

THE SECRET HISTORY OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION:

Pulling Back The Veil on the Eucharist

Biblical Dogmatics Vol. 2

By Rev. Dr. Christiaan Kappes & William Albrecht

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Some quotations have been modified according to the Greek

Cover art: Last Supper Modified

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For my uncle Charles, who is part of that great cloud of witnesses that surrounds me in my everyday journey. For my Mother, who instilled virtue, hope, and love in me at a young and tender age. For the shining star in my life, my daughter Olivia. May you one day partake of our Lord in his sacrificial supper and understand the true love of his passion.

- William Albrecht

In memory of my Father, Timothy Kappes, of whose kind, should his progeny prove to be like unto the substance of its cause, I should count myself the most fortunate of men.

-Rev. Dr. Christiaan Kappes

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FOREWORD

The Eucharist as Healing

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At the Last Supper, Christ said, according to the Syriac version of Matthew 26:26-28, the following:

While they were taking food, Jesus took bread, blessed, broke it, and gave to his disciples, saying: Take and eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, blessed, and gave to his disciples, saying: Take all of you and drink from it: this is my blood of the new covenant, which is poured out on behalf of many for the forgiveness of sins.

The Gospel of Luke 22:19 (see also 1 Corinthians 11:24-26) adds after blessing the bread:

Do this in remembrance of me.

Since the dawn of Christianity, Syriac authors and later artists took these words to heart and incorporated them into the celebration of the Eucharistic liturgy from that time and up until the present day. In literature, this liturgy is attested at least from the 3rd century in the Syriac Acts of Thomas, which offers the first Eucharistic celebration ever, and in art, at least from the 13th century as evidenced in the iconography of the Monastery of Mār^[1] Behnām (Iraq).

The faith in the words of Christ in the Last Supper was not shaken or undermined by the controversy around the liturgical formula *Panem caelestem frangimus* “We break the heav-

only bread," that prevailed in Mesopotamia and Syria, during the 8th and 9th centuries.^[2] In addition to the constant belief in the consecrated bread and wine being indeed the body and blood of Christ, the Syriac Church also believed that these divine elements have a curative power, capable of healing bodies and souls. Literary sources, from the time of Ephrem the Syrian who died in AD 373, call the Eucharist *sammā*, which means literally serpentine venom. As venom can have medicinal capabilities, as evidenced since the 3rd millennium BC in Sumerian art, and later on in Greek art, *sammā* can also mean remedy or medicine. Nowhere is this depicted other than in the Monastery of Mār Behnām mentioned above, for its south gate is decorated with two intertwined snakes pouring their venom into chalices.^[3] Not only are these snakes shown pouring their venom into chalices, the gate on the lintel of which they are depicted, is specifically oriented toward the sanctuary where the Eucharist is celebrated.

In the following sections, the literary sources are presented, beginning with the 3rd century Acts of Thomas, and then the art of Mār Behnām, is discussed, along with another depiction of interest to the Eucharist, which belongs to the Syriac Orthodox Monastery of Saffron, now in eastern Turkey.

Literary sources

The literary sources are dated between the middle of the 3rd and the 6th centuries, the formative centuries of Syriac Christianity. The concepts of the Eucharist in these literary sources continued to prevail in the Syriac theological thinking in such a way that these concepts are expressed in art throughout the 13th century.

1. The apocryphal Acts of Thomas, the Apostle credited with spreading Christianity in India, were written about the year 250 AD. They contain the first scene of baptism ever in sections 26 and 27, and since in the Acts baptism is

fulfilled with the Eucharist, this official celebration is also the earliest ever found in literary sources. After baptizing the commander Siphor and his family, the Acts say concerning the Apostle Thomas the following:

He (=Thomas) brought bread and a cup, while it was mixed (with water), and blessed and said: Your (=Christ) holy body which was crucified for us do we eat, and your living blood that was shed for us do we drink. Let your body be for our life, and your blood for the remission of sins [...] And he broke the Eucharist and gave to Visan and Tertia and Manashar and Sifur, and to Mygdonia and the wife and daughter of Sifur, and said: Let this Eucharist be for your life, rest, joy and health, and for the healing of your souls and bodies. And they said: Amen. And they heard a voice saying: Yes and Amen! When they heard this voice, they fell on their faces. And again the voice was heard saying: Do not fear but only believe.^[4]

This passage already reflects the concept of the Eucharist as healing in that remote time, for the Eucharist is said to be for the life of the faithful and for the health and healing of their bodies and souls. The Acts do not use the term *sammā*-remedy, but the Body and Blood of Christ are clearly referred to as the source of forgiveness and salvation, as is made evident through the 'healing of the souls' expression. This quality of the Eucharist as healing is reported by Ephrem the Syrian, who lived about a century after the writing of the Acts. In Syriac Christianity, the forgiveness of sins is the first step towards acquiring total spiritual healing.

2. The first attestation of the remedy quality of the Eucharist dates to Ignatius of Antioch, in his letter to the Ephesians (20:3), where he mentions the term φάρμακον ἀθανασίας "remedy of immortality," in the context of breaking the Eucharistic Bread.^[5] This concept of remedy

must have become widespread in Syria, where the Syriac people possibly adopted it. Or early Syriac Christians possibly came to the same conclusion about the Eucharist; on the one hand, these Christians were capable exegetes, and on the other, the concept of *sammā*-remedy is deeply rooted in Syriac literature for at least one millennium.

3. Ephrem the Syrian (died in 373) is the greatest poet of the patristic era whose writings fill the liturgies of the Syriac Churches, as well as the Greek, Armenian and Coptic Churches. He authored several metrical homilies consisting of couplets made up of 7 by 7 syllables, as well prose commentaries on Genesis, the Diatessaron and the Book of Acts, the latter having survived only in an Armenian version. Ephrem is the first Syriac author who stressed in his metrical homilies that the Eucharist was essentially healing, and he seems to be the first ever to employ the Syriac term *sammā*-remedy, as seen in his Hymn on Nativity, and presumably elsewhere in his metrical writings. He first associates “remedy” with the person of the divine Christ, saying:

Blessed be the Shepherd who became the lamb to forgive us!

Blessed be the Vine shoot that became the cup to save us!

Blessed be the Cluster that became the source of medicine of life (*samm-ḥayyē*).^[6]

The second line about the Vine shoot that became a cup is Eucharistic par excellence, as it refers to the cup of Christ’s Blood ... *poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins*, as in Matthew 26: 27. As for the third line, which mentions the Cluster who is Christ, this is the source of wine, which became the “medicine of life.” This third line combines the Blood of Christ and the remedy for ailments, but the following stanza associates the Bread of the compassionate One with healing:

The rational expressly takes

the Bread of the compassionate One

like medicine of life (*samm-ḥayyē*).^[7]

Moreover, a stanza related to the feast of Epiphany associates baptism with the Eucharist, reminding one of the association of both in the Acts of Thomas. Ephrem says:

The (Hebrew) people crossed over the water and they
were baptized;
They went up to the dry land and became pagans!
The (divine) command turned weak in their ears,
The manna turned bad in their vessels.
Eat the Living Body, a remedy, the healing (*samm-ḥāyyē*)
which restores life for
everyone!^[8]

This stanza highlights the temporal baptism of the Hebrew people, as when they are on the dry land they turn pagans. The last line stresses that the Body of Christ is remedy for any deficiency.

In Nativity Hymn VII: 2, Ephrem says that Eve grew happy in Sheol, because Christ, 'her Grandson,' descended from Heaven in his role as a vivifying remedy, and in Hymn XVI: 7, he associates the Body of Christ with the holy Bread. Christ, therefore, is the blessed Physician (Hymn III: 20), who "extracts (abscesses) without pain and treats them with a delicate *sammā*-remedy, for He is the Son, the Compassionate Remedy for the sinners." In Hymn VII for Epiphany, Ephrem entices sinner as follows: "Clean your bodies, including your hands and your mouths, and go into (the church) to be among the partakers of the Vivifying Remedy who gives life to all (people)." Finally, Ephrem comments on the Nativity Day, using healing terms: "Your great day is a treasure of medicines (*sīmat-sammānē*) in which the medicine of life (*samm-ḥayyē*) shone forth for the stricken ones."^[9] In this stanza, Ephrem associates Jesus with remedy and healing.

4. Jacob of Sarug (died in 521) is a theologian who expressed himself, much like Ephrem the Syrian, through metrical

poetry in the 12 syllable meter. He devoted several metrical homilies to the Eucharist, including Homily 22 entitled “On the Commemoration of the Dead and on the Eucharistic Bread;” Homily 53 “On the Crucifixion;” Homily 42 “On the Partaking of the Holy Mysteries—for the Week of White;” and the most relevant one, Homily 95 “On the Partaking of the Holy Mysteries—for the night of Thursday of White.”^[10]

In Homily 95, Jacob describes the way the Eucharist, the bloodless sacrifice of Christ, was celebrated in the course of the 5th century. From the very beginning, he stresses the connection between the Eucharist and Baptism, just as in the Acts of Thomas and in Ephrem the Syrian’s poetry: The spear that opened the side of Jesus opened a “well” that overflowed, satiating the entire earth; its prototype is the well that Moses dug in the desert for his people (Exodus 17:1–7); and “Living rivers” overflowed from Christ’s side that became a drink not only for earth but also for the land of the dead. Jacob also refers to the various stages of the Eucharistic celebration, including the Eucharist’s beginning (Liturgy of the Word) held not in the sanctuary but on the *bema* in the middle of the church, where the Prophets and the Acts are read; the dismissal of the catechumens is also mentioned before the beginning of the Anaphora. The wording of the dismissal is still present in the liturgy of the Church of the East and the Chaldean Church.^[11]

Throughout Homily 95, Jacob presents the Eucharist as a spiritual Banquet (*smākhā rūḥanāyā*), Mystery (*rāzā*), Feast (*šārūtā*), Spiritual Reclining (*bēt meštūtā*), and Wedding Feast (*ḥlūlā*). The term Mystery recalls the Book of Daniel, which uses the same Aramaic word (*rāz*), bearing a divine connotation (Daniel 2: 19). Some other appellations in Jacob’s Homily are drawn on the Gospels, as the Banquet (Matthew 22:1–14; Luke 14:15–24) and the Wedding (of Cana), in which Jesus changed the water into wine (John 2:1–12). In addition to these homilies, which relate to Jacob’s concept of the Eucharist, he calls the Eucharist in Homily 95 “healing” par excellence, using the

term employed previously by Ephrem the Syrian, *sammā*-remedy. Addressing the soul, Jacob says:

Woe unto you, full of sores!

This is the time to receive medicine (*sammā*) for your wounds.

This is the time to shed tears before the One who treats you,

applying mercy to your illness that torments you.

Behold: this is the time when the gate of the Great Physician is opened
to treat freely...

Another stanza is also Eucharistic. Jacob presents Christ in the Eucharist as the physician par excellence:

If you have an abscess in your soul, this same abscess
induces and propels you to beg on account of your sins.

Let the sickness move you to come out of pain, to show your abscess
to the physician who treats and gives health without pay.

Come in and see the abscesses of iniquity while being treated,
and the injuries of all the sinners while being healed.

Homily 95 ends with a unique Eucharistic prayer about the sacrifice of Christ that is still chanted in the Syriac Eucharistic liturgies. Although this prayer does not contain the term *sammā*-remedy, the concept of the Eucharist as healing is clearly expressed in it:

Behold, your Son is an oblation that pleases you!
Forgive me through him, for he died on my behalf so that I may be forgiven
through him.

Behold your sacrifice: Accept it from my hands for He

comes from you.

Be pleased by Him for this is what I have to offer you!

Behold: His pure blood is poured out on Golgotha for my sake,

pleading for me, so accept my supplication for his sake.

Many are my sins but greater is your mercy! If you weigh them,

your mercy will prevail even over the mountains that you balance!

Consider the sins and consider the sacrifice on account of them:

The slaughtered sacrifice is much greater than the sins!

Because I sinned, your beloved one sustained the nails and the lance;

his suffering is able to please you so that I may live.^[12]

Though I have been redeemed, the Evil one has encircled me, shooting me with his arrows; O King and my Savior, encircle me and heal my wounds.^[13]

This fervent prayer became part of the West Syriac Eucharistic tradition, as it is recited by priests in the Eucharistic liturgy of the Syriac Orthodox, Maronite, and Catholic Churches. It is also attributed to the 6th century poet and theologian Narsai (see below), among *turgāmē*-anthems ascribed to him. This suggests that Jacob of Sarug incorporated the existing prayer, which must have been widespread in Syria and Mesopotamia during at least the 5th century.

5. A contemporary of Jacob of Sarug for a while, Narsai (died in 502), was also a poet-theologian whose metrical homilies, 7 by 7 and 12 by 12 syllables, fill the liturgies of the Assyrian and Chaldean Churches. He was educated in Edessa but moved to Nisibis, where he established an academy

that taught Bible, exegesis, and medicine, among other disciplines.^[14] He produced at least four hymns on Baptism and the Eucharist, where the Syriac term *sammā*-remedy appears too, for the Eucharist for this major writer is certainly healing. He describes the celebration of the Eucharist in the course of the 5th century, including the sanctuary called holy-of-holies (*hayklā*),^[15] the apse (*bēt-ḥūssāyā*) in the holy-of-holies, the altar (*mabbhā*) on which the cross, the “mark of his (=Jesus) life-providing slaughter” stands.

In Homily 7, chanted during Lent, Narsai begins with the mention of Christ as being the Physician, and asserts that his *sammā*-remedy is His own compassion:

The Physician who heals the sicknesses of our nature with the remedy of his compassion: Have mercy on our trespasses as you have the habit of doing it to us.

And in Homily 12, Narsai entices people to practice a virtuous life, and counsels the rich people to seek healing through the Eucharist:

Come to disclose (to the church) the sicknesses of our bodies and minds,

so that with its drugs (*samm-ōnah*) we heal our outside and inside sicknesses.

... Come, wealthy one, and reveal (to the church) the sicknesses of your greed!

Give alms and partake *sammā*-remedy (of the Eucharist) that heals your iniquity!^[16]

In Homily 33, the altar is called “the tomb of Christ the Bridegroom,” and when the bread paten and the wine cup placed on the altar are covered, “they typify his (=Christ) burial.” In the following stanza, the Eucharist is called ‘forgiver of sins:’

Her sublime apse (in the physical church) shines with

light full of delight,
in the Holy-of-Holies covered with splendour
and sanctity.

In her stands the altar, the mystery of the tomb of
Christ the Bridegroom,

and in it the Cross, the mark of his life-providing
death, is placed.

On it the body is broken and the blood (is offered) for
the forgiving of sins,

a living sacrifice of the High-Priest who re-
deemed her with his blood.^[17]

6. A 6th century poet-theologian authored Homily 17,
wrongly attributed to Narsai.^[18] This Homily enumerates,
step by step, how the liturgy of the Eucharist was
conducted in that century and presumably before that
time. More importantly for us, it stresses the long-held
concept that the Eucharist is indeed healing, and uses
the term *sammā*-remedy:

Behold, the Living remedy (*samm-ḥayyē*) that is div-
ided in the holy church:

Come mortals and partake to be pardoned of your
trespasses.

This is truly the body and blood of our Lord, which na-
tions partook and

Were no doubt pardoned.

This is the remedy (*sammā*) that heals the rotted sick-
nesses and abscesses:

Partake, mortals, and be purified of your tres-
passes!^[19]

... Do not come close as Paul the Apostle decreed!

With pure heart approach the body and blood of our
Lord

to purify you from the stains of sins that you
committed.^[20]

7. Between the time of Ephrem and that of Narsai and Jacob of Sarug, apocryphal letters supposedly exchanged between King Abgar the Black of Edessa and Jesus were created, meant to convey key theological lessons, including healing. The letter of Abgar to Jesus calls Jesus the Physician who heals people not through drugs (*samm-ōnē*) and not by the Eucharist, but with his words:

Abgar Ukkāmā (=the Black) to Jesus, the Good Physician, who appeared in the land of Jerusalem, my Lord: Peace. I have heard concerning you and your healing that you do not heal with drugs (*samm-ōnē*) or roots; it is rather by your word that you give sight to the blinds, cause the lame to walk, cleanse the lepers, and cause the deaf to hear...^[21]

It is clear that this letter does not pertain to the Eucharist, but to the Gospel reading read during the Eucharistic celebration. Interestingly, the writer of the apocryphal letter used the term for drugs, *sammānē*, which derives from the term *sammā*-remedy with its final *nūn* suffix. As seen above, the latter term was frequently used by Ephrem, Narsai and Jacob of Sarug with regards to the Eucharist, but the writer of the Abgar's letter highlighted the healing words of Jesus as in the Gospels. The context of the letter is the public life of Jesus, when he was still preaching and healing people, much before the time of the Last Supper! Eusebius of Caesarea included the letter in his *Ecclesiastical History* (I. xiii.6): "I have heard the reports of you and of your cures as performed by you without medicines or herbs (aneu pharmakon kai botanōn)."

Art as Expression of the Eucharist

The concept of the Eucharist as healing seems to be deeply entrenched in the theological thinking of the Syriac Church,

since it is also expressed in art, namely a stone relief, as late as the middle of the 13th century. The monastery of Mār Behnām, located in the north of Iraq, was renovated at that time, following the Atabeg iconographic style marked by symmetrical depictions.^[22] The Persian Mār Behnām (Persian Behnām means “the noble name”) was a martyr who must have been martyred in Mesopotamia during the anti-Christian persecutions during the 4th or 5th century. Nothing is known about him, but the 13th century monks presented him in inscriptions as a healer, and indeed, in his martyrion located besides his monastery, an iron collar was placed around the necks by people suffering of epilepsy to be healed. The earth found in a pit in the middle of his martyrion is believed to have curative power against irritating cough. The following inscription tells of the healing power of Christ:

Lo! At your door, O merciful Physician, the sick people knock so that they may be healed; let your compassion come forth and provide remedy for our injuries.^[23]

This inscription associates healing with Christ’s compassion as does Ephrem in his Hymn IV.99, but also Narsai in his Homily 7 (see above).

There are three pieces of sculptures that convey the same concept of *sammā*-remedy as found in literature: a) The most important sculpture is placed above the south gate of the church; b) another sculpture covers the gate called of the Two-Baptisms, which recalls the connection between Baptism and the Eucharist; c) a third sculpture is a small panel, which shows the Cross and two intertwined snakes inside the pedestal of the cross.

1. A low relief depicts two snakes intertwined from the tails, opening their mouths and pouring their venom inside chalices (figure 1 a-b).

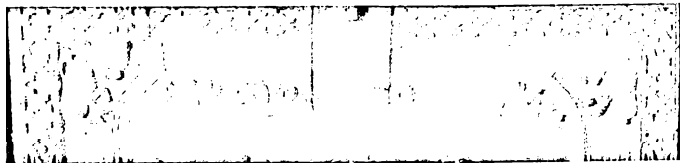


Figure 1a
Monastery of Mār Behnām: South Gate Lintel
(Photo: Collection J. M. Fiey)

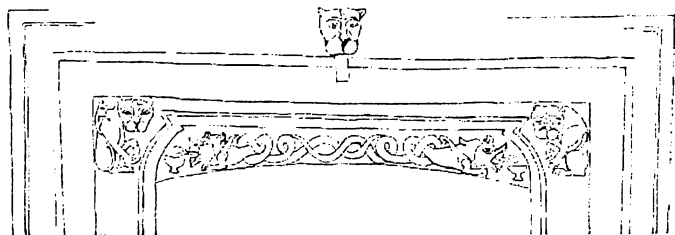


Figure 1b
Monastery of Mār Behnām: South Gate Lintel
(Drawing: A. Harrak)

The motif of double snakes, intertwined or symmetrically depicted, is widespread in the Near East as seen above the gate of Bāb-al-Talsam (Talisman) in Bagdad, above the gate of the citadel of Aleppo, and in Sultan Han Kayseri in Turkey, not to talk about the Vase of Gudea of Lagash (3rd millennium BC; see below). Nevertheless, the intertwined snakes of Mār Behnām are unique in that they are represented as pouring their venom inside cups or rather chalices on opposing position. The fact that they surmount the church's gate, which is specifically oriented toward the sanctuary, indicates that the venom-pouring snakes have a Eucharistic significance. The monks of Mār Behnām, who sculptured this gate in the middle of the 13th century, were aware that the venom of the snakes (Syriac *sammā*), despite its lethal power, also contained medicinal elements capable of treating problematic health conditions in humans, and depicted this knowledge in art, as well as in language. The art is self-explanatory as seen above, but the inscription placed

on the same south gate is Eucharistic:

(This) gate is the gate of mercy, which bears mercy in the inside. The one who enters (it) is full of sins, but the one who comes out (of it) is full of mercy. But if the one who has sins does not shed tears, he would not find mercy or forgiveness of sins.^[24]

The combination of art and texts to stress the belief in the Eucharist as healing is unique to the monastery of Mār Behnam. More importantly, it highlights a continuation in this deeply rooted belief in the Eucharist as early as the 4th century with Ephrem the Syrian, if not as early as the 2nd century with Ignatius of Antioch.

2. The gate called of the Two-Baptisms in the church in the monastery of Mār Behnām leads to an empty shrine, but an inscription on the rabbet of both right and left jambs of the gate talks about the 'two baptisms' of Mār Behnām, one by water and another by blood. The concept of the two baptisms is borrowed from the writing of Ephrem the Syrian, who wrote in his commentary of the Diatessaron that "two baptisms were found with our Lord, who purifies all: one of water and the other of the cross."^[25] Mār Behnām was murdered by his father after his conversion from Zoroastrianism to Christianity and his baptism, according to his Vita.^[26]

This gate is fancy (figure 2). Double snakes emanate from the top lintel, on both sides of a lion's head; then they separate to decorate with their bodies in the shape of niches the rest of the upper lintel and the gate's two jambs. Splendid crosses ornament the insides of the niches, while four monastic figures, identifies with their names and mentioned in the Vita, are depicted in four niches. Remnant of paint between in the edges of the crosses gives an idea about highly ornamented gate.

It is hard to take these snakes just as a decorative motif, although the same design is also found around the gate of a

mosque in Mosul (Iraq).^[27] The two intertwined snakes pouring their venom inside chalices seen above form also a mundane figure but the monks of Mār Behnām exploited the figure to convey their concept of the Eucharist. Most probably, the double snakes around the gate of the Two-Baptisms also have a Eucharistic connotation, especially because this gate is entirely about baptism. In fact the scene of the baptism of Mār Behnām is depicted on top of the lintel, and also the scene of his beheading. We have seen in the Acts of Thomas, but also in the writings of Ephrem the Syrian, that baptism is fulfilled with the Eucharist.



Figure 2

Gate of the Two-Baptisms
(Photo: Collection J. M. Fiey)

3. The last piece of art in Mār Behnām is a panel, which shows a cross with a large pedestal decorated with two intertwined snakes (see Figure 1a, lower lintel in the centre; see also Figure 3). The snakes, not very clearly depicted, protrude their tongues as if pouring venom, much like the snakes in the stone sculpture in the Monastery of Saffron near Mardīn (see 4 below). In the latter sculpture, between the two serpentine mouths, below a highly stylized cross, there is a host, and thus its Eucharistic value is assured. The cross depiction in Mār Behnām does not show a host, and thus its link to the Eucharist is not secure. Nonetheless, Narsai describes the altar as having “the Cross, the

mark of his (Christ) life-providing death,”^[28] and possibly this depiction of the cross with two snakes might relate to the Eucharistic celebration.



Figure 3

Two Snakes inside the Pedestal of a cross in Mār Behnām (Drawing A. Harrak)

4. The Eucharistic context of the venom-pouring snakes of Mār Behnām (1 a-b) is not unique. The Syriac Orthodox monastery of Saffron, near the city of Mardīn in eastern Turkey, contains a small sculpture showing two intertwined serpents “in mirrors” (Figure 4).^[29]

Between their two serpentine mouths, an oval motif is placed, which must be the Eucharistic bread, especially since the cross is seen above the sculpture. The Syriac Orthodox Church does not use hosts in the Eucharistic celebration but unleavened bread which can be round or oval, much like the one in the above sculpture. The two snakes in this beautiful sculpture refer to the Eucharist, even though they do not pour their venom into chalices, as do the intertwined snakes in Mār Behnām. The fact that the sculpture is in the monastery support the belief that the depiction is not only Eucharistic but it also refers to healing by the Eucharist.

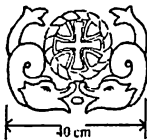


Figure 4 (After Preusser, fig, 17)

The mantle of Roger II of Sicily and the highly depicted gospel-lectionary of Vani (Georgia) also contain comparable motifs

made in the 12th century in Constantinople. One wonders if these motifs have any Eucharistic meaning, especially because they were made in the Byzantine capital.

Origin of sammā-Remedy

The Semitic term SMM is attested in Aramaic as *sammā* and in Arabic as *samm-un*, among other Semitic languages, with the basic meaning of toxic venom of snakes and of other venomous animals. By contrast, Akkadian *šammu* refers to a medicinal plant, not necessarily to venom, according to current dictionaries.^[30] Only Aramaic adds another semantic value to *sammā*, in that it also means remedy or medicine. In Babylonian Aramaic, *samm-ḥayy* or *samm-ḥayyīm*^[31] means literally venom of life, and hence remedy or medicine. Syriac *samm-ḥayyē* means the same as seen above.

Venom with its usefulness to medicine is attested in Sumerian art as early as the late 3rd millennium BC. The governor Gudea of Lagash left us a number of his statues, as well as a Libation Vase, which shows on its outside two snakes standing around a rod. A Sumerian inscription on the vase suggests that this container must relate to medicine derived from venom, as it wishes the governor a “long life”.^[32] No other similar artefact was uncovered in Mesopotamia during one and half millennia after Gudea, but the medicinal value of venom must have been recognized over the centuries to treat some diseases in humans or as an antidote to venom. Thus, in ancient Greece, the symbol of the Greek god of medicine, Asclepius (Asklēpios), is a serpent standing around the god’s rod, reminiscent of Gudea’s vase. Asclepius’s symbol evolved to become the modern symbol of medicine, as seen in hospitals and pharmacies around the world.

Syriac art depicts two serpents instead of a single one, whose venoms are valued as remedy, suggesting that the two-serpent motif is of Mesopotamian, not Greek, origin. In any

case, *sammā* “venom” meant to Ephrem the Syrian and to his successive writers and theologians as also remedy, which they exploited to describe the Eucharist as an effective remedy to treat sins. In Syriac Christianity sinning is considered a disease,^[33] not a crime, and only the Eucharist can heal the faithful from it. Jesus in the New Testament is a healer, who healed physical sicknesses, “not with drugs but with his words,” as the *Teaching of Addai* says, but he also altogether healed and forgave sins, as in the account of the paralyzed man in Mark 2:1-12. Early Syriac writers and exegetes must have associated the Eucharist with healing on the basis of the New Testament.

PREFACE

The word “transubstantiation,” as with the phrase “Immaculate Conception,” seems to be a lightning rod for not only intra-Christian controversy these last several centuries, but the term is so magical in its impenetrable technicalities that nowadays things like secular musical titles, among other completely foreign contexts, utilize the term in order to signify some sort of mysterious, witching activity. One gets the sense from such fantastical literature that wizards and warlocks can be behind what is almost an alchemical science that requires spells and potions. The truth is, biblically, that transubstantiation does prove to be both a magical and a religious word in the Hebrew and Christian tradition. Although it might initially be uncomfortable to read that we can be dealing with both the dark arts and the direct work of Yahweh, there is both good and evil transubstantiation of natural elements in the Old Testament according to inspired authors, as well as their commentators, be they Jewish or Christian.

The present study boasts of having uncovered the ancient vein in which this golden doctrine is contained, from Antiquity until the Medieval period. The progression of the chapters is designed to acquaint the reader with all the subtleties and niceties of the doctrine in Jewish literature as it was received and developed in early Christian reflection on the sacrament of Eucharist. The great advantage of looking at the doctrine in its primitive development lies in saving us from distracting and unnecessary distinctions and complexities that have become all too familiar among those aficionados and lay readers who enthusiastically attempt to learn something intel-

ligible, if not scientific, about transubstantiation but are used to stepping away from an entirely opaque text, as Christians who are more dazed and confused than inspired and informed. It is of the utmost importance to underline that the New Testament authors, upwards around ninety percent of the time, cited the Septuagint (LXX) or Greek Old Testament in order to quote Scripture and develop religious themes and vocabulary. As such, we use the principle that the New Testament authors' de facto canonization of the Greek Old Testament over competing versions means that a theologian is justified in having recourse primarily to the Greek version of the Scriptures in line with the apostles themselves. We highlight within the Septuagint the word: "transmute" (*metaballô*), which is used especially in the seventh chapter of the Book of Exodus to talk about the substantial change of water into blood. Because the translators of the Jewish Scriptures (especially the Pentateuch) chose this word to signify the kinds of change that occur by miraculous and divine intervention, we should always be attentive to the fact that the Jewish tradition of commentary on the Bible, as the Christian too, provides fertile ground for the development of the technicalities behind Eucharistic change by this deeply philosophical notion of transmutation, very well known in Classical Greek Philosophy, faithfully carried down to Antiquity, and especially useful to Christian authors of the first century, following the birth of Jesus Christ. We shall focus our mind's eye on the significance and repetition of the term (or its equivalent) in Greek and Latin and within Jewish and Christian literature of the first few centuries. Then, we shall see the marvelous continuity from the Pentateuch until the Medieval Period, whose highly traditional language and definitions common to all forms of orthodox Christianity are merely crystallized at the Council of Trent in the 1500s in favor of this biblical tradition preserved by all the Catholic and Orthodox traditions of Christendom today.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

by William Albrecht

“Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you have no life in you” (John 6:53). Saint Peter’s hands were battered and worn. He had previously and attentively listened to Christ identify himself as the heavenly Son of Man prophesied about in the book of Daniel. He craved the heavenly manna that Jesus spoke about in his discourse that drove so many away. Standing nearby he heard the doubters utter: “This teaching is difficult; who can accept it (John 6:60)?” He noticed the confusion and bickering. He recognized the offended and astonished look on the faces of many surrounding Christ. It is undoubtedly true that Scripture can perhaps be difficult to grasp without the proper background to illuminate the texts for us. Indeed St. John’s theology on the Eucharist is cleverly unveiled once we recognize the clear references to the Septuagint or LXX rendering of Psalm 147:17-18. The Davidic Psalm recounts how the Lord casts out ice [hail] [from heaven] like morsels of bread-flesh! Who can stand by his cold? He sends out his word (*logon*) and it melts flesh; he causes his wind to blow, and the waters flow. The band of disciples and their astonishment was perhaps not due to ignorance, but rather due to the shocking language of fulfillment from the words of the Psalmist! Before their very eyes they were made to understand that the prefiguring of the Incarnation and the Holy Eucharist had come true before their very eyes. The very same God that Wisdom 16:13 tells us has power over life and death is also the same God whose almighty hand sends rain and hail.

These offensive words cause many to abandon and go their own ways in St. John's gospel account. As the crowd dispersed, many most likely going back to their homes and some perhaps thinking that this preacher from Nazareth had finally gone too far, Christ turned to the Apostles and asked: "Do you also wish to go away" (John 6:67)? Simon Peter responded for the band of Apostles: "Lord, to whom can we go? You have the words of eternal life" (John 6:69). The words of eternal truth, wisdom, and everlasting life have been vouchsafed by the very first Christians from the very beginning. As perplexing and confusing as the command to eat his flesh and drink his blood must have been, it was a command that was heeded by the ancient Christian Church. The very first followers of Christ spilled much ink in their commentaries and musings on the Davidic Psalms. St. John's rich Gospel account hearkens back to the prophetic Eucharistic language found within the LXX Psalm 147, essentially informing the audience, that when manna falls as pieces of frost or hail from heaven it is described as flesh itself. It is, perhaps, no coincidence that the traditionally attested authorship of the Revelation of John was the very same Gospel author. Granted the aforementioned, on the Island of Patmos, St. John the Evangelist shows us this very same strong and powerful Eucharistic imagery, where manna like hail, as sixty-pound balls of ice, falls from heaven upon men! Now we can finally see just how and why this language should not be so "difficult" to understand and accept from the point of view of its literary background. Indeed, Jesus is the heavenly hail or ice come down from heaven, our manna that is true food and that provides and sustains eternal life.

In anticipation of his masterful account of the Lord's Supper, St. Paul informs us in 1 Corinthians 10:1-6:

I do not want you to be unaware, brothers and sisters, that our ancestors were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea, and all were baptized into Moses in the cloud and in the sea, and all ate the same spiritual food

[manna], and all drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank from the spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ. Nevertheless, God was not pleased with most of them, and they were struck down in the wilderness. Now these things occurred as examples for us, so that we might not desire evil as they did.

We must emphasize the utmost importance of the words of St. Paul of Tarsus. Speaking to the Church in Corinth, he wants them to be aware that our forefathers all ate the very same spiritual food (manna) and drank the same spiritual drink. Here he is clear that the spiritual food is the manna, and his tenth chapter is a preparation to enter his grand hall of Eucharistic theological teaching in the following chapter. In what is perhaps likely the first recorded Eucharistic account within the biblical text, St. Paul indicates how he received the very words of institution from Christ after his resurrection:

For I received from the Lord what I also handed on to you, that the Lord Jesus on the night when he was betrayed took a loaf of bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, "This is my body that is for you. Do this in remembrance of me." In the same way he took the cup also, after supper, saying, "This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as you drink it, in remembrance of me." (1 Corinthians 11:23-25)

As St. Cyril of Jerusalem (around AD 380) will be shown to indicate in chapter 3, the early Church absorbed what Christ taught St. Paul about the sacrifice of his body and blood as well as the truth of the historical resurrection. It is our hope that in reading our study that the reader will be brought to a greater appreciation for the Holy Eucharist. It is our desire that the reader gain a deeper understanding of the powerful language in Holy Writ. Indeed it was Saint Matthew himself who described the very words of Christ's blood being poured out at the Last Supper as covenantal and efficacious to forgive sins: "For this is My blood of the new covenant, which is shed for many for the remission

of sins" (Matthew 26:28) It is no wonder, then, that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church saw such importance in the vocabulary that underscores the incredibly miraculous changes in the Bible. The words of eternal life have always been viewed as matters so crucial to the Christian faith that such pillars of the faith as St. Ignatius of Antioch (around AD 105) could remark that the denial of the true body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist was a sign of heterodoxy.^[34] The godbearer St. Ignatius, on his way to martyrdom was careful to note that one of the marks of the true Church was having present to herself the true medicine of immortality.^[35] For the first followers of the Messiah, they recognized that Jesus was God and nothing was impossible with the Lord. Thus, even if they recognized the difficulty in the words set before them, partaking of the Eucharist was seen akin to having present before them God himself. St. Ignatius of Antioch was eventually to find himself ground up by the teeth lions, as the first spoils of evil anti-Christians who continued to persecute the Church for well over four centuries. It is the goal of this study to traverse the hallowed and glorious halls of Christendom's ancient saints to fully understand why the Christian faith has always understood that a transformation occurs in the very elements laid out on the altar. Shortly after St. Ignatius reached his end, the great St. Justin the Martyr (around AD 150) would write that the true flesh and blood of our Savior would bring about an actual transformation in us!^[36]

As we revisit stories long known to any Christian reader, we will gain new insight into such texts as those found in Genesis chapter 19 and Exodus chapter 4, books that captivated the lovers of Christ by such transformational language. At the beginning of chapter 5, St. Ambrose of Milan's love for Scripture (in the 370s and 380s) later inspired the Doctor of Grace St. Augustine in his fiery defense of the Canon of Scripture at the North African Councils. Towering over his command of Holy Writ and the Fathers was Augustine's very own teacher, his Father in the faith, St. Ambrose. This Ambrose from Milan

would provide the key insight to understand that transmutation, in essence the genus into which fits the more precise concept of transubstantiation, was already very much present in the biblical text!^[37] St. Thomas Aquinas (who died AD 1274) was able to trace this very same tradition, as found within his authoritative Fathers, such as those within his *Catena* or golden chain, that went right back to Christ as its origin of source. And indeed we find this to be the case when examining the Greek and Latin traditions of transubstantiation. In this book we will unveil the ancient *paradosis* (tradition) –common to the three Churches of Roman Catholic, Oriental, and Eastern Orthodox varieties. The reader will gain a clearer understanding as to why St. Clement of Alexandria (who wrote especially in the 190s) was to lay such important emphasis on the need to partake of the Eucharist in order to “share in his [Christ’s] immortality.” Venerated, loved, and revered for all times by all three ancient Churches, the saintly Doctor, Ephrem the Syrian, echoed the sentiments of the faith when he said, “His teaching in the food of mortals as the medicine of life. For just as the evil one had given his bitter counsel to the house of Adam under the guise of food, the Good One gave His living counsel to the house of Adam under the guise of food.”^[38] In every era of Church history and through every tumultuous controversy, one of the marks of orthodoxy has been the ever firm and foundational belief that in the elements of bread and wine a transformation occurs that makes present the true Body and the true Blood of our Incarnate Lord and Savior. In combating Arianism, St. Hilary of Poitiers incredibly said:

We speak in an absurd and godless manner about the divinity of Christ’s nature in us—the subject which we are discussing—unless we have learned it from him. He himself declares: “For my flesh is food indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood abides in me and I in him.” It is no longer permitted us to raise doubts about the true nature of the body and the

blood, for, according to the statement of the Lord himself as well as our faith, this is indeed flesh and blood. And these things that we receive bring it about that we are in Christ and Christ is in us. Is not this the truth? Those who deny that Jesus Christ is the true God are welcome to regard these words as false. He himself, therefore, is in us through his flesh, and we are in him, while that which we are with him is in God."^[39]

A common theme from the earliest epochs of the Christian era was that, when heresy reared its hideous head, a great defender of the truth should arise to stand for the unchanging divine faith. From the ink spilt by the saintly Leontius of Jerusalem (around AD 530) and by others into the Medieval era, the Fathers of the faith, even in their differing words and turns of phrase, all had in the essence of their writings a conviction of transformation in the bread and in the wine after the prayers of the priest. In the history of controversialist literature, Pope St. Gregory the Great (who reigned 590-AD 605) will be discovered as a no longer perplexing figure. Embraced by the morning stars of the Reformation, as if somehow a forerunner to the belief that the Eucharistic elements indeed held a real presence in them, but only a spiritual presence rather than an actual substantial change, the Reformer Francis Turretin of the 1600s said of Pope St. Gregory (along with other figures) that he had held "the same faith concerning the Eucharist that we defend, many of our opponents do not deny."^[40] It is unfortunate that the Reformers' inability to account for the undeniable unanimity in the early Church on the Eucharistic transformation led them to misrepresent such incredible Doctors of the faith, such as St. Robert Bellarmine underlines, who strongly disagreed with the Reformers and did not cede them even an inch of agreement.

And so, in chapter 5, we lay out the saintly puzzle in all its glory. Moving from the Scriptures and Pre-Nicene Fathers of the early Church, we meticulously examine, among others, the words of Pope St. Gregory to understand the purpose of his

letter and the meaning behind his complicated turns of phrase. It is only with this backdrop, using as an instance our focus on Pope St. Gregory, that we are to fully unveil for the reader, that Pope St. Gregory was the furthest thing from a proto-Protestant whom anyone might encounter at such an early age in Church history. But, like all things that get wrenched out of their historical context, heresy was undoubtedly to rear its head in the form of a putatively Catholic monk by name of Ratramnus (who died around AD 868). When the heretical distortions of Ratramnus reared their head, his contemporary St. Paschasius of Radbertus was readied to equip himself with the mighty armor of Holy Writ and the incredible onslaught of the Fathers to support his defense of the most Holy Eucharist. Employing Saints Ambrose and Augustine, among others, St. Paschasius was positioned to provide a masterful defense of the holy faith. But our study will show you that the solid defense of this teaching would be needed later on in history as well. Bl. Lanfranc (who died AD 1089) felt called to preserve the unbroken teaching in a way that was studied by all up to the Common Doctor St. Thomas Aquinas. It was Bl. Lanfranc who would encounter Berengar of Tours. Berengar would seemingly pick up the mantle from Ratramnus in reducing the Eucharist to mere symbol. Long considered a forerunner to the Angelic Doctor St. Thomas Aquinas and his masterful writings on the Holy Eucharist, Bl. Lanfranc preserved the Fathers and Doctors of the Church's testimonies in classic fashion. With a fiery defense of Scripture and Tradition, he was famously to utter:

For when one thing is substantially changed into another [*substantialiter transmutatur*], it is usually changed into that which did not exist before: for example, the staff of Moses changed into a serpent, which was at first not a serpent, but then began to be a serpent; when, however, we say that the bread is changed, it is not changed into that which had not been flesh, but we confess that it is changed into the flesh which was already the flesh of Christ, without

any increase in the flesh of the Lord himself. And although we do not deny that this change is difficult for us to understand in this age, it is, however, not difficult to believe."^[41]

St. Thomas Aquinas and later the Council of Trent would offer no innovations to the aforesaid but rather provide the constant and unchanging truth of the miraculous change in the bread and wine that would become known in the Latin West by the term "transubstantiation," though long before the enshrined theory of transformation of elements into the divine substance was endorsed by popes and saints. It is no wonder, then, how the great St. Augustine could order Christians to worship what was below the apparent elements, because indeed Christ "was carried in his own hands:" How was Christ "carried in his own hands"? In the following way: When he commended his own body and blood, he took into his hands that which the faithful know; and in a manner carried Himself, when He said, "This is My Body."^[42]

And so, before concluding this chapter, we revisit the "difficult" and "hard" teaching of John chapter 6, if ever so briefly. It is our desire that this study will finally provide a fuller picture for the audience as to just how difficult it was for the followers of our Lord to grasp the manner in which he was the "bread that came down from heaven." It wasn't that his followers were unable to grasp precisely what Christ was saying, but what was said is the very reason that they fully understood the ostensibly "offensive" language and imagery of flesh raining down on the earth that caused them to turn away. Exactly like hail and ice that is transformed in heaven, our Savior meant that he should appear before the gaze of all to be substantially the bread of life. We will produce for the reader, with multiple Fathers and Doctors of the early and Medieval Church, our presentation of transubstantiation that is anything but novel. For on the lips of heretics is found the denial of the transformation of the Eucharist into the body and blood of Christ.

An empty thing, or phantom, is incapable of a figure. If, however, (as Marcion might say,) he [Jesus] pretended the

bread was his body, because he lacked the truth of bodily substance, it follows that he must have given bread for us. It would contribute very well to the support of Marcion's theory of a phantom body, that bread should have been crucified! But why call his body bread, and not rather (some other edible thing, say) a melon,¹³ which Marcion must have had in lieu of a heart!^[43]

2.0 FORERUNNERS OF TRANSUBSTANTI- ATION

In the Bible: From Genesis to Revelation

2.1 The Vocabulary of Miraculous Change in the Greek Bible

Certain passages in the history of the reception of the Bible by Jews and Christians are central for describing God's change of one substance into another substance. Numerous passages of the Old Testament shall be revealed as foundational for our understanding of miraculous and instantaneous change of substances that justify later Christian ideas of miraculous change in the sacrament of the Eucharist. However, this already brings us to introduce a first question: "What is a substance?" We must ask now for a little extra concentration of the reader in this first section. While it would be our preference to jump immediately to the Bible and its doctrine of substantial change, we must underline that a little work on terminology on the front end will lead to a lot of reading pleasure as the reader makes headway toward the backend of this book. Yet, we think that an entire chapter need not be spent on terminology. So, we beg a little indulgence to deal with words that are perhaps too reminiscent of an intro to philosophy class. Even for the professional and dilettante philosopher there are some ter-

minological dainties worth reading. Nonetheless, a discussion of substance and other key words is essential to understanding physical changes and description of beings in the Bible.

The technical term “substance” (*ousia*) is not employed by the Jewish translators of the Septuagint or Greek Bible except in one case: Tobit 14:13. To this can be added the apocryphal book 3 Maccabees 3:28, which also uses the term. Similarly, there are exactly two uses of this term in the very same respect in Luke’s Gospel (Luke 15:12-13). Unfortunately, in all these cases the meaning of “substance” is a tertiary one for our purposes: The primary meaning of substance for philosophers and theologians (during the period of translation for the Greek Bible) referred to an individual reality that enjoys an independent existence. Then, a secondary meaning among Greek writers of this period refers to a mental abstraction, where the human mind thinks about things like a human being in its most basic characteristics or what is most essential to things when considering what we can say about each and every particular. For example, what is essential to each and every triangle? Upon answering, the human mind thereby arrives at a mental idea about a generic human or perfect definition of “triangle.” A first substance in Greek philosophical literature is an individual with its own existence and –as a material being– has its own peculiar combination of color, size, and other qualities (even if these are always passing or changing and can often look just like others). The generic “idea of substance” or “second substance” refers to a human mind thinking about some unspecified human by the definition: “rational animal.” This definition can be applied to all humans like Socrates (died 399 BC), Plato (died 347 BC), and Aristotle (died 322 BC) indifferently. The Bible’s tertiary use of substance merely means “possessions” or “stuff that belongs to somebody.” The reason why we shall make efforts to use the term “substance” in its primary sense is due to early Jewish and Christian commentaries on Scripture that attempt to explain to their readers scientifically what is happening when things like people are turned into inanimate objects (for example,

Lot's wife becomes a pillar of salt,) and inanimate objects are turned into living individuals (for example, a staff becomes a serpent). We should remember that substances are usually thought of as stable kinds of beings. For example, in ordinary circumstances a human being continues to exist by his or her own powers and can continue on for a very long time as an independent individual. We can say this for nearly any biologically living thing. In our time, while we might want to say the same thing about atoms or elements of the periodic table, we know that these kinds of things, as well as molecules and alloys, vary in their stability and can dissipate, disappear, or explode rather quickly during their natural existence in pure nature. Nonetheless, among the aggregates or piles of atoms, molecules, and alloys, we typically experience what the ancients did; namely, that piles of atoms and suchlike that are visible to the eyes are fairly stable and we name them substances, too, since they exist as independent beings that can enjoy a long shelf life. Of course, we know that when many of these things are combined in metals and rocks, that these aggregates or clumps of atoms and molecules last longer than people and even entire civilizations. This is sufficient to have a working idea of what a substance refers to in Jewish and Christian literature of Antiquity.

Next, we have to ask the complicating question: "What then is a 'nature'?" If a substance is an individual thing that enjoys a kind of independent or self-sufficient existence (aka subsistence) based upon its own internal powers and structure, what shall we say of the biblical, Jewish, and Christian talk about "natures"? Indeed, natures are better attested by Jewish translation within the Greek Bible. The Wisdom of Solomon is especially helpful where it states:

May God grant me to speak with judgment, and to have thoughts worthy of what I have received; for he is the guide even of wisdom and the corrector of the wise.[...] For it is he who gave me unerring knowledge of what exists, to know the structure of the world and the activity of the elements [...] the natures (*phyeis*) of animals and the tem-

pers of wild animals (Wisdom 7: 15, 17, 20)

The use of *physis* or nature occurs again, a little later. After setting up such a premise, the transformation of water into ice and from hail into the morsels of flesh or manna is explicitly argued in Wisdom as nature-to-nature change (adapted from the AD 1611 King James Version):

For the elements were changed in themselves by a kind of harmony, like as in a psaltery notes change the name of the tune, and yet are always sounds; which may well be perceived by the sight of the things that have been done. For earthly things were transmuted (*metaballeto*) into watery, and the things, that before swam in the water, now went upon the ground. The fire had power in the water, forgetting his own virtue: and the water forgat his own quenching nature (*physeôs*). On the other side, the flames wasted not the flesh of the corruptible living things, though they walked therein; neither melted they the icy kind of heavenly meat (*krystalloeides genos ambrosias trophês*) [manna] that was of nature apt to melt. For in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people, and glorify them, neither didst thou lightly regard them: but didst assist them in every time and place. (Wisdom 19:18-22)

Importantly, we notice here that some sort of change in the very nature of the heavenly waters, parallel to their mysterious change from moisture into solid ice in a cloud, represents nature-to-nature change for Israelite authors, as when God transformed the heavenly waters into the morsels of flesh called manna that fell like snow or frost on the ground and were described as bread.^[44]

Thereafter, discussion of changes in nature is simply imitated the biblical apocrypha (3 Maccabees 3:29; 4 Maccabees 1:20; 5:8-9, 25; 13:27; 15:13, 25; 16:3). However, Wisdom is by itself sufficient to understand the ancient, biblical meaning of the word among Jews and Christians of the first centuries. Generally speaking, “nature” refers to a being or substance *that has an intrinsic and organized structure from which flow proper*

activities or predictable patterns of behavior. Here, we see nature referring to the normal activity of each species of animal. This key is sufficient to understand the commentaries that we shall explore later, when they speak of one nature miraculously changing into another in stories within Genesis, Exodus, and the New Testament. Don't be afraid to come back to these easy-to-understand explanations if the ole noggin doesn't retain all these newfangled definitions easily.

Wisdom literature and ancient philosophy can account for the absorption of the technical vocabulary of nature and human nature into the Bible. The New Testament writers manifest a clear interest in this vocabulary and the related philosophical implications thereof. For example, St Paul has already been studied in both his Epistle to the Galatians and Romans for his use of "nature" (*physis*), which includes his partial agreement with the Stoics that there is a natural law or law of nature that governs human morality. Just above, in the Wisdom of Solomon, we saw that it was already conceded that elements and animals had a fundamental structure that led to natural activities. Similarly, St. Paul mentions that fact that humans enjoy in their conscience a non-written law of nature (*nomon physei*; Roman 2:14) that allows them to discern right from wrong. He had hinted at a theory of nature already in Galatians (2:3), whereby elements of the universe were mistakenly thought by unreasonable persons to be the source of divine power. Of course, St. Paul rejected this superstition. Instead, St. Paul develops an idea common to Stoics or followers of an ancient philosophy school that each appendage of a human person has its proper use by design (Roman 1:26-27) and that misuse of one's reproductive organs (for example) is a sin against the law of nature, whose ultimate designer and source is God. The most obvious example is in homosexual activity that goes against the divine blueprints on how human body parts are supposed to work and benefit the human race. St. Paul even goes so far as to suggest that we humans can discern the validity of some cultural customs (for example, hairstyles,) as being in accord with

nature or not (1 Corinthians 11:14). Interestingly, St. Paul even teaches that by a law of human nature we have become “children of wrath” or deprived of God’s grace and mercy as a race of human beings (Ephesians 2:3). Each time a human nature comes into existence, it is lacking in the justice or graces making it pleasing to God. Of course, this is referred to as original sin. In short, “nature” or a substance along with its proper activities is standard theological vocabulary for Paul in the New Testament.

Later, perhaps under St. Paul’s inspiration or influence, other New Testament writers develop the notion of both animal and human natures that agree very much with the distinction and insights common to Greek philosophy. For example, St. James the Apostle quite meticulously distinguishes the “nature” of beasts, birds, creeping things, and sea creatures from humans by reference to a, by now, traditional designation of humans all partaking in what he calls “human nature” (*têi physei têtî anthrôpinêi*) (compare Wisdom 12:27). For his part, St. Peter goes a step farther by adopting the philosophical language of “participation” that is well known from the *Dialogues* of Plato.^[45] We read in 2 Peter 1:4 “Become, ye, participants of [divine] nature (*koinônoi physeôs*).” 2 Peter 2:12 goes on to say in very philosophical terms: “They are like irrational animals (*alogâ zôia*) born unto destruction and decomposition” (compare Jude 10:2; Wisdom 11:15). Of course, St. Peter contrasts virtuous human beings to the vicious who are like animals. This is a commonplace in learned and rational discourse as popularized from the philosophical tradition of Greece.

Unfortunately, this is not the end of the discussion on specialized vocabulary that is used in both the Bible and in the commentaries of the ancient world. We must next turn to the very difficult and somewhat esoteric word in English: “hypostasis.” Most famously, this word is used in the New Testament, in the Epistle to the Hebrews:

In these last days [God] spoken to us by his Son, whom

he has appointed heir of all things, through whom also he made the worlds; who being the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person (*hypostasis*), and upholding all things by the word of his power (Hebrews 1:2-3)

This term “hypostasis” is employed several times in both the Old Testament and New Testament. Most of the time, apart from the Epistle to the Hebrews, the meaning of the term differs entirely from “substance” and “nature.” For our purposes it is sufficient to remark that the Pentateuch and historical books of the Old and New Testaments use “hypostasis” to signify the same thing as “stuff belonging to someone.” We saw this already with the term “substance,” which means the same thing in the Greek Bible or Septuagint and Apocrypha. So, sometimes “hypostasis” is just another way of saying: “somebody’s property.” However, it starts to take on a more personal meaning in the more recent translations of the Greek Bible in the Psalms. For example, the LXX Psalm 88[89]:48 asks the Lord to remember the Psalmist’s personal existence (*hypostasis*) and that of the rest of the “sons of men.” Similarly, LXX Psalm 138[139]:15 speaks of the Psalmist’s personal physical existence (*hypostasis*) from his mother’s womb hidden in the secret places of God, metaphorically called “the depths of the earth.” It is to an even more personal kind of existence to which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers when describing Jesus as an expression of the glory from the Father’s hypostasis or personal existence, nature, or substance.

Finally, there is a last vocabulary word that is perhaps the most intimidating; namely, the concept of a “passing attribute” or “accident” otherwise known in ancient scientific literature as a *symbebêkos*. This so-called accident merely means to convey that there are events and realities that are passing; opposite of those that are permanent. In harmony with this idea, there are beings that are passing and unstable and there are beings in the universe that are stable and act as foundations or carriers or supports for these passing beings. A substance or nature or hypostasis has a solid and normally permanent exist-

ence and is therefore the kind of thing in which passing qualities and attributes are found. We can find a white, small, hairy dog (Fido), who over the course of time, becomes a black, big, hairless dog. While the same Fido is almost unrecognizable as an old dog in comparison to when he was a puppy, we can still admit that the personality-like substance or “hypostatic” nature of Fido persists or continues throughout the continuous changes, moment to moment and year to year, in Fido’s substance or being. Now, the Old Testament uses the notion of a passing event or happening quite often (for example: LXX Joshua 2:23; Job 1:22; 2:10; Esther 6:13). The New Testament also uses the term in the exact same way as the Septuagint (Luke 24:14; Acts 3:10). Nonetheless, we must admit that the Jewish and Christian commentators after the first century AD use the term in a more technical, scientific sense to mean something episodic that comes into and goes out of existence as it is found in a more permanent kind of being called a substance or a nature.

2.2 Genesis Chapter 19: The Transformation of People into Stones

It might seem odd, but one of the central biblical passages for the New Testament to be developed towards miraculous change from one substance into another comes from the story of Lot and his wife. This example proves extremely important for later generations of Christians but was also the subject of a lot of commentary in the Jewish tradition. Let us take a look at the verses in question:

Then the Lord rained (*ebreksen*) brimstone (*theïon*)^[46] and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah, from the Lord out of the heavens. So, he overthrew those cities, all the plain, all the inhabitants of the cities, and what grew on the ground. But his wife looked back behind him [Lot], and *she became* a pillar of salt. (LXX Genesis 19:24-26)

The Greek verb to talk about this unnaturally immediate change or replacement of a human person with a pillar of salt is

“she became” (*egeneto*). The Hebrew (conjunction and its) verb is also “she became” (*wattāhî*). Reference to it is important, for we shall see that the Christian tradition known to a very important Christian writer of the AD 400s (St. Cyril of Alexandria) connects the change of bread and wine in the Eucharist with the event in Exodus where “the dirt *became* gnats” (MT Exodus 8:17). This is also referred to in Revelation chapter 11, which we will discuss below (section 2.5). The Hebrew verb for changing dust to gnats by God’s command is the same for changing people into salt. The Christian tradition, although using the Greek, seems to have been aware of this connection as well, as we shall see with the fifth-century biblical comments of Julian of Eclanum and St. Cyril of Alexandria.

For the moment, it is very interesting that Lot’s wife becomes a pillar of salt since her town (Sodom) is near the Dead Sea. Salt is plentifully everywhere. Of course, Mount Sodom and its pillar of salt next to the Dead Sea are now famous. There is no way currently to confirm or deny that this is where Lot’s wife was in fact changed from her human substance into salt. It is even possible that the Bible is not speaking literally but with a sort of etymology about this rock-salt formation.^[47] However, even if the story can never be entirely verified from our perspective, as either an historical event or as a literary device, first-century Jews and Christians accepted the plain sense of Genesis chapter 19. The evidence for this comes in what is likely a first-century commentary on Genesis known as the *Neofiti Targum*, where we read:

And because the wife of Lot was from the daughters of Sodomites, she looked back to see what would be the end of her father’s house and, behold, she stands as a pillar of salt *until the time the dead are brought to life*. (Genesis 19:26)^[48]

Emphasis by first-century Jews was on the fact that Lot’s wife would remain a pillar of salt until the resurrection should occur. The mention of “stones” is odd for English speakers, for we might at best be accustomed to speak about “rock salt.” However, a typical archeological discussion about Mount

Sodom inevitably leads to mention of composite “rock formations” or aggregates of salt and other materials that form mounds and pillars in the region. For this reason, Philo of Alexandria’s Jewish tradition is accurate, where it multiply summarizes (around AD 40) the story thus: “Lot’s wife [...] *was turned to stone (lithoumenês)* because she loved Sodom and she reverted unto the natures (*physeis*) that had been condemned by God.”^[49] Here, “natures” is taken as activities or vicious habits against nature, as if these ingrained habits become second natures or an alter ego of a person. Like St. Paul criticism at the beginning of his Epistle to the Romans, Lot’s wife (raised a Sodomite) who liked in her heart to do things that were against the divine blueprint in one’s mind and body. This rational mechanism in humans is supposed to seek holiness and avoid especially vices like sodomy. Almost as if to symbolize the unnatural world of Sodom, the nature of water in rain is changed into fire (by Sulphur) as it falls to earth. This yellowish crystal shall become prominent in the book of Revelation later, when the Asiatic yellow fig (Revelation 6:12) is referenced as a reminder of a fiery rain that comes from heaven to destroy the earth as a plague. For now, Lot’s wife goes through her own unnatural transformation into stone that will prove an important point of reference for the New Testament when John the Baptist announces that God can raise up children of Abraham from “stones” (Matthew 3:8-10; Luke 3:7-9). The Baptist John, about ten years before Philo’s writings, had announced that God can turn stones into children, while he was dwelling near the Dead Sea in the context of preaching the final judgment to Pharisee listeners. They believed in the resurrection of the dead as a principal doctrine, along with the final judgment. God’s action of resurrection is clearly reminiscent of giving life to clay, dust, water, salt and to other elements. So, if the general resurrection occurs, it will be from such elements as these that God shall transform them instantaneously and miraculously into human bodies to house their souls. Obviously, given the utility of this analogy, it is no surprise that Jews and Christians like to reference Lot’s wife

who was transformed quite literally into a pillar of salt.

2.3 Exodus Chapter 4: Transmutation of Necrotic Flesh into Living Flesh

This discussion segues ways nicely into a resurrection typology or shadowy anticipation of Jesus's necrotic flesh being raised back to life as a more impressive fulfillment of the Exodus episode, whereby God miraculously kills the flesh of Moses's hand in his otherwise perfectly alive body, that is, God quasi-transubstantiates it into a non-living being.^[50]

Furthermore the Lord said to him, "Now put your hand in your bosom." And he put his hand in his bosom, and when he took it out, behold, his hand became (*egenêthê*) leprous, like snow (*chiôn*).^[51] And He said, "Put your hand in your bosom again." So he put his hand in his bosom again, and drew it out of his bosom, and behold, it was restored (*apekatestê*) like his other flesh.^[52] "Then it will be, if they do not believe you, nor heed the message of the first sign, that they may believe the message of the latter sign. And it shall be, if they do not believe even these two signs, or listen to your voice, that you shall take water from the river and pour it on the dry land. The water which you take from the river will become blood on the dry land." (LXX Exodus 4:6-7)

Importantly, God sees the change from one state of flesh to another as paralleled by the miraculous change of Nile-water into blood that we treat next in section 2.4. Unfortunately, we are given no insights into this miracle, neither by the Hebrew verbs used in these passages, nor by the translations of the *Neofiti* and (*Pseudo-*)*Jonathan* Targums. We shall see other examples within the Pentateuch of miraculous substantial change where the ambivalent Greek term: "became" (*egenêto*) is often used as an equivalent to the Hebrew, whose syntax but implies the verb "to be" (for example, "was leprous"). However, by the use of "restoration" or "restored" in LXX Exodus 4:6, it is clear that a

mutation took place where Moses's hand was returned to its originally healthy state.

With respect to Exodus chapter 4, Philo of Alexandria provides once again an invaluable witness on how to interpret this passage according to a Jewish understanding that also perfectly overlaps with section 2.2 (above) and with the sections to follow (2.4-2.5). Philo succinctly writes: "Regarding those in Egypt, [God] transmuted (*metabalôn*) the staff into a serpent and the hand of Moses into the form (*idean*) of white-snow and the [Nile] river into blood."^[53] There can be no doubt that Philo's overall doctrine puts Moses's snow-white or necrotic flesh within the same categories of change as the miracles performed by the striking of Moses's/Aaron's staff onto inanimate objects to produce living things or (as we shall see) upon rocks to change or transmute them to water. "Transmutation" can and often does mean that the original soul or organizing principle (a frog-soul or an iron-atom form) go away and are replaced by a new form or organizing principle. The presumption, without other qualifications, is that that some basic matter survives the transition process from water into oxygen and hydrogen or vice versa. So, modern physics is certainly able to agree to that extent. Furthermore, in the same city of Alexandria, Origen –again proud of his Jewish instructors for his knowledge of the Bible– asks about this passage: "But tell me, 'What was the power of transmutation (*metabolês*) of Moses's hand into white [dead flesh]?"^[54] This Jewish interpretation of substantial change even affected the burgeoning Christian communities in nearby Arabia. An author named St. Hippolytus (whom we discuss thoroughly in section 3.1) recorded contemporary literature (around AD 150) describing the phenomena thus: "God transmutes (*metaballei*) bodies, just as the hand of Moses [was transmuted] into white [flesh] and water into blood, etc."^[55] In North Africa, in the late-second and early-third centuries, we see the same exact same teaching by Tertullian:

The divine Scriptures also bear witness to this form of mutation (*demutationis*). Moses's hand is mutated (*mutatur*)

and indeed is bloodless, white, and cold [like snow], in the form of being dead; but, also, after its heat was returned and its color flowed back, it is the same flesh and blood. [...] But if you [o, heretic] uphold that both the transfiguration [on Mt. Tabor] and the conversion (*conversionem*) [of St. Paul in his vision] **is in the transition** (*in transitu*) of his substance [compare, below, St. Gelasius in section 5.2-5.3], then, consequently, after Saul also was converted into another man [Paul], so did he go out of his own body?^[56]

Reflecting third-century Latin Christianity, this substantial kind of change is admitted for Moses but denied in St. Paul's mystical experience. What is important is to see is that "transition," "conversion," and "mutation" are all words that point to one substance becoming another. Elsewhere, in the Greek speaking world, this theory of substance-to-substance change in the case of Moses's leprous flesh was standardized by the enormously popular work called the *Panarion* by St. Epiphanius of Salamis: "How did [God] transmute (*metebalen*) a wooden staff into an ensouled serpent? Whence [was] the act of the hand being transmuted into stone? Thus, did God as he so willed, o faithless person!"^[57] Additionally, among the popular Fathers in the Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Oriental Orthodox Churches today, we find St. Gregory Nyssa (who died AD 378) carrying on this tradition to secure it a place in patristic thought: "And now for the appearance of [Moses's] hand, which protruded from his bosom, it was transmuted (*metepoiêthê*) into the whiteness of snow."^[58] We notice everywhere in Christian literature this term: "transmute" (*metabalô*) and its simile: "transform" (*metapoiêô*). We need to be careful with these two words since they cover various kinds of substantial change (not to mention formal change or changes that might be called accidental). Its medical use certainly describes "metabolic change" whereby a bodily organ can convert food into another thing naturally (like the stomach converting food into energy). However, in scientific literature, it is anciently used to denote that a stable kind of being (for example, a cow,) can go through a kind

of change where all of its appearances are different because something has pushed out or destroyed the organizing principle that makes a cow into a cow. The cow, whenever cow-soul is outmatched in its claim on cow-body, is destroyed by, let us say, a rampant plague transitioning Elsie the Cow away from being the cow she used to be. The little critters that consume and kill a living cow change it into cow-carcass and, thereupon, it is overcome by a variety of beings dismantling it to become basic molecules, elements, or even absorbed into bacteria and other creatures by metabolic change. Transmutation generally refers to a substance that consists of one organizing principle (cow-soul or iron-form) organizing a bundle of passive stuff (genetic material or subatomic particles) into a composite (cow or the element of iron).^{159]} There is a starting point in our observation of change (we might use another example with “a tree”) and there is an ending point (we end up with “charcoal” after we apply fire to change the tree). The tree’s end term or new form and matter constitute charcoal. The charcoal-form is what makes the basic stuff (matter) look black and act in a powdery manner. The drawback for describing Eucharistic change in this way (*viz.*, transmutation) is that the word *includes* purely natural activities galore and the same term leaves a lot of extra *divinely exercised* acts out of the descriptive definition. The Bible is clear that there is no natural being (for example, fire,) acting on Moses’s wood staff to make it into a serpent. It is also beyond the capacity of normal transmutation for dead pieces of wood to instantaneously become serpents. Instead, miraculous change happens in an instant by divine intervention, and produces a species of new form-in-matter (serpent) in a way that no natural process can foreseeably imitate. For this reason, Christians eventually applied a less-generic but potentially relevant word: “transubstantiation,” to this kind of miraculous process in the environs of Jerusalem around the year AD 500 (if not the century prior).

