that there is nothing in the Eucharist except bread and wine".²

2. Luther against Carlstadt. The Protestants
³
 were divided among themselves, and Luther found himself now defending his doctrines against one and now another. He considered Carlstadt an "angel of darkness",⁴ and made no concessions.

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 In a letter to Melancthon of Aug. 1, 1521, when Carlstadt held it a sin to take the sacrament in only one kind, Luther expressed his opinion of Carlstadt's views, saying that the innocent could not be held responsible if a tyrant withheld the cup.

However, by 1525 the controversy over the sacrament had narrowed down, in the field of the Reformation itself, to the question of the real presence. This was

1. Smith, Hist. of Christian Theophagy, p. 127: To which Luther replied, "My devil, I know you well".
2. Introduction to Henkel's edition of "Luther on the Sacraments", p. ix.
3. Smith, Correspondence of Luther, II, 361; also Smith, Hist. of T., 130.
4. Smith, Correspondence of Luther, II, 162.
5. Ibid, II, 47.

and had been the bone of contention with the "radicals" all along the line.

Luther wrote to the Strassburg Christians on Dec. 17, 1524:¹

"I freely confess that if Carlstadt or any other could have convinced me five years ago that there was nothing in the sacrament but mere bread and wine, he would have done me a great service. I was sorely tempted on this point, and wrestled with myself and strove to believe that it was so, for I saw that I could thereby give the hardest rap to the papacy. I read treatises by two men who wrote more ably in defence of the theory than Dr. Carlstadt and who did not so torture the Word to their own imagination. But I am bound, I cannot believe as they do; the text is too powerful and will not let itself be wrenched from the plain sense by argument.

"But even if it could happen that to-day anyone should prove on reasonable grounds that the sacrament was mere bread and wine, he would not much anger me. (Alas, I am too much inclined that way myself when I feel the old Adam!) But Dr. Carlstadt's ranting only confirms me in the opposite belief. Even if I had no opinion on the subject to start with, his light, unstable buffoonery, without any appeal to Scripture, would give my reason a prejudice against whatever he urged."

In January, 1525, Luther published his outstanding treatise "Against the Heavenly Prophets, of Images and the Sacrament", which was in direct reply to Carlstadt.² It contained a refutation of the two arguments which claimed Luther's attention afterwards in his principal treatise against Zwingli in 1527.³

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1. Ibid, II, 274.
 2. Smith, History of Christian Theophagy, p. 130; cf. Smith, Luther's Correspondence, II, pp. 297, 379; also cf. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 282.
 3. Barclay, op. cit., p. 39.

In the first place Carldtadt had argued that Jesus Himself declares in John 6: 63 that "His flesh profiteth nothing".¹ Luther inquires of what profit, then, could that flesh of Christ have been to which the Lord is said to have pointed when He said "touto"(I Cor. 11: 24).² He demands, too, that a discrimination be made between "flesh" and "Christ's flesh". The saying in John 6: 63 is not to be referred to the flesh of Christ at all, but is to be interpreted in connection with the following declaration, i. e., "the words of Christ are spirit and life". By the flesh which "profiteth nothing" Christ accordingly meant a "carnal understanding" (intellectus carnalis) of these His divine words. "Flesh" here as elsewhere in the Scripture, denotes the "carnal" disposition and will and understanding.

In the second place Carlstadt had argued that Christ would have to leave His place in heaven in order to enter into the bread,³ or, as Luther reexpressed it, "Christ would have to spring up at once (aufspringen), whenever summoned by the putrid breath of a drunken priest". In response, Luther refused to hear anything of an interpretation according to which Christ "ascends and descends". He quotes Ephesians 1: 23, "The Church

1. Mackinnon, op. cit., III, p. 311.

2. K stlin, op. cit., II, 73, 77.

3. Ibid, II, 78; cf. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 296.

which is His body, the fulness of Him that filleth all in all", declaring that Carlstadt did not understand the Kingdom of God or Christ, or how Christ is in all places and, according to this text, fills all things. He pressed the case still further, showing that this same spirit would also have to contend that the Son of God, when He was in His Mother's womb, had been compelled to forsake heaven.

So, Luther thus places side by side the omnipresence of the exalted Christ (even in the Supper), and an existence in heaven which must be attributed to the God-Man, as continuing without interruption, even during the events attending the beginning of His Incarnation.

Here we have a new conception¹ in Luther's discussions, namely, the Synecdoche,² mentioning the whole of an object, when they mean to designate a part only. So, understanding "the bread and the body" as meaning "the body" alone; as Christ said, "This is my body", and made no mention of the bread. The bread is indeed also present, but inasmuch as the body is the most important thing, Christ speaks as if there were nothing there but the body.³ According to the natural mode of speech, we say of a piece of glowing iron: "This is fire". Like-

1. K stlin, op. cit., II, p. 79.

2. Mackinnon, op. cit., III, 311; cf. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 369.

3. Barclay, op. cit., pp. 39, 40.

wise, we say of the man, Christ: "This (man) is God"; and "This (God) is man".

Mackinnon states that here in the onslaught against Carlstadt, who denied the efficacy of the sacrament as a means of grace, Luther puts accent

"on the Sacrament itself as embodying grace in virtue of the real presence, though faith is indispensable to a participation in this sacramental grace. In controversy with Carlstadt he seems to have reverted to the idea of inherent sacramental grace, whilst repudiating its mere mechanical operation. To us this seems a lapse towards medieval materialism. To Luther it was a vital element of the religious life, inasmuch as it is in the Sacrament that the Word of Christ becomes effective in saving and sanctifying the soul".¹

Summary of Luther's emphases in "Against the Heavenly Prophets":

- a. John 6: 63 cannot refer to the sacrament. Distinguishes between "flesh" and "Christ's flesh".
- b. Ubiquity of Christ. Christ does not (aufspringen) spring.
- c. "This is my body" is a Synecdoche -- mentioning the whole when only a part is designated.
- d. "Touto" refers to bread.
- e. "Given" refers to the distribution.
- f. Through the Word of promise forgiveness of sins is bestowed.²
- g. "Remembrance", is justified when there is a

1. Mackinnon, op. cit., III, pp. 312, 313.
2. K stlin, op. cit., II, 81, 82.

desire to "proclaim the Gospel".

E. SUMMARY.

Honius, in his symbolical interpretation of the words of institution made "est" mean "signify"; thus denying the real presence. Wessel Gansfort held this same view. The Bohemian Brethren acknowledged only a spiritual presence of Christ in the Sacrament. Luther, in his treatise "On the Adoration of the Sacrament" of 1523, attacked both the view of Honius and Wessel, as well as the spiritual interpretation of the Brethren. Further ideas expressed in the treatise "On the Adoration" were: The presence of Christ in the Sacrament is due to the power of the Word (Hauptstuck); so, in view of the presence of Christ independent of the mind of the participant, the unworthy may actually partake of the body and blood of Christ. Adoration of Christ in the Sacrament is permissive, but there is no command to adore.

Carlstadt followed further the general lines of Honius, and denied the real presence of Christ, and the Sacrament as a means of grace. To Carlstadt the Sacrament became a mere memorial. Luther attacked Carlstadt in his treatise "Against the Heavenly Prophets"; and maintained that a. John 6: 63 could not refer to the sacrament; b. the Ubiquity of Christ; c. "This is my body" is a Synecdoche; d. "Touto" refers to bread; e. "Given"

refers to the distribution; f. Forgiveness is bestowed through the power of the Word; g. In partaking of the Sacrament we "proclaim the Gospel".

The outstanding new conception in Luther is the Synecdoche in the words "This is my body". In these words of Institution the whole (body and bread) is meant although only a part (body) is mentioned.

CHAPTER V.

We taste Thee, O Thou living Bread,
And long to feast upon Thee still;
We drink of Thee, the Fountain-head,
And thirst our souls from Thee to fill.

Bernard of Clairvaux

Outline of Chapter V.

DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER DURING HIS CONTROVERSY WITH ZWINGLI.

A. INTRODUCTION.

1. The Spreading Conflict.
2. Background differences between Luther and Zwingli.

B. ZWINGLI'S VIEW OF THE SUPPER BEFORE HIS CONFLICT WITH LUTHER.

1. Early Views and Summary in 1523.
2. Influence of Hoen's Symbolical Interpretation manifested.

C. LUTHER'S DOCTRINE IN CONFLICT WITH ZWINGLI.

1. The Core of the Conflict.
2. First assault in "The Syngamma Suevicum" (1525).
3. Views expressed in Luther's "Dissertation on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, Against the Fanatical Spirits" (1526).
4. Views expressed in "That These Words of Christ: This is My Body, etc., Still Stand Secure, Against the Fanatical Spirits" (1527).
5. Views expressed in his classic, "The Large Confession on the Lord's Supper" (1528).
6. Luther's conception of the Lord's Supper as expressed in his Catechisms of 1529.
7. The Marburg Colloquy (1529).
8. Luther's Doctrinal Statement on the Lord's Supper in the Augsburg Confession of 1530.

D. SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT FROM 1525-1530.

Chapter V.

DEVELOPMENT OF LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER
DURING HIS CONTROVERSY WITH ZWINGLI.

A. INTRODUCTION.

1. The Spreading Conflict: Luther's contempt for human reason when confronted with awkward questions led him to a one-sided vehemence that tended to defeat itself. Carlstadt's exegesis might be absurd; but Luther's was not necessarily irrefragable or fitted to carry conviction to others of a less mystical turn of mind. His one-sided contempt for reason in the matter of the Supper was not likely to commend itself to those who, like Zwingli, Oecolampadius and others, had been trained in the humanistic school of Erasmus.¹ So each who differed took up the cudgel in turn, and the conflict on the field of the Reformation spread still more broadly.

