from them, and it is much to be hoped that Dr Nágeli will be able to complete the lexicon thus happily inaugurated. A useful list of authorities is added at the end.

WALTER LOCK.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST.

Études d'Histoire et de Théologie positive. 2^{ième} série. *L'Eucharistie, la Présence réelle, et la Transsubstantiation.* Par P. Batiffol. (Lecoffre, Paris, 1905.)

IN this second series of 'Studies' Mgr Batiffol has produced a historical study which is a model of lucidity, conciseness, and careful exposition. The arrangement of the book is excellent and enables the reader to grasp with ease the main stages of the development of the doctrine of the Eucharist from the period of the New Testament to the Fourth Council of the Lateran. Another feature of the book is its historical candour. The passages which have so often been the battleground of controversialists are here carefully analysed in the dry light of historical investigation and placed in their true setting.

Mgr Batiffol defines the faith of the early church with regard to the Eucharist as a simple 'realism'. It is the purpose of his book to shew how this simple faith passed through the later stages of reflection into a doctrine of the conversion of the elements, which finally attained its natural and legitimate development in the doctrine of transubstantiation. The first 100 pages are devoted to the New Testament. The chief problems are clearly stated and recent theories are discussed, though necessarily with brevity. Mgr Batiffol is perhaps inclined to cut the knots of some of the difficulties by adopting rather too readily and positively some recent conjectures. Thus, while accepting the full text of Luke xxii 15-20 (in place of the shorter 'Western' text), he explains it as a doublet, vv. 15-18 forming one account of the institution, vv. 19, 20 being a second account. There is more to be said for his solution of the divergences between the Synoptists and St John by the adoption of the theory that the Last Supper was the Kiddush.

Mgr Batiffol's presentation of the evidence of the Fathers as a whole calls for little criticism. There is, however, one conspicuous exception, the treatment of the famous passage of Irenaeus, *c. Haer.* iv 18. 5, where Irenaeus states that after the invocation the bread is 'no longer common bread, but eucharist, consisting of two things (*παραμύτων*), an earthly and a heavenly'. It is surely an evasion of the natural sense of this passage (in which *ἐπιτέλειον* is most easily explained by the

preceding ἀπὸ γῆς ἄπρος) to interpret, as Mgr Batiffol does, the earthly element as the flesh of Christ, and the heavenly as His spirit. This is the more to be regretted as Irenaeus in this passage is an early witness to that form of eucharistic doctrine which Mgr Batiffol characterizes elsewhere as 'dyophysite'. Much that he says of Tertullian will command general assent, though his statement that *repraesentare* 'n'a rien de symbolique' perhaps calls for rather fuller treatment than he has given to it. In dealing with Augustine he dismisses too summarily the possibility of a 'receptionist' interpretation of some of his language. Still he recognizes the obscurity and ambiguity which are exhibited in the early theories of the Alexandrine, Oriental, and African writers and admits that they lend themselves to a 'dyophysite' interpretation (p. 253). Mgr Batiffol rightly contends that the doctrine of conversion starts with Gregory of Nyssa in the East (though Cyril of Jerusalem prepared the way) and with Ambrose in the West. In a singularly acute investigation of Gregory's language he shews how far removed he was from transubstantiation and how halting and hesitating his language is. But side by side with this new development there is a mass of evidence in both Eastern and Western writers which shows the persistence of the older tradition. It is one of the merits of Mgr Batiffol's book that he has placed so clearly and fully before his readers the materials which indicate the conservative character of the Western tradition and the persistence of the type of thought represented by Tertullian and Augustine. Besides the evidence of Jerome and Ambrosiaster there are the fragments of the Roman Canon in the *de Sacramentis*, where we find the phrase 'figura corporis et sanguinis'. Mgr Batiffol himself raises the question whether 'Rome ait africanisé longtemps' (p. 312). We may go even further. For though Mgr Batiffol thinks that by the time of St Leo this was changed, he himself quotes a passage of Gelasius *de duobus naturis* (the genuineness of which he recognizes) exhibiting similar features. In this passage side by side with the expression 'in divinam transeunt substantiam naturae' (this, says Mgr Batiffol, does not necessarily imply conversion) we find the older language 'imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur' (pp. 330, 331). There is further the positive evidence of the same passage of Gelasius, in which, arguing from the analogy of the Incarnation against the monophysites, Gelasius denies that the substance of the bread and wine ceases to exist. The same argument appears in Theodoret and the author of the Epistle to Caesarius. Mgr Batiffol treats this evidence in a somewhat cavalier fashion. 'The error of Gelasius', he says (p. 322), 'consists in accepting an analogy between the Incarnation and the Eucharist'. And again he maintains that in the *Enchiridion* of Theodoret

it is the monophysite interlocutor who is the real defender of the orthodox doctrine of the Eucharist. But this is to prejudge the question in the light of Mgr Batiffol's conclusion. He has already admitted that earlier theories in the East and West lend themselves by their ambiguity to a 'dyophysite' interpretation. The language of Irenaeus points in the same direction. May not Gelasius then represent a true conservatism? Mgr Batiffol shews from the *Missale Gothicum* and the Leonine and Gelasian Sacramentaries how the Augustinian conceptions lingered on side by side with the Ambrosian. Still later Ratramn is a witness to the persistence of the Augustinian view, and it may be found even in Rupert of Deutz (though Mgr Batiffol's enquiry does not extend to the Schoolmen). That this treatment eventually became an 'archaism' does not affect the question of its intrinsic merits. Mgr Batiffol declares that the 'misleading' analogy between the Incarnation and the Eucharist found in Theodoret and Gelasius no longer appears after the victory of St Cyril's theology in the time of Justin and Justinian. But the question may be asked whether the cessation of interest in Christology after that period was not one of the causes of the subsequent advance made by the theory of conversion. When the analogy of the two natures in Christ was no longer prominently before men's minds the divorce between the treatment of the Incarnation and that of the Eucharist became emphasized. The theory of conversion may have accorded with the Christian sentiment of the period, but it cannot be forgotten that the age in which it became fixed (i. e. that of Paschasius and the following period) was a period in which the idea of a miraculous conversion was particularly acceptable, as may be seen from the prodigies recorded by Paschasius. Mgr Batiffol regards the process of development as virtually complete in Paschasius, and he thinks that the Aristotelian metaphysics had little to do with this result. But this ignores the importance of the developments during, and subsequent to, the Berengarian controversy, which gave shape and consistency to the conceptions of Paschasius with the help of the current philosophy. Mgr Batiffol, however, seeks to minimize the terminology in which the doctrine was finally expressed by speaking of it as 'non la plus apte, mais très apte à nommer la conversion et à définir la mode d'être sacramental du Christ', and he appeals to the language in which the Council of Trent speaks of the manner of the presence as 'existendi ratio quam verbis exprimere vix possumus'. This desire to withdraw from the extreme consequences of the doctrine of Transubstantiation marks a considerable advance, but it still leaves great difficulties unsolved.

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