The Greek word “transubstantiation” (*metousiôsis*) contains needed nuances that are lacking in the terms: “transmuta-

tion” (*metabollê*) and “transformation” (*metapoiêsis*). We shall see that with the example of water becoming ice, as in literal transubstantiation, the “nature” or substance on one level has changed but somehow at the same time the substance of frozen-water remains in some ways what it was before. This so-called ice-substance according to the mind of some natural philosophers and biblical authors can easily be brought back to wetness, or to its flowing hydro-activity, when a form of heat is applied to said ice. This kind of physics or chemistry is admittedly primitive in Antiquity (they could not prove what had stayed the same or changed on a molecular level). However, we moderns also are pleased to say quite inaccurately (in comparison to scientific jargon) that “the sun rises and sets” each day by speaking according to appearances even in the twenty-first century. The point is made here that common sense tells us that something watery still appears in the transition from water to ice in its basic activity of being a thing, although closer inspection leads to seeing that it changed rather dramatically. So, it somehow looks in many visible ways to be the same as water but is no longer wet and no longer disposed to take the shape of its container. Furthermore, in the right conditions, what was formerly solid in cold weather, suddenly becomes liquid in warm weather. While modern experimental sciences weigh in with more technical explanations, ancients spoke about their physical senses and what they experienced when pure water naturally turned to stone-like ice (*krystallos*) in cold weather.^[60] We shall let St. Gregory Nyssa explain (a Christian fascinated with Moses’s necrotic hand), where his natural philosophy or meteorology is connected (possibly via pagan scientists at Athens) regarding the phenomenon:

For, know ye very well, we get pain by cold and the sharpness of normal happenings. Even as ice (*krystallos*) is turned from the waters that fall down onto the housetops (for I will use an example common among us) and, after the moisture has fallen, by being frozen, it has become on its surface all around ice, as it is made stony (*lithoutai*), and an

addition to its mass has come about. I see this one among many examples of things happening customarily.^[61]

Water-to-ice transmutation specifies a narrower set of criteria than generic mutation as applied to miraculous changes of Moses's live flesh into a dead hand and back again that is called a "restoration." Yet, St. Gregory also calls the cycle of water becoming hail and falling to earth (similar to the cycle of restoration of Moses's hand) "restoration," just as with Moses's hand:

The wet quality, after steamy water (*atmos*) has been pressed by what are winds into a material-subject (*hypokeimeno*), and into a fiery space [heaven/clouds], and in its transmutation (*metabalêi*) of its watery quality, then the matter get conserved, but it will become dry [like our so-called dry-ice] with respect to what is its germane matter, as something drawn downwards and restored (*apekatestê*) to earth [by snow/hail].^[62]

For now, let us just keep in mind that "transmutation" constantly must be qualified with extra descriptions, added to it by Christians (namely, divine instantaneous intervention and the total replacement of the underlying matter along with a new form), in order to ensure that Eucharistic transmutation is understood as a special case of a more generic happening called transmutation: It is change beyond the normal process of nature through Christ's willful and miraculous intervention.

2.4 Exodus Chapter 7: Transmutation of Staffs into Serpents and Water into Blood

Christians were not only the beneficiaries of Philo's commentary on Lot's wife in Genesis, but the New Testament itself and writings of the earliest Christians, known as the Apostolic Fathers, seem to bear traces of Philo depending on their topic of interest. Philo's greatest precedent for Christian awareness of substance-to-substance change by divine power lies in his interpretation of the following passages from the Pentateuch:

Then the Lord spoke to Moses and Aaron, saying, "When

Pharaoh speaks to you, saying, 'Show a miracle for yourselves,' then you shall say to Aaron, 'Take your staff and cast it before Pharaoh, and let it become a serpent.' " So Moses and Aaron went in unto Pharaoh, and they did so, just as the Lord commanded. And Aaron cast down his staff before Pharaoh and before his servants, and it became a serpent. [...] Go to Pharaoh in the morning, when he goes out to the water, and you shall stand by the river's bank to meet him; and the staff which was turned to a serpent you shall take in your hand. But Pharaoh also called the wise men and the sorcerers; so the magicians of Egypt, they also did in like manner with their enchantments. For every man threw down his staff, and they became serpents. But Aaron's staff swallowed up their staffs. Thus says the Lord: "By this you shall know that I am the Lord. Behold, I will strike the waters which are in the river with the staff that is in my hand, and they shall be transmuted to blood." [...] Then the Lord spoke to Moses, "Say to Aaron, 'Take your staff and stretch out your hand over the waters of Egypt, over their streams, over their rivers, over their ponds, and over all their pools of water, that they may transmute to blood. And there shall be blood throughout all the land of Egypt, both in buckets of wood and pitchers of stone.'" And Moses and Aaron did so, just as the Lord commanded. So he lifted up the staff and struck the waters that were in the river, in the sight of Pharaoh and in the sight of his servants. And all the waters that were in the river were turned to blood. [...] Then the magicians of Egypt did so with their enchantments. (Exodus 7:8-11, 15-17, 19-20, 22)

The main Greek verb in the Bible used by both Jews and Christians in Antiquity reads thus for substantial change as wrought by God: "These things saith the Lord: Hereby shalt thou know that I am the Lord: behold I strike with the staff that is my hand on the water which is in the river, and it will transmute (*metabalei*) it into blood" (LXX Exodus 7:17).^[63] This technical term was bequeathed by the translators of the Septuagint or Greek

Bible to the Jews and Christians as technical substance-to-substance change. Transmutation, in its technical sense, is simply a category assumed to exist by Near Eastern and Greco-Roman peoples in the centuries prior to the birth of Christ.

Now, we move to concentrate on the use of our vocabulary word "substance." In modern English, the average person does not first think of the word "substance" as the primary description for either water or blood. We don't fare much better if we call water and blood by the term "natures." So, in order to prepare ourselves to understand Jewish and Christian interpretation of this event, we need to note that the standard manner by which a scientist or naturalist or philosopher would have referred to the basic things in the world is by the term essence, or nature, or substance. Since the time of Plato and Aristotle in the fourth century before Christ, the terms began to take on a very technical meaning. A substance tended to be looked at as a unified or well put together object that was able to exist in its own right or by itself in its natural environment. This was contrasted to items in nature or phenomena that our five senses experience that are always changing. For example, we can see a chameleon that changes into many colors, or a puffer fish that gets immensely bigger and then smaller. These kinds of changes don't make us conclude that there is no longer the same species of animal since the chameleon has changed color, nor do we say that the puffer is a new species of fish when getting larger. We understand, even with things like atoms, or with other basic building blocks of inanimate objects, that they seem to be so united that they have an existence and stability that makes them permanent unlike the color of chameleons and the size of puffers. So, ancients typically referred to the underlying permanent stuff that maintained the species of animal as substance, and the changeable sensible passing realities in that animal as accidents or appearances or phenomena that the senses pick up by registering them to the brain. The difficulty for humans is to identify the reality below the appearances. We can dress up men as women or dogs in costumes of other animals

and use lighting and other techniques, even genetic manipulation, to confuse a person as to what kind of thing is really being seen or heard. This classic problem does not concern us directly but helps us understand that there is a basic existing being that is permanent and changes only with difficulty (substance) while there is a dependent weaker kind of thing that seems to need substances, called an accident or appearance. We can debate and disagree about how many changeable and permanent aspects there are to any one object or being, but we don't tend to disagree that there is a being in front of us that is sensible and that it can change in slight, or even in major, ways and yet still be called the same species of being. This is the distinction of a substance and an accident. Sometimes this distinction in the Latin language was called the difference between a form and its species. This is starting to get confusing when new terminology in Latin is used. For our part, we will mostly talk about substances and their modification by accidents in order to lessen the chance of confusion for our reader.

Let us now return to the Bible. In addition to God ordering Moses to perform an action whereby God would thereafter change the substance of water into blood, there is another very similar and strange phenomenon several verses later in Exodus. Let us read together a somewhat similar happening that many readers will remember from their Bible stories. An alternative vocabulary appears for a similar type of event some verses later whereby one substance is changed into another: "And the fish in the river died, and the river stank thereupon: and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river, and the blood was in all the land of Egypt. And the charmers also of the Egyptians did so (*epoiêsan*) with their sorceries." (LXX Exodus 7:21-22).^[64] Here, the passage means to convey the idea that Egyptian magicians somehow imitated or even replicated God's miracle of changing water into blood. We are left inferring that this is not a perfect imitation. The Greek distinction in vocabulary might be seen to suggest that the Egyptian magic men are performing a slightly different kind of change. God is said to metabolically

changing water into blood, while the Egyptians more generically are said “to make” or “to fashion” blood from water. In effect, both the verb “transmute” (*metaballô*) and the entirely generic make (*poieô*) are used to signify a divine and then a human transmutation, respectively, from one kind of entity unto another kind of being. As one modern commentary expertly states the case: “The proof [of the staff-serpent miracle] will be so extraordinary a display of Yahweh’s power that it can only be understood as a miracle.”^[65]

Turning to the Hebrew word (*wānehēp̄kū*) for such a transformation in MT Exodus 7:17, it means to turn something into something else. The only other relative example of this verb being used in the Bible occurs in Isaiah 34:9, where God miraculously should turn the watery streams of Edom into pitch. Once again, we see a water miracle, whereby it is changed to an entirely new substance that is black and oily. Now, the conjunction and verb used for Exodus 7:22 (*wayya’ăšū*) typically refers to a kind of artful making of industrial products but can have a wider use, including the observance of the Passover feast and the observance of the feast of Booths.^[66] So, we are led to believe that the magicians did some sort of imitation of God’s miracle by their less impressive application of industry implied in the verb “to make” with respect to their ostensible water-to-blood miracle. At any rate, we see that God clearly replaces or transforms a first kind of thing or substance with a second kind of thing or another substance.^[67]

Familiarity with this type of divine transmutation among early Christians allowed them to develop language for changing a natural kind of substance like bread and wine into the Eucharist. Their forerunner in vocabulary will prove to be not only the Bible but Philo the Jew. He was thought by fourth-century Christians to have become a convert to Christ before his death.^[68] Philo, writing around AD 40, interpreted the passages above in this way: “They [magicians] even trans-elementate (*metastoiceiousei*) their staffs into natures of real serpents, and turn (*metatreposei*) the water into the complexion of

blood.”^[69] Already, we see in Philo a development in vocabulary to describe the language of changing one kind or species of being into another kind of entity. Philo is well known to be heavily under the influence of Stoic philosophy (not to mention his affinity for some Platonic ideas) that has a robust notion of substance, as well as its qualities or modifications. Of course, Aristotle had earlier used the later Stoic’s very word for modification of a substance (viz., quality; *poion*) by the term “accident” (*symbebêkos*). For his part, Philo often adjusted Stoic vocabulary and definitions to accord with the teaching of the Torah. For example, with his notion of “substance,” Philo uniquely reinterprets Stoic terminology to indicate that a substance is something *created by God* with its own inner law (*nomos*) that is established by its creator.^[70] Philo expands on “substances” (*ousiai*) by referring to their “natures” (*physeis*) so that the two terms are nearly interchangeable, but “nature” adds a notion to “substance” of its principal activities.^[71] Now, the first ancient Christian writer (whom we shall discuss later) to employ the fourth/fifth-century technical word “transubstantiation” (*metousiôsis*) (when also speaking about change of water into blood) shall endorse the very same terminology, just as Philo.^[72] For now, Philo basically describes the divine intervention at the strike of the staff as effecting the trans-elementation of one nature or substance instantaneously into another nature. God’s first example is of a staff being changed into a serpent (from non-living to a living-hypostasis) and his second is of water being turned into blood (from a non-living into a presumably living substance). This is in fact the core definition of transubstantiation; namely, a substance-to-substance instantaneous change or an immediate succession of two substances whereby the first substance’s matter (passive stuff) and form (active organizing principle) are not incorporated into the subsequent substance’s matter and form since the subsequent substance is (in its elements and its activity) specifically a different kind of being that is not a natural effect of the first substance. For example, milk would be a natural effect of a cow’s nature, or

seeds of a plant's nature, or children of a human's nature, but certainly blood is neither the natural nor foreseeable product of a stone, nor water the natural and predictable product of fire. This kind of production would be entirely unnatural or impossible for natural substances to accomplish without intervention by some superior kind of being like God.

From the earliest centuries, Christian philosophy and theology designated living animals by the term "hypostasis." However, a collection of human blood or flesh is only a part of a human and is without its own personal existence: "Now, horse is mentally abstract in the sense of having the name 'animal,' but 'animal' differs by being rational and irrational. Something is distinguished from something else either by substance, or by hypostasis [...] and man is distinguished by substance from horse; Peter is distinct by hypostasis from Paul, but this [human] hypostasis is distinguished in humans by substance and hypostasis as both are distinct from the hypostasis of a horse."^[73] In this, both St. Gregory Nyssa and St. John of Damascus (died around AD 753) exemplify Greek-pagan philosophical tradition of Antiquity and Late Antiquity whereby famous animals like Alexander the Great's horse, Bucephalus, ranks as a hypostasis as do Peter, Paul, and Andrew, but the horse is of a different essence or definition and, consequently, is a different kind of substance because Bucephalus has an equine nature versus a human nature.^[74] Thus, it is easy to see the potential development of Philo's point: God can replace inanimate substances or natures (like rocks and staffs) with miraculous hypostases of an entirely different nature (like children and serpents).

The early-third century inhabitant of Alexandria, Origen (died AD 253), followed up this passage commented by Philo in short order. Given Origen's testimony to his Jewish educators in Egypt, it is hardly surprising that he is interested in the passage as a case of a miracle of substantial change: "And the Egyptians are fought from all sides. They are fought from water transmuted into blood (*apo hydatos metaballontos eis haima*), God realizing his dispensation as he had said."^[75] Unfortunately,

we have found nothing to indicate that Origen theologically developed this further. Nonetheless, Origen maintained the notion of “transmute” (*metaballô*) as the process of substantial change from a starting point to an ending point where something new comes about. Of course, Origen’s massive library and intellectual legacy ended up in Palestine, where he relocated before his death, which is why it may not be coincidence that Eusebius of Caesarea (his intellectual disciple and defender who died around AD 339/340) likewise refers to the biblical notion of transmutation in his comments on the Psalms in line with his master Origen, as when he references a Jewish translator of the Bible (Symmachus) and his alternative version of Old Testament in Greek with respect to its terms surrounding transmutation of water into blood.^[76] This will prove important, for it was in Palestine that the common folk of the city of Jerusalem began to call the substantial change of water into a new substance by the term “transubstantiation.”^[77] This is propitious that the everyday “Hagiopolite” or “citizen of Jerusalem” somehow attests the only use of this word. Could it be that the Christian tradition of interpreting God’s change of the Nile and the rivers of Edom in the Old Testament led to Christians inventing a word for the unnatural or mysterious change of water into a new substance? We may never know, but it is an attested fact of the Greek language that “transubstantiation” was the Hagiopolite or Jerusalem term of preference.

While Philo’s and Origen’s citations above could alone have been enough to tempt Christians to develop their biblical commentaries into an argument for the manner of change for elements used for the Eucharist, Philo provided an additional witness to the same phenomenon: “They supplicated (*hiketusan*) God that, as one merciful, he take what was corrupted; so, he propitiously transmutes (*metaballei*) nature (*physin*), i.e., blood, into potable water, granting clean and saving sources of flow to the river.”^[78] Here, we immediately see that Philo almost anticipates Christian appeals to liturgical prayer for Eucharistic transformation of the elements at the Last Supper. After all,

Philo underlines that suppliant prayer (*hikesia*) should result in the transmutation of a corruptible and stinking substance into one that is pure and salvific by godly design. No imagination is required to see the applicability of Jewish interpretation of the transmutation of Nile-water and blood to Christian prayer over the bread and wine to be changed into a new substance. It is also a good point of reference for talking about God raising up persons alive again from putrid carcasses or dead bodies. This, too, is a classic example in later Christian writers for understanding a substance-to-substance change, where what was a corpse becomes a person by resurrection.

2.5 Matthew and Luke Chapter 3: Transmutation of Rocks into Children

Philo of Alexandria actually started writing after Jesus had already died. So, Philo's witness does not predate the pristine source for the doctrine of substantial change of bread or wine into new natures, for it was St. John the Baptist who had prophetically corrected his fellow Jews around AD 30 on this same topic: "And don't opine to tell yourselves: 'We have Abraham as our Father.' Now, I say to you that God is able to raise (*egeirai*) out of these stones children who belong to Abraham" (Matthew 3:9). We underline the fact that St. John the Forerunner or Baptist made a claim that impersonal inanimate creatures like stones can be instantaneously changed into personal natures by divine power. This is at the core of the notion of transubstantiation; namely, an instantaneous change of one substance into another whereby the former substance cannot be naturally disposed toward becoming the second kind of substance, as if a natural successive change by a predictable form, as its end term, in the known physical order of nature. To produce young children from stones would be a case cited by the Baptist of this tradition of Nile-water turning into blood.

Why in the world would St. John the Baptist come up with this kind of example? Is he inspired to say something new,

or is he using something traditional? Well, in answer, let us look at the whole passage as recounted in Luke 3:7-9:

Then he said to the multitudes that came out to be baptized by him, "Brood of vipers!" Who warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Therefore bear fruits worthy of repentance, and do not begin to say to yourselves, "We have Abraham as our father." For I say to you that God is able to raise up children to Abraham from these stones. And even now the ax is laid to the root of the trees. Therefore every tree which does not bear good fruit is cut down and thrown into the fire."

First of all, as Dead Sea scroll scholars have long noted, St. John's phrase: "brood of vipers" is a quotation from Qumran literature for Pharisees whose party is considered inobservant of the Mosaic Law.^[79] This makes good sense since both Qumran Jews and St. John the Baptist were neighbors who together lived nearest to the Dead Sea and Jericho as points of reference. In fact, John's speech to the Pharisees seems to be in the desert, again near the Dead Sea. Both Greek speaking Jews in Alexandria and Jewish Targums in Palestine supplement each other to understand John Baptist's context for his passage.

The idea that stones can be changed into the biological children of Abraham is very reminiscent of Lot's wife. Lot, his wife, and his two daughters, lived near John's home by the Dead Sea at Sodom. When Genesis 19:26 tells the story of Lot's wife turning into "a pillar of salt" as designated in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek, we might miss something important in English. A pillar of salt known to both the author of Genesis and to later Jews is a *rock formation*. In the Jewish tradition known to Philo around AD 40, Lot's wife was transmuted or substantially changed in her human nature to "stone." So, for Philo's tradition, "a pillar of salt" and "stone" are interchangeable. We then turn to Philo's contemporary, St. John the Baptist: He's at or near to the very place where Lot's wife is said to be one of the many rock formations formed by salt all around the Dead Sea. In the first-century Aramaic tradition, Jewish commentators saw signifi-

cance in Lot's wife remaining a pillar of salt as a sign of a future age to be transformed by the future resurrection, when Lot's wife shall be transformed back into a human being. We also note that Abraham's and Lot's lives are intertwined and quite closely associated for many years; they are family after all. We see something quite amazing! The Old Testament transmutation of Lot's wife is paradigmatic in Genesis for changing inanimate materials into persons! St. John the Baptist is almost certainly playing on this popular and learned tradition and warning Pharisees that the transformation of Lot's wife is nigh. Why do we say that? Well, look at the last verse above: St. John is warning the Pharisees that a time of judgment is upon them when the tree shall be cut down, everyone shall die, and a judgment or even resurrection is upon them. The key is to see the word that John Baptist used: "*to raise up* children" from salt, or rocks, or stones. The word is clearly allusive to the resurrection just as in the contemporary Aramaic version of the story of Lot's wife in the episode above, where John connects judgment of the Pharisees and others with stones being "raised up." Of course, Jesus will be raised up after his death along with many brethren who were formerly in their tombs and then the destruction of the Jews tragically ensues by AD 70. The idea here is that Jesus's resurrection is a kind substantial change similar to a salty pillar being transformed into a woman; a dead body changed into an ensouled living body is going from corrupted elements to a new creation. This shall be strictly interpreted among Christians as the same kind of change as bread's substance and wine's substance becoming brand-new beings, insofar as bread and wine are replaced by the resurrected person of Jesus in the Eucharist.^[80]

This was understood to be the case in early Christianity, as in a dialogue formerly attributed to the third-century writer Origen (though probably datable to the early-fourth century): "Eutropius: Are you asking for a clearer demonstration than what was just said? Adamantius [a.k.a. Origen]: You said that natures (*phyeis*) are untransmutable (*ametylêtous*), but it

says conversely in the Gospel: ‘that children of Abraham raise up from stones.’”^[81] Early Christian literature, probably familiar with Philo’s own philosophical vocabulary to speak about substance-to-substance change, understood the obvious import of the Baptist’s claim; namely, rocky natures (lithic nature) can be transformed by divine intervention immediately into human natures (children).

For this reason, shortly after Origen’s time, St. Epiphanius of Salamis (who was bishop AD 367-AD 403) can write: “‘For God can raise children from stones and God can also transmute (*metabalein*) corruptible things into incorruption and can provide heavenly paradise on earth, when he wishes.’”^[82] St. Epiphanius here emphasizes one of the same points as Philo did on the resurrection, namely, there is another aspect of change underlined by resurrection of what is dead or corrupted. For now, it is important to emphasize that there is a correct way and a heterodox manner in the tradition of Christianity for applying “transmutation” or “transubstantiation” to the resurrection or resurrected bodies. As we shall see, later Christians emphasize that a soulless body is one kind of substance (a carcass), or even an aggregate of substances, that is in no way a person. A person requires a soul. But even modern scientists and doctors cannot define perfectly life or death so that they never make mistakes. Over time numerous doctors have declared a person dead, though that person is indeed alive. At times, they have even sent the so-called corpse to the coroner before the person proved to be alive. While doctors may be mistaken about a person’s passing from life into death by a matter of several hours, or perhaps a dozen or so hours at the extreme, it is also true that a soul might leave a body in a way not noticeable by even a trained doctor for a certain amount of time. With the internet, legitimate journals and newspapers report multiply even cases of rigor mortis setting in, as reported by medical personnel, after which a person still self-resuscitates or is resuscitated by some unknown cause. The death and resurrection of the body is not only a supernatural case closest to the proper definition of transub-

stantiation, but natural cases exist plentifully in medical literature. The appearances are of someone's dead body, but the person is completely alive. So, this example is very apt for transubstantiation. The change of a soulless body, by being ensouled, might happen instantaneously so that a corpse immediately becomes a person again without any visible change in the formerly dead body's movements to alert us to the dead being raised. Oppositely, we can only be sure a person is dead after a certain degree of decomposition has taken place. Some kinds of transubstantiation mean that the appearance of the thing or person can fool us, since we can be mistaken for a person to be asleep instead of dead, but the body is simply inactive whereby we might err.

2.6 Numbers Chapter 20: Transmutation of Rocks into Water and Bread

As sufficient examples exist to illustrate clearly what substance-to-substance changes mean for Hebrews, their Jewish successors, as well as early Christians, we now state as follows: It is God's miraculous intervention whereby by one stable kind of being with its proper characteristics is replaced or substituted by a divine act so that a second species of creature, whose characteristics are in no way derivative from the first or prior being, comes about. Greek Christian literature of the Golden Age of the Fathers will apply the Greek term "transubstantiation" (*metousiôsis*) to this phenomenon (perhaps as early as the 400s AD). In this regard, the rock of Moses is also an essential example invoked by Christians to use as a precedent for their own claims regarding the institution of the Eucharist by Jesus on Holy Thursday evening. Let us take a look at the canonical Hebrew Scripture regarding the passage in question:

Then the Lord spoke to Moses, saying, "Take the staff; you and your brother Aaron gather the congregation together. Speak to the rock before their eyes, and it will yield its water; thus, you shall bring water for them out of the

rock and give drink to the congregation and their animals.” So Moses took the staff from before the Lord as He commanded him. And Moses and Aaron gathered the assembly together before the rock; and he said to them: “Hear now, you rebels! Must we bring water for you out of this rock?” Then Moses lifted his hand and struck the rock twice with his staff; and water came out abundantly, and the congregation and their animals drank. (MT Numbers 20:7-11).

The Old Greek or Septuagint renders these passages in an equally straightforward and perfectly intelligible way without further considerations. However, first-century Jews in Palestine who heard the Gospel of Jesus would have added additional considerations by their Aramaic rendition of Numbers. In Aramaic, they would have come to expect important nuances brought out by Targums (we emphasize in *italics* new elements also important to early Christian discussions):

And the Lord spoke with Moses, saying: Take the staff of *the miracles*, and gather the congregation, thou, and Aaron thy brother, and *both of you adjure the rock, by the Great and manifested Name*, while they look on, and it shall give forth its waters: but if it refuse to bring forth, smite thou it once with the staff that is in thy hand, and thou wilt bring out water for them from the rock, that the congregation and their cattle may drink. And Moses took the staff of the miracles from before the Lord, as he had commanded him. And Moses and Aaron gathered the congregation together before the rock. And Moses said to them: Hear now, rebels: is it possible for us to bring forth water for you from this rock? And Moses lifted up his hand, and with his staff *struck the rock two times: at the first time it dropped blood*; but at the second time there came forth a multitude of waters. And the congregation and their cattle drank. (Aramaic Numbers 7:8-11)^[83]

Some very important comments are added into the consideration of the rock of Meribah. First, we are reminded that the staff of Aaron is a centerpiece or kind of relic that is not only po-

tentially a serpent and instrument for turning water into blood, dust into gnats, and serpents back into wood poles, but also is used by the priest Aaron and prophet Moses in combination with sacred words in order to change substances. The Hebrew wordplay is interesting (Numbers 20:7): “The word of the Lord” comes to Moses, telling him to give his “word to the rock” (Numbers 20:8) so that something like creation should happen, where one kind of thing is miraculously brought out of another. This sounds very much like the creation of sea creatures by being transmuted from the lifeless waters of Genesis (which will later be underlined by St. Cyril of Jerusalem in section 3.2). Strangely, the priest Aaron has the ability to perform a ritual action (quite familiar, by now, as designated by the “staff of miracles,”) by using the sacred name (the name of “Yahweh”). Of course, the typological lesson taken by Christians, as first noticed by St. Paul, asserts that Jewish tradition identifies the rock as Yahweh. Thus, Jesus was the rock. St. Paul was taught that this rock “followed them [Israelites] around” (1 Corinthians 10:4). Most importantly for Christians, this kind of miraculous change is a foreshadowing of the Eucharist, for St. Paul prefaces his discussion of Eucharist by saying: “All ate the same spiritual food [manna] and drank the same spiritual drink. For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them and that rock was Christ” (1 Corinthians 10:3-4; compare Nehemiah 9:20). Quite clearly, this transubstantiated food (as we shall see too with manna below) is a type of the Eucharist. The manna is transmuted from water into ice and falls as hail and is somehow morsels of flesh on the ground (that shall become sixty-pound clumps of hail and blood in Revelation [!]). In addition to the ice/hail/manna, the rock/blood/water here anticipate the substantial change of bread and wine in St. Paul’s next chapter. This Eucharistic discussion leads to prohibitions against eating of idolatrous sacrifices (bought from markets of sacrificed food and in a culture where superstitions surround meals) and then this food is being eaten at the Lord’s Supper along with agape meals in imitation of Jesus, who says of the bread: “This is my body;”

and of the wine: "This is my blood" (1 Corinthians 11:24). Paul concludes about this: "Whoever eats this bread or drinks this cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord [...] For he who eats and drinks in an unworthy manner eats and drinks judgment to himself, not discerning the Lord's body" (1 Corinthians 11:29). As the rock was the "Sacred Name" or Jesus in the wilderness, so is the bread and wine become the body and blood of Jesus for St. Paul. One must discern that the Lord's body is the rock-turned-to-water and the bread and wine turned to the body and blood.

We can already suspect that when Jesus, who is both the metaphorical stone rejected by the builders and the typological rock of Meribah, at the Last Supper refers to the bread as "This is my body," so that there were two associations immediately made by his disciples from Jesus's past: First, Jesus's cousin St. John emphasized that God can turn stones into people (as he once turned a person into a stone). During the age of resurrection, those by the Dead Sea expect stones to be changed into living persons. Second, Satan had wanted Jesus to turn a stone into bread three years prior, parallel to a stone changing into a person. Someone among Jesus's companions knew about this story. The Last Supper is ostensibly Jesus taking bread in his hands and wine into his cup and claiming that he has changed by his word each into his flesh and blood, respectively. Certainly, this is exactly how Christians reflected on Jesus's words inserted into a sacred ritual in their early communities, just like the communal setting of miraculously watering Israel by rock at Meribah.^[84] Jesus, granted that the Lord was eating the lamb-flesh of the Passover meal, would have (symbolically) had a staff in his hand while recounting the Passover (Exodus 12:8-20), the sacrifice of the Passover lamb, and God's saving deeds. The most important passages that would have potentially been read, if not reenacted at this time among Jews (who were possibly reclining on couches for the meal and all four of the cups of the ceremony), concern the plagues of transmutation of elements into living beings. After all, during the Passover feast, Moses in-

structs.^[85]

They shall eat the flesh that same night [...] with unleavened bread [...] This is how you shall eat it: your loins girded, your sandals on your feet, and your staff in your hand; and you shall eat it hurriedly: it is a Passover offering to the Lord.

All the elements would have been there: A staff of miracles (whether a piece of wood or Jesus himself as staff who “breaks” the bread and changes it to his body), invocation of the name of the Lord, and the change of one substance into another by a priest (in this case Christians see Jesus in the image of the high priest Melchizedek).

Also, Christians would have seen the rock of Christ that is struck twice (first issuing blood and then water) as fulfilled after both substances flow from Jesus’s side on the cross: “But when they came to Jesus and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and immediately blood and water came out” (John 19:33-34). In St. Cyril of Jerusalem, below, we shall see the culmination of this tradition of identifying the crucifixion as a moment of substantial change of water into blood. Jesus’s transmutation of blood to water on the cross as a fulfillment of the action of the Last Supper are linked to God changing the waters of the Nile from blood back into fresh water for them to be refreshed.

Returning to the various kinds of miraculous and substantial changes in the New Testament mentioned earlier, we see that Jesus presumes such kinds of changes to be rather commonplace during his mission on earth. But someone might object that St. John the Baptist, when earlier speaking to the Jews about rocks being turned into people, might be exaggerating. There is even a phraseology for this known as “Semitic hyperbole” or Jewish storytelling that culturally condoned the so-called fisherman’s tale about the legendary whale that always gets away from the hook. But in this case, even if the Baptist were making his point by reference to an extreme action on

the part of God, he is nonetheless anticipating a real instance where Satan was going to speak to St. John's cousin Jesus about the same kind of miracle just prior to Jesus parting ways with St. John for his own public ministry. It is certain that the devil would not be using so-called Semitic hyperbole: "Now when the tempter came to him, he said, 'If you are the Son of God, command that these stones become (*genôntai*) bread'" (Matthew 4:3). The plain sense of the words means to convey that Jesus has the divine power of God himself to transmute substances by an act of his will. However, to do so, Jesus is tempted to complain about his lack of food in the desert and change rocks into bread (for similar whining about food, Israel had been punished for this in the desert, but here Satan does not know that Jesus *is* the manna [about which they complained(!)]). What is Jesus's response? "But he answered and said, it is written, "**Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God**" (*ouk ep'artôî monoi zêsetai ho anthrôpos all'epi panti rhêmati ekporeuomenôî dia stomatos theou*) (Matthew 4:4). Here Jesus reveals that, as he had been with Israel in the desert for forty years as manna, water or snow from heaven and water from the rock at Meribah, he is likewise transitioning from his forty days in the desert to bring the remnant of Jewish people to the promised land of milk and honey. For this reason does Jesus quote exactly Deuteronomy:

Every commandment which I command you today you must be careful to observe, that you may live and multiply, and go in and possess the land of which the Lord swore to your fathers. And you shall remember that the Lord your God led you all the way these forty years in the wilderness, to humble you and test you, to know what was in your heart, whether you would keep his commandments or not. So he humbled you, allowed you to hunger, and gave you bread (*epsômisen*) with manna which you did not know nor did your fathers know, that he might make you know that **man shall not live by bread alone; but man lives by every word that proceeds from the mouth of the Lord**

(*ouk epartôï monoi zêsetai ho anthrôpos all epi panti rhêmati tôi ekporeumenôï dia stomatos theou*). Your garments did not wear out on you, nor did your foot swell these forty years. You should know in your heart that as a man chastens his son, so the Lord your God chastens you. (Deuteronomy 8:1-5)

Jesus is the bread that comes down from heaven and, therefore, does not need to eat the bread of creation, since he is the white manna that rains down in the form of ice and snow from the thunderous lightening of a cloud in which the Father's voice announces him as his Son! He refuses, unlike the Israelites (Exodus 14:11-12; 16:3; Numbers 14:2; 16:3; 20:4), to complain about his lack of food. The fiery or poisonous serpents or seraphim-serpents are sent into the camp of Israel because they sinned by complaining about their involuntary fasting from normal food. Jesus shows that he is not a normal Israelite, but exceptional, for unlike Moses and Elijah, he needs no food to refresh him after the fortieth day. Despite his fast, Satan (the serpent of the garden and, by association, of the Egyptian magicians and desert) nonetheless appears in place of the fiery serpents to tempt him with a spiritual poison about food. He responded to Satan, as he will later to the disciples: "But [Jesus] said to them: 'I have food to eat of which you do not know'" (John 4:32).

Regarding this passage, a cryptic Christian community (with many Jewish customs) in Syria dating from the third century AD produced early-Christian novels. The writer/s of these novels coincided perfectly with mainline Jewish and Christian testimonies elsewhere and at other times. The alleged disciple of St. Paul and successor of St. Peter, named St. Clement (of Rome), states the following: "[Clement] was accustomed to say that sometimes [...] [God] produces (*poiei*) bread out of stone, [another thing] becomes a serpent, [another] is metamorphosed into a blood (*aiga*[= *haima*(?)]), a statue [of salt] comes about, then [another thing] is transmuted into gold."^[86] Likewise, the second- or third-century Syriac version of the same Pseudo-Clementine says that pagans have not the power to turn

their idols of gold into one substance and then restore it back again. This kind of power is reserved to God alone and what he creates.^[87] As we are seeing, Arab and Syriac Christians that bordered Judaea were very much aware of the tradition of all these Old Testament and New Testament transformations falling under a special category of substantial change of one whole kind of item into another species of substance.

Also at this time, the third-century writer Origen reflects the very same ideas within a Judeo-Christian context of Alexandria: "For [the devil] thought that he would by reasoning bring difficulty, as [Jesus] had been reproached with respect to not being Son of God, and [Jesus] would be unaware of deceit; [Jesus] would then transmute (*metabalei*) stones into bread, as if he were possessed of God's power."^[88] Even an ancient Arian writer of the early-fourth century attests to the philosophical import of this verse among yet another distinct group of Christians: "And I have seen and bear witness that this is the Son of God (cf. 1 John 5:7). Now I know the Son of God; when you [o Son] dried up the sea and transmuted (*metabalonta*) stones into pools of water, you are therefore Son of God and do thou transmute (*metabale*) the present natures (*physeis*) as before. Say: 'Let the stones become bread' (Matthew 3:3)!"^[89] All of these witnesses are speaking historically, meaning that many are not approved ecclesiastical writers by historical Churches like the Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, or Oriental Orthodox churches. Nonetheless, though outside the mainline churches of contemporary times, no early Christians seem to dispute the matter of substance-to-substance change and its existence in the Old and New Testament. For our purposes, the witnesses to this culminate in a fourth-century writer, probably Severian of Gabala (Syria), who asserts: "'There are stones' I say to him, 'Transmute these stones into bread.' [...] But Christ says: 'A man shall not seek bread alone.'"^[90] What is sometimes missed in such interpretations is the biblical association between forms of ice or hail with stone, such as in LXX Sirach 43:15, where "stones of hail" are spoken of, but such stones are for Jews always a re-

minder of the hail or manna that fell from heaven.^[91] Perhaps, Satan is asking Jesus to reveal the desert stones (a reminder of manna), or to test by insinuation to see whether Jesus is manna fallen from heaven? We see that the Holy Land was a fertile womb for gestating these ideas in each century of Christianity no matter the group of Christians whom we investigate.

2.7 John's Gospel and Revelation chapter 11: Transmutation of Water into Wine and Blood

We briefly alluded to the transmutation of Jesus's side in section 2.4 above. Now, we deal with Jesus's sacrifice on the cross as an occasion to transmute or transubstantiate blood into water (remembering the Targum prophecy of the Meribah rock's first strike producing blood and its second strike, water; the first strike was empty, but the second strike was miraculous). This criminally shed blood on the cross was reverted back to the pure waters of the Nile as a kind of fulfillment by Yahweh who reversed deadly streams in Egypt back into life-giving water in Exodus. However, the cross is the end of Jesus's earthly ministry. Before this, we see an interesting cycle in St. John the Evangelist: Jesus began his public ministry by transmutation of water into wine and ended his earthly ministry by turning blood into water! We begin Jesus's ministry as follows:

Now there were set there six waterpots of stone (*lithinai hydriai*), according to the manner of purification of the Jews, containing twenty or thirty gallons apiece. Jesus said to them, "Fill the water-buckets with water (*hydrias hydatos*)." And they filled them up to the brim. And He said to them, "Draw some out now, and take it to the president (*architriklinos*) of the feast." And they took it. When the president of the feast (*architriklinos*) had tasted the water that was made (*gegenêmenon*) wine and did not know where it came from (but the servants who had drawn the water knew), the master of the feast called the bridegroom. (John 2:6-9)

I first note the familiar vocabulary we've seen: There is something both "stony" and associated with water or a "stony water container." An empty stone vessel that is the container for transmutation could have a typological motif for people like Philo the Jew, St. John the Baptist, and Jesus. Secondly, the primary meaning of "president of the feast" is the person who organizes the food and drink (first the patron but also the head steward of the patron). The presidential feast is a wedding feast. Of course, when comparing this theme systematically with other Gospels we notice that the backdrop is likely emphasizing Jesus's blessing by his presence at a feast signifying that Yahweh has rejoined his people after their being conquered by the uncircumcised people of the Romans. Jesus's public ministry begins with a miracle of change and we know that John 19:33-34 will bring this transmutation to a climax at Jesus's transmutation of his blood into water flowing from his side at his sacrifice on the cross. Of course, since John skips recounting the Last Supper, he emphasizes at the cross the moment of taking one nutriment of life and changing it to another. However, for readers of the Synoptic Gospels, they would immediately see that the passion had already begun by Jesus transforming bread (broken) and wine (poured out) into his body and blood as offered on the cross. While we might want to systematically draw connections, John's point is different. As Jesus starts his public ministry by a miracle of changing one substance into another, so he closed out his public ministry by the second and last repetition of this miracle.

Christians knew that the rock of Christ according to St. Paul (above) was struck twice (first issuing blood and then water), where two substances flowed from Jesus's side on the cross out of one original substance: "But when they came to Jesus and saw that he was already dead, they did not break his legs. But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and immediately blood and water came out" (John 19:33-34). The Greek liturgical celebration of this moment of transmutation has been enshrined in a ninth-century composition by St. Jo-

seph the Hymnographer thus:^[92] “With your busied hand, you (o Apostle Thomas) investigated his side and the wounds from nails, which the immortal Christ underwent for us and he joyfully transmuted (*metabalôn*) unbelief into good belief.”^[93] As the blood was transmuted to water, so putting one’s hand at its source does something like transubstantiate the unbelieving dead soul into a believing human made in the likeness of God.^[94]

As we have seen many times, biblical transmutation (or what shall be named transubstantiation) will be connected to raising a dead body. This is no exception in the earliest commentaries of Christians. The first- and second-century Christian, St. Hippolytus, writes as follows:

This is he who is crowned in victory against the devil; this is Jesus the Nazarene, who was invited to the wedding in Cana and transmuted (*metabalôn*) the water into wine [...] and makes Lazarus, a four-day-dead corpse, rise again, and performs all sorts of acts of power (*dynameis*), and forgives sins and gives authority (*eksousian*) to his disciples [see the resurrection of Jesus proved to Thomas in John 20:19-23] And struck by a spear, he released blood and water from his holy side [see John 19:33-34][...] and the dead are raised (*egeirontai nekroi*).^[95]

We see, again, transmutation of one substance into another is used as an analogy for a dead body being raised to life and becoming a full substance (soul and body or human person), that is, what it once was once upon a time. We finally see that Jesus’s opening miracle of his ministry culminates in a parallel miracle of changing his bodily blood into water and the passage connects this, too, at the end with the resurrection of bodies as we have come to expect.

The Baptist John and Jesus adopted examples into their own religious instructions and life events where God was mentioned turning one stable substance miraculously into another. In addition to these weighty examples, we also have the highly futuristic book of Revelation, dealing not only with present calamity but with future prophesy. Part of the futurity includes

two shadowy figures (prophets according to Revelation 11:10) who anticipate their resurrected bodies (dead for about the same period as Lazarus), who on the fourth day after their martyrdom and death rise and then ascend like Jesus to heaven. But before the transmutation of the dead to life, as ensouled bodies, St. John the Revelator writes: "These [prophets] have power to shut heaven, so that no rain falls in the days of their prophecy; and they have power over waters to turn them to blood, and to strike the earth with all plagues, as often as they desire" (*eksousian echousin epi tôn hydatôn strephein auta eis haima kai pataksai tèn gên pasêi plêgêi hosakis ean thelês ôsin*) (Revelation 11:6).^[96]

We shall see that the second-century Jewish teaching of Rabbi Yehuda, *Pesach Haggadah, Magid, The Ten Plagues*, reflected a tradition dated to about this time (see below section 3.1) that the staff of Moses was used for seven of the ten plagues. So, seven plagues are in the book of Revelation and the second (water-to-blood), third (water-to-blood), fourth (water-to-blood), and the seventh (ice-water/hail) are all cases where, in the ancient world of Jews and Christians, transmutation of water into another substance takes place (ice, which is considered another nature by appearance). Revelation sees this ice in a negative sense, as hail and as morsels of human flesh: "And the first angel blew the horn and hail (*chalaza*) became (*egeneto*) fire mixed with blood."^[97] In parallel with Exodus, we should expect, then, that a Passover-like sacred meal follows the final plague as in Exodus. This will be during the ultimate plague upon the earth. We are not disappointed. The last plague of hail is described alternatively for the just as in LXX Psalm 147:17-18 (see, below, section 4.2): "He casts out ice [hail] (*krystallon*) [from heaven] like morsels of bread-flesh (*psômous*). Who can stand by his appearance, his cold [ice]? He sends out His word (*logon*) and it melts/loses flesh (*têksei*); he causes his wind to blow, and the waters flow." And again the Psalmist declares: "Praise the Lord from the earth, ye serpents and abysses, thou fire (*pyr*), hail (*chalaza*), snow (*chiôn*), ice (*krystallos*), thou breath of hurricane, all producing his word" (Psalm 148:7-8).^[98]

This is literarily fulfilled by Jesus in Revelation who appears with: “his head and his white hairs as white wool, as if snow (*chiôn*) and his eyes as a flame of fire (*pyros*) [...]”^[99] and his voice as a voice of many waters (*hydatôn*)” (Revelation 1:14-15).^[100] Jesus is substantially found under the appearances of the fiery-white hail and white or yellowish-manna (or Sulphur[!]) fallen from heaven, for he is clothed in white but substantially flesh and blood and makes the natural sounds of water in the clouds (for example, rain falling and thunder). We also notice that, like the Psalms, a serpent of the abyss is contrasted with the manna or ice-flesh from heaven: “Praise the Lord from the earth, ye **serpents** and **abysses**, thou fire (*pyr*), hail (*chalaza*), snow (*chiôn*), ice (*krystallos*), thou breath of hurricane, all producing his word” (Psalm 148:7-8). Notice that the serpentine abyss on earth is somehow paired with the cloud of manna, though we later find that refers to the evil and poisonous fiery serpent who afflicts the New Israel:

And I saw a star fallen from heaven to the earth [The devil is like anti-manna]. To him was given the key to the **abyss**. And he opened **the abyss**, and smoke arose out of the pit like the smoke of a great furnace. So the sun and the air were darkened because of the smoke of the pit [cloud cover for precipitation]. [...] And they had as king over them the angel of **the abyss**, whose name [...] [is] the name Apollyon [versus the Angel of Great Counsel or Jesus]. [...] When they finish their testimony, the beast that ascends out of **the abyss** will make war against them, overcome them, and kill them. [...] The beast that you saw was, and is not, and will ascend out of **the abyss** and go to perdition. [...] Then I saw an angel coming down from heaven, having the key to the **abyss** and a great chain in his hand. He laid hold of **the dragon** (*drakonta*), **that serpent** (*ophis*) **of old**, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years; and he cast him into **the abyss**, and shut him up, and set a seal on him, so that he should deceive the nations no more till the thousand years were finished. (Revelation 9:1-2; 11:7;

17:8; 20:1-3)

We see that the manna or bread of angels is linked to a winged serpent, Satan, who is like an anti-manna or bread fallen from heaven evil in kind. We shall learn much more about this serpent in sections 3.5-3.6. He, too, has smoke and darkness about him like a cloud preparing to pour out its contents.

Moving to themes of Exodus, Israel had to put blood on a door jamb, while eating flesh of a lamb and unleavened bread with staffs in hand, to survive the plague. The accursed in Revelation chapter 16, drink from unholy Lord's Supper: "the chalice of wine of his wrath" (Revelation 16:19). But we shall see that the fulfillment or new feast of the new Passover from the water of heaven (the Lamb's water) that is coming from the Lamb's side in Revelation chapters 21-22, falling on the synagogue or assembly of those marked with the sign of Jesus on their foreheads.^[101]

Returning to the two aforementioned apostle or prophets of transmutation of the waters, like St. Hippolytus's exegesis of John 20:19-23, Revelation speaks of a grant of "power" or (in Greco-Roman terms) "jurisdiction" (*tên eksousian*) to close heaven (*kleisai ton ouranon*) [or stop heavenly manna from falling] exercised by these apostle-like figures. St. Hippolytus's commentary on the antichrist seems to imply such figures will be apostles (or presumably their successors who have power of forgiving sins). Strictly speaking, the identity of the two prophets is unknown in Scripture, but their power, as mortal men, extends to the desires of their mere wills to transmute inanimate objects into living ones! At will they "strike" the ground and a plague (of gnats) will transmute—using the Psalms' and Philo of Alexandria's word "turn into" (*metastrophô*)—these two men shall transmute water into blood like the hail and ice had been transmuted into morsels of flesh.^[102] We have by now obvious information that, since the time of Genesis and Exodus, this power of transmutation should be given to men but its time extends even until the last days of the world when the general resurrection shall come. While Revelation does not iden-

tify other examples of Christians performing transmutation, we have already seen St. Paul's reference in 1 Corinthians 10, where the rock changes into water, is a type of Christ who leads us to understand the Eucharistic breaking of bread in 1 Corinthians 11. The manna is a blessing for the righteous and curse for the unrighteous in that chapter, just like in Revelation the fleshy hail performs a similar function. Eucharist and resurrections would seem to be the main applications of an apostle's power toward transmutation or transubstantiation, as handed onto the Church until the end times as presumably guaranteed and regular occurrences. Furthermore, it is significant that Moses was required to strike many objects (about seven by Jewish counters) to transmute them by use of his staff, while Jesus transformed the elements at the Last Supper, either himself being typologically the staff breaking *by hand* the bread, or by holding *in hand* the prescribed staff while performing the sacrifice as the "president of the banquet/reclining" (*architriklinos*). For their part, the Synoptic Gospels clearly complement John 2:5 by saying that Jesus had his disciples recline (*anekimenôn; anekeitō*) with him (Mark 14:18; Matthew 26:20). Either way, whether Jesus was without a physical staff since he himself is the living staff of Aaron, or is with his staff in imitation of Moses, he struck the substance and changed it by divine power into a new substance as a sign of salvation for those in slavery and needing redemption in the New Israel, just like the Israelites under the Egyptian yoke.

Similarly, to accomplish their willful transmutation (or what will be designated the primary example of transubstantiation) of the elements, whether of earth or of water, the two prophets are said by Revelation to "strike" the substance to be changed. This theory that the two basic elements capable of being transubstantiated happen to be earth and water strangely arises in first-century Greek texts among Christians in the environs of Asia Minor and Jerusalem and will take on a life of its own in the Holy City of Jerusalem in later centuries. For our part, we shall pay attention to the transubstantiation of water.

Given the limitations of space, suffice it to say that earth also by freezing was noticed to undergo a transubstantiation similar to water in authors whom I've surveyed in Antiquity into the Middle Ages. Christians might have paid close attention, indeed, to the fact that water and earth somehow become entirely different (unlike air and fire) when the cold winds of the North are applied to them where they transform their natures such that they are in a way the same kind of thing but, in another way, they are an entirely different substance. Hagiopolites (that is, Christians of Jerusalem,) coined the word "transubstantiation" to designate the biblical occurrence of this in Revelation chapters 21-22 (below, in section 4.1-4.2), in what is probably the late-fifth century AD (if not earlier), due to their fascination with miraculous change of earth and water, just as mentioned variously in the Scriptures.

Lest there be any doubt about Revelation (as if such is possible by now [!]), it is sufficient to remind the reader that St. Hippolytus clearly made the connection in his quote just above, whereby he calls the change of Cana-water the act of Jesus "transmuting" it into the substance of wine. St. Hippolytus's probably Syrian tradition of Scriptural exegesis continued on, well after the third century. Among the early-complete commentaries on Revelation, that is still accessible today, is by St. Andrew of Crete (writing around AD 750) who repeats St. Hippolytus's exegesis by way of the simile: "transform," used to signify transmutation from one material substance into substance composed of various elements, demonstrating Byzantine reception of Revelation "turning the water into blood," which means scientifically that God transforms basic elemental structures (*tôn stoicheiôn metapoiêseôs*).^[103]

3.0 GREEK PATRISTIC TRADITION OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION:

From its Beginnings to Culmination

3.1 Moses's Transmutation and Aristotle's Categories in the Second and Third Centuries

Christianity had spread to the Roman province of Arabia Petraea in the area bordering the province of Judaea by the second century AD. The Arabs, by then, are attested to have used the allegorical method of scriptural commentary (as endorsed by the New Testament authors). The province seems to have had burgeoning communities since numerous sects are attested by St. Hippolytus (of Palestine or perhaps Bosra, Arabia,) representing their knowledge of the situation from approximately AD 150-AD 300.^[104] For our purposes, however, St. Hippolytus's most important testimony lies in Arab Christian reception of Easter (the passion-death-resurrection combined feast for Jesus). Arabia appears to be one of several provinces to have celebrated a moveable Pascha or Easter (which means it could fall on any day of the week, not merely Sunday). St. Hippolytus reproduces excerpts from a work of a Christian named Monimos the Arabian. We can suspect that the information that St.

Hippolytus reports about Monoimos is readily available and accurate since St. Hippolytus is likely a contemporary from the same, or an adjacent province. Monoimos likely wrote around the years AD 120-AD 180 since he is listed as if he were contemporary with Tatian (AD 120-AD 180) but is alleged to have been a student (though controversially so) of the Gnostic Basilides (died AD 132).

Monoimos is condemned by St. Hippolytus for some innovations in his commentary on the Pentateuch. For St. Hippolytus his real error is introducing Pythagorean numerology as an interpretative key to understanding Jesus's foreshadowing of the Hebrew feast of Passover in Exodus. Let us recall that the famous philosopher of Italy, the Greek Pythagoras, was known as a great mathematician who attempted to reduce reality to an expression of numbers. Monoimos writes his commentary on the Passover as follows:

And this [branching stake of wood of Moses]^[105] constitutes a perfect son of a perfect man. When therefore, [Monoimos] says, Moses mentions that the staff was changeably brandished for the [introduction of the] plagues throughout Egypt – now these plagues, he says, are allegorically expressed symbols of the creation – he did not shape the staff [as a symbol] for more plagues than ten [...] ^[106] For in what respect, [Monoimos] says, would one branching stake of wood require any substance (*ousias*) such as leaven (*zymês*) [derived] from without for the Lord's Passover (*pascha*) [on 14 Nisan until its octave on 21 Nisan – around March 22], the eternal feast, which is given for generation upon generation? For the whole (*holon*) universe and all elements (*stoicheia*) of creation [i.e., the four elements of fire, water, wind, and air] are a Passover, [Moses] says, a feast of the Lord. For God rejoices through the transmutation (*têi metabolêi*) of creation,^[107] he says, which is made operative (*energeitai*) by one branching stake of wood [struck ten times] for the ten plagues, which is the staff of Moses given by God, by which God transmutes bodies (*metabal-*

lei sômata), while smiting Egyptians, just as he did with the hand of Moses made necrotic-white and [God transmuted] water into blood, etc. Along with the aforesaid, he [transmutes] grasshoppers multiply -which is like grass- a creature from the elements into flesh. For he says: "Every piece of flesh is like grass" as, he says, has been written. These men understand in no less way too the whole law according to a certain way, if some men somewhere have followed philosophical doctrines [of the *Categories*^[108]], as I think, of the wise [Aristotle and Peripatetics] among the Greeks, they say that substance (*ousian*) and quality/accident (*poion*) and quantity exist and relation and place and time and position and habit and action and passion.^[109]

First, it should be mentioned that Monoimos probably expands on Paul's Christological theme in 1 Corinthians 5:6-8:

Your glorying is not good. Do you not know that a little leaven leavens the whole (*olon*) lump? Therefore purge out the old leaven (*zymê*), that you may be a new lump, since you truly are unleavened. For indeed Christ, our Passover (*pascha*), was sacrificed for us. Therefore let us keep the feast [14-21 Nisan; around March 21], not with old leaven, nor with the leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.

The commentary maintains a Eucharistic backdrop, referring to Jesus as Pascha who is the unleavened bread of sacrifice. Presumably, when Jesus celebrated Passover with a staff in his hand, he created a new substance like Moses did by the staff of transmutation. This Jewish connection stems from Exodus 4:14: "And you shall take this staff in your hand, with which you shall do the signs." These are the last words of Yahweh to Moses at his theophany on mount Horeb. So, the connection is that Moses has a staff in hand to change miraculously substances and the Passover requires the holding of a staff in one's hand while recounting these same signs over a sacred and sacrificial meal of flesh and unleavened bread.

Monoimos's interpretation of Exodus is clearly reflecting

Paul's own allegorical or typological reading thereof authorized by Colossians 2:16-17: "So let no one judge you in food (*en brôsei*) or in drink (*en posei*), or regarding a festival or a new moon or sabbaths,^[110] which are a shadow of future things, but [this] is the body (*sôma*) of Christ."^[111] The analogy is as follows: Moses struck bodies of elements (thus trans-elementating them in the language of Philo) by his staff which all became new substances (*ousiai*), not unlike St. Paul who claims that the old food and drink celebrated at new moons and sabbaths are now fulfilled by the (resurrected) body (*sôma*) of the Messiah. By now we know very well that both Jewish and Christian interpretive tradition fully embraced Monoimos's claims that substance-to-substance (or Philo's nature-to-nature) changes happen by divine intervention through the instrumentality of Moses's staff. Yet, for Monoimos, Jesus *became the staff from heaven* who then changes the elements of Pascha, that is the unleavened bread, by striking (viz., breaking)^[112] the unleavened bread of Passover that results in transmutation of the elements to become "new bodies." (*metaballei sômata*). The analogies are traditional: water to blood, living hand to necrotic flesh, and grass to grasshopper. Interestingly, earlier in his rather lengthy exposition, Monoimos refers to "the whole law" as the ten commandments and that these are the mysteries that can explain their anticipatory event of the ten plagues, which are themselves, by and large, miraculous transmutations. Finally, St. Hippolytus concludes by noting that Monoimos held for the substantial changes by Moses's staff to correspond to substantial change according to the Aristotelian book of the (ten) *Categories*, whose first category is that of substance (*ousia*). Notice how important the concept of *substance* is for Monoimos to talk about the Pascha meal and the changes in the inert *substances* brought to life by Moses's striking them by his staff. As St. Hippolytus is quoting Monoimos on this question, Monoimos (and his Arabian Christian confreres) distinguished Jesus's eternal Passover (i.e., recreation of the Passover elements in bread as transmuted into his eternally resurrected body or *substance*)^[113] from the other

nine categories of quality, quantity, and the other accidents. As such, Eucharist is clearly a substantial change of unleavened bread (for these Quartodeciman Christians) into the resurrected flesh of Jesus.

Given St. Hippolytus's approval as an orthodox writer by numerous orthodox Christians, especially from St. Jerome (died AD 420) to Pope St. Gelasius I (reigned AD 492-AD 496), what are we to make of his criticism of Monoimos and his Arab sect as heretical? Clearly, they are not heretical on very many points. These Arabs are entirely orthodox as they are in league with the Baptist John, the Targums, Philo of Alexandria, New Testament passages, and their contemporaries: St. Clement of Alexandria and Origen, on most questions regarding transmutation save one (discussed below). Secondly, the Quartodeciman Easter (14 Nisan; new moon after the spring equinox) –though partially addressed by Pope St. Victor at this time– did not become a question of orthodoxy until the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (AD 325). Furthermore, the supposition that the staff of Moses is Christ, typologically, is within the range of typological readings that we can expect in Christian authors. Christ, after all, is typologically the serpent raised upon the pole of wood by Moses to heal those bitten by the poisonous serpents sent by God for punishment of the Israelites' sins (Numbers 21:6). Furthermore, the staff of Aaron is identified typologically among orthodox Christians in future centuries as being the bud from which shoots Jesus. As such, these particularities all appear to be orthodox. St. Hippolytus's problem is otherwise: Monoimos embraces a heresy concerning the Son of Man mentioned in the next chapter of St. Hippolytus's work. Because the staff belonging to Moses and Aaron was transmuted, and Jesus is that staff, Monoimos confesses that Jesus was transmuted upon his descent into the world from one substance to another by transmutation (*metabolé*). This has been shown to be the real heresy that contains Gnosticism in its outlines as already proven by scholars.^[114] St. Hippolytus despises Monoimos for his application of Pythagorean philosophy (which he confusedly implies

to include the *Categories* of Aristotle) to the Christian faith, which Hippolytus wishes to divorce from Hellenistic and Antique philosophy of the Greek East. As such, the theory of transmutation that makes use of Aristotle's *Categories* to describe a substance-to-substance change can in no way be considered at this time formally unorthodox, nor shall it be condemned as such in future synods, nor by future Fathers of the Church. Lastly, we are surprised to find in the heart of Semitic culture, among Arab Christians whose communities are adjacent to Judaea, that the discussion of Eucharist is one that has already led to discussing miraculous transmutation of substances in the Old Testament as examples of Aristotelian, substantial change as early as the second century AD.

3.2 Culmination of the Alexandrian-Palestinian Tradition in St. Cyril of Jerusalem

For our purposes, Eusebius of Caesarea, whom we mentioned earlier as a great historian of the church at the beginning of the fourth century, ranks as the first witness to what will become known as the Anaphora of St. James, Brother of the Lord. This is important since the anaphora or prayer over the Eucharist as used by Eusebius will also be cited about forty years after his death by St. Cyril of Jerusalem (who himself died in AD 386).^[115] Eusebius obliquely cited the Anaphora of St. James at the beginning of third century in Palestine, the very same locale where St. Cyril of Jerusalem delivered his catechetical lectures to pagans seeking to be baptized (*Catecheses illuminandorum*). There are two works in which St. Cyril applies the biblical doctrine of substantial change to the Eucharist, even though one of these two works has been suggested to belong to St. Cyril's successor John of Jerusalem. For our part, we refer to the author of both works in standard fashion as St. Cyril. We first start with St. Cyril's uncontestable work as follows:

For God said: "Let there be a firmament of the waters" (Genesis 1:6). God spake once, and it stood fast, and does not

fall. The sky is water, and those orbs in it, sun, moon, and stars are fire; and how run those fiery bodies in the water? But if anyone is perplexed, from fire and water being of such opposite natures (*physeis*), let him remember the fire which in Egypt in the time of Moses flamed in the hail.^[116]

The contrast of such contraries between heat and cold, soft water and stony ice, was a staple question about contradictories from the time of Anaxagoras whose theory was immortalized by Aristotle's *Meteorology*. St. Cyril's own musings in his ninth lecture is meant to comment on the baptismal Creed of Jerusalem on the relation between the Father and his Son (who is typologically the dew of the clouds of heaven) to prepare converts to receive baptism of water and their first solid food as newborns in the Eucharist. St. Cyril continues:

"Who is the Father of the rain shower (*huetou*) and who hath given birth (*tetokôs*) to the drops of dew (*dro-sou*)?" (Job 38:28). Who hath condensed the air into clouds, and bid them carry the fluid mass of showers, at one time "bringing from the north golden clouds, wonders of the clouds, rain, and snow, of flowers and trees" (Job 37:22), at another, transforming them into one species (*en eidos metapoiôn tauta*), and again transferring them into a circular varieties and forms (*schêmata*)? [...] Though the measures of water ever so many weigh upon the clouds, yet they are not rent; but with all order come down upon the earth. [...] "Out of whose womb cometh forth the ice (*krystallos*), watery in its substance (*hypostasis*), but of stony (*lithôdês*) properties" (Job 38:28). And at one time the water becomes "snow (*chiôn*) like wool (*erion*)," at another it ministers to him "who scatters the hoar frost (*omichlên*) like ashes," (LXX Psalm 147:16), at another it is transmuted (*metaballetai*) into a stony being (*lithôdê hypostasin*), since he fashions the water as he wills. Its nature is uniform, its properties manifold. [...] water was but one nature, yet of it comes the life of things. [...] Water [...] is further transmuted (*metaballetai*) into bread (*arton*), "which strength-

eneth man's heart" (LXX Psalm 103:15).^[117]

In addition to analogizing by Scripture the conception of the Messiah to that of the mysteriously born dew, St. Cyril desired to prepare his newest converts by means of instructing them in the transmutation or transformation of water from one substance into another, to which he fully alludes by mentioning the fact that heavenly water was changed into bread or manna that shall shortly be consumed by the newly baptized! It is in light of this preparation that he can return to the Old Testament types of transmutation or substance-to-substance changes:

In Moses's time the sea, on beholding the figurative staff, gave way before him who struck it; could the staff of Moses be so mighty, and the cross of the savior so powerless? I pass over most the types for the sake of brevity. In the time of Moses the wood sweetened the water; and the water from Jesus's side flowed upon the wood. [...] The first signs under Moses were blood and water, and the last of all the signs of Jesus were the same! First, Moses transmuted (*metebalen*) the river into blood; and at the end Jesus discharged water with blood from his side.^[118]

In relation to the Eucharist, Old Testament signs are anticipations or shadows of New Testament sacraments. St. Cyril's interpretation of the Bible not only summates everything we have already demonstrated within both Jewish and sectarian Christian traditions, but this is by far the commonest Christian position of the Eucharist by the end of the fourth century. St. Cyril of Jerusalem seems to act as the great compiler in Greek of all the types and biblical examples affirming the idea of substantial change by divine intervention, as with manna and at the Nile, and such are the modes by which Jesus acts at the Last Supper. In line with St. Cyril's development of these, by now, easy-to-understand themes that we have seen so often, he elsewhere rhetorically asks his recently baptized converts about St. Paul's teaching on the Last Supper in 1 Corinthians 11:26. St. Cyril explains:

The teaching of the blessed Paul is of itself sufficient to give

you full assurance about the divine mysteries by admission to which you have become one body and blood with Christ. For Paul just now proclaimed “that on the night in which he was betrayed our Lord Jesus Christ took bread and, after giving thanks, broke it and gave it to his disciples saying, ‘Take, eat: This is my body’; then, taking the cup, he gave thanks and said, ‘Take, drink: This is my blood.’” When the Master himself has explicitly said of the bread, “This is my body,” will anyone still dare to doubt? When he is himself our warranty, saying, “This is my blood,” who will ever waver and say it is not his blood? Once at Cana in Galilee he changed (*metabeblēken*) water into wine by his sovereign will, is it not credible, then, that he changed wine into his blood? If as a guest at a physical marriage he performed this stupendous miracle, shall he not far more readily be confessed to have bestowed on “the friends of the bridegroom” (Matthew 9:15) the fruition of his own body and blood.^[119]

Additionally, Cyril’s is preoccupied with a clear pastoral problem among new converts that we shall revisit with St. Ambrose and many others. Converts of the day had no public access to the bread and wine during communion services or the Mass and its distribution of the blessed bread and wine. They were not able to know beforehand what that experience of Eucharist was like. St. Cyril’s lectures are a rhetorical address or a veteran teacher’s anticipation of neophyte Christians who will likely be underwhelmed that –unlike the pagan world into its once secret societies– the Christian initiation doesn’t have a magical moment of seeing some sort of marvel. The appearance of bread and wine remain. St. Cyril must explain that this is not less marvelous than what God has done for Israel in the past, but that a miracle takes place beyond the perception of one’s physical senses. As reflection on Jesus Christ, as a composite of both a fully divine nature and a fully human nature, moves forward in the considerations of later saints, this will be an important reflection. After all, all Christians claim that Jesus-in-the-flesh

is God, but he physically appears before his own relatives in Nazareth and to many people in Israel as a human being who has no special attributes. Yes, by his flesh or body-soul human nature being taken up by the Word of God, Jesus is not in utero a separate or independent being, but always a real human nature whose personality or personhood is traceable to the person of the Word or second person of the Trinity. Though really God, he looks sometimes, if not most times, entirely human. This brings up question about Jesus's human mind and will and if he has a second personality (considered a heresy!). Nonetheless, let us notice that if we understand that Jesus is principally God and that he is God taking on flesh, he nonetheless -outside of special revelations - appears as one like us in all things save sinning. Then, the Eucharistic bread and wine are a perfect imitation of the very claims the New Testament makes Jesus on earth looks physically and visibly to be mere man, but special miracles manifest from time to time that the divinity is fully at the root of him in his bodily existence (Colossians 2:9). By analogy we should expect to find the same with the Eucharist and its historical miracles and we will not be disappointed!

