

THE LORD'S SUPPER

A STUDY IN ORIGINS

BY

MALCOLM GEORGE MACKAY

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With deepest love
and gratitude.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Antiq.	Josephus' Antiquities.
Bab. Tal.	Babylonian Talmud.
Bera.	Berakhoth. *
Betz.	Betzah (or Yom Tob). *
Chag.	Chagigah. *
Clem. of Alex.	Clement of Alexandria.
Did.	Didache.
E.R.E.	Encyclopaedia of Religion & Ethics.
Euseb.	Eusebius' "Ecc. Hist."
Hag.	Hagigah (or Chagigah). *
Hast. Dic.	Hasting's 'Dictionary of the Bible'.
I.C.C.	International Critical Commentary.
Iren.	Irenaeus.
J.B.L.	Journal of Biblical Literature.
Jer. Tal.	Jerusalem Talmud.
Jos.	Josephus.
J.Q.R.	Jewish Quarterly Review.
J.T.S.	Journal of Theological Studies.
Kel.	Kelim. *
Macc.	Maccabees.
Marc.	Marcion.
Mena.	Menachoth. *
Mish.	Mishnah.
Mo. Kat.	Moed Katan. *
N.T.	New Testament.
Ned.	Nedarim. *
Ohol.	Oholoth. *
Pesa.	Pesachim. *
Sanh.	Sanhedrin. *
S.C.M.	Student Christian Movement (Press).
S.J.T.	Scottish Journal of Theology.
Tert.	Tertullian.
Wars. Jud.	Wars of the Jews (Josephus).
Zeb.	Zebahim. *

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I.

THE PROBLEM.

Two major questions confront any attempt to interpret the Last Supper of Jesus:

- I. Was it a Passover celebration or not?
- II. How accurately can we establish the record of what Jesus actually said and did on that occasion?

The first question has long been a matter of dispute among scholars,¹ and admits of three major possibilities:

- (1). That it was a normal Jewish Passover, held according to custom on the night of the fifteenth of Nisan - the chronology clearly indicated in the Synoptic Gospels;
- (2). That it was some kind of 'anticipatory Passover', held on the night before the traditional date - a chronology alleged to be indicated in the Fourth Gospel.
- (3). That it was a non-Paschal meal of some other kind.

The second question, concerning the original language and action of Jesus, is allied to the first. It must be remembered however that discovering the oldest account of the Supper is not necessarily the same thing as determining which is the most accurate account. Greater harm can hardly be done to our enquiry than by tacitly assuming that, even in the first Century, the oldest report is therefore the most accurate one.² This is

1: "The whole question calls for renewed examination & must still be regarded as *sub-judice*," Vincent Taylor; "Jesus & His Sacrifice," (1937), p. 115.

2: See pp. 45ff.

most readily apparent where one has to do with an evening crowded with incidents and important discourses such as Jesus' last night with the Disciples. It is clearly impossible that everything which Jesus said and did on that occasion would have been equally understood and consciously related to the existing situation, or in some instances even retained in their memories. Again, there would have been some things said and done which they would have felt to be too sacred or too 'advanced' for immediate disclosure either to new converts or even to the closest of the other disciples of Jesus.

It is therefore to be expected that it would only have been with the passage of time, possibly of several years, that anything approaching a comprehensive account of such an evening would emerge. Thus whenever in our study we come across a clearly discernible 'growth' in any report of an incident in the Life of Jesus, and especially with regard to such an event as the Last Supper, it would be shallow judgement to assume that the earliest or barest form is the most accurate, and therefore that fuller or later forms necessarily exhibit accretions from the mind of an author or editor.

In such a community as the early Church, and in such a period as the first Century in Palestine, we have every reason to expect a high value to be placed on the accuracy of even an oral tradition - one might say especially on oral tradition. On the other hand the expanding experiences and problems of the early Church, together with the research inspired by devotion, would have continually brought to light Words and Sayings of the Lord which, although hitherto almost forgotten as irrelevant, now suddenly came alive with new significance as the very keys to present needs.

In order to establish the fullest and most accurate account of the

words and deeds of Jesus at the Last Supper then, we have to pay attention not only to the antiquity of the record, but also to the 'living situation' in which it emerged, and the indications of its acceptability from the external evidence available.

The importance of such a study as this is far greater even than for providing a deeper understanding of the Last Supper, since, for example, as we proceed considerations will emerge which will bring fresh light to bear on the question of the dating of the Gospels. One example of this is in the obviously 'developed' liturgical formula that St. Paul quoted in his first Letter to the Corinthians.¹ We shall see that beyond question we have to deal here with a formula from the practice of one of the early Churches. From which Church could St. Paul have derived such a tradition at a date before 50 A.D.? What was the background of that Church's tradition in this matter - was it Marcan, Lukan or Matthean? In such a historico-liturgical study there emerges a new and important aspect of Synoptic evidence.

Despite such statements as those of Streeter that "to talk of comparing the Johannine and Synoptic chronology is really unmeaning. There is no 'Synoptic Chronology'. The chronology of the Life of Christ is simply a question of Mark against John..."² it is proposed that we approach the first part of our study with the 'Passover Theory' clearly before us. This will in no way beg the question, for every aspect of the evidence must be examined on its own merits.

It is important that we recognize that the Gospels were written for the use of Christians, and most probably for the use of Churches. Many things were therefore taken for granted, and if the Evangelists wrote at a time when there was no doubt or question in people's minds that the

1: I Cor. xi, 23-25.

2: "The Four Gospels", B.H. Streeter, (1930), pp. 423-4.

Last Supper had been part of a normal Jewish Passover, we can only competently examine these records if we are prepared to assume this position. Having begun this study with the opposite conviction, and having had to abandon it with considerable reluctance in the face of a growing weight of evidence accumulated over several years, the present writer is convinced that such an approach is both right and just.

One thing is clear from every strand of early Christian thought, namely that Jesus' death was thought of from the earliest times in terms of the Passover. Jesus comes into the scene of the Fourth Gospel with the Baptist's: "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world!"¹ St. Paul uses the expression "Christ our Passover..."² in a way which forces one to conclude that this was known to be familiar territory to the Christians in Corinth.

It is proposed therefore that we approach the New Testament records with the assumption that we are reading about what happened at a Passover Seder on the night of the fifteenth of Nisan. If we find any facts which clash with this assumption, they must be most carefully evaluated. On the other hand however, arguments from silence, such as with regard to the events of the actual Passover Seder, cannot readily be admitted as telling against the Paschal nature of the occasion.

While, as regards the date of writing, it could be argued that Paul's letter to the Corinthians is the earliest record which we possess of the Lord's Supper, it is better for us to begin our study with the Gospel according to St. Mark. This for two reasons: first, the Pauline correspondence presupposes instruction in the ^{Christian} Gospel; secondly, in the Markan account we have what tradition and style tell us is the description of an eye-witness - being the account of St. Peter recorded by Mark. Again some critics such as Jeremias have alleged that St. Paul's account is a

1: John i, 29.

2: I Cor. v, 7.

3: J. Jeremias: "Die Abendmahls Worte Jesu" (1949), pp. 97 ff.

tradition
manifestly later than the Markan one, because of the fuller account it gives of the words at the Supper. Others such as Burkitt¹ have gone further to declare that the whole 'Synoptic' disposition towards the Paschal nature of the Last Supper can be traced to Mark's Gospel alone.

For a variety of reasons therefore it will be well to begin with an examination of the Markan tradition.

Mark begins in his account of the Last Supper with a reference to the Passover, which was then two days off. "After after two days was the Feast of the Passover and the Unleavened Bread." This Paschal reference is immediately associated directly with the plot against Jesus, for in the same sentence Mark continues: "and the chief priests and the scribes sought how they might take him with subtilty, and kill him." The picture thus painted is one of a rising state of events which is to culminate in the approaching festival. It is clear that the authorities fear that some popular uprising will take place concerning Jesus during the feast, when all the people will be gathered into Jerusalem. Their immediate problem then is how they can get rid of Jesus when he arrives for the festival, without causing a public disturbance. "Not during the feast," they argue, "lest there shall be a tumult of the people."

THE ANOINTING OF JESUS;

Mark next records the pathetic and strangely significant incident of Jesus' anointing by a woman while he was in Bethany. The incident is important not only because it has valid Paschalian implications, and also because Jesus interpreted it as anticipating his own burial, but because

1: "It may therefore be seriously questioned whether the theory that the Last Supper was a Paschal Meal had any existence before St. Mark wrote his Gospel:" *F.C. Burkitt, J.T.S. Vol. IX (1908), pp. 569-71.*

See too: "The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus," (1922), p. 87.

II

THE NARRATIVE OF ST. MARK.

Mark ushers in his account of the Last Supper with a reference to the Passover, which was then two days off. "Now after two days was (the Feast of the) Passover and the Unleavened Bread."¹ This Paschal reference is immediately associated directly with the plot against Jesus, for in the same sentence Mark continues: "and the Chief Priests and the Scribes sought how they might take him with subtilty, and kill him." The picture thus painted is one of a rising crisis of events which is to be focussed in the approaching Festival. It is clear that the authorities fear that some popular uprising will take place concerning Jesus during the Feast, when all the people will be gathered into Jerusalem. Their immediate problem then is how they can get rid of Jesus when He arrives for the Festival, without causing a public disturbance. "Not during the Feast," they argue, "lest there shall be a tumult of the people."²

THE ANOINTING OF JESUS:

Mark next records the pathetic and strangely significant incident of Jesus' anointing by a woman while He was in Bethany.³ The incident is important not only because it has veiled Messianic implications, and also because Jesus interpreted it as anticipating His own burial, but because it would seem that this acceptance of inevitable death on His part proved to be the last straw which broke down Judas's crumbling patience with

1: Mark xiv, 1.

2: " " , 2.

3: " " , 3-9.

'this Messiah bent on His own doom'. No sooner had Jesus spoken in this way than "Judas Iscariot, he that was one of the Twelve, went away unto the Chief Priests, that he might deliver him unto them."¹

PRELUDE TO BETRAYAL:

It has often been thought that the betrayal of Jesus by Judas was more of a token rejection than an action which afforded valuable assistance to His enemies. At the most it has been supposed that the part played by Judas was one of identification. But surely Jesus was well enough known not to need any such indication? To argue thus is to miss the point that had occurred to Judas at this moment, and which proved ideal for the requirements of the authorities. For there was one, and only one time when a clandestine arrest could be made in a city which was literally teeming with pilgrims - and that was at that time when the Law demanded that everyone must remain indoors, if not for the whole night at least during the Passover Seder itself.

R. Prof. S. Zeitlin interprets the Law thus:

"Those who partook in the festivities were not allowed to leave the house before daybreak (Ex. xii,22) עַד-בֹּקֶר. The Sages however interpreted that no Jew was permitted to leave the company to which he had been originally invited, to join another party to eat the Paschal Lamb. (cf. Tosh. Pesa. viii,17 and Yer. Pes. x,4.) This law made it imperative for one to remain with the group the entire time until the Paschal Lamb was consumed..."

"The Jews, like other orientals, after finishing the evening meal, were accustomed to continue celebrating out of doors. On the first night of the Passover, however, this was not permitted... After eating the Paschal Lamb no revelry outside could be indulged in..."

"According to the Bible the Israelites had no right to leave the house where they partook of the Paschal Lamb until the dawn of the next day - however the sages amended the Laws so that the Paschal Lamb could be eaten in one house and the guest could spend the rest of the night in another house: but they had no right to join in another festivity."²

2. R. Prof. S. Zeitlin, article in J.Q.R., Vol. xxxviii, (Apr. 1948), pp. 432-7, entitled: "The Liturgy of the First Night of Passover."

1: Mark xiv, 10.

It is obvious therefore, that if the Chief Priests could find out where Jesus was to celebrate the Passover, then His arrest could be carried out without the feared tumult; especially if they could be given the assurance - which only one such as Judas could afford them - that at such a time Jesus would be relatively unguarded, and definitely unassociated with any section of the nationalists who desired to make political use of a Messianic uprising.

It is also important to remark that Judas will be seen to make two trips to the authorities, so as yet it would seem that the scheme is only in embryo in Judas's mind, or else it is not yet known to him exactly where Jesus intends to celebrate the Feast.

THE FIRST DAY OF UNLEAVENED BREAD:

"And on the first day of unleavened bread, when they sacrificed the Passover, his disciples say unto him, where wilt thou that we go and make ready that thou mayest eat the Passover?"¹

It has often been contended that the chronological references in these opening words are in fact a contradiction in terms. Burkitt quotes the opinion of many scholars that "no Jew could have perpetrated this statement."² Dr. Chwolson, an eminent Rabbinic scholar, has pointed out that "the expression *יום ראשון לחג המצות* (the first day of the festival of Unleavened Bread) has always been understood by Jewish writers, both ancient and modern, to refer to the fifteenth and not to the fourteenth of Nisan. On the other hand the Passover Lamb was sacrificed on the fourteenth."³ It has ~~never~~^{been} suggested that this day could have been the fifteenth however, and if anything Chwolson's testimony tells even more against a chronology which would suggest that this day was a pre-Paschal occasion, or the thirteenth of Nisan.

1: Mark Xiv, 12.

2: Op. cit., p. 87.

3: "Das letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes," p. 3.

Burkitt would have us find essential consistency here however, when he says: "This statement... after all only argues the same inattention to the Old Testament as that about Abiathar in Mark ii,26...¹ moreover, if you reckon by Roman (and English) days, the slaying of the Paschal Lambs and the eating of the Paschal meal with unleavened bread DID take place on the same day."² It is surely going too far even to accuse Mark of inattention to the Old Testament at this point however, for Gentiles (who comprised a large section of the Church in Rome) who were unfamiliar with the fact that the Jewish Day began with sunset would not have been in the least troubled with this nicety of chronology, in fact it would have made the essential point clearer to them. Nor is the statement itself as wide of the truth as critics have tried to make out, for the fourteenth of Nisan was certainly a 'day of unleavened bread' after 3 p.m. at the latest,³ and the Talmud gives considerable grounds for our believing that this could well be so from as early as the morning of the fourteenth.⁴ On the fourteenth of Nisan, long before sunset, the whole house had to be searched and cleared of all leaven.⁵ Only after this had been done most thoroughly could the Paschal Lamb be sacrificed. While the 'dead-line' for finally disposing of the leaven was 3 p.m., this could be done earlier; in which case, even if it were still the morning, "from the morning it is the time for the Passover, for the whole day is the time for the Passover."⁶ In fact one could go so far as to claim that there was considerable merit attaching to the earlier preparation for the Feast, since this principle was explicitly stated of the Kiddush for Sabbath, and Kiddush was a feature of the opening stage of the Paschal meal as well.⁷

Again the Jerusalem Talmud, in a question arising out of Mishnah Pesa. i,8, asking: "What means 'on the Pesach?'" - has the answer: "On the fourteenth of Nisan." Thus showing that the fourteenth and not the fifteenth

1. cf. G.H. Box: "Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist", J.T.S., Vol. III, pp.357ff.
 2. op. cit., p.68.
 3. Mish. Pesa. I,4.
 4. cf. Mish. Pesa. Y, 1-3.
 5. " " " I, 1-3.
 6. Bab. Tal. Pesa., 108a.
 7. " " " 105a: "Thus Kiddush is said as early as possible."

was called the day of the Passover, and from this fact the Markan time-reference seems still less remarkable.

Finally Josephus describes the Feast as one of eight days, evidently considering that the fourteenth was important enough to be reckoned as a

Feast Day: ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν ἐβ' ἡμέρας ὀκτώ, τὴν τῶν Ἀζύμων λεγομένην,¹
(cf.): κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τῶν Ἀζύμων ἑορτῆς ἣν Φάσκα λέγομεν.²

In view of all this evidence then, we find little if anything at all in Mark's account to give us pause in our policy of assuming that the Evangelist is describing preparations for a normal Passover meal. There are absolutely no grounds for considering that he is referring to a time earlier than the fourteenth of Nisan. The Paschal emphasis throughout is, of course, overwhelming.

