## Introduction

## David Ryan Stevenson, translator

Long into the debates of the Reformation, in April 1541, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V convened the Diet of Regensburg (or Ratisbon, from the French name of the city, Ratisbonne). Theologians. Theologians Julius Pflug, Johann Eck, and Johannes Gropper represented the Catholic position, against the Protestants Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, and Johannes Pistorius. The aim of the colloquy was to review a number of draft articles called the Book of Regensburg that had been proposed the year before by Bucer, Gropper, and the imperial secretary. The articles dealt with theological issues and were intended as a starting point for discussion, with the goal of finding compromise and resolution to the decades-long debate.

Johann Maier von Eck was no stranger to these disputes. Born November 13, 1486 in the village of Eck, he studied theology in Heidelberg, Tübingen, Cologne, and Freiburg before joining the faculty at the University of Ingolstadt.<sup>2</sup> He had already proven himself as a theologian when Martin Luther nailed his Ninety-Five Theses in 1517. At the behest of the bishop of Eichstätt, Eck wrote the *Obelisks*, an acerbic retort to the Theses, soon countered by Luther's *Asterisks*.<sup>3</sup> Eck soon encountered Luther directly at the Leipzig Disputation in 1519, where Eck achieved some level of infamy. Soon after, Pope Leo X appointed Eck to help draft the papal bull *Exsurge Domine* against Luther and even appointed him a special nuncio to publish it in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Vinzenz Pfnür, "Colloquies," *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (1996) 1:375-83 ("Regensburg, 1541," 377-80). For Eck's involvement in the theological controversies of 1530 and 1540/41, see Albrecht P. Luttenberger, "Johann Eck und die Religionsgespräche," in Erwin Iserloh (ed.), *Johannes Eck (1486-1543) im Streit der Jahrhunderte*. Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 127 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1988) 192-222. For a more recent treatment of the Diet of Regensburg and citations of relevant literature, see: Saskia Schultheis, *Die Verhandlungen über das Abendmahl und die übrigen Sakramente auf dem Religionsgespräch in Regensburg 1541*, Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte 102 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012); and on Eck more generally, see: Jürgen Bärsch and Konstantin Maier (eds.), *Johannes Eck (1486-1543): Scholastiker - Humanist – Kontroverstheologe*, Eichstätter Studien 70 (Regensburg: Pustet, 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Thomas W. Best, *Eccius Dedolatus: A Reformation Satire*, Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures 1 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971), 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

Germany.<sup>4</sup> He later participated at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 and wrote the main rebuttal to the Protestant princes' Augsburg confession. By the time of the Diet of Regensburg, Eck was famous for his brash debating style and focus on the centrality of the sacraments, specifically the Eucharist.<sup>5</sup>

The Address of the theologian Johann Eck, given at the imperial assembly of Regensburg, with the bishops, speakers, and priests present at the lord's court is a published version of the speech that Eck gave at the colloquy, probably in May 1541, on Article 14 of the Regensburg Book, which related to the sacrament of the Eucharist. The version held by the Kessler Collection of the Pitts Library of Theology (Emory University) was published in Ingolstadt by Alexander Weissenhorn. After a month of near agreement, Article 14 was the first major break between the two camps. The papal legate Gasparo Contarini had inserted language into the draft from Worms that emphasized the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the Protestants themselves were divided on the topic. Eck, who had long argued the orthodox position, spoke out specifically against Zwinglianism, the movement formed by Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli, who argued for a symbolic view of the Lord's Supper, a position that was even at odds with Lutheranism. After nine days of debate, the article was tabled. Eck became ill soon after and did not participate after Article 15. The colloquy soon fell apart and the Book of Regensburg was not