Zwingli and the Strassburg theologians, and Oecolampadius of Basle were not satisfied with the tone of the discussion between Luther and Carlstadt. They expressed themselves as in accord with Carlstadt, although with better reasons; hence the controversy with Zwingli. In this chapter Luther's ideas will be traced through his principal documents on the subject of the Supper, both

1. Mackinnon, *op. cit.*, III, p. 313; Smith, P., *Luther's Correspondence*, II, p. 196 ff.

controversial and Catechetical.¹

2. Background differences between Luther and Zwingli: The Sacramental conflict between Luther and Zwingli grew out of backgrounds that were essentially different. The differences between Luther and Zwingli² may be listed thus:

a. Luther's nature was essentially religious, with large mystical qualities; while Zwingli was more intellectual and critical than religious.

b. Luther's intellectual background was Scholastic; Zwingli grew up under the influence of the humanist school of Erasmus.

c. In Luther's theology "the way of salvation" was the central point; in Zwingli's theology "the will of God" was central.

d. Luther's conception of the Christian life was that of the "freedom of Sonship"; Zwingli's conception was "conformity to the will of God".

e. Luther had little faith in the "common man"; while Zwingli was a staunch Swiss democrat.

f. Zwingli's reform ideas had economic and political connections; but Luther's central reform idea was the purity of the gospel.

1. Harnack, op. cit., VII, p. 262; cf. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 273.
2. Walker, op. cit., p. 363; McGiffert, p. 327 f.; Harnack, VII, p. 262; Stephenson, pp. 107, 108; also Encyclopedia Britannica, II, p. 139.

B. ZWINGLI'S VIEW OF THE SUPPER BEFORE HIS CONFLICT WITH LUTHER.

It is apropos, before taking up the controversy of Luther and Zwingli, to give a brief consideration of Zwingli's earlier views. In controversy, both sides tend to exaggerate their different positions; so a saner judgment may be gained by a knowledge of Zwingli's teaching before the controversy.

1. Early Views and Summary in 1523: The eighteenth article in "The Book of Articles",¹ published in 1523 shows an early form of Zwingli's teaching:

"Christ, who offered Himself once for all on the cross, is forever the effectual sacrifice and victim for the sins of all the faithful. From this it follows that the mass is not a sacrifice but a commemoration of the sacrifice once for all offered on the cross, and as it were a seal of the redemption afforded in Christ".²

On June 15, 1523 Zwingli wrote to Thomas Wyttenbach:

"Bread and wine are not transubstantiated, and profit nothing, if faith is not present. Faith is the essential thing in the Supper. Faith is the organ of appropriation. The Supper strengthens feeble faith, as the bread sustains the body. It makes the spirit joyous, as wine rejoices the heart of man. But it is necessary that he draw near the Holy Feast with faith, if he wishes to experience the salutary effects of it. Faith must be already present in the man. Otherwise, far from finding strength and joy, he eats his own condemnation, for he does not discern the Lord's body. That is to say, he does not see in the body and in the blood of Christ, that which they really are, our re-

1. See MacDonald, Evangelical Doctrine of the Holy Communion, p. 162.
2. Stone, D., Hist. of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, II, p. 38.

demption and the washing away of our sins".¹

Barfield summarizes "in a few propositions" the substance of Zwingli's teaching in 1523 emphasizing the positive elements:

- a. The Lord's Supper is not a repetition of the sacrifice of Christ, but a commemoration of the same.
- b. We obtain forgiveness of sins, not through the eating of Christ as sacrificed, but through faith in the sacrifice once offered.²
- c. In the Lord's Supper we do not give. We receive.
- d. We receive the forgiveness of sins which Christ won for us through His death.
- e. Bread and wine are not a newly to be sacrificed body and blood of Christ. They are signs of the once broken body and blood of Christ.³
- f. The Atonement once and for all offered by Christ for our sins is appropriated in the Supper through faith (i. e. the life of Christ in us, and of us in Christ). Thereby Christ actually becomes our food, and nourishes the new life in us.
- g. This takes place, not in a physical manner through an entering of Christ into our body, but through a dwelling of Christ in our souls.
- h. In the Lord's Supper, Christ is really present for the believer, and is anew eaten by him as spiritual food.

Barfield admits that the last three are found only embryonically in Zwingli.⁴

1. Barfield, op. cit., p. 46; Kohler, W., Zwingli and Luther, p. 22 f.
2. cf. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 165.
3. Mackinnon, op. cit., III, pp. 314, 315, and note p. 315; cf. Luther and the Sacrament, Henkel, p. 273.
4. Barfield, op. cit., p. 48.

2. Influence of Hoen's Symbolical Interpretation manifested: The excitement aroused by the Carlstadt-Luther polemic forced Zwingli to declare himself. Hoen's letter and interpretation had now come into his hands, and he adopted Hoen's exegesis.¹ Fuel for the fire of controversy was laid by the publication of Zwingli's letter to Matthew Alber, dated Nov. 1524 but printed in March 1525.² The substance of the letter later expanded in his Commentary on True and False Religion (Mar. 1525)³, is as follows:

1. Jesus expressly rejects the corporeal manducation by His words in John 6: 63. Zwingli says:

"It is true that Jesus does not speak there of the Supper directly, but His discourse contains a refutation of the literal interpretation of the words of Institution. If John chapter 6 does not give an explanation of these words, it at least indicates how not to understand them. It furnishes the correct point of view from which to examine them".⁴

2. Explains the Words of Institution in a figurative way:

"We consider that the hinge of the matter is found in the little word 'est'. The word est is often taken for significat, as one sees in Genesis 41: 26. If we replace est by significat the words of Christ become quite clear, and give a sense like this: 'This Feast

1. Mackinnon, op. cit., III, p. 317; Barfield, p. 32; K stlin, II, 62, 64; Smith, Hist. of Christian Theophagy, p. 141; MacDonald, Evangelical Doctrine of the Holy Communion, p. 154. 144.
2. K stlin, op. cit., II, p. 100; Smith, op. cit., 143, /
3. Barclay, op. cit., p. 56; Smith, p. 144; Mackinnon, III, p. 317; MacDonald, p. 166.
4. Ibid, p. 54.

is a symbol, by means of which, you will remember that My body, the body of the Son of God has been given for you. This Feast signifies My sacrifice'.¹

Thus, for Zwingli, the Supper became, in 1524 on Hoen's information,² a memorial in which we celebrate the death of Christ, and by which we make profession of our faith and unite in one single body. But we eat our own damnation, if before eating we are not already certain by faith that Christ has saved us.

The ultimate result was a fierce pamphlet warfare in which Oecolampadius of Basle, the Strassburg divines, Bucer and Capito, actively served with Zwingli; while Melancthon,³ Osiander, Brenz, and Bugenhagen, served with Luther.

C. LUTHER'S DOCTRINE IN CONFLICT WITH ZWINGLI.

1. The core of the conflict. The two principal questions on which the controversy turned were:

- a. The Ubiquity or omnipresence of Christ's body.
- b. The relation of the two natures -- the divine and human in Christ.

Zwingli denied that Christ's body, which is in heaven, can also be in the bread, and maintained that what is said about His flesh and blood has reference to His

1. Barclay, op. cit., p. 55; Stone, op. cit., pp. 39, 40.
2. MacDonald, Evangelical Doctrine of the Holy Communion, p. 154.
3. Mackinnon, III, p. 317.

divine, not to His human nature. He sought to make out his point by adducing the figure of speech known as ALLOE-OSIS (rhetorical exchange, Gegenwechsel), by which in speaking of the one nature in Christ we use the terms that properly belong to the other. Luther, however, maintained the omnipresence of Christ's body and denied the contention that what is said of the flesh and blood is to be referred only to the divine nature. While Zwingli emphasized the distinction of the natures, which excluded the notion of Christ's bodily ubiquity, Luther emphasized their union, which made the bodily ubiquity possible, and strove to give plausibility to his contention in terms borrowed from the scholastic theology of Occam and Biel.¹

Relative to the crux of the debate between Luther and Zwingli, Lindsay keenly perceives that actually the two men weren't really arguing about the same thing.² In the medieval Catholic church the doctrine of the Sacrament consisted of two things; the Mass (where Christ was offered again, a "repetition" of His death on the cross, as a sacrifice), and the Eucharist, or thanksgiving and Communion of Christ with His believers. Actually, the conflict lay in the fact that Zwingli was primarily concerned with purging the untruth connected with the doctrine of the

1. Mackinnon, III, p. 318; cf. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, pp. 205, 208-210, 283.
2. Lindsay, T. M., A History of the Reformation in Germany, pp. 356-358.

Mass; and Luther was primarily concerned with conserving the truth connected with the doctrine of the Eucharist.

And Lindsay rightly maintains:

"The two theories, so far as doctrinal teaching goes, are supplementary to each other rather than antagonists. Each has a weak point. Luther's depends on a questionable medieval idea of ubiquity, and Zwingli's on a somewhat shallow exegesis"¹

2. First Assault in "The Syngramma Suevicum" (1525).

The first testimony against the new theories of Zwingli appeared in the work titled Syngramma Suevicum of 1525.

This was written by the Swabian ministers, though approved by Luther, and directed mainly against Oecolampadius.

This document aroused the Syngramma controversy. The Prefaces for two German editions of this work in 1526 were from Luther's hand.² Outstanding points in the Syngramma were:

a. In the Supper a GIFT is bestowed. Attacked the symbolical view of Oecolampadius.

b. The Word brings the efficacy of the Sacrament. The Word brings with it what it contains in itself, and is of universal application.

c. The Word and Faith make possible an ideal participation in the body of Christ. Luther's position was that the real participation is made possible by the Word

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1. Lindsay, op. cit., p. 358.

2. Kostlin, II, pp. 101 ff; also Barclay, p. 64 f., Smith, Hist. of Christian Theophagy, p. 147.

and not the faith of any man.

d. The Ubiquity of Christ. Christ is everywhere, and does not have to abandon heaven to be present in the Sacrament.

e. Communion of the Saints. The significance of the Sacrament is for the strengthening of faith, and a sign of unity.