Throughout the entire narrative there can be no doubt that the writer is thinking of the regular Passover, and indeed his Paschal references are so very definite that we must record the fact. Thus there is no shadow of dubiety in such a statement as: "The Master saith, Where is my guest-chamber where I shall eat the Passover with my Disciples?"³ The disciples are told that they are to find a large upper room furnished and ready, and there they are to prepare the Passover. It is no common meal that Jesus is about to enjoy, for it requires careful and detailed preparation.⁴ It could not therefore have been an ordinary supper, and any parallels with other meals which Jesus held, either on occasions such as the Feeding of the Five Thousand, or in private, must take note of this all-important fact. Even if, as critics have suggested, Mark mistook the date of the occasion, there is still this very definite fact to be accounted for, which tells strongly in favour of the Paschal nature of the meal.

1. Jos. Antiq. ii, xv, 1.

3. Mark xiv, 14.

2. " xiv, II, 1.

4. Notice that apparently these preparations could not be made for them by the master of the house, which is a further Paschal indication.

THE TWO DISCIPLES:

A superficial difficulty has sometimes been made out of the apparent arithmetical discrepancy between the fact that Jesus first sent two of the Disciples to prepare the meal, and then later He is reported as coming "with the Twelve".¹ The obvious inference, of course, is that Jesus sent two of His most trusted Disciples,² still with the thought of secrecy uppermost in His mind, because the rendezvous must be kept from Judas as yet; and these two, after making the necessary preparations, returned and joined the Disciple band.

The richness of detail in the Markan account suggests that Peter may well have been one of the two. We have already seen that these preparations could be made quite early in the day, so it is the most likely course that the two would return to Jesus and report that all was ready and in order, as He must have planned for them to do.

An alternative suggestion is that the two were not members of the Twelve at all, but followers of Jesus native to Jerusalem, who had at some previous time invited Jesus to celebrate the Feast in their house, or in one of the homes of the Jerusalem sympathizers. This would further tend to explain something of the mystification apparent among some of the Disciples at the way the arrangements worked out so smoothly, and which some of them apparently ascribed to omniscience on the part of their Lord.

In any case it will be seen that there are no grounds here for taking the drastic step of detracting from the text at this point.

It may be noted further that there was only one reason why Jesus had to hold the Supper inside the city at all, and not in the safety of Bethany (for instance), and that was because the Law enjoined that the Passover must be eaten inside the city gates.³ Were it not a Passover there is no

1: Mark xiv, 17

2: cf. Luke XXii, 8.

3: Deut. XVI, 5-6. cf. Pesa VII, 12 & ix, 1-2.

reason at all in Jesus' action, and in fact the preceding narrative makes it clear that He avoided spending the nights within the city - even though He must have had several homes open to Him there. Instead He spent the earlier nights either in Bethany or in the Garden of Olives. We must conclude once again therefore that it was the Passover which drew Him inevitably into the city, and thus into the schemes of His enemies, abetted by Judas.

THE SUPPER NARRATIVE:

"And when it was evening He cometh with the Twelve."¹ The Passover was the only night festival for the Jews, beginning as it did after the official hour of sunset; i.e. at the commencement of the fifteenth of Nisan. As the Mishnah states: "The Passover must only be eaten at night..."²

The meal is now represented as being in progress, for as they reclined, (the word ἀνάκειμαι is important for it was the tradition to recline at table during the Passover)³ Jesus proceeded to the significant acts and words of the Institution. It has been suggested from references in the Talmud that the act of reclining indicates that the occasion was a Kiddush for the Sabbath.⁴ This is quite unnecessary however, as R. Prof. Gaster has pointed out:

"It is the custom throughout the Seder to adopt a leaning posture instead of sitting upright. This commemorates the ancient custom of reclining at meals, and is also regarded as symbolic of the ease and freedom which Israel came to enjoy as the result of its liberation from Egypt."⁵

"As they were reclining and were eating..."⁶ The meal is represented as having advanced to the stage where they were actually eating and dipping together into a dish. In terms of the Passover Seder, some considerable

1: Mark xiv, 17.

2: Mish. Zebh. v, 8.

3: Tosh. Bera. v, 3.

4: Tosh. Bera. v, 3.

5: "Passover, its History & Tradition" (1949), p. 55.

6: Mark xiv, 18.

time must therefore have elapsed. This is apparent from an examination of the primitive rite as it has been reconstructed by the best modern authorities. Gaster thus describes it:

"The service began with the sanctification (Kiddûsh) - the traditional inauguration of Sabbaths and Festivals in Jewish homes. The first cup of wine is poured, and the master of the home pronounces a blessing, in which all join, thanking God especially for the Festival of Unleavened Bread, "the season of our liberation."

"After the wine has been drunk, the celebrant washes his hands, and distributes parsley dipped in salt water to every member of the company. Eaten after the pronouncement of an appropriate blessing, this serves as a kind of hors d'oeuvres.

"The celebrant next takes the middle cake of the unleavened bread and breaks it in half, wrapping one of the halves in a napkin and laying it aside for use at a later stage of the proceedings." ¹

After this he describes the narrative (Haggadah) and Hallel features which precede the drinking of the second cup, which in turn precedes the main meal. This begins with the breaking of the bread, when a small portion of the Unleavened Bread is handed to each celebrant. ²

Mark's words, which refer to the fact that they were eating and dipping into the dish with Jesus, could hardly refer to the hors d'oeuvres, which were after all handed out by the master of the table. It would therefore seem that the reference is to the time when the meal had begun and each person was eating with his own portion of Unleavened Bread. Jesus therefore took a fresh loaf when He rose to begin His significant and sacramental words.

PROPHECY OF BETRAYAL:

"As they were eating, Jesus said: Verily I say unto you, one of you shall betray me, even he that eateth with me..." ³

The way in which Jesus handles the defection of Judas suggests the considered and confident actions of one who is in full command of the

1: *op. cit.*, p.57. *cf.* "The Haggadah", Cecil Roth, (Soncino, 1934).

2: There are some opinions that there was a second 'washing' at this point: see *Bab. Tal. Pesa.* 106b, footnote by R. D^r H. Freedman.

3. Mark xiv, 18.

details of the situation. Thus Vincent Taylor puts it: "the course of events, including death itself, lay entirely under the sovereign control of Jesus."¹ It is as though He realizes that all decisions likely to affect the issue with Judas have been taken, and the time has come to precipitate an inevitable issue. The traitor has dared to sit at table with his quondam Master, but Jesus has come to the time when He can no longer tolerate the presence of such an enemy. There are things to be done and said which would be desecrated by Judas's presence, while on the other hand the consummation of the evening is so close that any action Judas may now take cannot interfere with it. Hence the reason for the imperious course which Jesus takes in unmasking the traitor.

Even in regard to the betrayal, we must notice, it is Jesus who is in command to the end, for evil has not at this point wrested the initiative from Him. Inevitable though its hour may be, it finally proves to be His hour, both in the heat of its conflict and when it finally slinks away destroyed and self-destroying to its ignominious end, Evil at no point reaches a place of unalloyed triumph, for the moment which wrings the cry "It is finished" from the lips of Jesus sees the Veil of the Temple rent from top to bottom.

Mark does not tell us anything of the time and way in which Judas left the meal, suggesting that there was no great stir of interest in that event. While such a story must inevitably have been a painful reminiscence, this alone would not account for the silence of the Evangelist at this point. It is most probable that any conversation Jesus had with Judas was 'sotto-voce' and when he left the room the others thought it was only momentarily, either to attend to his own personal needs (for which cause one might leave the Passover at stated intervals) or to obtain something necessary for the Feast from the host, which had

1: *op. cit.*, p. 222.

been overlooked in the preparations.

JESUS' WORDS OVER THE BREAD:

"And while they were eating, he took a loaf, and when he had blessed, he brake it and gave to them and said: Take ye, this is my body."¹

Mark stresses the fact that it was during the eating of the meal that Jesus spoke these words over a loaf of bread. Even though the unmasking of Judas only took a few minutes, it would have been more than sufficient time for the company to have eaten the olive-sized, token piece of Maççoth required for the ritual opening of the Seder. In addition it is hardly likely that this would have been a propitious moment either for Jesus' words to Judas, or for this Institution. By far the greatest likelihood is that this was an event during the main meal, interrupted by Jesus much as a modern toast-master would interrupt a dinner.

Jesus rises to His feet and takes a loaf of bread. There is a respectful silence and indeed a good deal of curiosity. Allegorical actions and their interpretation were the order of the day during Passover, every incident and item of diet having its own interpretation, and the Disciples would be in no way surprised that Jesus wished to give them further instructions. After blessing the bread however, Jesus did not hand it to them in silence, but declared: "This is my body." The meaning of these words will be discussed more fully later,² but it will be valuable to observe that at such a meal as the Passover; when highly imaginative symbolism attached to every type of food and every action, these words of Jesus would tend to be recognized as symbolic and allegorical.

ARTOS OR AZUME:

The bread which Jesus took for this action was, of course, on/e of

1: Mark xiv, 22.

2: See Book II, chapt. VII.

the loaves of Maççoth from the table before Him.¹ There has been much controversy because the word Mark employs here is the regular word for 'a loaf of bread' (ἄρτος) and not the technical term for Unleavened Bread (ἄζυμη). Yet in trying to describe Jesus' taking a loaf from the table, ἄρτος was the only word Mark could have used. If he had ever contemplated that this usage would have been mis-understood (although it is doubtful if it ever was, until prior considerations sought it out to act as a further argument to support a critical theory) he might, of course, have added the adjectival expression such as that used in the Septuagint to translate תַּחַת-הַפֶּתַח² namely τοὺς ἄρτους τοὺς ἀζύμους. Hippocrates also used this type of expression to describe the Unleavened Bread of Jewish usage: ἔστω δὲ τὰ σίτα ἄρτοι συγκομιστοὶ ἀζύμοι.³

The most likely reason for this word being used is, however, due to the fact that by the time Mark wrote the Christian Eucharist had passed far beyond the bounds of Judaism and was regularly practised by the Church with common bread.

The whole argument is rendered specious however by the fact that Mark himself puts the matter beyond all doubt in the opening words of this section of the narrative, when he clearly states: "on the first day of Unleavened Bread". Anyone who thinks for a moment about the strictness with which all leavened bread or traces of leaven were banished from Jewish households on the day before the Festival, will realize that Mark would have felt it absurd to have to differentiate in his references to bread.

Further, it must be remembered that Mark writes in vernacular Greek, and thus the only word available to him which had the meaning of 'loaf' is our word ἄρτος. Ἄρτος, as equivalent to 'loaf' is by far the most common usage, according to Liddell and Scott;⁴ while Moulton and Milligan⁵

1: See M. Goguel: "The life of Jesus" p.430.

2: Judg. vi, 20.

3: Περὶ Διαίτης iii, 79.

4. "Greek-English Lexicon," Vol. I

5. "Vocab. to the Greek N.T." Pt. I, p. 80.

declare that ἄρτος is the common and indeed the only word for 'bread' in use over the first two Christian centuries. τὰ ἄζυμα is a collective, almost an adjectival expression, and it would have been a well-nigh unmeaning phrase to refer to AN Azume among St. Peter's (and so Mark's) Roman audience - despite the fact that the collective expression was current among the Jews and readers of the Septuagint.

Dr. Bennett says that the 'Shewbread', which is described in the Old Testament by expressions employing the common term for bread: לֶחֶם , (ἄρτος and not ἄζυμα in the LXX.) was unleavened bread. "The loaves or cakes were made after a special recipe (Lev. xxiv,5-9)", he explains. "The post-biblical Jewish authorities - Josephus, Philo, the Mishnah and the Talmud - all state that the Shewbread was unleavened... and it seems likely that this was the case at any rate after the exile, though possibly not in primitive times. Lev. ii,11 prescribes that the Minnah (bloodless offering) shall always be unleavened."¹

There are three connexions in which לֶחֶם is used in the Old Testament, namely:

- (1). In older sources, such as in I Samuel xxi,6 (Heb.vii) and in I Kings vii,48, we find לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים (Bread of the Presence). Also in the Priestly Code, in Ex. xxv,30; xxxv,13; xxxix,36; and II Chron. iv,19 and in Num. iv,7, it is abbreviated to לֶחֶם פָּנִים
- (2). In I Chron. ix,32; xxiii,29 and Neh. x,33 (Heb.xxxiv) we have לֶחֶם הַמִּצְרֵה (Shewbread). In II Chron. xiii,11 we have לֶחֶם מִצְרֵה from צָרַח - to set in order, or 'a pile of bread'.
- (3). In I Sam. xxi,5 the Shewbread is לֶחֶם קֹדֶשׁ or Holy Bread, as distinguished from לֶחֶם חָל or ordinary bread. In Num.iv,7 there is לֶחֶם הַטָּמִיד - 'the continual bread'.

As Dr. Bennett has stated, in all these cases the Septuagint translates לֶחֶם not with ἄζυμα but ἄρτος. Here it is always used together with some qualifying adjectival expression however, such as ἄρτοι τῆς προσέσεως, ἄρτοι τοῦ προσώπου & ἄρτοι ἐνώπιον.

1: W. H. Bennett: "Shewbread", E.R.E. Vol. XI, pp. 452-3.

Prof. Zeitlin sums up the position as he sees it, as a Rabbi, as follows:

"The description of the Last Supper given in the Gospels is undoubtedly a record of the Seder of the first night of Passover. The bread which Jesus used was unleavened bread, and the wine that used by the Jews on the first night of Passover. The hymn sung by Jesus and the Apostles after the meal was the Hallel, which is still sung by Jews on that night."¹

JESUS' WORDS OVER THE CUP:

"And he took a cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave to them, and they all drank of it, and he said to them, This is my blood of the (new) Covenant, which is shed for many. Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it anew in the Kingdom of God."²

According to the Passover rite there were two cups after the main meal, each of which was solemnly blessed, and the Hallel was sung between them. The fourth and final cup of the rite was a token of drinking in festivities which often carried on well into the night. It is by far the most probable explanation, which most critics hold, that the cup used by Jesus in this action was the third cup, sometimes called the Cup of Blessing,³ and in other ways specially associated with Redemption.⁴ The fact that they drank from a common cup is no real criterion, for the customs seemed to have varied on this point, possibly according to the financial status of the host.⁵ If it could be afforded each guest had four individual cups. There is no warrant whatever for the suggestion, sometimes made by critics, that the fact of the common cup indicates that the meal was a Kiddush for Sabbath rather than a Passover Seder.

1: J.Q.R. "The First Night of the Passover", Vol. xxxviii, p.445.

2: Mark xiv, 23-24.

3: A. Edersheim: "The Life & Times of Jesus the Messiah", (1906), P.511. See also McNeile, Commentary on "St. Matthew", p.384.

4: T.H. Gaster: Op. cit, pp. 54, 55.

5: See Tal. Pesā. 108b, footnote by R. Dr. Freedman: "Possibly separate cups were not set for each member of the household as is done nowadays." (P.562.)

Mark is very definite in showing that the 'Eucharistic' words of Jesus were uttered after the actual distribution of the elements in each case, and not before or during that action. This further emphasizes the Paschal nature of the occasion, for this silence was enjoined by the Law: "It is forbidden to permit any interruption between the Blessing and the beginning of the meal - not even for the purpose of responding *יְהוָה*. It is proper to eat after the Benediction bread which is the size of an olive without interruption."¹

The Hebraism attaching to the account as seen in the frequent and closely following 'and' clauses, has the ring of a faithful translation from the original Aramaic words of the Master (or possibly Hebrew words, if Jesus used the sacred tongue for this special purpose). This is far more likely as an explanation of the style of St. Mark at this point than the ascription of this passage to a liturgical formula, as Jeremias and others attempt to do. It is certainly remarkable that eight such clauses occur within the three sentences in which Mark depicts the Institution of the Supper.