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Walter L. Moore, "Eck, Johann," *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (1996) 2:17-19; Klaus Rischar, *Johann Eck auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburg 1530*, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 97 (Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1968), 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rischar, *Johann Eck*, 132. Eck was so bold that a contemporary satire was written about him, where, punning of his name, his sharp "edges" are planed off like a piece of wood, cf. Best, *Eccius Dedolatus*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> This pamphlet is the same as the one held by the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, VD 16 E 402. It appears that other versions were printed at the same time in Antwerp, one by Johannas Steelsius and another by Marten Meranus, in Andrew Pettegree and Malcolm Walsby (eds.), *Netherlandish Books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Published Abroad before 1601* (Leiden: Brill, 2011) 1: #11003 and #11004, respectively.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Pfnür, "Colloquies," 377-80; "Zwinglianism," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. (Detroit: Gale, 2003). An English translation of Zwingli's liturgy for the Lord's Supper recently was issued by the Pitts Theology Library as: *The Implementation of the Lord's Supper / Huldrych Zwingli*. Translation and introduction by Jim West. Occasional Publications of the Pitts Theology Library (Atlanta: Pitts Theology Library, 2016).

adopted, with the Catholics criticized for having been too agreeable on the controversial articles. In the two years between Regensburg and his death in 1543, Eck wrote two treatises, the *Apologia* in 1542 and *Replica* in 1543, defending his positions at the Diet.

Despite the political fallout from the colloquy's failure, Eck's speech on Article 14, in Latin, was published later that year in the form of a letter from Eck to the bishop of Bamberg. In it, he argues from the traditional medieval consensus but anticipates the Protestant critiques. Staying away from Scholastic sources, he relies on biblical and patristic citations to support his claims, effectively seeking to nullify traditional Protestant objections. He harks back to the heresies of antiquity and links them to the contemporary reform movements, with a tone that stands in contrast with the apparent amenability of the previous debates. Nevertheless, Eck concludes his speech with an acknowledgment that the Catholic Church requires some institutional reform, specifically regarding the hierarchy and clergy, and then closes with an image of heaven attained through the participation in the sacrament of the Eucharist.

The translation of Eck's address offers an example of Eck's characteristic method of argumentation, with energetic rhetoric, strong appeals, and well-researched reasoning. As the Diet of Regensburg ended in failure in no small way due to Eck's obstinate refusal to compromise on sacramental principles—as evidenced by this address—it is important to examine it both for its theological and historical importance.<sup>9</sup>

A note on translation: The original publication of the *Address of Johann Eck* is either a transcript or notes of Eck's speech at Regensburg. It contains a number of marginal notes that include

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Moore, "Eck, Johann."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For a further examination of Eck's Eucharistic theology and controversies, cf. Erwin Iserloh, *Die Eucharistie in der Darstellung des Johannes Eck: Ein Beitrag zur vortridentinischen Kontroverstheologie über das Messopfer*, Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 73-74 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1950).

biblical citations, references to patristic or medieval authors or concepts, and headings (i.e. "Summary" or "Conclusion"). These have been set in the footnotes. Since his biblical citations follow the Vulgate, which do not always align with the modern bible, I have placed all corrections, updates, or comments in square brackets in the notes. For the sake of clarity in English, the longer Latin sentences have been broken into smaller units.

Address of the theologian Johann Eck, given at the imperial assembly of Regensburg, with the bishops, speakers, and priests present at the lord's court.

## M. D. XXXXI.

Eck greets the most reverend Bishop of Bamberg, Weigand.

I am sending you an address given to the clergy yesterday (since by the inconvenience of your health you were unable to be present). I know that we discussed very many things: I know how errant feet must be washed, but it was neither the time nor the plan to say harsher things to those present, whom the severity of my address made more resolute than struck towards better things. Farewell, most reverend bishop, from the seat of Regensburg.

In your name, sweet Jesus.

This is the bread that came down from heaven, John 6

The orators of this age, who discuss all worldly matters, are accustomed to charm the spirits of their listeners with their remarkable speaking ability and excuse the smallness of their talent with long circuitous words, because they are unequal to the task that they have prepared to undertake. But, most reverend bishops, venerable fathers and lords, it is fitting for us Christians to seek out carefully the little flowers of a speech and not the functions of a painted tongue.