Luther expressed his approval of the Syngramma although it did not fully contain his views, especially noticeable is the fact that the bodily participation is not maintained.¹ However, the Syngramma controversy was important because it raised for the first time the question of the Ubiquity of Christ, which later loomed large in controversy.²

3. Views expressed in Luther's "Dissertation on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, Against the Fanatical Spirits" (1526): Luther's first independent publication against the doctrines of the "fanatics" was the Dissertation on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ of 1526.³ He opens the discussion with the statement that there are two principal things which must be considered in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. The first is the OBJECT (objectum) of FAITH, i. e., "the

1. Köstlin, op. cit., II, pp. 108, 109; cf. Large Confession in Henkel's Luther on the Sacraments, p. 409.
2. Barclay, p. 66; cf. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 214f.
3. Köstlin, II, p. 109 f; Barclay, p. 71 f; Smith, p. 147.

work, or thing, which we believe, or to which we are to cling" -- the sacrament in and of itself, as it is externally presented to us, which is the presence of the body and blood as an object of faith. The other is FAITH itself, the proper attitude of the heart toward the sacrament, or, in general, the proper use of it.

The Dissertation on the Body and Blood of Christ is divided into two parts:

First part: Deals with the object of faith, or the presence of the body and blood of Christ. He claims that his opponents have only two arguments against the bodily presence: a. That it seems to reason¹ an almost unbecoming thing that Christ's body should be in the bread; b. That it is unnecessary that Christ's body and blood be in the bread and wine. Certainly it is a miracle that the body of Christ is there, but Luther finds equally great miracles² in the Incarnation and in everyday life. How, for instance, can the spoken word be caught up whole and undivided by each of a thousand ears? If one spoken word can thus distribute itself, how much more can Christ do the same with His glorified body? Through the preaching of the Gospel of Christ, He comes into the believing heart. Here we must say we have the true Christ. The heart feels

1. cf. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, pp. 214, 303.
2. Ibid, p. 296.

His presence through the experience of faith, without our knowing how it is effected. He sits at the right hand of the Father, and is also present in the believing heart. It may be said that the presence is an immediate inference from the ubiquity of Christ, and yet the presence is still made to be dependent upon the Word. It is the Word that binds the body and blood with the bread and wine. The "touto" includes both bread and body. This means furthermore that the body and blood enter with the bread and wine into the bodies of all, even the unworthy communicants. It is distinctly His body and blood which Christ "connects (anbindet) with the Word in bread and wine"; and we receive it bodily.¹

Luther makes short work of the second argument that the presence in the Supper is not necessary, declaring bluntly that they who say this, in that very act attempt to vanquish God and Christ. If God says it is necessary, all creatures must keep silent. Dr. Luther then challenges them to explain why it is necessary for God, who has sin, death, and the devil in His power, to send His Son to die for our deliverance; or why God feeds us with bread, when He could do so with His bare Word.

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Second part: Deals with FAITH itself, or the prop-

1. Köstlin, op. cit., II, p. 112; cf. Barclay, p. 72; cf. Luther's opinion of the forced confession of Berenger to Pope Nicolaus, in Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 326.
2. Ibid, p. 112 f., cf. Barclay, p. 72.

er use and reception of the Sacrament. Here he opposes, again, the old error which makes a meritorious work out of the Sacrament; also the new error according to which it is a bare badge by which Christians may be recognized, and he again insists upon the words: "My body which is given for you." He locates the right use of the sacrament in the faith -- not only that Christ is present with body and blood, but that He is here bestowed upon me; and bestowed ed, moreover, for the forgiveness of sins, which the death of Christ has secured for us. Christ's actual body is given to us as a "treasure", and with the Word brings us forgiveness of our sins. "As a token and guarantee there is given to us here in addition His body and blood for bodily reception"¹. In the preaching of the Gospel the Word is given to everybody. But it is the peculiarity of the sacramental distribution that, although the same thing is found in preaching as in the Sacrament, yet there is in the Sacrament this advantage, that it is presented to individual souls. The peculiarity of the Sacrament is, therefore, the definite individual application of the forgiveness distributed through the Word² -- "for me, for me, for me." This is an application, however (differing from that in confession and private absolution), in which, in

1. Kbstlin, op. cit., II, p. 113.

2. See Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 418.

addition to the Word, "the body and blood" are also given to each. This is given as a "token and guarantee" for that which lies already in the Word.

While firmly maintaining this as the fundamental significance of the Lord's Supper, the Dissertation yet recognizes the supper also as a memorial and proclamation of the death of Christ:

"Herein lies the conclusion of the matter: first, that we here take to ourselves, as a gift, the forgiveness of sins; and secondly, that we then preach and proclaim the same".¹

Finally, Luther again names LOVE as the "fruit of the sacrament". In view of this fact the ancient Fathers described the Sacrament as a *communio*, or fellowship (*Gemeinschaft*).² This feature is presented to us, first in the example of love given by Christ in His death, and then in the figure, or sign, of the bread composed of many grains and the wine made from many grapes.³

Summing up, the following emphases are to be noted in the "Dissertation on the Body and Blood of Christ":

a. The presence of Christ is the object of Faith, granting that it is a miracle of God, and answering the objections of Zwingli that the presence is "unbecoming" or "unnecessary".

1. K stlin, II, p. 114.

2. See Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 401.

3. K stlin, op. cit., p. 114.

b. Through the efficacy of Faith the Sacrament brings forgiveness of sins. Christ's body and blood are given for bodily reception as a "token or guarantee" of the forgiveness of ^{our} sins.

c. In the Sacrament the Word of the Gospel is given to individuals, as compared to the general preaching of the Word to all.

d. Recognition of the Supper as a memorial and proclamation of the death of Christ.

e. A repeated emphasis on Love, or communion, or fellowship with Christ as the "fruit of the Sacrament" ... "wine made from many grapes".

4. Views expressed in "That These Words of Christ: This is My Body, etc., Still Stand Secure, Against the Fanatical Spirits". (1527)

The humanist John Haner influenced Zwingli greatly, and in a letter of Dec. 1526 Zwingli brings forth a new point of doctrine which became known as the "alloeosis" or Gegenwechsel, i. e., "the rhetorical exchange by which, when speaking of the one nature of Christ, we use the terms belonging to the other". Zwingli says:

"What is said about faith in Christ and His death relates not to the human nature of Christ. Yea, the death itself, which is the sacrifice for our sins, would not be so precious if He, who, according to the one nature was mortal, were not according to the other, Life. When we say, then, that we trust in the flesh of Christ, we mean by His flesh, His death, and, on the other hand, to say that we trust in His death, is by alloeosis, nothing else than to say, that we trust

in God Who died, according to His other nature. Whatever may be our way of expressing it, the subject of our faith is always and only God. But because He, Who is God, is also the Son of man, one hypostasis, but two natures, it follows that there is ascribed to the humanity or to the flesh, what belongs to the divine nature alone".¹

This alloecosis is a commutatio idiomatum, a commutatio of terms based on the real unity of Christ's person.

In the spring of 1527 Zwingli published two polemics, "A Friendly Exegesis of Christ's Words", in Latin, and "A Friendly Appeasement and Rebuttal", in German.

These were sent to Luther along with a letter of which Luther wrote to Wenzel Link at Nuremberg on May 4:²

"The only news I have to write, dear Wenzel, is that Zwingli has sent me his foolish book with a letter written in his own hand and worthy of his haughty spirit. So gentle was he, raging, foaming and threatening, that he seems to me incurable and condemned by manifest truth. But my comprehensive book has profited many."

The work above referred to was the treatise: "That the Words, This is My Body, still stand fast against the Ranting Spirits".³ It is divided into four sections:

First section: Luther gives an exegesis of the words of institution with the insistence that they be taken literally. Zwingli says "is" means "signifies",⁴ and Oecolampadius that "body" means "sign of my body", by

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1. Barclay, op. cit., p. 73.
 2. Smith, Luther's Correspondence, II, 398; cf. Smith, Luther, p. 242.
 3. K stlin, op. cit., II, p. 115 f; cf. Barclay, p. 75; Smith, Luther's Correspondence, II, pp. 389, 393, 398.
 4. Cf. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, 411. p. 152 ff., p. 333.

which they are falsifying Scripture. One could make any text mean anything by this method. You might just as well say that the first verse of Genesis means

"In the be-
ginning the cuckoo ate the hedge-sparrows with feathers
and all",

and defend it by saying that "God" means "cuckoo", "made" means "ate", and "heaven and earth" means "hedge-sparrows with feathers and all".

Second section: Devoted to proof of the Ubiquity of Christ's body.

Third section: An extended exegesis of John 6, followed by proofs from the fathers, Augustine, Tertullian, Irenaeus, Hilarius, and Cyprian.

Fourth section: Luther emphasizes the use and necessity of the actual eating of the Saviour's body.¹

This treatise("That The Words of Christ etc."), adds no new conceptions to Luther's doctrine; but constitutes a reenforcement of his previously announced position. He thoroughly attacks Zwingli's exegesis of the words of Institution, gives further proof of his conception of Christ's ubiquity, adds an extended exegesis of John 6 with testimony from the Church Fathers, and emphasizes the necessity of the actual eating of Christ's body.

Zwingli answered in a work entitled, "That the

1. Smith, History of Christian Theophagy, pp. 155, 156.

Words of Christ, This is My Body, still have the same old Sense, and that Martin Luther with his last Book has not proved his own and the pope's Sense".¹

Luther answered again in his classic, "Large Confession on Christ's Supper" (Feb. 1528).²

5. Views expressed in his classic, "The Large Confession on the Lord's Supper" (1528): The most thorough exposition of the points in question is found in the "Large Confession". It is venomously polemic, keenly and thoroughly refuting the assertions and position of Zwingli. In the early pages of the book, Luther writes:

"In this little book, I propose three divisions. First, to convince our adherents, by examples, that these Enthusiasts have not yet by any means made out an answer upon my principles of reasoning; second, to examine the passages which have reference to the holy Sacrament; third, to acknowledge every article of my faith, in opposition to this and every other new heresy, so that, neither during my lifetime, nor after my death, they may be able to boast that Luther coincided with them on this subject, as they have already done in some particulars".³

Much of the material in the "Large Confession" has been taken up in previous discussions; hence some of the duplicated material will be omitted. However, since this treatise is his magnum opus, the cardinal points will be considered minutely.