JESUS' RENUNCIATION OF THE WINE:

Immediately after His words of Institution, Jesus makes a statement about His abstention from wine until the coming of His Kingdom: "Verily I say unto you, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God."² These words indicate the imminence of His approaching death, but more than that, they show His sublime confidence in the Messianic fulfilment by and through His death. Similar vows of renunciation, especially of wine, were not uncommon for periods up to a year,³ but this vow, with its inherent promise, must have been a precious memory for His Disciples in following years.

1: Friedlander, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

2: Mark xiv, 25.

3: Mish. Nedar. Vi, 6,7: viii, 1,2.

THE HALLEL:

"And when they had sung an hymn, they went out unto the mount of Olives."¹ The singing of praise followed naturally as a part of the Passover Seder. Prof. Gaster tells us that "the word Hallel means 'praise' and denotes the group of Psalms cxiii - cxviii which form a statutory part of the liturgy on new moons and festivals. These it may be observed, are the 'Songs of Praise' which Jesus and the Disciples are said to have sung at the Last Supper, itself the Paschal meal."²

Dr. M. Goguel also indicates that "the likelihood is that this was the Hallel, despite Beer (Edn. and Transln. of 'Pesachim', 1919, p.99), who says הלל was translated by αἰνεῖν and not ὑμνεῖν in the LXX."³

THE CITY LIMITS FOR PASSOVER NIGHT:

The fact that Jesus and His Disciples went out on the night of the Passover to the Mount of Olives has been urged as a reason against accepting the Last Supper as a regular Paschal occasion.⁴ Such commentators contend that Deuteronomy quite definitely precludes such an action, and although Rabbinic sages had changed the sense of this Law to mean Jerusalem rather than the individual houses, this was still considered to be the exception rather than the rule.⁵ Going outside the city boundaries, they say, was unthinkable.⁶

This criticism certainly has an element of truth and relevance in it, but it must first be ascertained just what the city boundaries actually were for such an occasion. Would the natural boundary of the city walls be what was understood here, or would some rule like that applying to a Sabbath Day's journey apply?

Jeremias has sought to establish that by the time of Jesus the Jews were so numerous that it was a physical necessity for the boundaries of

1: Mark xiv, 26.

2: Op.cit, p.64.

3: "Life of Jesus", p.430.

4. See Dalman: "Sacred Sites & Ways", p.320.

5. Deut. xvi, 7.

6. See above p.11

the city to be extended by some such rule.¹ Thus, while the orthodox continued to eat the Supper inside the walls of the city proper, they would withdraw^{later} into the nearby country areas to their tents, or else spend the night in the open. He quotes Josephus to corroborate the size to which the multitudes attained on such festival occasions.² In addition there is a Talmudic record of one festival at the time of Agrippa when the High Priest numbered the crowds by collecting a kidney from each sacrifice: "600,000 pairs of kidneys were found there, twice as many as those who departed from Egypt... and there was not a single Paschal Lamb for which more than ten people had not registered - and thus they called it "the Passover of the Dense Throngs".³ In the same part of the Talmud there is the record of one old man being crushed to death in the press of people inside the Temple bounds.³

There is thus considerable evidence to show that some legislation for the crowds must have been necessary, even to provide the physical requirements for each to have sufficient room to sleep. This would be most readily found in the rule of the Techum,⁴ and one can picture the great colony of tents clustered closely around the city walls during this period.

Friedlander seems to indicate that some such rule applied in the common Law of the day, when he speaks of the Laws concerning burials on the Festival:

"On the first day of the festival all who attend the funeral are forbidden to go beyond the Techum, but on the second day of a festival they are permitted to go even beyond the Techum, they may also return to their homes on the same day."⁵

Discussing this point, Dr. Dalman says:

"It has seemed strange to some scholars that Jesus left the scene of the Passover meal, since it is prohibited, according to Ex.xii,22 to leave the house on Passover night... The Scribes however limited this

1: Op. cit., pp. 19ff., 42.

2. Antiq. xvii, 9, iii; Wars Jews. ii, 1, iii.

3. Talm. Pes. 64b.

4. i.e. about 2000 cubits beyond a marked-off area around towns & places: See Mish. Pes. vi, 1. Also cf. Shab. xxiii 3,4.

5. Op. cit., Vol. II, p.212.

prohibition with much else exclusively to the Egyptian Passover,¹ and it was only considered a duty, based on Deut. xvi,7, not to leave the city of the sanctuary at least before the next morning. For this duty of spending the night within the city, Beth Page, being in the precincts of Jerusalem... was considered by most as included in the city.² Jesus... would hardly have spent the night on the Mount of Olives if this action had involved any breach of the Law."³

Thus there is nothing in Rabbinic literature to say that it was impossible for Jesus to have left the house where He celebrated the Passover meal, and little can be made of His going across the Kidron into the Garden of Gethsemane.⁴ In fact, as Jeremias shows, He did this and didn't go to Bethany, which lies outside the Tēchum, although His temporary home seems to have been there for some time past.⁵ So little is known of the exact Law on this and kindred matters connected with the Passover of this period, if indeed there ever was any one fixed statement about it, that it would be far more profitable to argue from Jesus' actions that such a journey was allowable on the Passover night than to question the Paschal nature of the occasion on such a pretext.

There remains to be answered however, just why Jesus took this course and left the home where He had celebrated the Supper. Was it to save the family there from any aftermath of trouble accruing from His arrest, or could it be that He longed for a little more precious time alone before the great tragedy? Probably both factors played a part in this decision, together with the fact that the Last Supper must have been a most exhausting time spiritually for Jesus. Not only did He speak at great length, with the added anxiety of the obtuseness of the Disciples a constant concern to Him, but the whole incident connected with Judas must have cost Him dearly.

THE ARREST IN THE GARDEN:

The question has also been raised whether the fact that at least one

1: Tosh. Pesa. viii, 14,17.

2: Sifre. on Numb. cli, 55a. (Ed. Friedmann)

3: "Sacred Sites & Ways", p.320.

4: cf. Tosh. Pesa. viii, 17: See also Acts I,22:

"The olive orchard was close to Jerusalem, only a Sabbath Day's journey from it."

5: op. cit., pp. 18,19.

of the Disciples took a sword to the Garden of Gethsemane¹ didn't preclude the possibility that it was Passover night? Wasn't this in the nature of doing work, and therefore proscribed by the Law concerning such Festivals? Two different views of this matter seem to have equal prominence in the Mishnah:

"A man may not go out with a sword or a bow or a shield or a club or a spear; and if he went out (with the like of these) he is liable to a Sin-offering. R. Eliezer says: they are his adornments. But the Sages say: they are naught save a reproach..."²

On the other hand as Dalman has pointed out : "an individual, pursued by an enemy, may break the Sabbath Laws in order to save his life."³ Even to prevent robbery this is so. Also Bertinora, commentator on the Mishnah, takes it for granted that arms could be carried for martial purposes on the Sabbath, probably taking it that they were a normal part of military dress and adornment. Dalman declares that: "a scribe, when told of the imprisonment of our Lord, would have remarked that 'the demand of the hour' justified the carrying of arms by the agents of the High Priest, and that Peter did not break the Law by drawing his sword to protect his Master."⁴

Jeremias finds no objection to the traditional Paschal view because of this point:⁵ and in any case all the above arguments concern the Sabbath, and as this day was not the Sabbath, but a less strict Festival occasion, it seems that the negative argument carries very little significance here indeed.

THE YOUNG MAN WHO FLED:

It is not part of our purpose to comment on the curious incident of the unnamed young man who fled from the scene leaving his covering sheet in the hands of the mob, but the vividness of the whole narrative suggests

1: Mark xiv, 47.

2: Shabb. vi, 4.

3: "Jesus ~ Jeshua", pp. 96-7.

4: *op. cit.*, p. 97.

5: *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

the presence of an eyewitness. As it is very probable that the Last Supper was held in Mark's parents' home, it would have been likely that such a youth would have followed the Disciples and acted as he did, including his later announcement of the fact in this way, if he ever grew up to write a history of the period.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION ON A FESTIVAL:

It has frequently been contended that it was not possible for Jesus' Last Supper to have been a Passover, because an arrest and trial on the Eve of such a Festival would have been contrary to the Law.

The first thing we would notice about this argument however is the fact that Jesus was tried for His life at night, and the verdict was announced on that same day. Now the Mishnah definitely teaches that:

"In capital cases the trial takes place in daylight and the verdict is given in day-time... in capital cases a verdict of acquittal may be reached the same day, but a verdict of conviction not until the following day. Therefore such a case is not tried on the eve of a Sabbath or a festival."¹

Thus we are in difficulties whatever view of the chronology we adopt, for it would seem that there was something more than a little legally wrong with the whole procedure of Jesus' trial.

Again the Law was most irregularly applied when the witnesses were found to disagree, and again when the Chief Priest tried to get the prisoner to convict himself by asking leading questions, even under duress, and in a host of other details.² In any case, it might be recorded in passing that according to Luke the people of Nazareth had had little compunction about hustling Jesus off to cast Him over a precipice on the very Sabbath - and the Sabbath was even more exacting on such matters than a festival.³

1: Mish. Sanh. iv, 1.

2: cf. Matt. xxvi, 57-68 & parallels.

3: Luke iv, 29-30.

Jeremias has gone to some lengths, in his enquiry, to try to show that in certain cases execution at a festival was actually enjoined by the Law.¹ Because Jesus was, in the eyes of the Jews, a false prophet, He must necessarily have been kept in prison until a festival and then put to death before the whole congregation of Israel. This was necessary to fulfil the Law according to Deuteronomy. Thus, according to Jeremias, we see that Jesus' execution on a festival was actually an argument in favour of the Paschal chronology! The unfortunate aspect of this argument is that Jeremias quite overlooks the fact that Jesus did not die alone, for two robbers were crucified with Him, and robbery was not one of the categories of crimes for which this special public execution was enjoined. So we cannot derive much help from this source.

Nor did Jeremias record the whole of Rabbinic opinion here, for the Mishnah states that there was a disagreement about this procedure, and even in the case of a false prophet at least one ancient authority is cited as saying that he thought such a person should be put to death at once, and the mere promulgation of the fact before all the people at the next festival would fulfil the requirements of the Law.²

BARABBAS OR CHRIST?

"Now at the feast he used to release unto them one prisoner, whom they asked of him... and the multitudes went up and began to ask him to do as he was wont to do unto them."³

The simple and clear implication of this incident is that the festival had arrived and Pilate had not yet accorded his traditional privilege to the Jews. Therefore, being gathered together for the festival, they requested their privilege. It would have been importunate for them to have made such a request on the fourteenth of Nisan, even if they had been

1: *op. cit.*, pp. 42-4.

3. Mark xv, 6-8.

2: Tosh. Sanh. xi, 7: In any case it was the Romans & not the Jews who were to carry out the execution: and the Jews have little compunction in employing others to do things proscribed by their Law. cf. Tal. Bez. 6(a).

gathered as a people on that day, which they were not. On the fourteenth they were about the business of preparation of their houses and sacrifices. It would be on the first day of the festival, when the Law proscribed work, and they were thus gathered in throngs in the city, that such an event would have taken place. It is a small but definite point indicating the Paschal nature of the Last Supper.

SIMON OF CYRENE:

After Jesus had been condemned and scourged, and was making His way to Golgotha, we read:

".. and they compel one passing by, Simon of Cyrene, coming from the field, the father of Alexander and Rufus, to go with them that he might bear the Cross."¹

The field (*ἀγρος*) is quite a common expression in the New Testament and Septuagint, where it is generally associated with agriculture. Moulton and Milligan suggest that the best translation of the passage here would be "coming from field labour".² Now it has been suggested that this fact too tells against the possibility of its being a festival, for in that case it is claimed that Simon would not have been in his field.

Two further points emerge in addition to the telling arguments already levelled against this contention however;³

(1). As it was still early in the day (for Mark refers to the time later, in verse 25,) it is possible that Simon was about certain tasks which were specifically allowed by the Law on a festival. These were small agricultural activities such as gathering-in produce that would otherwise have been liable to despoilment by robbers, etc..⁴ This might easily have been Simon's reason for an early visit to the field, - and indeed any other reason must account for his early return - why does he come back from the field before noon?⁵

1: Mark XV, 21.

2: "Vocab. of Greek N.T." pt. I, pp. 6-7.

3: See Jeremias, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-4.

4: Mish. Mo'ed Kat. II, 6.

5: See C.J. Montefiore, "The Synoptic Gospels", Vol. I, pp. 368-9.

(2). Why is it that the Evangelist particularly mentions that Simon is on his way "from the field"? also why Simon of Cyrene? and why mention that he was a 'passer-by'? It would seem that there is something more than the detail natural to an eye-witness behind this. The point is that during a Jewish festival no Jew could be impressed for such a duty as carrying the Cross without grave danger of a riot.¹ Despite the throngs of people, the Centurion must have been desperate for a solution short of making one of his own men carry the degrading burden. Then suddenly he catches sight of this man in working clothes who is obviously a non-Jew, for his dark features and clothes proclaim that fact. Instantly he is pressed into service, and in so doing begins on the road to the Cross which is to bring him and all men to salvation - (we know this because his two sons are mentioned and in such a way as to show that they were well-known to the Church. The fact that both of his sons have Greek names, also strengthens our conjecture that this Simon of Cyrene was not a Jew.)²

Thus in two further ways it is quite possible to account for Simon's coming from the field, without making it necessary to question the fact that the day was a festival occasion.

THE BURIAL:

"And when the evening was come, because it was the Preparation, that is the day before the Sabbath..."³

It was not the usual thing for the victims of ^{Roman} crucifixion to have their bodies removed from the crosses on the same day on which they were executed.

This was not even the case if they had died by that time.⁴ This is the reason why Mark, and the other Evangelists, seem to go out of their way to give the exact chronology at this point. Tomorrow was the Sabbath, most sacred of all Jewish observances, and whereas it had been possible to have

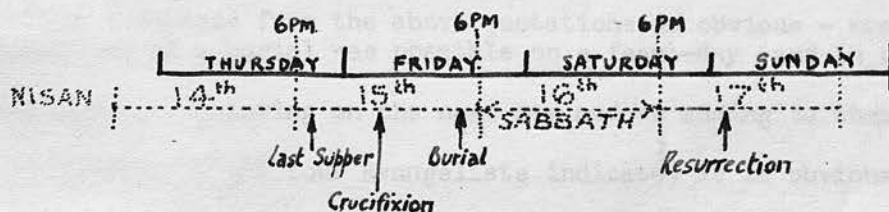
1: See Josephus: *Antiq.* xvii, 9, iii; *Wars Jud.* II, 1, iii.

2: cf. Dalman: "Jesus/Jeshua" pp. 100-101, also Klausner: "Jesus of Nazareth", p. 351.

3: Mark XV, 42

4: See Montefiore, *op. cit.*, p. 379

a crucifixion on a festival, it was unthinkable for the bodies to remain on the crosses during the Sabbath. St. Mark tells us therefore that the day of Jesus' death was a Friday (i.e. Πάρεσκευή), and so we are able to complete our picture of the chronology of the Passion. Jesus held His Last Supper on what we would call the Thursday night, at the beginning of the fifteenth of Nisan. The next day, the day of His death, was Friday the fifteenth, and He was taken down from the Cross on that same evening, before the commencement of the Sabbath, which fell on the sixteenth. A diagram, combining Jewish and Roman chronologies, might help to keep the picture of these events in our minds:



A further question has been raised as to whether it was permissible for a body to be buried on the day of the Feast. This can be answered in the affirmative without any hesitation. The Torah strictly forbade that a body be left on 'the tree' all night, but it must be buried the same day.¹ While the reference in the Old Testament times was undoubtedly to persons hanged after stoning, and not to crucifixion (i.e. referring to people executed by the Jews themselves)² it would seem quite definite that in Jesus' day the Jews applied the injunction to crucifixion. This is surely clearly the testimony of the Gospels at this point, without any further evidence.