Rather, with all humility, gentleness of soul, and fear of the Lord, we do not shrink back from the most profound and concealed mysteries of our faith. In the same way, Paul was not ashamed of the Gospel: however much these mysteries must be untangled, no words will suffice, nor can they suffice, when our intellect is unable to comprehend these mysteries. Accordingly, God is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Romans 1[:16].

beyond all our comprehension,<sup>2</sup> above everything that is said or thought. As astonished Isaiah exclaimed, "Truly you are the hidden God;" as Saint Paul confesses, "Who alone dwells in your inaccessible light?" Even David, when he judged Moses, did not speak with the Lord except in darkness, saying at his departure, he has placed darkness around the edge of his hiding place; the same is claimed in the Psalms: "Clouds and mist are his boundary, just as the darkness and the light are his." On the profundity and incomprehensibility of these mysteries, Dionysius the Areopagite correctly said that theology is veiled in the mist of silence. I understand silence, not only the one Plato dreamed about in the *Phaedo*, but the one that John, aware of the mysteries, saw through revelation: "And when he had opened the seventh seal, there was a great silence."8 Nevertheless, the angels are no longer silent but unendingly exclaim: "Holy, Holy, Lord God of hosts." Therefore, if we are unable to understand the most profound mysteries, nevertheless let us attempt to do so in the words that we have, as a blind man might speak about the sun. As a result, the theologian is inflamed by the divine silence of astonishment and wonder, yet on earth he never ceases to praise the Lord and proclaim his great deeds. In the presence of the most revered body of Christ, I proposed that this mystery must be stammered out. Holy and honored assembly, piously and kindly listen to my speech about the most venerable sacrament of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ans[elm, probably his *Proslogion* or *Monologion*.]. Anselm of Canterbury (c. 1033-1109) was bishop of Canterbury, a doctor of the Church, and most widely known for his ontological proof of God, namely, "that beyond which nothing greater can be conceived." *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., s.v. "Anselm of Canterbury, St." (Detroit: Gale, 2003); hereafter, *NCE*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Isaiah 45[:15].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> 1 Timothy 6[:16]; Exodus 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Psalms 9[7:2]; Psalms 13[9:12].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> [Pseudo-Dionysius,] *De myst[ica theologia.*]. For an English translation, *Dionysius the Areopagite on the Divine Names and The Mystical Theology*, C. E. Rolt transl., (Berwick, ME: Ibis Press, 2004), quote on 191. Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (c. 6<sup>th</sup> cent.) was the Neoplatonist author of four treatises that exerted great influence on many Christian writers through the Reformation and beyond. *NCE*, s.v. "Pseudo-Dionysius."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Plato [*Phaedo*, cf. 60E.]. The *Phaedo* is a secondhand account of the dialogue in Socrates' prison in the days before he is executed and deals with death and the immortality of the soul. Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, trans. Harold North Fowler. Loeb Classical Library 36 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 211.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Revelation 8[:1].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Isaiah 6[:3].

the altar with calm ears. (It is not a speech I must give, but will, as I am able and as God has allowed me out of his mercy.) Aid me with prayers, I beg you, so that our speech may go quickly, and speak from the deepest parts of your hearts.

## Come, Holy Spirit:

Come to me, about to speak of the victim sacrificed for salvation, who immediately offered himself as such a bounty, with so many fruits and such breadth of material that I do not at all fear that I will lack words for this argument. Rather, if I am stuck in doubt, I will choose purer things from that immense heap of mysteries, which will satisfy your souls more and affirm the goodness of God. For Paul, apostle of the Gentiles, prescribes this rule for us: "Do all things for the glory of God." But let me resume and pursue the original theme of this address.

This is the bread that came down from heaven, John 6

It was especially beautiful when Cyril and the other holy fathers noted that Christ spoke about the eternal wisdom of God in the same speech as the changing of the bread and that Christ skillfully crosses from one topic to the other, where he aptly provides an understanding of the matter. For before the doctrine of the Eucharist, in an astonishing miracle, five thousand men fed on five barley loaves, leaving twelve baskets of fragments behind. He equally satisfied those famished in body with regular bread; this is a great accomplishment and worthy of admiration. But it was greater when by this miracle their minds were roused, so that they might taste the greatness and sublimity of Christ and understand the sacraments. And they did understand so they might soon profit. Because here is the true prophet who is about to go into the world,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> 1 Corinthians 10[:31].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> John 6[:1-14]; the first bread.