1. Smith, op. cit., p. 156.
2. K stlin, II, p. 130 f;
3. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel edition, pp. 141,142. This work is an English translation of the original "Large Confession on the Lord's Supper" - "Grosses Bekenntniss vom Abendmahl Christi".

a. "IS" can never be equivalent to "SIGNIFIES".

Zwingli's argument that "is" means "signifies" is severely refuted:

"One is a teacher of fiction, who says that the little word is is equivalent to signifies. No man can ever prove it from a single passage of Scripture. Indeed, I will say further, if the Enthusiasts can produce one expression in all the languages in the world, in which the word is is equivalent to signifies, they may consider themselves victorious."¹

Luther says that there is a trope in the words of Institution. A trope is the use of a word in a new sense. For instance, he said Christ was a beautiful child, and

"I might take this word flower, and make a trope, that is, give it a new sense and application, and I may say, 'Christ is a flower'. Here all the grammarians, all the rhetoricians say the word flower has become a new word, has a new signification, and means no longer a flower from the field, but the child Jesus, and not that the word is has become figurative; for Christ does not signify a flower, but he is a flower, though a different flower from a natural one"²

The same is true in the figure of the vine,

"But Zwingli entirely overlooks the word true in the expression, 'Christ is the true vine'. Had he noticed it, he never would have made a figure out of the word is. For neither language nor reason will allow us to say, 'Christ signifies the true vine'. And thus the text itself forcibly proves, that vine in this example is a new word, which means a new vine, a different vine, a true vine, and not that which grows in the vineyard. Hence the word is cannot be figurative here, but Christ is really a vine, and possesses the nature of a true, new vine"³

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1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 154.
2. Ibid, p. 155.
3. Ibid, p. 158.

b. Alloeoosis: The principal point in the present dispute as in previous ones is whether the presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper is in conflict with His sitting at the right hand of God. Zwingli claimed an ALLOEOOSIS, where one nature of Christ is taken for another:

"The unreasonable Enthusiast makes this conclusion, in order to rob us of Christ, for he does not prove it, nor can he prove it to you".1

Luther claimed that Christ could be "at the right hand of God" and also be in the Lord's Supper. The two assertions are not opposed to each other. He reveals his position:

"But you should, beloved brother, instead of these Alloeooses, maintain this position: 'Because Jesus Christ is in reality God and man united in one person, in no passage of the Scripture is one nature taken for the other'; -- for he calls it an Alloeoosis, if something is said concerning the Godhead of Christ, which belongs to his humanity, or vice versa, as in Luke 24: 26.

"They are the mask of Satan. For they ultimately form a Christ, according to whom I would not willingly be a Christian, namely, that Christ henceforth can be no more, nor can he do more by his suffering and death, than a mere saint. For if I believe that the human nature only suffered for me, Christ is to me an insignificant savior, who stands as much in need of a savior himself. In a word, it is not possible to tell what this evil one is seeking with his Alloeooses".3

Zwingli claimed that Luther confounded the two natures in one essence:

"This is not true. We say not that the Divinity is the Humanity, or that the divine nature is the human nature, which would be confusing the two natures in one essence. But we unite the two distinct natures in one

1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 205.
2. Ibid, p. 207.
3. Ibid, pp. 208, 209.

person, and say, 'God is man, and man is God'. On the other hand, we exclaim against them, because they divide the person of Christ, as if there were two persons. For if this Alloeosis can be sustained, as Zwinglius contends, Christ must necessarily be two persons, a divine and a human person; because he applies the passages concerning the suffering of Christ, to the human nature only, and turns everything from the divine".¹

Here is where Zwingli approached Nestorianism in his conception of the two natures.²

Thus we see that Luther's Christology furnished the materials on which to base his conception of the Supper. Luther had always thought of the two natures of Christ as so united that the Man Jesus was in all His words and works, the expression and the organ of His divine nature. He knew no God except the One revealed in the Man Jesus. God is present and substantial in all things, but He dwells in Christ bodily, so that One Person is God and Man. The flesh of Christ is therefore a divine-flesh, a spirit-flesh. It is in God and God in it. God has become completely man, so that all human attributes, such as suffering and dying have also become His. The communicatio idiomatum is thus taken in its full meaning,³ and this denotes an advance on the traditional theology.

c. Modes of Christ's Presence. When Zwingli pressed Luther for "specific explanation of the nature of the presence of Christ. Zwingli could conceive of the

1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 212.
2. Harnack, History of Dogma, VII, pp. 262, 263.
3. Barclay, op. cit.

presence only locally, which he refused to admit. Luther said:

"But my grounds, upon which I support myself in this argument, are these: the first is the following article of our faith, -- 'Jesus Christ is essential, natural, true, and perfect God and man, in one person unseparated and undivided'. The other is, -- 'That the right hand of God is everywhere'. The third is, that 'The word of God is neither false nor deceptive'. The fourth is, that 'God knows and has within His power various ways, in which he can at any time be present in a place, and not in the one only, about which the Enthusiasts trifle, and which the philosophers call local'. For the sophists speak correctly here, when they say there are three modes of being in a place, local, or circumscribed, uncircumscribed, replete or full".1

A thing is locally or comprehensibly present in a place when the place and the thing in it correspond with and measure one another, as wine in a vessel, as Christ was when He walked on the earth. A thing is definitively or incomprehensibly present in a place when it does not correspond with the portion of space in the place, as an angel may be in a whole house, in one room, or in a nutshell. Such was the manner in which Christ's body passed through the stone. Such is Christ's presence in the Eucharist:

"For as the sealed stone and the closed door remained unchanged and unmoved, and although his body was at the same time in that place, where there were merely stone and wood; so he is in the same manner in the Eucharist, where the bread and wine are, though the bread and wine remain in their own place unmoved and unchanged".2

1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 214 ff.
2. Ibid, p. 216, see 215 ff; Cf. Kbstlin, II, p. 137 ff; Barclay, p. 79 f.

A thing is repletively or supernaturally present when it at the same time exists in all places

"whole and entire, and fills all places, and yet is measured or limited by no place, according to the area of the space in which it exists. This mode of existence belongs to God only, as he says in the prophet Jeremiah 23: 23, 'Am I a God at hand, saith the Lord, and not a God afar off?'"

In interpreting the term "in the bread", Luther explains:

"It is true, our understanding here foolishly presumes to speculate, since it is accustomed to understand this little word in, in no other sense than a physical, circumscribed one, like straw in a bag and bread in a basket.

"But faith can conceive that the word in is equivalent on these subjects to over, beyond, under, through and through, and everywhere".1

d. Christ and God are unified; Christ^{is} not alterum infinitum. Zwingli had objected that, if the body of Christ were present wherever God is, this body would then be an alterum infinitum -- another infinite thing like God Himself. In this regard Luther said:

"For in reference to what he concludes from my argument that if my doctrine is to stand, that the body of Christ is everywhere, wherever God is, -- the body of Christ would be another immensity, a boundless thing, like God Himself, -- he could himself plainly discover, if his anger did not blind him, that such a consequence cannot follow. If the world in itself is not infinite or endless, how should it follow that the body of Christ must be infinite, if it is everywhere. Besides this blind Enthusiast draws this false conclusion here, according to his gross, circumscribed mode".2

So, Christ can be omnipresent, and at the right hand of

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1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 235.
 2. Ibid, 237-239; Cf. K stlin, op. cit., II, pp. 139-140.

God. Even so, believers may be in heaven because they are with and in Christ, as well as being on earth. Christ, while on earth was locally present; now in heaven He can be in the Sacrament definitively. He can even be representatively or supernaturally present. Definitively, or comprehensibly in the Sacrament He can be "grasped". Yet, this presence in no way interferes with His being at the right hand of God.¹

e. Relation of Subject and Predicate in, "This is my Body": a Sacramental Unity. How shall we conceive of the presence of Christ in the bread?² To what does "This" refer? What is the relation of subject and predicate in the words, "This is my body", when the bread is broken? Luther said that the Sophists had retained the body and rejected the bread, while Wyclif had retained the bread.

"Now I have been teaching all along, and I still teach, that this controversy is unnecessary,

"Yet I maintain with Wickliff, that bread remains there; on the other hand, I maintain with the Sophists, that the body of Christ is present; and thus in defiance of reason and the most acute logic that it is very possible for two distinct substances to be and to be called one essence. And this is my reason: first, that in the contemplation of the word and works of God, we should surrender our reason and our human wisdom, as St. Paul teaches, II Cor. 10: 5: 'Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ'."³

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1. In this connection compare illustrations in nature; Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, pp. 268, 298, 357.
 2. Cf. K^ostlin, II, p. 145.
 3. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 321.