There are in addition many Rabbinic indications however which confirm that it was quite possible for a burial to take place on a festival.³ In his summary of the Law on this point Friedlander compares the regulations

1: Deut. xxi, 23.

2: Mish. Sanh. vi, 4b.

3: Mish. Sanh. vi, 5; Tal. Bez. 6(a). Mo' Kat. i, 6.

Concerning Sabbaths and Festivals:

"On the first day of a festival an Israelite should not be engaged in the burial of the dead; but if it be possible for a non-Jew to dig the grave and cut the board, or make a coffin, and also sew the shrouds if necessary, then an Israelite is permitted to dress the body, also to warm water and cleanse the body, also to carry it out and place it in the grave; but filling in the grave should be done by non-Jews..."

"If however one died on the first day of the festival, and it is possible to keep the body until the following day without injury to health, it is by far preferable to let it remain unburied until the second day of the festival."¹

(But):

"On Sabbaths and the Day of Atonement no-one should be occupied in attending to the dead, even through the agency of a non-Jew."¹

The inference from the above quotations is obvious - namely, that as something of a burial was possible on a feast-day (and in this case with the Sabbath following on the next day and so adding to the immediate urgency of burial, as all four Evangelists indicate)² it is obvious that the course taken in St. Mark's account was necessary and permissible.

THE RESURRECTION:

"And when the Sabbath was past, Mary Magdalene and Mary the Mother of Jesus and Salome bought spices that they might come and anoint him... and very early on the first day of the week they come to the tomb when the sun was risen..."³

The fact that the women came with spices and ointments to tend to the dead body suggests two things. First that it was impossible that Jesus had previously been properly buried according to Jewish usages, for the Law strictly forbade the re-opening of a grave unless with the special permission of the authorities.⁴ This leads to the second point, namely that Jesus' body had simply been wrapped and put into an empty tomb and sealed with a rock and left there until the Sabbath was past and the full rites could be attended to. The obvious implication is that Jesus must

1: *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p211.

2: Matt. xxvii, 57-66 & parallel.
John. xix, 38-42

3. Mark xvi, 1-2.

4. cf. *ohol.*, 17, iff.

have been buried at a time when such rites were inadmissible, in their entirety - in other words it must have been a feast-day. If He had been crucified and then buried on the day when the lambs were being sacrificed in the Temple, as some critics have tried to make out from very early times, then there is no ample explanation why the full burial rites were not carried out initially.

CONCLUSIONS:

Thus once more we see that the overwhelming weight of evidence is in favour of the fact that Jesus celebrated a normal Paschal meal on the last night of His earthly life, and that it was during this meal that He instituted the Last Supper.

Far from there being just one place where this chronology is found in the Markan narrative,¹ we have seen this suggestion to be found repeatedly in many and varied incidents. On the other hand we have definitely not found a single place where it has been necessary to try to explain away formidable facts to the contrary, and all supposed arguments so far adduced against the Paschal nature of the Supper have been shown to fall to the ground.

It is however, necessary to conclude that throughout our analysis we have been attempting to reconstruct the Jewish legal situation from widely diverse matter and sources, and with Zeitlin we must admit at once that such reconstruction is precarious because of our lack of authoritative data.² Yet it would be even more precarious, on the other hand, to question the records found in the Gospel accounts because of difficulties inseparable from our imperfect knowledge of contemporary Jewish Law.

In any case there is ample evidence that the times were not noted for

1: See F.C. Burkitt, J.T.S., *op. cit.*

2: S. Zeitlin, J.Q.R., *op. cit.*, p. 444.

religious zeal to such a degree that we could assume that everyone was prepared to abide by the letter of the Rabbinic Law, even if we could show that this existed as a codified legal system. The Mishnah, as we know it today, had certainly not come into existence, and it is more than likely that the common practice of the day was largely fluid, and still very much a matter of the personal influence of the great teachers. The ordinary people must often have despaired of trying to understand or to keep its many vagaries - a fact Jesus noted and denounced to the sages. It would be most unwise therefore, to question a compact and definite body of evidence such as we find in this earliest of the Gospels, on the flimsy grounds often chosen by hyper-critics. For instance, while it is true that John tells us that the People would not enter the Praetorium on the Feast-day, this was just as likely to arise from politico-religious motives as from any purely pious considerations - for we saw earlier that the Nazareth congregation had little scruple in attempting to hurl Jesus down a precipice on the Sabbath. It is far more likely that expediency was a ruling motive in the actions of the authorities in such a case as this, just as a sovereign freedom characterizes Jesus' own observation (or rejection) of the minor Sabbath regulations.

Stronger evidence than the objections which have so far been raised will have to be adduced therefore before any other than the Paschal chronology need be devised.

III.

THE NARRATIVE OF ST. MATTHEW.

One of the most surprising things in New Testament criticism is the scant attention paid to the Gospel according to St. Matthew, particularly on a subject such as the one with which we are engaged. Critical examination of the material has proved that Matthew not only used Mark - and most probably in its present form - but that he also felt quite free to adapt, delete and add to his material as he thought most appropriate. This editorial activity can be seen clearly in the opening verses of the Passion Narrative with which we are engaged,¹ for here Matthew fills in many parts of the Markan outline of events.

Now while "Matthew is a fresh edition of Mark, revised, rearranged and enriched with new material", as Streeter puts it,² this by no means indicates that it can be set aside as meaning little more for critical purposes than does its prototype - Mark. One can say too often, with Burkitt, that "one cannot too much emphasize that the Passion Gospel of Matthew is wholly based on Mark."³ On the contrary, it proves a most valuable check on Mark, particularly with regard to all matters to do with Palestine and things Jewish - for Matthew is by far "the most Judaistic of the Gospels."⁴ Even where it can be shown that there is a tendency to anti-Judaistic polemic in Matthew, this in itself in a Christian writer

1: Matt. xxvi, 2ff. (cf. Mark xiv, 1 ff).

2: op. cit., p. 158.

3: F.C. Burkitt, J.T.S., op. cit., p. 293.

4: Streeter, op. cit., p. 500. cf. Montefiore, op. cit. Vol. I, p. liii, "The author of the Gospel of Matthew appears to have been of Jewish origin, & to have been specially interested in the Jewish aspect of Christianity."

indicates the kind of criticism which comes most naturally to the heart of one who has a great love for his people. Christianity reverses the world's approach in such matters, and when "a man's foes are those of his own household"¹, such an attitude in Matthew does not argue against the Jewish origins of the author.²

Matthew is not only Judaistic, however, but it has never seriously been doubted that it came from either Palestine or Antioch. While the tradition connecting Matthew with Palestine stems from a single source, as Streeter shows, this evidence has negative value in that it proves that the Gospel did not originate in Rome or Asia Minor, but all early commentators uniformly agreed in ascribing an Eastern origin to it. Having ruled out Palestine because of his dating of the Gospel, Streeter finally fixes on Antioch as the place of writing.³

It is known that after the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, Antioch became even more than hitherto a centre of Jewish influence, and within the Church there was a fierce struggle between Judaisers and the more Catholic Christians. On Streeter's theory, the Document 'Q' was an original Gospel of the Antiochan Church,⁴ but after the arrival of a copy of Mark from Rome, there came about a period of adjustment of from ten to twenty years, after which the publication of Matthew represents the "agreement of the main body of the Church of Antioch."⁵ Both on this view, and on the more traditional one that Matthew originated in Palestine, we have the picture of a version of St. Mark's Gospel which had been thoroughly 'worked-over' in the setting of the Judaistic controversy of the early Church, while at the same time being augmented by additions from 'Q' and other special sources.

1: Matt. X, 36.

4: op. cit., p. 510.

2: See: Kilpatrick: "The origins of the Gospel according to St. Matthew," espec. Chapt. VI: "The Gospel & Judaism," pp. 101 ff.

5: " " , p 515.

3. See: Streeter; op. cit., pp. 500 ff., 510, 515...

It will be of the utmost possible value then for us to study the changes that Matthew makes in the Markan narrative - for we can be sure that Matthew not only had to pass the fiercest and often hostile examination of Jewish scholarship, but also the more benign but none the less exacting scrutiny of many people for whom the events described were still vivid and sacred memories. We do well to remember in this connexion that St. Matthew's Gospel was very highly honoured by the Fathers, somewhat to the eclipse of Mark even, and this may not entirely be due to the fact that they considered Mark to be an inferior abbreviation of Matthew.

One aspect of the greater freedom and fluency of Matthew's style over that of Mark's Greek can be seen in the former's preference for direct speech wherever this was appropriate. This is first noticed, for our purposes, in the verses beginning the Passion Story, in which a chronology is given.

THE TIME-REFERENCE:

"You know that after two days it will be Passover, and the Son of Man will be delivered up to be crucified."¹ In this verse Matthew tells us that it was Jesus Himself who drew attention to the fact that the Passover was only two days off. This is most significant for it explains why this section of the Passion narrative was so definitely dated in the Gospels, and also shows that Jesus had the Passover in mind throughout this period. It would seem that for Jesus the Passover was in some way to be directly associated with the fact of His Messiahship; and indeed with His whole Mission to men.

We notice that Matthew leaves out any reference to the Unleavened Bread in this passage - a duplication hardly necessary for a Jewish audience. He adds the detail of the name of the High Priest however.

1: Mat. xxvi, 17. 2

Then follows the story of the anointing at Bethany, with minor changes from the Markan narrative, such as the omission of the name and value of the ointment used.¹ The tradition concerning the actions of Judas, on the other hand, is given in greater detail, even including passages in direct speech to depict the traitor's dealings with the Sanhedrists - as though Matthew had obtained data from one who had been an eye-witness of that scene.² It is probable that such facts gradually became better known as more and more priests and well-informed Jews were converted to Christianity in the early years of the Jerusalem congregation.

A very significant change is made by St. Matthew to Mark's words: "On the first day of Unleavened Bread when they sacrificed the Passover."³ In their place Matthew simply states: "On the first day of Unleavened Bread."⁴ According to the argument of those who claim the accuracy of a special 'Johannine Chronology' it should have been this very part of this time-reference that was omitted. The validity of Mark's combination of these two facts has already been discussed, and it will be remembered that it was these very words retained by St. Matthew that critics such as Chwolson found to be un-Jewish.⁵ On the other hand there can be no question at all that Matthew was referring to the 14th. of Nisan, for his next words are quite unambiguous.

PREPARATION OF THE PASSOVER SEDER:

"Where do you wish that we should prepare for you to eat the Passover?"⁶ The first thing that we notice about this time-reference is that to a Jewish audience at the time of the writing of St. Matthew's Gospel there was nothing incongruous in referring to the fourteenth of Nisan as "the first day of Unleavened Bread". As the narrative proceeds we discover that St. Matthew saw these particular events in quite a different perspec-

1: Matt. xxvi, 6-13 : cf. Mark xiv, 3-9.

2: " " 14-16.

3: Mark xiv, 12.

4: Matt. xxvi, 17.

5: See above, Chapt. II.

6: Matt. xxvi, 17.

tive from that of St. Mark (or his source). It is very reassuring for us here however that it is Matthew, with his pre-disposition towards the miraculous and the supernatural, who gives us the most matter-of-fact account of these events, which Mark had recorded as an instance of Jesus' omniscience. Matthew seems to make it quite plain that there must have been some prior arrangement by Jesus concerning the approaching Passover celebration, and he therefore drastically edits the Markan account down to the briefest details.¹ (It is very likely too that these added facts came to light as Matthew pursued investigations into the history of the apostasy of Judas - a sub-plot which greatly interested him - for the secrecy of these arrangements seems to have been mainly necessary because of the unreliability of Judas).

There is no equivocation here on the point of the chronology however, for once more Matthew does not slavishly follow the Markan method, but puts these words of Jesus into the direct speech in which he remembered them: "My time is near; I will celebrate the Passover at your house." Here is certainty, where Mark's version only indicates future intantion on the part of Jesus. Had Jesus been thwarted in His intentions, would Matthew have ever made such a change as this from the Markan style? Coming from a source such as St. Matthew's Gospel, these words therefore constitute a really major factor in our discussion.

PROPHECY OF BETRAYAL:

The narrative of Jesus' prophesying His betrayal is virtually the same in both Gospels, except that in each case there are added the details of a different evangelist's point of view of the same event. The only significant addition in the Matthean story is his record of an 'aside' between Jesus and Judas, probably unheard, or in any case unheeded by

1: Matt. xxvi, 17-19 (cf. Mark xiv, 12-16).

the majority of the company - (something we have already conjectured from the Markan account, by the way). Such an aside, passing unnoticed at the time, would only appear significant later as the full facts of the betrayal were investigated. We who read the Gospel story in a later age, often tend to overlook the fact that up to the appearance of Judas at the head of the mob in the Garden of Gethsemane, his defection may well have been unsuspected by the majority of the Disciples.

THE INSTITUTION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER:

The meaning of the words with which Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper will be discussed in detail in the second section of our study, but it will be noticed that here too St. Matthew's account differs slightly from the Markan one. On Matthew's indications Jesus' words over the bread and particularly over the Cup could have been spoken as the elements were in the process of being handed round, whereas St. Mark makes it clear that he considered that the distribution came first. Matthew also adds the words "Eat ye" after the command "Take ye", but this surely had no significance other than revealing an attempt to give the fullest account possible of all that Jesus said at this point.

Matthew's love for direct speech, which we have already noticed, may well account for the change which he makes in the words over the cup.

Where Mark has:

"After giving thanks he gave it to them and they all drank of it; He said to them..."

Matthew reads:

"After giving thanks He gave it to them saying, "All drink of it..."¹
It is unlikely that there is any great significance in this change, but it is most likely that St. Mark, who seems to have been diffident of

1: MAH. xxvi, 27 - cf. Mark xiv, 22.

using direct speech, possibly because of his inferior ability in writing Greek, preferred the simpler 'running commentary' type of prose, joined in the Semitic style by interminable 'and' clauses.

Even if it is agreed that the Markan account is the older from the point of writing then, it may well be that St. Matthew's account preserves for us a more accurate description of the exact words used by Jesus at this juncture.

Matthew's addition of the words "for the remission of sins" after Jesus' interpretation of the Wine, as there is no hint of them in the Markan account, may well be a theological gloss; but if so it is certainly a very early one, going right back to the time of the composition of the Gospel, for there is no manuscript evidence of any document where these words are lacking. It seems hardly likely that Jesus would have spoken these words, although it is of course possible that He Himself expounded His own words here, but it is more likely that this is an expansion of the words "which is for you", arising from within the living experience of the writer. This will be discussed later, but at the moment it will be sufficient for us to notice once more the definitely Paschal tone of these words.

The words with which Jesus renounces the fruit of the vine are almost identically parallel to those recorded by St. Mark.¹

THE NARRATIVE OF THE PASSION:

The Matthean Passion story follows the Markan chronicle very closely indeed, with few significant changes from the point of our discussion. A few fresh details are added by St. Matthew, and once again there is direct speech to record Jesus' words to Judas (as also in the case about

1. Matt. xxvi, 29 : cf. Mark xiv, 25.

the use of the sword and the fate of those who resort to it). As we have remarked, Mark's intriguing story concerning the watching youth clad only in a sheet who was nearly arrested in the Garden, is not to be found in Matthew.¹

It is most significant to find that Matthew adds the fact that Caiaphas did not rely upon the evidence of witnesses, who could not be made to agree, but himself sought to trap the prisoner into saying something culpable:

"And the high priest said unto him; I adjure thee by the living God, that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God."²

Jesus had no alternative but to answer under such duress, and so the High Priest used illegal means to gain his end.

After the story of Jesus' delivery into the hands of Pilate, Matthew gives further details in the story of Judas, furnishing us with a vivid description (again including the use of direct speech) of the end of the traitor.³

In addition there is further material concerning the trial before Pilate, not found in Mark, much of which bears the same stamp as the Judas cycle of narratives - namely that of a somewhat later tradition into which much of the 'fey' has been introduced. An example of this is the record of Pilate's wife's dream.⁴ It would seem that Matthew has a special source for his record here, rather than a mere amplification of Mark. This source was probably in the form of additional, unconnected traditions than a continuous narrative however, and to this he turns in order to smooth out the more obvious lacunae in Mark's style and matter.