namely the prophet promised in the book of Deuteronomy chapter 18. 12 But when the crowd returned to him, Christ the savior showed them a taste of this mystery with a certain general preface, so that they might return better prepared to understand the following mysteries in their own way. "Work," he said, "for the bread that does not perish, but endures into eternal life, which the Son of Man will give to you." Here is another food not of this world, which the Lord promised he would give. And so that it may bring about desire and longing in them, he promised that it would endure into eternal life, and lest they doubt his promise, he became a witness to this by the authority of God. It is upon him, it is said, that God the father has set his seal. 14 Those things were more profound than could be understood by the rough crowd. But they were written out for us in full, so that by the manifest words of Christ, our faith might be strengthened in lasting mysteries. O seal most divine. 15 O inexplicable figure of speech, through which God the father set his seal on this bread, by fully pressing down his figure of speech, not only a likeness, as is typical in other seals and reliefs, and as the servants of God were stamped, and as the foreheads of the ones groaning and grieving above the abominations, <sup>16</sup> but in joining his very own divine essence entirely to his son: so he may be homousios and consubstantial in contrast to the most faithless Arians, blasphemers of the Son of God, as Blessed Hilary has liberally described about the Trinity in detail.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Deuteronomy 18[:15].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> John 6[:27].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> [John 6:27].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Exclamations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Revelation 7[:3]; Ezekiel 9[:4].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Hilary [of Poitiers, *On the Trinity*, in J.-P. Mignes ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus* . . . *series Latina* (Paris: Garnier Fratres, 1844-1891), 10:9-471. Hereafter, *PL*.]. Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315-c. 367), was bishop and doctor of the Church, wrote the first major work on the Trinity in Latin, and was a major opponent of the Arians, a heretical group who denied the divinity of the Son. *NCE*, s.v. "Hilary of Poitiers, St."

Arianism (c. 4<sup>th</sup> cent.) was a heresy named for the Alexandrian priest Arias, which denied the divinity of Jesus and, as a result, the Holy Spirit. It was condemned at the Council of Nicaea, which promulgated the Nicene Creed to counter Arian claims. *NCE*, s.v. "Arianism."

As we have said, the words of Christ were more profound and hidden. But, step by step, with the art of understanding signs, we may still hear his words carry the crowd to an understanding of the Eucharist. For who apart from Scripture blinded Pharaoh's heart, <sup>18</sup> who roused the hearts of the crowd, so that he might cast down heavenly bread, the bread of the desert, manna, so reverently stored in an urn in the Ark of the Covenant?<sup>19</sup> They say that Moses gave them the bread from heaven to eat. But they ought to know the most perfect rule of holy Paul.<sup>20</sup> Everything in the metaphor came to pass for the ancestors, because the law contained a shadow of future things.<sup>21</sup> For that reason, they ought to inquire after the hidden and concealed truth. But since they are ignorant, Christ immediately exposes the metaphor, repels the shadow, and reveals the hidden truth, saying, "Moses did not give you bread from heaven, but my father gives you true bread from heaven."<sup>22</sup> Behold the truth: and if someone were to say, "Why do you object to my shadow, that Moses' bread was figurative and a symbol, not true?" It is said that the bread was given from heaven, because in the custom of the commoners, air was called sky. The attending angels made it in the sky, which is the air, but the heavenly and true bread of the Trinity descends from heaven and gives life to the world, because it endures into eternal life. Indeed, those eating manna did not have eternal life, as David would say, "While food was in their mouths, the anger of God rose against him, and he killed the strongest among them."<sup>23</sup> With a similar weapon, our savior strikes against the Jews, saying, "Our fathers ate manna and died; he who eats this bread lives in eternity.<sup>24</sup> It is in this way, you Jews, leaving behind the

 <sup>18</sup> Romans 9[:17].
 19 Wisdom 16[:20-29]; the second bread.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> 1 Corinthians 10[:31].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Hebrews 10[:1].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> John 6[:32].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Psalm 7[8:30-31].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> John 6[:49-51].

metaphor, regard the truth. For I am the living bread, I am the bread of life: this is the bread, which came down from heaven."