Proceeding to the Scriptures he shows that, in the case of the Trinity three persons are pronounced identical, one in nature and essence, making a natural unity; in the case of Christ, God and man are united in a personal unity; in the case of angels being winds, and ministers flames of fire, there is a practical unity; in the case of the Holy Spirit and the dove, there is a formal unity, because the Holy Spirit was revealed in the form of the dove. In view of this who can deny the possibility of Christ and the bread constituting what may be called a Sacramental unity.¹ So much are they unified that what is said of the bread can be said of the body of Christ. Even admitting that "When he presses (bread) with his teeth and tongue, he presses the body of Christ with his teeth and tongue".²

In discoursing on the identical predication Luther refers to the rules of rhetoric and uses again the figure of the Synecdoche, in which things of different nature are spoken of as one. Although the natures of bread and body of Christ are diverse:

"When they come together and become an entire new nature, they then lose their difference, in so far as the new harmonious (einig) nature is concerned. It is now no longer mere bread, but flesh-bread, or body-

1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, pp.325,326; cf. Kbstlin, II, p. 145 f.
2. Ibid, p. 326; cf. pp. 362, 373. Luther justifies Pope Nicholas, when he forced Berengar to confess that when he tore the bread with his teeth, he tore the sacred body and flesh of Christ. Note Kbstlin,II,p. 146.

bread; that is, bread which has become one sacramental nature, and one thing, with the body of Christ. Likewise, it is no longer mere wine, but blood-wine; that is, wine which has come to be one sacramental nature with the blood of Christ".¹

f. No benefit without Faith in the Word. Although all who partake of the bread, whether believers or pagans, partake of the body of Christ, only those who believe are benefited. "To eat the flesh of Christ bodily without faith, is of no benefit; and, to eat of the flesh of Christ with faith, is beneficial".² The "unworthy" are³ guilty of the body of Christ.

The presence of Christ in the Sacrament is through the power of the Word and not through the faith or holiness of any man.⁴

g. "Breaking" refers to the distribution. The word "break" does not refer to the death of Christ, but to the breaking and distribution of the bread to those who partake.⁵

h. Communion of the Body of Christ is a Natural Communion.⁶ In opposition to the "figurative nonsense" in the interpretation of his opponents, Luther maintains that the communion is a natural communion, or a natural

1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 349 f;

Cf. Köstlin, II, p. 148.

2. Ibid, p. 246.

3. Ibid, p. 385.

4. Ibid, p. 178; cf. MacDonald, op. cit., p. 151.

5. Ibid, p. 282, cf. p. 372.

6. Ibid, p. 396.

distribution of Christ's body. He rejoices in the text I Cor. 10: 17, "For we being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread".

"So it is now evident, that koinonia, the communion of the body of Christ is nothing else than the body of Christ, as a general blessing divided out and distributed to be enjoyed by many".¹

Also, he writes, in regard to the distinction of communions in I Cor. 10: 16:

"Now it is impossible that, in a spiritual communion, the body and blood of Christ should be separated, and constitute two distinct communions, as the case is here. Consequently the communion of the body and blood of Christ must be natural and not spiritual".²

Luther sums up his arguments against the figurative interpretation of the Sacrament in these words:

"I triumph in humility before God, that in this little book I have so far prevailed as to prove that there can be no figure in the Eucharist, but that the words are to be understood just as they read, This is my body,

"This I know most certainly. For if these words be figurative in all other passages which relate to the holy Supper. Now we have shown how the Enthusiasts themselves acknowledge and teach that they are not figurative in the sentence from St. Paul I Cor. 11: 27, 'Whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord'. Nor are they figurative in this sentence, chap. 10: 16, 'The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?' On these passages there is nothing left on which a reply against us can be built. Now if there is no figure in the words of the Eucharist, it is abundantly clear, that our interpretation is correct, and that of the Enthusiasts false and erroneous".³

1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 401.
2. Ibid, p. 408.
3. Ibid, p. 410.

i. Sacrament as a means of grace: Forgiveness of sins. The Sacrament is one of three media, through which we receive the benefice of Christ, The Holy Ghost helps us to receive and preserve the benefice of Christ.

"And He does ^{this}/externally and internally: internally, by faith and other spiritual gifts, but externally through the Gospel, through baptism, and the Sacrament of the altar, by which He comes to us, as through three media or means, and exercises the sufferings of Christ in us and employs it for the promotion of salvation.

"The true body and blood of Christ are eaten and drunk in it orally, although the priests who administer it, or those who receive it, do not believe, or else misuse it otherwise. For it does not depend upon the belief or unbelief of man, but upon the word and order of God. In this belief I must continue, unless they should first change the word and order of God."¹

In this final great document on the Lord's Supper he also discusses that which has been an emphasis from the beginning, namely the Sacrament as a New Testament in the real blood and flesh of Christ given for the remission of sins.² Furthermore the Old Testament signs of forgiveness, especially the blood of the lamb, are replaced by that most sure sign, the blood and flesh of the Son of God.³ In this connection he says that there are only two sacraments:

"baptism and the Supper of the Lord in connection with the Gospel, through which the Holy Ghost abundantly offers, bestows, and accomplishes the remission of sins".⁴

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1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, p. 418.
 2. Ibid., p. 419; Cf. pp. 184, 373. Notice the Treatise on the Blessed Sacrament of 1519 in chapter II, and also the Treatise on the New Testament of 1520 in chapter III of this thesis; cf. also K stlin, II, 149f.
 3. Ibid., p. 358 ff.
 4. Ibid., p. 421.

The flesh and blood of Christ cannot be regarded as figuratively giving forgiveness of sins,

"because the expression 'in my blood' is of the same signification as 'through' or 'with my blood'. For the blood of Christ must not be regarded as so impotent a thing as only to afford a similitude of the New Testament, as the blood of calves in Moses of former times".¹

In summing up the materials found in the "Large Confession" of 1528, it will be found that there are many new conceptions that lend to a clearer comprehension of Luther's conception of the Real Presence.

Firstly, he again refutes the argument that "is" means "signifies", and suggests that here a TROPE (use of a word in a new sense) is used; making the word "bread" mean body, but in a new yet absolutely true sense.

Secondly, by his Christology, that God is completely man and man is completely God in Christ, the communicatio idiomatum is taken in its full meaning. In this he refutes Zwingli's Alloecosis, by saying that Christ can be bodily wherever God is.

Thirdly, in line with the above, he now gives a philosophic basis for his conception of the Real Presence; a thing which earlier he was content to accept because of the words of the Institution. There are three modes in which a body can conceivably be present: locally, as Christ was in the flesh; definitively, or incomprehensibly, as the Spirit was in the dove at Christ's baptism;

1. Luther on the Sacraments, Henkel, pp. 376, 377; Cf. Barclay, p. 84; also Harnack, op. cit., VII, p. 258.

and repletively, or supernaturally, as God the Almighty Father always has been everywhere. Jesus, now, can be present in either of the last two modes.

Fourthly, although Christ and God are unified, Christ is not an alterum infinitum, or another infinite thing like God.

Fifthly, the Real Presence and unity of Christ in the bread is defined as a Sacramental Unity. In discussing the identical proposition, "this bread is my body", he again uses the Synecdoche (in which things of different natures are spoken of as one).

Sixthly, the Communion of the body of Christ with the believers is a Natural Communion, as opposed to the "figurative nonsense" of Zwingli.

Old doctrinal views repeated with emphasis are:

First, There is no benefit without Faith in the Word. The presence is through the power of the word, and not through the holiness of any man.

Secondly, "Breaking" refers to the distribution of the bread.

Third, The Sacrament is a Means of Grace, through which we receive forgiveness of sins.

Fourth, The Sacrament is a NEW TESTAMENT in Christ's blood.

The controversy with Zwingli reached its fullest force in the "Large Confession". It was the climax in

the controversial literature; but the Marburg Colloquy the following year marked the actual climax of the controversy itself.

6. Luther's Conception of the Lord's Supper as expressed in his Catechisms of 1529.

During this period of controversy Luther produced his two classic catechisms on Christian doctrine.¹ In these are found more complete, well-rounded, and concise statements of his position than in any of his polemical writings. It is well to quote quite largely from both, that he may make his own position on the Lord's Supper clear. His Small Catechism presents his views, concisely stated; but the Larger Catechism gives fuller explanations on cardinal points.

a. Luther's Small Catechism.

"1. The Nature of the Lord's Supper."²

a. "What is the Sacrament of the Altar?"

"It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the bread and wine, given to us Christians to eat and drink, as it was instituted by Christ Himself. I Cor. 10: 16, 17.

b. "Of what do we partake in the Lord's Supper?"

"We partake naturally of bread and wine; and sacramentally of the body and blood of Christ. I Cor. 10: 16.

c. "When do we receive the body and blood of Christ?"

"We receive the body and blood of Christ when we partake of the sacramental bread and wine.

d. "How can we receive the body and blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper?"

1. Cf. Wace and Buckheim, Luther's Primary Works, p.24ff.
 2. Luther's Small Catechism (sixtieth thousand) p. 101;
 Cf. Stone, op. cit., p. 15.

"It is not for reason to explain, but for faith to abide by the word of Christ, 'This is my body, This is my blood of the new testament'.

1

"II. The Benefits of the Lord's Supper.

a. "What are the benefits which we derive from eating and drinking in the Lord's Supper?

"They are pointed out in those words of the institution, 'Given and shed for you for the remission of sins', which words show us, that forgiveness of sins, life and salvation, are granted to us in the Sacrament; for where there is remission of sins, there is also life and salvation.

b. "What is taught by the words, 'Do this, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me?'

"By these words we are taught that we should frequently celebrate the Lord's Supper, mindful of all that the Lord is and has done for us.

2

"III. How the Lord's Supper confers its benefits."

a. "How can bodily eating and drinking produce such great effects?

"It is indeed not the eating and drinking that produces them, but that solemn declaration, 'Given and shed for you, for the remission of sins'; which words, together with the bodily eating and drinking, are the chief things in the sacrament; and he who believes these words, has what they declare, namely, forgiveness of sins.

b. "Why are the bodily eating and drinking necessary?

"Without the bodily eating and drinking there is to us no Sacrament of the Altar at all: (1) Because Christ has commanded, 'Take, eat,' and 'Drink ye all of this'. (2) Because He has made the words of promise, not apart from but together with the bodily eating and drinking, the chief thing in the Sacrament.

3

"IV. Preparation to Partake of the Lord's Supper.

Worthy communicants.

1. Luther's Small Catechism, p. 103.
2. Ibid., p. 104.
3. Ibid., p. 104.

a. "Who receives this sacrament worthily?"