1. Mark xiv, 51-2.

2. Matt. xxvi, 63.

3. Matt. xxvii, 3-10.

4. Matt. xxvii, 9.

THE BURIAL:

Matthew omits the incident of Pilate's surprise at the early death of Jesus, probably because it was felt to be dangerous from the point of view of apologetics - seeming to play into the hands of those who denied the veracity of Jesus' death and resurrection. At first sight it would also seem significant that he omits Mark's time-reference to the fact that it was the Sabbath-eve, until we find that he adds a detailed chronology of his own which amply confirms the Markan one. He says: "Now on the morrow, which is after the Preparation..."¹ and proceeds to tell of an incident unrecorded by Mark, again drawing upon his special sources to amplify the point of the narrative, namely the request by the Jews that Jesus' tomb should be sealed. He then continues into the story of the Resurrection.

THE RESURRECTION:

"Now late on the Sabbath Day, as it began to dawn towards the first day of the week."²

This seems a strange chronological statement for Matthew, for the words translated "dawn towards" are the expression for the "dawning of day" - ἐπιφώσκω. That this expression refers to the coming of daylight is clearly born out from the context, yet on the fact of it Matthew could be describing an evening commencement of a new day according to the Jewish reckoning. Thus fluidity, and seeming over-lapping of Jewish and Roman systems of reckoning must be born in mind when we discuss the Markan dating too, for Mark more than Matthew wrote to be understood by Gentiles, and Romans in particular.

SUMMARY:

In Matthew too then we have found a tight, unbroken chronology,

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agreeing in every respect with that of Mark, but adding a wealth of minor detail in such a way that the Markan chronology is in no way imperilled but even strengthened. Coming as it does from the centre of Jewish criticism and the close examination of eye-witnesses, the Gospel according to St. Matthew must be reckoned upon in many ways as a separate and powerful witness to the veracity of the Markan account.

THE NARRATIVE OF ST. LUKE

leaving the synoptic accounts of Mark and Matthew and taking up that of St. Luke, one is immediately aware of standing on different ground, and even of an exciting air of mystery. It cannot be within our sphere to examine in every detail the question of the origin of St. Luke's Gospel, and enter into the detailed evidence of the existence of the primitive sources which Streeter has called 'Proto-Luke'. As we proceed however we will find from both internal and external evidence that there is good reason to accept such a theory, so far as it is possible to judge from the indications of that part of the Passion Narrative which is our concern.

Assuming for the present that in Streeter's and other accounts we have what is substantially the truth about the origin of Luke, and that this Gospel is based at least to some considerable degree upon a different circle of tradition from that behind Mark and Matthew - while at the same time making use of Mark and Matthew the Gospel according to St. Luke - let us try to reconstitute the history of the primitive church as far as we can from its story. It is as well to say at once that our relation is such as possible, and on the other hand we must pay particular attention to the facts given us by Luke both in 1:1-3 and in the



IV.

THE NARRATIVE OF ST. LUKE.

Leaving the synoptic accounts of Mark and Matthew and taking up that of St. Luke, one is immediately aware of standing on different ground, and even of an exciting air of mystery. It cannot be within our sphere to examine in every detail the question of the origins of St. Luke's Gospel, and enter into the detailed evidence of the existence of the primitive source which Streeter has called 'Proto-Luke'. As we progress however we will find from both internal and external evidence that there is good reason to accept such a theory, so far as it is possible to judge from the indications of that part of the Passion Narrative which is our concern.

Assuming for the moment that in Streeter's and other accounts we have what is substantially the truth about the origins of Luke, and that this Gospel is based at least to some considerable degree upon a different cycle of tradition from that behind Mark and Matthew - while at the same time making use of 'Q' and later the Gospel according to St. Mark - let us try to recapitulate the history of the primitive Church as far as we can hope to know it. In so doing we must try to avoid mere speculation as much as possible, and on the other hand we must pay particular attention to the facts given us by Luke both in Acts and in the Gospel.

We are shown the primitive Church coming into effective existence at Pentecost, a Church alive with the sense of an ever-present, immanent Lord, the conqueror of Death, and one who will come again as they had seen Him go - on the clouds of Heaven. At the centre of the communal life of this esoteric society of Christians there is a meal.¹ The term 'Breaking of Bread' designates the special, religious nature of the meal. Bruce says of the references to this meal in the Acts: "Is the reference here to the Eucharist, to an Agape, or to an ordinary meal? Perhaps to all three, if we are to gather from verse 46 that they took the principal meal of the day in each other's houses, observing the Lord's Supper each time they did so."²

Whether the Eucharist is implied in these earliest instances of the Breaking of Bread or not is not our immediate purpose however. It is sufficient that we agree that at the high point of the fellowship of the primitive Church there was some kind of table-fellowship - a mutual meal or 'Breaking of Bread'.³ Even up until the early part of the second Christian Century the position seems to have been such that Dr. Swete could say: "It is evident that at the outset (of the 2nd. C.) the Eucharist occupied a unique position in Christian worship. Indeed it may be said to have from the first absorbed all the elements of worship... at first there does not seem to have been any public office... when the Church met for common worship, it came together to break the Eucharistic Bread."⁴

Leaving aside altogether the meaning which must be placed upon such terms as "Eucharist" and "Eucharistic Bread", and also the question of how this observance came about, we will for the present adopt the histor-

1: Acts ii, 42, 46; XX, 7, 11; XXVII, 35.

4: H. B. Swete: J.T.S., Vol. III, pp. 161 ff.

2: F. F. Bruce: "Commentary on Acts" (1951), p. 100. cf. {The Beginnings of Christianity, Foakes/Jackson & Kirsopp Lake (1933). Vol. IV, p. 28.

3: Cf. Sanday: Article on 'Jesus Christ', Hist. Dict. Bible, Vol. III, p. 637.

F. C. Cirlot: "The Early Eucharist" (1939) pp. 22-3.

R. Otto: "The Kingdom of God & the Son of Man", pp. 312 ff.

W. O. E. Oesterley: op. cit., pp. 93 ff; 194 ff.

ical approach to St. Luke's Gospel in an attempt to discover and understand the divergences from the first two Gospels to be found therein.

All the earliest literature of the primitive Church is strongly eschatological. In this early community they believed that history was to be consummated within their earthly life span, and probably in the very near future. They quite possibly believed that their meals together, when they broke bread in the name of their Lord, not only brought His risen presence vividly into their lives and fellowship, but also reached forward in expectation to the short time hence when He would once more sit at table with them, and they would take the broken Bread once more from His beloved hands.

The emphasis in those days was thus on the two-fold fact of the present recollection of the invisible, yet real presence of their Lord; together with the even more thrilling expectation of His visible and real return to their table. In the earliest period these two strands must have almost completely over-shadowed the third factor (on which we generally place so much emphasis today) namely the soteriological and 'memorial' significance of the meal. This is only to be expected, for how could Jesus' personal friends, they who had but recently eaten and talked with Him in so many places since His Resurrection, feel any need for a 'memorial' to Him?

But as the years went by, and as the evangelical movement began to call forth renewed consideration of the full significance of His precious Death and shed Blood, and as it became increasingly apparent that the Parousia was not yet; and, most telling of all, as more and more Christians came into the fellowship who had never seen Jesus after the flesh; other emphases must have come almost unconsciously into prominence in this

fellowship meal, and so into the very centre of their common worship.

It must be strongly emphasized at this point that it is a great mistake to imagine that such a development meant that 'new' or 'later' elements were added to the tradition. This is not the sense in which the changing needs 'produced' developments in the worship and practices of the Church. To suggest that the early additions to the Kerygma and to the Liturgy and Tradition were in any way 'innovation' is to aim an unwarranted blow at the heart of Christendom.

It is an entirely different thing however to admit that the Apostles, when confronted with changing needs, would be continually recalling words and deeds of Jesus which had hitherto been almost void of significance to them, but which now appeared as the very keys to their problems. No-one who has been through a time of great danger and excitement and crowded incident in company with a party of men, and later, in more calm surroundings, yarned over the details of that period, can fail to appreciate the way in which the tradition and reports of the Passion must have emerged. Memory would stir memory, incident would recall incident, and in such a way, possibly throughout the entire life-time of the Apostles, the detail and incident of the life and teaching of Jesus would be built up.

At the same time however, the joyous Agapé would come to mean less and less to the growing Church, and more and more elucidation of its real meaning and purpose would be called for from the Apostles and their intimates. At one time it may hardly have been necessary to say a word as the silent circle broke bread together, and each could be left with his own precious memories. The two who had walked with Him to Emmaus would never fail to hear their Lord's words and thrill in their hearts

and souls as they had done in their own cottage. Often the Twelve would think of the meal beside the Lake after the Resurrection. Sometimes their thoughts would be of the time when He had miraculously fed the multitudes. So, in a great variety of ways, the most primitive Christian circle would think of the Breaking of Bread.

The further removed from personal contact with the Man Jesus these Christians were, however, the greater became the need to explain adequately the reasons behind this observance. Some of the inevitable questions that must have been put to the Disciples would have been:

"What did Jesus really do and say at the Last Supper?"

"Why do you attach so much importance to this fellowship meal?"

"Has this still anything to do with the Passover?"

"Did Jesus say we had to do it regularly?"

These and many other questions must have clamoured for answers.

But about this time in the history of the Church the very men who could give authoritative answers were being separated, some by martyrdom, others by the call of the world mission of the Church to widespread evangelism. Thus it is highly probable that over the next period there would grow up slightly differing traditions and differing emphases according to the experience and outlook of the authorities concerned, particularly in different Churches. Fortunately we have had preserved for us one of the very early records of this questioning and the type of answer which was made by an Apostle.¹ But there must have been others. Luke's Gospel also points to this fact.

The very differences found in Luke from the closely-knit synoptic accounts of Mark and Matthew force us to the same conclusion that Streeter has reached: It is unthinkable that with either Mark and/or Matthew

1: I Cor. xi, 23-24.

before him from the beginning, Luke could have produced the changes of sequence and vocabulary which are so apparent in his Gospel. When the parts of our Luke which can be traced to Markan sources are removed, we find the outline of the connected, smooth-flowing narrative which influenced Streeter towards the Proto-Luke Theory. From the superscription it would appear as though Luke had set himself to collect and arrange current traditions which he had verified and formed into a continuous history for the use of Theophilus.¹ The indications are that Luke did not write for a Church, that is not to make a record for public and official use, so much as for his private patron or friend, who was possibly not yet a baptized Christian.

The Anti-Marcionite Prologue to St. Luke's Gospel gives the following account of the author: "Luke was an Antiochan of Syria, a physician by profession. He was a disciple of the Apostles and later accompanied Paul until the latter's martyrdom."² Some scholars have suggested that Luke was a family freed-man physician to a Roman personage of rank, probably resident in Antioch, and that it was to this patron that the histories were dedicated.³ This is a most possible explanation, but it cannot as yet be proven. Be that as it may however, the fact remains that in Luke's Gospel we have to deal with the fascinating prospect of a more or less personal account of the traditions current in the very early years of the Church's life, and which had been investigated and sifted by one ^{to} whom recent scholarship has accorded a very high place as a historian.

With these facts in mind we can now the more profitably turn to the task of trying to discover what the primitive traditions edited by Luke taught about the nature and date of the Lord's Supper.

1: Luke i, 1-4.
 2: See also: Irenaeus: Adv. Haeres, iii, 1-2.
 Euseb: Ecc. Hist. iii, 24; 5: vi, 25, 3.
 Clem. of Alex: Strom. i, 21.
 Tertull: Contra. Marc. iv, 2. etc..
 3. A.T. Robinson "Luke the Historian" (1920) pp. 19ff.
 F.F. Bruce; Op. cit., pp. 2ff.
 N. Geldenhyys: "The Gospel of St. Luke," (1950), pp. 17ff.

THE 'MARKAN' INTRODUCTION:

Luke's story of the Passion begins with a development from Markan sources of the circumstances leading up to and including the preparation of the Passover Supper.¹ This is slightly modified by way of explanation to enable a Gentile the better to understand its meaning. For instance Mark's sentence: "It was Passover and the Unleavened Bread after two days" is neither good enough Greek nor clear enough sense for Luke's purpose, so he says: "The Feast of Unleavened Bread which is called Passover drew near." Mark's expression is by far the more Jewish, but there is in the Lukan introduction a slight air of aloofness which could mean that it was written for one who preferred to be unassociated with the Jewish usages in any way. It must not be supposed that Luke is tampering with the chronology here however, and Geldenhuys declares that "the majority of modern critics (e.g. Montefiore, Luce, Easton, Strack-Billerbeck) agree that Luke is here correct in calling the whole Festival the Passover."² The point of our observation is not this however, but that a Jew usually moved from Passover to the Feast of Unleavened Bread, not vice-versa, as Luke's mind moves.³

In Proto-Luke the story of the anointing of Jesus, if it refers to the same incident as that referred to in the first two Gospels, occurs much earlier in Jesus' ministry, and is wanting at this juncture. Unlike Matthew, Luke tells the story of the traitorous action of Judas in going to the Sanhedrin, in a condensed form, admirably paraphrased in such a way as to convey the main features of the narrative without calling too much attention to the sub-plot. It will be noticed that the motive introduced by St. Luke is that "Satan entered into the heart of Judas" - thus lifting the whole incident from a common defection by a Jew (with which a Roman

1: Luke xxii, 1-13.

2. *op. cit.*, p 548.

3: cf. Josephus: "κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἑορτῆς ἣν φάσκα λέγομεν."
(Antiq. xiv, 21, 1.)

officer could not but feel great repugnance) to the level of a titanic struggle between Good and Evil.¹

Luke continues to follow the Markan tradition closely as he describes the preparations for the Passover, and at each point of technical Jewish usage there is the little aloof note of explanation such as we have already noticed. "And the Day of Unleavened Bread arrived, on which the Passover must be sacrificed", he says² (retaining the double Paschal time-reference of Mark without any sense of embarrassment, be it noticed). It is of interest too to notice that he speaks of the victims as the Passover, rather than the period - preferring to refer to that as the time of Unleavened Bread.

With verse fourteen however Luke's own early authority takes over from the Markan, and there is very little if any dependence upon Mark for the remainder of the Passion narrative.³ Many fresh facts and side-lights are introduced to what we already know from the traditions of Mark and Matthew. From this point onwards it is necessary to treat St. Luke's account as an entirely separate source, and to discuss matters of text and development before attempting a comparison with the other two Synoptics.

ST. LUKE'S NARRATIVE OF THE LAST SUPPER:

Since the majority of commentators are unanimous that with verse fourteen St. Luke begins to draw on another source from that used in the previous verses, it is interesting to note that the first words of this new source are: "... and when the hour was come He took His place with the Disciples..."⁴ The meaning of ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ ὥρα is clearly a reference to the fact that the time-reference in the previous verses had been fulfilled, in that the hour for the celebration of the Passover was at hand. In the light of Burkitt's contention that the Synoptic Paschal time-references all

1: Cf. C.G. Montefiore, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 583 ff.

2: Luke XXII, 7.

3: See Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 ff. & 222

4: Luke XXII, 14.

stem from a single point in the Markan tradition, this aspect is particularly important.¹

After this introduction we are immediately in the environment of this indicated Paschal Supper. Luke does not record the whole of the words spoken in the rite of the Passover Seder, such would not only have been redundant to Jewish readers - if there were any such - but a misleading consideration for a non-Jew. There were sufficient Judaistic influences in the early Church without making any reference here which might connect the Christian with the Jewish festival in any permanent way.