Therefore, I rightly believe that the holy fathers understood the words of Christ about the *supersubstantial* and *supercelestial*,<sup>25</sup> and about the bread of divine essence and deity. The enjoyment of this bread satisfies all holy ones, whom nothing else in the entire world can satisfy. For God alone is ¬¬¬, 26 capable of all things—it is close to our colloquial *Satt*—since he is truly the bread that restores life. He is the bread that all invited to the great supper of the Gospel eat; <sup>27</sup> truly blessed are those who are called to the supper of the lamb. <sup>28</sup> No one thinks that these things are not agreeable to the divine majesty, that it may be called bread. For Christ liberates us from this fear, when he promised his Apostles, "For I confer on you, just as my father conferred on me, a kingdom, so that you may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom." O most sacred banquet, where God himself is bread, which consoles, restores, tends, and satisfies the heart of humanity into eternity, as he promised through Hosea: "Now the Lord feeds them as if a lamb in a broad pasture." David, however, had known this in spirit, hoping, when he said: "I will be satisfied when your glory appears."

It would be helpful to put what has been said in order and context. Our savior began in the material of common bread, although miraculously grown, and then it crossed into figurative bread, manna. However, he wanted his disciples to seek the truth in the metaphor. For that reason, ascending high into heaven, he guided their thoughts to the highest summit and peak, that is, to the bread of heaven. The Jews promised all the best things from heaven for themselves;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The third bread.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> These Hebrew letters appear in the original printing, apparently as a name of God that has a phonetic relationship with the common German *Satt*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Luke 14[:15].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Revelation 19[:9].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Luke 22[:29-30]; Psalms [110:1].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Hosea 4[:16].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Psalm [17:15].

since they themselves were pure, they were hoping for help, liberation, and victory from heaven. Moses fully expressed this in one verse: "The Lord will open for you his best storehouse, the heavens." Indeed, after he ascended, the Lord left another heavenly bread, namely of his own blessed body, the bread of the Eucharist, the bread of the altar (which, in addition, can reasonably be said to have descended from heaven through the communication of properties). And the bread," he said, "which I will give to you is my flesh for the life of the world." This is the most rich and true promise: but he who promises that he is the way, the truth, and the life is indeed God, for it is impossible that God would prove false. Therefore, no Catholic is allowed to doubt the truth of the body. May they believe most firmly, and not at all doubt, that the true body of Christ is really and truly present in the sacrament of the altar, so that with the clearest and most unambiguous words they themselves may affirm it, saying, "I take the bread." This is my body.

The Manichean dreamers died out, denying that the body of Christ the savior was true, but rather was no more than a phantom and ghost.<sup>37</sup> The Valentinians died out, denying that Christ's flesh was truly human,<sup>38</sup> but ethereal or heavenly, conveyed from heaven, for he was conceived as Lord and savior by the Holy Spirit, born of the virgin Mary, and was said to be like a high flying eagle. And the word became flesh:<sup>39</sup> for from the most blameless blood of blessed

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<sup>39</sup> John 1[:14].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Deuteronomy 28[:12].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The fourth bread.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> John 14 [incorrect, cf. 6:51].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Hebrews 6[:18].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Matthew 26[:26].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Manicheans. Manichaeism was named after the prophet Mani (c. 216-276) and was a dualist Gnostic religion that focused on the duality between Good/Evil, separating the world of sin from the Light. Jesus, along with Buddha, Zoroaster, and finally Mani, are ambassadors of the Light, and are not of the material world in essence. St. Augustine was an early participant in the sect before his conversion. *NCE*, s.v. "Manichaeism." <sup>38</sup> Valentinians. Valentinus (c. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.) was the leader of a schismatic, gnostic movement. He identified a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Valentinians. Valentinus (c. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent.) was the leader of a schismatic, gnostic movement. He identified a phenomenal world and a spiritual world, from which come *aeons* or pairs, called *syzygies*. The Holy Spirit and Christ come from this spiritual realm. Christ is united with the human Jesus for salvation, although his incarnation was only illusory. *NCE*, s.v. "Valentinus."