As we are learning, no discussion of substance-to-substance change is replete without a reference to resurrected bodies. The closest analogy in this life that we naturally have is the dead body versus the living person. It is so hard in extreme circumstances for even teams of trauma room and morgue doctors to get this right because looking and acting just like a dead body is no guarantee, by appearance, that the soul has left the body. Hence when dozens of hours later in extreme cases the person wakes up and finds himself or herself cold in a morgue or buried in a coffin it is clear that the transition from a living to a dead substance was said to happen inaccurately. The Eucharist is the same, the transition is not visible to the eyes and its moment of change is a matter of theology, not sight, though the occasional miracle in the history of Christian record keeping and shrine miracles to the Eucharist marks moments, like the Transfiguration on Tabor, when Jesus chose to reveal himself

miraculously in what was presumably mere bread and wine. So, let us turn to our last major citation from St. Cyril where he assures us that the example of resurrection is another case of transmutation and what will be called several decades later in Jerusalem “transubstantiation” (*metousiôsis*):

The senseless Samaritans, however, object that it is possible that the souls of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob still survive, but their bodies cannot rise. If of old it was possible for the staff of the just Moses to become (*genesthai*) a serpent, is it impossible for the bodies of the just to revive and rise again? The transformation of the staff was against nature (*para physin egeneto*): will not the just be restored (*apokathistatai*) according to nature? The staff of Aaron also, being cut off and dead, budded without scent of waters and, though under a roof as it was, blossomed as if in the fields. Though lying upon dry places, it brought forth in one night the flowers and fruits of plants like those which have been watered for years. If the staff of Aaron rose, you might say, from the dead, is Aaron himself not to rise again? If God worked a miracle in wood to preserve for him the high priesthood, will he not grant Aaron himself resurrection? A woman, too, against the laws of nature, was turned into salt (*para physin halas ginetai*) and flesh was transmuted (*metaballetai*) into salt, shall not (once) flesh be restored (*apokathistatai*) to flesh again? If Lot’s wife was turned into a pillar of salt, will not the wife of Abraham rise again? By what power was the hand of Moses transmuted (*meteblēthê*), which in the space of one hour was made as snow [viz., frozen water] and again restored (*apokatestê*)? Surely, [it is] by the command of God. Is his command, efficacious then, powerless now?^[120]

We can now see the Jewish and Christian interpretation of all our aforementioned Old Testament and New Testament passages being accurately and fairly represented by St. Cyril. He proves to be no innovator or adventurous religious teacher but quite traditional, especially within the environs of the Holy

City of Jerusalem, where the figurative and literal cradle of the Christian faith is found.

3.3 Nestorius and Innovation: The First Known Rejection of Substantial Change

St. Cyril ultimately gained a reputation for orthodoxy when pressed to take sides on the Trinitarian versus Arian conflict. It is even plausible that he suffered possible loss of his position in the church until the restoration of orthodox Trinitarianism around AD 381 (the formalization of Theodosius the Great's pro-orthodox program for the entire Greco-Roman world under his authority). More importantly for our purposes, St. Cyril was the bishop of what had apparently become the main sanctuary for pilgrims to visit. We have rather detailed accounts of what pilgrims did at the shrines and tombs around this time. The effect of him providing worship rituals for international travelers of diverse languages and backgrounds meant that his teachings and reputation spread rapidly in an empire that still maintained good communications. The end result assured St. Cyril's writings to become bestsellers, since his works were brought by pilgrims from what was the center of the world to the farthest outposts of Christianity at the very edges (and beyond) of the empire. Despite St. Cyril's international repute, locals had long been used to the culture and cosmopolitan nature of post-Constantinian and Christian Jerusalem. The local customs of Syriac and Arab speaking peoples seems to have maintained themselves especially around Antioch, Syria. There are reasons why we easily can presume this to be the case. Antioch was not only a biblically central city for the New Testament, but it was an apostolic see, or a place that had been the headquarters for apostles like St. Peter to carry out his evangelization. It is traditionally regarded by ancient Christian Churches everywhere as the first see of St. Peter the Apostle. What is more, as the third largest city in the Roman empire, it exercised enormous political and economic influence over

provinces in every direction. Of course, it bordered Palestine.

Those who make their business to be scholars on the rituals and custom of Christian worship (that is, liturgiologists,) have long adopted the principle of Dr. Anton Baumstark who noted that it is almost an inexorable law that the metropolitan centers of a region exercise influence as cultural centers on smaller and less important bishops and their churches when these are in communication with the dominant church.^[121] As such, Antioch likely retained and spread a number of customs from previous centuries (rather than itself being overly influenced by tiny Jerusalem), including those of Jewish-Christian communities not unlike the community of Monoimos and other Jewish-Christian communities responsible for producing the *Pseudo-Clementines*, to which we referred earlier. These second- and third-century churches had absorbed ideas of transmutation just like unquestionably orthodox Christians such as St. Cyril of Jerusalem had. However, in Monoimos's case, he was considered scandalous to St. Hippolytus (who is dubbed orthodox by the saints of all Western and Eastern Churches in this region today). Monoimos claimed that Jesus (and more specifically his substance) was transmuted from a divine being into a non-divine individual at his coming on the earth. This heresy is not known well in all its particulars, but it is entirely possible that the idea was maintained in Syria that instances, such as the Nile-water change (as other substantial changes), were considered something like a divine or eternal reality changing into a temporal one. It is also possible that the idea persisted that Jesus was somehow a combination of the eternal with the temporal by transmuting himself back and forth between substances or somehow becoming simultaneously two different substances. The net result of this confused idea of the term of Jesus's transmutation set up competing ideas in Syria to explain the change of Nile-water. While this is speculative, our observations could easily explain why a text attributed to Nestorius (below, who is a native of Caesarea Germanicia in Euphratensis on today's Turkish-Syrian border) labelled his opponent incor-

rectly by reference to Moses's miraculous change of substances in the Old Testament. This may be a case where this nominal Nestorius categorized St. Cyril by known heretical categories of substantial change for Jesus, as existing in Syria in the fourth century, but not relevant to St. Cyril in Egypt at his time.

A text attributed to Nestorius of Constantinople (elected archbishop of the capital in AD 428) took up the traditional question of the transmutation of salt, staffs, and water when he addressed what he knew to be his contemporary's (St. Cyril of Alexandria's) Eucharistic associations therewith. This putative Nestorius mutilated the traditional discussion of substance-to-substance biblical change among mainline Christians who still, even today, intersect with contemporary thinking on the Eucharist among Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, and Oriental Orthodox Christian confessions. While the putative Nestorius's so-called *Bazaar* (attributed to him around AD 452) was composed after the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451), he merely develops a number of his older sources and themes to justify what he alleges to be St. Leo the Great's exoneration of his own Christology against St. Cyril of Alexandria. This Nestorius attempted to use biblical transmutation to understand Jesus's Incarnation or his God-man constitution. So, our literary Nestorius drove home the point that substances/natures (whether human or otherwise) are fixed items that can only enjoy a claim to their conventional names in virtue of possessing the essential attributes proper to such an essence/nature as it is defined. We should expect dogs to bark, not mew, and we should anticipate dolphins to swim, not walk on two legs. In Nestorius's more abstract language, (prime) matter (*hylê*) is an essential reality to define and to constitute human nature. Every created being for most philosophers of Antiquity is a substance and, therefore, composed of both form and matter. Form is whatever organizes matter into its activities and keeps it a unity or a species. Matter is what is passive and susceptible to be formed into various kinds of things, plants, and animals. In such examples, this Nestorius set up his argument that God cannot really become man,

in the sense of taking human nature, lest the definition of divine nature include by implication materiality or, conversely, man cannot include divine essence by definition or by its reality. Let us take a look at the inventive dialogue attributed to Nestorius, along with his alleged interlocuter Sophronius:

Concerning this: that he who comes into being by substance (*ousia*) from a preceding matter (*hylê*) is that which he has become and not that which he was before he became [so], as from a woman [of Lot] there came into being a statue of salt (Luke 3:8). And it is nothing else than this, that, as a man of wood and stone is not truly called man, being the nature of wood and stone, so also neither is he who has become man from the substance (*ousia*) of God called man by nature, so long as the divine nature subsists.

Sophronius: Then, O admirable man, from stones God can raise up children unto Abraham, and from a human bodily frame a pillar of salt, and from the earth a man; and nothing has prevented God nor yet is anything preventing him from doing that which he wishes, preventing him from becoming flesh.

Nestorius: First, then, investigate that which thou hast said. Prove this to us, that God wishes it so. For the whole opinion of the world is agreed that God can do everything whatsoever he wishes. But again thou hast made use of proofs to the contrary. For he who becomes man from stone or from earth is the nature of man, in that he truly has become man, and not the nature of stone or of earth; and that which has become a pillar of salt from a human body is only the nature of whatever it has become. For things which are changed from their first substance (*ousia*) possess only that nature into which they have been changed. Therefore, if thou sayest that he became the nature of the flesh from the former matter (*hylê*) of the nature of God, he possesses that substance (*ousia*) which he has become without having been [it]. And it is of no importance that, as I have said, the substance (*ousia*) of man issues from

a stone or from earth or from the seed of man, for that which is from a former substance (*ousia*) is changed into the nature which it has become; and if he is not changed, he does not at all become flesh by nature.

Sophronius: Divine Scripture solves for us this problem and does not permit us to be obstinate and to speak arbitrarily. For the staff of Moses, when it became truly a serpent, was a serpent as well as a staff; and the waters of the Nile, which became blood (LXX Exodus 7;17), became the nature of blood as well as of water. The substance (*ousia*) was the same although it was changed and for this reason the children of Israel used water which had become blood as the nature of the water, and Moses [used] a serpent as a staff, in that it was truly both of them. For God sustains natures as he will.

22. Concerning this: that the waters of the Nile, when they were transformed into the substance (*ousia*) of blood, were only that substance (*ousia*) into which they were changed.

Nestorius: Again thou usest proofs like these because, as I suppose, thou art bewildered. There were then two substances (*ousias*); for the water which was taken by the Hebrews was blood and water and that which was taken by the Egyptians was both in the same way. But if the former was only water and the latter only blood, then they were afterwards changed; for when they were taken, those which were taken were changed and further were something else, namely that which they became. How then is it not seen that that which it became by nature is by all means that which it has become and nothing else?^[122]

Nestorius allegedly went on to teach that a succession of two diverse "*ousiai*" (substances) to explain the change of a staff into a serpent and water into blood.^[123] We note that he described the theory of his opponent St. Cyril (aka Sophronius), as if he were believing that two natures coexisted in woman-pillar, water-blood, and staff-serpent. Each example, says this Nestorius, contained a numerically singular thing that simultaneously had

its before- and after-nature allegedly together. Yet, as we have clearly seen, the previous history among Jews and Christians universally described Eucharistic change from staff to serpents, from rocks to people, and from water into blood, as merely one nature becoming another. Nestorius over-complicates Cyril's actual doctrine, as we shall demonstrate below. For now, Nestorius may have associated St. Cyril's doctrine with the well-known description of Monoimos by the Syrian St. Hippolytus. Why? Well, Monoimos wanted to call Jesus two different beings in two substances but with one name. Nestorius wants divinity to be the Word and humanity to be the separate baby Jesus in utero. The baby has its own physical qualities and these must point to, for him, an independently existing being not somehow united to God the Word as a numerically singular Jesus Christ who is God-man. Our Nestorius wishes to make an analogy by recourse to the appearances or activities of the salt, the blood, and the serpent, as if St. Cyril believes there are two fully existent substances that are simultaneously somehow one reality and one thing in Jesus. But –says Nestorius– salt, blood, and serpents manifest respectively saltine, sanguine, and serpentine natures. “How,” Nestorius asks, “can you argue that these are anything other than what they appear to be?” Therefore, according Nestorius, they appear to be exactly what they are. This is the case, too, with the God-man Jesus Christ. What is man is man and what is divine is divine and one person (taken in the sense of a ruling-personality over the divinity and humanity of Jesus) can't possess two natures simultaneously. The presumption of Nestorius's worldview assumes that as a thing appears so is its root being, its essence, and consequently its activity.

Furthermore, Nestorius goes on to note that God's nature does not change by the Incarnation. Based on this correct idea, the Manichean heretics (who follow an ancient Persian Christian) are condemned for asserting that Jesus was only man in *schêma* or species. Here we see a propitious connection, where Nestorius is trying to account for the appearances of a man,

though somehow God is said to be incarnate.^[124] Nestorius's literary interlocutor, the sometime ignorant Sophronius, clarifies the meaning of *species* to mean the clothing that is worn by a subject. Ultimately, in damning fashion, Nestorius reaffirmed the substantial separations of the form (*schema*), which belongs to the substance (*ousia*) of humanity, from the substance (*ousia*) of God, such that two real subsistences or basic operations of personal existence can be inferred from his exposition of what comes together into one Jesus.^[125]

Nestorius's purported attack on St. Cyril in the dialogue spent a goodly amount of time impressing upon the literary Sophroniuses of the world (aka the allies of St. Cyril) that the idea of sharing of properties (*communicatio idiomatum*) is an impossibility with the result that attributes from one natural substance (*ousia*) can never be in any way modifiers or attached to another naturally independent substance –where the term “substance” is taken univocally– and Nestorius even believes this principle to be applicable to the godhead. The culmination of this Christological discussion turns to the Eucharist:^[126]

He [Jesus] says of the bread: “It is my body.” He says not that the bread is not bread and that his body is not a body, but he has said demonstrably bread and body, which is in the substance (*ousia*). But we are persuaded that the bread is bread in nature and in substance (*ousia*). Yet [by analogy] in believing that the bread is his body by faith [that the divine substance is present] and not by nature [and its properties], he [St. Cyril] seeks to persuade us to believe [the invisible substance underlies] in that which exists [independently] not in [a natural] substance (*ousia*) in such wise that it becomes this by faith and not in substance (*ousia*). If it is substance (*ousia*) [viz., with natural visible properties], what is the faith worth? For he [Jesus] has not said: “Believe that the bread is bread,” because everyone who sees the bread itself knows that it is bread, nor further does he make it be believed that the body is body; for it is seen and known to everyone. But in that which it is not [seen and known],

he requires us to believe that this is [so in reality], in such wise that it becomes this by faith to them that believe. Therefore, it is not possible that the [properties residing] in the substance (*ousia*) should be one thing and another in one [thing] of which we should believe that it is said to be another, though it exists not in its own [natural and independent] substance (*ousia*), that they may become two and be alien to one another in the substance (*ousia*). But he who therein suppresses the [natural] substance (*ousia*), therewith suppresses that too which is conceived [viz., divine substance] by faith.^[127]

This literary Nestorius, by his Eucharistic analogy, accused St. Cyril of trying to eliminate the bread, whose accidents are clearly white and wheaten, when it is merely a *natural* substance that everybody knows is present! *Prima facie*, Nestorius argues the bald-faced theory of impanation or God-inside-the-bread, but in reality since Nestorius uses his explanation as a one-to-one analogy to the Incarnation, what he really means is that there is only bread and—in whatever way—this bread is said to be one with God; it is parallel to the man Jesus who is said to be one outward person (*prosopon*) with God by some means of a moral cooperation or some vague relationship between Jesus's human will and the divine will.^[128] In other words, just as the *schêma* or appearance of Jesus as man denotes an independent and natural substance (i.e., human being) who enjoys merely the dignity, honor, and “robe” of a king (meaning godhead), so Eucharist is allegedly bread that enjoys a similar relation to the divinity but remains altogether bread. Impanation would at least have the deity present in some way in the bread, whereas Nestorius only “clothes” the divinity with bread and, conversely, bread with the dignity and honor of the deity, as a sign of its presence by faith. In effect, for Nestorius, no transmutation takes place in the Eucharist, lest bread become God or God becomes bread. Nestorius stood in direct opposition to the substantial change of bread and wine espoused by St. Cyril of Jerusalem when teaching his catechumens to believe by faith

in substantial change nearly a century prior in Jerusalem. Before turning to his namesake or St. Cyril of Alexandria and his response to Nestorius, we note that if this section of Nestorius's *Bazaar* ever proves undoubtedly authentic, then Nestorius had 20/20 hindsight when writing around AD 452 and yet Nestorius's position still harmonizes exactly with his earlier writings criticized and condemned by St. Cyril of Alexandria around AD 429, where the saint quotes Nestorius writing:

Hear the word too sometimes put of the human nature of Christ, sometimes put of his godhead, sometimes of both: "As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup ye declare the Lord's death." Hear from the foregoing the unlearning of the gainsayers, how they read the mighty profit of the mystery, and whose memorial it imports to men, and hear not me saying these things, but the blessed Paul: "As often as ye eat this bread"; he said not: "A often as ye eat this godhead" [...] See what is before us concerning the Lord's body.^[129]

Nestorius added to his reflection on the Last Supper:

The disciples [...] thus say: "He took bread and gave thanks and gave to his saying: 'Take, eat all of you for this is my body.'" Why said he not: "This is my godhead which is being broken for you?" And again giving the cup of the mysteries, he said not: "This is my godhead which is being poured forth for you."^[130]

St. Cyril of Alexandria died (AD 444) several years before Nestorius's so-called *Bazaar* dubiously records his last attempt to justify his doctrine of the Eucharist in comparison to the Incarnation of Jesus. St. Cyril, as Nestorius correctly implied, had paralleled some aspects of Eucharistic change with the Incarnation in the womb of Mary.^[131] At least Nestorius had started from a valid point of departure by which he compared Eucharist to Incarnation in his dialogue, but he will nonetheless prove a grave distorter of the previous tradition that accurately culminates in St. Cyril's works.^[132]

3.4 St. Cyril of Alexandria and Eucharistic Transmutation

Nestorius became famed additionally for harboring people who were suspected of heterodoxy in other places of the empire and who fled to his protection in the East when he became the archbishop of Constantinople. These condemned religious figures were called Pelagians (who denied the necessity of grace for salvation) and they became significant, although not a central topic, at the Third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (AD 431). Nestorius's involvement with Pelagians as their protector led to an indirect condemnation of Pelagians by association with Nestorius.^[133] This is surprisingly relevant for contextualizing both Nestorius's and St. Cyril's interests in the biblical examples of transmutation.^[134] The Pelagian opponents of St. Augustine of Hippo had included Julian of Eclanum and Celestius, the latter of whom was expressly condemned by name at the Council of Ephesus (AD 431) for his (presumably) Pelagian doctrines.^[135] Nestorius had given refuge to Pelagians fleeing from potential punishments after their synodical condemnations earlier in North Africa and Rome.

In this context, the bilingual Julian fled to the Orient and composed in Greek. In his commentary on Job, Julian exegeted Job's fight with the elements as a case paralleling Pharaoh's experience with transmutation: "And even the elements (*ta stoicheia*) will oppose him, just as in Pharaoh's and in the Egyptian's time, day was turned into night, water into blood and furnace smoke was transmuted into flies (*hydôr de eis haima kai aithalê kaminiâia eis sknîpas metaballomene*)." This unique addition to historical examples of divine transmutation, where the substance of dust became gnats, is first encountered in Julian's Greek text and then cited nearly verbatim and uniquely by St. Cyril of Alexandria as someone familiar with both Augustinian and Pelagian ideas:^[136] "He chastened the Egyptians in this way, trans-elementating waters into blood and smoke into flies

([...] *metastoiceiounenôn tôn hydatôn eis haima kai tês aithalês eis sknipas* [...]).^[137] Whatever St. Cyril's misgivings about Pelagianism, he was apparently not adverse to using the biblical commentary of contemporary Julian (even if it is possible that both authors draw from an unknown source, but parsimony suggests that St. Cyril conveniently borrowed from Julian).^[138] Furthermore, St. Cyril –like his Jewish and Christian predecessors– linked the biblical verb “transmute” (*metaballô*) regarding Nile-water-to-blood to “Moses’s staff transmuting” (*hê rhabdos metaballousa*) water at the rock of Horeb, at the waters of Meribah.^[139]

Elsewhere, St. Cyril had taken a repeated interest in the topic of biblical transmutation. Unlike Nestorius’s false accusation against him that St. Cyril held for a simultaneous existence of two substances in such changes, St. Cyril saw transmutation as a divine act whereby one substance becomes another. Unlike Nestorius, however, St. Cyril believed that when bread or wine changed, it then became the God-man and was no longer bread or wine, even though their “appearances” remain. Of course, this is along the lines of St. Cyril of the Jerusalem, whom we saw earlier. Nevertheless, St. Cyril’s extant vocabulary of biblical transmutation for the Eucharist is not only limited to the aforementioned vocabulary. Instead, he developed another notion of elements (*stoicheia*) or natural substances being transformed. In addition to the traditional term that we saw in LXX Exodus 7:17: “transmute” (*metaballô*),^[140] St. Cyril referred to Eucharistic change as “transform” (*metaskeuazô*) for the change of water into blood.^[141] The closest St. Cyril’s extant works get to equating substantial change of water into a new substance as an analogy to the Eucharist occurs in the following: “What is God by nature, for he raised Lazarus from the dead and ‘transmuted water into wine’ (“*to hydôr eis oinon metapoiêsas*”), and granted the grace of the blind man from birth to see?”^[142] This reference to Cana is not verifiably Eucharistic, as it had been in St. Cyril of Jerusalem, but notice that the Christian tradition –like the Jewish

Targums— sees the parallel between changing one being's nature to another and restoring a being's nature by resurrection. St. Cyril of Alexandria does on another occasion use an alternative term “transform” (*metapoieô*) in a Eucharistic sense:

The Lord gives thanks, having taken the chalice [...] He gave us a first type for giving thanks and for breaking and distributing bread in the following manner. [...] He said demonstratively “This is my body” and “This is my blood,” **so that you not think the appearances are a type** (*hina mê nomisês typon einai ta phainomena*), but [think of] all the things brought in besides according to truth through the ineffable operation of **God who gives power to transform** (*metapoieisthai*) **into the body and blood** of Christ, of which when we partake, we have taken in the lifegiving and hallowing power of Christ.^[143]

In his Christological controversy with Nestorius, St. Cyril countered Nestorius's accusation about the Incarnation being a “transmutation” (*metabolê*) or “transformation” (*metapoieîsis*) of either the human or divine natures of Jesus. While these Greek terms are used ordinarily by St. Cyril for the transformation of one substance into another, especially bread and wine into the God-man Jesus Christ at the Eucharist, Nestorius knew them in the realm of Christology too.

St. Cyril rejected entirely the idea that the Incarnation was God taking up soul and flesh and making it something non-human, that is, a non-human substance. He wrote thus against Nestorius just before the Council of Ephesus: “Therefore, because the holy virgin bore in the flesh God who was united hypostatically (*kath'hypostasin; iuxta subsistentiam*) with the flesh, for that reason we call her Mother of God.”^[144] Here, the emphasis is that the Word is the only person in the God-man. There are not two full substances with their own existences and acts, like serpents and staffs, but one person who is the eternally existing Son, who comes into time to possess a newly formed real soul and flesh. The power of the Son's or the Word's being is somehow the only subsistence or source of Jesus's existing

human activities. The translation in Latin is key, since Latins had been making a distinction theologically between subsistence and substance since the time of St. Augustine of Hippo (died AD 430), where each fully realized person (or relation) in the Trinity is called a subsistence. But each subsistent person belongs to the divine substance. So, subsistence adds something to the idea of substance. The Greeks, too, knew of this distinction from the verb related to *hypostasis* (*hyphistasthai*).^[145] However, it is the Latin Fathers that are constantly vigilant in regard to this term “subsistence” to mean independently-existing-individual.

For now, St. Cyril's more important passages that demonstrate shared vocabulary and concepts between the Eucharist and Incarnation begin thus: “For we do not say that the nature of the Word was changed (*metapoiêtheisa*) and became flesh, nor that he was transmuted into (*meteblēthê*) a whole man made of body and soul. Rather do we claim that the Word in an unspeakable, inconceivable manner united to himself hypostatically flesh enlivened by a rational soul.”^[146] St. Cyril says in his next letter: “We do not say that his [Jesus's] flesh was turned into the nature (*trapênai physin*) of the godhead or that the unspeakable Word of God was changed into the nature of flesh. For he the Word is inalterable (*atreptos*).”^[147]

This shows clearly that Nestorius misrepresented St. Cyril. First, St. Cyril followed exactly the nature-to-nature or substance-to-substance analogies in the Old Testament and in the New Testament where the Eucharist is supposed to be the transmutation of one substance into another, so that the first substance no longer can be said to exist in place ‘x’ after the miraculous change in place ‘x’ to another substance. Secondly, St. Cyril was already shown to add to this the idea seen in St. Cyril of Jerusalem that the appearances or phenomena (of bread and wine) look the same before and after said change. Lastly, St. Cyril *distinguishes* or *contrasts* Eucharistic vocabulary of substance-to-substance change with the vocabulary to describe the God-man in utero. Not only does St. Cyril use the en vogue

Christian vocabulary of transmute (*metaballō*) and transform (*metapoieō*) to say: “The flesh remained flesh at the moment of being created and in the act of being united at its creation to the divinity and the flesh of Jesus was never transformed into something definitionally contrary to the notion of flesh.” This is key, for St. Cyril claims *no substantial change took place at the Incarnation*. Jesus, at the God-man union, did not lose any form or matter that is proper to a human body and the same goes for his soul. Jesus’s body and soul maintained the same activity and faculties that they had at the moment of conception that were by definition as human as any other person in the world. However, to be an “independent nature” or a “subsistent nature” demands that a “substance” not exist dependently on some other substance (or anything else). Jesus, by implication, took up a dependent (not autonomous) human nature that remained subservient in its moral life and subsistence to the Word until his death and then again after his resurrection. This sounds overly abstract. However, an imperfect analogy may help: An embryo at embryogenesis or its first moments is *not* mom’s flesh, but a human being’s flesh who is in her womb. The being that is genetically human is not yet existing by its own powers but relies for a time on mom’s powers to live and have food and oxygen. Even when the embryo looks exactly like a baby with all its organs ready to go, some of them won’t maintain him until he is no longer dependent on his mom’s organs feeding and supplying him with life-giving food and element and oxygen and various other things. So, here we have two human beings, but only one of them is existing independently, on her own natural powers, while the other is existing literally in mom and dependent in many ways upon mom, even if the baby’s organs are fully formed. If only we cut the umbilical cord, the full set of organs will automatically kick into gear and keep the baby alive instead of mom’s (now separated organs). Subsistence is like that. We can depend on a machine temporarily to breathe for us and the doctors might think that we are not “viable” or “subsistent” lifeform. Only when they “pull the plug (God forbid!)” do we dis-

cover if we are subsistent or if our substance is too weak to keep our reality and existence going.

Returning to St. Cyril's language, it is reminiscent of Philo's commentary on Exodus chapter 7 and on the vocabulary in Revelation chapter 11, both of which passages (when referring to changing water to blood) call it "turning into" (*strephein*) something else. In fact, just as we have seen, St. Cyril identified the changing of Lot's wife as explicitly a case of substance-to-substance change (contrary to accusation against him in Nestorius's *Bazaar*):

For they think, as it seems, that out of necessity and inescapable reason that the phrase: "[The Word] became" holds the meaning of turning into something (*tropês*) and alteration/alienation (*alloiôseôs*)." [...] Yes, and they [the heretics] say also that –as they have been driven by inspired Scripture– indeed what is his own property (*ton oikeion*) confirms reason. For in one place it was said on the topic of Lot's wife that "she became (*egenêto*) a pillar of salt." And, too, also on the topic of Moses's staff that "He struck it upon the ground, and it became a serpent." For "the act of turning into something" (*hê tropê*) has happened by nature (*physikê*) in these aforesaid examples.^[148]

This issue will come up time and again in Eastern Orthodox discussions about the change of Jesus's flesh at the Transfiguration in the fourteenth century AD. When we view that section, we will need to keep in mind that "alteration/alienation" is "being turned into something" or what (St.*) Gregory Palamas (who died AD 1357) and several other Eastern Orthodox will call: "transubstantiation" (*metousiôsis*) of Jesus's flesh. For now, St. Cyril does not use that term, though it is certainly possible to have existed by this time in Jerusalem, as we shall see.

In this discussion of Lot's wife being a case of someone turned into something else and transmuted, St. Cyril was simply following the revered fourth-century Coptic-monastic tradition in Egypt, where biographies of St. Pachomius in Greek date to about the very period of St. Cyril and his discussion

of the miracle, changing Lot's wife as transmutation, which is using the same vocabulary as Eucharistic change. As the Biography of St. Pachomius puts it: "There is the wife of Lot who was transmuted into a pillar of salt (*eis stêlên meteblēthê halos*), which stands as a paradigm for unbelievers since she is still standing [at Sodom] till present day."^[149] It doesn't look like the biographer of St. Pachomius knew the tradition of Lot's wife's resurrection or delayed the prophecy until the second and final coming of Christ and the general resurrection.

One last point is perhaps due to St. Cyril of Alexandria's terminology of substantial change. Dr. Ian Torrance's well-known commentary on the Christological writings of Severus of Antioch underlines the importance for both St. Cyril and his intellectual successor (St. *)^[150] Severus of Antioch who both opposed an abuse of trans-elementation (*metastoicheiôsis*) as some Christians were applying it to the flesh of Mary at the moment her flesh was assumed by the Word in utero. Mary's flesh was never transformed or trans-elementated into divinity (or vice versa depending on the accuser). It always maintained its natural properties and the human nature was not therefore destroyed. St. Cyril gave a clear sentential judgment against Nestorius, seconded by Severus in the sixth century against the Eutychian heresy; the Incarnation, the flesh of Christ, is *not* trans-elementated into the nature of the godhead.^[151] Therefore, the ensouled flesh of Christ was never a "first substance" or independently existing nature to be transmuted into something else, nor is the divinity trans-elementated into a fleshly substance. Yet, such a proposition naturally is propitious for developing a related question: Can bread and wine, unlike Christ's flesh, be trans-elementated into another substance (viz., the ensouled flesh of the Word incarnate)? In answer, "yes," for St. Cyril considered this term applicable to Eucharistic theology (as did the Oriental Orthodox tradition culminating in Severus of Antioch). It was Nestorius who first accused St. Cyril of too strenuous an analogy between Word-to-flesh and Word+flesh-to-bread in the years following St. Cyril's death, at a

time when he was trying to restore his name in monastic exile.

3.5 *Bread from Heaven: An Excursus on Manna*

St. Cyril of Jerusalem sums up his paradigms from the Old Testament about substance-to-substance change by declaring: "The teacher of children became himself a little child among children, that he might instruct the unwise. The bread of heaven came down to earth to feed the hungry."^[152] A probable Jewish convert at Rome called Ambrosiaster (a contemporary of St. Cyril) has this to say:

Because through its own power manna came from heaven, it receives the name of the Messiah, that is, of bread. Because its figure is surmised to have been an exploit of its real thing, which is now offered in the Church, so Christian people (whom Scripture signified among the angels [Revelation chapter 6]), as men eat the bread, that is, they [typologically] are the Jews [in the Bible].^[153]

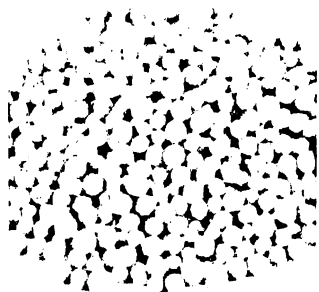
We have already established that water, evaporating into heaven (according to Hebrew, presumably Babylonian, and Greek science),^[154] goes through a process of transformation whereby what was moist and soft becomes dry and hardened, white snow and ice. This is what clearly has been shown to fall from heaven, inasmuch as the manna was said to accompany the morning dew, falling like a rain shower, upon the ground, being mistaken as snow or hail (Numbers 11:9). Yet, there is another complication to the identity of manna that will be important for our discussion in the next chapter that deals with the transubstantiation of water into ice in the Jerusalem tradition. Round, white, and congealed clumps also describe Arabian frankincense or incense! The Bible is exceedingly clear on the connection:

His feet were like yellowish frankincense (*chalkolibanôî*) as if refined in a furnace, and his voice as the sound of many waters [...] He who has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says to the churches. To him who overcomes, I will give

some of the hidden manna to eat.^[155] And I will give him a white stone (*psêphon*), and on the stone a new name written [like the tablets of the Mosaic Law (?) or names written on the icy New Temple/Jesus (Revelation 3:12; 12:12, 14; 19:12)] which no one knows except him who receives it. (Revelation 1:15, 2:17)

It is universally a problem for scholars to understand how there is “hidden” manna, but part of the solution is to understand that each pebble is a portion of manna having a new name, reminiscent of the patriarchs who received new names in line with Abraham’s change from an unbeliever into Israel’s Father in faith. Abraham first prepared (by ordering Sarah to make loaves of bread from sixty pounds of flour) to feed angels under the oak of Mamre.^[156] This is like the manna falling as a plague in Revelation weighing sixty pounds (Revelation 16:21).^[157] But why is manna recounted to be “a little white stone” for the believer? The first reason is that the Bible describes it as the size and shape of a coriander seed: “And the house of Israel called its name manna. And it was like white coriander seed, and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey” (Exodus 16:31). Most interestingly, it is elsewhere described as ice by the Septuagint: “Now, manna is as if coriander seed and its form is the form of ice (*krystallou*)” (LXX Numbers 11:7). Some Greek variants replace “ice” with the more explicit Hebrew: “bdellium” or crystalline resin used as incense.^[158] The Hebrew says: “and its color [is] like the color of bdellium (*habbədōlah*)” (MT Numbers 11:7).^[159] It is a little white pebble. This clearly means that hail and (yellowish) coriander seed are quite similar to each other and can both be consumed by the faithful, but the angelic portions (sixty pounders) are thrown down as a curse for unbelievers on earth! What more significance is this pebble of frankincense or bdellium? The Arabian product is described in ancient sources over three centuries before Christ thus: “frankincense-manna (*manna libanou*) is notably pure white, granular.”^[160] For all intents and purposes, these two products looked the same.

Coriander



Arabian Resin (frankincense)



This makes the technical name for Arabian frankincense: “manna,” a curiosity enjoying a relationship to the manna that falls from heaven (both of which can be called ice [*krystallos*]), as peculiar to the Hebrew Scriptures, since the Arabian product is burnt on the Second Temple altar of incense by name: “They said: Here we send you money; so buy with the money burnt offerings and sin offerings and manna [Arabian frankincense] and prepare a grain offering, and offer them on the altar of the Lord our God” (LXX Baruch 1:10). First-century Jews like Josephus (not to mention Philo his predecessor) correctly supplied the etymology for the word manna, from “*mah*,” meaning something like: “What is [it]”?^[161]

To understand why the New Testament plays on the idea of manna being *both* heavenly ice-snow *and* arboreal frankincense, let us first look at the Persian magi carrying this gift at Jesus’ first descent from heaven at the Incarnation. The magi (a special clan of kingmakers and sages in Persian tradition, religion, and science,) brought three peculiar gifts: “And they did [Persian] proskynesis [worshipped] to him, and opened their treasures, and proffered him gifts: **gold, frankincense, and myrrh**” (Matthew 2:11). First, we compare this to the prophetic Psalm:

The Kings of Tarshish and the isles shall proffer gifts, the kings of the Arabs (*Arabôn*) and Sheba [Arabia] shall bring

forth gifts and shall perform proskynesis to him and all nations shall serve him [...] And he shall search and there shall be given to him from **the gold of Arabia** (*chrysiou tês Arabias*) and he shall pray about this matter throughout the whole day; he shall bless the Lord. (LXX Psalm 71:10-11, 15)

If we compare this with the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is enlightening:

Behind the second veil, the part of the tent which is called the Holy of Holies, which had **the golden censer** and the ark of the covenant overlaid on all sides with **gold**, in which were the **golden pot** that had the manna, Aaron's staff that budded, and the tablets of the [Mosaic] covenant (Hebrews 9:3-4).

First, the markedly Arabian gold and Persian act of kingly worship is a common Matthew-Psalm theme uniting the two passages. Then, there is the manna that corresponds to Arabian frankincense imported by the magi, when comparing Matthew to Hebrews. Next, what are we to make of the "staff of miracles" in Hebrews? Naturally, it is there as the sign and instrument of transmutation of the elements. The Arabian myrrh, too, as we will see momentarily (below) is a peculiarly Arab product par excellence. But should we dismiss the tablets of the covenant as if they are not types also? Hardly, for Hebrews is referring to LXX Exodus 34:1, 4, where these are precisely described as "*stone (lithines) tablets*" written by "the finger of God" just like the transmutation miracle from dust-to-gnats in Exodus. All the essential pieces are here: **Arabian gold** (for pot and censer), Arabian frankincense-manna, the miracle-staff of plagues and Passover, and *a stone* both unhewn (a sign of Christ) and something dedicated or transformable into a new substance, as a sign of God's covenant in Arabia. In this case it is merely to be written upon by the finger of God, not turned into a person or another thing (though Christ typologically is the New Law). In chapter 34 of Exodus, God makes his covenant in Arabia (Sinai) writing on stone and orders both a feast of unleavened

bread and the dedication of the firstborn who opens a mother's womb. How appropriate, then, that Arabian **gold**, frankincense and myrrh remind us specifically of Arabia and Yahweh's descent face-to-face to Moses, not unlike the first appearance of Jesus at his birth. Later in life, when Jesus is fasting in the desert, he is likened to Moses who wrote down the covenant in stone, spending forty days and nights without drinking water or eating bread. Moses came down from the mountain as Jesus comes down from heaven and as he later came out of the desert to be confronted by Satan. Moses comes and by prayer supplies the Israelites manna in their hunger and Jesus gives his disciples himself to eat. To reemphasize this connection between Jesus, the manna, and manna-incense offered as our burnt incense holocaust to God for sin, the Book of Revelation sums up the previous discussion nicely:

When he opened the seventh seal, there was silence in heaven for about half an hour. And I saw the seven angels who stand before God, and to them were given seven trumpets. Then another angel, having **golden frankincense**, came and stood at the altar. He was given much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all the saints upon the **golden altar** which was before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the saints, ascended before God *from the angel's hand*. Then the angel took frankincense, filled it with fire from the altar, and threw it to the earth [compare, below, to Isaiah 6:6]. And there were thunderings and voices (*phônai*) [of the heavenly waters],^[162] lightnings and an earthquake. So the seven angels who had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound. The first angel sounded: And hail and fire followed, mingled with blood, and they were thrown to the earth [...] trees were burned up and all green grass was burned up.^[163] (Revelation 8:1-7)

We see frankincense-manna rained down upon earth with fire, as if the yellowish and crystalline Sulphur along with its fire mixed with rain as in Sodom and Gomorrah (though manna is

normally a blessing as with Jesus Incarnate or the bread from heaven) from where angels live (viz., near the firmament). This is an oblique reference to where the manna is said to dwell, in the place of heaven where the angels dwell: "It rained on them manna to eat and he gave them bread from heaven, man ate the bread of angels" (LXX Psalm 77:24-25). In Revelation, if we hear Jesus's voice in the clouds of heavenly waters or his sounding, and we believe in him as the heavenly manna, then we shall eat the manna: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock. If anyone hears my voice (*phônes*) and opens the door, I will come into him and dine with him, and he with Me" (Revelation 3:20). The voice that is echoing at the doors of the churches on earth ultimately connects to doors of the firmament in heaven for its water and ice, whence Jesus's voice in the clouds comes:

After these things I looked, and behold, a door standing open in heaven. And the first voice which I heard was like a trumpet speaking with me, saying, "Come up here, and I will show you things which must take place after this." Immediately I was in the Spirit; and behold, a throne set in heaven, and One sat on the throne. And he who sat there was like a jasper and a sardius stone (*lithôî*) in appearance; and there was a rainbow around the throne,^[164] in appearance like an emerald. Around the throne were twenty-four thrones, and on the thrones, I saw twenty-four elders sitting, clothed in white robes; and they had crowns of gold on their heads. And from the throne proceeded lightnings, thunderings, and voices (*phônai*). Seven lamps of fire were burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of God. Before the throne there was a sea of glass, like ice-crystal. (Revelation 4:1-6).

As in Revelation 3:20 there are doors in a church, hearing of Jesus's voice, and an invitation to eat his food, so in the next chapter there are doors to heaven to open with living manna raining down on earth. This sounds exactly like ancient Near East cosmology, whereby the heavenly waters are released by doors.^[165] By analogy, the Semitic backdrop presupposes that

there should be a great quantity of heavenly water able to be released by doors upon the earth!^[166] The stony bright Lamb on the throne is all light or a sun (Revelation 21:23: “The Lamb is its lamp”) with a rainbow around him, just as ancient Near East meteorology, a sign of upcoming rain. Next, a sea of water like the Old Testament is in the heavens (reflected by hammered out bronze sea in the First Temple). Both of these heavenly and earthy seas are held by a firmament or construction of worked metal (thus is water released by doors).^[167] The water in the clouds is frozen and is clear (still being water) but, being frozen, has been transmuted into ice or fleshy snow-morsels known as manna that are a blessing for the believers who make their thunderous music in the clouds of heaven against the devilish serpent (Revelation 15:2-4) and, thence, the sea in heaven becomes a curse of plagues (as in Egypt) raining down on unbelievers (exactly as St. Paul refers to the Eucharist being manna in 1 Corinthians chapter 10): “For he who eats or drinks in an unworthy manner eats and drinks judgment to himself, not discerning the Lord’s body” (1 Corinthians 11:28).

This is important to interpret how Revelation can have a negative view of manna as if a plague. We see that it is punishment in the form of an Egyptian plague, where a bloody and fiery hail (unlike the pure white snow or hail that falls as morsels of flesh to nourish) falls down to earth to curse it by killing life, just like Egypt once had been afflicted under Pharaoh. The white incense pebbles and hail share the common trait of being on fire and destroying. We also notice that the voice of the Father in cloud, who is overshadowing, and whose glory is light, had before blessed his only begotten Son at his baptism and Transfiguration by voice, but now uses the noisy waters from heaven in cloud (the voices of angels, and saints, echoing in their song,) to bring about a kind of anti-manna that rains down death and destruction and its sound is of the water transformed into fleshy-fiery hail that drops in sixty-pound boulders! Of course, the Angel of Death and the anti-manna are correctly portrayed as the Messiah-judge in Revelation.

Next, we see (from Revelation chapter 8:1-7, above,) that there is an allusion to a similar kind of angelic sending of a fiery piece of heavenly white hail down to earth *prior* to Jesus's Incarnation. Let us read Isaiah chapter 6:

I saw the Lord sitting on a throne, high and lifted up, and the train of His robe filled the temple. ² Above it stood [two] Seraphim;^[168] each one had six wings: with two he covered his face, with two he covered his feet, and with two he flew.³ And one cried to another and said: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; The whole earth is full of His glory!"⁴ And the posts of the door were shaken by the voice (*phônês*) of him who cried out, and the house was filled with smoke.⁵ So, I said: "Woe is me, for I am undone! Because I am a man of unclean lips, And I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips; For my eyes have seen the King, The Lord of hosts."⁶ Then one of the seraphim was sent [down] to me, *having in his hand a live coal which he had taken with the tongs from the altar* [compare, above, Revelation 4:6]. ⁷ And he touched my mouth with it, and said: "Behold, this has touched your lips; Your iniquity is taken away, and your sin purged."⁸ Also I heard the voice of the Lord, saying: "Whom shall I send, and who will go for Us?" Then I said, "Here am I! Send me."⁹ And He said, "Go, and tell this people: 'Keep on hearing, but do not understand; keep on seeing, but do not perceive.'¹⁰ "Make the heart of this people dull, and their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; Lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and return and be healed."¹¹ Then, I said, "Lord, how long?" And He answered: "Until the cities are laid waste and without inhabitant, the houses are without a man, the land is utterly desolate,¹² The Lord has removed men far away, And the forsaken places are many in the midst of the land. ¹³ But yet a tenth will be in it, and will return and be for consuming, as a terebinth tree or as an oak, whose stump remains when it is cut down. So, the holy seed shall be its stump."

Jesus calls himself the Seraph:

And as Moses lifted up the serpent (*ophin*; Hebrew = Seraph[h]) in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: That whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have eternal life. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved. [...] he that doeth truth cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God (John 3:14-17, 21)

He will be lifted up on a pole. He is the winged serpent or Seraph whose image was mounted on a pole to heal Israelites from fiery (Hebrew: *haserapim*) serpents' bites (Numbers 21:7-9). Jesus fulfills the role of the winged serpent or Seraph to save Israelites from their sins in the desert. Hence, the other Seraph in Isaiah chapter 6 is the Holy Spirit. Later, John's Gospel clarifies Trinitarian aspects of a Seraph mounted on a pole, where a second Seraph in the voice from a cloud and thunder is mentioned:

Father, glorify your name." Then, a voice came from heaven: "I have glorified it, and I will glorify it again." The crowd that stood there and heard it said that it had thundered. Others said, "An angel [viz. a second sent-being/Seraph from the Father] has spoken to him." Jesus answered, "This voice [of a Seraph singing] has come for your sake, not mine. Now is the judgment of this world; now will the ruler of this world be cast out. And I, when I am lifted up from the earth [like the bronze Serpent], I will draw all people to myself [like Israelites (to the Seraph), bitten by fiery serpents]." He said this to show by what kind of death he was going to die [on wood]. So the crowd answered him, "We have heard from the Law that the Messiah remains forever. How can you say that the Son of Man must be lifted up [on a tree]? Who is this Son of Man?" So Jesus said to them, "The light is among you for a little while longer. [...] Walk

while you have the light, [...] While you have the light, believe in the light, that you may become sons of light." (John 12:28-36)

In verse three of Isaiah 6, the voice of one Seraph resounds and then smoke fills the heavenly temple. Are we not to infer that this is frankincense smoke? Are we not to imply dually that this is the sacred overshadowing cloud on Jesus who is the manifest glory of Yahweh's presence?^[169] Are we to conclude smoke and cloud both are present? It would seem that both are actively symbolized. If there is a cloud, we should next expect in the realm of angels that manna or snow or hail descends as food (if a blessing). Hence, the prophet Isaiah (unlike Revelation chapter 8) receives from the hand of a Seraph (Christ) the descending coal, burning hot (frankincense or the fiery hail known as manna). Interestingly, in the Byzantine liturgy at the reception of Holy Communion the priest and deacon recite Isaiah 6:7 as their post communion prayer for reception of the fiery coal or manna, whatever the case may be! In verse eleven, we see the desolation of Israel in relation to this happening. This is the event that is twinned in Revelation, but there the bloody and fiery coal, the bread of angels, comes down to destroy the world with plague!

This shows the connection between the Seraph-Jesus (winged serpent) who heals the snakebites of the Egyptian serpents in the desert, just as the staff-turned-serpent had consumed pesky serpents in Egypt before the face of Pharaoh. Jesus points towards these Old Testament creatures (Isaiah 14:29; 30:6) and their symbolism in the first century in John's Gospel (3:14). Again, Jesus is self-styled the winged-serpent raised on the pole of the cross and the manna that descended from heaven (John chapter 6). Finally, Isaiah's chapter 6 ends with a prophecy that this vision prefigures: "As a terebinth tree or as an oak, whose stump remains when it is cut down, so the holy seed shall be its stump." This looks to be the prophecy of the child of promise in Genesis 18:14 to Abraham under the oak of Mamre, leading to its fulfillment after the lineage of Abraham

(and David) is temporarily dispossessed of its mighty kingdom, only later to be restored. The seed of Abraham that is born from a remnant, from the same tree stump or lineage of David, when all appears lost in Israel. This is the Incarnation of Jesus Christ. Of course, this child or seed is born of a virgin from the stump or lineage of David (LXX Isaiah 7:14). Let us note the coalescing of the prophecy around the Savior of Israel, for Isaiah makes recourse to a guardian, fiery-winged serpent: "Do not rejoice, all you of Philistia, because the scepter that struck you is broken; For out of the serpent's seed will come forth a viper (*aspidôn*), and its children will be a fiery, flying serpent (Greek = *ophis petomenoi*; Hebrew = *sarap[h]*)" (LXX Isaiah 14:29).

3.6 The Manna and Manna-Frankincense: The Arabian Connection

To understand why the idea of manna (*both* as cloud water transmuted into ice/snow/hail *and* as frankincense [LXX Numbers 11:7]) requires cultural (not haphazard) references to the ancient and Antique Greek world, histories provide a rather shocking link between Seraphim, frankincense, Jesus, and manna. We have already noticed that both frankincense and myrrh are idiosyncratically Arabian products associated with Mt. Sinai and the trade routes to Sheba in the Arabian Peninsula. The Asian Christians in the Book of Revelation are familiar with the trade route to and from Arabia, for it is mentioned as a known quantity by its preeminent and unique products: "cinnamon and incense, fragrant oil and frankincense" (Revelation 18:13). Revelation's description of and allusions to frankincense coincide with Latin and Greek sources. The contemporary Josephus explicitly equates the manna of Moses with bdellium (frankincense), writing around AD 93/94: "They enjoyed the food (*brômati*), for it was like honey, regarding sweetness and pleasant, like unto the bdellium of spices, whose size is like a coriander seed."^[170] Next, Pliny the Elder writes around AD 97:

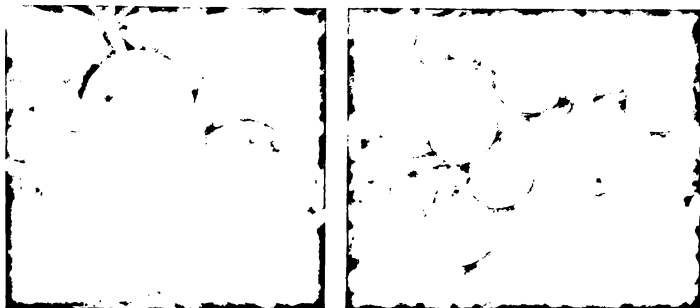
There are some writers who have incorrectly asserted that

both myrrh and frankincense (*turis*) are the product of the same tree. Incisions are made [...] twice a year [...] in the incense-tree. [...] There is a white myrrh also, which is produced in only one spot [...] The Arabian-islander [Sambracenanian of Saba] kind has none of the [aforementioned] faults and is sightlier in appearance than any of them, though it is far from being so powerful. In general, however, the proof of its goodness consists in its being separated in little pieces of uneven shape, formed by the secretion of a whitish resin (*albicantis suci*), which dries up little by little. When broken it ought to exhibit white marks (*candidos*) like the finger-nails, and to be slightly bitter (*amara*) to the taste. [...] The prices vary [...] while the very highest price of the cultivated [...] Arabian is sixteen denarii per pound.^[171]

Pliny's description of manna (*turis manna*) ensures its universal notoriety in the Greco-Roman world of the late-first century. So, when John's Revelation describes for Christians of the Roman province of Asia the manna or bdellium (frankincense) that falls from heaven, he is informed very well about this product, but he portrays additional knowledge of bdellium fruit and its tree as follows: "The sun became black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon became like blood, the stars of heaven fell to the earth, as a fig tree drops its late figs (*sykê*) when it is shaken by a mighty wind" (Revelation 6:12). This is a simile whereby a falling fruit is code for giant manna falling like rain, as with the language of LXX Ecclesiastes 12:2: "The sun and the light, the moon and the stars, are not darkened, and the clouds do not return after the rain." Once again, a meteorological phenomenon is central to describing the plagues in terms of rain and water in Revelation. But why do these stars (which are white or yellow; Revelation 8:10) fall as ripe figs? The Asian fig (*ficus carica*) is indeed yellow and looks nearly like fruit of the bdellium tree, whose resin produces manna-spice! Let us take a look:^[172]

Yellow Asian Fig
(*ficus carica*)

Bdellium fruit (*commiphora*)



This solves another potential mystery in the book of Revelation, for eating from “the wood” or “tree of life” (*to ksylon tês zôês*) is a technical term in Revelation referring to paradise in the garden of Eden (Genesis 2:9; Revelation 2:7, 22:14). To eat from this tree is impossible for fallen humans, and the plant (bdellium) closest to the tree of life was nigh impossible for Christians in the Roman empire to know by sight. It grew only in distant Arabia, as we show below. Therefore, its fruit could never be successfully imported to Asia. Instead, it was only describable to the average Greco-Roman to look like the yellow fig and its tree is source of both fig-like-fruit and manna-frankincense (and perhaps myrrh as conflated by Romans per the testimony of Pliny). Bdelium, that grows in one place on earth is nearby Eden or paradise according to Genesis and, so, is topographically a biblical sign nearness to the “tree of life”:

The Lord God planted a garden (*paradeison*) eastward in Eden, and there he put the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground the Lord God made every tree (*ksylon*) grow that is pleasant to the sight and good for food (*brôsin*). The tree of life (*to ksylon tês zôês*) was also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Now a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from there it parted and became four riverheads. The name of the first is Pishon; it is the one which skirts the whole land of Sheba (Hebrew: *Havilah* or Greek: *Euilat*), where there is gold [viz., Arabia]. And the gold of that land is good. [Ara-

bian] Bdelium and the onyx stone are there. The name of the second river is Gihon; it is the one which goes around the whole land of Kush/Ethiopia. (LXX Genesis 2:8-13)

What is more, the Greek historian Herodotus (around 484 BC-around 425 BC) testified to something like a seraph or winged serpents living in Arabia on this route, whence came the resin/frankincense tree or bdellium whose resin was called manna. The winged serpents guarded the manna-spice:

I went once to a certain place in Arabia, almost exactly, opposite the city of Buto, to make certain inquiries concerning the winged serpents (*pterôtôn ophiôn*). On my arrival, I saw the backbones and ribs of serpents in such numbers as it is impossible to describe. [...] The place where the bones lie is at the entrance of a narrow gorge between steep mountains, which there open upon a spacious plain communicating with the great plain of Egypt.^[173] The story goes that with the spring a winged serpent (*pterôtous ophis*) come flying from Arabia towards Egypt.^[174]

In Egypt, Arabia, and in Israel, the mythical winged serpents (now to Herodotus mere fossils) had gained such a popularity that the messianic King Hezekiah had stamped the fiery serpent on his royal seal in prior centuries (as the most religious king in the history of Israel (!)), as if it were an official endorsement of the prophecy of Isaiah's Seraph to deliver Israel from destruction by a child of promise (The Seraph proves to be Jesus who is called "the Angel of Great Counsel" in LXX Isaiah 9:5-6 who is linked to a broken staff of the enemy on his shoulder). However, there is more to Herodotus's record of Arabian and Egyptian belief in the winged serpents of the desert:

Arabia [...] is the only country which produces frankincense, myrrh, cassia, cinnamon, and ladanum.^[175] The Arabians do not get any of these, except myrrh, without trouble [...] The trees which bear the frankincense are guarded by winged serpents (*ophies hypopteroi*) [...] whereof vast numbers hang about every tree. They are of the same kind as the serpents that invade Egypt; and there is noth-

ing but the smoke of the styrax [bush] that will drive them from the trees. The Arabians say that the whole world would swarm with these serpents (*ophiôn*), if they were not kept in check in the way in which I know that vipers (*echidnas*) are.^[176] Of a truth, divine Providence does appear to be, as indeed one might expect beforehand, to be a wise contriver. [...] But, of the serpent, its form is exactly of [white-under bellied] water snakes (*hydrôn*). Its downy-membraned wings are not feathered but resemble very closely those of the bat. And I conclude the subject of sacred animals.^[177]

Herodotus was only able to see bones of said serpents, snakes associated with the white-bellied water snake that allegedly guarded the expensive resin changed into manna-spice or frankincense called simply “manna” in the book of Baruch. Every aspect of its description and association is reminiscent of Hebrew adoption of said serpent from Egyptian sources, as hinted at by King Hezekiah (who reigned 716 BC-687 BC) in his winged-serpent seal that confirms the righteous king’s use of this image.



On one hand, this seal demonstrates a real fascination with the Seraph, and this winged serpents’ shadowy ability to guard his Davidic lineage and Israel from destruction. On the other hand, Hezekiah (2 Kings 18:4) burned the image of Moses’s winged, bronze serpent on a pole (*nês*) to destroy it, because since it

was provoking idolatrous worship by burning incense before it. This appears to be the very same custom in Arabian lore by which the flying serpents are forced to relinquish their guardianship of the trees to harvest manna-spice. Hezekiah might have dealt with a recent, parallel cult to the Seraph (simultaneously in tandem with and superstitiously at odds with Moses's relic), whereby Hezekiah's iconoclastic reform distanced Israel from something akin to Arab incense practices before winged serpents.^[178]

Might Hezekiah's destruction of the shadow or prefiguration of Israel's savior by fire be allusive to Isaiah's Seraph holding in its hand fire and burning manna-frankincense? The wood pole and bronze serpent or Seraph dwelt on a tree just like the Arabian serpents of lore, where it guarded the manna-frankincense that, by extension, is the precious manna-food and livelihood of Israel.^[179] As we see this legendary serpent flies into the heavens (and is said to do battle with the birds of heaven) and lives in a tree guarding manna-spice. Might this Semitic and Egyptian background be the point of reference for later Semitic and Greek understanding of the manna-bread just as in Hezekiah's time and at the early date of composition for the relevant text: "It rained on them manna to eat and he gave them bread from heaven, man ate the bread of angels" (LXX Psalm 77:24-25)? The answer appears to be "yes," for an Assyrian chronicle dated to Hezekiah's time recounts a slightly different version of the same phenomenon reported by a military leader Esarhaddon in his historical expedition to Egypt in 671 BC:

In my tenth campaign, the god Aššur caused to take [...] my desire [...] Egypt. [...] I mobilized [...] I departed from my city Aššur. I traversed the rivers Tigris and Euphrates during their period of flood. Like a wild bull I crossed steep mountains. In the course of my campaign, [from Tyre] [...] from Egypt I mobilized my encampment and set out to Meluhha thirty miles of land, from Apqu [Palestine] which is situated in the border region [...] on the bank of the Brook of Egypt where there is no river, I let the troops drink

buckets of water drawn from wells with ropes and chains. According to the command of my lord Aššur, an idea came to my mind and I conceived, I mobilized the camels of all the kings of Arabia and loaded them with [water skins and water containers]. Twenty miles of land, a journey of fifteen days, I marched through [mighty sand] dunes. Four miles of land I travelled over alum, musû stones; four miles of land, a journey of two days, I stepped repeatedly on two-headed **serpents** [...whose touch] is **deadly**, but continued; four miles of land, a journey of [two days] – yellow **serpents spreading wings** [in Gazah-Rafah region].^[180]

The flying, poisonous serpents of Arabia seem to have, either diverse species, or different storytelling, two hundred years later by Herodotus's time (for example, he does not mention them as two-headed). It may be that the serpents are yellowish, while their underbelly is white, but the two-headed feature of Arabian flying serpents in the same region is apparently not a prominent feature recorded by Herodotus (and Hezekiah).^[181] Even if the two headed-serpent can be interpreted as an exaggeration of a discovery of conjoined twins, as the phenomenon is recorded and available anywhere, it does not explain Esarhaddon's ostensible exaggeration that his serpents were airborne.

In light of the historically relevant features of both Herodotus and Esarhaddon, the association of the seraph with Arabia and Egypt seems all but certain and the link between Revelation's "tree of life" and its topical sign: bdellium fruit or frankincense (manna-spice) (Revelation 22:2-3), are all associated with Hebrew manna in the popular mind. Bdelium is assuredly the most apt literary device for Jews who would have known the literature of the most famous Greek historian in the third- or second-centuries BC, when translating the Septuagint. Thereafter, Christians composing the New Testament knew these references. In light of the Septuagint, whose translations in the three centuries before Christ run through Revelation, the gap between Assyrian or Herodotus's histories and the apostolic writings is bridged. So, Jesus can prophetically be under-

stood by Second Temple Jews and generations of Christians as “Redeemer Angel” (Genesis 48:16), the Angel named “Wonderful” (Judges 13:18) who ascends to heaven in fire, the descending angel or Seraph (Isaiah 6:1-6) of the Bdelium tree who is burnt like incense, and finally as the “Angel of Great Counsel” (LXX Isaiah 9:6) and manna ice from heaven and manna-incense of perfect sacrifice as the new altar and New Temple. Hence, Jesus is the guardian spirit whose “voice” stereotypically signals thunder in heavenly and misty cloud, sending down heavenly hail-like giant yellowish figs or bdelium fruit (manna) upon earth (but frankincense or white-coal, that is, falling fiery stones edible to the faithful), and John the Apostle communes or eats this smaller version, though it tastes sweet like bdelium fruit, it immediately –like the cursed bloody hail– brings a sour stomach (like the bitterness of manna-frankincense resin),^[182] to signify a curse for the faithless (Revelation 10:10).^[183]

4.0 ADOPTION OF TRANSUBSTANTI- ATION (METOUSIÔSIS):

A Tradition of Three Churches

4.1 St. Leontius and Transubstantiation: Cath- olic, Oriental and Eastern Orthodox Tradition

We need to leave behind, for a moment, the manna of the Book of Revelation and St. Cyril of Jerusalem's tradition (above section 3.1) carrying on these metaphors in his explanation of Eucharistic change. Instead, we turn to Nestorius, who hailed and lived just beyond the borders of Palestine, who introduced a problem in applying a strict parallel between the Word being the subject of all Jesus's predicates and the Word being the proper subject of all Eucharistic predicates. This technical language just means that the subject of every verb in a sentence describing Jesus's qualities should go like this: "The Word-Jesus is hungry" or "The Word-Jesus died on the cross." This is just like saying Bob is hungry and Bob died on a cross. Nestorius, because of sentences like these with Jesus as the subject, accused St. Cyril of Alexandria and his party of transmutation of the Word into flesh or the heresy of Manicheism. Nestorius's focus, on extremely difficult to hear and to explain sentences, was to force

St. Cyril and his allies to say: "As the Word of God is not wheaten [in communion], neither is the Word flesh." In section 3.4, St. Cyril of Alexandria hinted at a worry; namely, that the Eucharist is not *merely* what is called a type of Jesus but something else entirely besides after its transmutation. His preoccupation in Egypt persisted well into the sixth century, where confusion surrounded both the term "type" and what this term points towards. One popular piece of literature for the everyday Christians attempted to clarify the relation between Jesus and bread or wine by the retelling the story of an Eucharistic miracle, which St. Arsenius the Great (born about AD 360-died AD 449) is identified as handing on.^[184] St Arsenius, an erudite Roman, equally gifted in Latin and Greek, abandoned his native Rome for Constantinople to tutor the sons of Emperor Theodosius the Great.^[185] Thereafter, Arsenius fled Constantinople (for monastic retreat) in AD 394 and settled in Sketis, Egypt. Arsenius clearly lived among the ranks of "secularly" (Greek) educated monastics.^[186] Arsenius related the occurrence of an innovation in the meaning attached to "type" when consecrating the communion bread at Eucharist.^[187] The scandalously new doctrine in the desert sounds very much like Nestorius's position on Jesus's presence in the Eucharist.