Many ingenious attempts have been made to get round the words of Jesus: "I have greatly longed to eat this Passover with you before I suffer."² Some have declared that this means the Feast of the Passover is still in the future, and that Jesus is here lamenting His inability to be present with the Twelve when that occasion arrives.³ Such a suggestion is a pitiful detraction from the lowly but imperious Christ as He masters every tiniest detail of the chronology of the Passion - even to the smallest details connected with His death and burial in a new tomb where His body would be undisturbed throughout the Sabbath.⁴ These and all the other aspects of the Master's timing are contrary to this suggestion of His being thwarted in a deep desire of His heart.⁵ Is it to be taken then that this Supper is a kind of second-best affair, and that He would rather it had been a Passover? Why? When Burkitt's suggestion is thus investigated it appears for near nonsense in the light of all that we know of Jesus and the tremendous importance of this mid-point in the whole process of history.⁶

Moreover Luke has so clearly held the Paschal conception of this occasion that it is unthinkable, from what we know of his ability as an editor, that he should have thrown in a disrupting factor here without

1 & 3: F.C. Burkitt: *J.T.S.* Vol. IX (1908) pp. 569-71: "I believe the words to be an expression of disappointment."

2: Luke xxii, 15.

4: Vinc. Taylor: *op. cit.*, p. 222.

5: cf. Geldenhuis: *op. cit.*, p. 557.

6: See: Dalman: "Jesus-Jeshua" pp. 126-130;
Gougel: "Life of Jesus", pp. 430 ff.

any kind of comment or explanation. What could such an interpretation as Burkitt's have meant for Theophilus, who probably 'couldn't have cared less' about a Passover as Passover?

If Jesus would rather it had been a Passover, shouldn't we then begin to work out why? and from there all kinds of speculation about the theological significance of Passover to the mind of Jesus would emerge, without the sublime distinctions of the Last Supper, and we would place scholarship in a most invidious position.

On the contrary, all the indications are that this was quite a different kind of remark by Jesus, indicating His intense satisfaction at the consummation of His Ministry and Mission, as well as of the preparation and training of the Disciples. With this unbaring of His innermost feelings to the Twelve He begins the meal and sets the tone of the Supper from the very beginning.

LONG TEXT OR SHORT TEXT?

We now come to one of the major critical problems of this part of our discussion. Manuscript evidence indicates that there are two versions of the Lord's Supper in Luke's Gospel. The one in our English Authorized Version - the Longer account - is read by the Received Text and is found in most current translations, as it is found in the vast majority of the ancient authorities. There is however an important group of Manuscripts which give us a 'Shorter' version of the Institution, having the reverse sequence of Cup - Bread, and ending abruptly at what we now call verse 19a. with the words: "This is My Body." This Shorter Text has often been claimed to be the older and therefore has been taken to be the most authentic Lukan text - mainly because no explanation even bordering on probability has yet been adduced to account for an author's deletion of the remaining



words of Jesus.¹

The Short Text is read by one of the three oldest pre-Byzantine Greek texts - Codex Bezae 'D', by certain Old Latin European MSS, and by two of the Syriac MSS (with divergent additions).

Because it seems impossible to explain, even on the impressive grounds submitted by Jeremias, how the Long Text came to be abbreviated into what is now the Shorter Text - especially as the deletion causes a major change in our conception of the sequence of Bread - Cup to be underlined - it would seem to be the better course to begin with the Short Text.²

Without committing ourselves to a necessary acceptance of Hort's arguments for the more primary origins of the Short Text, it is interesting to see how well this version can be fitted into a reconstruction of the living situation of the primitive Christian community. The first thing necessary is for us to reconstruct the scene of the Passover Seder, and to fill in as much as possible from the known words and actions of the Jewish rite, and to see how the Gospel account fits in.

THE PASSOVER SEDER THROUGH LUKAN EYES:

We can picture the Disciples coming into the lamp-lit Upper Room which had previously been prepared for the occasion, and taking their places around the low table. As the seating at any ceremonial meal was always a matter of seniority³ (as Jesus Himself indicated in one of His parables)⁴ it is likely that there would have been some little discussion about this matter before they were set. Where would Judas sit? Where Peter? Our record is so sketchy that we must pass over this point for the present.

Since Jesus had so greatly looked forward to this occasion there must have been a great deal He wanted to say and do that evening. Of this the Synoptics tell us very little indeed. We can imagine however that what

1: See Hort's argument: "The N.T. in Greek" (W. & H.) Vol. II, p. 63.

2: See Jeremias *op. cit.*, pp. 58 ff.; Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 142, 553 (note), also Hort, *etc.*

3: Edersheim, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 492 ff.

4: Luke XIV, 7-11.

transpired would be especially sacred and private to those present. This was no public gathering of the friends of Jesus, but the carefully chosen, 'inner core' of His Church. What Jesus had to say would rightly be jealously guarded from profane ears in the days that lay ahead, and it is far from surprising that there should have been large gaps in the narrative, only to be filled-in in anything like a satisfying way by the last of the four Gospels to be written. The very earliest accounts of what took place in that Upper Room must have been very sketchy indeed.

Equally important in this regard was the fact already commented upon that the primitive Church daily and hourly expected the Parousia.¹ After the joy of the Resurrection and their experiences of the risen Christ, and after the thrilling baptism of the Spirit at Pentecost, the Disciples must have felt very differently about many of the things which took place before the Crucifixion, and far removed from the depths of agony and pathos of this terrible, yet mystically exalted last evening. For a long time, even for years possibly, they would have found it hard to connect the two experiences. With His return daily expected, such concerns as "do this in memory of Me" must have been well-nigh meaningless, for in those first days the Cross had largely been replaced by the glory of the empty tomb. It was only the influx of new converts and the growing delay in the Parousia, and even their own need to renew personal acquaintance with their Master, which began to call forth the remembrance and recognition of the fullest significances of the Last Supper.

Even when the growth of the Church brought a clamour by thoroughly trustworthy and mature Christians for every detail of Jesus' words, and so caused the Apostles to disclose more and more of what might be called the 'esoteric' teaching of Jesus, there must always have remained an Apos-

1: c.f. Dr W. Manson: "The Epistle to the Hebrews" (1951) p.32: "The Apostles & all their followers were eschatologists. All of them... were looking for the Advent of the Lord from Heaven."

tolic reticence about the deepest, and particularly about the most painful memories of that Last Supper.

Luke on the other hand has passed on to us, however, the fragments of tradition which were current in the very earliest days of the Church. For, before any complete Gospel bearing the imprimatur of Apostolic approval was available to the Church, this young well-educated Gentile Christian with a particular flair for historical research had pieced together a collected narrative and had carefully fitted into place the sayings of Jesus as current in the Church's teaching (which we now call 'Q'). For those who were even roughly familiar with the facts of the earthly life of Jesus, 'Q' must have been sufficient for all practical purposes in the very earliest period. Together with a more detailed account of the Passion and Resurrection, these sayings would clearly form the backbone of the Church's teaching material. Whether in the first place these sources were in a written or oral form makes little difference, for it is almost impossible for a modern man to understand the accuracy and capacity of the primitive memory for such facts in a world which was comparatively bare of our more developed organs for the dissemination of news and views.

With the second generation of Christians however, and as the details of the earthly life of Jesus became less and less known - to say nothing of the tendency towards a growth of fictitious legend - there would arise a clamour for an authentic or authorized tradition. It was this demand which gave rise to Proto-Luke - just as elsewhere it occasioned a young Jew to record the sayings of his leader, St. Peter. This process of establishing authentic written histories would become especially important as martyrdoms and the rise of spurious legends threatened the very existence of the true faith.

THE EARLIEST LAST SUPPER NARRATIVE:

So we must try to imagine the atmosphere in the Upper Room as silence fell upon the company, and Jesus rose in His place to begin the ancient rite of the Passover Seder. It is well-nigh impossible to think that Jesus simply took the first cup and began upon the prescribed liturgy without comment. We do not know what else He might have said, from the Synoptic account, but at least it seems highly probable that the words already discussed concerning His great desire for this Passover would have been spoken at this point. As He bent over the low table to take up the first or Kiddush Cup,¹ Jesus may well have paused for a moment and said simply:

"I have greatly longed to eat this Passover with you before I suffer, for I tell you I will never eat the Passover again until it is fulfilled in the Kingdom of God."²

There would be a deep silence as something of the significance of these words began to sink into the hearts and minds of the company. What could He mean by the "fulfilment" of the Passover? Was the end of the world at hand then? If so, why the gloom of death gathering in the shadowy corners of the room? This and many other questions must have flooded in upon that little company - but Jesus passes on to the familiar Blessing over the first Cup:

"Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who createst the fruit of the vine."

Jesus speaks slowly over the Cup and then passes it to the others, saying:

"Take this and distribute it among yourselves; for I tell you I will never drink again of the fruit of the vine until such time as God's Kingdom comes."³

1: "The recital of the Kiddush ... is binding by ordinance of the Sages also in the case of all scripturally ordained festivals.." (*Sefer ha Mitzvoth of Moses Maimonides*: trans. R/C.B. Chavel., p.286. see: *Mish. Tor., Hilchoth, Shabb. xxix, 18: Tal. Pesa. 105-114.*; also: G.H.Box, *J.T.S., Vol III, p.361.*

2: cf. Dalman, *op.cit.*, pp.126-7: "These words are intensely Hebrew in form."

3: "Some critics (eg. Otto, *Jeremias .op.cit.*, p.63) think that in placing this saying at the beginning of the meal Luke is more original than Mark, who records it at the end... this opinion has some justification..."
Vine, *Taylor, op.cit.*, p.184.

Once again the sense of impending disaster lowers over the table at Jesus' words, and all present know that they are witnessing the passing of much that had become the very foundation of their lives. Whether it was the Old Age dying, or their beloved Master, or whether Death was to claim them themselves, they could scarcely have said; but somehow all three factors were strangely mixed in their experience.

After all had partaken of this Kiddûsh (or Sanctification) Cup, the next thing was for Jesus to take a small portion of the lettuce or herbs, dip them in salt water, and eat them - as did each of the others. Next He would take the middle cake of unleavened Bread, and give thanks over it, saying:

"Blessed art Thou, our Father in Heaven, who bringest forth bread from the earth."¹

This loaf would then be broken in halves, and one half set aside for later use (the Aphikomen). It was the tradition that the Master of the house should interpret this bread in terms of the afflictions of the Israelites in Egypt, but the Disciples had by now fully realized that this was no ordinary Paschal observance, and this would have been further emphasized if it was at this juncture that Jesus said, in handing around a token piece of this broken Bread,² "This is My Body."

From the Lukan account it is not possible to tell whether it was at this juncture, or immediately before the main meal, when the Aphikomen was handed round, that Jesus spoke these words of Institution. Perhaps the point was not even clear to the author at this stage of the growth of the tradition.

This is not the point at which we will discuss the meaning of these words of Jesus, but we must notice in passing the preparation of the minds of the Twelve which preceded them.

1: cf. Dalman: op. cit., p. 135.

2: See. B. Bera. 46 a.

UNMASKING THE BETRAYER:

According to Luke's Shorter Text Jesus abruptly turned from these words to exclaim:

"But the hand of my betrayer is on the table beside me..."¹

Thus Luke indicates that Judas was present at the table throughout the celebration of the Sacrament, and it would seem that this crowning hypocrisy drives Jesus to unmask him, and so, we gather, send him out to do his terrible work.

The question to be raised here is whether Luke is following a traditional narrative or simply combining a number of incidents handed down separately. This latter seems the better solution, for there are many points to be accounted for in addition to this strangely reported version of the Last Supper. It would seem that the Mark/Matthean chronology of the unmasking of Judas is the more natural, as the words and deeds of the more solemn part of the meal, especially those to be studied later in the Johannine tradition, make it difficult to believe that Judas was present when they were spoken. In addition there follows in Luke a story about contention between the Disciples as to seniority. We must again ask whether this is a likely chronology, coming after such a moving and humbling experience as this Supper - or whether it would not have been better placed earlier, in connexion with seating arrangements at the outset of the meal. This latter view is greatly strengthened when the story was finally disclosed by St. John about Jesus' washing the feet of the Twelve.

It might be stressed to considerable advantage then, that at this point Luke, writing as yet before the advent of any connected Apostolic evidence concerning the chronology of the events of the Supper, is doing his best to piece together fragments of traditions which he had checked

1: Luke.xxii, 21.

individually, but for which he had been unable to obtain any authoritative sequence. Goguel goes further and declares that the dispute about precedence among the Disciples was a transposition by Luke of a much earlier incident, which Matthew had placed quite differently.¹ It is not necessary however to go as far as that. It is quite sufficient to say that Luke puts together here a number of unconnected Last Supper incidents, and that the time when he did so must have been very early indeed, well before the emergence of Mark or Matthew as we know them today.

THE SHORTER TEXT AND ACTS:

Taking the Shorter account of the Lord's Supper as we have reconstructed it in the framework of the Passover Seder, we find other evidence that there was a period when this was about all that was known in the primitive Church concerning the Supper. This evidence is found in the Acts of the Apostles.² Here too it is apparent that there is no 'developed' reconstruction of the acts of Jesus in the Upper Room.³ Instead there is found the record of a joyous 'family meal' with the accent on the 'Breaking of Bread'. The Cup is not mentioned at this stage, and this may be for a variety of reasons. Most obvious is the fact that wine was used only infrequently in Palestine, and often only at ceremonial occasions, especially among the poorer classes.⁴ Also the Church, waiting for the coming of the Lord, was still bound fairly closely to the Jewish cultus, as Dr. W. Manson has recently emphasized.⁵ Again, it must have been almost impossible for orthodox Jews to conceive of the significance of Jesus' words about the drinking of His Blood - even in the sense in which Jesus meant them - without a good deal of abhorrence.⁶ Zeitlin has drawn attention to the fact that the Jews so 'abhorred blood' that they amended the Law of sprinkling the blood of the Paschal Lamb on their houses.⁷

1: *Op. cit.*, pp. 451-2.

2: See below pp. 119ff

3: cf. Montefiore, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 332.
Vinc. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

4: *Mish. Pes. X*, 1ff.

5: "Epi. to Hebrews", pp. 19ff., 42f.

6: cf. Vinc. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

7: *J. Q. R.* Vol. xxxviii, (1948), No. 4, p. 436.

Again such experiences as that of the two Disciples at Emmaus indicates that the chief thing which they sought in the Breaking of Bread - namely the real presence of their Lord at table with them - had already been experienced at a very ordinary supper and at the moment of breaking the bread. The miraculous meal with the five thousand, as well as the several resurrection meals with the risen Lord, would add strength to this conviction. Hence it would only be with the need for stress on the soteriological significance of the shed Blood of Christ that the words and actions of Jesus over the Cup would emerge as a necessary part of the Sacrament.

With all these considerations in mind then, it would seem at least probable that in the Shorter Text of Luke's Gospel we have preserved for us a very early synopsis of the thinking and tradition of the primitive Church, say from within the first decade of its existence.

WHENCE CAME THE SHORTER TEXT:

So far we have tentatively assumed the priority of the Shorter Text of the Last Supper narrative, but the task remains of explaining the existence of the Longer Text in all MSS, with the exception of Codex Bezae 'D', the Old Latin Manuscripts ('a, d, ff², i, l, b & e) together with Syr^{cur} & Syr^{sin}.

The first thing that strikes us about these Shorter Text authorities is that they represent a fairly well-defined geographical area, according to the reconstruction of the source-districts of the early MSS by scholars such as Streeter.¹ Thus 'D', the Greek MS, is the primary authority for the area of Western Europe which includes Italy and Gaul, and Streeter gives 'a' and 'b' as the secondary authorities for this same locality, with ff², i and l and others as supplementary authorities for the same area. The MS 'e' is a translation of Codex E₂ (Laudianus) in which the Greek text is akin to that of 'D', while 'd', of course, is the Latin text of

1: op. cit., p. 108, etc.

the bilingual MS Bezae 'D'. On the other hand the two Syriac MSS are regarded as the two chief authorities for the local text of Antioch. Thus the story of the evolution of the Shorter Text of Luke begins inside a fairly well-defined area of the world of the primitive Church. Any explanation of the changes in these texts will therefore have to take cognisance of this fact.