Mary, the blessed little body of the boy Jesus was formed, as John Damascene beautifully explains. <sup>40</sup> The old and new Capernians <sup>41</sup> have died out, denying the truth of the body and blood of the Lord on sacred altars in reckless daring with the sacrament, like the Wycliffians, <sup>42</sup> Berengarians, <sup>43</sup> and Zwinglians, <sup>44</sup> barking blasphemies. How can this man give us his own flesh to eat? This teaching is difficult: who is able to hear it? <sup>45</sup>

For these and very many other errors around those who sprung up apart from this sacrament have been rejected. 46 But we, following the faith of the Roman and apostolic church, believe that our salvation surpasses theirs in effect, because he promised us with these words: that the bread that was to be given would be his own body, that his body was born from the virgin Mary, suffered, crucified, and is truly risen in this wonderful sacrament, with all his parts integrated. Thus he is certainly in the sacrament, so that it may be whole under the singular parts, and the substance of the bread is changed into the body of Christ, while the remaining accidents of the bread miraculously persist. These natural actions are from God, and if the substance of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Damascene [John of Damascus]. He discusses the Valentinians in *On Heresies* 31 (see Saint John of Damascus, *Writings*, Frederic H. Chase, Jr. transl. The Fathers of the Church [Washington: Catholic University of America, 1958], 119). The quote here is similar to "the most chaste and pure blood" of Mary in *An Exact Exposition on the Orthodox Faith*, 3.2; *ibid.*, 270.

John of Damascus (c. 645-c. 750) opposed the iconoclast movement and was known for his works of hagiography and Mariology. His works on heresies uses Chrysostom's commentaries on St. Paul and the *Panarion* of Epiphanius without attribution. *NCE*, s.v. "John Damascene, St."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Appears in the text as "*Capharnaitæ*," without any marginal note. Perhaps this refers to the inhabitants of Capernaum, where Jesus performed miracles and later cursed the city for its unbelief (cf. Luke 4:31-36; Mark 1:21-28; Matthew 11:23). Alternatively, the reference could be to the "Cathars," the name of two historical groups: a dualist and gnostic movement in the 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries or a minor heretical sect in the first few centuries of the Church. *NCE*, s.v. "Cathari."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> John Wyclif (c. 1330-1384) was an Oxford scholar and reformer who attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation in his *De eucharistia* (c. 1380). He considered the Bible to have sole authority, and his theology of the Eucharist is closer to Luther's consubstantiation. *NCE*, s.v. "Wyclif, John."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Berengarians. Berengar of Tours (c. 1000-1088) was a rationalist theologian who had the controversial belief (based in part on the theology of Ratramnus) that the senses could grasp the appearance and essence of an object, although he did not distinguish between the substance and accidents. He believed that a conversion of the believer's sentiment occurs during the consecration of the bread and wine, not of the Eucharistic elements themselves. *NCE*, s.v. "Berengar of Tours."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531) was a Swiss reformer known for his debates with Luther about the nature of the Lord's Supper. He posited the symbolic presence of Christ in the elements of the Eucharist. *NCE*, s.v. "Zwingli, Huldrych" and "Zwinglianism."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> John 6[:60].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> The faith of the Roman Church concerning the Eucharist.

bread had remained present, it would have worked and knit itself together. Because you walk with the force of his words, and because it is inherently said that the body of the Lord is under the appearance of a sacrificial victim, and even more so because Christ, rising once from the dead, dies rather for us:<sup>47</sup> it is therefore necessary that his body lives and is thus endowed with the spirit. The blood is the seat of the soul, and what God once took up, he never sends away. And thus the blessed soul of Christ's body, his most precious blood, and most praised divine nature are present through concomitance. And all these things are also in the chalice in the same manner, namely concomitance. This is the true and catholic faith of the Christian religion, in which it is taught that Christ completely fulfilled his promise. The bread that I will give you is my body, for the life of the world.

Let us reconsider Bede, so that we may draw out a more profound sense of our savior's words. For instance, let us fully examine his words, when he says: "The Lord gave this bread, when he handed over the mystery of the body and blood to his disciples, and when he handed himself over to God the father on the altar of the cross." The venerable teacher here explains the double transfer: on the one hand, the sacrifice is not stained with blood and is in mysteries, namely, the one where Christ gave bread as his body. But on the other hand, the sacrifice is bloodied, when Christ offered his body to God as a victim on the cross for the redemption of the human race.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Romans 6[:10].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Eck seems to refer to Bede's *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, in Beda Venerabilis, "In Lucae Evangelium Expositio," *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*, D. Hurst O.S.B. ed., (Turnholti: Typographi Brepols, 1960), 102:377. The Venerable Bede (672/3-735) was an English monk, historian, theologian, and doctor of the Church, whose works cover mostly secular areas. His *Ecclesiastical History*, however, was for important for the development of historiography. He participated in the Easter Controversy but otherwise upheld the positions of previous Church theologians. *NCE*, s.v. "Bede, St."