A central point of this episode is, like Nestorius, relevant to sixth-century Christology, where a monk at Sketis dared to reject that below the appearances of bread and wine is a fleshly reality in the Eucharist. The apparently Nestorian monk denied transmutation but discovers after a prayer-athon of several days that Eucharistic change replaces bread by Jesus himself so that Eucharist is *not* bread by nature. Before praying about it, he originally asserted: "The bread, which we commune, is not by nature the body of Christ but (merely) a type" ("*ouk esti physei ho artos hon metalambanomen sôma Christou all'antitypon*"). The debate became settled definitively by a reported miracle:

They went on Sunday to the church, and the three [monks] set themselves up apart on a cushion [...] Their mental eyes were opened and while the bread was put onto the altar a

child appeared (*ephaineto* [...] *paidion*) only to these three. When the priest extended [his hands] to break the bread for distribution, behold: an angel of the Lord descended from heaven, having a sword, and sacrificed the child and emptied his blood into the chalice. When the priest broke the bread into small portions, the angel also cut small portions from the child. And as he went to receive from the holy mysteries, only bloody raw flesh-meat was given to him. And he saw, he feared, and cried out saying: "Lord, I believe that the bread is your body and the chalice is your blood." And the raw flesh-meat in his hand immediately became bread in accordance with the mystery, and he communicated while thanking God. And the old man said: "God knows human nature that it is not able to eat crude, raw flesh-meat, and because of this **he transmuted his body into bread and his blood into wine** (*metepoiêse to sôma eis arton kai to haima autou eis oinon*) for those who receive with faith."^[188]

The story contains the following salient points: (1.) The anti-Nestorian Eucharistic theme of "flesh by nature" is central, (2.) The problem lies in the appearances, for they hide the interior nature of flesh and blood in the Eucharist, (3.) Transmutation at liturgy is described in terms parallel to the Incarnation so that Jesus is emptying himself (compare Philippians 2:5), (4) Once God miraculously removes veil from the monk's eyes, the whole substance of the child Jesus, and then a sort of gruesome vision of the division of the whole Christ, appeared (*ephaineto*) before the monk's eyes, (5.) The narrative ends with a description of transmutation (cf., *supra*, "*metepoiêse*, etc.") reminiscent of St. Cyril of Alexandria's commentary on Matthew (cf., *supra*, section 3.4). The overall language and vocabulary are suspiciously relevant for anti-Nestorian purposes post AD 451/452 in reaction to the publication and dissemination in Greek of Nestorius's *Bazaar*. The Eucharistic prayer that is quote in the story is from the St. Basil the Great and suggests that the real origin of the story is somebody who was in Constantinople (Istan-

bul) or Asia Minor near the capital. The major problem with the story is that it seems to agree with Nestorius's way of looking at Eucharistic change. Notice that Jesus's "body" is turned into "bread." The idea is that the heavenly body of Jesus becomes bread in the vision. Yet, the bread is really a veil, since when the moment of revelation comes to the monk, he sees that it is still by nature Jesus's body. As we can see, simple orthodox Christians had stories that were sometimes unclear. What does it mean that the substance of the child *becomes* the substance of bread and is yet *still* the flesh of Christ? This sounds a lot like Nestorius's accusation in the *Bazaar*. One item: bread, has two natures: bread and human nature of a child. Yet, at the same time and somehow, both exist. This feature of two-nature Eucharistic bread and two-nature Eucharistic wine will also influence the Latin Church. An orthodox Christian today can use more precise language saying: "the bread's natural quality, quantity, and effects remain so that the nature of bread is seen and experienced by the faithful. But the actual subsistence of bread (and wine) is gone. The Incarnate-Word provides the really existent substance or only foundational reality existing behind the bread qualities and activities." This is what the simpleton, but nonetheless holy, Nestorian monk was aiming at when he described his experience. His pro-Cyril brethren celebrated his mystical understanding of the Eucharist described in everyday language.

St. Cyril's party of Christians accustomed themselves to conceive of Eucharist as a parallel to the miraculous conception of an embryo at the Incarnation. St. Cyril's doctrine of the Incarnate Word in Mary's womb meant that the child was not a purely natural or normal substance whose foundation for its natural qualities was upheld by its own forces. The Word of God provided certain important first movements in human soul and in especially in the will of Jesus, so that the Word was responsible for the personhood or personality directing Jesus's human thoughts and choices and speech. St. Cyril extended the idea of a foundationally divine person at the root of Jesus's human

nature to extend to the Eucharist. There is a foundation to the Eucharist, the Word-Incarnate, who upholds the appearance or the nature of bread and wine that exist dependent on the divine Word. Now, without further distinctions one worries about distinguishing the kind of dependence that bread and wine have on the Word-Incarnate in the Eucharist and dependence of the humanity on the Word in the Incarnation so that we never say that there is bread-Incarnate or the wine-Incarnate (God forbid!). So, how does St. Cyril and his party of Christians make a distinction so early in Christian history? Well, as Cyril said: bread is actually transmuted or substantially changed into the Incarnate-Word, but Jesus's human nature *never substantially changes* into a new nature but always remains human in its every activity. Wow! The subtleties require disciplined thought: Bread, after being changed at its root is no longer bread but something else, whereas Jesus at the Incarnation in utero has a human body and soul that never loses a single essential reality but simply exists from its start as a dependent kind of being on the Incarnate Word!

In this context, St. Leontius of Jerusalem likely added to the docket talk about the Eucharist for his response toward Severus of Antioch and the same's challenge to the then dominant Christian party in Jerusalem, the Chalcedonians. Between AD 453-AD 457 one party of followers of St. Cyril now called Miaphysites (Oriental Orthodox) were in control of the Holy City. Again, from about AD 474-AD 518 the Holy City was technically supposed to favor the theology of the Miaphysite party of St. Cyril of Alexandria, since Roman emperors had gradually preferred and obligated the Eastern Roman or Byzantine empire to follow their lead in preferring the Miaphysite position of present-day Oriental Orthodox. Pro-Cyril Christians of this sort, of course, retained a strong presence in Jerusalem by their monasteries and pilgrims. Today's largest representatives of this church are the Coptic, Ethiopian or Abyssinian, Armenian, and Syrian Orthodox Christian Churches. Their tradition of theology might include a population somewhat less than 100

million Christians the world over. In Jerusalem, around the time of St. Leontius's writing, the Emperor (St*) Justinian the Great began negotiations in the AD 530s to reach an orthodox compromise between the pro-Cyril Christians who were offended by certain attacks on St. Cyril's reputation and Christians who accepted the Council of Chalcedon (AD 451) that had reconciled some of St. Cyril's critics to the Catholic Church of Christ in the Roman empire but in doing so had been rather lenient on those who had written very critical remarks about St. Cyril. Some of them were not overly cooperative in renouncing Nestorian ideas and affirming the truth of St. Cyril's theology. This reticence, or lack of enthusiasm, coupled with a kind of rivalry of Syriac-dominated areas in the far East of the empire versus Alexandrian-dominated areas at the South of the empire led to the need for some sort of reconciliation between Christian brothers as attempted by Justinian in a peaceful way in the 530s. While Justinian was not always even-handed (even violent [!]) against his own clergy, St. Leontius represents an attempt to reconcile with the reasonable members of the Miaphysite or pro-Cyril party that was intellectually headed-up by Severus of Antioch (former patriarch of the aforesaid city). St. Leontius's works were at times cordially stated and even admitted some problems that challenged Chalcedonian Christians, but St. Leontius was mostly provocative in challenging extremes among the pro-Cyril Christians that became known as Monophysites. In traditional Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox literature, Monophysites are said to follow the condemned heretic Eutyches. In reality, there were many splinter groups in the chaos following Chalcedon.

Pope St. Leo the Great had not wanted a council at all. To his merit, he had detected and written to the Eastern Roman Emperor Marcian that such a council might do more harm than good. We can say that the result of the Council of Chalcedon, albeit filled with very beautiful teaching and disciplinary laws that even Miaphysite canonists liked and incorporated into their collections of canon law, was to bring about a schism in the

Church of Christ that is still with us today. For his part, St. Leontius of Jerusalem was not afraid to challenge the pro-Cyril Christians (not merely the extremes). He spurred them on to a high degree of logical and philosophical learning to investigate and to justify their positions, as their earlier generations of pro-Cyril Christians had made generous recourse to Aristotle. Pro-Chalcedon Christians only warmed to Aristotle's works and Neo-Platonic philosophy gradually but clearly as a result of the challenges by pro-Cyril Christians and their use of philosophy to strengthen St. Cyril's teaching. Lastly, St. Leontius challenged Severus of Antioch during a period of ecumenical dialogue. It is important to note that this period criticized Severus primarily for his opposition to St. Leo the Great's *Tome* about Jesus's person and two natures, along with Severus's rejection of the legitimacy of the Council of Chalcedon that approved openly of the aforesaid *Tome*. Theologians like St. Leontius were skillful in distinctions and wise to see that Severus's own description of Jesus's person and the Eucharist were not problematic in themselves, but St. Leontius points out quite a bit of verbal gymnastics in Severus's writings where St. Leontius detects the efforts Severus is making never to refer to things like: "Jesus was hungry in his human nature" because of his party's commitments. Instead, Severus would say: "Jesus was hungry in what belongs to humanity in him." As you can see, there are real reasons for believing that the near-one hundred years of Hatfields versus McCoys beating up each other has more to do with a long-standing feud between these Christian parties than any real doctrinal problems. The scars of corporate memory from inter-Christian infighting go strangely deeper than the historical wounds of the body of Christ!

The central issue among the variegated branches of Monophysite parties was the olden question of the trans-elementation (*metastoicheiôsis*) of Jesus's human flesh into something divine (*viz.*, non-human) at the moment of the Incarnation in utero. Was this flesh-substance in Jesus literally and always the flesh of Mary, ensouled and united to the hypostasis of the

Word, or did the flesh purportedly become something other than biological flesh being physically taken from the Virgin at the Incarnation? Toward the end of Severus of Antioch's career (he was invited to negotiations around AD 533), while intense negotiations were going on to overcome Severus's opposition to Justinian's efforts of reunion, St. Leontius identified the position of the universally condemned Eutyches as a heretical case of "transubstantiation" of the divinity into flesh:

Eutyches says the same thing in that he uses the expression without any change, though the meaning doesn't stay the same, for he uses "one incarnate nature of God the Word" to mean that the nature of the Word was transubstantiated (*metousiôthentos*) into flesh, and that the Lord possesses nothing consubstantial [that is, he has our fleshy-substance] with us.^[189]

The meaning here is actually quite obvious, for the term "transubstantiation" signifies that substance 'a' (divine substance belonging to a divine hypostasis or Word) was changed at place 'x' into a new substance 'b' (humanity).

Christians who followed Chalcedon especially emphasized that the two-natures-in-one-person theory of Jesus guarded his flesh from similar substance-to-substance-changes, whether called "transmutation," or "trans-elementation," or "transubstantiation" of the godhead into another substance resulting in something not every way God. It is in this context that St. Leontius apparently took up the traditional word (writing AD 536-AD 538) that was used in his homeland, namely, "transubstantiation":

Every union seen to complete some newer nature shows that nature to possess certain things which neither of the natures united possessed on its own. On its own, neither a soul's nature nor a body's is ever hungry or thirsty [...] or just perceives a sense-object by means of its senses. It's just as in the case of the flute and the fluteplayer: neither makes music on its own. What then was the Lord—who [by their argument] is neither God nor man—shown to possess

on his own? “the reasonable answer,” they say, “is walking on the water in a bodily way, and that sort of thing.” One shouldn’t consider this to be a property of a compound nature, though, for God has often so arranged it that those of the saints who travel by water are carried bodily on it, though it’s agreed there’s no compounding by substance into either a nature or an hypostasis in their case! If, then, there’s no natural property (*physikon idiôma*) belonging to Christ in particular, neither is there any one particular nature that belongs only to him – not by a mixing together, as in the case of fermented liquors, **not by transubstantiation** (*kata metousiôsin*), **as in the case of the Egyptians’ water that became blood**, nor by transformation, as in the case of copper that turns into verdigris, nor yet by the necessity of a natural union, as in the case of a man’s soul that comes into existence in a body. Though a Billy goat has the ability to bleat [...] it’s still not the case that, if [a mimicking] man also happens to bleat – being an imitator of things that possess different natures from his – he’s plainly showing his nature to be compound! On the contrary, he’s revealing operations characteristic of two natures [of rational soul and irrational body] on the basis of that identical one nature of his. Similarly, the capacity to be moved from place to place belonged to human nature, but for the heavier [human] nature of the body not to sink, being carried by the lighter nature of water [...] that belongs to a divine nature. It has the ability, and ability supremely characteristic of it, to make (*poiôsai*) and to transmute (*metapoiôsai*) all natures, to cause them to exist (*ousiôsai*) and to transubstantiate (*metousiôsai*) them, and to deprive them of substance (*apousiôsai*), even though it springs from the same person.^[190]

St. Leontius’s Christological discussion is in every way relevant to the Eucharist. First, as a native of Jerusalem he naturally referred to the familiar and well-known example, by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, about the Eucharist changing according to

how the Nile-water turned into blood. This was not merely popular in Jerusalem, as we saw in St. Cyril of Jerusalem, but will disseminate into the Latin West, starting with Ambrose of Milan (below).^[191] Transubstantiation is principally applied by St. Leontius to Nile-water turned into blood but then extended to refer to Christology just like Nestorius and St. Cyril of Alexandria. Accordingly, Jesus's flesh is the central point of reference for such changes, where a nature or structural foundation for all human acts (e.g., walking) is the rational-animal aspect of Jesus Christ. Both pro-Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian Miaphysites agreed that neither the divine nature nor the complete human nature were ever transmuted or transubstantiated into another substance with a different matter or form. But there is something very important here. The term "transubstantiation" already used twice by St. Leontius will be shown to be native to Jerusalem. We saw that technically Jerusalem was occupied by Miaphysites against the government in the years AD 453-AD 457 because of the strong support for Christians that criticized the treatment of Miaphysites (Oriental Orthodox) at Chalcedon. Again, Jerusalem was officially supposed to embrace this same party's ideals between AD 474-AD 518. This means that St. Leontius grew up with Hagiopolites or Jerusalem citizens who lived in a theologically mixed culture. Hence, his choice of "transubstantiation" strongly suggests that he is using a local word that can bridge the gap and speak to the maximum number of Christians in the Holy City. This likely means that the word was common and traditional by both parties and likely dates back to fifth century (perhaps around AD 411-AD 414, when St. Augustine [see section 6.1 below] attests a substance-to-substance heresy of transmutation from creature to creator by invoking water's change to ice), as it never evoked reaction, nor comment, by later authors.

Next, among the kinds of change available to Monophysites, is transubstantiation, which means a divine replacement of substance 'a' with substance 'b.' Transubstantiation is most obviously understood by turning the Nile into blood.

Notice that the act of making (*poiêsis*) (cf. Exodus 7:22) and causing a succession of forms (*metapoiêsis*) (for example, cat-soul overcoming mouse-soul when digesting mouse-body into calories[!]) is totally different. St. Leontius sees in the miracle of the Nile the notion of the disappearance of substance ‘a’ in an instance and its miraculous replacement by an entirely new substance ‘b’ in its place. In the cases at hand the matter in ‘a’ and ‘b’ are entirely diverse; so, transubstantiation even according to the Medieval Scholastic sense is the best word to use here also.^[192] Substance ‘a’ is preexisting water, while substance ‘b’ has no explanation for its existence other than its divine cause bringing it into being to the exclusion of the prior substance. St. Leontius is used to talk about Jesus in the same terms as St. Cyril around AD 428-AD 431; any change in the human substance or divine substance is said to mean that the underlying matter and/or form is no longer there at all! This fits perfectly latter scientific definitions of transubstantiation in the Middle Ages (starting with Bl. Lanfranc of Canterbury, a sort of anticipation of Scholasticism in the 1000s, as we shall see in section 5.4). Now, transubstantiation is clearly distinguished from the more nuanced creating of an existent essence (*ousiôsis*) out of preexistent matter by its information or by a universal law of generation and corruption through successive forms.

Using an example of St. Leontius of Jerusalem, the important theological application to the Eucharist evidently would be that –like a human who bleats like a Billy goat– Eucharist might be the case of bread-appearance as something similar to the natural sign of bleating to signify goat-ness; but in the case at hand, the power of the human soul’s nature allows it to sound off in a goat-like manner. Thus a human can display a goatlike accident! By analogy, one can see that forming a Eucharistic principle, thus, has the potential –even if underdeveloped in St. Leontius– to harmonize with his notion of today’s transubstantiation, where: (1.) Bread would be divinely replaced in its substance by a new substance (God-man), (2.) God-man would be the underlying creative power “bleating”

or rather appearing to be bread and wine before human senses but a miracle-performing divine nature would really be what is underlying and producing these bread-qualities, (3.) Such that God-man could veil himself as a goat to our ears under the goat-like bleating and, by analogy, could veil himself as bread under wheaten appearance. Such a veiled reality would be understood by revealed faith not by sense.^[193]

It might be objected that bleating or wheaten examples are not, strictly speaking, styled so far by the term: “accidents,” for St. Leontius (in contradistinction to later Latin-Scholastic theories), but St. Leontius describes them only as more abstract and often essential *idiōmata* or properties. We consider this concern minimal, for St. Leontius’s own example of walking is clearly non-essential or accidental to Socrates. Still, it is helpful to see that, in his last example of transubstantiation, St. Leontius ushers in the notion of an accident:

Again, was the one nature of the Word of God, now the incarnate nature, ever not incarnate, or was that never the case? If this is unambiguous issue for them, one needs to hear from them: if it belonged to God the Word, and was a nature, and was one even before the taking on (*epektêsato*) of flesh, what did it take on when it became flesh, or what did it lose? If it didn’t take anything on –for the term “incarnate” isn’t used in the sense of change and **transubstantiation** (*metousiōsin*), **as when we say of ice** (*krystallou*) **that water’s one nature “turned to stone”** (*lelithōmenê*)– it’s clear that it took on flesh, that is, humanity. But what is this humanity, a quality (*poiōtês*), or some nature? If this nature that’s taken on is unquestionably a nature in addition to the one nature of the Word of God that took it on, they’re going to have to tell us candidly just how many natures there are!^[194]

First, Jesus’s flesh (his body and soul) is something temporarily acquired (i.e., *epiktêtos*) in addition to the divine nature. If the divine being, who is acquiring-divine-nature, keeps its original definition and activities, then it is not transubstantiated by

any new item acquired. Then, either the Word took up some mere accident or some other substance/nature is signified but as something not affecting the acquiring being's essence or normal divine activities. To illustrate, if God takes on humanity and God still does everything he was doing from eternity and nothing is changed in him by acquiring the humanity of Jesus, then the human nature of Jesus is somehow in relation to the Word, but the Word of God is neither elevated nor debased, neither made better, nor worse, by this new item that is associated with him. The Word is entirely unaffected, but the human nature is entirely in a new relation to the world as a dependent kind of being who is unlike a dependently operating Socrates, Plato, or Aristotle who all exist in their own right, on their own volition. The effect of St. Leontius's analysis is, in short, to say that heretical Monophysites purport that Jesus's body-soul combination was entirely eliminated and became a divine being, or they infer that God's substance was transubstantiated into a non-God substance. Both are totally unacceptable to any of the surviving Christian churches from that time until today. St. Leontius talks about Nile-water being changed to blood and water being turned to **stony ice** (or manna-snow in the Bible) as examples of a substance being changed after posing three questions (these are both treated by St. Cyril of Jerusalem, above, in section 3.1). These questions are more or less the same as those of the pagan philosopher Themistius talking about substantial change when commenting on Aristotle's *Physics* book 5, chapter 1:

Since somethings are transmuted per se (*kath'auta metabal-lei*), others incidentally (accidentally; *kata symbebêkos*) [...] they must be distinguished in advance.^[195] Now the sorts of things that are transmuted incidentally are exemplified by our speaking of an educated person walking, getting cold or getting hot. [...] The only things that change (*hê metabollê*) per se are those not transmuted incidentally [...] [for example] only changing place [etc.]. [...] In which of the following five [properties] [is] per se is change: (1.) what

change produces, (2.) what is changed, (3.) the time period in which there is change; and (4.) that from which, and (5.) that into which something is transformed?

St. Leontius asks these very same kinds of questions of Monophysites: “What kind of change are you talking about at the Nile and in Jesus, o heretic?” The key to his thinking about Eucharistic or flesh-of-Christ changes in these terms comes by unique reliance the pagan philosophers and friend of St. Gregory Nazianzus, Themistius Euphrades, who speaks in idiosyncratic terms within his commentary on the *Physics* about a participle and its meaning “to become stone.” Let us take a look at Themistius’s comments:

It has been demonstrated adequately too that transmutation is only in what is transmuted. It would suffice to recall and take as settled the definition of transmutation too (for we did say that transmutation was “the actual-resulting-thing of what can be changed”), but still it is worth investigating whether in general transmutation is in the forms [organizing principles of matter] and accidents, or in the places into which everything that changes [place] changes. [...] Transmutation does not exist with respect to accidents [white/black, heat/cold] themselves but is the [process of] being affected and of being transmuted – not [for example] whiteness [as a state and appearance] but whitening [as the end of a process of change of color]. [...] Some of the forms are said to produce change (e.g., the soul in an animal; gravity in a stone), but still [soul and gravity themselves] are not also changed per se when transformation into them comes about (for gravity does not solidify [water] vapor that becomes stone [*lithoumenê*]).^[196]

Interestingly, St. Leontius’s world is populated with what are called categorical substances of Aristotle’s ten categories of being. Sometimes modern theologians, whether during the Reformation starting in the 1500s, or theologians claiming by history to vindicate their critiques of past theology, claim that talk about bread or wine and other things *substantially* be-

coming the flesh and blood are foreign to the ancient world or ancient Christians. These superficial commentators, in so many words, purport that early Christians didn't think of the body and blood of Christ in terms of substances and accidents. St. Leontius and his Christian allies prove this to be entirely wrong as early as around AD 530, not to exclude the earlier Christians studied (since this exact example is provided by Augustine in section 6.1, below, between around AD 411). The discussion by St. Leontius is exactly that of Aristotle as commented upon by Themistius. What changes in the Eucharist, like the Nile, is the bread and wine, not the changer, namely, the Word Incarnate. What changes in the Incarnation is not the changer, namely, God, but the thing changed, namely the soul and body of Jesus. "But" asks St. Leontius, "is Jesus's human nature substantially changed at the moment of its creation and assumption by the Word?" The answer: "No," it is simply not allowed at its creation to become a separately existing substance by God who holds it in a state of dependence on the Word of God in a union where the principal agent of Jesus's life of freedom and human actions is the pre-existent Word of God. From these two great Leontiuses in Jerusalem, we suspect that their common teaching of the transmutation of water into ice, as a religious paradigm for change to Jesus's flesh, naturally spread from this international shrine-site outside of Greek territories. For their part, their use of water-to-ice reflects exactly the continuation of the scientific interpretation of the waters changed in Exodus, as Philo had commented upon in the first-century AD:

What happened [to Moses]? Later, around morning, there was much and thick dew (*drosos*) all around, as the camp was in a circle, which snowed [manna-]dew silently, an unaccustomed and mutated (*parêllagmenon*) shower (*hueton*). But it was not water (*hydôr*), nor snow (*chiona*), nor ice (*krystallon*), for these are all transmutations (*metabollai*) accomplished by wintry changes (*tropais*).^[197]

Several decades later, the Jewish scholar and apologist Josephus writes thus:

As Moses was lifting up his hands in prayer, a dew (*drosos*) fell down; and Moses, when he found it stick to his hands, supposed this was also come for food from God to them. He tasted it and perceiving that the people knew not what it was, and thought it snowed (*niphesthai*), and that it was what usually fell at that time of the year, he informed them that this dew did not fall from heaven after the manner they imagined, but cam for their preservation and sustenance. [...] They were pleased with the food (*tôi brômati*), for it was like honey in sweetness and pleasant taste but like in its body to [Arabian] gum resin, one of the sweet spices, and in bigness equal to coriander seed.^[198] And very earnest they were in gathering it; but they were enjoined to gather it equally; the measure of an omer for each one every day, because this food should not come in too small a quantity, lest the weaker might not be able to get their share [...] and the advantage they got by what [manna] was superfluous (*epiousan*)^[199] was none at all (it corrupting both by the worms breeding in it, and by its bitterness). So **divine** (*theion*)^[200] and contradictory (*paradokson*) a food was this!^[201] [...] This manna comes down in rain (*huetai*) [...] Now the Hebrews call this food “manna” for the particule “man” in our language is the asking of a question: “What is this?” So, the Hebrews were very joyful at what was sent them from heaven. Now, they made use of this food for forty years, or as long as they were in the wilderness.^[202]

This tradition associates Moses's hands with both becoming snow and with being the place where the manna-snow congealed. He lifted his hands in prayer and manna fell. There is a miracle of quantity (*megethos; metron*) with respect to this bread. Whatever manna may be, it defies the normal rules of aggregates of quantities creating a big pile. No matter how much was collected the same measure was divinely meted out and consumed by each diner. Finally, we notice that “leftover” or “remaining” bread is exactly the kind of bread that is prayed for at the Our Father in Luke's Gospel: “Keep giving us each day

our bread that remains for the day [like manna]." In the early AD 200s, Tertullian retained this interpretation in parallel with Josephus's writings at the end of the first century. For Tertullian, Jesus is the manna in the Our Father (see John 6:48).^[203] Origen, like Josephus, sees the use of "I remain" (*epeimi; epousan; epousion*) to point to Jesus exhorting apostles to daily prayer for his descent from heaven, the living manna, for them to eat as meat indeed and drink indeed (Origen sees here a fulfillment of John 6:26-27)!^[204] This forms a propitious connections between Josephus's description of "remaining manna" and the Our Father's "bread that remains [for the rest of the day]." This, decades later in the middle of the third century AD, is also the doctrine of Latin Christians, as expressed by St. Cyprian of Carthage, who sees the Our Father petition fulfilled in John 6:48 just like Tertullian.^[205]

The international intelligibility of appeals to what can be termed "meteorological transubstantiation" (of water into ice, snow, and hail) was still being assumed by St. John of Carpathos (around the AD 600s), one of the heroes of the now famed collection of monastic writings called the *Philokalia*, as when St. John was trying to find common analogies for teaching spirituality to Indians (or perhaps Ethiopians [both Oriental Orthodox(?)]). How nature transmutes water into ice, serves as the paradigm for the spiritual transmutation of the soul from *unnatural* vice into pure nature:

The super-freezing North Wind [like a demon] has such strength that it can transform the malleable nature of water into the hardness of stone. What will the hot South Wind do? If air very much cold manipulates everything to give way to itself, who will stand in the face of the cold? How, too, shall the heat not transmute (*metabalei*) everything to itself? For what shall withstand by its face the heat? In answer, we must believe that cold and black coal of our discursive thought (lately), or the light-formed heat, shall be [transmuted in us] by what is of the character of divine fire!^[206]

4.2 St. Leontius, Jerusalem, and Revelation: The Invention of the Word Transubstantiation

In between the centuries just surveyed at the end of section 4.1, we find the exciting discussion of meteorological transubstantiation most explicitly by St. Leontius, who knows the example of water that is turned to ice! St. Leontius of Jerusalem makes a claim that even a natural phenomenon (for example, water or its vapor/steam becoming stone-hard ice) illustrates a case whereby natural transmutation or transubstantiation is said to occur under certain conditions (*viz.*, extreme cold).^[207] His example is not random, for Aristotle best attested to the common language and examples from predecessors in one place of his works (accounting for Themistius adding this example to his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics*). Aristotle, in *Generation of Animals*, book five, chapter three, writes:

They [certain parts of plants] are hard and stony (*lelithômenas*) on account of the cold and its freezing effect. And in the same way plants, too, are harder, and earthier and stonier (*lithôdestera*), if they grow where the aspect is northerly, or in a windy situation [...] Hardening, then, is brought about by both cold and heat: the effect of both is to cause fluid to evaporate: It is evaporated (exhaled) by heat *per se*, but by cold incidentally (accidentally). In the latter case the fluid accompanies the heat when it makes its exit, as there is no fluid without heat. There is this difference, however: Cold causes compression as well as hardening, whereas heat lightens a thing's consistency.^[208]

All the pieces fit together so that St. Leontius compares transmutation of water by cold into another substance (in the ancient mind) that looks like the previous water, but its new nature is hard and compact.^[209] Water-to-ice is for Aristotle and Themistius a case of transmutation and the principal description of what the cold does to water is to make it compress and harden (even if not a trully substantial change for Aristo-

telians). Both philosophers see radically new forms changing water into ice, but ice (*krystallos*) is strange since it, in some ways, still appears to be water. ^[210] Next, like Philo and others, the rarest of participles: “to be made stone” is employed to talk about the kind of change that is happening. This coincidence is due to the fact that both Philo of Alexandria and St. Leontius are drawing on a common tradition, whether in the first, or in the sixth centuries. St. Leontius uses a new term, however. Why? He is a Jerusalem native and claims that his local people say with him: “transubstantiation” (*metousiôsis*) to refer to this kind of change when ice becomes stone. It is unsurprising if the everyday and popular theories of water-to-ice change are different from the specialized theory of Aristotelians. Nevertheless, we already saw Monoimos talking about the Eucharist as the New Passover and that there was a miraculous change by Moses’s staff in its basic elements from one Aristotelian substance (*ousia*) into another substance according to Aristotle’s *Categories*. So, too, is the case with the unleavened bread of the Christian Passover signifying Jesus’s Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and Easter. Keeping the disparate authors Philo, Monoimos, and St. Cyril in mind, it is not very surprising that St. Leontius combines all these elements into a discussion of the flesh and blood of Jesus and its possibility of substantial change.

To conclude on this point, before leaving off, we draw attention to a second St. Leontius. St. Leontius of *Byzantium* who was *not* a native of Jerusalem. However, he likely represented the monasteries of the Holy City as a sort of spokesman before the Emperor (St.*) Justinian the Great because he spent his adult years in the Holy City. In his capacity as one of the likely members of the ecumenical dialogue-team between Chalcedonian Christians and the Miaphysites (Oriental Orthodox), he also composed many works. In the same city, at the same time, and at the same negotiations as his namesake St. Leontius of Jerusalem, this second St. Leontius wished to talk about the changes in the flesh of Christ by using his namesake’s exact example. It reads as follows: “[The Word of God’s flesh cannot mean:] a

change of essence (*tropên ousias*), equivalent to 'one nature of the Word turned into flesh,' as one might speak of one nature (*mian physin*) of water turned to stone (*apolithôtheisan*).¹²¹¹ The two Leontiuses could not be clearer: A change of the whole substance happens by transmutation, as in philosophical and meteorological literature attested first in Aristotle and in religious sources by Philo. This change of substance was particularly associated with water changing into a watery ice that had a different thickness and volume, as well as other features, but remained somehow water by experience of human sense. There was an apparent sameness while yet a substantial difference. The common citizen of Jerusalem referred to this kind of natural change as transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*). For this reason, the native St. Leontius of Jerusalem replaced the generic word used by the pagan philosophers in order to substitute a clearer term with stricter limits for a more precise definition, excluding the idea of retaining any matter or form from the first substance at the moment of change into the second substance. St. Leontius's term was meant to apply to Eutyches's claim about Jesus on earth whose fleshly manner allegedly changed from operating by a human soul and human body, though it looked exactly human. The Monophysite heretics claimed that this human nature was actually an eternal impassible body that had been changed into the divine substance and was not really the genetic or biological flesh of mortal Mary! By analogy, water (divinity) gained new properties by becoming ice (God-man) so that water somehow substantially gains another essence replacing water-essence while yet still being or appearing to be water!

So, the meaning of transubstantiation among the common Miaphysite (Oriental Orthodox) and Chalcedonian Christians in fifth-century Jerusalem was applied to ice, when it is more or less watery, but ice is considered to be an entirely different substance since it did not have the activities typically associated with water, even though it looks like it. For example, let us imagine two aquariums side-by-side, both filled with

water. From a distance, as we get closer, we are at pains to know which is water and which is ice unless we notice that in one aquarium something is moving while in the other everything is immobile and trapped. This daily descriptive word “transubstantiation” was lifted from the speech of natives of the Holy City and positively applied to the prior examples of Eucharistic change (such as the Nile-river turning into blood and Revelation’s water-turned-into-bloody-hail) that helped clarify what kind of change the Monophysites were scandalously asserting about Jesus’s soul and body at the Incarnation! Based only on these factors, we immediately see the aptitude and perfect use of this term for the Eucharist. It is not attested outside of Christian circles; it is a word from the best possible example of substantial change for the science of those times and its meaning in Greek Christology of the 500s is entirely equivalent to the definition of the Council of Trent in the 1500s. It is perfectly situated to do all the necessary work for clarifying what happens to bread and wine at Eucharist.

This popular idea among citizens of Jerusalem was probably rooted in Scripture, starting with Lot’s wife was described as “becoming stony” in Genesis, but just before this verse, a yellowish crystalline stone (Sulphur) falls from heaven on Sodom that is mixed with rain and fire. This story forms the remote background for understanding such miraculous change in the cloudy heavens. Principally it is water miracles that best prepare us for Eucharist (as Nile-water being turned into blood and back into fresh water, and of course heavenly water turning into ice and falling to earth like the Word Incarnate). Transubstantiation was seemingly a Christian invention in applying a biblical principle of change noticed by believers in the Holy City, as mentioned in the sacred book of Revelation. The connection seems probable according to the following: We saw that Aristotle discusses the kind of radical change that water goes through to become ice. This discussion had been earlier developed by the universally renowned atomistic philosopher Empedocles. It was, thereafter, discussed by both Latin and Greek

authors (whether secular or religious) everywhere prior to the century of composition for the New Testament. What was especially discussed by Aristotle and Stoic philosophers was the formation in the heavens of ice from water that leads to hail. This transmutation was cited additionally in Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* (95a16-35), *Meteorology* (347b35-348b35), and other minor mentions elsewhere.^[212] Unsurprisingly, these considerations were taken up with similar Greek vocabulary as the translation of Ben Sira: "The cold air of the North Wind shall blow, and ice shall become frozen on top of the water (*pagêsetai krystallos eph'hydatos*), it shall settle on every synagogue/puddle of water, and the water shall clothe itself as if with a breastplate" (Sirach 43:20). Yet, Sirach ends the chapter by saying prophetically about these marvels of creation: "To the godly he has given his wisdom [to know about these hidden mysteries]" (Sirach 43:33). After all, from Anaxagoras to Aristotle, too many unexplained facets of meteorology remained (a mystery that would not be unraveled until the twentieth century [!]). Why is this prophetic description of frozen water important for the mysteries of God's physical laws of nature in Sirach? Well, the same scientific vocabulary and phraseology (for ice-like manna) is reproduced in passages in the Book of Revelation (as transubstantiation of water into hail and blood in sections 3.4-3.5):

[A.] Then I, John, saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband. And I heard a loud voice from heaven saying, "Behold, the tent of God is with men, and he will make his tent with them (compare John 1:14), and they shall be his people. God himself will be with them and be their God." [B.] Then he who sat on the throne said, "Behold, I make (*poiô*) all things new (*kaina*)." And He said to me, "Write, for these words are true and faithful." [...]

[C.] I will give of the fountain of the water of life freely to him who thirsts. [...] Then one of the seven angels [...] came to me and talked with me, saying, "Come, I will show you

the bride, the Lamb's wife." And he carried me away in the Spirit to a great and high mountain, and showed me the great city, the holy Jerusalem (compare Luke 4:1-6), descending out of heaven from God [...]. [water now turns to stone: transubstantiation!]

[D.] [New Jerusalem's] light was like a most precious stone, like [...] stone (*lithôî*), clear as ice-crystal (*krystallizonti*). Also she had a great and high wall with twelve gates [...] and names written on them, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel.^[213] [...] Now the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them were the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb. [...] the Lord God almighty and the Lamb are its temple. (A-D = Revelation 21:2-3, 5-7, 9-12, 14, 22-24)

St. Leontius of Jerusalem, unsurprisingly, reechoes a potentially popular tradition in Jerusalem born out of the city's association with the Incarnation (or New Temple) and the Eucharist (or transmutation of matter into new substances). Let us start with the A-B relationship. Jesus is clearly the New Jerusalem who is the Temple not-made-by-human hands, who will die and raise in three days (John 2:19). He descended and transformed flesh by elevating it into the one person of the Word who "made his dwelling [or pitched his tent] among us" (John 1:14). Revelation plays on the Gospel of John chapter 1. The result is that the Lamb essentially declares: "I transmute all things new." The reason why the Incarnation is a model for Eucharist is because the taking up of flesh elevated it from creature to being something united to God and worthy of worship, while yet still physical, in virtue of the person to whom it is united.

C-D: This means that the Old Temple, which was merely a shadow and creature, is elevated to the *Shem* or divine presence made anew in a more literal way than anything in the theophanies or divine presences in the First Temple of Solomon made by human hands (for example, Acts 7:48). This elevation of a human nature into the divine substance, while maintaining its humanity and operations, is the model for a more substan-

tial change, by analogy, called transubstantiation. Look at how terms used by the Jerusalem populace of the fifth/sixth century commonly reflect the naming of their city in the Bible as the symbolic place of transmutation of the elements in C-D. Jesus's symbolic marriage, by coming in his Temple-flesh, that is his marriage of divinity to humanity and, by extension, to all the human nations who come to him (called technically Jesus's consubstantiality with our flesh, which is denied by the heretic Eutyches). In C above, Jesus pours forth water as a refreshing drink from his person (which is apparently the blood flowing from him, as sung by the saints in Revelation chapter 4). The allusion that we are to make is seemingly to Luke 4:1-6, where the devil tempts Jesus to transmute rocks into bread: "And the devil said to Him, 'If You are the Son of God, command this stone to become bread'" (Luke 4:3). In reaction, Jesus retorts: "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word of God" (Luke 4:4). We already saw that this verse may be a play on the manna-stones or ice-hail-frost manna that was found to be eaten. This interpretation continues immediately, thus, because like Luke 4:5, the devil takes Jesus immediately up to a high mountain to look at the kingdoms of world. Elsewhere we find out this is the Temple's high tower on mount Zion (Matthew 5:5). Is it any coincidence that the building in which the icy sea made of Bronze (in Solomon's Temple) is the place from which Jesus, the manna, overlooks the kingdoms of the world. Hence, in D above, it reveals that "the Word from the mouth of God" that brings life is the manna or Word-made-flesh to be consumed in order to give life to the believer, as if he is also a refreshing drink (compare John 6:55-56). The devil, ironically, does not realize Jesus is describing himself as the Word from God's mouth, descending to earth like manna, who gives his flesh for the life of the world!

Notice, in D above, we transition from Jesus as the Temple-flesh to be destroyed and raised on the third day (which is meat indeed and drink indeed) to a description of the Temple-flesh or its stones. The Lamb (whose Passover flesh is eaten whole and without breaking his bones in Exodus) is all

light (divinity) and the New Jerusalem come down is nearly or almost transmuted into flesh. This is what Eutyches misses. Revelation has Jesus, the rock, the (corner-)stone rejected by the builders, described as descending and being constructed with stones that are “*like* the most precious stone (*lithos*).” This is a simile not a metaphor, nor an analogy. Hence, there is a comparison but not a perfect parallel. Jesus as light does not literally or physically become flesh, but is *as if* he becomes some other substance, since his flesh and blood, or the water from his side, become stone that is described as “crystal” or ice, just like the people of Jerusalem and St. Leontius describe water that becomes ice in transubstantiation. Here, Revelation, citizens of fifth-century Jerusalem, and St. Leontius of Jerusalem, all use the traditional image of substantial change of water into ice in the context of speaking about Jesus becoming flesh and about the water from his side refreshing believers on earth. Also, in D above, is the fact that the Temple has descended into the synagogue (or people’s assembly, as below in chapter 22). The dwelling of Christ as rainwater from the cloud and as transubstantiated in the heavenly liturgy, as he comes down from heaven as ice, is not about his first Incarnation in utero, but his liturgical quasi-Incarnation whereby water becomes ice, or bread and wine become the body and blood. The reference is to the worship of the New Jerusalem or Incarnate Jesus in the midst of his people still on earth. This is the celebration of Mass, not the literal first Incarnation in the womb of Mary.

There is every reason to believe that, despite the lack of liturgical use of the Book of Revelation at divine liturgy in the lectionaries of Jerusalem and Antioch, Revelation made an impact on the fifth-century citizens of Jerusalem since it had long been canonized as Scripture. St. Leontius’s lack of explicit mention of it is not unusual for how the book of Revelation was used cautiously in public preaching. The Lamb’s light is made into ice or crystalized-stone, which is used in Aristotelian, Stoic, and Roman literature to refer to rain-become-ice that falls to earth. Jesus is the water that flows down from the throne of the

Lamb (below in chapter 22), or the water from the side of Christ on the cross (John chapter 19) that, at Mass, is transmuted or transubstantiated into ice or what appears on the surface to be ice but is below still the nature of water as in chapter 22 of Revelation. This simply completes the picture of his identity adopted at the beginning of the book where Jesus is noticed by: “his head and his white hairs as white wool, as if snow (*chiôn*) and his eyes as a flame of fire (*pyros*) [...] and his voice as a voice of many waters (*hydatôn*)” (Revelation 1:14-15; LXX Daniel 7:9). One substance becomes a new substance, but in some ways remains looking like what it always had been. Jesus’s form, nature, or appearance as snow was already anticipated at the Transfiguration, where Matthew attests: “His form (*eidea*) was like lightning, and his clothing as white as snow” (Matthew 28:3). Jesus’s renewed form is as a cloud-storm of snow, ice, or hail; he is in manna-form, white as wool in his resurrected state. Thus is the ancient and Antique fascination with water-turned-to-ice/snow in the lightening and thundering clouds. This could hardly have been lost on St. Leontius in Jerusalem and it likely accounts for the people’s popular application of the Greek term “transubstantiation” to water-into-ice change as in the heavenly-water-come-down-to-earth, just like ice and hail are perfect metaphors and used as a simile in Revelation to talk about the Word made flesh in the form of manna or an icy New Temple. Whether secular, scientific, or medieval texts are concerned, Revelation’s reference to the Lamb as the Temple that is made of crystalline stone of ice is unmistakably an allusion to water covered over with ice. Let us prove the point by the next section of Revelation that completes the literary circle that began at Revelation 21:2. We read on:

The city had no need of the sun [...] the glory of God illuminated it. The Lamb is its light [...] those who are saved shall walk in its light [...] And he showed me a pure river (*potamon*) of water (*hydatos*) of life, clear as ice-crystal (*krystallon*), proceeding (*ekporeuomenon*) from the Lamb and throne of God. In the middle of its street, and on either

side of the river, was the wood (*ksylon*) of life, which bore twelve fruits, each tree yielding its fruit every month.^[214] The leaves of the wood were for the healing of the nations. And there shall be no more curse, but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it, and his servants shall serve Him. They shall see his face, and his name shall be on their foreheads. [...] They need no lamp, nor light of the sun, for the Lord God gives them light. And they shall reign forever and ever. (Revelation 22:1-5)

The mention of the “river of water” is peculiar to LXX Exodus 4:9. It is reminiscent of Moses’s staff changing the nature of the waters, as we have seen. This sets up Revelation to develop the Septuagint or Greek Bible’s interest in crystalline water or ice-covered water. The Psalmist shocks us with a foreshadowing of the Incarnation and Eucharist, proclaiming:

Praise the Lord, O Jerusalem! Praise your God, O Zion! [...] He has blessed your children within you. [...] and fiery dough fell upon you. And fills you with the finest wheat. He sends out his word (*logion*) to the earth; his word (*logos*) runs very swiftly. He gives snow (*chiona*) like wool [compare the hand of Moses in Exodus 4:6]; He sprinkles steam (*omichlên*) like ashes; he casts out ice [hail] (*krystallon*) [from heaven] like morsels of bread/flesh (*psômous*). Who can stand by his appearance, his cold [ice]? He sends out His word (*logon*) and melts/loses flesh (*têksei*); he causes his wind to blow, and the waters flow. He declares his word to Jacob, his statutes and his judgments to Israel. He has not done thus to another nation (Psalm 147:12-19)

Not only does the scientific backdrop agree with St. Leontius in the mysterious change of water into ice, but Revelation reflects Old Testament interpretation using the Greek vocabulary that points to the same phenomena, namely, Zion’s Temple at Jerusalem (now the New Jerusalem of Jesus and his new baptized nation) are the people to whom the Lord’s Word was sent down just like snowflakes. Eucharist is like the steam turned to flakes (as we also find in Aristotelian treatises), and like pieces

of bread and flesh (the term has a double meaning Greek and in Hebrew). The references here are to the manna from heaven that turns into flesh and then loses its fleshy-nature later (*têksei*).^[215] In proof, we only need to turn to LXX Numbers 11:7: “The manna is as if the seed of coriander and the shape (*eidos*) of it, as the shape of ice (*krystallou*).” Clearly, the Old Testament tradition affirms our interpretation of Revelation. This heavenly light or manna falls from heaven onto the believers of the Lamb. The transmutations in Revelation from light, as if into physical substance, and from water into ice are meant to illustrate the Eucharist or heavenly Jesus descending as the New Temple and New Sacrifice of the heavenly Israel on earth, who then provides by transmutation a drink from the water of the Lamb’s side that is associated with the “wood of life” or cross nourished by the water flowing from the Lamb’s wound who was “slain from the foundation of the world” (Revelation 13:8). The speared side in John’s Gospel is reminiscent of the unnamed part of the Lamb from which the waters of life flow. This heavenly food, according to Moses and the Psalmist, is “manna” and explains why manna is mentioned in Revelation 11:19, where the presence of the Ark (the New Ark is clearly Mary according to Luke chapters 1-2) is associated with stereotypical theophany themes (earthquakes, voices, lightning, and thunder)^[216] but has added to them the notion of “hail” or ice from heaven!^[217] For this reason, we see that St. Augustine shall be cited regarding ice in his commentary on this Psalm by Bl. Lanfranc (sections 5.1, 5.4) to explain substantial change from one nature into another regarding the Eucharist.^[218] However, as interpreted by St. Augustine, this is not original, for it is anticipated in the Book of Wisdom. The Old King James version of Wisdom, as we saw earlier, is worthwhile quoting yet a second time as it expresses the doctrine most beautifully:

For the elements were changed in themselves by a kind of harmony, like as in a psaltery notes change the name of the tune, and yet are always sounds; which may well be perceived by the sight of the things that have been done. For

earthly things were transmuted (*metaballeto*) into watery, and the things, that before swam in the water, now went upon the ground. The fire had power in the water, forgetting his own virtue: and the water forgot his own quenching nature (*physeôs*). On the other side, the flames wasted not the flesh of the corruptible living things, though they walked therein; neither melted they the icy kind of heavenly meat (*krystalloeides genos ambrosias trophês*) [manna] that was of nature apt to melt. For in all things, O Lord, thou didst magnify thy people, and glorify them, neither didst thou lightly regard them: but didst assist them in every time and place. (Wisdom 19:18-22)^[219]

The manna was entirely like the hail and ice that was transubstantiated in heaven into little morsels of flesh that rain down upon earth, but by some providential act of God, manna is very quickly transformed back into its original elements by some sort of divine decree. For this reason Jesus says: "I am the bread that came down from heaven, etc." (John 6:51). Given these examples, there seems to be less and less doubt that the population of Jerusalem developed an idiosyncratic language of transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*) in light of its biblical convictions that there was something quasi-magical about the Eucharist in parallel to the change of the heavenly waters into a heavenly and icy food and its reversion back again into what it once was when heat was applied.

Finally, we must say a word about St. Leontius's sense of the term: "quality" (*poiotês*), or natural activities, of some substance 'a' that perdures after its miraculous transubstantiation into substance 'b.' In St. Leontius's example, goat-bleating (*viz.*, as an accident or *poiotês*) by a human, he deceives listeners into believing that there is a Billy goat present, although the nature (*physis*) of the bleater is human. Could not transubstantiation from a Billy-goat-substance 'a' to a human substance 'b' occur, where 'a's' replacement by substance 'b' still continues to bleat so that humans do not know that there was a dislocation of Billy-goat substance 'a' and its replacement by human

substance 'b'? Nowadays, this example is a given: Who does not know a movie where one person, animal, or being is replaced in an experiment gone wrong, by a clone, or double and either the horror or comedy of the movie plot depends on the believability of actor 'a' being replaced by actor 'b' where the qualities or nature of 'b' seems the same to the viewer to his or her delight or horror? This consideration takes us full circle, where we saw Josephus emphasizing the fact that the Bible's miracle of manna included a contradiction whereby the normal aggregate of a certain quantity of substance results in a larger clump. Manna is paradoxical, for its quantity of substance remains the same measure no matter how much or little is collected by an Israelite each day. These examples demonstrates that every aspect of St. Leontius's transubstantiation is, in principle, entirely applicable to Eucharistic speculations of the Latin-Scholastic variety as supposed at the well-known Council of Trent where "the whole substance" (*tota substantia*) 'a' is miraculously replaced by "the whole substance" (*tota substantia*) 'b' but in such a way that 'b' continues to show or manifest qualities (*poiotêtes*) of 'a.' Behold, a fifth- and sixth- century author who is completely at home with the discussion of substance, accidents, and their subject (matter receptive of modification) seven hundred year prior to the building of the Scholastic edifice sometimes maligned by Christians entirely unaware of their Christian past.

4.3 *The Oriental Orthodox Tradition: Preserving St. Cyril in the Middle Ages*

The pro-Cyril Churches in Egypt, Ethiopia (and Nubia), the contemporary Levant, and Armenia were members of the undivided church that was official in the Roman empire. After the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (AD 431), it was members of this undivided Catholic Church who convoked the controversial synod of Ephesus II (AD 449) that Pope St. Leo the Great called the Robber Synod (*latrocinium*) due to how St. Leo's fellow Christians behaved there. He was talking about the dis-

grace of a council where a bishop was beaten to death for his beliefs by his fellow Christians who were monks, doing so in full view of the assembly. This event is a stain on Jesus's followers commanded to love one another, even their enemies. This event still did not yet mark a point of definitive division between Christians within the Roman empire. Even after the Council of Chalcedon, it was only the gradual realization that Christians were never going to be able to find points of doctrinal agreement and a common interpretation of this Council that led to Bishop Jacob Bardaeus (AD 542/3) performing unilateral episcopal ordinations and, thereby, establishing a separate hierarchy from the official church recognized by the Roman emperor that signaled an impending schism. The gradual separation of communion, region by region, had not stamped out all hope until the last failed negotiations for union by the Eastern-Roman Emperor Heraclius failed to find bilateral support among Chalcedonian and Miaphysites (Oriental Orthodox) and was effectively abandoned by his successors in the late 650s.

These separated hierarchies found themselves in schism over whether or not Chalcedon was an adequate defense of St. Cyril's teaching against Nestorius. As amazing as it seems nowadays, the formulas and the berth allowed to interpret them were the main issue of disagreement. Today's main representatives of the pro-Chalcedon position are the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic communions and the main representatives of the Miaphysite or pro-Cyril churches are the Coptic, Abyssinian, and Armenian Orthodox Churches.

These last-named churches mainly carry on their inheritance from their Christian cultures of Antiquity. In many ways their theology and customs have frozen to a remarkable degree so as to give us a very close sense of what beliefs and customs of such Christians were then. Of course, there have been developments too. We would like to give the reader a brief exposure to the doctrine of transubstantiation after the onset of the sixth century among the great theologians and commentators of these traditions. As we noted, St. Leontius of

Jerusalem had employed, so far as we can divine, “transubstantiation” (*metousiōsis*) as the common word used by his fellow Christians in Jerusalem. Many, perhaps most, of these were Miaphysites in St. Leontius’s youth when he would have first heard this word during his studies. But, given the fact that St. Leontius has left us a term useful for ecumenical scholarship, what do Christians who centered their theology on St. Cyril have to say about Eucharistic change after they began to separate themselves from the communion of the Chalcedonian Christians in the 500s?

Fortunately, we do have testimonies that are very reassuring. We shall divide Miaphysite testimonies into three types: (1.) The metaphorical, (2.) the analogical, and (3.) the scientific. We shall skip those authors who use a lot of metaphors. For example, if we say the Eucharist is “the milk and honey of the New Israel.” There is not literal truth in the terms. We are supposed to take the liquid nutrient “milk” and the more solid nutrient “honey” and perhaps focus on how the chalice of Mass is like milk and the bread like honey. We should remember that the promised land was called by Yahweh the land of “milk and honey.” Thus, when we eat it, the bread and wine, we have spiritually entered into the world of the Kingdom of God. Again, we might say that the liturgical celebration constitutes the sacred borders of the New Israel. But, if somebody objects to our metaphorical interpretation by saying the New Israel is the Church as a group of baptized members, then we will have to check our metaphors against a standard (perhaps Scripture) to see whose interpretation is more likely. So, we avoid these metaphors since this is not helpful for our purposes. Secondly, the Oriental Orthodox tradition often uses the analogy of the Incarnation for Eucharist: If the Word took up and elevated the human nature of Jesus to be one with the Word at the Incarnation, then the Incarnate Word is by analogy come down and, in some way, unites himself to bread and wine. This analogy is entirely inspired by St. Cyril, as we have mentioned. However, Oriental Orthodox authors do not always agree on what points

of the analogy are exact parallels. We shall be selective and take those authors who best illustrate St. Cyril's double commitment: (1.) The bread/wine is no longer substantially bread/wine, as the Nile is no longer water but blood by the strike of the staff, (2.) The Word of God descended and took up flesh so that Jesus's human nature does not have a separate subsistence. This is just as in Eucharist: The Word Incarnate descends and takes up bread and wine that no longer have their own subsistences but lose some basic operation or aspect of their being that would make them a full substance. This, we believe, represents well the legacy of St. Cyril. As we shall see, even Latin authors like Pope St. Gelasius, tended to apply this kind of analogy to Eucharistic change due to the inspiring theology of St. Cyril on the topic.

I begin by citing Xosrov the Great (died AD 964). He might be known among some readers nowadays because he is the father of St. Gregory Narek, who was recently increased in fame by being named a doctor of the Roman Catholic church by Francis, Pope of Rome. Xosrov begins his discussions on the change thus: "He is the one who took flesh from Mary's virgin womb and united to this his entire godhead and now unites with this bread and cup in similar fashion."^[220] We see the metaphor. It is initially quite startling and worrisome: Is the Word now Word-impanate (viz., Word-made-physical-bread)? But this hyperbolic analogy is clarified later:

Truly [at the Last Supper] the divine hands were all-holy and life-creating since in creation mankind was given vitality by them and our regeneration of life was granted by the same means. For if the same hand brought Adam into existence, fleshless then, though now in the flesh, it is still the same almighty and all-saving hand which transformed earth into man, both spiritual and rational, and took bread and transformed it into a divine body. In creation it united man's spirit to his body, but now it unites the divine nature with the human. At creation, it says, he breathed the spirit upon their face, i.e. the Holy Spirit and created a living

breath in man (Genesis 2:7) and here it says: "Taking bread, he blessed it." Blessing refers to the gift of the Holy Spirit upon it, which was sent to Mary, effected the ineffable economy in her and united to God the Word flesh from the Virgin, so that in the same way he might miraculously bring the bread into unity with the Son of God. ^[221]

Then, at last, he concludes:

Offering refers to placing on the altar the bread and the cup which is the mystery of the body and blood of the Son of God. It is a mystery for the bread and wine are seen, but the body and blood of the Son of God are perceived. And the mystery is called saving [...] He also effects such prodigious miracles, transforming the mere bread and wine into the incorruption of the body and blood of the Son of God." ^[222]

The tension is the same in St. Cyril of Alexandria: There is both a transformation of bread and wine into something that they were not (a divine person) but there is also a union with bread and wine (though they are transformed[!]). The paradox is meant to convey in a prayerful and mystical meditation on the liturgy that what we see is somehow bread but not really and wine but not really. In other words, the characteristics remain but the "transmutation" (in Rev. Dr. Martin Jugie's Latin translation) ^[223] or "transformation" (in Cowe's English translation) signify a substantial change had taken place. A risk with such language is always making the Incarnation too stringent an analogy with Jesus's human body and soul that in every way remained of the same nature as ours in the moment of being assumed by the Word. The bread and wine are different, they are both transmuted and upheld in an explicit miracle by God the Word. There is an "upholding" of something to the eyes and to our taste, but the substance is no longer bread and so it cannot be classed with all other breads, whereas Jesus's body and soul can always be classed with other human natures (we call this consubstantiality). The Armenian commentary preserves the truth but leaves something to be desired, if someone is overtly interested in explanations like unto Aristotle's *Physics*, as we

have seen with Themistius and St. Leontius.

The most famous chronicler of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, Severus ibn-al-Muqaffa (around AD 905-AD 988) similarly hands down standard reflections popular among Egyptian or Coptic Christians on Eucharistic change reflective of an independent Church no longer under imperial influence of Constantinople. Severus writes:

It is impossible, the [heretics] say, that the body and blood of Christ is in the Eucharist because these had some time before been absorbed (*consumpta*) into some other thing [the divinity], as it is believed that they are transmuted things (*mutata*). I respond, with respect to the mysteries of religion, that the aforesaid should not be judged by sense, since our mind is unable to comprehend them and should be impossible for words to discover by which they might be able to be explained. [...] However, certain of our saintly doctors have used a comparison of a stone, out of which they educe, by necessity, fire [like Exodus and Revelation]. Indeed, the stone may undergo an utter transmutation [to fire]. In nearly the same mode, bread and wine, when they are consecrated in the name of the Lord, by descent of the Holy Spirit, become the body and blood for the use of many [...] Now the gifts consecrated perdure truly as the body of Jesus Christ in an ineffable and hidden mode, who hides from our eyes polluted by sin.^[224]

Severus holds that there is a modality of God-man presence at the same time that the substance of bread and wine is no more, even though the visible nature of the elements appears to the sinner (without a privileged spiritual vision) to be mere bread and wine. This is a precise summation of the teaching of St. Cyril. There is no doubt that the Oriental Orthodox positions in their mature expositions often coincide with the tradition. We even see that the theologians in the Coptic tradition use the example of normal things like rocks being transformed into what appears to be pure fire (whether in our scientific, or religious, examples already explored). This is not only the case for the

plague-hail, the manna, and water-ice, but also volcanoes and smelting, so that certain rocks in Egypt (coal, peat, and niter or potassium nitrate) showed these kinds of properties.

None of this seems to go against the earliest Oriental Orthodox theologians, among the most famous of whom is (St.*) Philoxenus of Mabbug (died AD 523):

Nevertheless, as far as these mysteries go, if we are asked, we are not able to speak about the manner by which bread becomes his body and wine his blood but confess only that it does become so and on its modality we remain silent! If someone wished that these mysteries be investigated by science, let them hear from us that the aforesaid are incomprehensible because the mode by which such things are done by God has merely been revealed by their creator.^[225]

This is hardly surprising since even the vehement Chalcedonian and perhaps best systematic theologian of the Greek East, St. John Damascene (died around AD 753), asserted this common cliché; namely, that the modality of explaining a miracle like this is unknown, but only the reality of the change is known since it has been revealed by Jesus to his disciples.^[226] Though the mechanics or step-by-step details of God's actions are said to fall outside of the pale of revelation, Philoxenus does believe that the nature of the change can be known very well:

Don't' teach him [the Jew] that the body is *in the bread* and the blood is hidden *in the wine*, and [so to say] that our New Man lives in some old place but rather urge him to believe that bread, which appears, *is* the body and wine, which he tastes, is the blood and that which descended [to Hades] and ascended [to heaven] is the New Man.^[227]

There can be no doubt that, despite *prima facie* misleading metaphors and weak analogies that are found in some presentations of Oriental Orthodox tradition, that the older and consistent key or foundation for interpreting these subsequently developed metaphors lies in the tradition of St. Cyril that both affirms a change of substance in bread and wine (like the Nile-miracle of Exodus) and simultaneously affirms the singular

reality of the Word made flesh under the appearances of pure bread and mere wine. The underlying substance is the Word Incarnate but the appearances are those that sinful eyes consider substances that they have long ceased to be.

4.4 The Eastern Orthodox Tradition: From St. Leontius until the Renaissance

The Eastern Orthodox developments on the Eucharist can easily be summed up by reference to the first systematic theologian of Christianity to compose a handbook of theology. This handbook started with God and the Trinity and ended by mentioning, among other things, the last things. Nowadays, a book that starts with God, then turns to creation and the Incarnation, and then finishes with the sacraments and so-called Last Things (heaven, hell, judgment, and resurrection) as simply standard. We have St. John Damascene to thank for this. The Roman Catholic Church and Eastern Orthodox Churches remained in indisputable communion from the time of St. John until at least AD 1054. While temporary conflicts were known to have interrupted a perfect communion in the centuries between these two periods, both Churches were very much assuming the same basic Ecumenical Councils and the same bishops and saints as their own, including joint recognition of the pope of Rome as the presider for all future Ecumenical Councils after the Second Ecumenical Council of Nicaea (787). However, even after individual Churches began to gradually fall out of communion with Rome starting especially around AD 1054, this gradually led to formal canons (that is, church laws,) enforced by the Eastern Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople to cease giving communion to Latin Christians. Formalization of denying communion to Latin Catholics was only put in writing just prior to AD 1200. Still, it likely took some time for this canon to be enforced in all Eastern Orthodox dioceses, even if the sack of Greek Constantinople in AD 1204 by Latin crusaders greatly accelerated the breakdown of mutual recognition and

cooperation between Byzantine Orthodox and Latin Catholic Churches. Most of the Christians who use the Byzantine liturgy today remain outside of communion from the Roman Catholic churches. The few Eastern Orthodox who at one time or another reestablished communion with the pope of Rome are today typically referred to as Eastern Catholics, Greek Catholics, and Byzantine Catholics. The number of faithful that Eastern Orthodoxy represents is well over 250 million believers. On the other hand, the number of Catholics celebrating the Byzantine rite is somewhere around ten million.