"Fasting and bodily preparation are indeed a good external discipline; but he alone is truly worthy and well prepared, who believes these words, 'Given and shed for you for the remission of sins'. But whosoever does not believe these words, or doubts, is unworthy and unfit; for the words, 'For you,' require truly believing hearts.

b. "Are we worthy in ourselves to partake of the Lord's Supper?"

"We are not worthy in ourselves; for God's gifts are bestowed on us by divine, paternal love and mercy, without any claim of merit or worthiness in us.

c. "What two kinds of preparation for the Lord's Supper are there?"

"There is an external, and an internal preparation for the Lord's Supper.

d. "What is external preparation?"

"Fasting and bodily preparation, are indeed, a good external discipline.

e. "What is the use of external preparation?"

"External preparation is useful only in so far as it helps preparation of the heart.

f. "What is true preparation of the heart?"

"True preparation of the heart is a firm belief in these words: 'Given and shed for you for the remission of sins'.

g. "What does the word of God say about preparation for the Lord's Supper?"

"'Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of that cup.' I Cor. 11: 28.

h. "What is self-examination?"

"Self-examination is a diligent inquiry into the reality of our repentance, faith, and holy living.

i. "What must you do, if, in this self-examination, you find yourself far from what you ought to be?"

"I must not on this account absent myself from the Lord's table; for the right to commune depends not on our worthiness, but on the felt need of the Saviour and our willingness to accept and follow Him."

Unworthy Communicants.

j. "Who is unworthy to receive the Lord's Supper?
 "Whoever does not believe these words, 'Given and shed for you', or who doubts, is unworthy and unfit; for the words, 'For you', require truly believing hearts.

k. "What kind of unbelief or doubt is here referred to?"

"It is the unbelief of one who doubts the willingness or ability of Christ to save, or who chooses rather to doubt than to believe."

1

b. Luther's Larger Catechism.

In Luther's Larger Catechism are found further explanations of cardinal points in the Sacrament of the Supper.² Some of the principal explanations will be quoted.

(1) The Sacrament:

"is God's Word and ordinance or command; for it was not invented or instituted by any man, but was ordained by Christ without the advice or suggestion of any man.

"Now what is the Sacrament of the Altar? Answer: It is the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ in and under the bread and wine, through Christ's Word, appointed for us Christians to eat and drink. And, as we said when speaking of baptism, that it is not mere water, so we say again here that the Sacrament is bread and wine; but not mere bread and wine such as is ordinarily placed before us at meals, but bread and wine comprehended in God's Word and bound up in it."³

(2) The Word:

"is what makes and distinguishes the Sacrament, so that it is not mere bread and wine, but is, and is called, the body and blood of Christ; for it is written: 'Accedat verbum ad elementum et

1. Wace and Buckheim, op. cit., p. 24f.
 2. Ibid., p. 143f., Cf. Stone, op. cit., p. 16.
 3. Ibid., p. 144.

fit sacramentum": when the Word is added to the outward thing, it becomes a Sacrament.

"The Word must make the element a Sacrament, otherwise it remains a mere element."

(3) The Sacrament is independent of the faith or holiness of man:

"For we must reason thus and say: Though it be a rogue who takes or gives the Sacrament, it is the right Sacrament -- that is, Christ's body and blood -- just as though he handled it with utmost reverence. For it is not based on the holiness of mankind, but upon God's Word

"For neither the person nor the unbelief can falsify the Word by which it became a Sacrament and was instituted as such

"That is as much as to say, whether thou art worthy or unworthy, thou hast here His body and blood by virtue of these words, which come to the bread and wine."¹

(4) Benefits of the Sacrament:

"We take the Sacrament to receive a treasure, through and in which we obtain forgiveness of sins. Who so? Because the words so stand, and confer it upon us; for this is why He bids me eat and drink, so that it may be mine and be of use to me as a certain sign and a pledge, yea, that very blessing, which was instituted for my benefit against my sins, death, and all misfortune.

"Wherefore it is well named food for the soul, which nourishes and strengthens the new man in us; for through baptism we are first born anew"²

(5) The Sacrament is a summary of the Gospel.

"Now the whole Gospel and the article of the Creed: I believe in one holy Christian Church, the forgiveness of sins, etc., is incorporated in the Sacrament by the Word and revealed to us"³

(6) The manner of reception is through the heart, not the hand.

1. Wace and Buckheim, op. cit., p. 145
2. Ibid., p. 146.
3. Ibid., p. 147.

"For since this blessing is offered in the words, we cannot grasp or accept it otherwise with our hearts; with our hand we could not grasp such a gift and everlasting blessing.

"That which is given in and with (Christ's body) cannot be comprehended or obtained by our body. But the faith of the heart does it, as it recognizes the blessing, and desires it".¹

(7) On unworthy and worthy reception of Christ's gifts:

"It is indeed true that they who despise it, and lead unchristian lives, take it to their harm and damnation; to them it is neither good nor wholesome, much in the same way as though a sick man, in his wilfulness, ate and drank what his physician had forbidden. Those, however, who feel their weakness and would gladly be rid of it, and who desire help, must regard and use it as a precious antidote against the poison they have in themselves. For here in the Sacrament thou wilt receive from Christ's mouth forgiveness of sins, which includes and brings with it God's Grace, His Spirit, and all His gifts, protection, refuge, and strength against death, the devil, and all misfortunes".²

c. Summary of Luther's views as found in his two Catechisms:

Luther's fundamental doctrines on the Supper are found in his Catechisms of 1529, and may be summarized in the following propositions:

(1) The Sacrament is the true body and blood of Christ under the bread and wine.

(2) The believer receives naturally of the bread and wine and sacramentally of the body and blood of Christ.

(3) The benefits of the Sacrament are forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation, and a strengthening of the

1. Wace and Buckheim, op. cit., p. 148.

2. Ibid., p. 153.

new man.

(4) These benefits are conferred in the eating and drinking through faith in the words, "Given and shed for you". Christ received by the heart and not by the hands.

(5) There is an external and internal preparation for the Sacrament. External preparation is fasting, which is useless without the internal preparation of faith.

(6) Unbelievers and doubters receive the Sacrament unworthily.

(7) The Sacrament is a summary of the Gospel.

7. The Marburg Colloquy (1529).¹

In order to maintain a political and religious unity on the field of the Reformation Landgrave Philip proposed that the opposing forces come personally together in the hopes of attaining a theological understanding. However Luther persisted tenaciously for his own and against the entire doctrinal position and character of those who opposed him. Nor was he the man to be influenced by any political considerations to modify his theological judgment.² Nevertheless, the conference took place at the castle at Marburg, October 1-3, 1529, and

1. It is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss historically the Marburg Colloquy, but simply to show its relation to the sacramental controversy, and to the development of Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper.
2. Kbstlin, II, p. 151; see Luther's letter to Brenz, Aug. 29, Smith, Luther's Correspondence, p. 493.

Luther reluctantly attended.¹ With Luther came Melancthon, Justus Jonas, Cruciger, Myconius, Brenz, Osiander, Agricola; and with Zwingli came Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio. The principal part of the debate was borne by Luther and Melancthon on one side, and Zwingli and Oecolampadius on the other.

The two chief arguments which Luther was called upon again to meet were:

a. That drawn from John 6: 63, "The flesh profiteth nothing".

b. The necessity, as Zwingli claimed, that the body of Christ, being a true body, should be in only one place, namely, at the right hand of God. No new argument of any importance was adduced upon either side.²

At the beginning of the conference Luther declared that he would never change in the least his doctrine of the real presence. He took a piece of chalk, and wrote on the table in large letters "HOC EST CORPUS MEUM", by which he asserted his determination to stand or fall. Throughout Luther showed himself impervious to human reason,

"determined simply to maintain his own opinion, no matter what might be said. At one stage the Landgrave

1. See Mackinnon, III, p. 320ff; Köstlin, II, p. 151ff; Barclay, p. 87f; McGiffert, Luther and Zwingli, p. 325ff; Vedder, The Reformation in Germany, p. 309f; also Plummer, The Continental Reformation, p. 147; Smith, Martin Luther, p. 238f; Stephenson, pp. 103-124.
2. Köstlin, II, p. 152; see Krauth, C. P., Conservative Reformation and its Theology, p. 30.

interposed to rebuke Luther for his violence and quickness to take offense at innocent remarks of Zwingli. Later, when feeling ran high, the prince again interposed and exhorted the disputants to try to come to some understanding. Luther made this characteristic response, 'There is only one way to that: Let our adversaries believe as we do'. When the Swiss responded, 'We cannot', Luther closed the discussion with the words, 'Well, then, I abandon you to God's judgment'.¹

In response to Zwingli's argument based on John 6: 63 that it was unnecessary that Christ give us a corporeal reception of His body, Luther replied that if the Lord should offer us wild crab-apples to eat, we should not dare to ask why He gave them. Oecolampadius reiterated his appeal to the nature of a sacrament, that it "signifies something" -- is a sign. Here too, the controversy covered beaten ground, and developed no new points of doctrine.²

In response to Zwingli's second argument that it was necessary that a body, as a body, shall occupy space and have spacial dimensions, Luther replied that according to philosophy "the natural heavens themselves, though so great a body, are without a place" (sine loco). The argument was rejected on the grounds that it is derived from reason and not from the Scriptures.³ In regard to eating the body, Melancthon in conference with Zwingli, affirmed an oral manducation, which Luther denied. Luther taught

1. Vedder, op. cit., p. 311; Mackinnon, III, p. 321.
2. K stlin, II, 153; Mackinnon, III, p. 322.
3. Ibid., II, 152.

that Christ's body though eaten with the mouth is not eaten as animal flesh, but in a certain mysterious manner.¹

As to the other points of theological difference between Luther and the Sacramentarians, namely, concerning baptism, original sin and the eternal Word, a degree of understanding far beyond the original hopes of either side was attained. Luther regarded this as a pusilanimous surrender upon the part of his antagonists, who, he thought, were now anxious to avoid the imputation of having ever taught any other doctrine.²

The Landgrave insisted that the two groups arrive at some definite understanding, and on Monday Oct. 3, 1529 Luther drew up a common Confession of faith in 15 Articles. Fourteen Articles were approved by all the parties; and the Fifteenth, on the Eucharist was agreed to in the important parts. The Fifteenth Article reads:

"We all believe, with regard to the Supper of our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, that it ought to be celebrated in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ; that the mass is not a work by which a Christian obtains pardon for another man, whether dead or alive; that the sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of the very body and blood of Christ; and that the spiritual manducation of this body and blood is specially necessary to every true Christian. In like manner, as to the use of the sacrament, we are agreed that, like the word, it was ordained of Almighty God, in order that weak consciences might be excited by the Holy Ghost to faith and charity.