This is clearly understood from the Greek, when it reads thus: Καὶ ὁ ἄρτος δε ὄν ἔγὼ δώσω, Ἡ σάρξ μοῦ ἐσὶμ, ὡ ἐγὼ δώσω ὑπὲρ τῆσ τοῦ κόσμον Ζωῆς. <sup>49</sup> Twice he says: "I will give, I will give the bread, my flesh I will give for the life of the world." Consequently, in the Greek Mass Basil and Chrysostom called the sacrifice of the Mass the "unbloody offering" to stir up the mind of the listener quickly to understand the other bloody offering as well. <sup>50</sup>

And so let us admire the highest love of our Lord Jesus Christ towards us, when he was about to carry off his own blessed body to heaven, he left this—himself—behind for his beloved spouse, to use as a most precious treasure. Indeed, nothing more sacred or more precious could be left to us as such a symbol of his love and proof of his beatitude than his very own body, given on the cross for the salvation and redemption of the human race. Let us admire his love, when about to fix himself with nails onto the cross, he pours out blood streaming from the side of his breast to wash and purify our souls.

O ineffable love of Christ, O most ardent love of salvation, O unheard of and stupendous kindness of the Lord, who feeds his servants with his own flesh and gives them drink from his blood. When there are so many indications of his love, who would despair of his mercy? By how much did Christ burn with love, Luke testifies, when he said to his disciples, "I have desired to eat this Passover with you." What else does he wish with these words, that we—with burning affection at the time of Passover—eat Christ at Passover, thanking him in memory and deed for his most bitter suffering and death, so that it may be remembered forever, and never among those going to die. In the meantime, the Lord ordered this: "Do this, he said, in memory of me." 52

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> John 6[:51].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Cf. Liturgy of the Eastern Rite, which was attributed to St. Basil (c. 329-379) and combined Eastern elements of psalm singing in the Alexandrine and longer Byzantine rites. The Eucharistic formula is almost assuredly of Basil's invention. *NCE*, s.v. "Basil, St."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Luke 22[:15].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Luke 22[:19].

Separately, his servant ordered this in the Gospel: "For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim the Lord's death, until he comes."53 Moreover, there is no doubt that on this day Christ desired to eat this Passover with us. 54 If he only were to see that we have the desire and (since it is especially important) the devotion! For that reason, the figurative roasted lamb was eaten by divine decree, 55 so we might truly learn the fire of devotion that the lamb has, and so that we might pleasantly and ardently take up such a stranger. But if we feel that our heart is so cold that it does not want to consume any spark of devotion, and if we feel that it is so hard, that it cannot endure the hammers of fear and love (according to St. Bernard's doctrine), <sup>56</sup> we should imitate Moses, who struck the rock twice with a stick, and a huge amount of water poured out. So the faithful should strike their dry and hard hearts with the stick that is the holy cross, <sup>57</sup> so that the waters, not of contradiction and unbelief but rather of most bountiful devotion, may flow out. For there is nothing that equally moves and excites devotion as frequent meditation on Christ's passion, as Bernard, <sup>58</sup> Landulphus Chartus, <sup>59</sup> and others liberally described in detail.

And so that we may finally bring our speech to a close, <sup>60</sup> let us add to all the previous things only this: our venerable sacrament, the bread of heaven and the sacrifice of the altar, was not only given as memorial, food, and treasure, but was also given as medicine and nourishment for our souls. Just as the church is said to recognize the virtues of the sacrament, because it washes away wickedness, purges sin, wipes away the wounds of our soul, comforts the mind,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> [1 Corinthians 11:26].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Luke 22[:15].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Exodus 12[:8-11].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Bernard [of Clairvaux, On Loving God, in PL, 182:972-999, quote on 989. For an English translation, see Bernard of Clairvaux, On Loving God with an Analytical Commentary, Emero Stiegman transl. (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications Inc., 1995), quote from pp. 27-28.]. Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) was abbott, theologian, and doctor of the Church and wrote primarily on the love of God towards humanity. His proof of love was the Incarnation and Salvation, along with the figure of Mary, as the loving Mother of God. NCE, s.v. "Bernard of Clairvaux, St."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Numbers 20[:8-11].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Bernard [of Clairvaux, cf. On Loving God, in PL 182:972-999.].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Landulph.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Summary.