During this period of the Middle Ages in the Greek East, considering all documentation, the question has not changed on most known facets about the use of the word transubstantiation. First, there was a composed profession of faith that was composed as the result of Catholic-Orthodox talks and negotiations that was generically Scholastic but not based on the famous St. Thomas Aquinas's sacramental lists or his specific contributions to the discussion of transubstantiation.^[228] In fact, decades prior to St. Thomas Aquinas's birth, a verbal form of the word "transubstantiated" (*metousioutai*) may have been translated from Latin into Greek as this was plausibly quoted from a longer extant epistle of Theorianus the Philosopher (who wrote around AD 1170).^[229] During the time of St. Thomas Aquinas's writing and professional activity, the Greek translator (Andreas Dotus) rendered a Latin creed into Greek by possibly employing Theorianus's term "transubstantiated" (*meousioutai*) for his creed composed during the reign of Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII.^[230] The current history of the verbal term is summed up by Rev. Dr. Martin Jugie, SA, who long ago confirmed for today's researchers that the earliest *translation* of "transubstantiation" from Latin into Greek for the imperial court dates from a document originally drafted in AD 1267. Thereafter, the emperor of time, Michael VIII, had this originally Roman profession of faith or Latin creed translated for him thus: "This Church of Rome perfects the sacred rite of Eucharist from azyme bread, all the while holding and teaching

that in this holy ritual, the bread is truly transubstantiated (*metousiounai* [sic]) into body and the wine into the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ."^[231] It is important to remark that this Greek translation used to be dated to AD 1274 by the famous editor Mansi (following what is called the Wadding edition).^[232] St. Thomas Aquinas had just died prior to the Second Council of Lyon (AD 1274), on the road thereto. A copy of the Latin exemplar drafted (without St. Thomas Aquinas's presence or influence) was read out before the Council Fathers. Michael VIII's translation is based on this Latin edition known at Lyon. More recently, however, the Latin (and Greek) copy signed by Michael VIII has been posteriorly dated to after the council, as it is addressed to Pope John XXI (who reigned AD 1276-AD 1277).^[233] From here, the first uncontested Orthodox Christian known to adopt the *translated* verb "transubstantiate" from the Latin Council of Lyon was Emperor Andronicus II (who reigned AD 1282-AD 1328), but he had initially employed the term under the influence of his Father Michael VIII's unionism to sign a similar creed: "In this holy ritual, the bread is truly transubstantiated (*metousioutai*) into body and the wine into the blood of Christ."^[234] Thus, after St. Leontius of Jerusalem's attestation of the traditional term in Palestine in the 530s, or next witness is not until AD 1170. Finally, due to an educated Greek knowing the term from either St. Leontius of Jerusalem or from Theorianus the Philosopher, the term entered into official Eastern Orthodox documents in the 1260s.

All the same, it goes without saying that the Eastern Orthodox church in the 1200s-1500s greatly prized St. John Damascene's *On the Orthodox Faith*. In that innovative handbook for all dogmas or systematic theology, the substantial change of the Eucharist is clearly and indisputably taught. This handbook exploded in popularity in the late-1300s, likely due to the fact that a reliable summary of philosophy and theology was needed in order to dialogue with the Roman Catholic or Latin churchmen since there were about eleven different series of negotiations by various Byzantine emperors of the Eastern Roman

empire to try to find a way to reestablish harmony between Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox. It was during this period that a currently popular figure (St.*) Gregory Palamas was accused by a fellow Eastern Orthodox scholar of rehashing themes that we just saw in St. Leontius of Jerusalem. We remember that the term “transubstantiation” was originally used to describe the kind of change that the extreme party among the anti-Chalcedonians endorsed. This substantial change was in summary the supposition (wrongly) that when the Word of God or second person of the Trinity took the flesh of the Virgin Mary in utero to himself and became an embryo, he purportedly transubstantiated that flesh into something no longer human but something that can be called neither Mary’s flesh, nor flesh that is human like ours. What this transmutation was supposed to be was not clear at all. How do we have a flesh that is godly-divine; Superman flesh that has no weakness to kryptonite? As with the comics, there was and is no scientific justification for claiming that very vulnerable conglomerations of cells into organs and into a mortal body can be somehow be transformed into a non-mortal being that no longer falls under the laws that govern all cells and all living animals. We mentioned that both the pro-Chalcedon Christians (like St. John Damascene) and the moderate anti-Chalcedon Christians (like today’s Oriental Orthodox) rejected this extreme theology that was placed at the feet of the heretic Eutyches.

When Gregory Palamas began speaking about the Transfiguration of Jesus’s flesh on Mount Tabor in the New Testament some of his critics were claiming that he brought back the condemned theory of “transubstantiation.” The reason why we are interested in this discussion is in order to see that the other terms that are associated with changing things into Jesus’s flesh or changing things from Jesus’s flesh are the exact same terms used by the Jewish commentators, early Christians, and Fathers whom we studied in earlier chapters.

St. Leontius of Jerusalem likely accounted for Gregory Palamas’s and his critic’s (Nicephorus Gregoras’s) use of the

word to discuss the Transfiguration of Jesus on Mt. Tabor. As it turns out, this context is perfect to apply the term transubstantiation, just as it was for St. Leontius in his oblique reference to Eucharistic change and change of the flesh of Christ at the Incarnation. However, Gregory Palamas (unlike St. Leontius) uses the term in only a negative context, as inapplicable to Jesus's flesh after the Transfiguration. St. Leontius had considered "transubstantiation" a neutral or even positive word commonly used by his fellow citizens of Jerusalem to talk about subtlety in substantial change from one thing to another.

Nicephorus Gregoras reintroduced the term transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*; writing around AD 1350) into Byzantine debates with Gregory. Nicephorus Gregoras had perhaps discovered the term in his spare time that he often spent rummaging through Byzantine libraries for unusual books.^[235] By now, it was rare for anyone to quote from St. Leontius of Jerusalem's works. In opposition to Gregory Palamas, Nicephorus made an accusation that the Transfiguration in Gregory's writings smacked of heretical transubstantiation as follows:

First, we need to consider what "transfiguration" is, or, even better, what "form" and its general meaning is; that way we could make what I have said clearer. Because this word is used in manifold ways, when used of God, it is equal to saying substance, as the rules and tradition of our divine enlighteners in the Church has it. By contrast, form, when said of sensible beings, is the sort of quality/accident (*poion*) of this or that surface, which we see and can thereby we call its underlying bearer, e.g. an animal, beautiful or ugly because the form is seen in a subject (or surface) as an accident. Further, as its generic category is quality, we realize that, according to the subdivision of quality, it falls under its fourth kind [of quality]. Now, as we realize that movement (*hê kinesis*), which is a sort of accident (*symbebêkos*), too, occurs in substance, quantity (*tên poiôtêta*) and place, and is discerned even more in quality, thus producing the vast range of alteration/alienation

(*tês alloiôseôs*), I would be pleased to ask Palamas and his followers what his concept of transformation is. Indeed, the word does not signify anything but change or transmutation of form (*eidōs*). So, if he says that this is a change or transmutation of the divine substance, there follows that he suffers from the Manichean disease; what would be more impious than saying that Christ's transfiguration [of his flesh] on the Tabor mountain is transubstantiation!^[236]

Nicephorus Gregoras went on later to clarify that, by transubstantiation of flesh, he meant that Gregory Palamas had allegedly asserted that the whole form or soul of the servant-flesh of Christ is transmuted (*metabêlêsthai*) or altered into a kind of divinely substantial stuff (*tên hypheimenên [theotêta]*).^[237] For Nicephorus Gregoras, Jesus's bodily change from elements of the periodic table into a new kind of element (*metastochêiôsis*) is the same as our equally familiar terms transmutation (*metabolê*) and transformation (*metapoiêsis*). Nicephorus Gregoras's own position is that a mere accident (white/black, hot/cold, etc.) is superadded to the humanity of Christ at the Transfiguration, constituting a slight modification or alteration of his flesh by a miracle.^[238] Each passage of Nicephorus Gregoras gives greater precision to the meaning of "transubstantiation," whereby Christ's humanity allegedly remains under the same appearances of flesh and blood but his human nature is (wrongly) said to be radically transformed into a kind of god-substance; or worse, the divinity might be transformed into visible flesh (even if only physical traits are sensible by us).^[239] Either case can serve as a perfect foundation for an analogical understanding of Eucharistic change, where the traits or appearances of bread/wine remain the same, but the substance is really replaced by the Word incarnate. Elsewhere, Nicephorus Gregoras summed up his anti-Palamite accusation more concisely, saying:

Gregoras responded to the aforesaid thus, as was said. Behold, and now, from this, Palamas, as you can see, concludes that both divinization and divinity are the light of

the Transfiguration, and this in one of two senses: [1.] Either there is a **transubstantiation** (*metousiôsin*) of the divinity of the Word and its **transmutation** (*metabolên*) into an inferior divinity and anhypostatic light, [2.] Or [there is] an alteration (*alloiôsin*) of the servile flesh, as we said, into the uncreated light and [so-called] second unsubstantiated (*anousion*) divinity that belongs to the first [divinity].^[240]

Admittedly, we are getting into some new and complicated language. We shouldn't worry too much about what the idea of an "unsubstantiated divinity" is. What it mainly means to say is that God can be called a substance but if Jesus's flesh is transmuted into something new after the Transfiguration and this new thing is associated with God's substance, then it must be some numerically second substance that is somehow existing in the divinity but that doesn't have the status of an independent substance. Lastly, the typically Eucharistic term: transmutation (*metabolê*), is nearly convertible with transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*) in these authors. For example, Gregory Palamas responded in kind thus:

Now, who among us says that Transfigured-flesh is divinity? Because we are not just seeking out the transfiguration, but in what item Christ has been transfigured, or even better, having listened to what is written in the Gospel and what is said by the Church Fathers we do not show disloyalty at all. Who among us says that this transfiguration of Christ on the mountain is **alteration and transubstantiation of the divine nature** (*alloiôsin and metousiôsin tês theias physeôs*)? For Christ was transfigured on the mountain not according to the divine nature belonging to him, but according to the dignity of his human nature which he assumed for us, just as all of us faithful commonly sing harmoniously at church: "**He trans-elementated nature** into the glory and brightness of his divinity (*metastoiceiôsas autên eis tèn eis tèn autou tês theotêtos doksan te kai lamprotêta*)."^[241] Who among us thought it fit that **transmutation** (*metabolên*) is of the human nature of Christ

in relation to the divine nature, i.e., the Transfiguration of Christ on Tabor?^[242]

Clearly, Gregory Palamas can be perfectly understood in line with discussions stemming from the anti-Monophysite St. Leontius of Jerusalem. Gregory Palamas affirmed that transubstantiation of godhead into flesh is heretical and he denies that divinization or being transformed by God's grace means a transformation of a nature into another nature; but rather elevation of human dignity whereby a human nature is taken up hypostatically by the Word and manifests its properties that are communicated it by its possession of the divine nature through that nature's operations. Even though the hymns of the church used an exaggerated term to talk about all humans' incorporation into the body of Christ or divinization, even here Gregory denies that this is to be taken scientifically and literally but only figuratively.

What is more, Gregory Palamas treated the term transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*) as if it were standard vocabulary for Christology (though we now possess only St. Leontius's work that mentions it before this period). Later, others will use this term, like Patriarch of Constantinople Philotheus Kokkinos citing Gregory Palamas.^[243] Consequently, transubstantiation entered back into Greek Orthodox talk, as far as we can tell, until present day. The most important point of contact on this term "transubstantiation" must be George-Gennadius Scholarius (who died about AD 1472), who marked the culmination of this reintroduced tradition before the fall of Constantinople (AD 1453). He may have known the work of St. Leontius directly but undoubtedly knew the works of Gregory Palamas. This notion of a total replacement of one whole substance by another whole substance (without a succession of forms into the same underlying matter) is not merely interpreted by Scholarius philosophically but, like the early Fathers, he read all the biblical examples that are by now second nature for us (for example, Exodus 7:17).

4.5 Eastern Orthodox Tradition: From the Council of Florence to the Council of Trent

Gregory Palamas died during that aforesaid period when Eastern Roman emperors were time and again trying to find a way to reconcile the Latins Catholics with the Eastern Orthodox Church. A memorable attempt at this union, which ultimately did not succeed, occurred at the Council of Florence, which actually began in the town of Ferrara, Italy, in 1438. By the time the term in Greek “transubstantiation” may have been rediscovered in ancient manuscripts by Greek theologians, the Council had been transferred to Florence so that it ended there in the summer of 1439. Before the end of the Council there was probably an occasion for our aforementioned theologian, George-Gennadius Scholarius to become acquainted first-hand with St. Leontius of Jerusalem and his important teachings on “transubstantiation.” Scholarius had gone to the Council with his then best friend Bessarion of Nicaea, who later became famous for nearly being elected pope of Rome in a conclave taking place in the years following the Council of Florence, at which were both Eastern and Oriental Orthodox Churches, one after another. Be that as it may, Bessarion was a true bibliophile who loved gathering any Greek and Latin book he could get his hands on.

On 13 and 14 April 1439, Archbishop Bessarion of Nicaea was charged with delivering a public speech that is called famously his “Dogmatic Oration” at Florence in favor of union between Roman Catholics and Eastern Orthodox bishops and clergy at the Council.^[244] For the composition of his speech, Bessarion quoted twice from a manuscript or document containing St. Gregory of Nyssa’s famous work against the fourth-century Arian heretic Eunomius.^[245] As it turns out, the document he used (*codex Marc. gr. 69*) for his quotations of St. Gregory of Nyssa also had within the same codex or book the works of St. Leontius of Jerusalem!^[246] More importantly, Bessarion’s

personal copy of his St. Gregory-Nyssa manuscript (filled with his personal notes) contains the only existing manuscript of St. Leontius of Jerusalem's works. Bessarion had been in possession of this codex before his 27 November 1437 departure from Constantinople to Venice for the Council. Bessarion's best friend at the time was George-Gennadius Scholarius, with whom Bessarion had lived and formally studied logic (AD 1422-AD 1428).^[247] After being recalled to Constantinople, Bessarion was made an abbot of the monastery of St. Basil in AD 1436. Thereafter, Bessarion probably had funds and opportunities to acquire this rather expensive codex. Ultimately, Bessarion's elevation to episcopal dignity and his role as official speaker for the Eastern Orthodox at the Council led him to consult the codex containing St. Leontius's texts brought to Ferrara-Florence.

George-Gennadius Scholarius would have likely accessed this same book (*Marc. gr. 69*) by AD 1439 at a time when he and Bessarion were working in tandem on their series of sermons promoting union.^[248] Even so, Bessarion could have possessed the codex as early as AD 1423-AD 1428, when he and Scholarius were fellow students. Bessarion (around AD 1436) became part of a theological team appointed by Byzantine Emperor John VIII to scour libraries and research in preparation for the upcoming council. Bessarion might have alternatively acquired this codex for official needs with the emperor's permission to collect any and all codices in preparation for the Council.^[249] This chronology is significant because Scholarius's first possible date for using the term transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*) is in his sermon: *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*, for which Dr. Mikhail Bernatsky provides an approximate dating to AD 1437 or later.^[250] This chronology bodes well for Scholarius's discovery of the term in St. Leontius of Jerusalem's texts, even if we can't prove this strictly. Bessarion and Scholarius, working together before and during the Council of Ferrara-Florence, had access to St. Leontius's texts and the term transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*) that was used several times. This Greek word is the perfect term for translating the Latin "transubstanti-

ation" (*transubstantiatio*) into Greek!

In his sermon: *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*, Scholarius read other Scholastic works in Latin. The two that we know are attributed to Aquinas, who used the term transubstantiation (*transubstantiatio*) in: (1.) (Pseudo-)Thomas Aquinas's, *On the Sacrament of the Eucharist* and (2.) Thomas Aquinas's *On power*. Neither of these works mention Nile-water or Cana-water. For his part, Scholarius explicitly appealed to both these examples in this sermon, saying:

Satan was tempting Christ by saying: "Tell these stones to become bread" (Matthew 4:3). For he [Satan] clearly knew that the divine power was sufficient in an instant to create (*poiein*) this. If he [Jesus] wished, how –when speaking– is not God able to transmute (*metabalein*) bread into human flesh? [...] Now this power works a miracle: It transmuted (*metabalousa*) in an instant the wife of Lot into a pillar of salt [...] This very same power transmuted (*metebalen*) the rod of Moses into a serpent and back again from serpent into rod. This very power later made (*pepoiêken*) water into wine at Cana.^[251]

Clearly, Scholarius is entirely aware of the longstanding Greek tradition among Jews and Christians applied to Eucharistic change, as expressed in biblical terms and examples. His selection of verbs lines up precisely with LXX Exodus 7:17-22. Elsewhere, Scholarius's undated *Consolation Letter* notably contains a traditional utterance about Nile-water turning to blood, if only in passing: "He transmutes water into blood" (*hydôr eis haima metpoiei*).^[252]

On the question of St. Thomas Aquinas's influence on Scholarius in this cited sermon, above,^[253] We have discovered recently that Scholarius had access to and cited (around AD 1445) from a Greek translation of St. Thomas Aquinas by a young Orthodox monk named Prochoros Cydones (translated around AD 1368), namely, from Aquinas's work *On power*.^[254] Prochoros had translated the Latin transubstantiation (*transubstantiatio*) with the more famil-

iar term: “transformation” (*metapoiêsis*). Scholarius’s access to (Pseudo-)Thomas’s work on the Eucharist was around this time AD 1437/1440/1447.^[255] However, there is no evidence that this (Pseudo-)Thomas’s work was ever translated into Greek. Scholarius, as a reader and translator of Latin texts, explicitly bore witness to the fact that he had never obtained a Greek or a Latin copy of Aquinas’s *Third Part (Tertia Pars)* of the *Summae Theologiae*, containing questions on the Eucharist, before AD 1458 when the Latin became somehow available to him.^[256] In conclusion, Scholarius had no demonstrable access to discussions and vocabulary by St. Thomas Aquinas using the term transubstantiation (whether in Latin or in Greek) for his sermon: *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*. The question of the origin for Scholarius’s Greek term transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*) would be definitively resolvable, if only we could discover some direct quotation by Scholarius from St. Leontius (unique to him and Scholarius alone). However, Scholarius freely reworded many of his quotations from Greek works.

In another of Scholarius’s works: *Regarding the Holy Rites*, it is notable that Scholarius doesn’t just imitate Latin ways of referring to Eucharistic change, although he read many Latin works. For example, he preferred his own church’s emphasis on the calling down of the Holy Spirit to consecrate the gifts along with the words: “This is my body” and “This is my blood.”^[257] Jesus himself did a blessing of bread/wine before distributing bread/wine at the Last Supper. Only later did Jesus only pronounce: “This is my body/blood.”^[258] In all these interesting discussions, Scholarius did not use quotations from St. Thomas Aquinas.^[259] Importantly, Scholarius mentioned transubstantiation in the aforementioned sermon: *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*, but without Aquinas’s explanations of consecration. The one probable influence by St. Thomas Aquinas on Scholarius occurs where he writes like a Latin-Scholastic about the “remaining accidents” of bread and wine after transubstantiation, but Scholarius writes thus only in one of his works, *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*:

On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ, section 5:^[260]

This is the greatest of the many mysteries from God among the many that were and have been accomplished free of artifice: For this mystery includes some transmutation (*metabolên*) of a substance into becoming another substance in an instant, **while yet the accidents remain unchanged** (*tôn symbebêkotôn ametablêtôn menontôn*), transcending every natural transmutation and contrary to nature.

(Scholarius's translation of:) Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra Gentiles*, book 4, chapter 65:^[261]

After the question about place was solved, it is necessary to look at the problem **from the remaining accidents** (*ek tôn menontôn symbebêkotôn*). That the accidents and what is visible remain (*menousin*) after the change is obvious even to the senses: But the divine body or the blood belonging to these same accidents does not depend on them: For this could not be possible **without alteration** (*aneu tês alloiôseôs*) of the former [body/blood], and it is not receptive at all of such kinds of accidents.

Technically, the words above are Latin, that is, “accidents/species” (*accidentibus/speciebus*) that “remain” (*remanentibus/durantibus*) but even these are not entirely Scholastic in terminology. In Latin, we shall see in chapter 5 (section 5.1), St. Ambrose of Milan (who died around before AD 400) had long ago spoken of catechumens’ comments about the “visible appearance” (*species visibilis* or *visibilia*) remaining the same after transmutation of bread and wine. The substitution of “accidents” (*accidens*) for *species* was indeed under the influence of the Latin translations of Aristotle from the original Greek (or less frequently even from Arabic). Yet, the enduring appearances of the quantity and qualities of bread and wine at the moment of divine replacement by a new nature (*natura*) had long been traditional, as attested in St. Ambrose. Turning back to Scholarius, our citations above explicitly theorize on

the permanence of accidents without a natural subject. Herein, Scholarius cited or adapted his Scholastic sources but Scholarius does so by associating the technical term “accidents” (*accidentia*) with the term transmutation (*metabolê*) but *not* with the more precise Greek-Antique technical term “transubstantiation” (*metousiôsis*). Hence, Scholarius maintains Prochoros Cydones’s earlier rendering of Scholastic Latin into Greek as transmutation (*metabolê*) (though Prochoros elsewhere used transformation [*metapoiêsis*] for the Latin: *transubstantiatio*). Above, in Scholarius’s Greek translation of the *Summa contra Gentiles*, there is also an interesting point about the phrase “without alteration/alienation” (*aneu tê alloiôseôs*), which very same term had also been a preoccupation of Gregory Palamas (around AD 1350), when discussing transubstantiation of Jesus’s flesh against Nicephorus Gregoras; Gregoras had first argued for an accidental change of Jesus’s flesh at the Transfiguration to account for the experience of light (as comparable to white in a surface; light in a body) a century prior to Scholarius’s translation above.

Elsewhere, in his own sometimes slavish reworking of Demetrius Cydones’s (brother to Prochoros Cydones) Greek translation of the Latin *Summa contra Gentiles* (book 4, chapter 64),^[262] Scholarius bypassed Demetrius Cydones’s constant translations rendering Aquinas’s “conversion” as “transmutation” (Latin: *conversio* = Greek: *metabolê*), for Aquinas never used “transubstantiation” (*transubstantiation*) in the *Summa contra Gentiles*. For his part, Scholarius completely reworded Demetrius Cydones’s translation of *conversio* as follows: “Now, it was stated that this [accident of] place is attributed to the body of Christ, due to its dimensions of the bread remaining after transubstantiation (*metousiôsin*).”^[263] This is actually a case where Scholarius composed an original abstract of Aquinas’s teaching and, therefore, poetic license was employed to depart from the Cydones brothers’ vocabulary and translations. In fact, only when Scholarius is composing an original piece in Greek does he use the Greek “transubstantiation” (*metousiôsis*). We need

also to mention briefly that Scholarius would have seen the Greek tradition of water-to-ice transubstantiation explicitly in Aquinas's works. The most obvious example is Scholarius's own translation (dependent on Demetrius Cydones's prior translation) of the *Summa Contra Gentiles* (book 4, question 3), where Aquinas imitates St. Cyril's *Third Letter* by considering Jesus the hail or ice fallen from heaven. Scholarius translates Aquinas thus:

As Holy Scripture is cited in Job: "Who is the father of the rains (*huetou*),^[264] or who begot the drops of dew (*drosou*), from whose belly did the ice (*pagos*) proceed, and who begot the ice (*krystallos*) from heaven?" (Job 38:28) [...] In John's Gospel: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." [...] And in Isaiah: "A child was begotten for us, a Son was given us" [...] Consequently, he the Only-begotten is also God.

Here, like the book of Revelation and St. Leontius (above sections 4.1-4.2), Jesus is the ice or hail that falls from heaven, who is like hoar frost scattered in the camp of Israel, that is, he is the manna came down from heaven (John 6:58). This would seem to fulfill a prophecy of Job who see the water in heaven transformed into hail and ice as a prelude to the Incarnation:

For who has conceived the earth's dew (*drosou*)? Does ice (*krystallos*) proceed from some womb? Has somebody conceived (*tetoken*) hoar frost/clotted blood (*pachnên*), or does it descend (*katabainei*) as if flowing water? (Job 38:28-29)

With regard to Scholarius's technical vocabulary of transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*), he employs it *only* when writing as a Greek, his native tongue, but not when citing Latin works *verbatim*. There are only two times that Scholarius uses the Greek term transubstantiation in his sermon: *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*.^[265] Both times are stylish sermons of praise about a miracle. When comparing the aforementioned Pseudo-Thomas's Latin text to Scholarius's two Greek sermons of praise, one quickly sees that Pseudo-Thomas always speaks in technical and rather antiseptic vocabulary when men-

tioning the technical term transubstantiation. Furthermore, (Pseudo-)Thomas Aquinas, whenever he speaks about the miraculous, *never* uses the term transubstantiation. Consequently, Scholarius's insertion of the term transubstantiation into effervescent praises or utterances of a poetic sort is original to Scholarius and in no way reflects his Scholastic sources for his sermon.

Turning to the Scholastic definition of transubstantiation, Scholarius would have known in his youthful study of Aristotle's *Physics* and commentators thereupon that Aristotelian conversion (*conversio*) is ubiquitously rendered as transmutation (*metabolê*) among Greeks of Antiquity and later Byzantines. For example, in Scholarius's earliest use of transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*), The Byzantine Simplicius's Greek commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* may underlie Scholarius's rhetoric: "After so many miracles that have been and are made by God, this one here is simply the greatest, for the mystery producing a certain transmutation of a substance into another substance coming about in an instant (*metabolên tina periechon ousias eis ousian en akarei genomenên*), while yet the accident| remain untransmuted (*tôn sybebêkotôn ametablêtôn menontôn*) has provided an exception from every natural transmutation (*metabolê fisikês*) and is contrary to nature."^[266] We compare Scholarius to a Late Antique author who is the Greek philosopher Simplicius. Scholarius's text shows unusual similarities to Simplicius:

He proves that there is no change in substance, from the fact that change is transmutation (*metabolê*) from a contrary to a contrary [...] Transmutation into a substance comes about from a substance and he thinks that therefore there is change in substance (*ousian horôn eks ousias legei ginesthai tèn eis ousian metabolên*), he does not realize that man does not come from seed in so far as seed is a substance but in that it is potentially a man, i.e., from the privation of man and from not being.^[267]

In comparison to Simplicius, Scholarius's point seems to be

that, unlike normal transmutation, the sensible data or accidents do not change, unlike what one would expect in traditional physics (for which no natural explanation suffices).^[268] So, while a new substance usually has new colors, temperature, size, or activities, the Eucharistic change is quite different in this respect. This is exactly in line with the entire patristic tradition that we have so far seen. We also note that the passage is propitious for the mention of “movement/action” (versus passion). This draws attention back to Palamas and his similar discussions on the matter of transubstantiation a century prior that also focuses upon the accident of action/movement (*kinesis*) with respect to the change that had allegedly taken place in Jesus’s flesh or human nature at the Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor.^[269] Both the Greek and Latin discussions will be shown in the next chapter (as reflected in Scholarius who is partly inspired by St. Thomas Aquinas’s discussions) to confront the same issues of substantial and accidental change, whether in Antiquity, or in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Given thorough knowledge of both Aristotle and his commentator’s commitments to transmutation (*metabolê*), to signify natural substance-to-substance change, Scholarius’s reemployment of the Late Antique vocabulary of transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*) certainly excludes –just like St. Leontius of Jerusalem– ambiguous interpretations and emphasizes the divine action being miraculous and instantaneous. But why would Scholarius have inserted a word completely foreign to both St. Thomas Aquinas’s and the brothers Cydones’s originals (*viz.*, *conversio/metabolê*)? The answer might lie in the fact that the tradition of writers following Gregory Palamas had already adopted the term “transubstantiation” in the prior century so that the term was by now everyday speech in theological circles among the fans of Gregory Palamas. St. Leontius’s positive use of the term for transformations of water into ice (*krystallos*) and Nile-water into blood preserved its natural and positive associations even until the time of Gennadius Scholarius, so that he understood perfectly well our interpretation:

In time of winter, the bitterness of severe winds and the cold of ice transmutes (*metaballei*) and transforms (*metapoiêi*) the earth from a soft nature (*physeôs*) into what is hard and thick. Likewise, too, it works on the malleable nature of water, through freezing, into the nature of stone [...] transformed into stone so that animals can walk on top of the waters [like the Lamb of God in Revelation chapters 21-22]. So, these waters are not able to be restored (*apokatasthênai*) back into their proper nature of softness, unless something foreign in nature, like the sun, by the energy of its warmth, should enter to melt the cold nature of what is frozen and will melt it into a state of malleability.^[270]

As we can see, all times and places of the Greek world knew the concept of transmutation of water into ice, called transubstantiation in Jerusalem. However, the story is not merely a Greek one since the entire Latin West became well aware (through its best representatives of Christianity) about the importance of the change of water into blood and into ice as the paradigms for understanding substance-to-substance change in the Christian Eucharist.

5.0 THE LATIN RECEPTION OF TRANSUBSTANTI- ATION

5.1 St. Ambrose of Milan and St. Augustine of Hippo

At long last we are able to turn to the Western Church. While the most important testimonies on behalf of substantial change by divine miracles are in the biblical tradition and mainly in Greek, it is nonetheless important to look at the Latin tradition since its authors and inheritance are often the best known to English-speaking readers. An even weightier reason to return to the fourth century comes from the demand to show the continuity of the Latin tradition with the Greek tradition of Eucharistic change. What is more, we cannot claim that the definition of transubstantiation by St. Thomas Aquinas and, by extension, the Council of Trent definitely represent a culmination of the Greek tradition unless we are able to show the same thread of biblical passages are interpreted in the same vein and lead to the invention of the same term in the Latin tongue. On this score, we begin with St. Ambrose of Milan (who died around AD 399). Ambrose is not only famous in his own right but has also increased in notoriety by being the preacher and teacher who converted St. Augustine of Hippo from heretical Man-

icheism to the Catholic faith.

Returning to St. Ambrose, we are fortunate to already know by the work of scholars that St. Ambrose read and reproduced the ideas of St. Cyril of Jerusalem who was his contemporary and fellow bishop. St. Ambrose was archbishop of Milan from AD 374 until his death around AD 399. As we saw, St. Cyril was presiding over the services at the shrines in Jerusalem roughly at the same time. As we had mentioned, when St. Cyril's sermons were published, it was unsurprising that they quickly made their way to the ends of the empire considering the popularity of pilgrimages to the Holy Land just like we see nowadays. Under the influence of St. Cyril, St. Ambrose formed his first arguments about the Nile river being turned to blood – as a bilingual reader of Latin and Greek– by reading St. Cyril's Greek homilies.^[271] Within the same pastoral circumstances as St. Cyril, St. Ambrose also found himself fielding questions and objections by curious catechumens who were puzzled by the apparent lack of substantial (viz., accidental) change at their first Eucharist, since the Holy Spirit was invoked and they had been taught that the Spirit comes upon the gifts to change them from the nature of bread and wine to the flesh that was born in utero of the Virgin Mary:^[272]

Perchance thou [o, neophyte] mayest say: "I see something different; how dost thou claim that this is the body of Christ which I receive?" It still remains for us to prove this! [...] Let us prove that this [body] is not what nature formed (*natura formavit*) but what the blessing consecrated, and that there is greater force in a blessing than in nature, because by a blessing even nature itself is (trans)mutated (*natura mutatur*)."^[273]

St. Cyril of Jerusalem's and St. Ambrose's pastoral problems from catechumens and newly baptized were typically the same, that is, the appearances (*species*) looked to be bread or wine but the nature/substance (*natura*) is assertedly changed into a hypostasis who was conceived from the flesh of Mary.^[274] St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Ambrose shared equally these pas-

toral challenges from catechumens and sought analogies to explain the underlying nature (*natura*) behind the *species* or appearances: “But perhaps thou sayest [o catechumen]: “I do not see the appearance of blood (*speciem sanguinis*)?”^[275] and again:

But perchance thou mayest say, what the disciples of Christ also said when they heard him saying: “Unless a man eat my flesh and drink my blood he shall not dwell in me, nor shall he have eternal life” (John 6:55). Perchance, thou mayest say: “How are these things real? I who see the likeness (*similitudinem*) do not see the reality of the blood!” First of all, I told thee of the word of Christ, which acts so that it can change and alter the appointed forms of nature.^[276]

For Ambrose, the standard examples were –like St. Cyril’s earlier discourse– substantially converting the nature of a staff into a serpent and reverting its nature back again (*revertit naturam*), as well as changing Nile-water into blood.^[277] He called this technical form of substantial change: “[trans]mutating natures (*mutare naturas*).”^[278] The fourth century, then, knew of two basic biblical examples to help clarify the divine mode of Eucharistic change. Both St. Cyril and St. Ambrose also explicitly considered the catechumens observations that visible phenomena ordinarily betraying the presence of bread and wine remained intact. Therefore, in response to questions from his people, St. Ambrose explicitly appeals to the arguments of his contemporary St. Cyril. St. Ambrose, after claiming that he will show how grace “transmutes natures” then lists examples:

Moses held a staff, he cast it down, and it became a serpent; again he took hold of the tail of the serpent, and it returned to its natural state of a staff. Dost thou, then, see that both the serpent and the staff twice underwent a change of nature by prophetic grace? The rivers of Egypt ran with a pure flood of water; suddenly blood began to well out from the beings of their sources, and there was naught that men could drink in the rivers. Again at the prophet’s prayer the blood in the rivers ceased, the natural state of waters came back. [...] Moses touched the rock, and water flowed from

the rock. Did not grace act contrary to nature, so that the rock poured forth water which it had not by nature. Marah was a most bitter stream, so that the thirsty people could not drink. Moses cast wood into the water, and the nature of the water lost its bitterness which was tempered by a sudden infusion of grace. [...] We observe, therefore, that grace is of greater power than nature. [...] But if a human blessing was powerful enough to change nature, what do we say of the divine consecration itself where the very words of the Lord and Savior act? [...] Will not the word of Christ be powerful enough to change the characters of the elements (*species mutet elementorum*)?^[279] [...] The word of Christ could make out of nothing that which was not; cannot it then change the things which are into that which they were not? For to give new natures to things is quite more wonderful than to change their nature.^[280]

First of all, Ambrose was an avid reader of Philo of Alexandria. This clearly means, granted his reading of Philo's commentary on Exodus, that St. Cyril's homilies are understood philosophically as instances of substance-to-substance change. What is more, as later Scholastic theories, Eucharist change is both miraculous and instantaneous for St. Ambrose. Next, prayer of human beings can effect such changes in natures by divine grace. What is more, the "the character of the elements" changes. Again, this is Philo's language (later adopted by St. Cyril of Alexandria), namely, trans-elementation (*metastoicheiôsis*). This process changes the underlying atoms that constitute the essence of the thing. In the ancient world these were only four elements in their version of the periodic table. Nowadays, we have gradually come to accept that 118 elements make up the natural world. The only difference is in the number of elements and their combination, but the basic theory is able to be understood in modern terms. Somehow, the basic stuff that makes up bread and wine is no longer present, as undetectable by instruments and by senses, in both St. Ambrose's and our own day. Also, St. Ambrose underlines that if God has the power

to fill a void or nothingness by creation of something when there was nothing, then all the more can he change instantly one nature into another. Elsewhere Ambrose is quite forceful, writing: "Indeed, who can change a nature (*mutare naturam*), except who created nature?"^[281] It is also rather incredible how applicable St. Ambrose was to the Nestorian and post-Nestorian period that culminates in St. Leontius. Both the Chalcedonian saints and the Monophysite heretics and Miaphysite (Oriental Orthodox) writers constantly appeal to the authority of St. Ambrose. We can see why, for in his work on the constitution of the divinity and humanity in Jesus he writes:

Next, since they say that the Word was converted (*conversum*) into flesh, hair, blood and bones and was transmuted (*mutatum*) from his own nature (*natura propria*), as space is given to these, such that it results that they misrepresent the infirmity of the flesh with respect to the infirmity of the divinity by some certain kind of transmutation (*mutatione*) made of divine nature.^[282]

St. Ambrose's notion of conversion is used in his treatment of the sacraments, and both of these usages match what we already saw above in Latin translations of Aristotle in chapter 4, where "conversion" is the word often equated with the Greek "transmutation" (*metabolê*). It is the same here, they are used as similes, so that (trans)mutation and conversion are about one substance or nature miraculously (but wrongly) being said to change to another at the Incarnation. This heresy was seriously affecting some churches that claimed to be upholding the doctrine of St. Cyril after Chalcedon. The Monophysites, therefore, were rightly classed with the earlier Apollinarian heresy that is described here, whereby followers of Apollinaris promoted sometimes a transubstantiation of the flesh of Jesus at the Incarnation whereby it becomes god or godhead. The conclusion is that conversion or transmutation *does happen* to bread and wine, but *never happens* to the flesh and blood of Christ. St. Ambrose accounts for St. Augustine's development of this idea in slightly different words: "Now, there those who

[wrongly] think that the human nature (*naturam*) in him [Jesus] is transmuted (*mutari*) and converted (*converti*) into the substance (*substantiam*) of the godhead, also speak thus.”^[283] In the same book, St. Augustine teaches that “essence” (*essentia*) and “substance” (*substantia*) are used interchangeably.^[284] Furthermore, exactly like his Greek successor St. Leontius of Jerusalem (and Byzantium), St. Augustine knows that a substance-to-substance change of created matter into a divine person (as if Eutychian transubstantiation) is best signified by the change of water into ice (writing between AD 411-AD 414):

For the Holy Spirit did not beatify the dove, or that wind, or that fire [of the Bible] and join them forever to himself and to his person in unity and in habit. Nor in truth is the nature (*natura*) of the Holy Spirit mutable (*mutabilis*) and changeable (*convertibilis*), so that these were not made from the creature, but he himself is changed by way of mutation (*mutabiliter verteretur*), now into the one, now into the other, as water into ice (*aqua in glaciem*).^[285]

As we can see, for St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, the use of nature and substance and their conversion simply refer to a substance-to-substance change. This refers here to the heretics who think that Jesus’s flesh was changed to something inhuman. But does St. Augustine ever embrace the idea of his predecessor about substantial change being at the core of Eucharistic change? It would appear that St. Augustine’s discussion on this matter was not overly abundant, but he does repeat the themes and language of Monoimos’s second-century Christian theory that, as we said, was completely orthodox except for trying to say that the flesh of Christ at the Incarnation represented a change from a divine being into human flesh. St. Augustine profoundly addresses the question of whether magicians or evil angels can create or transmute staffs into serpents, inanimate matter into frogs, or dust into gnats:

Therefore, a staff (transmuted) [*conversa*] into a serpent, Christ [transmuted] into what was dead: And the serpent [transmuted] back into a staff, the whole Christ with his

body [transmuted back] into what is the resurrection, that is the Church (Colossians 1:24), which will be at the end of time. The tale of the serpent –which was held by Moses–signifies him [Christ] (Exodus 4:4). Now, the serpents of the magicians are as if those among the dead of these ages, who except they should believe in Christ, they will be as if they will have entered his body as those devoured; they were unable to resurrect in him (Exodus 7:12).”^[286]

Without Monoimos, Augustine’s ancient mode of interpretation might escape us. Christ’s transmutation from living-ensouled human nature to a dead body and back again is connected to him being called by St. Paul the new body of resurrection who fulfills the shadows pointing toward his resurrected body by the new moons and sabbaths celebrated (viz., Pass-over) in the Old Testament along with its unleavened bread, just as Monoimos had mentioned. We can imagine that St. Augustine’s somewhat obscure reference to this tradition has more to do with the fact that by now Easter is celebrated on Sundays in the Western Church and no longer with unleavened bread, as the party of Monoimos might have implied. St. Augustine’s final reference to the staff being changed into a serpent provides another point of intersect between St. Augustine and Monoimos. Clearly, the implication is that a substantial change of the Eucharist, as an analogy of the change of Christ’s dead body to his resurrected flesh, is a point of comparison. By now, these images and points of compare and contrast are second nature for us. Yet, this ancient layer of biblical interpretation (dating to the second century) is compounded with the equally antique interpretations of Exodus in line with first-century Jewish discussion of the magicians’ imitation of Moses’s staff of miracles:

Here I see a difficulty occurring to one of limited intelligence, that is, why miracles are also done by magical arts, for the magicians of Pharaoh also made serpents and other similar things. But what is a much greater cause of wonder is how the power of the magicians, who could make serpents, utterly failed when it came to very small gnats.^[287]

St. Augustine goes on to discuss at great length the limited powers of natural elements, of human and angelic agents, and of any created power but attributes transformation (*transformo, -are*) of natures (*naturae*) to God alone, requiring a power above nature. St. Augustine uses this discussion of divine power to change substances as a preface for interpreting precipitation in the clouds where, similar to the Angel of Great Counsel or Jesus, bread is sent down from heaven by God's word:

For their first and highest cause is nothing else than the will of God. Hence, when certain things of this nature are also mentioned in the Psalm, such as: "[Praise his serpents of the abyss,] fire, hail, snow, mists," it immediately adds: "that fulfill his words" (Psalm 148:[7-]8) lest anyone might believe that they were done by chance, or by corporeal causes only, or even by spiritual causes that exist outside the will of God: But even though all these things that I have just mentioned are excluded, there are still other things; although they are formed from the same corporeal matter, yet they appear before our senses for the sole purpose of announcing a divine message. These are properly called miracles and signs. Nevertheless, the person of God [...] when it is assumed, it is manifested to us at one time as that of an angel, or at another time in a form which is not that of an angel, although ordered and prepared for its ministry by an angel. ^[288]

Finally, after referring to Jesus as the angelic bread miraculously made in the cloud, St. Augustine arrives at the apex of the discussion. Just as we have already seen in the Greek Scriptures and commentators with their comparison of staff-serpent and Psalms 147-148, St. Augustine concludes about all these signs and miracles:

Sometimes a thing is made without any change in its kind for a particular act, either that it may remain for a brief period of time, as the bronze serpent was able to do that was raised up in the desert [...] or else to pass away when its ministry is completed, as the bread made for this purpose is consumed in receiving the Sacrament [...] The rod

was assumed for a sign and changed into a snake by angelical power, but although man lacks this power, yet a stone was also taken by man to serve as such a sign. [...] The rod of Moses, which was converted into a serpent signified Christ himself, who became obedient unto death, even to the death on the cross. Wherefore he said: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the desert, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believes in him may not perish, but may have life everlasting" (John 3:14), just as those who looked upon the serpent that was lifted up in the desert did not perish from the bites of the serpents. [...] For by the serpent is to be understood death, which was brought about by the serpent in paradise [...] Therefore, the rod was turned into a serpent, and the whole Christ, together with his body which is the Church, into the resurrection, that will take place at the end of time; this is signified by the tail of the serpent which Moses held, in order that it might be turned again into a rod.^[289]

St. Augustine provides in digest form an entire summary of substance-to-substance change that signifies fulfillment of the prophecy about the staff of miracles changed into a serpent, who consumes the deadly serpents of old, headed by the serpent of the abyss (implied by Psalm 148:7). The serpents of the abyss are contrasted to Christ who is the hail or snow fallen from heaven, sent as if an angel opposed to the devilish angel-serpent of the abyss (compare Revelation 20:1-3), that is, Christ the Angel of Great Counsel (LXX Isaiah 9:6). But what is central to Augustine's account, like the New Testament and Greek Fathers, is to conclude that the manna and fiery serpent on a pole fulfilled in the sign value of a sacrament, like that of the Eucharist. Augustine concludes his discussion by emphasizing that when children receive Holy Communion, they must be rationally led to understand that these items are signs, first of the of his body and blood (though the species/appearance is bread), but also that this substance is exactly that clear water poured out of Christ's pierced side (itself a sacrament of the blood) and

this stands as a sign of our resurrection of the immortal flesh first raised in Christ.^[290]

5.2 St. Cyril of Alexandria and Pope St. Gelasius I

St. Augustine and St. Cyril had been short-lived pen pals, but we know only a little of what they talked about and exchanged. As one might suspect from the onset, St. Cyril was likely tipped off by St. Augustine about the dangers of Pelagians who tried to deny the doctrine of original sin. Whatever the details of their correspondences, St. Augustine and St. Cyril of Alexandria remained the preeminent theologians for Roman popes and theologians in the Latin West. After the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (AD 431), the documents of St. Cyril and the Council minutes, decrees, and canons were translated into Latin. These Latin documents guided not only Christian discussions about Jesus's one person, constituted from both a divine and a human nature into one divine person or hypostasis, but also included some teachings on the Eucharist. As we shall see, St. Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* tacked onto his Christ-talk mention of the descent by the Holy Spirit onto the gifts at Mass, along with Christ's descent in them, as a kind analogy to the Incarnation, whereby the bread and wine are changed by the Holy Spirit into something new, not entirely dissimilar from how Mary's ovum or piece of flesh was miraculously transformed into a divine person without any cooperation of a human-male in any way. As we also said, analogies have their place, and they enjoy greater precision than metaphors.

When discussing Pope St. Gelasius's ideas of transubstantiation, we must not think of him using the term "substance" to mean a Scholastic-substance^[291] (something that exists by itself not depending on another). St. Leontius of Byzantium discussed Aristotelian-substance and accidents in the change of Jesus's flesh around AD 530, as an ally of Pope St. Gelasius.

The award-winning scholar Dr. Edward Kilmartin, Soci-

ety of Jesus (or Jesuit), has been cited as if he strengthens arcane arguments that Pope St. Gelasius denied transubstantiation.^[292] Upon reading about his opinion regarding transubstantiation in St. Gelasius, Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, requires some nuance (for he limited himself to remark inaccurately that a Tridentine canon 2 on the Eucharist required conversion of bread and wine into the “total Christ”). Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, had some real insights into “St. Gelasius’s” *Tractatus III* that we will try to summarize since they complement our own reading of St. Gelasius. But we will also highlight points of disagreement between us. We hope to point out some obvious reasons—once we present the keys to interpreting St. Gelasius—in order for the reader to accept our supplements and corrections to the Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, as we write in a spirit of friendly critique. Let us start with the good news in Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, who writes an article dedicated to Pope St. Gelasius versus transubstantiation:

(1.) Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, reports that many Catholic *scholars* have written that St. Gelasius is a support for transubstantiation, despite a recent turn in the opposite direction.

Remark: I consider it interesting that Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, does not mention the hundreds of years of Protestant literature arguing the opposite on the issue.^[293]

(2.) Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, reports that St. Gelasius “argues from [...] a strict parallel between a theology of the Eucharist and the hypostatic union, in order to confirm the dogma of the Council of Chalcedon”^[294]

Remark: The union of the Word to Mary’s human embryo at the moment of its conception is key. We wholeheartedly agree that this is key to the mystery.

(3.) Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, writes: “Gelasius begins by stating the dogma of the coincidence of the mystery of the Incarnation and the conception of Jesus in the womb of Mary. Behind this is, apparently, his understanding of the eucharistic consecration as analogous to the Incarnation of Christ”^[295]

Remark: This is from St. Cyril’s *Third Letter to Nestorius*

below and is a dominant theme as with the Oriental Orthodox or Miaphysite Eucharistic theology (see above section 4.2). Therefore, this reflects a common theology not *merely* a Chalcedonian one.

(4.) Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, reports that St. Gelasius calls the Eucharist: “nourishment of the Incarnation of Christ”^[296]

Remark: As the Wisdom and Word-God descended to earth, he descends into the banquet to be eaten.

There are a lot of talking points about St. Gelasius's letter in Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, that make it puzzling *how he arrived at his unusual conclusions*. Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, sets up the very premises above that lead to our own conclusions (making it puzzling to understand his logic, but we shall highlight tiny lapses in his reasoning in a moment. In short, Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, does not seem to be overly familiar with fifth-century Christology when writing his famous article. We shall list some problems that arise from a poor contextualization of the real-life history of St. Gelasius's time and place:

(1.) Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, writes: “The sacraments are an ‘image and likeness of Christ’^[297] in that the material elements [...] **contain a divine thing** (*divina res*) and yet remain what they were before consecration”^[298]

Remark: This reinterpretation of St. Gelasius, though very slight, is very unfortunate, since St. Gelasius says the material elements **are** (*est* [= is]) **a divine thing**. This is a projection onto the text by Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, that makes an understandable mistake for someone not familiar with the Christology in play.

(2.) Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, writes: “Gelasius employs the verb ‘cross over’ (*transire*; [transition]) to describe the movement of the earthly elements [bread/wine] from the sphere of this world to the sphere of the divine”^[299]

Remark: Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, projects a reasonable understanding onto what appears to be an exaggerated statement by St. Gelasius. In reality, for St. Gelasius, bread and wine “cross over into the divine substance” and yet remain

by nature bread and wine. This statement aligns better with the analogy that Rev. Kilmartin, SJ, so correctly mentioned in no. 3 [just above]).

(3.) Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, claims that Trent, canon no. 2, says that the Eucharist contains “the whole Christ” (*totum Christum*). Contrariwise, the canon says this (it is actually canon 1):

If anyone says that in the venerable sacrament of the Eucharist the substance of the bread and wine remains together with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ and denies that marvelous and unique change (*conversionem*) of the whole substance of the wine into the blood, while only the appearance of bread and wine remains, a change which the catholic church most aptly calls transubstantiation, let him be anathema (Canon 2).^[300]

Remark: Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, misquoted the canon, for “the whole Christ” (*totus homo*). Nevertheless, since canon 1 of the same does say this, St. Gelasius writes:

We are should be instructed that two united nature by concept existed unto one and the same person of Jesus Christ, whole (*Christi totius*) God-man, and whole man-God [...] he persists in each of both as one and the same Lord Jesus Christ, total God-man (*totum Deum hominem*) and total man-God [...] who is one perfect and true (*verus*) Christ.” Note well, the “integral and true (*verus*) Christ” is consumed in the Eucharist, which means the “total Christ.

Later the “divine thing” (*divina res*) is identified as the Eucharist and as the “true Christ” (*verus Christus*). This is simply an error somehow missed by Dr. Kilmartin, SJ.^[301]

(4.) Trent emphasizes “conversion” (*conversio*) of elements to avoid a union into God-man-bread and God-man-wine but for Gelasius there is union of bread-substance and wine-substance; “precisely this viewpoint is central to the eucharistic theology of Pope Gelasius”^[302]

Remark: Trent's *conversion* is from Aristotelian and Neo-Platonic commentator's transmutation (*metabolê*) that we have seen frequently. St. Gelasius knows this doctrine in his *Tractatus III* against Eutychians who claim Jesus's flesh underwent "conversion" at the incarnation. St. Gelasius, instead, proposes that the only "converted" are the bread and wine (below). For St. Gelasius, bread and wine lose by implication their *subsistences* in their union with the God-man, just as the human nature of Christ did. Bread and wine cease to be Scholastic (Tridentine) substances after their union with God-man. Gelasius-substances dependently exist as form-matter dependently on the God-man, though less intimately than Jesus's human nature depends on the divine nature in Jesus. St. Gelasius uses the term "substance" unlike Schoolmen or Scholastics that allows it to exist more like accidents (white/black, hot/cold, etc.) in a subject (container or in matter) with no subsistence after their "transition" or "transmutation."

Now that we have shown how important a detailed knowledge of the technicalities of Christology is to read St. Gelasius's book (imitating St. Cyril's *Third Letter to Nestorius* below), we will move on to help the reader understand the terms used throughout his *Tractatus III* so that they have the capacity to read the book as it was written, as a strict theory of Eucharist as bread or wine (non-subsistent-substance-natures) that have a different kind of dependence than Nestorius's human-nature-will on the divinity (For Gelasius, in this sense, consecrated bread is not one person with Christ). First of all, against Chalcedon's idea of Incarnation-at-the-moment-of-human-conception, Eucharistic bread and wine start out *without any* union with the Word (to this extent they are like the alleged natural human nature of Jesus by Nestorius's reckoning). Bread and wine only achieved a union with the Word after losing their subsistence (this is fatal for a Scholastic-substances that mean we are not dealing with our original definition of substance that is good for the rest of the book). Like later medieval theories in the Latin West (e.g.,

St. Thomas Aquinas; died AD 1274), St. Gelasius's bread and wine are upheld by the one subsistence of God the Word-Incarnate but in a way that "this whole Christ" takes away bread subsistence and wine subsistence.^[303] In the Incarnation of the soul-body-divinity, the dependence of Jesus's human nature was on the Word from the first moment of its conception. Unlike heretical Eutyches, St. Gelasius's union denied any transmutation (nature-to-nature change) of Jesus-flesh at the union but rather asserted, at union, an elevation of Jesus-flesh to be one with the divinity and still remain human flesh. Now, St. Gelasius condemned the Eutychian heretics by using the language of transmutation or substance-to-substance change to speak about what happened to Jesus's body in the womb. St. Gelasius has a proper sense of transmutation in the exact sense of St. Leontius's transubstantiation. Transubstantiation requires a divine miracle, is instantaneous change of the complete thing from one into another, by the addition of both new matter and new form: "Divinity is transmutable (*mutabilis*), if converted (*conversa*) into flesh."^[304] This indeed is the philosophic language of St. Cyril, which is rendered in Latin exactly how we saw it for Greek Orthodox in the Scholastic and Renaissance periods above (section 4.4). Just as in the East with his contemporary St. Leontius of Jerusalem, St. Gelasius fully understands the philosophical notion of substantial change that St. Leontius calls literally "transubstantiation" (*metousiôsis*).

The translation into Latin by a monk in Constantinople, Marius Mercator, of the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus provided a rule for using the Latin language to talk about Jesus the God-man. Let us take a look at some important formulas that reproduce vocabulary known to St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, when speaking of Jesus's flesh at the moment of its conception:

We do not say that the nature (*natura*) made flesh of God was converted (*conversa*) or transmuted (*immutata*), nor too that he -who [was made] from a soul and body- was transformed (*transformata*) into a what is wholly man (*totum hominem*) [...] but that the Word was substantially

[...]made man [...]but also not by mere assumption of a person rather that indeed diverse natures came together into some one thing.”^[305]

Not only are each of these words used to speak of Christ's Incarnation, but nearly all of them have been employed historically by Latin Fathers to speak about substance-to-substance change in the Eucharist and about Eutychian heretics. St. Cyril finishes his exposition to Nestorius prior to the Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (AD 431) by speaking about what was just quoted a second time, in similar words, and then ends his letter immediately jumping to the Eucharist:

We will necessarily add this also. Proclaiming the death according to the flesh of the only begotten Son of God, that is Jesus Christ, and professing his return to life from the dead and his ascension into heaven, we offer the unbloody worship in the churches and so proceed to the mystical thanksgivings and are sanctified, having partaken of the holy flesh and precious blood of Christ, the savior of us all. This we receive not as ordinary flesh, heaven forbid, nor as that of a man who has been made holy and joined to the Word by union of honor [like you, o Nestorius!], or who had a divine indwelling, but as truly the life-giving and real flesh of the Word. For being life by nature as God, when he became one with his own flesh, he made it also to be life-giving, as also he said to us: “Amen I say to you, unless you eat the flesh of the son of man and drink his blood.” For we must not think that it is the flesh of a man like us (for how can the flesh of man be life-giving by its own nature?), but as being made the true flesh of the one who for our sake became the son of man and was called so. For we do not divvy up the words of our Savior in the gospels among two subsistences (*subsistentiis*) or persons.^[306]

All popes after St. Cyril felt the pressure from the entire Ecumenical Conciliar tradition to maintain the formulas, language, and theology of St. Cyril. In fact, failure to convince bishops, clergy, and people of papal utter fidelity to St. Cyril's anti-Nes-

torian program led to the falling out between (St.*) Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, and Pope St. Leo the Great around AD 451. Of course, disagreement remains today so that both the Roman Catholic and Oriental Orthodox churches each claim to be a more faithful interpreter of the sense, letter, and spirit of St. Cyril than the other. This brings us to the second great authority in the Roman Catholic or Latin Church in the AD 400s, Pope St. Leo. One is struck by his almost verbatim statement from St. Cyril when talking about Christ's natures and flesh: "Indeed, that the Word was made flesh, does not signify the following: that the nature of God was transmuted (*mutata*) into flesh, but that flesh was taken up by the Word into a unity of a person, in whose name 'the whole man' (*totus homo*) is utterly taken."^[307] Clearly, if Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, thinks that St. Gelasius parallels Eucharist with Incarnation as expressed by Chalcedon, this should mean that the "total Christ" descends into the gifts. Elsewhere, St. Leo explores God as the creator of substances (*substantiarum creator*), who can transmute natures (*mutare naturas*) of bodily things by will. This divine power had long ago been discussed by St. Ambrose in the realm of Eucharistic change. We know well, by now, that the theory of "transubstantiation" (*metousiôsis*) may be a late-fifth or early-sixth century Greek theory of Christ-flesh's substantial-change or something else's total change into Christ's flesh. Latin authors shared with Greeks a common inheritance of biblical examples, Jewish influence by Philo of Alexandria (about AD 40), and common patristic use of notions of substantial change of bread and wine into an entirely different and whole substance at Eucharist. St. Gelasius ultimately lines up with a long tradition of substantial-change in the Eucharist of the first four hundred years of Christianity, but Gelasius's expression of his theory has some turns of phrase (employing Tertullian's and Priscian's two different notions of substance) that cannot be translated as a Scholastic substance (= an independent existing thing not in another thing).

Pope St. Gelasius (who reigned AD 492-AD 496) was an

old man by the time St. Leontius of Jerusalem was old enough to be a professed monk (about AD 480/490). What is more, during his reign, the entire Eastern Roman Empire had officially embraced the Miaphysite (Oriental Orthodox) version of St. Cyril's doctrine. The so-called Acacian schism was in full flower in the Greek-speaking parts of the Roman Empire, where a succession of Patriarchs or Archbishops of Constantinople were attempting to ignore and then eventually reject the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in order to bring about reunion with the Miaphysite (Oriental Orthodox) party who thought Chalcedon was too wimpy to be a feather in St. Cyril's cap. Sometimes emperors pushed this policy to curry favor with the Egyptian bishops (along with some Syrian ones), but we should not underestimate the fact that many people of the time identified the party of the Miaphysites (Oriental Orthodox) as most faithful to St. Cyril. With such confusion reigning, Pope St. Gelasius made it his mission to promote, defend, and require strict doctrinal agreement with his predecessor Pope St. Leo as the absolute condition for Rome reentering into reconciliation with any bishop of the Eastern Churches. We need to keep this firmly in mind, since we should then expect that Pope St. Gelasius, as disciple of Pope St. Leo, will imitate the language and views of Pope St. Leo within his own writings. As such we should anticipate much discussion of the human nature of Jesus after the Word become flesh. We should also expect much discussion about what kind existence such a nature can have in order to preserve the unity of the Christ as stringently guarded by St. Cyril of Alexandria.^[308]

As St. Cyril had begun his most famous letter to Nestorius discussing the two natures from which the one Jesus Christ was constituted, so he ended his most famous letter to Nestorius by speaking about the Eucharist as an extension of this theology. The one divine person, resurrected from the dead, was present in his resurrected flesh –not the flesh of a mere man– in the divine mysteries. So, we should not be surprised if St. Gelasius also uses this style of discussion in his own work in

imitation of St. Cyril's theology. St. Gelasius's work is entitled: *Tractatus III or On the two natures in Christ against Eutyches and Nestorius*. By the very nature of the title, we see that the emphasis will be on the two natures of Christ remaining untransmuted after the union of the divine and human natures into one person of God Incarnate in the womb of Mary. So, we should likely expect the language of St. Cyril to be augmented by Pope St. Leo's, or even vice versa.

Some olden writers claim that St. Gelasius holds a theory of the Eucharist that *denied transubstantiation*. If true (which we have been found to be contrary to the facts), it requires Roman Catholics to look at the authority of Gelasius's document before dealing with its interpretation. Why, for example, do we not find this document quoted by Roman Catholic theologians in the 1800s and 1900s in Denzinger^[309] (exactly when Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, claims that Catholic scholars think St. Gelasius *argues transubstantiation*)? Denzinger is the most trusted and consistent collection of magisterium or papal teachings on dogma! There have been nearly fifty different editors for about one hundred and fifty years. Still, no editor added this text to Denzinger, why? The answer is that St. Gelasius's booklet (*Tractatus III*) does not constitute a papal letter from the papal office (decretal), nor an official statement at a council, but is more like Pope Benedict XVI's recent trilogy *Jesus of Nazareth*. The recently retired pope, as St. Gelasius centuries before him, zealously wrote about theology. We might recall that Pope Benedict XVI reminded his readers that they were free to disagree with his interpretations of Scripture since he was giving his opinion as a theologian. St. Gelasius's document is similar in theological weight. We can say that St. Gelasius's document *nowadays* has more authority than Pope Benedict XVI's aforesaid books because St. Gelasius was made a Father of the Church by the liturgy canonizing him in the book called the Roman martyrology. Other than this, we must judge St. Gelasius's doctrine on its own merits. Since the clarifications in the Roman Catholic Ecumenical Councils of Vatican I and Vatican II, official papal teaching

must meet certain conditions to be called magisterium. What is more, an alleged infallible statement of the pope has to meet three stringent conditions to qualify: (1.) Explicitly address *all* the Catholic faithful, (2.) on a question of faith (and morals), (3.) while invoking his authority as a successor to the office of St. Peter the Apostle. Only one of the three qualifications does St. Gelasius meet in his book, for he addresses (no. 2) matters of faith. However, unlike “**Pope St.**” Gelasius in his official letters (decretals), “**St.**” Gelasius does not invoke his papal office when teaching on the faith in this booklet. So, now that we have ranked this document correctly as a theological booklet written by somebody who happens to be pope, but which has gained official church favor in virtue of St. Gelasius’s canonization, we assume that it contains the orthodox faith of the rest of the Fathers who are likewise canonized for the Church until proven otherwise.

I refer to “**St. Gelasius**” (not “**Pope St. Gelasius**”) when discussing his writings (by reference to our pope-categories) as Father of the Church (given greater reverence as an inter-
preter than all other classes of writings save official papal and conciliar writings), and not as successor to St. Peter by official letter or decree. All commentators whom we’ve read (Roman Catholic or otherwise) have missed St. Gelasius’s meaning by overly concentrating on St. Thomas Aquinas’s and the Council of Trent’s theories and language, as if their vocabulary or modes of expression should be found in St. Gelasius who, like his near contemporary St. Cyril, is fighting a different battle against Eutyches over proper description of the interaction between the divine and human natures in Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, St. Gelasius’s vocabulary is developed from Ephesus (AD 431) and Pope St. Leo’s *Tome* (AD 448). St. Gelasius’s work sifts through a variety of definitions for the Latin term “substance.” In St. Gelasius’s *Tractatus III*, “substance” can mean: (i.) the basic matter (Mary’s fleshy donation in utero),^[310] and (ii.) an abstract definition (for example: “humanity”) but perhaps as its descriptive activities or its real existence ap-

appears to the senses (that is, the rational-animal definition of a human insofar as its acts of existing or thinking or willing).^[311] St. Gelasius discusses “nature,” as we would expect, as acts that tend to flow out of a specific substance. St. Gelasius discusses “property” below in a manner typical of the tradition from St. Ambrose to Pope St. Leo:^[312] “Each nature kept its property (*proprietas*) without loss.”^[313] In his *Tractatus III*, St. Gelasius specifically yokes “property” with the idea of expressing a human nature’s “condition” (*condicio*).^[314] This can easily be thought of as the visible everyday activities that a certain species of animal (for example, dogs). A dog barks, runs on four legs, etc. The canine “condition” manifests these kinds of activities but whatever activity is principally identifiable as “doggy,” and no other, is the doggy-property. There is some sort of doggy-property or something about dogs that really belongs to them that makes them *not* act like cats, nor like any other thing to be confused with a dog. In the long quotations below from St. Gelasius, the term “subsistence” is absent, but it is used in St. Gelasius’s same booklet just like St. Cyril had been translated into Latin as using it.^[315] We have already seen the dogmatic assertion by St. Cyril that there are “not two subsistences” in one Jesus Christ. The God-man has only the Word or second person of the Trinity to supply the basic independently-existing being upon whom all human activities of Jesus are dependent. The reason why Jesus is not a “human being” or a separately-operating human person (subsistence), as Nestorius thinks, is due to the fact that Jesus’s “nature” and property of being human (for example, thinking rationally,) fails to move and command itself, as a mere human, but is moved and commanded by the Word in function, whereas other humans are entirely on their own.