"And although we are not at present agreed on the

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1. See Barclay, p. 89.
 2. Köstlin, II, p. 154.

question whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet both parties shall cherish Christian charity for each other, so far as the conscience of each will permit; and both parties will earnestly implore Almighty God to strengthen us by His Spirit in the true understanding. Amen¹.

On Oct. 4 Luther wrote to his wife from Marburg:

"Dear Lord Katie, know that our friendly conference at Marburg is now at an end, and that we are in perfect union in all points except that our opponents insist that there is simply bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and that Christ is only in it in a spiritual sense. Today the landgrave did his best to make us united, hoping that even though we disagreed yet we should hold each other as brothers and members of Christ. He worked hard for it, but we would not call them brothers or members of Christ, although we wish them well and desire to remain at peace.

"Tell Bugenhagen that Zwingli's best argument was that a body cannot exist without occupying space, and, therefore, Christ's body is not in the bread, and that Oecolampadius' best argument was that the sacrament is (only) the sign of Christ's body. I think God blinded them that they could not get beyond these points."²

Here we have an admission from Luther himself that he and Zwingli agreed in every point except the doctrine of the Real Presence in the Sacrament. It is evidence also that he appreciated the arguments of his opponents.

Although the Marburg Colloquy was not a complete success, it went a long way toward unity. Yet the Protestant ranks remained separated forever.³ The good results of the Colloquy may be summarized as follows:⁴

1. Vedder, p. 312 says: "Luther, a consistent bigot to the last would not consent to sign the statement until the italicized clause was inserted." For full text of the Marburg articles, see Walch, 17:1939; LDS, 65: 88; CR, 26, 26: 121; Jacobs gives them in English, "Concord", 2:269. Cf. Stone, op. cit., II, p. 43. Also Barclay, p. 95.
2. Smith, Luther's Correspondence, II, p. 496.
3. Vedder, op. cit., pp. 315, 316.
4. Mackinnon, III, p. 327; Barclay, pp. 96, 97; Kbstlin, II, p. 154.

a. The two parties learned to know one another, and better realized one another's religious convictions and intellectual grasp. They united on all points except the Lord's Supper; and united on that point with the exception of whether or not the true body and blood of Christ were present corporeally in the bread and wine.

b. The two parties mutually agreed to cease from controversial writings. This was important for the years that followed and made possible the Wittenberg Concordia (1536), and the quiet development of the Calvin-Melancthon type of doctrine on the Supper.

c. The Marburg Articles are important for what they contribute to the Schwabach Articles, which in turn are the basis for the Augsburg Confession of 1530.

8. Luther's Doctrinal Statement on the Lord's Supper in the Augsburg Confession of 1530.

In 1530 the Emperor Charles V ordered the Lutherans to submit a statement of their belief at a Diet to be held at Augsburg. Melancthon, utilizing the articles of the Marburg Conference, the Schwabach Conference, and the Torgau Conference of March 1530, composed the Confession of Augsburg.¹ This Confession was sent to Luther to revise, and his approval is expressed in a letter of May 15, 1530. The Confession was read on June 25, and on Aug. 23 it was

1. Luther could not attend; see his comment in a letter of April, in Smith, Luther's Correspondence, II, p. 526.

signed by: John, Elector of Saxony; George, Margrave of Brandenburg; Ernest, Duke of Lueneburg; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; John Frederick, Electoral Prince of Saxony; Francis, Duke of Lueneburg; Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt; the Senate and Magistracy of Nuremberg; and the Senate of Reutlingen.¹

Article ten of the Confession,² entitled "Of the Lord's Supper", expresses Luther's authoritative position. The Latin text reads:

"Concerning the Lord's Supper they teach that the body and blood of Christ are really present, and are distributed to those who eat in the Lord's Supper; and they disapprove of those who teach otherwise."

The German text is more explicit:

"Concerning the Lord's Supper they teach that the real body and blood of Christ are really present under the form of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, and are distributed and received. Wherefore also the opposite doctrine is rejected."

Thus, in the Augsburg Confession, Luther's doctrine of the real presence is permanently formed and authoritatively set forth.

D. SUMMARY OF THE DEVELOPMENT FROM 1525 TO 1530.

The period from 1525 to 1530 is principally characterized by Luther's controversy with Zwingli. The symbolical interpretation which had its seed in Hoen and Carlstadt was more forcibly and definitely formulated and

1. Stone, op. cit., p. 25.

2. Schaff, Creeds of Christendom, III, p. 13.

defended by Zwingli. Obviously, from a study of Zwingli's earlier and more positive views, there is a fundamental difference between the men; and this difference grows out of their different backgrounds. Luther, being more mystical, with a deeper religious insight, and with a Scholastic background in thought, could never be congenial either religiously or theologically with the severely rational Zwingli, of the school of Erasmus. Too, the conflict was over issues that were never clarified; Luther sought to conserve all the good in the ancient doctrine of the Eucharistic thanksgiving and communion with the risen Savior; while Zwingli sought to purge the complementary doctrine of the Mass as a Sacrifice, in which there was a repetition of Christ's sacrifice on the cross.

The two principal questions on which the controversy turned were: (a) The Ubiquity of Christ's body; and (b) The relation of the two natures, the divine and human in Christ. Obviously, both questions only represented two sides of the same fundamental problem of the nature of Christ's presence. Zwingli's outstanding points in his attack on Luther were, exegetically, that "is" means "signifies", and philosophically, that Christ's body could not be at the right hand of God, and at the same time in the bread. He used the figure of Alloeosis, by which, in speaking of the one nature of Christ, we use the term that properly belongs to the other. Zwingli's

text, in defense of his point of view, was John 6: 63, "The flesh profiteth nothing".

Luther's controversial writings of this period, the materials of which have been studied, consist of: The "Syngramma Suevicum" (1525), the "Dissertation on the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, Against the Fanatical Spirits" (1526), also "That These Words of Christ: This is My Body, etc, Still Stand Secure, Against the Fanatical Spirits" (1527), as well as his great work known as the "Grosses Bekinntniss", or "Large Confession on the Lord's Supper". In addition to his views in these controversial works, Luther sets forth, in his two Catechisms of 1529, his position on the Supper in a clear-cut and simple style. For a summary of his whole position as expressed in his Larger and Smaller Catechisms see pages 106-107.

The points of Luther's position as developed in controversy with Zwingli may be summarized as follows:

a. The words of Institution are to be taken literally, not symbolically.

b. By virtue of SYNECDOCHE (a figure where things of different natures are spoken of as one) the word "touto" includes both the body and the bread.

c. While Christ is one Person, the "communicatio idiomatum" can be applied in its fullest sense to the divine and human natures of Christ. (God has become

completely man, so that all human attributes, such as suffering and dying have also become His).

d. The Ubiquity of Christ's body makes possible the corporeal presence of Christ in the Supper. (A thing may be locally or comprehensibly present; definitively or incomprehensibly present; and repletively or supernaturally present).

e. The bodily presence of Christ in the Supper makes it a strengthening of faith, and a Communion of all Saints with Christ.

f. The bodily presence of Christ in the Supper brings forgiveness of sins.

Luther and Zwingli were brought face to face in 1529 by the Landgrave Philip at the Castle of Marburg. Philip's purpose was to maintain a political unity as well as a religious unity throughout the field of Protestantism. At the Marburg Colloquy the two sides agreed on all points except the question of "whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine". The Articles drawn up at Marburg formed a basis a few weeks later (Oct. 1529) for the Schwabach Articles, which in turn were a basis for the Augsburg Confession of 1530, which brought "the peace of Augsburg".

Luther and Zwingli agreed to write no more vehement polemics against one another. Zwingli died in battle in 1531, but Luther later took up his polemical pen, but no

new points of development were brought forth on the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Hence this thesis may be closed with the doctrinal statement in Article X of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 (see page 113), as the climax of the development of Luther's views which began in that memorable year of 1517.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SACRAMENT

He was the Word that spake it,
He tooke the bread and brake it;
And what that Word dide make it,
I doe beleeve and take it.

John Donne

Outline of Chapter VI.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

A. GENERAL SUMMARY.

B. CONCLUSION.

1. Cardinal points of the Roman Catholic doctrine to which Luther took exception.
2. Cardinal points where Zwingli differed from Luther.
3. Theological Statement of Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper as a whole.

Chapter VI.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.

A. General Summary.

The purpose of this thesis was to trace the development of Luther's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper from the time of the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses, when the Reformation was initiated, to 1530, when the Augsburg Confession authoritatively crystallized his doctrine into the form that has been known in history as Luther's View.

Our preliminary study led us into the personal and intellectual background of Luther, in order that we might understand the personality, and the type of mind of the man whose thoughts we were tracing, believing that the thinking of a man cannot be divorced from his personal and intellectual background.

In the actual development of Luther's doctrine, it was found that two distinct waves are obvious. First, that his views were moulded and took definite shape in controversy with the Catholic point of view (1517-1522). Second, that his views thus formed were further developed, but more particularly defended, in controversy with the Reformed wing of Protestantism (1522-1530).