and anoints us abundantly with heavenly grace (in the spirit of brevity I will not describe in detail how the medicine of every sin may be found in Christ's passion), in this way too our heavenly Samaritan<sup>61</sup> heals our wounded, corrupted, and deprayed nature, and provides a saving antidote, which overcomes all poultices, ointments, pills, and whatever other sorts of medical mixtures there are. The Lord abundantly lavishes upon us all good things from the most precious wealth of the Eucharist, where he has hidden the riches of clemency, goodness, and mercy. This sacrament has the power to remove the bad and to confer the good. Since we have the most prompt remedy of the soul, so easily exposed to all, why do we not receive and embrace with our hands that which is shown to all? Let us worship the anchor of salvation and all goodness, since I am one of those ungrateful people who depend on salvation, so let me exceedingly give him thanks for the innumerable kindnesses and wondrous mysteries of this sacrament.

For this sacrament is the communion of all the faithful, the participation and symbol of all Christianity. 62 As a result, we—the many who partake of one bread and one chalice—are one bread and one body. For those about to go from this life into another, the viaticum is the most helpful comfort of the soul. Having received it, they may walk in the courage of that bread up to the mountain of God, Horeb. 63 Additionally, the daily sacrifice at Mass is perpetual, for sins, for the health of the living and the cause of the dead, in the action of thanksgiving and praise to God living world without end. If I were to describe all these things in detail, it would become laborious and perhaps would be boring for you.

It remains, <sup>64</sup> most reverend and distinguished listeners, both reverend fathers and venerable priests, that we should pray as suppliants to God the most good and most great, to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Luke 10[:25-37]. <sup>62</sup> 1 Corinthians 10[:17].

<sup>63 1</sup> Kings 19[:8].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Conclusion.

whom we, all loyal, fittingly undertake that most worthy sacrament for the salvation of our souls. For at the time when the Lord will wash our feet, we will be washed. 65 We have been washed. we have been baptized; only we cleanse our feet of their evil state, for it is on our feet that the clay of this world pollutes us. The bride in the Canticles was cautious and wise: "I washed my feet, she said, how could I pollute them?" A man walks on foot, he advances on foot; truly, the feet of human life signify his standing, agreement, training, and office.

Therefore, let the most reverend bishops and prelates wash their feet.<sup>67</sup> lest they be fouled by the clay of ambition, avarice, and lust. Let them wash, lest they care more for earthly matters than heavenly things. Let them bear the care of the poor, and let them be attentive to the divine worship.

Let the canons wash their feet, <sup>68</sup> so that they may live honestly and in accordance with the rule of his name. Let them observe the daily liturgy of the hours, wear proper ecclesiastical attire, and not march around militarily. 69 Let them live elegantly no more from the inheritance of the crucifix and the benefits of the church or admitted into the military service of Christ than they be soldiers for the devil.

Let the venerable priests wash their feet, 70 satisfying Christ's established wish, so that they may not scandalize the people in words, deed, and dress. Let them strive for integrity and especially avoid public inebriation and intemperance. For thus it will happen: when those who take up the bread of life in this life and constantly offer God the sacrifice of the altar are about to die, they will take up the sacrifice within the viaticum as the guardian of their longest pilgrimage.

<sup>65</sup> John 12[:3; or 13:1-17]. <sup>66</sup> Song of Songs 5[:3].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> The bishops.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> The canons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> The canons regular.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> The priests.

When they arrive at the kingdom of heaven, where Christ has prepared us many mansions in the house of his father, <sup>71</sup> where he will surround them, make them lie down, and—crossing over—minister to them. And thus having been restored by the bread that came down from heaven, we will sing in the heavenly court with all the saints and elect to God and the lamb, with a hymn of praise forever. Let it be, let it be.

Printed in Ingolstadt by Alexander Weissenhorn.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Luke 11 [incorrect; cf. John 14:2].