5.3 St. Gelasius’s *Tractatus III* or *On the Two Natures [of Christ]*

The first reason why people don’t generally understand St. Gelasius is because they don’t read the whole booklet (that

is unfortunately not translated). The second reason that people don't understand St. Gelasius is that they don't specialize in the terminology used from the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon as translated into Latin. The third reason people don't understand St. Gelasius is because they don't understand the positions of his opponent (Eutyches) who denies that there are two natures of Christ at the moment of conception and who has a theory that flesh can be changed into non-flesh at the Incarnation since they claim flesh is completely changed at union with the Word into the divine substance. The fourth reason that people don't understand St. Gelasius is because they assume that fifth-century Latin uses the term "substance" from Pope St. Leo's heritage to mean the same thing as in Aristotle (like St. Thomas Aquinas and the Council of Trent). The fifth reason people don't understand St. Gelasius is that they don't realize that paragraph 10 and paragraph 14 of his booklet are interrelated. Paragraphs 11-13 help explain paragraph 10 by establishing vocabulary and examples to help the reader see what St. Gelasius will mean in paragraph 14. Besides Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, we have not found anyone else demonstrating that they engage the texts in these paragraphs. Even so Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, never alludes to the parallelism we provide just below. We consider this the key to his misreading, and essential for our unlocking the true meaning of the text below:

Gelasius, *Tractatus III*,
539-540 (Paragraph 10):

[A₁] Indeed, remove the nature from any substance you wish, then you even then take away its substance without doubt. [B₁] Once the substance has been removed, the aforementioned thing (*res*) we are talking

Tractatus, III, 541-542 (paragraph 14):

[B₂] Certainly, sacraments of the body and blood of Christ is a [singular] divine thing (*res*) that we consume, on account of which and by means of the same aforesaid [sacraments] are we made **completed** (*efficimur*) as partakers of divine nature. [A₂] However, too, the substance or nature

about is removed. I [C₁] should say: Those [Eutychians] scorn the term “natures,” although God himself has not scorned to be called by his preachers by the vocabulary of “his own nature,” just as the Apostle Peter said in his epistle when he was preaching the mystery of Christ the Lord. (2 Peter 1:4) says: [D₁] “**Be completed** (*efficiamini*) as partakers of the divine nature.” Now what are they, since they also by say one nature in the Lord Jesus Christ, convinced to argue about the term “nature”? [E₁] If it is permitted to name one nature, shall it not be rightful to name two or more about other matters.

of the bread and wine does not cease to be [although the thing (*res*) is divine ⁽¹⁾] And certainly “an image and similitude” (Genesis 1:16)^[316] of the body and blood of Christ are celebrated in the *action* [Eucharistic prayer] of the mysteries. Therefore, it is shown clearly enough to us what should be thought on the topic of Christ the Lord himself: We believe, we celebrate, and we consume [these things] in his image so that as **they transition into the divine* (*ut sicut in hanc, scilicet in divinam, transeant*^[317]) that is, [divine] **substance** (*substantiam*), at which time the Holy Spirit is perfecting their substance, [C₂] while yet they remain in the property of their nature. Thus, the aforesaid principal mystery [of the Incarnation] ([D₂] **the completion** (*efficientiam*) and power of which the [sacraments/body and blood] truly make present again for us) [E₁] properly constitutes,^[318] from enduring [natures], one Christ that proves to endure integral and true (unum Christum, quia integrum verumque).

[A₁] Establishes clearly that the “thing” (*res*) itself (for example, doggy,) cannot survive if you remove what can be either its flesh-matter or its descriptive definition (doggy-soul-in-animal-body). The thing (*res*) is at the core of what leads identify-

ing something's definition and essential parts or attributes. [A₁] So, we expect that the world normally works in a way that a doggy-property (barking) ought to trace back to a doggy-nature (a four-legged licking, barking animal,) that reflects a doggy-substance (either its body/elements or its definition of being doggy-soul + body). But this does not yet mean that Fido exists. Doggy-substance needs to subsist, to be real, subsisting-doggy-substance give us a Fido, a Lassi, and a Cujo.

[B₁] In the natural world when a substance (either basic-matter or the definition of a thing) are removed, then the thing itself can no longer exist. The thing-itself, at its root, is this-real-dog-in-its-essentials (*res*). [B₂] So what does it mean that bread-substance + nature and wine-substance + nature after consecration are "divine reality" (*divina res*)?^[319] The key is here (*above): "We consume [these things] in his image so that as ***they transition into the divine**, that is, [divine] **substance.**" This language is merely lifted from the same booklet earlier (with the same anti-Eutyches arguments as St. Leontius of Jerusalem from section 4.1), where St. Gelasius discusses the wrong position of Eutyches on what happens to flesh at the Incarnation:^[320]

If the same [condition] does not subsist in glory, our condition should also seem not glorified by the unity of deity but rather annihilated. But then the deity alone exists, then that humanity has already ceased to exist. It will seem that the mind abhors to assert [Eutyichianism] but necessity requires it not to be silent: The [Eutyichian] divinity either way is transmutable, if either itself it is converted into flesh, or in this is the condition of humanity **transitioned** (**transeundo = transeant*) **into divinity**, so that its property lacked existing. For if from that its own property, from the whole [of it], it exists not, as it awaits, in order to approach and increase through deity, in this way, namely, by transitioning into the nature of deity, so that humanity absolutely has ceased to exist.

The "thing" itself is a Scholastic-real-substance (something existing by itself not in another)! St. Gelasius is here saying that

someone he calls the “total man” and “total Christ” and “integral Christ” is actually the “thing” that appears as a mere bread-nature and a wine-nature but, in reality, it has been transmuted in the same language by which Eutyches says that Christ’s flesh is transmuted into God. Consequently, Eucharistic change leaves nothing of the former substance behind but all now is only divinity. What is a vice for the human nature in the union of Jesus at conception, is for St. Gelasius a virtue in Eucharistic change using the exact same vocabulary. The “one subsistence” in the God-man or Word-made-flesh or composite Word+soul+body, who is Jesus Christ, is the only independent-existing or existing-in-its-own-right kind of being. Contrariwise, the bread-nature and wine-nature are changed to be without their underlying reality (*res*) yet are somehow present in their basic stuff (*substantia*) and in their activities (*natura*) that are visible to the human senses after the consecration. This is the doctrine we saw in St. Cyril of Alexandria. So, it is no surprise that the doctrine is in St. Gelasius. After the blessing at Mass, the bread-substance and wine-substance are **“transitioned into the divine substance.”** This means, like Jesus’s humanity (body-soul), the bread loses its own existence (*subsistentia*) and wine loses its own existence (*subsistencia*) and only the God-man-existence per se remains. The bread exists-in only another and the wine exists-in another [in Christ] only, namely, in the God-man in a kind of dependence (later, Schoolmen like St. Thomas Aquinas will argue that bread/wine precisely exist-in the flesh and blood but not directly in the divinity, as a clarification of this same notion).

St. Gelasius wants the Word-made-flesh at conception to be a model for bread-made-flesh and wine-made-flesh. Yet, for St. Gelasius, bread and wine do not in every way imitate the Incarnation or flesh of Jesus. First is timing: Bread was bread and wine was wine before changing into the body. Contrariwise, Jesus’s embryo in Mary was –from its first moment– “existing-in” or “dependent on” the Word. There can be no moral union between will-less bread and mindless wine. Jesus is not Word-

impanate (Word-bread) and Word-invitnate (Word-wine), for St. Gelasius, but (like Eutyches's notion of change, though on a different topic,) the bread is no longer and the wine is no longer after the change. In fact, Dr. Kilmartin's premises to his article admit this, but he perhaps *wished St. Gelasius to make sense to his twentieth century mentality*. So, we underlined the verbal digressions that Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, made in St. Gelasius's language to show our readers what happened. Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, tried to make St. Gelasius intelligible to his own scholarly sensibilities. Historically, St. Gelasius wants the miracle of the Mass to be an analogy of the Incarnation but with a few differences:

(i.) The embryo of Jesus's humanity never "lost its subsistence" for it never had its own independent life and operation but was always united to the Word.

(ii.) Two natures are upheld: bread-ness and wine-ness, parallel to God's two natures (divine and human) in Christ, but bread & wine also "transition (*transeant*)" like a Eutychian-substance-change into an entirely different substance (this is transubstantiation and will be called explicitly so by St. Leontius of Jerusalem 40 years later).

(iii.) For Latin writers from St. Leo the Great on, Jesus's non-subsistent human nature is also called a substance + nature! Why? Because Jesus's substance-nature doesn't have its own subsistence, but its subsistence is supplied by the Word's existing for it. In effect, Gelasius's parallelism is exact.

Can we come up with a way to distance bread and wine from being non-subsistent natures taken up by the Word? In answer, although St. Gelasius had not the language of doing so (thus, there are two contrary assertions): (1.) It is divine (2.) and somehow it is the nature of bread, there are many Scholastic theories that elucidate a number of St. Gelasius's points.

St. Gelasius simply follows a trend, already mentioned by Dr. Martin Jugie, SA, that prioritized the analogy of the Incarnation, especially popular in Miaphysite or Oriental Orthodox commentaries on the Eucharist but signifying a change *in op-*

position to Antiochenes like Nestorius!^[321] It might be objected: "But it is clear that St. Gelasius uses the term: '*substantia*' and it must mean what it means for St. Thomas Aquinas in AD 1274!" In response, we can hit the ball with a "bat" (meaning a winged-ratlike-creature)," or with a "bat"(I mean a stick-like tool)." "Let us not quibble about words" but, as St. Gregory Nazianzen famously says on doctrinal matters, "about the words' meanings"! In fact, on the very question of heretical Apollinaris in St. Gelasius's booklet, the Apollinarian use of "nature" defines it in one way, but the orthodox define nature in another, making him say: "Whenever these same expressions are well expounded, they are pious, but whenever they are badly expounded, they fall into impiety!"^[322] Nor do we cite St. Gregory Nazianzenus as mere eye candy, for St. Leontius of Jerusalem (a contemporary and ally of St. Gelasius) uses this quote against the Monophysites' definition of "one *nature* of God Incarnate" and the substances (*ousiai*) in Christ!^[323] But, in the citation from St. Gelasius (above, paragraph 14), he himself asks how argument over using the term *nature* happens with Eutychians since they invoke the same word (but with a different definition)!

For St. Gelasius: There can be one subsistence in Christ, and the bread and wine are united to Christ's body, under one subsistence of the Word. No matter what St. Gelasius means, for St. Thomas Aquinas (and presumably for Trent), no "real substance" or "independently and fully existing thing bread" exists since after the consecration St. Gelasius assumes that it is: (a.) dependent on the God-man, (b.) and lacks its own being. St. Gelasius clearly denies that the "divine thing" is bread-subsistence or wine-subsistence by their "transition into divine substance" and he clearly says that wine-nature-activity and bread-nature-activity "transition" (*transeant*) without becoming a second and third subsistence in Christ. While St. Gelasius was *not in the least using a Scholastic-substance*, he is talking (like his contemporary grammarian Priscian) about a description of human nature (genus, species, difference), or the mere basic fleshy-stuff at the root of a thing, depending on the reference within the

booklet.^[324] The problem with bread is that there is no perfect definition, nor for wine, and so a specific description of isolated qualities forms the so-called Priscian-defined substance for St. Gelasius. If we were to compare St. Gelasius, given the article by Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, to the Council of Trent (as it was anticipated in the description of St. Thomas) on transubstantiation, then a writer such Dr. Jean-Hervé Nicolas, Order of Preachers (= Dominicans), explains for us St. Thomas's theory of transubstantiation in terms that are nearly identical (but more technical and precise) to our description of St. Gelasius's booklet (minus the disputed philosophical question of what kind of being accidents alone can be).^[325]

5.4 The Medieval Tradition from Pope St. Gregory the Great to Bl. Lanfranc

For the Latin West, St. Gelasius's work marks the last Late-Antique author in Latin to develop the Eastern Christian influence on the substantial change of the bread and wine. The first Latin treatise dedicated exclusively to the topic of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist in the Middle Ages was by St. Paschasius Radbertus (written between AD 831-833). The significance of this work cannot be overstated. However, it has surprisingly never been translated into English. St. Paschasius had access to an impressive amount of Greek material in translation. He also prioritized the teaching of St. Ambrose on the Eucharist. As we shall see, he also makes use of Pope St. Gregory the Great (who reigned from AD 590-AD 604). For that reason it is important to cite from him as he incorporates Latin and Greek authors up to his own time. Thereafter, St. Paschasius's works will influence Scholasticism of later centuries on its idea regarding transubstantiation.

First of all, he begins with familiar vocabulary that seems inspired by St. Gelasius (though allegedly taken from a local poet): "Every nature is subjected to your commands [o Creator], and after the ritual has been completed [nature] tran-

sitions (*transit*) into opposite types (*figuras*), since your order is dominant.”^[326] Then, citing St. Ambrose (*On the mysteries*), he writes: “Jesus says the following: ‘My flesh is for the life of the world’ (John 6:51). And so that we speak more miraculously [...] as flesh was born from Mary and suffered on a cross and arose from the tomb.”^[327] The beginning of the treatise announces in full force the program for the rest of the Middle Ages, namely, a substantial change whereby a new divine substance, as the child born of Mary, that is, the whole Christ is the miracle of the Mass. He continues almost immediately afterwards to say: “Let one meditate [...] did all that water among the Egyptians find itself from itself [to change], notwithstanding it was through Moses [who had the power] of converting (*convertendi*) [it] into blood and other items?”^[328] St. Paschasius might as well be a fourth-century writer from the onset who speaks of substance-to-substance change by reference to the Nile-water changing into blood. He is absolutely indistinguishable from his predecessors. Again, as we have come to expect through St. Ambrose’s mentions of the species/appearances in the West and St. Cyril of Alexandria’s mention of the phenomena/appearances of bread and wine in the Greek East, St. Paschasius turns to the visible result of this substantial change: “And, indeed, the miracles of Christ confirm the one sacrament of his passion. Therefore, too, in the face of this miracle, the appearances (*species*) are not transmuted (*mutantur*) externally, but internally, so that faith is verified by the Spirit.”^[329] Finally, in exact parallel with Dr. Jugie, SA’s, book on the Oriental Orthodox Church, as we quoted above in section 4.3, St. Paschasius also interprets every Mass to be an imitation of the descent of the Word into the womb of Mary changing her flesh into the Incarnate Word, as he writes:

From the aforesaid, there is also no surprise: The Holy Spirit created what is human of Christ in the womb of the virgin without seed, even if [the Spirit] daily actualizes—by means of the substance (*substantia*) of bread and wine—the body and blood of Christ by invisible power through sacraments, although not comprehended by external sense,

nor flavor's taste. [...] Just as true flesh without coitus is created from the virgin through the Spirit, so—in the same way—through the same Spirit, from the substance of bread and wine, there is consecrated the same body of Christ and blood."^[330]

In fact, this is merely an expansion of the Incarnation analogy used already by the heavily cited St. Ambrose throughout St. Paschasius's work on the Eucharist. This emphasis of the historical Jesus conceived as a full person in the womb, then born and crucified and raised on the third day, is exactly what we have come to expect since St. Ambrose's very thorough mention of these same mysteries in his treatment of Jesus made present under the appearances of bread and wine. However, St. Paschasius used other resources, such as Pope St. Gregory the Great. In an important citation from this renowned pope, St. Paschasius quotes him verbatim thus:

It seems to make as great a blasphemy as possible with respect to the Holy Spirit's grace, should anyone doubt that the earthly substance of bread and wine (when they be sanctified by the power and consecration of the very same Spirit) can be converted (*converti*) into the very same body and blood, which the blessed Virgin conceived and bore by the very same power and operation of that same Spirit.^[331]

We, through St. Paschasius, easily trace a line of nature-to-nature or Aristotelian substance-to-substance change from St. Ambrose of Milan to St. Paschasius Radbertus. St. Gregory the Great's influence on subsequent writers was enormous and simply forms for us yet another solid link in the chain of witnesses that use "conversion" in the sense of substantial change whereby the organizing principle (form) of some basic matter (prime matter) is completely changed from its original state and replaced or made to become (depending on the intricacies of the theory) the body and blood of the same being born of the womb of Mary and resurrected. The living flesh and blood, ensouled rationally and inseparably united to the divinity. This is, in every way, the same theology of Eucharist and change that

was long ago adopted by St. Cyril and that spread to the Oriental Orthodox East that it still reverences today in churches of the greater Levant and diaspora. Speaking of St. Cyril of Alexandria, we saw that the story allegedly recounted by St. Arsenius the Great in the largely anonymously compiled and constantly redacted *The Sayings of the Fathers of the Desert* recounted a Eucharistic miracle. This miracle was one where we saw a Nestorianizing monk (according to the allegedly Nestorian theology the so-called *Bazaar*) who was recognized as sincere and holy by his fellow desert monastics. Because he prayed and did penance, his ignorance of the orthodox faith on the Eucharist was seen as an anomaly, not as something to condemn him absolutely and oust him from the community of believers. Three monks were convinced that by challenging him to pray for a number of days about the matter before normal Sunday Eucharist that the monk would receive the inspiration of the Spirit to know the truth of the matter.

This leads to a mystical vision that, because it used material imagery, was unable to physically play out every single abstract truth of the Eucharist believed by the pro-Cyril monks but was sufficiently illustrative to convert the monk to St. Cyril's position. First, the monk had a vision of a fully formed child (who naturally was born of the Virgin as in St. Cyril's lengthier expositions). Secondly, the child being present coincided in heaven to the bread on the altar. At the time that the visible bread was divided the gruesome scene before the monk's eyes appeared where the child was dismembered, and his live body and blood were placed by an angel in heaven into the correct receptacles. Finally, to the monks' horror, the living pieces and drops were given to him, whereupon he cried out in horror knowing that it was not seemly to consume this miracle in its physical state. At that instant the supernatural lenses through which he was viewing the mysteries were taken from his eyes so that everything returned to normal. The monk then repeated lines familiar to us in St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Ambrose, namely, the veiled appearances behind the curtains of bread

and wine are to shield us from the horror of the cross and to enter into the mystery by faith, not by physical participation.

Obviously, this dramatic miracle became rather sensational. On the testimony of monks it spread throughout the empire, surviving the collapse of Rome in the West in AD 476, so that St. Paschasius related it in Latin translation in full! About one full page of text in his work on the Eucharist retells this exact story from a Latin translation for the edification of the monks in Frankia or France, for whom he was writing. Of course, given the lack of guile in the storytelling, the same problematic passage ends the story in Latin as we saw in Greek. The monk gives his reader the rationale for Jesus veiling himself under bread and wine in more Eutychian terms: "The old monk said to them: 'God knows: human nature, since it cannot eat raw flesh, he has also due to these reasons transformed (*transformavit*) his own body into bread and blood into wine after the manner of the [aforesaid] mystery.'" The actual experience the monk had was of a piece of flesh instantaneously and miraculously being transformed in his hand into bread. So, he spoke according to appearances. However, we ourselves see that this extraordinary miracle (a Eucharistic miracle) is not the normal mystery Christ's miracle is only the transforming of bread and wine into his whole incarnate and resurrected self under what appears to be bread and wine. This second miracle is similar though, just like the blood of the Nile was reverted back to fresh water. The issue of concern here is that our Nestorian has now become a Eutychian! Balance is indeed hard to find; literally speaking, the appearances of the "substance" of flesh and "drops" of blood had their bread-appearances and wine-appearances or veils reverted. We should not be surprised if the simple-minded and often illiterate monks in their simplicity of faith did not speak with more discernment than what their senses told them. However, for doctors and Fathers of the Church, this becomes more concerning when it leads to confusion and exaggeration of the mysteries.

For his part, St. Paschasius illustrates the story to confirm

that a recent miracle in England that has gained fame is in fact orthodox and credible. However, St. Paschasius's account of the miracle is more precise, as we would expect from a theologian, to talk about the changes in ways that the Fathers would have endorsed: "Indeed [an English] priest existed who had been very devout, Plegils by name. He was frequently celebrating the solemn rites of Mass [...] As he began to press almighty God by his pious liturgical prayers, God showed to him the nature (*naturam*) of the body and blood of Christ."^[332] As it turns out, though pious, this Christian priest-monk had doubted if bread and wine could really be the divinely Incarnate Word. So, the miracle was a reward of the monk's faith in the midst of human doubts. St. Paschasius goes on to explain that the monk understood that the "appearance hides under its exterior form" the body of Christ.^[333] St. Paschasius underlines, by a recorded prayer of thanksgiving for the miracle, that the mystery is: "To perceive [Jesus] by sight as present (*praesentem*) by his body and his form of a child who was a crying baby at his mother's breast, when held it in the hands [at priestly blessing and communion]."^[334] So far, there is nothing that we see in St. Paschasius that differs from the realism of the Fathers regarding what happens to the natural substances of bread and wine after the consecration and the nature of the whole Christ is present after the moment of transubstantiation. All the same, it should be said that Paschasius has become famous in specialist circles for getting the nature of "type" (*typus; figura*) wrong in St. Ambrose of Milan and in the patristic tradition. There is a great deal of literature written on what it means that the consecrated bread and wine is a "type and truth" or "*figura et veritas*" (*antitypus kai alêtheia*) of the body and blood of Christ. We refer the reader to one of two main theories that was preserved at this time by St. John Damascene (who wrote in the 700s prior to Paschasius) when more modern nuances came into play.^[335]

In short, here is a relative sense in which the Eucharist is not perfectly said to be the body and blood of Christ (as a type) and there is a sense in which it is perfectly said to be the

the body and blood of Christ. First of all, if the physical body (apparent to the five senses) is only in heaven and Jesus, by and large, does not become physically (visibly) present to the senses in this world save the occasional miracle, then it is incorrect to say that Jesus is, in the primary sense of the term, “physically present in the Eucharist.” Jesus’s hair, eye color, size cannot *physically* be gauged by the five human senses at Mass. Even the visions of a child are approximation or visual metaphors (like the pieces of flesh and drops of blood) that only help the doubter or non-believer approach or approximate to the whole Christ present in the Eucharistic bread and wine (that is, under their physical appearances). So, because heaven will not have Mass since the anticipation of the resurrected Christ or the temporary sacramental mode of Jesus-presence will pass away and give way to the fully physical presence of Jesus before our eyes and other senses in heaven, the Eucharistic Christ is not perfectly present in his heavenly *physical mode* but is sacramentally present, that is, only a temporal presence that will one day end at the last judgment.

Yet, in another way Jesus is perfectly present in the Eucharist. The first aspect is that the whole divinity, as it united to an ensouled body, is present in a non-physical (that is, non-perceptible-to-the-five-senses mode). This non-physical mode is the mode by which Jesus established or invented the sacrament at the Last Supper. So, in this way the sacramental mode of his presence is perfect, insofar as nothing essential to the God-man is lacking in the host or chalice and the mode by which Jesus himself established his own presence there is perfectly imitated and repeated according to his will. This relative imperfection of “typological” presence of Jesus in the Eucharist means that it always anticipates the moment when he will come in his full physical glory and fulfill what can only be temporarily and imperfectly perceived about him in the Eucharist. While St. Paschasius gets distracted, so that he uses other interpretations of “type” along with the traditional way, this really doesn’t affect anything that we have just shared in this chapter. As such,

the final conclusion is that St. Paschasius is in complete continuity with the past due to reusing the traditional examples and their substance-to-substance inferences of change that we have maintained all along. There is no need, then, to get distracted with the fact that the term “type” takes on new nuances and analogical meanings that are not attested in St. Ambrose’s and other earlier Fathers’ use of the term, though it has been something that one of us has thoroughly addressed in a recently published book that deals with the question in all its scientific rigor.^[336]

5.5 From Bl. Lanfranc to the “Transubstance” (transubsantio [sic]) of Scholasticism

Perhaps the most famous Eucharistic controversy to deny transubstantiation, outside those known in general as the Reformation, is with Berengar of Tours (who died AD 1098) and Bl. Lanfranc of Canterbury (AD 1010-AD 1089). The controversy between these two is generally thought to anticipate the developed doctrine of transubstantiation. By now, we know how naïve this is. In fact, it is ludicrous once we see that the exact definition of Schoolmen like St. Thomas Aquinas and the Council of Trent is exactly found in the descriptions by orthodox churchmen of heretical Eutyches and his idea of one matter-form combination (Jesus’s body and soul) being entirely absorbed or changed into the divinity. The result is a total and complete instantaneously transubstantiated humanity into divinity, exactly as St. Gelasius clearly applied in an orthodox way to the Holy Eucharist. What should be anathematized for the one divine person of Christ’s flesh, for St. Gelasius, should in another context be the perfect analogy for the Eucharist. Whether St. Gelasius was simply endorsing the preexisting opinion of St. Augustine on this same matter (above in section 6.1), or he knew from the current situation coming to a head in Jerusalem, about seventy-five years after St. Augustine’s

The Trinity and about thirty years before St. Leontius a fully formed theology existed in the beginning of the fourth century culminating in St. Leontius of Jerusalem speaking to fellow citizens (indifferent to them being pro- or anti-Chalcedonian) against Eutyches's idea of change with respect to the Nile-river changing into blood (adding the idea that Jesus's flesh continued to look human in appearance) or "transubstantiation." The miraculous transformation of the Nile into blood (as water into ice), then, was thought to be a matter-form substance (water) that completely loses its old matter and form and is instantaneously changed into a new matter-form (blood and its organic form –a Neo-Platonic theory endorsed especially later by St. John Damascene). In effect, every essential piece of the Scholastic theory of transubstantiation had two positive applications in sixth-century Jerusalem (if not much earlier): (1.) To the change of water into ice, and (2.) via miraculous biblical changes, to change the complete substance into another complete substance.

So, the notion that Bl. Lanfranc is somehow advancing a more complex idea of the Eucharist than the pre-Medieval Fathers in the period of Christological controversies is, by now, a silly postulate. In fact, we shall see that it is the overarching authority of St. Ambrose and his insistence on nature-to-nature change, just as the aforementioned Old and New Testament examples, that is at the root of Bl. Lanfranc's own Medieval doctrine of the Eucharist in opposition to a monk named Berengar.^[337] The issue, as we should expect, centers on whether or not the substance of bread and the substance of wine are present in the material and real existence after their consecration at Mass. In his pro-transubstantiation treatise written in AD 1063, Bl. Lanfranc rebuts the missing earlier work of the heretic Berengar, who wrote:

Through the consecration the bread and wine of the altar become the sacrament of religion—not that they would cease to be what they were, but rather, that they would still be those things which they were, yet changed into

something else, which is what St. Ambrose says in his book *On the Sacraments*.^[338]

In response to what we know, by now, to be a grossly inaccurate reading of St. Ambrose, Bl. Lanfranc responded around AD 1070:

O mindless mind! O man impudently lying! O impertinence that should be punished! You presume to call upon the testimony of Ambrose, who you claim says that the bread and wine of the altar by way of the consecration do not cease to be what they were but are transmuted (*commutantur*) into something which they were not. [...] Could anyone in possession of his mental faculties believe that one reality can be converted (*converti*) into another without the former reality ceasing to be? [...] In [Ambrose's] *On the Mysteries* [...] Lest the mind refuse to believe in such a great conversion (*conversionem*) of such great elements (*elementorum*), he adds further: "To what extent should we use examples to prove that this is not what nature has formed but what the benediction has consecrated, and that the greater force is in the benediction and not in nature—for by the benediction nature itself is changed (*natura mutatur*)." For Ambrose clearly demonstrates this by fitting examples and affirms it in an equally powerful way by cogent arguments. First, he cites the conversion of Moses' staff into a serpent, followed by the conversion of the serpent back into the staff. Then he relates the story of how the waters were changed (*mutatas*) into blood, and how that same blood was turned back again into waters. And he cites many more examples in a similar fashion. Finally, he advances the great and singular miracle of the Virgin Birth, saying: "And that which we confect (*conficimus*) is the body from the Virgin." And so that you should not place the power of nature over that of the divine, as if God could not change nature in any way that he pleases, or that seems proper to him, he adds: "Why do you seek the order of nature in the body of Christ, when the Lord Jesus himself was born from the Virgin beyond the order of nature?"

Also, in the sixth book of the *On the Sacraments*, in which work you falsely asserted that Ambrose uttered the aforementioned lie, he in fact begins like this: "Just as our Lord Jesus Christ is the true Son of God, not by way of some grace like the rest of men but by way of nature, so it is his true flesh which we receive, and his true blood which we drink." It is sufficient that I have cited these few examples from among many^[339]

By now we might even find ourselves bored with the repeated vocabulary of Bl. Lanfranc, since he is not expressing even one idea new to us since the time of the fourth century. But, on the contrary, since a scholarly prejudice prevails that somehow there are stages of tradition, leaps in ideas, developments of new philosophies, and inventions of allegedly never-before-seen terminology, we can be excited that Bl. Lanfranc is so very boring, so as to reproduce everything that we have seen from Philo of Alexandria in AD 40 until AD 1070. If the Latins had been slow to invent a word like *trans(s)ubstantiatio* (transubstantiation) in order to exclude other kinds of substantial change, then only a special term –as in the East with St. Leontius– was missing to describe, with the utmost precision, a mutation whereby nothing of the original matter and form remains in a substantial change. Bl. Lanfranc goes on to cite St. Ambrose at length again and again speaks on the rod of Moses to justify the kind of change with which we are by now so familiar.^[340] Elsewhere Bl. Lanfranc again appeals to Ambrose's *On the Mysteries* where we saw him calling Christ in the Eucharist the rock (like St. Paul in 1 Corinthians chapter 10) who transubstantiates from himself water from his blood.^[341] As if not enough to class Bl. Lanfranc among the faithful theoreticians of transubstantiation among St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Ambrose, Bl. Lanfranc takes us completely by surprise writing the following:

Indeed, we are accustomed to call things by the names of that from which they have been made, although having been **transferred** into another nature (*in aliam naturam translatae*), it can be proven that they are not that from

which they have been made. For example, St. Augustine in the end of the *Commentary on Psalm 147* calls “crystal” the “snow hardened by the passing of many years, and the succession of ages.” The nature of snow, however, is liquid and moist, and that of a crystal, hard and dry. Therefore, since these natures are so disparate from one another, it is not proper to call “snow” an “ice” (*krystallum*) in the strict sense, except as a figure of speech—where one is accustomed to call a thing by the name of the material from which it has been made. And the Creator, in the creation of the first man from the dust, says to man in Genesis: “You are dust, and unto dust you shall return.” It is as if God were to say: “Because you have been made from dust, you will someday become dust, and you will turn back into the dust [from which you were made].”^[342]

St. Ambrose, so important for Bl. Lanfranc, had long before held that if God can create from nothing and create from preexisting material (the sea is changed to living creatures and dust to human beings), then all the more can a virgin conceive and the bread and wine change into the body and blood of Christ. As early on confronted by St. Augustine, and in the vein of St. Leontius of Jerusalem, Bl. Lanfranc invokes the natural phenomenon of ice (*krystallus*) to illustrate how a natural analogy of substantial change, like transmutation of bread and wine, can take place. Again, our notion of chemistry judges the example poor by our scientific standards, but the fact is that near-contemporaries (St. Augustine and St. Leontius) used the same water-to-ice (*krystallus*) change to illustrate nature-to-nature transubstantiation. This shows definitively that the outstanding examples of Eucharistic theology in the East and in the West shared presuppositions on the level of physics as reaffirmed by Bl. Lanfranc, often considered an anticipation of Scholastics *because* he is concerned over substance and accidents. In reality, like so many overly specialized studies, the innovation that takes place at this time is how to incorporate *dialectic* or the imperfect collection of Aristotelian logic and commentaries

thereon into theology, since a formal use of syllogisms and dialectical arguments from the topics was not the norm for doing theology in post-Roman times in the areas of Frankia, England, and Italy.

I would draw the reader's attention to Bl. Lanfranc's Eucharistic language of **transmutation** (*mutatio*) that his Gallican Mass tradition knew very well. One nature being "**transferred**" or "**translated**" into another is simply liturgy-talk as in the Mone Mass book that reflects Bl. Lanfranc's prayer tradition:

We beg that thou wouldst pour down thy Spirit of holiness upon these created gifts that have been laid on thy altar, so that by the outpouring (*transfusionem*) of a heavenly and invisible mystery this bread may be **transmuted** (*mutatur*) into flesh and this cup, **transferred** (*translatus*) into blood, may be thanksgiving for all and may be healing for all those who partake.^[343]

As we would expect, a mutation is thought to be a transfer from one point or substance *a* to a second point with an entirely new essence or definition (as to what kind of being it is), as Bl. Lanfranc says in numerous quotes everything according to what we would expect from our previous Latin (and Greek) authorities: "Indeed, [Ambrose] testifies that those things which once were still existing according to the visible species, yet are transmuted (*commutari*) into the nature of those things that they were not before, that is, according to their interior essence (*essentiam*)."^[344] All the while, exactly like St. Ambrose, Bl. Lanfranc does not fail to mention the issue with appearances (*species*) that are preserved

We believe, therefore, that the earthly substances, which on the table of the Lord are divinely sanctified by the priestly ministry, are ineffably, incomprehensibly, miraculously converted by the workings of heavenly power into the essence of the Lord's body. The species and whatever other certain qualities of the earthly substances themselves, however, are preserved, so that those who see it may not be horrified at the sight of flesh and blood, and

believers may have a greater reward for their faith at the sight. It is, nonetheless, the body of the Lord himself existing in heaven at the right side of the Father, immortal, inviolate, whole, uncontaminated, and unharmed. Truly it is possible to say, therefore, that it is the same body that was assumed from the Virgin, and also not the same body, which we receive. Indeed, it is the same body as far as it concerns its essence, true nature, and its own excellence. It is not the same body in its appearance, however, if one is considering the species of bread and wine and the rest of the qualities mentioned above. This is the faith held from ancient times, and is the one that the Church, which is now diffused throughout the whole world, and is called Catholic, now holds.^[345]

These quotes border on tautologies for us with the result that the reader may not believe that modern scholarship since the last century until today so separates all these Fathers, periods, and topics, that they almost always emphasize the great divide and division between any of the periods that we pick, whether the New Testament, the Apostolic age, or the Golden Age of the Fathers (typically said to last in the Latin West until AD 604 and in the East until AD 750). If these citations did not serve to underline the total and indisputable unity of teaching on substantial change in the Eucharist from the first centuries until Bl. Lanfranc's dispute with the heretic Berengar, we could simply be bored with virtual reproduction time and again of every idea that has by now become as if an inborn instinct for us to ferret out orthodoxy in any writer on the topic.

Finally, it is worthwhile mentioning that the intellectually and contemporary of Bl. Lanfranc, named Guilmund of Aversa, developed in parallel with Bl. Lanfranc nearly the same formulation of transubstantiation by analysis of Moses's staff:

To be sure, there is a difficulty which troubles some who believe that this change cannot occur, and it is this: in the physical world there is hardly any change in the whole of nature which is even remotely similar to it. For when one

thing is substantially transmuted into another (*substantia-liter transmutatur*), it is usually changed into that which did not exist before: for example, the staff of Moses transmuted into a serpent, which was at first not a serpent, but then began to be a serpent; when, however, we say that the bread is changed, it is not changed into that which had not been flesh, but we confess that it is transmuted into the flesh which was already the flesh of Christ, without any increase in the flesh of the Lord himself. And although we do not deny that this change is difficult for us to understand in this age, it is, however, not difficult to believe.^[346]

Here, we wish to conclude. The teaching on the Eucharist is so obvious and so predictable by now that the only innovative contribution left to make is to propose to the reader how the *Latin word* “transubstantiation” (*transubstantiation*) might have been invented, since currently scholars are unable to trace the word in the Latin language before AD 1140.

6.0 FROM THE BEGINNINGS OF SCHOLASTICISM TO AQUINAS AND THE DEFINITION OF TRENT

6.1 The Invention of the Latin Term: Transubstantiation

The leading study of Dr. Joseph Goering on the origin of the Latin terms for transubstantiation (*transubstantio* and *trans[s]ubstantiatio*) has convincingly defended the date for invention of the oldest version of the term (viz., *transubstantio*, as both substantive and verb) to around AD 1140.^[347] One possibility for the later spelling of transubstantiation (*transsubstantiatio*) could be accounted for by Scholastic students first hearing this newfangled term in lectures and rendering it as two words. One Scholastic student (whether rightly or wrongly) seems to have first heard the term as “transitions a substance” (*transit substantiam*).^[348] Additionally, this Eucharistic term, along with its theory, was probably invented in the environs of Paris.^[349] Lastly, Goering proposes that best candidate for inventing the

term is the Medieval witness, Robert Pullen (who died AD 1146), who was hailed its putative inventor under the following verb form: “[it] is transubstantiated” (*transubstantiatur*; 3rd person singular).^[350]

Goering’s state of the art study does not discuss whether a Greek origination for transubstantiation [sic] (*transubstantio*) has ever been proposed. But it is by all accounts unlikely. For our part, we emphasize the propitious phrase that likely accounts for the “invention” in Latin of what is equivalent to transubstance-ing (*transire substantiam*). We first summarize Goering’s findings and edited texts on the Scholastic investigations (*quaestiones*) that account for why the term was invented: (1.) Bread takes its form (*forma*) from the kind of substance that it is but (2) the Eucharistic change is unlike a black object changing into a white one since there is neither change in a form (*forma*), nor in an accident (*qualitas*) but (3.) Eucharistic change is a transubstantiation or transmutation of substance.^[351] This sums up the points in the discussion that lead to using this word for the first attested time in history of the Latin language.

We should be aware that there is an exact verbal parallel (though we have no reason to call it a citation) with St. Gelasius (not to mention Tertullian), who twice says: “The [human] nature [...] along with its property [...] completely [...] is transitioning into the nature of divinity (*in deitatis naturam transeundo*).”^[352] This was the description of the heretical theory of Eutyches at the *conception of Jesus* where he allegedly and heretically was said to *lose* his original human nature. Secondly, St. Gelasius wrote: “They transition into the divine substance (*in divinam substantiam transeant*.”^[353]) For St. Gelasius, as for the first known Scholastic (likely Robert Pullen) to invent or to use the term transubstantiation, the key phrase is “[bread/wine] **transitions into the substance**” (*transit in substantiam*). Let us take a look at the earliest known text to adopt the word in the Latin language:

[Proposition:] The bread [...] transitions into the substance of the body of Christ [...] we must ask by what type of muta-

tion (*mutatione*) that bread and wine are mutated (*mutantur*) into the body and blood of Christ.

[Objection:] Indeed, some same transmutation is what happens when the permanent substance of a thing, while enduring (*permanente*) [...] prior, afterwards the natural quality of the aforementioned substance has been received, in which substance the thing was itself changed (some core thing (*res*) is changed) in a way that a transmutation of Lot's wife was made. Of course, the wife of Lot was changed into a stone as follows [wrongly]: Her prior substance was enduring, after she was mutated, so she then took up the natural hardness and flavor of stone, yet she remained the pristine [prior] essence.[...]

[Response of Robert Pullen:] False, in this mutation of bread and wine into the body of Christ and his blood, a mutation happens so that the quality (just as taste so too color of either) [...] are retained and the substance of bread and wine should be utterly transmuted into the substance of the body and blood of the Lord. And, in the aforesaid manner, the former bread and wine transition (*transeunt*) into the substance of the body and blood of the Lord as having taken up the form of the body and blood of the Lord but having retained the properties [of bread and wine]. [...] However, in this consecration, transformation of no quality happens whatsoever, but of this substance into that substance, so to say thus: "transubstance" [that is, transubstantiation] or transmutation (*transmutation*).^[354]

There can be no clearer evidence that reflection on Lot's wife brings Robert Pullen to come up with his traditional explanation of substance-to-substance change that involves a new matter and a new form, after the change, but with the original appearances remaining the same. He coincides with the traditional phraseology for this change used since the time of St. Gelasius: "transition into substance" in order to define his newly coined word. Robert Pullen recognizes that "transmutation" is its substitute word that has been serving as the tech-

nical term until publication of this Pullen's investigation. Once again, we see that all the traditional considerations from Philo of Alexandria, through the Greek and Latin patristic tradition, fully find a place in the discussion. There can be no sense in which the origins of a substance-to-substance change-theory of the Eucharist are invented. What is more, those who first listened to this newly invented word seemingly confused it for the phrase: "substance crosses [into] substance" (*transit substantiam*), as if Robert Pullen invented a word as a mere verbalization of: "something transitions the substance [of 'x' into 'y']" (*transeo-substantiam*).

There is a Greek key to understand the distant origins for Robert Pullen's terminology. We turn back the clock to an orthodox Christian, Marius Victorinus, and his *Adversus Arium* (written around AD 358). He invented out the Greek a participle in Latin to conceptualize two non-discreet (non-separable) items that can be identified and thought of as one independently existing thing to defend the Father and Son as both possessing equally the divine essence. Marius Victorinus's Latin term eventually became serviceable as the root word for the new Latin term "transubstantiation":

Truly, this [Greek:] "*homousios*" signifies "consubstantial," i.e., a simultaneous **something that has existed** (*substantiatum*) without having been composed or without separation; but it is always simultaneous, for it is by powers and actions of things whereby something is distinct".^[355]

The invention of a verb "substantiate" (*substantio*) seems to develop out of Victorinus's *passive participle* ("having been substantiated") and signifies giving the essence or existence to something, which is qualified by Marius Victorinus to refer to what is devoid of notions of composition (of parts) and distinctions (within the fundamental whole).

In effect, the verb "is substantiated" in the third-person singular, as well as its passive infinitive (*substantiatur/substantiari*), were virtually bequeathed by Marius Victorinus to the Medieval translator Hilduin (who translated AD 830-AD 835)

for a work put into Latin. He employed the term “substantiate” for his translations of the famous Ps-Dionysius the Areopagite (who originally wrote in Greek around AD 515). Hilduin seems to have invented it in the third person singular: “(it) is substantiated” (*substantiatur*) and thereby laid the groundwork for Robert Pullen’s combination of the third person singular form of the verb with the preposition: “across” (*trans-*). Hilduin’s term “(it) is substantiated” (*substantiatur*) refers to Christ’s flesh being brought into physical existence at the moment of the Incarnation or conception:

That he undertook “to be substantiated” (*substantiari*) as a man we mysteriously understood. We are ignorant in what manner, in a fashion at variance with nature, he was **formed from a virgin’s blood**. We do not understand how with dry feet and with his body’s solid weight he walked on the unstable surface of the water.^[356]

Hilduin’s verb is inherently disposed to the prefix “*trans-*” in Latin. The theme is entirely related to Eucharistic change by analogy. Also, Dionysius stresses the substance-to-substance change from drops of blood into a divine person with human nature (as the underlying matter is used from the Virgin’s flesh). We note, like Hilduin: (1.) Robert Pullen’s use is in the third person singular: *transsubstantiatur*; (2.) Robert Pullen worked in Scholastic circles of Paris, and (3.) these included Richard of St. Victor and William of Lucca (who wrote AD 1169-AD 1177). These were both fervent readers of Dionysius in Latin. This circle of scholars in Paris also had access to John Scotus Eriugena’s translation of Dionysius that retained Hilduin’s verb “to substantiate” (*substantiare* [= *ousiôtai*]) (the exact term is used by St. Leontius of Jerusalem shortly after Pseudo-Dionysius and both use it on the topic of Christ’s flesh or humanity).^[357] Dionysius’s “to substantiate” was used to speak of the creation of the existent essence whence Jesus’s human activities derived. It is this very same passage from Dionysius that is inspiring the later Medieval commentary of William of Lucca when speaking on the Incarnation or conception: “The chalice (that

is, “the law”) is formed in the Lord’s hand, since all Old Testament Scripture is substantiated from the mind, which mind is from Christ.”^[358] William’s comment goes on to mystically associate the spiritual chalice with spirits that bring a divine drunkenness to the drinker. Written three decades after Robert Pullen, it nonetheless shows that the, by now, traditional term: “is substantiated” (*substantiatur*) had been associated in Latin with both the Incarnation and the Eucharist. We can only suspect or guess that “is substantiated” (*substantiatur*) provided the attractive root for Robert Pullen’s prefix “*trans-*,” to be added on to a verbal form from Marius Victorinus’s notion of “substantiated.” The implication is that the divine act of *displacing* or *replacing* natural substance ‘a’ with an existent essence (that is, substance ‘b’) takes place in a sequence but not merely a succession of forms in the same matter.

In conclusion, transubstantiation’s debut as a Latin term happened in the context of using traditional examples (like Lot’s wife), as well as vocabulary and elements that we have come to expect in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. It is also true that the root verb “*substantio*” is a development out of Greek texts on the Trinity and Christology composed by authors of the fourth and sixth centuries. Because of transubstantiation’s definition of “transitioning into another substance” the Latin term as it was understood merely repeats the definition of transmutation in Christology known to St. Gelasius in Latin verbatim. At the same time, the AD 1140 definition of Robert Pullen invokes the same substance-to-substance analogies of change in philosophy dating from Philo of Alexandria. These images were used by St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Leonius of Jerusalem in the exact same philosophical way as Robert Pullen in AD 1140. Robert Pullen’s verbal root was used rarely and historically was employed for the essence of the Trinity and for Jesus’s flesh formed out of Mary’s blood in utero per the writer in Dionysius. There appears to be no reliance directly on Aristotle’s *corpus*, so that we cannot account for any studied aspects of transubstantiation by appealing to the introduction

of Aristotle's logic, physics, and metaphysics into the Latin Church between AD 1180-AD 1237, after which the body of Aristotle's texts became standard university curriculum. The distinction in Robert Pullen between the form, matter, and substance of something is indeed Aristotelian. But, as we have seen, this basic information on the categories was always available. What will be new is for university professors and students to go into scientific justifications of the basic points that this investigation has so far proven to date to the first centuries of Christianity. So, it is the Scholastic *justification* of the definition and implications, not the definition and terminology themselves, that represent the Scholastic contribution.

6.2 St. Thomas Aquinas and Transubstantiation

Why does St. Thomas Aquinas represent the culmination of this study? Naturally, for Latin Catholics and for many other educated Christians, St. Thomas Aquinas represents an impressive systematization of themes on religion from A-Z. But, for our purposes, it is also the case that those who have tended to attack the value of the doctrine of transubstantiation in the history of Christianity have often turned to St. Thomas Aquinas because the Roman Catholic Church especially commended St. Thomas's writings, sanctity, and learning in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Although it would be accurate to say that he was increasingly commended by popes to Christians at large since his canonization on 18 July 1324, it was especially in the twentieth century that he became available in vernacular languages to be read by the faithful. Today, much of his academic work on any number of topics is available and there are currently those who have publishing ambitions to make every single one of his works available in English. On the negative side, those who contest or reject transubstantiation typically cite St. Thomas Aquinas as their intellectual opponent. They assume (and by and large they are correct) that the

definition of transubstantiation at the Council of Trent is simply a reproduction of St. Thomas' own doctrine. It might be more accurate to say that every aspect of St. Thomas's doctrine is in harmony with the definition of Trent, for the Council also made room for many other Roman Catholic theories differing on *the modality* or *manner* of explaining each step of Eucharistic change. These authors wished to fill in gaps providing a step-by-step commentary of the minutiae of change to resolve what we might call questions of detail in the realm of physics and metaphysics regarding how matter and its dimensions play into any one explanation as plausible.

What can be said is that when, nowadays, a step-by-step detailed theory is given, it is almost universally some version of St. Thomas's original theory that is rehashed (and sometimes mangled[!]). One overarching concern of the ancient, Antique, and Medieval Churches, of whatever language background, is to endorse substance-to-substance change, its instantaneous occurrence, its miraculous nature, and its analogy to the Incarnation of the Word made flesh, but it is an entirely another thing to give a very Aristotelian play by play analysis of the possible problems that arise when we talk about how Aristotle's description of substance and accidents create ambiguities and potential contradictions, if we are not careful in how we explain each instant of change. For us, locating the Roman Catholic Church's definition of the dogma throughout primitive history has been the topic of our interest, not so much the many acceptable hypotheses by which one may justify intricate details and explain more profoundly that dogma by means of pure philosophy and science. Saint Bonaventure (who died AD 1274) and Blessed Duns Scotus (who died AD 1308) are saints of the Roman Church with entirely acceptable theories for studying each detail to address Aristotelian concerns. This is not the purpose of this study, even if we refer time-to-time to details about such theories. Our concern is not so much that there are competing theories (for Roman Catholics are free to employ any saintly theory to which we have referred), but sadly that Roman Cath-

olic authors sometimes embarrass themselves by virtually condemning entirely orthodox expositions of the doctrine.^[359] This is saddening, for Eastern Orthodox statements on the matter laudably punt on the ability of any human theory to pretend to authoritatively explain the physics and metaphysics (a wise and cautious response). At a time when belief among polled Roman Catholics is waning in the mystery in an alarming way, unscrupulous authors spend deliberate time attacking Blessed John Duns Scotus' (or others') orthodoxy, as if an attack on Scotus will result in some sort of increased appreciation of the mystery (at least that is what the books we have seen allege that they are trying to do, that is, explain the mystery to inspire belief). If anything, these attacks on a philosophical theory of a blessed of the Church reflect a superficiality and a lack of pastoral sense. None of the attackers have demonstrated any scholarly potential to tackle real philosophical issues proper to Medieval Studies, let alone modern physics, so why do they present their critical opinions in such a moralizing tone, when perfectly excellent, detailed, and scholarly expositions of transubstantiation exist that should cause someone without specialist training in the field to blush upon learning how little they understand about the issues?^[360] By attempting to engage the faithful as twenty-first century readers, who are hungry for balanced presentations to present the overall coherence in fundamentals of pan-Christian Church teaching, the aforementioned hacks waste dozens of pages that could have been spent translating difficult themes into an educated lay language. Instead, undermining a saint of the church is thought to be devout, by pitting one saint against another on a matter not even touching doctrine (though styling the criticism as a defense of religion)! Victims of outdated histories of philosophy as they are, we can hope that such authors simply don't know what they don't know. Our purpose for concentrating on St. Thomas Aquinas is because he enjoys the widest dissemination among both supporters and critics of the Council of Trent. Our preferential choice should not be taken as a puerile attack under the aegis of

some sort of self-aggrandizing intellectualism against St. Bonaventure or Blessed John Duns Scotus (or, by extension, St. Albert the Great). If the length of this book were not to become prohibitive, each saint's theory could provide us with another perspective to enrich our field of study.

Turning, then, to St. Thomas Aquinas, we first underline that St. Thomas himself was a product of Catholic education. Let us provide a first example. Among the most popular work on the Eucharist prior to Scholasticism was Alger of Liege's (AD 1060-AD 1131) *On the Sacraments*. So influential was his teaching on the Eucharist that his theological work was actually incorporated in the most authoritative collection of canon law or church law in the history of the Church. First, let us look at Alger:

Yet, the bread is made flesh, not as flesh born, and it does not assume flesh, but [bread] is transmuted (*mutatur*) into flesh. In this way, it has been made what it was not so that it ceases to be what it once was [...] O how many examples, to prove, may we use that this is not what nature has formed but what a blessing has consecrated and so the power of benediction is greater than that of nature, since by benediction even nature itself is transmuted!^[361]

By the time St. Thomas Aquinas was a doctor in theology, he had been so imbued with Alger's teaching, if not directly, certainly by this textbook for learning canon law used everywhere. In Gratian's *Decretum* (published first in the 1140s) we read:

O how many examples, to prove, may we use that this is not what nature has formed but what a blessing has consecrated, and the power of benediction is greater than that of nature, since by benediction even nature itself is transmuted!^[362]

About one hundred and twenty years after Gratian's monument, we run across St Thomas Aquinas composing the liturgy or office for the feast of *Corpus Christi* (The Body and Blood of Christ), where he writes in his *Officium Sacerdos*:

O how many examples, to prove, may we use that this is not what nature has formed but what a blessing has consecrated and so the power of benediction is greater than that of nature, since by benediction even nature itself is transmuted!^[363]

Here we see but one example out of many where the entire Medieval tradition of nature-to-nature change and the idea that a blessing brings this about in the name of God are all taken from authors of the past verbatim. In fact, the very next line of St. Thomas's *Officium Sacerdos* (lection ii), reads:

Whence was Moses holding the staff; he threw the staff and it became a serpent. Again he took the tail of the serpent and it returns into the nature of a staff. Therefore, do you see that twice nature is mutated (*mutatur*) by prophetic grace, both staff and serpent?^[364]

It is no different with almost every idea of St. Thomas Aquinas on the definition, circumstances, and terminology for transubstantiation as it had been in the patristic golden age. Let us take an example, explicitly inspired by St. Ambrose, where St. Thomas happens to use the exact vocabulary of St. Gelasius to define Eucharistic change:

In another way, bread can be called the very body of Christ which is the mystical bread [manna] which descends from heaven. Therefore, St. Ambrose, when he says that this bread **transitions into** (*transit in*) the body, he takes bread in a second way, since namely the body of Christ is not converted (*convertitur*) into the body of a man but refreshes man's mind. So, he is not speaking in the first sense, already mentioned, with respect to bread. (*Summa Theologiae*, Part III, question 77, article 6, response to objection 1).

Just in case we may be concerned about more precise terminology, St. Thomas specified his use of the same phrase earlier, when saying that: "Indeed, in this sacrament, the whole substance of bread **transitions into** the whole body, but in natural transmutation the material of a first thing receives the form of a second thing, after the earlier form is ejected" (*Summa*

Theologiae Part III, question 75, article 8, main body). Of course, St. Thomas could not have imitated more clearly perennial language on the nature of “transition.”^[365] Furthermore, St. Thomas knows and affirms all the stories that formed the Late Antique basis for the theory of transubstantiation. For example, in Thomas’s *On Evil* (question 16, article 9, argument 3 and its reply), Aquinas affirms that the story of Lot’s wife, that there is a transformation (*transformatio*) of a human body converted (*conversa*) into a statue of salt. Such a conversion (*conversio*) of Lot’s wife is a transmutation (although here he interprets it as the succession of forms upon the same underlying matter). Again, in the *Summa Theologiae* (Part III, question 76, article 8) an entire article is devoted to the question of what we are to make of the *The Sayings of the Fathers of the Desert* and St. Paschasius’s stories about people who had a vision of the Eucharist under the appearance of a little baby or child. All the traditional sources are clearly part and parcel of his synthesis.

In addition to the biblical and miracle stories, St. Thomas is quite aware that the term used to speak about the conversion of Mary’s blood into a divine person, as it is analogized to the Eucharist. However, like St. Gelasius, he is entirely aware that the termination of change in the blood (though, for us, an ovum) is a human nature existing-in the Divine Word at the first moment of conception into humanity, while the Eucharist is a conversion of a non-human substance that was never in union with the Word. Once again, we have ancient considerations and previous vocabulary summed up and defended by St. Thomas.^[366] All of this leads to its culmination in *Summa Theologiae* Part III, question 75, articles 1-8. Again, our investigation has concentrated on isolated aspects of transubstantiation: its definition, its time and cause, and its vocabulary. We are fortunate that each one of these is addressed in St. Thomas’s relevant question.

St Thomas’s first article is concerned with something to which we have become accustomed in Latin since St. Ambrose: The sacrament is a type and true body, unless it is not both of

them (or even either of them). We saw that one way of looking at the sacrament as a type is that it exists as if an arrow pointing to where grace is operative. Each portion of consecrated bread points to the body (and blood) of Jesus. It is a sign. However, the body's manner of existing is not in the size, shape, etc., with which the heavenly Jesus now reigns. So its mode is –to that extent – a type or imperfect item in its physical reality *in comparison to the exemplar*, the heavenly Jesus. However, it is fully he and it is fully divine and human, as is he, but the sacramental mode of its existence will pass away after the second coming of Jesus so that only the physical Christ remains. It is at this point that we note Berengar who is one explicitly mentioned and condemned by St. Thomas for reducing the presence of Jesus to symbolical. We need not spend much time on this question, since nobody argues that St. Thomas understands something less than the divine God-man to be whole and present under the appearances of bread and wine.

Perhaps more interesting for our purposes are articles two and three. Here, we see St. Thomas proclaiming that: "Christ's body cannot begin to be anew in this sacrament except by change of the substance of bread into itself. But what is changed into another thing, no longer remains after such change. Hence the conclusion is that, saving the truth of this sacrament, the substance of bread cannot remain after consecration." We have seen in every prior case, even with St. Gelasius, that the independently existing bread, in its organizing principle (form) and in its matter, does not underly the appearance of bread and wine after the consecration. For St. Gelasius he was overtly descriptive that the "substance" (which for his time meant a thing's definition by its description) remains. *We today* might describe the Eucharist as a "thing" that is white, wheaten and light, but the real "thing" (*res*) is no more called bread for St. Gelasius after the blessing, but only called a divine thing (*res*). These are essentially conformable to St. Thomas about the bread: "what is changed into another thing (*quod convertitur in aliquid*)." When St. Thomas declares that nothing of

the “substance” of bread remains, he is clear here that underneath every sensible quality to the human sense there does not lie a bread-principle that formerly was the producer of whiteness and wheaten-ness. Instead, after the consecration, divine power preserves the qualities in the being of another (somehow a veil for the body of Christ) so that they are less-than-a-substance. This is essentially the point that St. Gelasius is trying to make by denying consecrated bread and wine the status of being their own subsistent beings. Each bread crumb and wine droplet no longer really account for its own continued existence, but rather the miraculous God, in whose body and blood they are upheld (though into which they do not stick or inhere), keeps them from falling into nothing. What happened to the bread and wine? What happens to the underlying natural matter-form? This is a tough question since Scripture or revelation does not give St. Thomas a definitive answer. We know what they are not (any longer natural substances) but we don’t know how they are suspended in their potential to be restored at the moment of digestion. They are for St. Thomas never eliminated or annihilated (for this means God destroying absolutely his creation[!]) but they are mysteriously not-present locally since the new presence is the term of a change from one whole item to another entirely different item, but the only thing we can say is truly topically or locally present are the visible appearance of bread and wine. While St. Thomas’s theory might be curious to us and has evoked a lot of studies, our purpose is to show that the orthodox Christian manner of thinking and talking about the change in the first twelve hundred years or so of Christianity coincides essentially and verbally with St. Thomas’s own point of departure for theorizing further on the mystery.^[367]

So, turning to article four, we see that there is something completely “unnatural” about this kind of conversion or transmutation, as St. Thomas puts it in the body of his response: “This conversion (*conversio*) is not like natural changes, but is entirely supernatural, and effected by God’s power alone.” Unsurprisingly, it is St. Ambrose in the *On the Sacraments* whom

St. Thomas quotes, reminding us that this sacrament is the self-same biological flesh that was donated and identical with the virgin Mary. Once again, we are led to believe that St. Thomas's transubstantiation contributes (meritoriously) nothing new to theory of the change of bread and wine in its description. While he is among the first to propose a successful theory (enduring the vicissitudes of time) for explaining the details of how such a conversion is scientifically plausible, he is really quite ordinary in his choice of examples, vocabulary, and appeals to what categories of change are involved in such mutations. It is worthwhile noting that St. Thomas reminds us that there is no "formal conversion" (*conversio formalis*), such that the underlying basic stuff from the former thing survives the transition. Transubstantiation is nothing like one thing (mouse-soul organizing mouse matter) surviving in its matter when turning into another (cat-soul and matter digesting mouse so that the underlying mouse-matter is incorporated into the cat and only mouse-soul is no longer to be found [!]). Dr. Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, OP, is instructive here in his *On Revelation*:

Among [third order] miracles [versus the first order miracle of transubstantiation] is included the sudden conversion of water into wine.

St. Thomas states in *In II Sent.*, dist. 18, q. 1, a. 3, ad 4: "Although the conversion of water into wine was not something above the powers of nature as regards the substance of the thing done, nonetheless, it was above its powers as regards mode of it being brought about, for nature cannot suddenly change water in a given vessel into wine. This is only possible through the digestion and maturation of grapes over time." Likewise, in *In IV Sent.*, dist. 17, a. 1, a 5, q. 1c, the conversion of water into wine is placed among miracles of the third order.

Now, because this alteration is brought about instantaneously, without the mediation of accidental alterations, it is the immediate educing of the form of wine from the

potency of matter. Hence, it can only be produced by Him who has immediate power within matter, namely God who is not limited to moving matter externally but is He who alone can move it interiorly within its profoundest depths. In other words, the form of wine is not in proximate potency but, rather, is only in remote potency in the matter of water, so long as the preceding dispositions are lacking. Whence, the sudden, formal conversion of water into wine is not in the natural potency of the subject, on account of the manner in which it is brought about but, rather, is only in the subject's obediential potency, which is subject to the divine power.^[368]

St. Thomas, to all appearances, fails to recognize the tradition that whole substance-to-substance change is instantaneous and miraculous by divine power for people like St. Leontius and properly "transubstantiation." Aquinas apparently puts this miracle in a different class due to diverse criteria. In reality, the difference in order is due to St. Thomas's lack of access to both St. Leontius and, so far as we can tell, to St. Gelasius's *Tractatus III*. It simply means that Aquinas had no access to the fact that, after Eutyches, St. Leontius underlined that the Nile-water to blood analogy was precisely Eucharistic, in accord the Eutychian notion of change.^[369] This means, for Eutyches, that when the matter-form or soul-body of Jesus as a substance was transmuted to the God-form, the union resulted in the disappearance of the nature and/or substance of his humanity (body and soul) and it immediately and miraculously changes into (*transit in*) the divinity. This means that the change from the first substance is utter and complete. Furthermore, St. Leontius of Jerusalem implied that the Nile-river to blood analogy was a form-matter thing of water that completely changed into a new form with new matter. Nothing of the original matter remained. In Aquinas's defense, this need not be the only way to read this miracle since it is also possible for God to replace the water-form with blood-form while maintaining the same basic elemental stuff underneath the transition, which at its base is

totally passive matter. So, we consider this differing interpretation of the same event to be inconsequential. Had Aquinas known St. Leontius's works, he assuredly would have been willing to incorporate our traditional sets of miracles into the first-order class of transubstantiation and remove them from the class of "formal transmutation" since he so often bowed to the authority of the saintly Fathers. So, while this slight difference remains in classification, the end of Aquinas's main body of argument concludes in article four's main body of text: "Whence, this conversion is not formal, but substantial. And no natural motion [from one place to another] is contained between the species [a to b], but this [change] can be called by a proper name: 'transubstantiation.'" Furthermore, as the best commentators note, there is some mystery in St. Thomas's idea that the form of bread and the matter of bread can have whatever it is that makes them exist in themselves taken away from them, while yet their characteristics remain, while the entity of the body and blood immediately stand in for the entity of the bread and wine. It should not be supposed, however, that the human body of Jesus acts as the sustainer of the qualities of bread and wine, whose matter and form have lost their once robust existence so that they are almost nothing (*prope nihil*). Bread-ness and wine-ness exist-in Jesus's body only in the sense of being in a place so that these appearances designate the locus of interaction to participate in the substance of the resurrected Jesus, even though the appearances are not technically nor definitionally qualified as substances.^[370] This kind of theory is somewhat close to Pope St. Gelasius's point that we already saw. The real issue between the two is that a Thomist does not want to mistake the act of existence (*actus essendi*) of a bread essence (for it to really exist) with the "common nature of being" in the bread and wine.^[371] If our reader's head is already hurting, no worries in this. We plan to stop here. Remember, we are not going to distract ourselves in shoptalk and theories that have been argued for centuries and that are still being tested against modern physics.^[372] The celebrated experts even admit that St. Thomas

thinks in a few different way on the problem, allowing a wide berth to solve the mechanics or non-dogmatic issues of surrounding the process and explanation of change. This is usually where the post-secondary educated reader feels as if having went to a cocktail party and instead of enjoying elevated conversation, some computer aficionado or sports nut dominates the entire conversation about technicalities or team histories and rivalries without ever bothering to ask if anybody knows computers or the sport imposed on the listeners! So, let us stay on track: Thomas's point ends here, at *Summa Theologiae* part III, question 75, article 4, reply to objection 3.

Article five is interesting for us because, like St. Cyril of Jerusalem and St. Ambrose, St. Thomas provides the humane reasons for the body and blood being under the veils of bread and wine, namely, because of human aversion for consuming what it knows to be crude human flesh. While this reasoning is a bit dramatic and was originally meant for catechumens who did not distinguish between the flesh and a "whole substance" who is the heavenly Christ, the Fathers themselves had never spent time copiously embroiled in the details. Only in the Middle Ages did literate churchmen provoke greater insight by opposing the metaphors, analogies, and visions known in the past.