Chapters II and III trace the development and moulding of Luther's views in controversy with the Roman Catholics. His views expressed at the Diet of Worms (1518) denied the inherent efficacy of the Sacrament of the Supper,

and emphasized the absolute necessity of faith. In his Tassaradecas Consolatoria (1519) he said that the Sacrament was essentially a Communion of the Saints, thus emphasizing the Eucharistic idea in the Supper. Through analyses of his treatises "Concerning the Blessed Sacrament of the Holy and True Body of Christ" (1519), "Treatise on the New Testament" (1520), and "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church", together with the views expressed in the "Treatise on Good Works" (1520), and "On the Misuse of the Mass" (1521-22), it was found that by 1521 his doctrine reaches its highest spiritual interpretation, in denying that the Supper was a good work or sacrifice; denying (after 1519) transubstantiation, and establishing his doctrine of the real presence in the Supper of Christ's "own true flesh and blood". Establishing above all the view that the principal thing in the Sacrament was ^{the} forgiveness of sins through the New Testament in Christ's blood, which we receive corporeally in the Supper. For a full summary of the development of Luther's doctrine in 1522, see pages 51-54.

On the field of the Reformation itself there was a strong tendency to radicalism, as opposed to Luther's conservatism. Many felt that Luther's conviction on the doctrine of the Real Presence was too nearly Roman Catholic. They were feeling around for a way to express their very liberal ideas. The controversy which ensued

reached a climax in Zwingli. Honius and Wessel Gansfort furnished the seed idea when they maintained that the Sacrament should be interpreted only symbolically, that "is" means "signifies", that there is no real presence in the Supper, but only symbols. The Bohemian Brethren felt that there was a Presence of Christ in the Supper but not a real, actual, corporeal presence. Luther attacked both views in his treatise "On the Adoration of the Sacrament of the Sacred Body of Christ" (1523). Carlstadt went severely radical, and maintained a symbolical interpretation on the basis of weird exegesis, namely, that in the words of Institution, "This is My Body", Christ pointed to His body. Luther severely attacked Carlstadt and the "fanatics" in general in his document "Against the Heavenly Prophets of Images and the Sacrament" (1525). For a full summary of the controversy and the development of Luther's views before the conflict with Zwingli, see pages 70-71.

Luther was forced to clarify and fortify his position on cardinal points in his controversy with Zwingli, and there is quite a perceptible swinging of the pendulum toward more Catholic views on points where Zwingli forced his hand. The difference in the background of the men was largely responsible for their different views; Luther, with a deeper religious insight, centering his theology in Salvation, and with a Scholastic background, based his

defence of the Real Presence: exegetically, on the literal interpretation of the words of Institution; philosophically, on the Ubiquity of Christ's Body (being present in the Supper definitively or incomprehensibly, as the Spirit was present in the dove); and theologically, on his Christology of complete communicatio idiomatum (Christ completely God and completely man). Whereas Zwingli, with less religious insight, schooled under the rationalistic influence of Erasmus, and centering his theology in the Will of God, claimed that it was unreasonable and unnecessary that Christ's body be corporeally present in the Supper, and defended his position by a conception known as alloeosis, which means that the attributes of the human nature of Christ may be taken as referring to His divine nature. However, it seems quite apparent that the two men never actually came face to face with issues properly understood. Zwingli was attacking the ancient Catholic doctrine of the Mass (Christ's body as a sacrifice) with all his strength; while Luther attempted to conserve all that was possible in the ancient Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist (thanksgiving for sins forgiven, and communion with the Savior).

The best expression of Luther's views developed against Zwingli may be found in his classic, the "Large Confession on the Lord's Supper" of 1528, and his two Catechisms of 1529. The authoritative statement of his

doctrine of the Presence is found in Article X of the Augsburg Confession of 1530, the terminus ad quem of this thesis. For fuller summaries of the materials and development during this period, see the interspersed summaries in the body of Chapter V.

B. CONCLUSION.

In conclusion three groups of statement will be made. On the one hand will be stated the cardinal points of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the Lord's Supper to which Luther took exception. On the other hand will be stated the cardinal views of Zwingli as in opposition to Luther. And then will be presented in propositional form the cardinal points of Luther's own doctrine of the Lord's Supper as a whole.

1. Cardinal points of the Roman Catholic doctrine¹ to which Luther took exception:

a. The substance of the elements used in the Lord's Supper are transformed from bread and wine to the body and blood of Christ.

b. This transubstantiation is effected by the word and prayer of the priest only.

c. Christians must receive this body by literally partaking in the Supper to the strengthening of their faith and Christian life. This is the chief means of feeding

1. Cf. supra, p. 51.

the Christian life.

d. The benefit of this sacrament is not confined to actual partaking. Merely being in attendance when only the priest partakes is a rare means of grace.

e. The blessings and benefits that come to the partaker or to the hearer are not due to his faith, or love, or spiritual sympathy with the service, but are due to the performance of the service in itself by the priest. The Sacrament works *ex opere operato*, it being understood that the person participating does not interpose a positive barrier of unbelief or unconfessed mortal sin to block the blessing which is automatically guaranteed.

f. The chief thing in the sacrament is the sacrifice of the actual body and blood of Christ by the priest to God for the sins of the living and the dead (a repetition of Christ's sacrifice). Beneficial for souls in purgatory.

g. This service of sacrifice can be done by the priest alone without listeners or participants.

h. The body of the host in the bread may be worshipped, be held in reserve for worship, or be carried to the sick.

i. Persons in purgatory may receive blessings when the priest says mass, if sufficient gifts or the price is furnished.

j. The full Divinity of Christ is in either the

body or the blood, and it is not necessary that one should receive the Sacrament in both kinds (bread and wine). Either is sufficient.

2. Cardinal points where Zwingli differed from Luther:

When Zwingli and Luther came together they found that they agreed on every point except that of the real presence, "whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine". Zwingli took issue with Luther¹ on the following points; maintaining:

- a. The words of Institution are not to be taken literally.
- b. Forgiveness of sins does not come through eating Christ's body corporeally.
- c. Faith is not necessarily strengthened through Christ's body being corporeally eaten.
- d. The eating of Christ's body corporeally does not preserve our bodies for the resurrection.
- e. The complete communicatio idiomatum cannot be applied to the matter of the Supper.
- f. The body of Christ is not Ubiquitous, as is His divine nature; His body is at the right hand of God.
- g. By the term Alloeosis, what is said of one nature of Christ may be said to refer to the other nature.

1. Cf. Summary of Chapter V; cf. Barclay, p. 85.

This concept does not do detriment to the unity of the Person of Christ.

3. Theological Statement of Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper as a whole:

Having traced the development of Luther's doctrine in opposition to both the Roman Catholic and the Protestant "radicals", his position may now be stated in the following propositions:

a. The Sacrament of the Supper was instituted by our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in the night in which He was betrayed.

b. The Sacrament is the "true body and blood of Christ under the bread and wine". The Sacrament is called, The Sacrament of the Altar, the Lord's Supper, the Table of the Lord, the Holy Communion, and the Eucharist.

c. In essence there is only one Sacrament, namely the Sacrament of the Word; and two sacramental signs, ^{namely} the sign of water in Baptism, and the sign of bread and wine in the Supper.

d. The Sacrament should be given in both kinds (bread and wine).

e. The Sacrament consists of an external sign (the form of bread and wine), and the inner significance (fellowship).

f. Faith, and faith alone, makes effective what the Sacrament signifies.

g. The Sacrament signifies the forgiveness of sins, the taking of our burdens by Christ.

h. All Christians are priests through Christ, and may receive the benefits of the Sacrament through faith, even though they do not receive the elements.

i. The taking of the Sacrament does not work *ex opere operato*. It is not efficacious in and of itself, but is dependent on faith.

j. The organ receiving the bread is the mouth and the physical organs.

k. The organ receiving the body of Christ, and that which the Sacrament signifies, namely, the promise of God and the New Testament of Christ that our sins are forgiven through His death, is the heart through faith.

l. The only Sacrifice in the Sacrament is found in the prayers and the consecrated lives that the believers offer to God through Christ.

m. Masses are not beneficial for souls in purgatory.

n. All who partake of the Supper, partake of the true body and blood of Christ.

o. Unbelievers and doubters receive the Sacrament unworthily.

p. The unworthy are guilty of the body and blood of Christ.

q. The Real Presence of the body and blood of

Christ in the Sacrament is through the power of the Word, and not through the faith or holiness of any man.

r. The Words of Institution are to be literally interpreted, "This is My Body".

s. "Is" can never be interpreted "signifies".

t. There is a trope used in the words "This (bread) is My Body". (A trope is the use of a word in a new, but equally real and true sense).

u. The Unity of Christ's person cannot be broken. Christ is completely God and completely man -- communicatio idiomatum.

v. Christ's body is Ubiquitous, and in the bread and wine. Christ's body was present locally when He walked the earth in the flesh. Christ's body can be present definitively, or incomprehensibly in the bread and wine, as the Spirit was present in the dove at His baptism. Christ's body can be and is present repletively, or supernaturally, as God the Almighty Father always has been everywhere.

w. Christ is not alterum infinitum (another infinite thing like God Almighty).

x. There is a Sacramental Unity of Christ's body and blood with the bread and wine. In the words, "This (bread) is My body", there is the figure of the Synecdoche, in which things of different natures are spoken of as one (for instance, "That man is an ox"). Also in a synecdoche the whole is meant when only a part is desig-

nated.

y. The Communion of the body of Christ with the believers is a Natural Communion, as opposed to a "symbolical" Communion.

z. Exegetically: "Breaking" refers to the distribution of the bread, "Touto" refers to the sacramental unity of bread and body.

aa. The believer receives, in the "breaking", naturally of the bread and wine, and sacramentally of the body and blood of Christ.

bb. The benefits are conferred in the eating and drinking through faith in the words, "Given and shed for you".

cc. There may be an external and an internal preparation for the reception of the Sacrament. The external preparation is useless without the internal preparation of faith.

dd. The Sacrament is a Summary of the Gospel.

ee. The believer takes the Sacrament in "remembrance" of Christ when he desires to "proclaim the Gospel".

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