Assuming that it is agreed that Luke, the author of our Gospel, was also the author of the 'Acts of the Apostles'¹ - or at the very least of the second half of it, the next clue to be followed is to try to discover where he was known. If we look through the surviving letters of St. Paul, for instance, it is interesting to note that Luke is mentioned in three of these Epistles, namely in Colossians, Philemon and II Timothy. The striking thing about this is that all of these letters are connected with the same geographical area. Both Philemon and II Timothy were written to Asia Minor, and it is highly probable that Philemon lived in Colossae; and Timothy, when at Ephesus as leader of the Church there, would have been near to Colossae (perhaps he even had oversight of that Church). In any case Timothy had known Luke from earlier contact with him. Thus we may begin with the tentative suggestion that Luke and Acts stem from an area in Asia Minor in the vicinity of Colossae - or else from Antioch. This latter suggestion finds equal support from the above facts, because it appears that Antioch was a base from which missionary work proceeded into Asia Minor from very early times, well before St. Paul made his first missionary tour.²

Turning to the Acts of the Apostles there is immediately one thing in favour of this:

1: See F.F. Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 2ff.

2: See Col. i (7-8) ii (1-2) etc., cf. Eph. i (15 ff.) etc.

THE DESTINATION OF LUKE AND ACTS:

A considerable amount of 'negative' evidence is available when one reads through the Acts of the Apostles asking at the mention of each city: "Could Theophilus have lived here?" Space cannot permit a record of all the facts of such an examination, but let it suffice to say that one by one the cities can be ruled out, to leave alone of the places mentioned the two primary cities of Jerusalem and Antioch. Jerusalem is most doubtful, and from other considerations, especially in connexion with the destination of the Gospel, it can be set aside.

Whereas all the other large Churches are mentioned in Acts, the one at Colossae is not, and the reason for this may not simply be that St. Paul never visited there - to our knowledge. On the contrary, Luke must have known a good deal of the early history of Christianity in this Church, yet he makes no mention of the fact, which could be explained by the destination of his histories being a home in that city. Again, if Luke wrote the Gospel and Acts to edify a person or a household on what had been happening in the growth of Christendom, it is highly probable that either this person lived in a locality not visited by the Apostle Paul, and so was in need of such information, or else the recipient was one excluded by his rank from mixing with the early Christian community in his own area until such times as he should be thoroughly convinced and willing to throw in his lot with them. In this latter case Theophilus, a high-ranking Roman official, might have lived in such a city as Antioch and still have been ignorant of a great deal of what went on or was common knowledge in the local Church.

THE SOURCE OF LUKE AND ACTS:

The earliest mention of St. Luke, apart from the instances already

noted in the Pauline correspondence, is a tiny reference in some of the ancient authorities for the text of Acts xi,27 where the reading is:

"In those days prophets came down from Jerusalem to Antioch; and there was a great exultation; and when WE had assembled..."

Commenting on these words, Dr. W. Manson says: "These words, if genuine, would give us a 'We' passage of earlier date than any of those (generally accepted). But the reading is doubtful.¹ We cannot build securely on such foundations. Nevertheless the Antiochan extraction of Luke may be regarded as highly probable."²

In addition to the evidence adduced by Dr. Manson in favour of this view, we could add here:

(1). The language used by Luke in telling of the events in Antioch is most probably that of an a local inhabitant who had been an eye-witness. Note especially the verbs underlined:

"...he came to Antioch and saw..." (xi,23)

"So Barnabus went off (from Antioch) to Tarsus, to look for Saul, and on finding him he brought him to Antioch." (xi,25-6).

"During these days some prophets came down from Jerusalem to Antioch." (xi,27).

"Barnabus and Saul returned from Jerusalem, bringing with them John Mark." (xii,24.)

(2). The details of names, incidents and speeches, as Dr. Manson mentions, is amazingly complete as soon as Luke speaks of Antioch. In addition to this we might notice that he carefully describes the way in which Antiochan Greeks were first evangelized, making us wonder whether he was among their number.³

(3). The language already noted above suggests that Luke stayed on in Antioch when Saul and Barnabus went first to Jerusalem, but also possibly suggests that Luke went with Paul on his first missionary journey.

1: See Sir W. Ramsay: "St. Paul the Traveller & Roman Citizen", pp. 210ff.
2: "The Gospel of Luke" (Moffatt Commentaries). p xxix. cf. F.F. Bruce, op. cit, pp. 4 ff.
3: Luke xi, 20-24.

In addition to the eye-witness details of Acts xiii, 9-12, we would especially notice xiv, 19: "Then Jews from Antioch arrived..."

(4). It is also noticeable that the verbs in xiv, 26-7 are different from those mentioned in (1) above, for here it seems that Luke was not present in Antioch when these things took place, but was away with Paul in Asia. On their return the tone again suggests his personal presence, when certain individuals "came down from Jerusalem." ¹

Antioch we know was one of the most important centres of the early Church, and it is almost certain that others than St. Paul had gone out from thence on missionary journeys. We know that there was some kind of evangelical work being carried out in Europe and Asia Minor before St. Paul's first journey there, certainly in regard to Rome and Ephesus, and it is at least probable that this was true of other places on the route to these cities, such as Colossae. ²

The hypothesis which is suggested so far is that St. Luke was a resident of Antioch with some kind of connexion with Asia Minor, either because he had been born there, practised medicine there, or had gone there as a Christian missionary. Theophilus may either have been a Roman patron of rank for whom Luke wrote, or even one to whom Luke had been personal physician, and who lived either in Antioch or Asia Minor. ³

Remembering then the evidence from the textual authorities, it would seem that there is mutual support here. Streeter says: "There is a certain amount of evidence that in the second century the text used at Ephesus was akin to that found in 'D' and in the European Latin." ⁴ Thus with the Syriac evidence we have been able to narrow down the field very considerably, and the two facts emerge together, namely that the Shorter Text of the Last Supper narrative stems from an area where we may first

1: Luke xv, 1.

3: See A.T. Robertson: "St. Luke the Historian", pp. 16-29.

2: See Eph. i, 15; Rom. i, 15.

4: Op. cit., pp. 69-70.

expect the Lukan tradition to become known.¹ Thus giving us an added reason for assuming the earlier date of the Shorter Text.

Before proceeding any further with such an assumption however, it is necessary to look more closely at all the available evidence, including that of the whole of the Bezan text of Luke. This may prove very little, for it is quite possible that a very old tradition concerning the Lord's Supper could be incorporated in a fourth century MS alongside a much later and more developed tradition concerning other matters. It is valuable however to make such an examination:

COMPARING THE BEZAN AND WESTERN TEXTS OF LUKE:

Apart from minor alterations and differences, for the scribe who copied out the text of 'D' was notoriously careless,² there are seventeen principal places of divergence between what Hort called the Neutral Text (mainly N & B) which we will refer to hereunder as 'N' and the Western Text principally represented by 'D' which we will refer to as 'W'.

The following is the list of these divergences as given by Sir. F. Kenyon,³ and where Bezae 'D' differs from 'W' as he gives it, this fact is indicated in footnotes:

(1) Luke iii, 22:

N: σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱὸς μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοὶ εὐδόκησα.
(Thou art my beloved Son with whom I am well pleased.)

W: υἱὸς μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε.
(Thou art my Son - today I have begotten thee.)

(2) Luke v, 10, 11:

N: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰακώβον καὶ Ἰωάννην υἱοὺς Ζεβεδαίου, οἱ
(...so were also James and John, sons of Zebedee, which

ἦσαν κοινωνοὶ τῷ Σίμωνι. καὶ εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα ὁ Ἰησοῦς
were partners of Simon. And Jesus said unto Simon

μὴ φοβοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἀνθρώπους ἔσῃ λαβῶν. καὶ καταγαγόντες
Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men. And when

1: cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 27: "The home of the (Bezan) Revision (of Acts) is along the line of intercourse between Syrian Antioch & Ephesus..."

2: See Scrivener: "Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis" (1864), p. xlv, chap. iv.

3: "The Western Text in the Gospels & Acts", (1940), pp. 5-7.

τὰ πλοῖα ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, ἀφέντες ἅπαντα ἠκολούθησα αὐτῷ.
they had brought their boats to land, they left all and followed him.)

W: ἦσαν δὲ κοινωνοὶ αὐτοῦ Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης, υἱοὶ Ζεβεδαίου
(James and John were his partners, the sons of Zebedee, and

ὁ δὲ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, δεῦτε καὶ μὴ γίνεσθε¹ ἁλιεῖς ἰχθύων
he said to them, Come, and do not be fishers for fish

ποιήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἁλιεῖς ἀνθρώπων. οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες
for I will make you fishers of men. And when they heard (it)

πάντα κατέλειψαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἠκολούθησαν αὐτῷ.
they left everything on the ground and followed him.)

(3) Luke v, 14:

N: εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.
(for a proof to them (the people).)

W: ἵνα εἰς μαρτύριον ᾗ ὑμῖν² τοῦτο· ὁ δὲ ἐξελθὼν, ἤρξατο
(so that this should be a proof to you. And he went out and began

κηρύσσειν... καὶ ἦλθεν πάλιν εἰς Καφαρναούμ.
to preach... and he came again to Capernaum.)

(4) Luke vi, 4:

W: Has the addition of:
τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ Σαββάτῳ, εἶπεν
(On the same day, seeing someone working on the Sabbath, he said

αὐτῷ, ἄνθρωπε εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ,
to him, Man, if indeed you know what you are doing, you are blessed,

εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ
but if you do not know, you are cursed and a transgressor of the

νόμου.
law.)

(5) Luke vi, 48:

N: διὰ τὸ καλῶς οἰκοδομηθῆσθαι αὐτήν.
(because it was well built.)

W: τε θεμελίωτο γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν.
(for it was founded upon the rock.)

(6) Luke ix, 55:

N: ἐπιτίμησεν αὐτοῖς
(He rebuked them)

1: γεινεσθε - 'D'.

2: ὑμεν - 'D'

W: ἐπετίμησεν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἶπεν, οὐκ οἴδατε ποίου πνεύματος
(he rebuked them and said you do not know what manner of Spirit
ἐστε ὑμεῖς· (ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἦλθε ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων
you are of (for the Son of Man came not to destroy men's lives
ἀπολέσαι, ἀλλὰ σῶσαι.)¹
but to save them.)

(7) Luke xi, 2-4:

N: Has the Shorter Version of the Lord's Prayer.

W: Has the longer.

(8) Luke xi, 35-6:

N: σκοπεῖ οὖν μὴ τὸ φῶς..... ... φωτίῃ σε.
(Look therefore whether the lightgive thee light.)

W: εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος, τὸ σκότος πόσον;
(If then the light which is in thee be dark, how great is the darkness!)

(9) Luke xi, 53-4:

N: καὶ κείθεν ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἦρξαντο οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ
(And when he was come out from thence the Scribes and the Pharisees

φαρισαῖοι δεινῶς ἐνέχειν καὶ ἀποστοματίζειν αὐτὸν περὶ
set themselves violently against him and provoked him to speak of

παιδιῶν, ἐεδρεύοντες αὐτὸν, θηρεύσαι τι ἐκ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ.
many things; laying wait for him, to catch something out of his mouth).

W: λέγοντος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐνώπιον παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ,
(When he had said these things to them before all the people, the

ἦρξαντο οἱ φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ νομικοὶ δεινῶς ἔχειν καὶ
Pharisees and the lawyers began to set themselves violently² against
συμβάλλειν αὐτῷ περὶ παιδιῶν, ζητοῦντες ἀφορμὴν τινα
him and to attack him about many things, seeking opportunity to

λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ, ἵνα εὕρωσιν κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ.
catch him so that they might find something with which to denounce him)

(10). Luke xxii, 17-20:

The Last Supper.

(11). Luke xxiii, 42-3:

N: καὶ ἔλεγεν Ἰησοῦ μνήσθητί μου ὅταν ἔλθῃς ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου.
(And he said, Jesus, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom.)

1: Portion in brackets omitted in 'D'.

2: Reading ἐνέχειν with 'N' — ἔχειν being a scribal error.

καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἀμὴν λέγω σοι, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ
 And he said unto him, verily I say unto thee, Today shalt thou
 ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.
 be with me in Paradise.)

W: καὶ στραφείς πρὸς τὸν κύριον εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Μνησθητί μου ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
 (And turning to the Lord he said to him, Remember me in the day
 ἧς ἔλευσέως σου. ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν αὐτῷ τῷ ἐπιπλήσσοντι,
 of thy coming. And Jesus, answering said to him (the reprover),
 θάρσει, σήμερον μετ' ἐμοῦ ἔσῃ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ.
 Be of good cheer, today thou shalt be with me in Paradise.)

(12) Luke xxiii, 53:

W: Adds: καὶ θεντὸς αὐτοῦ ἐπέθηκεν τῷ μνημείῳ λίθον¹
 (and when they had set him they placed over the tomb a stone
 ὃν μόγις εἴκοσι ἐκύλιον.
 so great as to take twenty men to roll it.)

(13) Luke xxiv, 6:

W; Omits: οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε, ἀλλ' ἠγέρθη
 (He is not here, but is risen.)

(14) Luke xxiv, 12:

W; Omits: ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἀναστὰς... θαυμάζων τὸ γεγονός.
 (But Peter rose and ran... wondering at what had happened.)

(15) Luke xxiv, 36:

W; Omits: καὶ λέγει αὐτοῖς, εἰρήνη ὑμῖν.
 (And he said to them, Peace to you.)

(16) Luke xxiv, 40:

W; Omits: καὶ τοῦτο εἰπὼν ἔδειξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας.
 (And saying this he showed them his hands and his feet.)

(17) Luke xxiv, 51:

W; Omits : καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.
 (And he was carried up into heaven.)

1: 'D' has λειθον.

INDICATIONS AS TO PRIORITY OF TEXT:

(1). Luke iii,22:

Here it is quite impossible to believe that the 'W' reading could be later than the 'N'. Not only is the 'W' reading a derivation from the Second Psalm,¹ but it may possibly be due to a misunderstanding of St. Paul's reference to this passage in Acts xiii,33. Being a somewhat dangerous phrase in the light of later Adoptionist or Docetic heretical developments, it is easy to see why Luke's 'N' reading is the later.

(2). Luke v, 10-11:

This would appear to be a garbled account of the oral tradition, finding its way into the 'W' text, but corrected later when the facts were better known.² The main point of the story is the same in both accounts, but whereas 'N' says: "when they had brought their boats to land" (ἐπὶ τῆν γῆν), the rather pointless 'W' version has a queer echo of these words in telling how they left all their possessions "upon the ground" (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς). It is not possible to imagine either of these accounts 'deriving' from the other, but the indications are that they came from different sources, originating from divergences due to an error in the oral tradition.

(3). Luke v,14:

The text here is clearly dependent upon Mark i,45.

(4). Luke vi,4:

It seems an open question as to whether this incident was first accepted by Luke as authentic and later rejected when the apostolic records appeared and did not confirm it, or whether it was a later addition to the text of 'W'. The latter seems somewhat the more likely explanation.

(5). Luke vi, 48:

A clear case of dependence upon St. Matthew vii,25.

1: Ps. ii, 7.

2: cf. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-4.

(6). Luke ix, 55:

This is a very strange saying and the textual evidence is still further divided. Bezae 'D' for instance simply adds: "and He said, You do not know of what Spirit you are", omitting, as do all the 'N' authorities, the words: "... yourselves: for the Son of Man did not come to destroy men, but to save." (The Latin hand of 'd' has the parallel: "et dixit nescitis cuius spiritui estis...") Once more it is hard to imagine the 'W' reading as a later insertion. It rather has the nature of a primitive account which is later edited to conform with a more authenticated tradition.