Article six is a coincidental reminder of St. Gelasius, though St. Thomas never quotes the *Tractatus III* in his works. The issue is that St. Thomas knows an opinion out there that the "form" or "organizing principle" of bread survives the disappearance of its matter. The kinds of gymnastics necessary for speaking about the taste, size, and qualities of a form without matter are certainly not lost on Aquinas. However, it might be asked if he simply trades one set of difficulties for another, meaning: How can we have accidents remaining if the matter and form are gone? The first answer is that these items: size, shape, smell all arise out of matter (for St. Thomas) manifesting its reception of form. These items require an organizing principle (like the soul) to keep all the parts working together. What

if, when removing the soul from a mouse, God preserves the characteristics of the matter? That sounds easy enough in the scope of divine miracles. We know that dead bodies can be resuscitated. But what would it mean that the brownness and quantity of brownness continue in all their mousey shapes and sizes but there is no mouse-soul and not even the same mouse-elementary-matter continues but now, let us say, these mousey characteristics are grafted on to a dog-soul and dog-matter in our best friend Lassie? We are used to taking substances (make-up and props) and using these to disguise something, but in this case non-make-up and not substantial mousey characteristics are somehow united to and attached to the dog. They don't derive anything from the dog except a sort of relation to the dog-substance in order to exist as a sign of the dog, even though the mousy-characteristics are not produced by or interactive with Lassie. Ultimately, St. Thomas as St. Ambrose simplify our thinking for this work by appealing to the divine power that is infinite. This is not a proof but a reminder like St. Ambrose that if we accept the more difficult case: That God can fill a void by creating beings when there was a total lack or absence of anything (*creatio ex nihilo*), can this not mean that he can sustain a weak and dependent being in its existence and place it in a relation with something other than its origin? If God can bring life out of watery inanimate substances and dust by organizing the inert into the living, can he not see the potential for the naturally existent appearances in matter to be sustained in a way that seems to preserve a thing's whole substance? The way that we answer St. Ambrose's and St. Thomas's questions are either as philosophers or theologians. Still, if some pagan philosophers grant any of the premises, then the issue no longer is whether God can do something, but what rationale God has in doing it! If our present reader and we the writers accept that God can create beings and can order them, then we should be okay with any combination of such beings in the universe. The only demands of God's perfection are that an intellectually real being must not be imperfectly irrational (like a square-circle).

God makes sense in all that he does or else he would be nonsensical, which is a debility, not a perfection. So, if an accident can exist, and can exist as something not altogether a substance, and has its own weaker kind of existence, then there are strategies for proposing how it can exist outside its matter and form that is not trying to square a circle. This sums up the Thomist tradition in discussing the issue in response to the critics of such a theory.

In article six, we are satisfied to see that St. Thomas explains the immediacy or instantaneous change by divine intervention. As we saw, throughout the history of the Old and New Testament models, all the commentators and Fathers insisted on the momentary change in which in Time₁ there is bread and in the next measurable moment Time₂ there ceases to be bread because there is instead only the body and blood of Christ. St. Thomas's description of substance-to-substance change follows all the scenarios that we have seen from Antiquity until present.

The final article of question 75 concerns the fact that two items, bread and body, do not coexist together. This reminds us of the heretical Monoimos's idea that the eternal Jesus somehow descended and substantially changed into man but could still be in some way what he once was by identity. More recent in history, we are reminded of the character Nestorius in the so-called *Bazaar* who claimed that orthodox Christians claim a double substance serpent-staff or staff-serpent to exist, so that two substances are somehow co-present. Here two forms possess the same underlying matter that accounts for something looking like it is one thing and then another. This accusation against orthodox Eucharist by Nestorians is more or less the heresy addressed by St. Thomas, who neither allows for two forms in one matter nor the old matter to be with a new form. Our saint is absolutely clear that no original matter remains from the substance of bread or wine, but only the less substantial or accidental beings that flowed out of bread-matter when it is modified by bread-form, even though the matter

and form are no longer present as substance in the Eucharist.

Finally, it is most important to underline that there are natural occurrences every moment of everyday that are similar to transubstantiation. As St. Thomas noted: "Yet, it appears that the flesh or bone of an animal persists after death, just like a hand or arm, in which parts more greatly do their operations appear."^[373] It is, however, a principle for St. Thomas (derived from Aristotelian analysis) that the body of a dead person is only said to be human in the sense of how it looks, since the definition of a human being includes a human soul. Hence, death is confusing since a being that is so can appear under all known tests to be dead, but we find out he is alive, or we mistake that certain parts growing on the body, or twitches of the dead, are something that a live person is doing. This shows that we find ourselves confronted with something whose appearances tell us one thing but whose essence is something else (a person versus a body).^[374] In St. Thomas's discussion of the resurrection of the body he notes that it is easy to get confused when a dead person looks (accidentally) just like when they were alive (or vice versa) but that it is only the soul enlivening the body that makes a human person to be there.^[375] For St. Thomas, however, the resurrection of the body is a miracle in the second order. As we saw the first order is transubstantiation and the third order is the changing of water into wine at Cana. The second order change is as follows: the underlying matter of the dead body is identical with the matter that was formerly possessed by the living soul before it was returned. So, the analogy of the Eucharist to the dead is more in the idea that something changes naturally from one substance to another and *we don't see or have the ability to measure* in numerous cases the moment of change from soul-filled body to soulless corpse. On the other hand, the resuscitation of someone dead only brings back a soul that changes the disorganized organs (elements, for St. Thomas,) back into parts of a human body. The kind of change is close, but not quite transubstantiation in all of its definition. For true transubstantiation, in its fullness, this includes

the idea of an entirely new matter along with the entirely new form.

6.3 Specific Conclusion: The Meaning of Transubstantiation

In liturgical studies, there is a truism from the calling down of the Holy Spirit onto the bread and wine in the Eucharistic prayer written by St. John Chrysostom (around AD 400) that reminds us that transubstantiation is not a purposeless exercise of unlimited power:

Moreover, we offer to you this spiritual and unbloody sacrifice; and we implore, pray, and entreat you: send down your Holy Spirit upon us and upon these gifts lying before us, And make this bread the precious body of your Christ, and that which is in this chalice the precious blood of your Christ, changing them by your Holy Spirit, **that for those who partake of them they may bring about a spirit of vigilance [for death and resurrection], the remission of sins [for spiritual life], the communion of your Holy Spirit [for divinization], the fullness of the heavenly kingdom [the fulfillment of manna], and confidence in you [trusting faith], not judgment or condemnation.**

In this world, that is, temporally, the gifts are transformed in order to then transform us by worthy reception and in deep prayer by communication with the real presence of Christ during the several minutes after Holy Communion before the manna reverts back to bread and the drink to wine in the stomach of the believer. But does this mean that transubstantiation is merely a means to these ends alone? By no means! We have in all the Old Testament and New Testament types for a full theology of the Bible and liturgy before our gaze. Let us sum up its essential elements.

First, our Jewish forebearers in the faith of Abraham interpreted the transubstantiation of Lot's wife as a sign of the forthcoming resurrection. A person was turned to stone, but a

day will come when stone is resurrected in the flesh. Jesus is the fulfillment of this prophetic Targum expressing what Jews read into the significance of the story. We might even extend the metaphor by saying that our “stony hearts” are changed into “fleshly hearts” (Ezekiel 26:36) by the coming of Christ, his Resurrection, and the resurrection many others’ bodies with that of Jesus (Matthew 27:52), as a fulfillment of the hopes of Israel. What is more, resurrection signifies changing an inanimate object into resurrected and ensouled flesh and blood. This is the miracle of the Eucharist since the earliest days as it has been described in our investigation. The manna, in this case, was itself anticipated by the yellowy substance (Sulphur) sent by God as mixed with water to create fire and to rain down on Sodom. This stands as a type of punishment of the wicked at the judgment by St. John the Revelator, so that the first type of manna in Genesis comes full circle by the manna of destruction referred to in sign, symbol, and word in the Book of Revelation.

Next, as the snow-white hand of Moses was lifeless and deprived of soul by an act of transmutation, so was Christ’s flesh in the tomb. As snow was converted back into living flesh, so was Christ’s flesh given life. This serves as a type of resurrection and is called a “restoration” or “apokatastasis” in Exodus. Jesus Christ restores all things in himself and it is he who takes the germs of wheat that die, in the bread (John 12:24), and the vintage that is no longer living grape and he gives them life by transforming them into himself. As the prophesy in Genesis relates:

The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler’s staff from between his feet, until tribute comes to him; and the obedience of the peoples is his. Binding his foal to the vine [Israel] and his donkey’s colt to the choice vine, he washes his garments in wine and his robe in the blood of grapes (Genesis 49:10-11).

In the Book of Daniel we see:

The Ancient of Days was seated; his garment was white as snow (*chiôn leucon*), and the hair of his head was like pure

wool (*erion*). His throne was a fiery flame, its wheels a burning fire; a fiery stream issued And came forth from before Him. (LXX Daniel 7:9)

Jesus, the heavenly manna of Revelation, is equally veiled under the appearance of snow: White hair, a white robe, water flowing from him and from his throne while thunder, lightning, and wind of storm rush around. Voices from heavenly cloud betray the fact that the manna is Yahweh and that this what is sent from heaven to fill the hearts and stomachs of believers.

Each Eucharist is the miracle of the resurrection in the same way that a dead body is without life but is ensouled and lives again. The change from live to dead and back again is still a mystery for us since we do not have the ability to know death or life in a person perfectly by mere appearances and are often enough mistaken. So, too, the Eucharist changes from one to another reality, from dead elements to resurrected flesh and we are only able to perceive its truth by the movement of grace in us in the gifts and fruits of the Spirit or the effects in us of increasing in supernatural virtues upon our devote communion.

The staff of Moses is also a great sign. It is the same serpent, the devouring Christ, who defeats the serpent of the garden (Genesis 3:15). This typological serpent (a fiery serpent) will later be mounted on a pole and defeat the poison of the serpents in the camp of Israel (Numbers 21:6). Jesus fulfills this type, being lifted up on a piece of wood as the symbol of him was that sign in Numbers erected by Moses (John 3:14; 12:42). As he is the very staff of transmutation in Exodus, Jesus is also the mounted the serpent thereupon or fire-serpent (Seraphim), as he strikes the waters of the Nile changing them into blood. When this staff-serpent is used by prophetic grace to strike inanimate beings, they are given life and transformed beyond their natural capacities. When the staff of Aaron and Moses is placed in the Ark of the Covenant, with the law and the manna, we anticipate that law, manna, and staff-serpent to be contained under the flesh-covered Ark, a tent of skin, the uterus of a virgin untouched by any Israelite. It all serves as a sign in the

Gospels of Luke and John to designate the Word made flesh, the Temple not made by human hands, the manna born of Mary the New Ark of the Covenant. At each Eucharist, the wood of the cross is still present through its impressions forming the wounds that mark the body of the risen Christ. When Jesus celebrated the Last Supper, the beginning of his passion on Holy Thursday eve, he acted as the transforming staff that struck or broke the bread and poured out the transmuted wine and water for the remission of sins. All the more dramatic would it have been if he had held a staff in hand during part of the meal as originally prescribed in the law. However, above all, the Passover is the culmination of seven different elements transmuted or made to act contrary to their natures by the staff. It culminates in the Angel of Death, the invisible pre-Incarnate Jesus, striking the first born of Egypt to signify that Israel should dedicate every firstborn male who opens the womb to Yahweh and that by being struck down as firstborn Jesus would redeem Israel from sin. Jesus refashions the ritual of the Last Supper by recounting the transmuting plagues of curse to culminate at dinner by the breaking of bread and the dividing of the wine and water in the chalice, reproducing the changes like Nile-to-blood and like unto the icy water or manna from heaven. In liturgical worship, by extension, manna or incense is a sign by scent of pleasing sacrifice and is associated with the saving fiery serpent that was mounted on a pole to redeem Israel from its sins. It is described in the by Revelation, just as in the Pentateuch, to be a white stone that can be likened to hailstone and yet is sweet to eat.

All these aforementioned changes of substances lead to the Baptist John preparing his hearers by preaching in anticipation of the symbolic raising of Lot's wife by his claim that God can "raise up" or resurrect from stones children of Abraham. Of course, by marriage, Lot's wife is in Abraham's family and Lot and his family were under Abraham's protection when he delivered them from captivity (Genesis chapters 13-14). So, as temporarily under this paterfamilias, Jesus's distant ancestor

Abraham is perhaps referred to as paterfamilias of Lot's wife. The turning of stone into people is dramatic, more dramatic than the staff becoming the serpentine hypostasis. The personal nature of transubstantiation is constantly being foreshadowed. It involves human blood, a living hypostasis from a dead piece of wood, a full person genetically related to Abraham from a mere clump of salt or stone. Yet, the last things (*eschata*) are anticipated by Lot's wife and her city that, by a yellowish crystal or ice raining down, kills all greenery and culminates in a manna-like event destroying what appears to be the entire inhabited world according to the eighth chapter of Revelation. The Sulphur, manna-spice, and genuine manna are all anticipations of the second coming of the ice-Temple Jesus, the Lamb who gushes water-turned-to ice from his side as he sits on the cloud in the firmament. It is a praiseworthy drink for the martyrs but this food of angels, when cast down to the perfidious earth, crushes and destroys everyone in its path as with the forebearers of Sodom and Pharaoh's Egypt.

Nor should the wedding feast at Cana be seen apart from this literary theme. If the nature of the substantial change is less dramatic and less personal, water turning to wine is Jesus's first act to manifest himself as God's Son to be followed by his last act of public ministry: turning blood into water out of his side, as the Lamb of God (John 1:29), out of whose side flows the living water, is his last sign. It is this transmutation of substances that marks the miracle at the cross for early Christians and it is the transmutation by Moses's staff hitting the side of Christ the rock that first led to water flowing out of the side of Christ, typologically, in the desert at Meribah. This staff turned the bitter water to sweet water there and defied time and again nature as the divine instrument used by God for miracles. The instrumental causality of the staff is representative of the human priesthood of the flesh of Jesus Christ. He at the Last Supper acted as the priest bring his own body and blood out of the bread and wine, as water nourished the Israelites out of the side of the rock. Transubstantiation is not an end in itself in

the temporal order, but it is an anagogical sign of resurrection, of the instrumentality of nature to bring about Christ, who is the typological fulfillment of inferior transubstantiations (all of them signs or sacraments); teaching us that physical elements can be changed into living blood, into hypostases and full persons, and that the kind of thing into which they are changed is nourishment for believer and death for the wicked. Each historical foreshadowing teaches us an aspect of the full reality in Christ at the Last Supper, whose moment of passion only terminates at the cross. All the types are fulfilled on that famous Jewish Good Friday (Thursday night-Friday afternoon). Transmutation is means for bringing about a new order in nature that will look forward to the resurrection of the dead.

Now, transubstantiation clearly culminates in the book of Revelation. How appropriate that Jesus is the New Jerusalem and its Temple made of flesh as incarnate. It is as if light was transformed into flesh, but more literally, divinity has taken humanity to itself and united it without changing its nature into another entity, but it is now as if "one nature of the Incarnate Word" in the words of St. Cyril of Alexandria. In Revelation we saw the motif of the Lamb of God's water from his side, the transubstantiated blood of Christ, that becomes ice-water. This icy water, like the ice or hail that fell from heaven, called manna, is somehow morsels of flesh (that is, the Incarnate Christ himself) who is present in what appears to be pure water. He is the font of living water, his side and sacrifice on the cross that is connected to the giant bronze bowl of the glassy sea representing the entire world in the First Temple but also the heavenly sea and its firmament.^[376] We see that the Lamb's throne upon which he sits is itself crystalline or ice, which is the Lamb's transubstantiated reality under the appearance of watery ice who is at the watery center, though it is really him from whom the sign of water comes to participate us in his blood as the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world. Transubstantiation, as St. Leontius assures us, is Jerusalem's word accustomed to describe the hail from heaven and the ice-water

around the throne of the Lamb, the appearances of nature that veil the Lamb who was slain. He is now alive and eternally in heaven but somehow descends in Revelation to be with the people of the New Jerusalem, in crystalline blocks, among those who are marked by a sign that assures them to be part of the assembly of Christ. In short, transubstantiation is a fulfillment of all these signs and types from the Old Testament and the New. The Lamb's feast signifies the anagogical or heavenly reality awaiting us at our arrival at the New Jerusalem (or living Jesus) on the throne upon our calling to the Lord at death and judgment.

Instead of finding out that the Council of Trent and St. Thomas Aquinas obscure us from seeing all the types, the Scriptures, the analogies, and the traditions of transubstantiation in the Greek East, Oriental East, and patristic Latin West, we find instead St. Thomas Aquinas's own thoroughgoing knowledge of the symbolism and use of water and ice and the transmutation thereof, even in his commentaries on Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics* and *Metaphysics*, and especially on Aristotle's *Meteorology*. St. Thomas confirms his conviction that Jesus is the rain and ice who fell from heaven as morsels of flesh and that the Incarnation is not so very far from the miracle of transubstantiation by analogy.^[377] Whether we look at Aquinas's definitions or his examples, despite his slightly more advanced science on the matter, he entirely coincides with the earliest Jewish and Christian commentators on the nature of God's miraculous action of grace in the history of salvation. We hope that our reader has seen in all its splendor that transubstantiation is not an invention but simply a tautology common to Christendom from Judeo-Christian time until the crystallization of the tradition at the Council of Trent.

6.4 General Conclusions

by William Albrecht

We have seen that when St. Matthew the Evangelist put

his ink to parchment, he recognized the importance of the words of Christ instituted at the Last Supper. As one of the key eyewitnesses to the faith, St. Matthew, known as Levi, must have marveled at the sacrificial nature of the words of our Lord. For the great apostle, the very blood before the twelve was being poured out for the remission of sins.

While they were eating, Jesus took a loaf of bread, and after blessing it he broke it, gave it to the disciples, and said, "Take, eat; this is my body." Then he took a cup, and after giving thanks he gave it to them, saying, "Drink from it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins. (Matthew 26:26-28)

Understanding the all-important language of Holy Writ, Origen of Alexandria later noted the importance of the theology surrounding the Eucharistic accounts of the Gospels. In seemingly shocking language, the third-century Christian writer was quite clear that "By the pouring of that drinkable blood into our hearts all the sins we have committed in the past will be remitted and wiped clean."^[378] The substantial change in the elements was recognized by the biblical authors, clearly recognizing the marvelous language to be found in Genesis chapter 19 and the significance of transforming people into stone. The prefiguring of the bodily resurrection of Christ is on full display in the account found in the book of Exodus as we witnessed the dying of Moses's fleshly hand, all but transubstantiated into a being that is no longer living!^[379] Of this miraculous event, Aurelius Ambrose, otherwise known as St. Ambrose- notes how the text provides for the reader a veiled anticipation of Jesus Christ's dead flesh being raised from the dead.

"He Who was the Son of God begotten of the Father became the Son of man born of a woman, and lifted, like the serpent, on the cross, poured His healing medicine on the wounds of man."^[380] The great St. Ambrose notes in his work dedicated to the clergy, by these lessons, that he is showing them in the Scriptures what was already and clearly known by his listeners.

He insists that it is important to repeat these truths so as to strengthen them and to enrich their Christian lives. St. Ambrose reminds the brethren that the historical truth of the resurrection is on full display in Holy Writ. "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, so must the Son of Man be lifted up."^[381] Christ indeed suffered and died on the cross. All of this was foreshadowed in the Hebrew Scriptures. Jesus rising from the dead was surely be fulfilled, and St. Ambrose reminds his readers and listeners that one need not be shocked at all about this, for one merely had to recall the signs given to Moses in Exodus chapter 4: "Again, another sign which Moses gave points to our Lord Jesus Christ. He put his hand into his bosom, and drew it out again, and his hand was become as snow. A second time he put it in and drew it out, and it was again like the appearance of human flesh."^[382]

And, perhaps considered the *locus classicus* for transubstantiation is Exodus chapter 7 and the transmutation of staffs into serpents and of water into blood, the very language of the Greek of the Bible would have been well known to the most proficient Fathers and Doctors of the Church. Indeed, for St. John Chrysostom, he recognized that "this blood was promised from of old, and this guarantees the new covenant; for as the Old Testament had the blood of sheep and goats, so the New has the Lord's blood."^[383] Inspired by the Holy Ghost, the writers of the Greek New Testament painted portraits of transubstantiation throughout the pages of Sacred Scripture. In St. Matthew and St. Luke's Gospel accounts, we learn of rocks that can be transformed into children. The text bears out that stones can be transmuted into actual personal natures via the power of God. The language utilized by St. John the Baptist should not be thought to be so coincidentally exact to the ancient tradition of the water of the Nile being turned into true blood. It is our hope that the reader may have enjoyed our journey through the Old and New Testaments, being captivated by the typological and prophetic language utilized by our ancient Fathers. Since the early Church writer Rufinus noted that plenty of the

converts into the Christian Church were of Hebrew origin, it is now abundantly clear just how easy it would have been for these new catechumens to accept the substantial teachings on the Eucharist. For the ancient Hebrews, substance-to-substance change was already very apparent in their Scriptures. God miraculously entering into our time and space to intervene and cause one kind of being with certain characteristics to be substituted or replaced by another (so as to bring about a new creation, or the conversion of one being to another, whatever the case may be) were concepts hardly alien to Hebrew Christians. The theology of substance-to-substance transmutation would carry over into the Greek speaking Christian church. Before the famed Ecumenical Council of Ephesus, where the teachings of Nestorius were ultimately labeled as heresy and rightly condemned, the term transubstantiation (*metousiôsis*) may have already been employed by Christians of the day in the Holy City.

As the reader progressed on his or her literary journey through the ages of the history of Eucharistic theology, he or she clearly discovered the key to understanding why St. Peter and others chose to follow the Lord to the very end. As this veil has been pulled back, we finally can make complete sense of that bread from heaven about which John chapter 6 speaks. No longer is there a massive boundary to overstep in embracing and fully believing the words in Holy Writ or the pillars of the ancient faith. When the golden mouthed one, St. John Chrysostom, spoke of the apparent difficulty in the text, he also noted carefully: "They should not have been scandalized. This is a hard saying (John 6:60). Yet this teaching was not strange, nor was it new."^[384] Long before any modern-day scholar mused about the apparent connections of the doctrine of transubstantiation found within the Gospel of John and the exactness of the language found within the Book of Revelation, the Church Fathers recognized the very reality of the Eucharistic Mass ever present in John's apocalyptic account. Indeed, Bede emphasized, like those before him, that it should be quite simple to accept these words that lead to the crown of eternal life.

Bede (writing in the eighth century), commenting on Revelation chapter 21, notes that Christ can be understood as the great wall that provides a fortress for the Church on every side. He envisions the apostles preserving the truth and the mystery of our faith. And then notes that at the Mass the priest carries the remembrance of those departed ones in his heart to lift up to the Lord. For this reason, he says: "When the high priest entered the tabernacle, he was commanded to carry the remembrance of the fathers in his mind and understanding."^[385]

The pinnacle of the Biblical imagery of the Eucharist reaches its height in the grandiose Revelation chapter 22, where the connection to a river of water is clearly tied into Exodus chapter 4, hearkening the reader back to Moses's staff that instrumentally changed the nature of water. The Book of Revelation perfectly reflected the language utilized in the Greek Septuagint, thus leading us to see that Christ's New Jerusalem contains his baptized followers. These followers who are baptized into our Lord are those that receive the Lord's Word that is sent down like snow, resembling pieces of flesh like unto manna! In the fifth century, St. Caesarius, the bishop of Arles, penned his masterful commentary on the Book of Revelation. Upon arriving at chapter 22, he noted how the theologically rich imagery of baptism and the Eucharist was glowing off the pages of St. John's inspired text. Commenting all throughout, he noted how Christians are to eat from that very same bread that is shown by the tree of life (Revelation 22:2-3), that very same bread is the manna mentioned in John 6:41. St. Caesarius echoes the words of St. Paul in his First Letter to the Corinthians that partaking improperly of this fruit leads one to eventual judgment. Upon reaching the pinnacle of his exposition on the book of Revelation, St. Caesarius notes how baptism and the Eucharist are both virtually inseparable in the life of a Christian: "There is no tree that bears fruit in every season except the cross that the faithful, who are made wet by the water of the church's river, eat. And these [faithful] in turn produce eternal fruit in every season."^[386]

We are elated that the reader has steadied the course on this journey as we dusted off the pages of ancient tomes wherein the great Fathers preserved unbroken this teaching of transubstantiation. Our reader stuck by our side and allowed us to give a front-seat view of the moving picture leading to a definitive conclusion about the vital importance of Jesus's words, the very words that we are told lead to eternal life. In the ancient and classical Jewish mode of interpretation, it is our hope that our reader was nourished by the clarity of Scripture. We have allowed the philosophers of old to fill us with joy and wonder as they harmoniously coincide with the unbroken teaching handed down by our Incarnate Christ. We conclude this chapter by reminding the faithful of the powerful theology contained in the words of the fiery defender of orthodoxy, St. Athanasius who dominates landscape of fourth-century theology. In speaking of the substantial change in the elements, the Alexandrian archbishop thunders forth the biblical and historical truths of the faith:

Thou wilt see the Levites [deacons] bearing bread and a cup of wine, and placing them on the table; and so long as the supplications and prayers have not yet taken place, *bare* (*psilos*) is the bread and the cup; but when the great and wonderful prayers have been completed over it, then the bread cometh the body, the cup, the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ."

And again,

Let us come to the consecration of the mysteries. This bread and this cup, so long as the prayers and supplications have not yet taken place, are *bare* elements, but when the great prayers and holy supplications have been sent up, the Word cometh down into the bread and Cup, and His Body is produced (*ginetai*).^[387]

AFTERWORD

Transubstantiation: an Orthodox perspective

By Rev. Dr. Patrick Ramsey

The understanding of the Orthodox Church on the matter of Transubstantiation is somewhat varied and rather too much to express all the various views in the space available in this chapter. However, what can be provided in this afterword is a common Orthodox understanding of what happens to the offering of bread and mingled wine and then one perspective on understanding at a more philosophical level what has happened.

The received position of the Church is that the bread and mingled wine become the Body and Blood of Christ. There is an objective change in the elements. The change is not a joining of the Body and Blood to the elements of bread and mingled wine and it is not something that happens only for those partaking with faith. Rather the change is true for all and so believer and unbeliever eat and drink alike of the Body and Blood of Christ in partaking of the elements after the offering is completed according to the rites and canons of the Church. The change is effected by the Holy Spirit and it is not something effected by any created power or being. Also, the bread and mingled wine are understood to be the actual deified physical Body and Blood of Christ, which was resurrected on the third day, and not some symbol pointing to something such as faith, forgiveness or divine grace.^[388] This is the same body in which he was touched and seen and walked and wept and ate and suffered before His death, but in the deified form experienced by the disciples after His resurrection. In this, the received position of the Orthodox Church is consistent with the position expressed through this book and the testimonies of the Fathers common to the Orthodox Church, that is those living and teaching before the Schism in AD 1054. The Orthodox can say that the bread and mingled wine are change or “transmuted” into the Body and Blood of Christ.

The reason for this understanding in a theological sense, as going deeper than having received this understanding from Christ and the Apostles, as demonstrated previously in the book, is that our union with God must be according to both aspects of human nature: the spiritual and the physical. The former is effected through faith, good will and purity of thoughts and the latter through practice of the virtues, baptism and through partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ, by which we are united to His Body and Blood. Because God is one and pure, without division, we must be united to Him as one in faith, mind and virtues and also as one body. The divisions inherent in human bodies that separate one from another must be overcome without destroying the uniqueness of each body. This is effected through the union with the single Body of Christ, of which all the faithful become members, while yet retaining each one's own body. It is by partaking or eating the Body and Blood of Christ that the union takes place in the baptized, who have put on Christ and received the Holy Spirit. Without the Holy Spirit the union is not able to be effected even with partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ because the union is not merely a physical process, but something effected by the Spirit, the flesh in itself alone can do nothing. Apart from this union with the Body of Christ becoming one Body with Him and with each of the faithful partaking, one remains in a divided physical state, as another body, and unable to participate in eternal life as being divided from the unity of God. There cannot be two or more bodies because these would be need to be divided to mark them as numerous. The exception to this is that each body of the saints can be preserved as distinct so long as they are united to the one Body of Christ that unifies them according to the flesh, yet in such a way to allow the distinction of each without division as in the case of those not united to the Body of Christ. The union being physical requires a true physical union with the physical Body of Christ that is not an external union as though glued onto Christ but something internal and throughout the human body, as united in all parts but yet distinct. The Body of Christ must become as much one's body as one's own, yet without destroying each distinct body. This union can only be effected in a physical manner through the process of eating, which is the means by which our body is established, although this particular eating must be also aided by the Holy Spirit in forming Christ in us. We truly become one Body with Christ in a physical sense and not only a metaphorical sense. We are not one merely by common faith or common action but through being one flesh with Christ and in Him with each other.

This in turn means that the Church is not an invisible entity but something visible and tangible, even if not reduced to what is seen and touched on earth as including those souls waiting for the resurrection of the body. Even though departed from us, many of the bodies of many of these departed in holiness, the saints, are kept in the Church as relics and so the saints remain present among us in body in union with Christ for which they are honored.

As to the question of in what way the bread and mingled wine that are offered are to be understood as the Body and Blood of Christ, there is no received philosophical or scientific explanation for this apart from the understanding that they have changed by the power of the Holy Spirit after we offer ordinary bread and mingled wine as the Church, the Body of Christ, which being accepted is given back to us to partake as the Body and Blood of Christ to sustain the Church as the Body of Christ. Thus, there is no particular dogmatic understanding required at the level of a philosophical/scientific explanation. This does not mean that such cannot be given or discussed, but rather that one is not bound to any expressed opinion on the matter, although there may be strong cases against certain opinions on the matter that run contrary to what is received. Having said that, such an understanding will be attempted here because it helps to frame another perspective than that offered earlier in this work and why the Orthodox Church as a whole is unwilling to accept the philosophical understanding underlying the term 'transubstantiation' by Latin speaking writers as developed after the Schism.

Regarding the various types of change discussed in the second chapter of this book, many of the philosophical ways of expressing these divine changes from one thing into another are used by various Fathers and can be used by Orthodox today, although not necessarily in a dogmatic sense. One way of understanding things in a theological sense is that God is the creator and sustainer of all existence and all matter has its form and nature according to His will. Also, there is a unity of all nature from a common point or source, such that the core of all material things is established from the same fundamental particles at a sub-atomic level. The principles behind how these are formed to establish all material reality is established by God, who is also free to reorder them as He wills. One can even go so far to state that each thing is what it is because God knows it to be as such. Having that deep control over material reality, true mind over matter, it is evident that God can manage it as He wills and transformation of objects from one thing to

another is consistent with the created system, even if created objects in themselves lack the ability to effect such changes. Because God is not arbitrary, but acts by reason and is stable, the system that we experience is grounded in laws and stability, other than the decay due to its "separation" from God. Yet, when God has reason to change the normal rules or stability of the system, He does so not as inconsistent with the system but as the source of the system and its rules; He is the rule of the system, and so changes to the system, as He wills, are natural for the system. We can speak of supernatural or miraculous at one level, if regarding the system from an earthly perspective, but from a theological point of view, God is acting quite naturally in the system as He created it. There is a level of the system decaying back into non-existence due to the Fall, so one must not think that decay is the work of God, rather the system is returning to non-existence gently due to God's forbearance and rather in the Last Day will be restored and transformed to a new mode of material reality in keeping with eternal stability and life.

The above understanding means that we can speak of the nature of things in a range of senses. So, we properly speak of a canine nature and a human nature and consider these quite different, yet we can also see them as one created nature in reference to the Divine nature. In this Christ, taking a human body and human nature not only brings humanity into union with God, He also brings all created nature into union with God because the commonality of all created things to each other thus being linked and bonded through the one specific body taken from nature in its particular form. There is even a link of created nature with divine nature through Christ so that created nature can become deified in participation of divine nature. This is understood theologically in the sense that the principles of all created things, the logos, are found in a unified manner in the Logos, the Son, Christ. Thus, all created thing find their beginning and end in the Logos, their "natural" place. This even means that in a sense the created becomes uncreated as it finds its end in the uncreated Logos. The Orthodox here maintain a careful distinction between created essence and divine essence and in the participation, the created in essence does not become the divine in essence thus ceasing to be a creature, but in participation in the divine it become in effect divine according to its energies that is properties and activities as deified. The one thing that cannot change is that divine essence becomes human, created, essence or human, created, essence becomes divine essence or that there is a mingling or mixture or confusion of the two. So, all created things should not be

understood as absolutely discrete things in relation to other created things in all sharing a common created existence and nature, yet each has its kind and type or nature according to the stable will and purpose of God as proper to created things. The only “impossible” divide and thus change is between created essence, in any of its various kinds, and divine essence as belonging to God alone. Even God cannot change across that divide without denying His own unchanging existence as God without beginning. Another aspect is that having different sense of nature means that one can say that a man is upright walking creature and simultaneously that a man is dust and water, even though dust and water do not walk upright in themselves. These are both true depending on the sense of nature. One is speaking of human nature as it exists according to its created properties or activities and the other is speaking of human nature as composed of the elements of the earth from which it was created. These principles are helpful to keep in mind during the discussion.

Returning to the change of the bread and mingled wine, an Orthodox understanding can be summarized by saying that the bread and mingled wine become the Body and Blood and Christ and that the Body and Blood of Christ become bread and mingled wine. Thus, the Gifts are both bread and mingled wine and the Body and Blood of Christ. So, if one is to examine the Gifts under a microscope and all other physical tests, one will find bread and mingled wine. Yet, for anyone eating and touching or looking at the Gifts, they are eating and touching and looking at the Body and Blood of Christ, as vividly seen in the vision of mentioned earlier in the book. The Body and Blood do not appear to be bread and mingled wine, but they are bread and mingled wine. The bread and the mingled wine do not disappear with the change, but they as bread and mingled wine are the Body and Blood of Christ.

How are we to understand this? The key is understanding what ordinary bread and mingled wine are. The human body is composed of the elements of the earth and so returns to these elements: “dust to dust, ashes to ashes”. For the human body to grow requires elements from the earth to constitute its own form and substance. These elements are provided through food. That is the elements required for the life and growth of the body are found in a form accessible to the body in food. Thus, bread is in a manner a packaging of these elements so that the body through digestion can absorb and untie them into itself as its own body. We do not become bread by eating bread, but the bread as eaten becomes part of us as effected by the functions and rules of our

body. The nature of our flesh consists of these earthly elements in the same nature of each whether in the form of bread or in constituting our bodies. (Note that this common nature of the elements is the means through which the entire universe is united to God because the body of man consists of the same elements as those composing the universe and so all its diversity in forms and bodes is able to united through man.) The bread in itself was formed from the elements by human activity to establish its particular properties as bread, which is why it is a suitable food, as distinct from an apple, for the mystery because it takes common elements not found in themselves as bread, but only become bread with the work of man and then in turn become our bodies through the processes of eating. When we map this onto the Gifts, the bread and mingled wine are no longer the packaging for elements of this world as prone to the death of the universe, but rather the elements as they have been deified or spiritualized in the Body of Christ that are then provided as food and drink in bread and mingled wine by the work of the Holy Spirit with our work of offering for our consumption according to the rules of the body as spiritualized by the Holy Spirit to deal with this type of food. So, just as we receive what is needed for our body from the earth in bread and mingled wine, so too we receive what is needed for the Body of Christ from the Body of Christ as the Body of Christ in and as bread and mingled wine. The bread is no ordinary bread of undefied elements of the earth, but heavenly bread of spiritualized elements of the earth, which compose the deified Body and Blood of Christ taken from the earth and spiritualized to a new mode of physical existence suitable for the heavens. The Body of Christ is no longer bound to time, form and space as our present bodies and so it is able to be in every place in form of bread and mingled wine, yet without losing its unity or "personal" form as testified in the images or icons of Christ. Just as the disciples could see and touch Christ in His resurrected Body and recognize Him as being the same Jesus as before the resurrection so too the Gifts are still touched and seen as they were before the offering; they are still composed of elements of the earth as bread, but now as deified or spiritualized elements that have a new mode of existence and yet can nevertheless be seen in our present more of existence, just like Christ after the resurrection. On partaking one recognizes that they are not the same but deified, just as Christ as deified was the same yet different making Him not immediately recognizable as before. This is unlike a change of water into wine or a staff into a snake in which an earthly physical object becomes another earthly physical object with different characteristics, rather the physical object

remains what it is but its elements are spiritualized as what is earthly as now deified in Christ as full of divine power and grace and the very Body and Blood of Christ; the very elements that constitute the Body and Blood of Christ packaged as bread and mingled wine. For this reason, the term: “transubstantiation”, while acceptable in some senses, is not favored when attached to ideas of change of substance but not accidents, so that the Body and Blood of Christ are not bread and mingled wine or that the bread and mingled wine are not the Body and Blood of Christ, thus implying a replacement of bread and mingled wine with the Body and Blood of Christ that yet maintain the appearance as bread and mingled wine rather than that proper to the Body and Blood of Christ as seen in icons. Given that “transubstantiation can be understood in the manner just stated, Orthodox theologians in general do not use the term to avoid implying these things. The term does have an acceptable sense and it is not rejected as such but rather used sparingly on occasion to affirm the objective change of the bread and mingled wine into the Body and Blood of Christ without yet implying any further philosophical understanding about what has happened in the change. Other terms that simply mean change are preferred to emphasize the change as change without stating more about the nature of the change.

In summary of the Orthodox understanding of the matter relating to Transubstantiation, the Orthodox position is that the bread and mingled wine truly become the Body and Blood of Christ as changed or transformed by the Holy Spirit but remain as bread and mingled wine as food for the faithful to eat and drink. The mystery is not that the bread and mingled wine cease to be bread and mingled wine, but that the matter that constitutes the bread and mingled wine has changed from that of the fallen earth to that of the deified Body and Blood of Christ, while the deified Body and Blood of Christ becomes bread and mingled wine for us to eat and drink without ceasing to be the Body and Blood of Christ.

As a final note on perspective that pertains to divergence of opinions of the East and West that contributed to the Schism. There are three primary issues of divergence: one being the veneration of the Body apart from the partaking of the Body and Blood at the offering; the second being the partaking of both elements; and the third being the composition of the offerings.

Firstly, the Orthodox understanding is that the Body and Blood of

Christ are given as bread and mingled wine because they are given as food. They take the form of food to be consumed as food. This is grounded in that the bread and mingled wine are the Body and Blood of Christ and that the Body and Blood of Christ are bread and mingled wine provided to us to be consumed so that we may be physically united to the Body of Christ as one Body and come into union with one God in both aspects of what makes us human, in soul and in body.

Secondly, because the Body and Blood are Christ are given as food in as presented in bread and mingled wine, one element alone does not provide the full communion of both the Body and the Blood. Each is partaken in its proper form of food. Thus, in Orthodox practice communion is always of both kinds. While there are times that one element is provided to the communicant, such as the Blood alone to infants, this is only permissible due to necessity and not in principle, such that it is not permissible to commune only with the changed bread or mingled wine, alone to offer the faithful communion of the Body and Blood as food, because each comes as food proper to its form and not in the other form.

Thirdly, grounded in that the bread and mingled wine are the Body and Blood of Christ and that the Body and Blood of Christ are bread and mingled wine is that it matters to Orthodox what form the bread and mingled wine take. That is one cannot offer water alone without wine to become the Blood of Christ nor can one offer wine alone without water to become the Blood of Christ because water and blood flowed from His side. One cannot offer a potato rather than wheaten bread for the Body of Christ nor, as a point of contention at the Schism, can one offer unleavened bread for it to be changed into the risen defied Body of Christ. Because the symbols themselves become the physical reality of the Body and Blood of Christ and the Body and Blood become these physical realities, the form and composition of the bread and mingled wine matter in defining what that physical reality is; the type of the symbols needs to precisely match the reality that becomes truly present in them. So, to change the composition is to change what is offered as something other than what is asked and as such it is understood both to be rejected and to fail to manifest the change in the physical Body and Blood of Christ as not being a proper type to “materialize” the Body and Blood of Christ. So, while there is a shared agreement on the core understanding that the bread and mingled truly change to become the Body and Blood of Christ with the offering, the subtle differences in perspective have contributed to different practices that to some level are

incompatible or at least open for contention.

[1] Syriac Mār means “lord, holy, saint.”

[2] J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166-1199)*, vol. IV (Paris: Leroux, 1905), 378-544 (Syriac); vol. II, 357 to vol. III, 111 (translation).

[3] Tragically, all art creations, including these two serpents, of Mār Behnām (and elsewhere) were wiped out by the Islamic State in 2014, and only pictures of them remained.

[4] Syriac text in Paul Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum Syriace*, vol. 3 (Leipzig: Harrassowitz; 1892; repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1968), 164-165; and translation in Albertus F.J. Klijn, *Acts of Thomas: Introduction – Text – Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1962), 242. The above translation is by the present author.

[5] See also Robert Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom: A Study in Early Syriac Tradition* (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 120 and n. 2.

[6] Edmund Beck (ed.), *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Nativitate (Epiphania)*, CSCO vol. 186; *Scriptores Syri* t. 82 (Louvain, Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1959), hymn III.15, 23 ; S. Griffith, “Spirit in the Bread, Fire in the Wine: The Eucharist as a Living Medicine,” *Modern Theology* 15/2 (1999), 225-247; Bas Snelders, *Identity and Christian-Muslim Interaction: Medieval Art of the Syrian Orthodox from the Mosul Area*, (Leuven, Peeters, 2010), 330-301; Kathleen McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian: Hymns* (New York: Paulist Press, 1989), 61-218, esp. 86.

[7] Beck (ed.), *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers*, hymn IV.99, 24; McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian*, 97.

[8] Beck (ed.), *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers*, hymn VII.6 (Epiphany), 164.

[9] Beck (ed.), *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers*, hymn IV (Nativity), 27; McVey, *Ephrem the Syrian*, 91.

[10] P. Bedjan, *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, vol. 3 (Leipzig; Paris: Otto Harrassowitz, 1907; repr. Piscataway, NJ, 2006), 646-663; A. Harrak, *Metrical Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug: Jacob of Sarug's Homily on the Partaking of the Holy Mysteries*, Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 23 (New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2010).

[11] A. Harrak, “The Syriac Orthodox Celebration of the Eucharist in Light of Jacob of Serug's *mimro* 95,” in G. Kiraz, *Jacob of Serugh and His Times: Studies in Sixth-Century Syriac Christianity*, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 13 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press: 2010), 91-114.

[12] See John 19:34, 20:25.

[13] Bedjan, *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, 661 line 161a to p. 162 line 167b; Harrak, *Metrical Homilies of Mar Jacob of Sarug*, 39-40.

[14] The statutes of that academy dated to Narsai miraculously reached us; Arthur Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, CSCO 266, subsidia 26 (Louvain:

Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1965).

[15] The translation of this term is based on “the ups” inside it.

[16] Alphonse Mingana, *Narsai doctoris Syri homiliae et carmina*, vol. 1 (1905; repr. Gorgias Press, 2008)

قف = 208:9-13.

[17] A. Harrak, *Mar Narsai: Homily 33 on the Sanctification of the Church*, Texts from Christian Late Antiquity 54 (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2018), 48 (translation), 49 (Syriac).

[18] Sebastian Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, Mōrān 'Eth'ō, vol. 9 (Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1997).

[19] Mingana, *Narsai*, p. ٢٠٨ = 295:13-17.

[20] Mingana, *Narsai*, p. ٢٠٩ = 297:14-16.

[21] See George Howard (trans.), *The Teaching of Addai*, Early Christian Literature Series 4 (Ann Arbor, MI: Society of Biblical Literature, 1981), 6-7 (Syriac and translation).

[22] The Atabeg were Turkic princes, who although were subordinate to contemporary kings, some were semi-independent; on this and other details on art see Amir Harrak, *Le monastère de Mar-Behnam à la période atabeg – XIII^e s.: L'art au service de la foi*, Cahiers d'Études Syriaques 5 (Paris: Geuthner, 2018).

[23] A. Harrak, *Syriac and Garshuni Inscriptions of Iraq*, Répertoire des inscriptions syriaques 2 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2010), AE.01.17.

[24] A. Harrak, *Syriac and Garshuni Inscriptions of Iraq*, Répertoire des inscriptions syriaques 2 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2010), AE.01.05.

[25] Dom Louis Leloir, *Saint Éphrem: Commentaire de l'évangile concordant, texte syriaque (Manuscrit Chester Beatty 709)*, Chester Beatty Monographs No. 8 (Dublin: Hodges Figgis & Co. Ltd, 1963), 218:17.

[26] A. Harrak, *Syriac and Garshuni Inscriptions of Iraq*, Répertoire des inscriptions syriaques 2 (Paris: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 2010), AE.01.23.

[27] Harrak, *Le monastère de Mar-Behnam à la période atabeg*, 103-106.

[28] Mingana, *Narsai*, p. ٢٠٩ = 166:9.

[29] Conrad Preusser, *Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler altchristlicher und islamischer Zeit* (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs, 1911), fig. 17.

[30] Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, vol. III (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1981), 1157-1157; *The Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, vol. 17:1 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1989), 314-321.

[31] Michael Sokoloff, *Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat-Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 2002), 817.

[32] <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gudea>; Important Artifacts; first picture.

[33] Sebastian P. Brock, “The Syriac Orient: A Third “Lung” for the Church?” *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 71 (2005), 5-20.

[34] Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Smyrnaeans*, in *The Letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch*, ed. G.G. Walsh, F.X. Glimm, trans. J. M.-F. Marique and G. G. Walsh, The

Apostolic Fathers (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947), 1:120-121.

[35] Ignatius of Antioch, *Letter to the Ephesians*, in *The Letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch*, ed. G.G. Walsh, F. X. Glimm, trans. J. M.-F. Marique and G. G. Walsh, The Apostolic Fathers (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1947), 1:95.

[36] Justin Martyr, *The First Apology of Justin*, in *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, ed. A. Roberts, J. Donaldson and A. C. Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 1:185.

[37] Ambrose of Milan. *On the Mysteries*, in *St. Ambrose: Select Works and Letters* ed. P. Schaff & H. Wace, trans. H. de Romestin E. de Romestin and H. T. F. Duckworth (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1896), 10:324.

[38] Ephrem the Syrian. *St. Ephrem the Syrian: Selected Prose Works*, ed. T. P. Halton and K. McVey, trans. E. G. Mathews Jr. & J. P. Amar, *Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 91 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 290.

[39] Hilary of Poitiers, *The Trinity*, ed. R. J. Deferrari, trans. S. McKenna, *Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 25 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 1954), 286.

[40] Francis Turretin, *Institutes of Elenctic Theology*, ed. J. T. Dennison Jr., trans. G. M. Giger (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 1997), 3:480.

[41] Lanfranc of Canterbury, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, trans. and ed. M. G. Vaillancourt, *Fathers of the Church* 10 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 117.

[42] Augustine of Hippo, *Expositions on the Book of Psalms*, ed. P. Schaff, trans. A. C. Coxe, *Saint Augustin: Expositions on the Book of Psalms, Vol. 8* (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1888), 73.

[43] Tertullian, *The Five Books against Marcion*, in *Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian*, ed. A. Roberts, J. Donaldson and A. C. Coxe, ed. P. Holmes (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Company, 1885), 3:418.

[44] This remains true for the most popular philosophical treatments of the matter in later Greek times from Anaxagoras to Aristotle's *Meteorology* (Bekker number = 347b12-13). Aristotle influences a number of pagan and Christian science commentaries on meteorology until the AD 530s at the invention of the term "transubstantiation" as primary scientific example of substantial change from water into ice. This alternative meteorology is shared by biblical and Greek authors, where different forms and functions betray different substances by appearance and function (for us everything is a molecule –water – in two differ states [liquid/solid]). We are closer to Aristotle who calls water, snow, and ice all different "bodies" (*sômata*) with different (accidental) forms. St. Thomas Aquinas (*On [Aristotle'] Meteorology* (book 1, chapter 1, no. 3), affirms by virtue of Aristotelian scientific theory that each state (liquid/solid) of water makes it a different "body" and by a different non-substantial form in the same matter; therefore, not technically a different substance.

[45] Plato, *Laws*, [5.]729c: "One who reverences his kinsfolk and each partici-

pant (*koinōnian*) having naturally sprung (*physin*) from this same blood, in the worship of the tribal gods, a man will, in proportion to his piety, secure the good will of the gods of birth to bless his own begetting of children.”

[46] This is an exciting anticipation of manna (described as coriander and ice or yellowish/white crystalline ice). Sulphur falls in yellowish crystalline form. Secondly, the reaction between the wet or rain that falls with it is quite literally explosive. Next, a possible wordplay between Sulphur (*theion*) and divine (*theion*) occurs so that Sulphur (a manna-like thing falling from heaven) is a divine thing (see Josephus's similar comments in section 4.1 below).

[47] Gordon Wenham, *Genesis 16-50*, Word Biblical Commentary (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000), 2:164, 216-227. Compare Michael Maher (trans. and ed.), *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis: Translated with Introduction and Notes*, The Aramaic Bible 1B (Collegeville MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 71. This post-Christian commentary bypasses the resurrection and transubstantiation theme in favor of a Midrash, which claims that because Lot's wife committed inhospitality by failing to salt the angels' food in Sodom, she was turned into salt as a punishment.

[48] Kevin Cathart, Michael Maher, et al. (ed.), *The Aramaic Bible: Targum Neofiti 1: Genesis*, trans. Martin McNamara, The Aramaic Bible 1A (Collegeville MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 109.

[49] Philo of Alexandria, *Allegorical Interpretation III*, LXXV.213, in *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*, 2nd ed., trans. C. Yonge (USA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995), 75a. See also idem, *On Drunkenness*, XL.164 (ibid., 221).

[50] The passing from life to death and vice versa is closest to transubstantiation in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas (important in chapters 5-6). Non-living elements and molecules are what underlies, for St. Thomas, the appearances of what is a dead body, and these may not visibly change if someone is resurrected (viz., the person appears to be sleeping either way). St. Thomas requires in transubstantiation that nothing of the old matter in the first thing remains to be incorporated into the second thing. Raising the dead fails to meet this criterion perfectly. Some basic matter of the recently deceased is carried over into the newly resurrected person. Hence, the conversion of a dead body to a full person is called “quasi-” since it does not perfectly fit the definition of Schoolmen (like the fifth-century Greeks and Latins in chapter 4) when talking about such change.

[51] In LXX Psalm 148:8: “hail, snow, ice” (*chalaza, chiōn, krystallos*) are equivalents and, thus, identified with manna that is transubstantiated like water in heaven and falls down in morsels of flesh throughout the Scriptures and patristic literature, as we shall see everywhere below.

[52] The Greek root here is the same as in the English cognate: “apokatastasis” or the so-called final restoration of all fallen, dead, and mortal persons to their pristine state. Peter preaches about this restoration of all persons by appeal to the prophets, referring to this passage and Malachi 4:6 (see Acts 3:3:19-21).

[53] Philo of Alexandria, *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat*, section 177.3, in *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, ed. Paulus Wendland (Berlin: Re-

imer, 1897), 2:131.

[54] Origen, *Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei* (lib. 12–17), in *Origenes Werke* 10.2, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 40.2, ed. E. Klostermann (Leipzig: Teubner, 1937), fragment 17.2.

[55] Hippolytus, *The Refutation of All Heresies*, trans. J.H. MacMahon (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1868), 321 (= *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, ed. M. Marcovich, *Patristische Texte und Studien* 25 [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986], 8.14.8).

[56] Tertullian, *De carnis resurrectione*, section 55, ed. Aemilius Kroymann, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 47.3 (Leipzig, G. Freytag, 1906), 113-114.

[57] Epiphanius of Salmais, *Panarion*, ed. K. Holl, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 31 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1922), 2:508.

[58] Gregory Nyssa, *De Vita Mosis*, in *Grégoire de Nyse: La vie de Moïse*, 3rd ed., ed. J. Danielou, *Sources Chrétiennes* 1.3 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1968), 1.21.

[59] More radically, underneath the elements of the periodic table, are subatomic particles. For philosophers, even these are two bulky. Below subatomic particles there is a more basic “prime matter” that is entirely without measure, quantity, or discernable quality. It is this matter that is often talked about as surviving the change from one to another substance.

[60] We will explore some of the ancient scientific texts (below section 4.1). For now, in addition to the Bible (Wisdom 18:22; Psalm 147; Revelation 22:1-5), the notion of a kind of transubstantiation according to appearances was taken up famously by St. Gregory Nyssa, *Apologia in Hexaemeron* [*Defense of the Creation*] (*Patrologia Graeca* 44, column 104C-D).

When steam in the atmosphere becomes water and water’s “nature” change! to become “dry” and “compact” and is then restored to earth, it is called: “hail.”

[61] Gregory Nyssa, *Epistle 12*, in *Gregorii Nysseni opera* 8.2, 2nd ed., ed. Werner Jaeger (Leiden: Brill, 1959), section 2.

[62] Gregory Nyssa, *Apologia in Hexaemeron* [*Defense of the Creation*] (*Patrologia Graeca* 44, column 104C-D). The rough outlines of this explanation can be harmonized with Aristotle’s meteorology. See Malcom Wilson, *Structure and Method in Aristotle’s Meteorologica: A More Disorderly Nature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 147-148.

[63] *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament with an English Translation and with Various Readings and Critical Notes* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1879), 78.

[64] *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament with an English Translation and with Various Readings and Critical Notes* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1879), 79.

[65] John Durham, *Exodus*, *The Word Biblical Commentary* 3 (Grand Rapids MI: Zondervan, 1987), 92.

[66] The Islamic tradition of biblical exegesis may access Midrash on this point. For the Qur’an (= Q.) 7.117 and 26.45 comments on the fact that the magicians performed something that was falsified or lying, as if a miracle. In Q.

26.44, commentary on Exodus supposes that magicians threw ropes down with their staffs. This might develop out of the Hebrew verb “to do” that can suppose a kind of artifice or construction. The Qur’an is perhaps relying on an ancient tradition, for serpentine staffs are known archeologically with a twining serpent carved into the wood itself. This is not unlike the Qur’anic observation that the artifice of ropes was used along with staffs; showing the magicians to imitate serpents by artifice instead of by transubstantiation.

[67] We have consulted both the *Neofiti* and *Pseudo-Jonathan* Targums and found no significant variants to Exodus that would contrast with the Hebrew, Greek, or Philonian versions of the events. However, *Pseudo-Jonathan* is interesting only for its agreement in glossing the magicians use of “divinations” that suggests both the late-Aramaic and Qur’anic comments derive from a common tradition.

[68] For the tradition of the pseudo-conversion of Philo to Christianity, see David Runia, *Philo in Early Christian Literature: A Survey*, *Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*: Section 3, Jewish Traditions in Early Christian Literature 3 (Minneapolis/Assen: Fortress Press/Van Gorcum, 1993), 212-230.

[69] Philo of Alexandria, *De migrationi Abrahami*, chapter 15, section 83, in *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, ed. Paulus Wendland (Berlin: Reimer, 1897), 2:284 (= *On the Migration of Abraham*, in *The Works of Philo: Complete and Unabridged*, 2nd ed., trans. C. Yonge [USA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1995], 260a).

[70] Francesca Alesse, *Philo of Alexandria and Post-Aristotelian Philosophy*, *Studies in Philo of Alexandria* 5 (Turnhout: Brill, 2008), 250.

[71] Francesca Alesse, *Philo of Alexandria and Post-Aristotelian Philosophy*, *Studies in Philo of Alexandria* 5 (Turnhout: Brill, 2008), 22-25.

[72] See Patrick Gray, *Leontius of Jerusalem Against the Monophysites: Testimonies of the Saints and Aporiae*, *Oxford Early Christian Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 17.

[73] See Gregory Nyssa, *Ad graecos ex communibus notionibus*, ed. F. Mueller, *Gregorii Nysseni opera* 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 1:29. A piece of flesh or drop of blood is insufficient to be called the whole “Jesus” since by definition it is set opposite the whole. See John Damascene, *Dialectica*, chapter 6, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, ed. Bonifatius Kotter, *Patristische Texte und Studien* 7 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1969), 66, lines 58–70.

[74] See, for example, John of Damascus, *Institutio elementaris*, chap. 7, in *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, ed. Bonifatius Kotter, *Patristische Texte und Studien* 7 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1969), 24, l. 52.

[75] E.g., Origen, *Homilia VII in Psalmum LXXVII*, section 3, lines 4-5, eds. Lorenzo Perrone, Marina Pradel, Emanuela Prinzivalli, and Antonio Cacciari, in *Origenes Werke* 13, Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte: Neue Folge 19, *Die neuen Psalmenhomilien: Eine kritische Edition des Codex Monacensis Graecus 314* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), 441.

[76] Eusebius Caesariensis, *Psalmus LXXXVII*, verses 40-48, ed. J.-P. Migne, in *Commentaria in Psalmos* (Paris: Migne, 1857), volume 23, column 925D.

[77] Christian theories in the first six centuries do not appear to mimic Aristotle's *Meteorology* on the change of water into ice, which is can be called a "formal" change by which water gets new properties but remains fundamentally water. Competing ideas seem to suggest a more radical change, whose ambiguity leaves room for more mystery, making it a fitting point of reference in popular science of biblical times and Antiquity for comparing water-to-ice change to bread-to-Incarnate Christ change.

[78] Philo of Alexandria, *De vita Mosis*, Bk 1, section 101, ed. Leopoldus Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt* (Berlin: George Reimer, 1902), 4:143.

[79] Robert Eisenman and Michael Wise (trans. and ed.), *The Demons of Death (Beatitudes - 4Q525)*, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered: The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents withheld for over 35 Years* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1993), 174, 176-177.

[80] Place here refers to where something appears. Later, Aquinas will emphasize that, without quantitative dimensions, the resurrected Christi in the Eucharist is not substantially in a place.

[81] Origen, *Der Dialog des Adamantius: Περὶ τῆς εἰς θεὸν ὀρθῆς πίστεως*, ed. W.H. van de Sande Bakhuizen, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 4* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 60.

[82] Epiphanius of Salamis, *Ancoratus*, ed. K. Holl, *Ancoratus und Panarion*, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 25* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915): 1:52.

[83] See Numbers, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* (https://www.sefaria.org/Targum_Jonathan_on_Numbers.20.11?lang=bi). Compare an alternative translation in Ernest Clarke (ed.), *Numbers, Targum Neofiti 1*, *The Aramaic Bible the Targums 4* (Collegeville MN: The Liturgical Press, 1995), 111, 244.

[84] See, for example, the universally influential writer John Chrysostom, *In epistulam II ad Corinthios (Patrologia Graeca 61, column 476)*: "In place of circumcision [there is] baptism, in place of manna the Lord's body, in place of water from the rock [is] the blood from his side, in place of the staff of Moses or Aaron is the cross."

[85] For the ritual in first-century Jerusalem, prior to the destruction of the Second Temple, see David Stern, *The JPS Commentary on the Haggadah: Historical Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 2008), 1-15.

[86] Pseudo-Clement of Rome, Homily 2, in *Die Pseudoklementinen I. Homilien*, 2nd edn, ed. J. Irmscher, F. Paschke, and B. Rehm, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 42* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), chapter 32, section 2.

[87] Pseudo-Clement, *Homily X*, in *The Syriac Pseudo-Clementines: An Early Version of the First Christian Novel*, trans. F. Jones, *Apocryphes 14* (Turhout: Brill, 2014), 255.

[88] Origen, *Fragmenta in Lucam*, frag. 96.

[89] Asterius the Sophist, *In Psalmum IX*, in *Asterii sophistae commentariorum*

in *Psalmos quae supersunt*, ed. M. Richard, Symbolae Osloenses: fasc. suppl. 16 (Oslo: Brogger, 1956), section 6.

[90] Pseudo-John Chrysostom (Severian of Gabala), *In sancta lumina*, Die Pseudo-Chrysostomische Predigt In Baptismum et Tentationem, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 3 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1994), 5.5.

[91] See also LXX Joshua 10:11: "stone of hail" (*lithous chalazēs*).

[92] Evtixios Tomadaki, *Ἰωσήφ ὁ Ὑμνόγραφος: Βίος καὶ ἔργον*, Αθήνα: Σειρὰ διατριβῶν καὶ μελετημάτων 11 (Athens, Tipografion Adelfon Mirtidi, 1971), 84.

[93] *Stichera Prosomoia êchos delta* (Vespers Hymn for the Apostle Thomas), in *Anthologion tou holou eniautou* (Rome, s.n., 1967), 1:773.

[94] The use of transmutation in Greek regards either substance-to-substance forms overtaking one parcel or matter, or regards accidental forms (e.g., thoughts) that change the soul from vice to virtue or vice versa.

[95] Hippolytus, *Contra Noetum*, trans. R. Butterworth, Heythrop Monographs (London: Hethrop College, 1977), 90 (= *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 47.7).

[96] This phraseology is taken from the same event in LXX Exodus chapter 9, as recorded by LXX Psalm 104(103), verse 29: "He turned (*metestrepson*) their waters into blood."

[97] Notice the meteorological marvel, in ancient science, that hail can coexist with heat (this theory is attested by Aristotle and his commentators into the 530s; see Aristotle, *Meteorology*, Bekker number = 347b34–348b31). Manna was less marvelous for melting in the heat of the morning sun. This manna can withstand its contrary. Compare LXX Exodus 9:18–10:11.

[98] Aristotle and his many commentators (until the key period for us in the AD 530s) agree with the basic biblical premise: "Hail (*chalaza*) is ice (*krystallos*), for water is frozen in winter" (Aristotle, *Meteorology*, Bekker number = 347b37–38).

[99] Compare Empedocles, *testimonia*, ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1951), no. 51: "Heaven is icy (*hydropagē*), and that is to say an icy tuft of wool (*krystallôdes pilēma*)."

[100] Compare this to the prophecy of a personal manna in LXX Daniel 7:9: "The Ancient of Days was seated; his garment was white as snow (*chiôn leucon*), and the hair of his head was like pure wool (*erion*). His throne was a fiery flame, its wheels a burning fire; a fiery stream issued and came forth from before Him."

[101] Compare Jesus saying: "He gave them bread from heaven to eat" (John 6:31), and that the Father's sending means: "[I] the bread come down from heaven" (*katabas; katabebēka*) (John 6:32–38, 41–42), to Revelation: "Great hail, as sixty-pounders, falls from heaven (*katabainei*) upon men" (Revelation 16:21). Notice that Revelation is probably aware of 60-pound loaves of bread from Matthew 13:33, where Jesus refers to (Sarah in Genesis 18) feeding angels 60-pound loaves of bread. Jesus refers to three measures kneaded from a sixty-pound batch, from which Sarah prepares three loaves for each divine-

angel (the Trinity) to eat under the oak of Mamre. The falling manna/hail represents the Kingdom of God in the Incarnate Word, like manna, raining down curses upon the wicked (but in smaller bit of food from heaven for the righteous). Jesus is specifically “manna” (John 6:48), which means he is water-turned-to ice or transubstantiated ice/flesh-bread as in the Psalm and other passages (below in section 4.2). This descent as bread is also meant to be associated with Passover (*engys to pascha*; John 6:4).

[102] This phraseology is taken from LXX Psalm 104(103), verse 29: “He turned (*metestrepson*) their waters into blood.”

[103] Andrew of Crete, *Commentarii in Apocalypsin*, ed. J. Schmidt, *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes 1, Text und Einleitung: Münchener theologische Studien 1* (Munich: Zink, 1955), *Logos 10* chapter 30, section 11, 5-6.

[104] J.A. Cerrato and Hippolytus *between East and West: The Commentaries and the Provenance of the Corpus*, Oxford Theological Monographs (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 75-80.

[105] Miroslav Marcovich, *Studies in Graeco-Roman Religions and Gnosticism*, *Studies in Greek and Roman Religion 4* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 139. The translation here is often: “tittle” or “iota.” The letter “ι” signifies the number ten in Greek and is equivalent to the number one in Latin (for Monoimos) and is the same shape as the staff of Aaron and Moses in Exodus. Thus, in Greek the Pythagorean perfect number is ten, while in Latin the number signifies a monad, but in the Septuagint, it serves as a pictogram to signify the staff that Moses used to create new substances.

[106] See the second-century Jewish teaching of Rabbi Yehuda, *Pesach Haggadah, Magid, The Ten Plagues* (https://www.sefaria.org/Pesach_Haggadah%2C_Magid%2C_The_Ten_Plagues.5?ven=Sefaria_Edition&lang=bi): “And with signs’ [= Monoimos’s *symbola*] – this refers to the staff, as it is stated (Exodus 4:17); ‘And this staff you shall take in your hand, that with it you will perform signs.’” Monoimos is aware of the teaching/tradition of Rabbi Akiva’s (around AD 50-AD 135) disciple, Rabbi Yehuda, a contemporary of Monoimos, who taught the staff to be inscribed with the ten plagues (perhaps by way of ten knots or branches).

[107] Marcovich, *Studies in Graeco-Roman Religions and Gnosticism*, 139. Monoimos relates the act of transmutation to the act of giving birth (*genesis*).

[108] There are ten categories by which all contingent beings can be describe and of which they can said to be composed and, thus, it is the perfect number to explain creation in the ten plagues and the mysteries behind them, namely, ten commandments.

[109] Hippolytus, *The Refutation of All Heresies*, 321 (= *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 8.14.8).

[110] Compare the new moon and sabbath instructions from what Paul seems to refer to in *Mishneh Torah, Leavened and Unleavened Bread 7:1* (<https://www.sefaria.org/topics/haggadah?tab=sources>): “According to a biblical positive command, you must tell on the night preceding the fifteenth day of Nisan

all about the miracles and wonders that were performed for our forefathers in Egypt. As it is stated (Exodus 13:3): 'Remember this day that you went out of Egypt'; just as it is stated (Exodus 20:8): 'Remember the day of the sabbath.'

[111] For Monoimos's other uses of Colossians, see Marcovich, *Studies in Graeco-Roman Religions and Gnosticism*, 137.

[112] For Monoimos, the act of a staff striking (and, thus, breaking) is like an Aristotelian form acting on matter per Marcovich, *Studies in Graeco-Roman Religions and Gnosticism*, 139.

[113] See Marcovich, *Studies in Graeco-Roman Religions and Gnosticism*, 138-139, for Monoimos's embrace of substance with a material (passible) substrate.

[114] For a discussion of Monoimos's Gnostic transmutation of the eternal Son of Man in heaven into a material Son of Man on earth by transmutation (*metabolē*), see Marcovich, *Studies in Graeco-Roman Religions and Gnosticism*, 137.

[115] For the development of the anaphora, see Emanuel Cutrone, "Cyril's Mystagogical Catecheses and the Evolution of the Jerusalem Anaphora," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 44 (1978): 52-64.

[116] Cyril of Jerusalem, *The Catechetical Lectures of St. Cyril Archbishop of Jerusalem*, A Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the Division of East and West (Oxford: James Parker, 1845) 92 (= *Catechesis ad illuminandos*, ed. W.C. Reischl and J. Rupp, *Cyrrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 1, [Munich: Lentner, 1848] 9.5).

[117] Cyril of Jerusalem, *The Catechetical Lectures*, 93-94 (= *Catechesis ad illuminandos* 9.9-9.10).

[118] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Lenten Lectures (Katêchêsis)*, trans. Leo McCauley and Anthony Stephenson, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* (Washington DC: CUA Press, 1970), 2:18-19 (= *Cyrrilli Catecheses illuminandorum XII-XVIII*, 13.21, eds. Joseph Rupp, *S. Cyrrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. 2 [Munich: Lentner, 1860], 12.20-21).

[119] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Lectures (Katêchêseis Mystagôgikai)*, trans. Leo McCauley and Anthony Stephenson, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* (Washington DC: CUA Press, 1970), 2:181 (= *Cyrrille de Jérusalem. Catêchêses mystagogiques*, eds. P. Paris and A. Piedagnel, *Sources chrétiennes* 126 [Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1966], 4.1-2).

[120] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Lenten Lectures (Katêchêsis)*, 126 (= *Cyrrilli Catecheses illuminandorum*, 18.12)

[121] Anton Baumstark, *Liturgie Comparée: Principes et Méthodes pour L'étude Historique Des Liturgies Chrétiennes*, ed. Bernard Botte, Irénikon: Nouvelle série, 7 (Chevetogne: Éditions de Chevetogne, Chevetogne 1953), 9-10.

[122] For the authorship of this section of the so-called *Bazaar*, see Teresia Hainthaler, "Perspectives on the Eucharist in the Nestorian Controversy," in *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy: Issues of Doctrinal History in East and West from the Patristic Age to the Reformation* (Leuven: LUP, 2005), 8-15.

[123] Nestorius, *Nestorius the Bazaar of Heracleides: Newly Translated from the Syriac and Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices*, trans. and ed. G. Driver and L. Hodgson (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002), 17.

[124] Nestorius, *Nestorius the Bazaar of Heracleides: Newly Translated from the Syriac and Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices*, trans. and ed. G. Driver and L. Hodgson (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002), 18.

[125] It is for the doctrine of two subsistences (*duae subsistentiae*) that Nestorius had been condemned by Cyril prior to the Council of Ephesus. See Cyril of Alexandria, *Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius*, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols., ed. Norman Tanner (Georgetown: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 1:55, lines 11-14.

[126] Nestorius, *Nestorius the Bazaar of Heracleides: Newly Translated from the Syriac and Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices*, trans. and ed. G. Driver and L. Hodgson (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002), 327.

[127] Nestorius, *Nestorius the Bazaar of Heracleides: Newly Translated from the Syriac and Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Appendices*, trans. and ed. G. Driver and L. Hodgson (Eugene: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2002), 327-328.

[128] Our conclusions do not differ from by now traditional analyses, such as J.F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and His Teaching: A Fresh Examination of the Evidence* (Eugene OR, Wipf & Stock Publishers, 1998), 144-148.

[129] See Cyril of Alexandria, *Five Tomes against Nestorius*, A Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the Division of East and West (Oxford: James Parker, 1881), 149.

[130] See Cyril of Alexandria, *Five Tomes against Nestorius*, A Library of the Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church anterior to the Division of East and West (Oxford: James Parker, 1881), 153-154.

[131] Patrick Gray, "From Eucharist to Christology: The Life-Giving Body of Christ in Cyril of Alexandria, Eutyches and Julian of Halicarnassus," in *The Eucharist in Theology and Philosophy: Issues of Doctrinal History in East and West from the Patristic Age to the Reformation*, eds. István Perczel, Réka Forrai, and György Geréby (Turnhout: Leuven University Press, 2005), 23-31.

[132] See Teresia Hainthaler, "Perspectives on the Eucharist in the Nestorian Controversy," 8-15, for her judgment that somewhat restores Nestorius by recourse to his indisputably authentic writings. It is not our purpose to give a definitive judgment on her analysis, because we are investigating the reception of Nestorius by St. Cyril (which is clearly negative) and the reception by supporters (whose Eucharistic doctrine is clearly problematic). Therefore, we are open to a more nuanced and positive understanding of his historical positions that might help relieve his reputation of exaggerations.

[133] See B.R. Rees, *Introduction to Pelagius: Life and Letters* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1991), 3-6; M. Lamberigts, "Cooperation between Church and State in the Condemnation of the Pelagians," in *Religious Polemics in Context: Papers Presented to the Second International Conference of the Leiden Institute for the Study of Religions (LISOR) Held at Leiden, 27-28 April 2000*, eds. T.L. Hettema and A. van der Kooij (Assen NE: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004), 370-375.

[134] For the influence of Augustine on Cyril, see Hans van Loon, "The Pelagian Debate and Cyril of Alexandria's Theology," *Studia Patristica* 68 (2013): 61-84.

[135] See especially, *Celestine to his Beloved Brother Nestorius: Epistle 10*, in *Acta*

Conciliorum Oecumenicorum 1.1, ed. Edward Schwartz (Berlin/Leipzig: Walter De Gruyter, 1927), 1:77-83.

[136] Julian of Eclanum, *Tractatus prophetarum Osee Johel et Amos: Accedunt operum deperditorum fragmenta post Albertum Bruckner denuo collecta aucta ordinata*, ed. Albert Bruckner, Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina 88 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977), 68.

[137] Cyril of Alexandria, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐξηγήσεις ὑπομνηματικῆς εἰς τὸν προφήτην Ἰσοΐη*, 1.6.7, in S.P.N. Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini in XII prophetas, ed. Phillip Pusey (Oxford: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1868), 1:32.

[138] Julianus's commentary is well known to rely on Theodoret's own commentary on the prophets.

[139] Cyril of Alexandria, *Glaphyra in Pentateuchum* (*Patrologia Graeca* 69, column 492).

[140] Cyril of Alexandria, *De adoratione et cultu in spiritu et veritate*, ed. J. Aubertus, *Patrologia Graeca* 68 (Paris: J.-P. Migne, 1859), 196B "τέσσαρες δειναὶ καὶ ἀλλήλων χεῖρους ἐπιφέρονται πληγαὶ ὕδατός τε γὰρ εἰς αἷμα μεταβολὴ παραδόξως ἐπράττετο [...]"

[141] Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Κυρίλλου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐξηγήσεις ὑπομνηματικῆς εἰς τὸν προφήτην Ἀγγαῖον*, 1.6.7, in S.P.N. Cyrilli Archiepiscopi Alexandrini in XII prophetas, ed. Phillip Pusey (Oxford: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1868), 2:264: "[...] καταδόνῃσας ὁρᾶται τὰ πάντα, τῶν μὲν ὕδάτων εἰς αἷμα μετεσκευασμένων [...]"

[142] Cyril of Alexandria, *Thesaurus de sancta consubstantiali Trinitate*, assertion 24 (*Patrologia Graeca* 75, column 393A).

[143] Cyril of Alexandria, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*, fragment 289, ed. Joseph Reuss, *Texte und Untersuchungen* 61 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957), 259.

[144] Cyril of Alexandria, *Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius*, 1:58, lines 7-9.

[145] See the testimony of Boethius, *De persona et naturis duabus* (*Patrologia Latina* 64, column 1344B).

[146] Cyril of Alexandria, *Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius*, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols., ed. Norman Tanner (Georgetown: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 1:41, lines 22-29.

[147] Cyril of Alexandria, *Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius*, 1:51, lines 13-19.

[148] Cyril of Alexandria, *Quod unus sit Christus*, ed. G.-M. de Durand, *Cyrrille d'Alexandrie: Deux dialogues christologiques*, Sources Chrétiennes 97 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1964), (Aubert page:) 717.

[149] F. Halkin (ed.), *Sancti Pachomii vita tertia (e codice Patmensi monasterii S. Joannis 9)*, *Sancti Pachomii vitae Graecae*: Subsidia hagiographica 19 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1932), 340, line 23.

[150] He is designated saint in the Oriental Orthodox churches. As the division between Christians promoting the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (AD 451) and those opposing it intensified from especially AD 453-AD 474, the Eastern Roman Empire published a wishy-washy legal document (the *He-*

noticon) that essentially pretended that Chalcedon had never happened. The document only mentioned that there were possibly several faithless bishops who had betrayed the true faith who were present at Chalcedon. This oblique suspicion about Chalcedon exploded into imperial opposition after Emperor Zeno I under Emperor Anastasius I who published a subsequent anti-Chalcedonian document (the *typos*) that negatively impugned Chalcedon. Because it is likely Severus in Beirut who drafted this in 491, he was awarded the patriarchate of Antioch. He maintained his position in Antioch (AD 512-AD 518) until the pro-Chalcedonian Emperor Justin I took the throne. Severus's Christology is not per se heretical but requires a lot of scholastic distinction (of which he is capable as a trained lawyer). His accusations by the Chalcedonians gradually include heresy, which is now a fait accompli by Byzantine Catholic and Orthodox hymnody that designate him a heretic. His heresy is not in what he affirms, but what he denies: (1.) The *Tome of Leo* is heretical for saying two natures in one person, (2.) and Chalcedon is heretical for upholding the *Tome* that avoids mostly St. Cyril's expression "one nature of the Word Incarnate." The battle is substantially over terminology and not over certain questions of the transmutation of divinity into humanity, or a human nature being transubstantiated into godhead. This was the position of the (eventually) conjointly condemned heretic Eutyches, who today has no followers or church.

[151] Ian Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon: Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite* (Norwich: The Canterbury Press, 1988), 118-119.

[152] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechesis XII*, trans. Leo McCauley and Anthony Stephenson, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation 1* (Washington DC CUA Press, 1969), 288.

[153] Ambrosiaster, *Quaestiones veteris et novi testamenti*, ed. J. Freitag, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latiorum* 50 (Vienna: F. Tempsky, 1908), 3.4.

[154] The Babylonian first heaven in the *Ennuma Elish*, like 1 Enoch, contains water, snow, and ice. The most common numbers of heavens in Babylonian and Assyrian texts are either three or seven. See Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 27-37. The Hebrew Old Testament

[155] For identification of this passage with the sacrifice of the Mass, see Scott Hahn, *The Lamb's Supper: The Mass as Heaven on Earth* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 102.

[156] This is the tradition of interpreting Genesis 18:6, according to Matthew 13:33.

[157] Aristotle's meteorology (Bekker number: 348a27) admits of the unbelievable size of hail (*to gegethos apistos*) but provides no record.

[158] J. Wevers and U. Quast (ed.). *Numeri*, 11.7, *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum gotttingensis editum*, vol. 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 1:160.

[159] This is also the word for Genesis 2:12 for the first plant named in paradise.

[160] Dioscorides Pedanius, *On medical material [= De materia medica]*, ed. M. Wellmann, *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*,

vol. 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1907), book 1, chapter 68, section 5.

[161] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, The Works of Flavius Josephus: The Learned and Authentic Jewish Historian, trans. William Whiston (New York: Leavitt and Allen, 1855), 81 (= *Flavii Iosephi opera*, vol. 1, ed. B. Niese [Berlin: Weidmann, 1887], 3.32).

[162] See Revelation 1:15: "voice of many waters and having on the right hand his seven stars"; Revelation 14:2: "I heard a voice from heaven, as a voice of many waters and as if a voice of great thunder."; Revelation 9:6: "I heard as if a voice of much commotion, and as if a voice of many waters and as if a voice of strong thunderings."

[163] The anti-manna first seen at Sodom, looks here to be recreated in the transmutation of cloud: "Then the Lord rained (*ebreksen*) [yellowish crystalline] Sulphur and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah, from the Lord out of the heavens. So, he overthrew [...] what grew on the ground." (LXX Genesis 19:24-25)

[164] In Babylonian and Near East cosmology, which this reflects, this is a sign of rain, when the sun is surrounded by a rainbow (though not accounting for the ice crystals in cirrus clouds accounting for the phenomenon).

[165] See, for example, LXX Judges 3:25, where upper room is used for heaven in the Psalms (e.g., LXX Psalm 103:3).

[166] See LXX Chronicles 9:28, where *manna* is locked by a key to a door with the holy vessels in the "house of God."

[167] Compare the popular Christian Lactantius, *De opificio dei*, ed. Samuel Brandt and Georg Laubmann, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 27 (Vienna, F. Tempsky, 1883), book 2, section 17, and his early-fourth century testimony about the influence of Empedocles: "If someone will say to me that heaven is bronze (*aeneum*) and glassy (*vitreum*), or as Empedocles says, icy air (*aerem glaciatum*), shall I immediately assent?"

[168] In the Septuagint, these beings are specified as two only. Philo of Alexandria (for Jews) and Origen (for Christians) solidified the tradition that these were divine beings (not mere angels) who (for Origen) prefigure the Son and Spirit.

[169] The Arabic traditions of commentary on manna best exemplify this, as in Qur'an 2.57: "And we shaded you with clouds and send down to you manna and quails." The same emphasis on divine clouds **overshadowing** at the falling of manna (like the Annunciation and Transfiguration) are found in Qur'an 7.160.

[170] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 81 (= *Flavii Iosephi opera*, 3.28).

[171] Pliny, *The Natural History of Pliny*, trans. John Bostock and H. Riley (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1855), 3:131-132 (= *Historia naturalis*, ed. Karl Friedrich and Theodor Mayhoff. [Leipzig: Teubner, 1906], 12.33-34).

[172] See Emad Alsherif, "Ecological Studies of Commiphora genus (*myrrha*) in Makkah Region," *Heliyon* 5 (2019): e01615.

[173] This coincides with the topography of the seraphim or fiery serpents alluded to by Deuteronomy 8:15 (Hebrew= *nahash serap* or Greek: *ophis daknôn*) and Isaiah 30:6 (flying asps or *aspidôn petomenôn*).

[174] Herodotus, *History of Herodotus*, 3rd ed., trans. George Rawlinson (London: John Murray, etc., 1875), 124-125 (= *Herodoti Historiae*, vol. 1, ed. N.G. Wilson [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015], book 2, section 75).

[175] Compare commerce products in Revelation 18:13: "cinnamon and incense, fragrant oil and frankincense."

[176] This might be a reference to the *echis coloratus*, which was a guardian serpent (whether by fortune or by intention, at copper mines), as identified in Nissim Amzallag, *The Origin and Evolution of the Saraph Symbol* (PhD Diss. Engurion University in the Negev, 2015), 101-103.

[177] This manna-spice is put on the altar to burn as incense in the Old Testament (Baruch 1:10). This Arabian gum was called in Greek *manna libanôtou* or *libanomanna*. See Herodotus, *History of Herodotus*, trans. George Rawlinson (London: John Murray, etc., 1862), 2:412 (= *Herodoti Historiae*, vol. 2, book 3, sections 107-108).

[178] See Nissim Amzallag, *The Origin and Evolution of the Saraph Symbol*, 105.

[179] In Egyptian art, Seraphim are guardian deities, which function just like these Arabian winged serpents.

[180] Esahrhaddon, *Expedition from Palestine to Egypt in 671 BCE: A Trek through Negev and Sinai*, ed. Karen Radner, *Fundstellen Gesammelte Schriften zur Achäologie...* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008), 306-307.

[181] It is curious that Jesus is constantly referred to as having yellowish frankincense feet, as for example in Revelation 2:18, after describing the manna to be given to the faithful.

[182] Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History*, 130.

[183] Note that the food of angels in Revelation would seem to be in the same place whence angels and plagues descend, since no plurality of the heavens is used as a literary device in the book. See Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 32.

[184] Benedicta Ward, Foreword to *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection*, trans. B. Ward, *Cistercian Studies Series 59* (Kalamazoo MI: Cistercian Publications, 1975), 8.

[185] *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 10.

[186] *The Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, 11.

[187] *Les apophtegmes des Pères: 17-21*, chapter 18, section 4, ed. J.-C. Guy, *Collection systématique chapitres 3* (Paris: Du Cerf, 2005), 3:42, 44.

[188] *Les apophtegmes des Pères: 17-21*, chapter 18, section 4, 3:44.

[189] Leontius of Jerusalem, *Testimonies of the Saints*, in *Leontius of Jerusalem: Against the Monophysite: Testimonies of the Saints and Aporiae*, trans. and ed. Patrick Gray, *Oxford Early Christian Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 52.

[190] Leontius of Jerusalem, *Aporiae*, chapter 6, in *Leontius of Jerusalem: Against the Monophysite: Testimonies of the Saints and Aporiae*, ed. Patrick Gray, *Oxford Early Christian Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 168.

[191] Tzirakis had been on the cusp of discovering this but was unaware of the Eucharistic connections between Cyril of Jerusalem and Leontius. See Νικόλαος Τζιράκης, "Ἡ λεοντινὴ προέλευσις τοῦ ὄρου 'μεουσίωσις' ὑπὸ τὸ φῶς

τοῦ χριστολογικοῦ δόγματος καὶ τῆς Ὁρθόδοξης εὐχαριστιακῆς θεολογίας τοῦ ΙΖ αἰῶνα," *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς* 36 (1973): 506-507.

[192] St. Leontius's discussion of place (*που*) in respect to Christ's real human nature does not engage the complicated world of accidental relations developed by Schoolmen between (1240-1308) to speak about Jesus's *praesentia corporalis* in the Eucharist. There were many competing theories of transubstantiation. The two more famous are those of Thomas Aquinas (asserting a substance-to-substance *conversion* without respect to the accident of place for Christ's glorified body in heaven to be allegedly present on an altar) and Duns Scotus (asserting a substance-to-substance *succession* but such that the Christ's presence is multiplied with respect to places where accidents of bread and wine are on all altars of the world). See David Burr, "Eucharistic Presence and Conversion in Late Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Thought," *Transaction of the American Philosophical Society* 74 (1984): 1-113.

[193] Our analogical application and a simpler form of our argument was more summarily presented in Τζιράκης, "Ἡ λεοντινὴ προέλευσις τοῦ ὄρου 'μετουσίωσις,'" 505.

[194] Leontius, *Aporiae*, chapter 59, 218.

[195] Themistius Euphrades, *On Aristotle's Physics 5-8*, trans. Robert Todd, Ancient Commentators on Aristotle (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), 25 (= *Themistii in Aristotelis physica paraphrasis*, ed. H. Schenkl, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 5 [Berlin: Reimer, 1900] 2:165, 2).

[196] Themistius, *On Aristotle's Physics 5-8*, 26 (= *Themistii in Aristotelis physica paraphrasis*, 2:166, 6). St. Leontius's critical edition of works betray no citations from Themistius's commentary, nor from Aristotle's *Meteorology*. Given Aristotle's *Meteorology* and the formation of ice, snow, hail, and hoar frost, Aristotelian commentator tradition, especially by St. Leontius's famous contemporary John Philoponus, proves uninfluential. Philoponus wrote his comments in the 530s but nothing of Philoponus on meteorology worth mentioning for our exposition.

[197] Philo of Alexandria, *De vita Mosis*, section 1.200. This phraseology fits any number of meteorological texts.

[198] This Arabian gum was called in Greek: *manna libanôtou* or *libanomanna* and *libanôtris* (Revelation 8:3, 5).

The manna/resin is reminiscent of the frankincense that comes from the tree where the winged serpents dwell.

[199] Compare Luke 11:3: "Keep giving to us daily our remaining bread" (*ton arton hêmôn ton epiouision didou hemin to kath'hêmeran*).

[200] This may be a wordplay on LXX Genesis 19:24: "The Lord rained (*ebreksen*) Sulphur (*theïon*) and fire on Sodom and Gomorrah, from the Lord out of the heavens. So, he overthrew those cities, all the plain, all the inhabitants of the cities, and what grew on the ground. But his wife looked back behind him [Lot], and *she became* a pillar of salt."

[201] For Aristotle (and his commentators; Bekker number 347b35-36), hail was contradictory (*paraloga*) for the contrast between a cold product in spring

and summer, but for the Bible there are far more contradictions involved.

[202] Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 81 (= *Flavii Iosephi opera*, 3.32).

[203] Tertullian, *On prayer*, section 6, in *Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen: On the Lord's Prayer*, ed. A. Stewart-Sykes, Popular Patristics Series 29 (Crestwood NY: SVS Press, 2004), 46.

[204] Origen, *On Prayer*, chapter 27, section 1, in *Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen: On the Lord's Prayer*, ed. A. Stewart-Sykes, Popular Patristics Series 29 (Crestwood NY: SVS Press, 2004), 174.

[205] Cyprian, *On the Lord's Prayer*, section 18, in *Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen: On the Lord's Prayer*, ed. A. Stewart-Sykes, Popular Patristics Series 29 (Crestwood NY: SVS Press, 2004), 78.

[206] John Carpathos, *Capita ad monachos in India (Patrologia Graeca 85, column 1850D)*.

[207] This natural transubstantiation of successive forms is generally not considered true transubstantiation (which requires a divine miracle) in Latin-Scholastic Medieval accounts. See Mary McCord Adams, *Some Later Medieval Theories of the Eucharist: Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome, Duns Scotus, and William Ockham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 138-141.

[208] Aristotle, *Generation of Animals*, tr. A.L. Peck, The Loeb Classical Library (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1943), 521 (= Bekker number: 783a25-30).

[209] Ultimately, in Aristotle's *Meteorology*, this change is accidental (from water to ice) and not substantial.

[210] Compare Aristotle's *Meteorology* (Bekker number 349a10-12), where he summarizes his lengthy discussion on the different bodies of diverse natures: "So, let the aforesaid be my statement about rain and dew and snow and ice and hail, as what happens regarding their cause and what their nature (*physis*) is."

[211] Leontius of Byzantium, *Epilyseis*, ed. Brian Daley, *Leontius of Byzantium: Complete Works*, Oxford Early Christian Texts (Oxford: OUP, 2017), 320-321.

[212] The references are to what are called the standard "Bekker numbers."

[213] Compare LXX Isaiah 54:1-15, where a woman old and sterile is transformed to bear a child and she is said to be the wife of Yahweh. Then, the metaphor of an expanding tent (*viz.*, flesh) is used to speak of her child and children. Finally, the pregnant woman is compared to a city whose doors are made of ice, like Jesus who is the ice-Temple descended from heaven, or manna. Then shall peace (a play on Jerusalem) and righteousness/justice (a play on Melchizedek) will reign (compare LXX Isaiah 9:5-6).

[214] This wood produces fruit for eating among victorious church members in harmony with Revelation 2:7.

[215] Roman Catholic theologians now like to speak about the reversion of the flesh and blood back into bread and wine at the moment of digestion (*viz.*, at the moment of heat that digests).

[216] Compare LXX Ezekiel 1:22-25, where the firmament is made of ice (*krystallos*) and the voice of God's thunder comes from above heavenly firma-

ment (viz., ice or sea), which is worshiped by the angels. This replays itself by the voice from heaven at Jesus's baptism and the descent of the Spirit and the voice from heaven at the transfiguration, where Jesus's divinity is revealed. The inference is that the transubstantiated waters of heaven are the magical or womb-like place from which the divine manna was conceived and came down from heaven, the place whence divine food comes worshipped by angels.

[217] Compare LXX Psalm 17:13-14.

[218] See Augustine, *Commentary on Psalm 147.16-17* (*Patrologia Latina* 37, column 1932).

[219] We suspect that the link may be due to the fact that Empedocles (the oldest author in Greek to speak of water turning into a solid and into a dry thing) took his notion of transmutation of water into ice from philosophy of the Near East. This would likely have been from the famous Chaldeans or Magi who are constantly referred to in ancient Greek and Greco-Roman histories as the sources of olden philosophy. This would account for the intersect in Hebrew and Greek world view by their common Babylonian and Persian sources for scientific ideas.

[220] Xosrov Anjewaci'i, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. S. Peter Cowe (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1991), 135.

[221] Xosrov Anjewaci'i, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. S. Peter Cowe (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1991), 161, 163.

[222] Xosrov Anjewaci'i, *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*, trans. S. Peter Cowe (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1991), 171, 179.

[223] Martin Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium*, 5 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935), 5:670-671.

[224] Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium*, 5:673 (= excerpt from Severus, *Liber quaestionum et responsionum*).

[225] Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium*, 5:676 (= excerpt from Philoxenus, *De Incarnatione*).

[226] John Damascene, *On the Orthodox Faith*, trans. Frederic Chase, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 37 (Washington DC: CUA Press, 1958), 358:

This is the body, which is truly united to the Godhead, the same which is from the blessed Virgin. This is not because that body which was taken up to heaven comes down from heaven, but because the very bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of God. However, **should you inquire as to the manner in which this is done**, let it suffice for you to hear that it is done through the Holy Ghost, just as it was through the Holy Ghost that the Lord made flesh subsist for Himself and in Himself from the blessed Mother of God .. And more than this we do not know, except that the word of God is true and effective and omnipotent, **but the manner in which it is so is impossible to find out.**

[227] Jugie, *Theologia Dogmatica Christianorum Orientalium*, 5:676 (= excerpt from Philoxenus, *De Incarnatione*).

[228] For the order of Aquinas's sacramental lists, see Christiaan Kappes, "A New

Narrative for the Reception of Seven Sacraments into Orthodoxy: Peter Lombard's Sentences in Nicholas Cabasilas and Symeon of Thessalonica and the Utilization of John Duns Scotus by the Holy Synaxis." *Nova et Vetera* 15 (2017): 465-501, at 478-481.

[229] Martin Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1930), 3:196, note 1.

[230] Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica Christianorum orientalium ab ecclesia catholica dissidentium*, 3:196, note 1.

[231] Mansi, XXIV, col. 72. For the nineteenth-century discovery of this source, see Jugie, "Le mot *transubstantiation* chez les Grecs avant 1629," 8. Nota bene, Jugie corrected μετουσιῶναι] μετουσιούται.

[232] For a clarification of the fact that Michael VIII first sent a quasi-private profession of faith to II Lyons (1274), but was forced to proffer a public *confessio fidei* (1276), along with other key members of the government and church, see Efi Ragia, "Confessions of an Ingenious Man: The Confessions of Faith of John XI Bekkos in their Social, Political and Theological Background," in *L'union à l'épreuve du formulaire: professions de foi entre église d'orient et d'occident (XIII^e-XVIII^e siècle)*, eds. Marie-Hélène Blanchet and Frédéric Gabriel, Collège de France – CNRS: Monographies 51 (Leuven/Paris/Bristol CT: Peeters, 2016), 42–47.

[233] Michael VIII, [*monumentum*] IV. 6785 (1277) *aprili ind. V. Imperator Michael Paleologus litteris datis ad papam Ioannem XXI: fidem orthodoxum profitetur ad normam ecclesiae romanae*, in *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem ecclesiarum graecae et romanae*, eds. Augustinus Theiner and Franciscus Miklosich (Vienna, Guilelmus Braumueller, 1872), 8.

[234] Andronicus II, [*monumentum*] VI. 6785 (1277) *aprili ind. V. Imperator Anronicus Paleologus litteris datis ad papam Ioannem XXI: fidem orthodoxum profitetur ad normam ecclesiae romanae*, in *Monumenta spectantia ad unionem ecclesiarum graecae et romanae*, eds. Augustinus Theiner and Franciscus Miklosich (Vienna: Guilelmus Braumueller, 1872), 18.

[235] Edmund Fryde, *The Early Palaeologan Renaissance (1261–c. 1360)*, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 27 (Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2000), 357-358, 360.

[236] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina: Libri Postremi*, Bk. XXXIV, section 37-38, ed. B.G. Nieburhrius, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn:Weber, 1860), 3:459.

[237] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina: Libri Postremi*, Bk. XXXIV, section 39, ed. B.G. Nieburhrius, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn:Weber, 1860), 3:460.

[238] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina: Libri Postremi*, Bk. XXXIV, section 31, ed. B.G. Nieburhrius, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn:Weber, 1860), 3:490.

[239] This coincides with Blessed John Duns Scotus's (died AD 1308) analysis of productive transubstantiation, whereby only a divine power can accomplish a whole-substance-to-whole-substance change. Yet, Duns claims, as translated per Adams, *Some Later Medieval Theories*, 140: "Deity cannot be converted into

any creature"; this coincides exactly with the point at issue on transubstantiation between Gregoras and Palamas.

[240] Nicephorus Gregoras, *Historia Byzantina: Libri Postremi*, Bk. XXXIV, section 3, ed. B.G. Nieburhrius, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn:Weber, 1860), 3:475. Compare *Ibid.*, Bk. XXXV, section 21-22, 3:485.

[241] Ἀπόστιχον Β', in *Ἀνάμνησις τῆς Ἁγίας Μεταμορφώσεως τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Μηναια τοῦ ὄλου ἐνιαυτοῦ περιέχον τὴν ἀνηκούσαν ἀκολουθίαν τῶν Ἰουλίου καὶ Αὐγούστου μηνῶν, editio princeps* (Rome: *sine nomine*, 1902), 6:335.

[242] Gregorios Palamas, *Πρὸς τὰ τοῦ Γρηγορᾶ συγγράμματα λόγος τρίτος*, section 4, in *Γρηγορίου τοῦ Παλαμᾶ συγγράμματα*, ed. Panagiotis Chrestou (Thessaloniki: Kyromanos, 1988), 5:223.

[243] Philotheos Kokkinos, *Oratio 11*, lines 262 and 339, in *Φιλοθέου Κοκκίνου Δογματικά "Ἔργα Μέρους Α"*, ed. D.V. Kaimakes, *Thessalonian Byzantine Writers 3* (Thessalonica: Centre for Byzantine Research, 1983).

[244] Gianfrancesco Lusini, Introduction to *Orazione dogmatica sull'unione dei greci e dei latini*, Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici: Biblioteca Europea 28 (Naples: Vivarium, 2001), 110.

[245] See Gianfrancesco Lusini, *Indice alle citazioni patristiche*, in *Orazione dogmatica sull'unione dei greci e dei latini*, Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Filosofici: Biblioteca Europea 28 (Naples: Vivarium, 2001), 232. Bessarion used other works of Nyssa, potentially utilizing this same codex, in his *De processione Spiritus Sancti and Refutatio Marci Ephesini*. See Francisco Bastitta Harriet, *Influencia de la noción de libertad de Gregorio Nissenno sobre la filosofía del siglo XV en Italia a través de la recepción de sus textos* (Buenos Aires: PhD dissertation, 2015), 186.

[246] For descriptions of the codex and its contents, see Antonio Zanetti, *Graeca D. Marci bibliotheca codicum manu scriptorium per titulus digesta* (Venice: Apud Simonem Occhi Bibliopolam, 1740), 46; Theodora Antonopoulou, "Two Manuscript Collections of the Works of Gregory of Nyssa and the Identification of a Manuscript of Bessarion," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 93 (2009): 9-10.

[247] Marie-Hélène Blanchet and Thierry Ganchou, "Les fréquentations byzantines de Lodisio de Tabriz, dominicain de Péra († 1435): Géorgios Scholarios, Iōannēs Chrysolōras et Théodōros Kalékas," *Byzantion* 75 (2005): 70-103, at 92.

[248] Our argument takes the opposite position (based upon the presumption of coincidence) by Τζιράκης, "Ἡ λεοντινὴ προέλευση τοῦ ὄρου 'μετουσίωσις,'" 503.

[249] Joseph Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 45-46; André De Hallex, *Bessarion et le palamisme au concile de Florence*, in *Irénikon* 62 (1989) 307-332 at, 310-314; Jacqueline Martin, "Cardinal Bessarion, Mystical Theology and Spiritual Union between East and West." (Ph.D. Diss.: University of Manitoba, 2000), 88-89.

[250] Mikhail Bernatsky, "Prisutstvie Hrista v Evharistii po sushhnosti (κατ' οὐσίαν)," 182, note 54. See also the 1437/1440/1447 dating in John

Demetracopoulos, "Scholarios' *On Almsgiving*, or How to Convert a Scholastic 'Quaestio' into a Sermon," in *Never the Twain Shall Meet?: Latins and Greeks Learning from Each Other in Byzantium*, Byzantinisches Archiv: Series Philosophica 2 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), 165.

[251] Scholarius, *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 1:129, lines 19–27.

[252] George(-Gennadius) Scholarius, *Fragmentum epistolae consolatoriae*, in *Oeuvres complètes de Georges Scholarios*, eds. Martin Jugie, Louis Petit, and Xénophon Sidéridès (Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1935), 4:298.

[253] Michael Konstaninou-Rizos, Introduction to *An edition of Prochoros Cydones' (ca. 1330–69/71) unpublished Greek translation of Thomas Aquinas' Quaestiones disputatae de potentia and Quaestio disputata de spiritualibus creaturis* (PhD Dissertation: Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 2017), 20.

[254] Scholarius, *Traduction et commentaire de l'opuscule de saint Thomas d'Aquin*, chapter 93, in *Oeuvres complètes de Georges Scholarios*, eds. Martin Jugie, Louis Petit, and Xenophon Siderides (Paris: Maison de la bonne presse, 1933), 6:280. Cf. See Prochoros Cydones, *Ζητήματα τινὰ Θωμᾶ τοῦ Ἀκουίνου, διδασκάλου τῶν Λατίνων, quaestio 7, articuls 6, section 10*, in *An edition of Prochoros Cydones' (ca. 1330–69/71) unpublished Greek translation of Thomas Aquinas' Quaestiones disputatae de potentia and Quaestio disputata de spiritualibus creaturis*, ed. Michael Konstantinou-Rizos (PhD Diss.: Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, 2017), 540, lines 74–77 (= Thomas Aquinas, *De potentia, quaestio VII, articulus 6*).

[255] We provisionally and cautiously propose the 1440/1447 dates because of Irini Balcoyiannopoulou's recent discovery of a newly discovered work by George(-Gennadius) Scholarius on azymes and transubstantiation. We thank Dr. Balkoyiannopoulou for transcribing for us *Sinait. 1889*, folios 219recto–223recto, entitled: *Γεωργίου τοῦ Σχολαρίου (οὔτος μετὰ ταῦτα Γεννάδιος μοναχὸς γέγονε πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως, καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν βιασθεὶς ἐγένετο πατριάρχης τῆς ἐκκλησίας βοηθὸς καὶ ἄλιν ἀνήγαγεν)*. While awaiting her definitive analysis of the manuscript, we clearly notice that the division of the themes matches terminology and discussions c. 10 June 1439 in Florence. These appear to be Scholarius's notes (partially from Nicholas Kabasilas's *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy*) supplied perhaps to Isidore of Kiev and Bessarion of Nicaea in defense of azymes and the epiclesis. If so, Scholarius avoided the term μετουσίωσις, which is curious considering his Latin-Scholastic interlocutors. This suggests that Scholarius may not have yet known the Greek term until his return to Constantinople.

[256] John Demetracopoulos, "Scholarios's *On Almsgiving*, or How to Convert a Scholastic 'Quaestio' into a Sermon," in *Never the Twain Shall Meet? Latins and Greeks Learning from Each Other in Byzantium*, ed. Dennis Searby, Byzantinisches Archiv: Series Philosophica (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 159–160.

[257] George(-Gennadius) Scholarius, *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*, eds. Martin Jugie, Louis Petit, Xenophon Siderides, *Oeuvre Completes de*

Gennade Scholarios (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1931), 3:198, lines 31-33: "Τῆι του Christou δυναμει μονῆι metousiōmena [...] timōmen." The only possible exception to this is in a youthful work of Aquinas that is ostensible unknown and never available to Scholarius; namely, Thomas Aquinas, *Super Sententias*, lib. 1 *distinctio* 37, *quaestio* 3, *articulus* 2, *ad* 1:

Therefore in answer to the first objection, that the body of Christ does not hold [...] something in many places (*in pluribus locis*): but this holds by reason of consecration and transubstantiation inasmuch as diverse breads that are transubstantiated into that body are in diverse places: and because the substance of bread crosses over into (*transit in*) the body of Christ, even while the accidents remain (*manentibus accidentibus*); therefore quantity remains (*manet quantitas*) of any two pieces of bread and, consequently, the place of each of any two breads and, likewise, would such happen in whatever else, if **bread were transubstantiated by divine power** (*panis divina virtute transubstantiaretur*).

[258] Scholarius merely repeated and reaffirmed Markos Eugenicus's doctrine that three rituals were necessary for consecration: (1.) the *dominica verba*, (2.) the epiclesis, (3.) the epicletic signs of the cross (+). See Christiaan Kappes, *The Epiclesis Debate at the Council of Florence* (Notre Dame IN: UNP, 2019), 187-198.

[259] See Scholarius, *On the Holy Rites*, chapter 3, 3:201, lines 10-11.

[260] Scholarius, *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 1:126-127.

[261] George(-Gennadius) Scholarius, *Résumé de la Somme contre les Gentils de saint Thomas d'Aquin*, book 4, chapter 64, eds. Martin Jugie, Louis Petit, Xenophon Siderides, *Oeuvre Complètes de Gennade Scholarios* (Paris: Maison de la Bonne Presse, 1931), 5:312, lines 31-34.

[262] Manuscript: *Vaticanus graecus* 613, folio 460 recto, lines 14-30; folio 460 verso, lines 1-22

[263] Scholarius, *Résumé de la Somme contre les Gentils*, book 4, chapter 64, 5:312, lines 33-34.

[264] See Wisdom 16:16, where "the rains" and "hail" are associated by apposition.

[265] Scholarius, *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*, 4:126, lines 24-25; 128, lines 4-6.

[266] Scholarius, *On the mysterious body of our Lord Jesus Christ*, section 5. Scholastics might inspire "*para physin*" by Scholarius, but they merely repeat the Eucharistic axiom that Christ's Eucharistic and virginal flesh coming about "*praeter naturam*" from Ambrose, *Des Mystères*, in *Ambroise de Milan: De Sacrements, Des Mystères*, trans. and ed. Bernard Botte, *Sources Chrétiennes* 25 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1949), chapter 9, paragraph 51.

[267] Simplicius, *Simplicii in Physicorum libros quattuor priores*, V, 2, ed *Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca*, Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae 9 (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1882), 2:833, lines 10, 24-26 (= *On Aristotle's Physics* 5, trans. J. O. Urmson, *Ancient Commentators on Aristotle* [London/New York: Bloomsbury, 2014], 39-40).

[268] See Scholarius, *On the Holy Rites*, chapter 3, 3:200, lines 18-32, where Scholarius explicitly takes up this theme of sperm-embryo-man and rejects such a case of *mutatio* or *conversio* spoken of in the Eucharist.

[269] Scholarius, *On the Holy Rites*, chapter 3, 3:200, lines 18-32. Scholarius explicitly rejects the use of μεταβολή, as in Aristotelian *Physica*, whereby Eucharistic change would (wrongly) constitute a case of *materia prima* disposed in substance 'a' to become substance 'b' by a supervenient form (for example, the soul of Jesus).

[270] The notion of ice changing into water as transmutation was still current science in the period of Gregory Palamas and his successors. They understood the book of Revelation (as well as St. Thomas Aquinas), as we have outlined. See F. Halkin (ed.), "Un ermite des Balkans au XIV^e siècle. La vie grecque inédite de Saint Romylos," *Byzantion* 31 (1961): section 10.

[271] Ambrose, *Des Mystères*, chapter 9, paragraph 51, in *Ambroise de Milan: De Sacrements, Des Mystères*, trans. and ed. Bernard Botte, Sources Chrétiennes 25 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1949), 124.

[272] For Ambrose's dependence of Cyril of Jerusalem, see Edward Yarnold, "Did St. Ambrose Know the Mystagogic Catecheses of St. Cyril of Jerusalem?" *Studia Patristica* 12 (1975): 184-189.

[273] Ambrose, *On the Mysteries*, Translations of Christian Literature Series 3: Liturgical Texts, ed. Th. Thompson (New York: MacMillan Company, 1908), 68 (= *Des Mystères*, chapter 9, paragraph 51).

[274] Ambrose, *Des Mystères*, chapter 8, section 44, 122: "Nunc illud consideremus, ne quis forte visibilia videns (quoniam quae sunt invisibilia non videntur nec possunt humanis oculis comprehendere) dicat forte: Iudaeis deus manna [viz., praestantior] pluit [...]."

[275] Ambrose of Milan, *On the Sacraments*, 113 (= *De Sacrements*, bk 4, section 4, paragraph 20, in *Ambroise de Milan: De Sacrements, Des Mystères*, trans. and ed. Bernard Botte, Sources Chrétiennes 25 [Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1949], 82.

[276] Ambrose, *On the Sacraments*, 67-69.

[277] Ambrose, *Des Mystères*, chapter 8, section 51, 124.

[278] Ambrose, *Des Mystères*, chapter 8, section 52, 125.

[279] Ambrose, *Des Mystères*, chapter 8, section 52, 125.

[280] Ambrose, *On the Sacraments*, 129 (= *De sacramentis*, 6.1.2).

[281] Ambrose, *Epistle 16*, in *Ambrosius Epistulae et Acta*, ed. E. Faller and M. Zelzer, *Ambrosius Opera 8, Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 82 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1968), 1:118.

[282] Ambrose, *De incarnationis dominicae sacramento*, ed. O. Faller, *Corpus Scriptorum Patrum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 79 (1964) – A, chapter 6, paragraph 49, page 249.

[283] Augustine, *De trinitate libri xv*, book 1, chapter 8, section 15, *Aurelii Augustini Opera* 16, ed. W. J. Mountain, *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* 50 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), 47.

[284] Augustine, *De trinitate*, book 5, chapter 8, section 10.

[285] Augustine of Hippo. *The Trinity*, ed. H. Dressler, trans. S. McKenna, *Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 45 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press 1963), 64 (= *De trinitate*, book 2, chapter 6, section 11).

[286] Augustine, *On the Trinity*, book 3, chapter 9, section 20.

[287] Augustine, *On the Trinity*, book 3, chapter 7, section 12.

[288] Augustine, *On the Trinity*, book 3, chapter 9, section 19-chapter 10/IX, section 19.

[289] Augustine, *On the Trinity*, book 3, chapter 10/IX, section 20.

[290] Augustine, *On the Trinity*, book 3, chapter 10/IX, section 21

[291] We will take "Scholastic substance" to be Aristotle's commonly held assertion that substance: (1.) Exists in itself and not in another, (2.) that the *Categories* use substance to signify a species/form (an organizing energy or principle like the human soul) that informs prime/matter (indistinguishable, invisible matter). A form-matter thing (iron, dog, plant) is a "subject" (matter that can receive other forms) in which there (or inhere) accidents: white/black, hot/cold, big/small.

[292] Kilmartin's article only addresses, directly, the question of the "total Christ" in the Eucharist verse only parts of him. This is discussed further below.

[293] Edward Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Theology of Pope Gelasius I: A Nontridentine View," *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997): 284.

[294] Edward Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Theology of Pope Gelasius I: A Nontridentine View," *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997): 284.

[295] Edward Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Theology of Pope Gelasius I: A Nontridentine View," *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997): 285.

[296] Edward Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Theology of Pope Gelasius I: A Nontridentine View," *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997): 285.

[297] Also, Rev. Kilmartin, SJ, thinks this sounds like Theodore of Mopsuestia and he provides a Greek citation using "archetype." However, the citation is from Genesis 1:26, which is not only attested for the Eucharistic prayer I or the Roman Canon by Ambrose's *De sacramentis* ("Make for us this oblation [...] acceptable [...] that is a type (*figura*) of the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ"), but it means that it is an act of transubstantiation where the underlying material is transformed and replaced miraculously by a new form but Adam somehow is still materially "dust" or "clay" according to the argument from death provided by Genesis "for unto dust you shall return, etc."

[298] Edward Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Theology of Pope Gelasius I: A Nontridentine View," *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997): 287.

[299] Edward Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Theology of Pope Gelasius I: A Nontridentine View," *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997): 288.

[300] Council of Trent, *capitulum 4, sessio XIII*, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Council*, ed. Norman Tanner. (Washington DC: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990), 2:697, lines 27-32.

[301] Gelasius, *Tractatus III vel De duabus naturis*, in *Epistolae Romanorum Pontificum genuinae...*, ed. Andreas Thiel (Brungsberg, Eduard Peter, 1868),

1:535-536 (paragraph 8).

[302] Edward Kilmartin, "The Eucharistic Theology of Pope Gelasius I: A Nontridentine View," *Studia Patristica* 29 (1997): 289. See also the same work (*ibid.*, 545), paragraph 18.

[303] Council of Chalcedon, *Definition of the Faith*, in *Decree*, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Council*, ed. Norman Tanner. (Washington DC: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990), 86: "one subsistence."

[304] Gelasius, *Tractatus III*, 533 (paragraph 4).

[305] Cyril, *Second Letter of Cyril to Nestorius*, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols., ed. Norman Tanner (Georgetown: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 1:41.

[306] Cyril, *Third Letter of Cyril to Nestorius*, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols., ed. Norman Tanner (Georgetown: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 1:54-55.

[307] Leo the Great, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed. A. Chavassee, *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina* 138 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1973), 138A (tractatus : 27, linea 31 (= *Patrologia Latina*, 54, column 141).

[308] The Latin edition has already identified many of St. Gelasius's citation from Pope St. Leo's sermons.

[309] Heinrich Denzinger, Robert Fastiggi, et al. (ed.), *Enchiridion symbolorum: Definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum: Compendium of creeds, definitions, and declarations on matters of faith and morals* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1973).

[310] The (Pseudo-)Aristotelian book at the root of this notion of substance is probably Apuleius, *De mundo*, chapter 21, ed. Jean Beaujeu, *Apulée: Opuscules philosophiques* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres 2002), 169, who sees substance to consist of elements of the periodic chart (for him the four elements). Shortly after this time, among Christians, Tertullian almost everywhere clearly uses it to signify the human flesh, especially as referred to by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Romans.

[311] See St. Gelasius's contemporary who wrote for the Miaphysite Emperor Anastasius, namely, Priscian, *Institutiones grammaticae: Libri tres*, ed. Martinus Hertius (Leipzig: Teubner, 1859), 3:149: "Substances [...] do not have a certain division of their persons: An example, as 'every man' and 'substance' can be called 'both animal and man,' and to be named 'Plato' or 'Cicero' or 'Virgil' or whichever name can be imposed from their proper names to anyone among them."

[312] See Ambrose, *Psalms 43*, in *Explanation of Twelve Psalms*, chapter 20, paragraph 1, page 277: "Therefore, the term 'property' is of anything, by which something can be understood."; *Exameron*, day 3, chapter 4, paragraph 19: "Therefore, from a thing's principles, and not from its earthly accidents, ought a property to be defined, so that our cognition be informed by sign of a quality."

[313] Leo the Great, *The Letter of Pope Leo to Flavian*, bishop of Constantinople, about Eutyches, in *Decrees of the Ecumenical Council*, ed. Norman Tanner (Washington DC: Sheed & Ward and Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1:78.

[314] Gelasius, *Tractatus III*, 539 (paragraph 11).

[315] Gelasius, *Tractatus III*, 539 (paragraph 11).

[316] See both the same translation for both Jerome's Vulgate and Old Latin Bible (*Biblorum sacrorum latinae versionis antiquae, seu vetus italica*, ed. Peter Sabatier [Rheims: Reginald Florentain, 1763], 1:11, column a). St. Gelasius's implication is that as human beings were an act of creation from preexisting matter that had God's spirit breathed into it to create man (transmutation where underlying matter is incorporated into the new being from clay). Thus, Eucharist is God breathing his spirit over bread and wine and eliminating their old form but possibly incorporating the old matter in some way into the new being (in this case the Word Incarnate). Consequently, St. Gelasius will try to account for the lack of "clay substance" in "man" as the parallel for the lack of "bread substance" and "wine substance" in the Eucharist, though the material aspect still appears to survive.

[317] This is an exact parallel to Christ's human nature being eliminated by the Eutychians (a grievous error). See Gelasius, *Tractatus III*, 533: "[*humanitas*] *conditio* [...] *proprietas* [...] *ex toto* [...] *in deitatis naturam transeundo*." This can only mean here that the elements are "transmuted" or completely absorbed or changed into deity!

[318] This is simply a parallel from Gelasius, *Tractatus III*, 537 (paragraph 9): "on human nature which is constituted from two [natures], that is, as by way of principle from soul and body."

[319] See Edward Kilmartin, *The Eucharist in the West: History and Theology* (Collegeville MN: Liturgical Press, 2004), 47-48. He admits that there is no formal and literary dependence here on Augustine. Instead, Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, attempts to argue that there is some conceptual overlap between St. Augustine and St. Gelasius. However, the author's conclusions show that St. Gelasius identifies (unlike St. Augustine) the *res* with God himself. Given Dr. Kilmartin, SJ, penchant to synthesize the two, and his inability to do so, this is just like his insufficient argument to claim a potential (though admittedly unproven) relationship between Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. Gelasius on "image and similitude" when Gelasius is really citing Genesis 1:26 as obliquely referred to by the Roman Canon as witness by St. Ambrose's citation of this Roman Eucharistic prayer.

[320] Gelasius, *Tractatus III*, 533 (paragraph 4).

[321] Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium...*, 5:670-683.

[322] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Letter 102*, ed. and trans. P. Galloway, *Lettre théologiques*, Sources Chrétiennes 208 (Paris: Cerf, 1974), 74.

[323] See St. Leontius of Jerusalem, *Testimonies of the Saints*, in *Leontius of Jerusalem: Against the Monophysites: Testimonies of the Saints and Aporiae*, ed. and trans. Patrick Gray, *Oxford Early Christian Texts* (Oxford: OUP, 2006), 52-53.

[324] There is a third reference to substance, which is the "substance" of God, which has its own equivocal definition (or better defective definition since God is not in a genus, species, or separated by a specific difference).

[325] Jean-Hervé Nicolas, *Synthèse dogmatique, De la Trinité à la Trinité* (Paris: Éditions Universitaires, 1985), §880.

- [326] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. Bede Paulus, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969) 14.
- [327] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. Bede Paulus, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969) 15.
- [328] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. Bede Paulus, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969) 15.
- [329] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. Bede Paulus, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 18.
- [330] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. Bede Paulus, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969) 27-28.
- [331] Gregory the Great, *Dialogues*, 4.62, as cited in Paschasius, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, 122.
- [332] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. Bede Paulus, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969) 88, chapter 14.
- [333] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. Bede Paulus, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969), 89, chapter 14.
- [334] Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, ed. Bede Paulus, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Medievalis* 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1969) 90, chapter 14.
- [335] John Damascene, *On the Orthodox Faith*, 361.
- [336] Kappes, *The Epiclesis Debate at the Council of Florence*, 78-92.
- [337] For the nearly supreme authority of St. Ambrose in their disputes, see H. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 73.
- [338] Berengar of Tours, *Rescriptum in Lanfrancum*, in *On the Body and Blood of the Lord & On the Truth of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist*, trans. M. G. Vaillancourt, *Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 10 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 48.
- [339] Lanfranc, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, 48-49 (= *Patrologia Latina* 150, columns 419C-420A).
- [340] Lanfranc, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, 67.
- [341] Lanfranc, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, 67.
- [342] Lanfranc, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, 67 (= *Patrologia Latina* 150, column 416B).
- [343] L. Mohlberg (ed.), *Missale Gallicanum vetus* (Rome 1958), no. 38 (trans. Joseph Crehen, "Eucharistic Epiclesis: New Evidence and a New Theory," *Theological Studies* 41 [1980], 706).
- [344] Lanfranc, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, 50.
- [345] Lanfranc, *On the Body and Blood of the Lord*, 66-67.
- [346] Guitmund of Aversa, *Blood of the Lord & On the Truth of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharist*, trans. M. G. Vaillancourt, *Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* 10 (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America

Press, 2009), 117.

[347] Joseph Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio* 45 (1991): 147-151.

[348] Joseph Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio* 45 (1991): 154-156.

[349] Joseph Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio* 45 (1991): 154.

[350] Joseph Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio* 45 (1991): 157.

[351] Joseph Goering, "The Invention of Transubstantiation," *Traditio* 45 (1991): 150.

[352] Gelasius, *Tractatus III*, 533.

[353] Gelasius, *Tractatus III*, 540.

[354] Robert Pullen (?), *Eucharistic Tract and Questions in Oxford (Corpus Christi College MS 32)*, ed. Joseph Goering, *Traditio* (1991): 19-20.

[355] Marius Victorinus, *Adversus Arium*, 2.2.52-55, in *Marius Victorinus: Traités théologiques sur la Trinité*, ed. P. Henry, Sources Chrétiennes 68 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1960), 1:398.

[356] Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, *The Divine Names*, in *Pseudo-Dionysius: The Complete Works*, trans. Colm Luibheid (New York: Paulist Press, 1987) 63 (= Hilduin [trans.], *De divinis nominibus*, in *Dionysiaca: Recueil donnant l'ensemble de trad. Latines des ouvrages attribués au Denys de l'Aréopage* ed. Ph. Chevallier et al., vol. 2 [Bruges: Declée, 1950], 2.9).

[357] Propitiously, Leontius had had contact with John of Scythopolis Pseudo-Dionysius's corrector/editor, although the recent critical edition (*textus unicus*) of Leontius's surviving writings betrays no citation from Pseudo-Dionysius.

[358] William of Lucca, Prologue to *Comentum in tertiam Ierarchiam Dionisii que est De divinis nominibus*, ed. Ferruccio Gastaldelli (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 1983), 168.

[359] See Brett Salkeld, *Transubstantiation: Theology, History, and Christian Unity* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic 2019). It is difficult to read this poorly informed book. The author uses tired tropes (for example that Scotus puts God in a genus). He is unaware, much like his authority Very Rev. Dr. Robert Barron, that *ens infinitum* cannot logically be a genus for being, when infinite is by Thomist and Scotist accounts not a contraction of being! He confuses the metaphysical use of analogy present throughout Scotism with the logical denial of analogical concepts of being (in the sense that its applied concept is sufficiently overlapping mentally to be used in a syllogism without creating a fourth term). The confusion about Scotus's univocity somehow causing a problem with *Summa Theologiae* Part III, questions 75 and discussions of the "common nature of being" demonstrates an entire unawareness of Medieval Studies (for Scotists hold that metaphysicians *should* speak about an analogy of being between substance and accident). We would rather recommend scholarly (versus hack) discussions on the Eucharist below in Adams's master-

ful study.

[360] A non-Catholic and self-described feminist bishop gives a meritoriously and objectively analytic presentation of what is behind the debates, unlike Salkeld, but she demands discipline and specialist understanding of the issue from her readers. See Marilyn McCord Adams, *Some Later Medieval Theories on the Eucharist: Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome, Duns Scotus, and William of Ockham* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[361] Alger of Liege, *On the Sacraments* (*Patrologia Latina* 180, columns 755B, 767B).

[362] Gratian, *Decretum* (*Patrologia Latina* 186, column 1764C).

[363] Thomas Aquinas, *Officium Sacerdos*, in *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, ed. Vincent Corrigan et al. (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2006), 195.

[364] Thomas Aquinas, *Officium Sacerdos*, in *The Feast of Corpus Christi*, ed. Vincent Corrigan et al. (University Park PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2006), 195.

[365] On this score, even analytically and semiotically inclined philosophers still see the genius of St. Thomas principally in supplying a justification for a longstanding tradition, as in Rostislav Tkachenko, "A Thomistic Untranslatable: A Conceptual Analysis of Aquinas' Doctrine of Transubstantiation," *СЕРЕДНЬОВІЧНА ФІЛОСОФІЯ* 34 (2016): 63:

As the historical-theological context, as well as the content of the text (cf. ST III, q.73, 75), indicates, the Dominican theologian did not try to astonish the world by creating a super-sophisticated semi-Aristotelian theory about the eucharist. Rather, his interest in the explicating the mystery of the eucharist was dictated by the Church's need for such a doctrine and his own view of the "sacramental economy" wherein God's salvific activity on earth is wed to the natural laws of the world and, hence, divine grace perfects the nature. This was believed to be realized in the sacraments, which uniquely unite God and man.

[366] Thomas Aquinas, *Commentary on the Sentences: Book IV, Distinctions 1-13*, trans. Beth Mortensen, Latin/English Edition of the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas (Green Bay WI: Aquinas Institute, 2017), 368.

[367] Without knowledge of our detailed history of transubstantiation, enough historical evidence nonetheless exists in comparing St. Thomas Aquinas to Aristotelian science for the following to become a truism in philosophical circles: "Aquinas's understanding of Eucharistic conversion is primarily rooted not in Aristotle's metaphysics, but in a biblical metaphysics of creation from nothing, something that is quite alien to Aristotle's philosophy." See Frederick Bauerschmidt, *Holy Teaching: Introducing the Summa Theologiae of St. Thomas Aquinas* (Grand Rapids MI: Brazos Press, 2005), 290, n. 17.

[368] Reginald Garrigou-Langrange, *De revelatione per ecclesiam catholicam propo- sita*, 2nd ed. (Rome: Desclée et socii, 1950), 2:71 (translation used with permission from: Dr. Matthew Miner, Ss Cyril and Methodius Byzantine Catholic Seminary, for Emmaus Academic [forthcoming 2021]).

[369] St. Thomas does know the doctrines of Eutyches accurately, if with little detail, writing: “one nature was conflated out of two natures” prior to the union (*Summa contra Gentiles* book 4, chapter 35). He also identifies the new product as alien (*alienum*) to both prior natures (*Summa contra Gentiles* book 4, chapter 37).

[370] Much of the confusing discussion of St. Thomas's theory has to do with a good preparation to understand the notion of “where” something is or its place. Most readers will find the questions surrounding place as a category that is subsequent and dependent on quantity to be strange. The discussion of place in three dimensional boxes is in fact the subject of Scholastics' and modern Physicists' speculations. There is no need to get lost in this question since it falls outside of the basic commitments involved in transubstantiation in Christian tradition and dogma.

[371] See Jean-Hervé Nicolas, *Synthèse dogmatique, De la Trinité à la Trinité* (Paris: Éditions Universitaires, 1985), \$880. The choices for continuity are: (1.) the prior and posterior substance together are somehow a subject (*subiectum* [= *hypokeimenon*]), (2.) The prior and posterior changes is held together by accidental continuity of being that are something like a subject. (3.) However, the author also admits that sometimes St. Thomas seems to deny that there is any univocal subject that holds the two terms together.

[372] For the development of the being-to-being or *ens-to-ens* termini argument, such that being forms the unity that merits the notion of change to this process, see Mary McCord Adams, *Some Later Medieval Theories of the Eucharist: Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome, Duns Scotus, and William Ockham* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 89-92.

[373] Thomas Aquinas, *In De generatione*, book 1, lecture 8 number 3.

[374] Thomas Aquinas, *Sententia Metaphysicae*, book 7, lectura 10, number 7.

[375] Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae* part III, q. 50, article 5, body & reply to argument 1.

[376] The firmament of heaven means the exact same thing: a beaten strip of metal separating a sea of water in the vault of heaven into what is above and below. See Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology*, 36.

[377] An important principle adopted by St. Thomas (*On [Aristotle's] Meteorology*, book 1, chapter 15, no. 2) is: “hail is just like a certain ice (*krystallus*), that is, vehemently frozen water.” Another principle showing his continuity with Philo, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Gregory Nyssa, and the holy Leontius, is *ibid.*, book 1, chapter 4, no. 6, are: “Ice (*glacies*) is not an element (*elementum*) but is a certain excess of cold to frozen water.” Here there are traditionally five basic elements in the periodic chart in the heavens at the time. Aquinas thinks water is equal to a modern atom (as scientists did until modern times)! But ice for Aquinas –although for us a state of a molecule based upon its agitation– has something added to his basic atom not unlike modern science. For us, water is the only molecule simply capable of three basic states without destruction. Finally, in his *Sententia Metaphysicae*, book 2, lection 8, no.8, this is definitively affirmed: “Likewise in the definition of ice (*krystalli*), was is as if

the matter (*materia*) and congealing (congelation) as its form (*forma*)."

[378] M. Simonetti (ed.), *Matthew 14-28* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2002), 248.

[379] The proper definition of transubstantiation requires of a dead body to be resurrected not only by the infusion of a soul but by new matter. Resurrection, to an extent, falls short insofar as a miraculous new form restores or reconstitutes the same elements to the status of body. As such, it fits properly into the genus or generic category of transmutation.

[380] Ambrose of Milan. *On the Duties of the Clergy*, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, trans. H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin, and H. T. F. Duckworth, St. Ambrose: Select Works and Letters 10 (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1896), 82.

[381] Ambrose of Milan. *On the Duties of the Clergy*, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, trans. H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin, and H. T. F. Duckworth, St. Ambrose: Select Works and Letters 10 (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1896), 82-83.

[382] Ambrose of Milan. *On the Duties of the Clergy*, ed. P. Schaff and H. Wace, trans. H. de Romestin, E. de Romestin, and H. T. F. Duckworth, St. Ambrose: Select Works and Letters 10 (New York: Christian Literature Company, 1896), 83.

[383] For this citation, see Thomas Aquinas, *Catena Aurea: Commentary on the Four Gospels, Collected out of the Works of the Fathers: St. Matthew*, ed. J. H. Newman (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1841), 1:895.

[384] R. Wilken, M. Thomas, and B. Stewart (ed.), *John: Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators*, trans. M. A. Thomas & B. A. Stewart (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2018), 222-223.

[385] This reference is reproduced in W.C. Weinrich, *Revelation* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 367.

[386] Caesarius of Arles, *Homily 22*, in *Exposition of the Apocalypse 22.2*, trans. W. C. Weinrich (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2005), 390.

[387] See these citations reproduced by E.B. Pusey, *The doctrine of the real presence: as contained in the Fathers from the death of S. John the Evangelist to the fourth General Council, vindicated, in notes on a sermon, "The presence of Christ in the holy eucharist," preached A.D. 1853, before the University of Oxford* (London: John Henry Parker, 1855), 237-238.

[388] We the authors note for the clarity of the reader that physical has several senses in the original languages studied in the main work and in modern English. It tends to mean primarily "that which is present to one of the five senses" in definitions that concentrate on the perceiving being, but there is often a secondary sense in dictionaries that means that which pertains to the nature or to the essential reality and activities of a thing or an object. It is in this sense that the Fathers mean "physical" presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

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