(7). Luke xi, 2-4:

'W' has the longer version of the Lord's Prayer, 'N' the shorter. With a liturgical formula such as this and with a notoriously careless scribe, it is difficult to place any confidence as to priority in either reading. All the indications are that the shorter 'N' text is the earlier. It is impossible to reach any real solution however, as the authorities vary so greatly among themselves.¹

(8). Luke xi, 35-6:

Another clear case of harmonizing with the Matthean version, i.e. with Matthew vi, 23.

(9). Luke xi, 53-4:

Again it seems we have to deal with two entirely separate branches of the same tradition. It is not a case of one reading being the earlier and developing into the other, but it is possible that a garbled account arising from oral tradition could have later been restored to the 'N' reading. The word "ἐχέειν" is probably dependent upon the 'N' reading of "ἐπέχρειν", but little can be relied upon as certainty.

1: cf. Strecker, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

(10) Luke xx, 17-20:

The Last Supper Account.

(11) Luke xxiii, 42-3:

The same kind of account as (9) above.

(12) Luke xxiii, 53:

The stone at the sepulchre. Once more 'W' has a curious legendary atmosphere about it which suggests the kind of process described in (9) above. There have been suggestions of the influence of Homer here, but this is mere coincidence.

(13) Luke xxiv, 6:

In this and in the remaining four cases we have clear instances of dependence upon branches of the tradition found in Matthew & John.

(14) - (16):

These three cases show 'W' as deficient in words parallel to John, and found in the 'N' texts.

(17) Luke xxiv, 51:

The first hand of Sinaiticus Λ^* is an unexpected ally for the older 'W' reading here. There can be no question that the Shorter 'W' is the older.

SUMMARIZING THE RESULTS OF THIS ANALYSIS:

In none of the above cases can there be made out a very strong argument for the priority of the 'N' text, although in the case (4) of the story of the man working on the Sabbath the question is very open, and in the instance of the Lord's Prayer (7) it would seem that the probabilities are in favour of the earlier date of the 'N' reading. In a prayer used in the liturgy however, the 'W' addition may well have been made at a very early time, and any divergence from liturgical custom would be

especially liable to cause glosses and conflation. Also it is not likely that the words of this prayer were only spoken once by Jesus, and He may have used both forms at different times.

On the other hand there is good reason for believing that in the great majority of cases the 'W' text is the older; or else that the two texts arose from different versions by Luke, where 'W' represents the older tradition.

This evidence is interesting in the light of the statement by Streeter that: "Hort, as we have argued, was right in regarding the Textus Receptus as a descendent of the revision made by Lucian of Antioch about A.D. 300. And he was right in his contention that in the main this revision was based on earlier texts which we can still identify. We group the earlier texts into an 'Egyptian' - admirably preserved in B and L; and an 'Italian and Gallic' represented, with many corruptions, by 'D, a, b, ff²..'"¹

The only question that can be raised against this ^{above} theory is the presence of Markan and Matthean elements in the 'W' text, but absent in the 'N' text, as in cases (3), (5) and (8). Can this be explained?

MARK AND MATTHEW AND THE EARLY LUKAN TEXT:

The whole question of the rise of the different Gospel accounts becomes relevant at this point, and it is most important for us to know where and when Matthew and Mark first came into being. As was indicated earlier, our study of the liturgy affords a fixed point in Synoptic study, and enables us to determine accurately a date around which everything else must take its correct perspective. It is like being at sea in thick weather and getting one precious 'fix' on the sun, with which we feel perfectly satisfied, and to which all other 'dead-reckoning' calculations must be subservient. This fixed-point is provided in St. Paul's first letter to

1: Op. cit., p.145.

the Corinthians. Here is a detailed, carefully stated tradition the date of which we can determine precisely. St. Paul moreover tells us sufficient of the background to enable us to see something of the living situation in the Church of that time, and if we find that a coherent synthesis of the facts upsets hitherto widely-held Synoptic theories because it is based on this evidence, then it will be so much the worse for those theories.

Because the Longer Text of St. Luke's Last Supper account patently depends either on Paul or on his sources at this point, and because we cannot proceed any further to discuss Matthean and Markan elements in the Western text until we know more of the dating of these Gospels, we must now make a detour and examine the Pauline correspondence.

V.

ST. LUKE AND ST. PAUL.

One of the most obvious things about the Shorter Text of Luke is that it could not have been written if the author had known of the first letter by Paul to the Corinthians. For Luke who knew and trusted St. Paul, and who indeed became one of his most intimate friends,¹ to have persisted in writing the Shorter version of the Last Supper after hearing of St. Paul's authoritative account, is out of the question. The only other possibility, mutilation of the source MS of the Western family of texts, cannot be ruled out completely, but it is most unlikely. In Bezae itself, of course, this is out of the question because the account leaves off in the middle of a line, and the Latin hand supports it:²

"και λαβων αρτον ευχαριστησας εκλασεν" et accipiens panem benedixit fregit
 και εδωκεν αυτοις λεγων τουτο εστιν et dedit eis dicens hoc est
 το σωμα μου πλην ιδου η χειρ του corpus meum uerumtamen ecce manus qui
 παραδιδοντος με επι της τραπεζης..." tradet me super mensa..."

The variety of other readings of the Shorter Text makes this possibility of mutilation very remote indeed. If anything too, a scribe would be on the lookout for a mutilation at such a point in a liturgical usage well known to him, and accretions from copyists are much more likely at this point than detractions.

On the other hand it may well be asked, how could St. Luke have written this account if he had Mark and/or Matthew's version before him? This is

1: W. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 21. : also A.T. Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

2: Scrivener, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

more readily answered, for there is ample evidence to show that at the time when he completed his Gospel, Luke knew of but preferred his own traditional source to that of Mark.¹ This is certainly true of the Passion Narrative, where there are few places of dependence upon Markan authority. The suggestion by this fact is that Luke's Shorter Text dates from a time when Mark (and/or Matthew) were not yet known to, and certainly not received by the Church in Antioch - in other words at a very early time indeed.

Further evidence to support this is found by an analysis of the instances where there are recognizable affinities between the language of SS. Paul and Luke. Of the twenty-seven such passages enumerated by Plummer, twenty-four occur in passages not regarded as belonging to Proto-Luke, while the other three are such that the similarity may well be explained in such ways as their quoting from the same source.² The value of this fact is to be seen in the testimony it bears to the independence of thought on the part of St. Luke with regard to St. Paul. Even if some of the material generally ascribed to Proto-Luke was gathered during the Pauline imprisonment in Caesarea, it would seem that as late as A.D. 60 St. Luke held clearly and firmly to his own traditional sources of the Gospel narrative, and that in this sphere, even subconsciously, he owed little to the Apostle.

This capacity for independent thought and judgement on the part of St. Luke adds greatly to our confidence in his stature as an historian, but more than that, it helps us to understand something of the tenacity with which he retained the picture of the opening acts of the Last Supper as set forth in the Shorter Text. The proposition is that later, after being convinced of the Longer version, he added its further details, but in such a way as to leave his own cherished tradition relatively unaffected.

1. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 172, 207, 210.

2. See foot-note (on next page).

* FOOTNOTE TO PREVIOUS PAGE

Plummer: "St. Luke", I.C.C. pp xliv ff.:

Plummer gives the following passages as most worthy of consideration for instances of parallelism between Luke and Paul:

Luke: iv,32	& I Cor. ii,4	Luke: xii,35	Eph.vi,14
vi,36	II Cor. i,3	xii,42	I Co.iv,2
vi,39	Rom.ii,19	xiii,27	II Tim ii,19
vi,48	I Co.iii,10	* xviii,1	(Col.i,3 II Thes.i,11 Rom.ix,14; xi,11; etc..
vii,8	Rom.xiii,1	xx,16	
viii,12	(I Cor.i,21 Rom.i,16	xx, 22,25	Rom. xiii,7.
viii,13	I Thes.i,6	xx,35	II Thes. i,5
x,7	I Tim.v.18	xx,38	Rom.vi,11 (Gal ii,19
x,8	I co. x,27	xxi,23	I Thess. ii,16
x,16	I Thes.iv,8.	xxi,24	Rom.xi,25
* x,20	Phil.iv,3	xxi,34	I Thess.v,3-5.
* xi,7	Gal.vi,17	xxi,36	Eph. vi, 18
xi,29	I Cor.i,22	xxii,53	Col,i,13.
xi,41	Tit.i,15.		

* Indicates possibly Proto-Luke.

In the cases marked with the asterisks, the first instance, Luke x,20 and Phil. iv,3 are both references to Psalm lxix,28 - so there is no reason to presuppose dependence here: Luke xi,7 and Gal.vi, 17 both have similar expression 'don't bother me' - but there is no great likelihood of dependence in the language - this was possibly a common colloquialism anyway. The final case, Luke xviii,1 and Col,i,3 etc., refer to continuity of prayer and this concept, once more, was possibly a common current expression, and would hardly have been original with Mark's Gospel.

All that we have been finding here, of course, simply bears out what Streeter has already said (even if we are positing a somewhat earlier date than he had in mind): "...we must recognize in Proto-Luke the existence of another authority comparable to Mark. It is true that Proto-Luke is of later date than 'Q', but in all probability so is Mark. The essential point is that Proto-Luke is independent of Mark... as historical authorities they should probably be regarded as on the whole of approximately equal value."¹

THE PAULINE TRADITION OF THE LORD'S SUPPER:

Leaving aside all other references to the Passover and to the Lord's Supper in St. Paul's writings, and confining ourselves to the tradition which he gave to the Corinthian Church: The first thing that we notice is that in this letter St. Paul is replying to an earlier letter from Corinth, and he refers to the Lord's Supper by way of correcting abuses that had already come into its celebration. In doing so he re-iterates an earlier body of teaching, for he had already delivered this tradition to Corinth on a previous occasion; "For I received of the Lord that which I also delivered unto you..." (ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν...)²

The first point emerges therefore that somewhere about the year A.D.51, and some four years before the letter which we call I Corinthians was written, St. Paul had given this tradition to Corinth, and in so doing had been quite sure of its being an authentic Word of the Lord. St. Paul was always meticulous to differentiate between his own opinions (even when he felt sure that they were right and in accordance with the Spirit of the Gospel) and what he delivered 'ex-cathedra' as an Apostle, as it were.³ On such occasions he spoke with all the authority of a prophet - "Thus

1: op. cit., p. 212.

2. I Cor xi, 23.

3: I Cor. vii, 25, 40

was the Gospel background of that congregation?

ANTIOCH OR JERUSALEM?

With such an early date demanded of us, we find it hard to imagine that the Church from which St. Paul derived this tradition could have been other than the Jerusalem or Antiochan one. To decide between these two it will be necessary to consider all that we know of St. Paul's activities prior to his writing I Corinthians, and to examine the Gospel records to see whether we can trace to which particular tradition his teaching most closely corresponds.

Because he discusses the very matter of the authenticity of his teaching and traditional sources in the Epistle to the Galatians, it will be valuable to begin with some study of this letter.

THE EVIDENCE OF GALATIANS:

Because he was coming under fire from people who contested his teaching on a great variety of grounds, St. Paul found it increasingly necessary to assert the authority which he bore in regard to his teaching. Thus in the first chapter of our Epistle he outlines his main contention, namely that the Gospel he has delivered to them already, came not from man but from God: "Neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ." ¹ St. Paul then goes on to give a brief outline of his story from the time of his conversion. The point of the tale is to amplify what he has already said: he did not go to Jerusalem to obtain the backing and advice of the other Apostles, but he already knew that his message was authoritative.

Two major points emerge here:

- (1) Was the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper a part of the 'Gospel'

1: Gal. i: 12.

within the meaning of the discussion with the Galatians?

(2). Did this mean that St. Paul had learnt nothing at all from the Church in terms of tradition and practice?

The first question is difficult to answer, and no doubt one's answer will reflect one's own viewpoint of the matter. The inescapable point of it all however is that when St. Paul first went to Corinth, probably in the year A.D. 51, he delivered the Gospel to them and founded a Church, and in so doing he committed to them as a part of that divinely delivered Truth the Institution of the Sacrament as we know it today.

The second question must be even more carefully considered, for on it depends much of our attitude towards the comparative veracities of Acts and Galatians. The argument of Galatians for the totally 'spiritual' authority behind Paul's 'Gospel' depends, at least on Sir. Wm. Ramsay's view, upon the fact that St. Paul had had no sufficient opportunity to consult with the other Apostles. This, Ramsay declares, is a kind of alibi put forward by St. Paul in arguing with the Galatians. If this is so, then it would have been unforgiveable of him to have remained silent about one of his visits to Jerusalem. Such a suggestion, says Ramsay, is an insult to St. Paul.¹ Robertson ingeniously suggests that the Apostles might all have been absent during one visit of St. Paul and so he would not have been obliged to make mention of this fact in the letter to Galatia.² But surely this would have been another telling point for him to have mentioned in his argument, if it were the case! Lightfoot in his commentary would identify Acts xv;2-29 with Gal.ii;1-10, and Robertson is inclined to agree that this is still the most plausible explanation.² Ramsay's own explanation depends upon an early dating of Galatians, putting it before St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem for the Conference described in Acts xv,³ and Jackson and Lake and several other leading

1: Op. cit., pp. 186 ff.

2: op. cit., pp. 171 ff.

3: op. cit., pp. 189 ff.

scholars in this field agree with him, but identify ^{both} Acts xi & xv with Gal.ii. ¹

As we are not here concerned with the minutⁱae of the historical data so much as with the essential facts of the case, it will be sufficient to record that although St. Paul visited Jerusalem several times, he stoutly denied that it was ever for the purpose of learning or obtaining the approval of the other Apostles for his 'Gospel'. ⁵

But St. Paul in Galatians is dealing with a very specific issue, although it is at the heart of the Gospel. That issue concerns the relation of the Christian to the Jewish faith. Are there two degrees of Christians, the circumcized and the uncircumcized? Is prior acceptance of the Law a necessity for a true Christian? For Paul these and kindred questions had only one answer, and that was that the Cross was all-sufficient. Men were saved by their acceptance of the free Grace of Christ alone, as St. Paul himself had found - "My Grace is sufficient for you."

St. Paul's vehemence and uncompromising assertion in this letter is not that derived from an individualistic adherence to petty issues, about individual traditions, so much as from an all-consuming passion for the greatest fact of all. There was no real inconsistency, as Ramsay would suggest, ² if he had indeed accepted the Decrees of the Jerusalem Council ³ in their entirety! Those were not the things that were first in his heart at this time; they were mere trivia. St. Paul was such a 'big' person that he could even go so far as to put himself under Nazarite vows, ⁴ or closely abet those who had done so, without feeling that any hobgoblin of inconsistency appeared on his horizons - he who wrote Galatians and Romans! The issue was not of this or that individual tradition, but of the central fact that the Church was not bound by Councils and the mere decisions of some reformed Sanhedrin - but by the living Spirit of God, and indeed by the ever-present Spirit of the risen Christ.

1: Foakes Jackson & Kitsoff Lake: "The Beginnings of Christianity," Vol. V, pp. 195 ff.; see K. Lake: "The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul,"

3: Acts XV, 29.

4: Acts. XXI, 24.

2: Op. cit., p. 187

5: For the meaning of this expression, see under.

We will never know all that the early Church suffered in the breaking of the old moulds of the national faith, and when one considers today what a poor effort we are still making of it, after twenty centuries of Christian precept, we can only marvel at the power which sundered the most intense and esoteric nationalism and religious cultus, and out of some of its most fervent supporters produced men like St. Stephen, St. Paul and St. Peter. What soul-searing battles must have gone on in a man like St. Paul, who indeed circumcized Titus and Timothy, and who raced back across half the Mediterranean to be in Jerusalem in time for Passover! He who wrote Romans and Corinthians still felt a passionate longing for the things of his national faith.

With all this in mind then we are in a better position to try to understand what St. Paul meant by his unequivocating denials of human assistance in formulating his Gospel. His point is not that he received no information from the historical and traditional Church which centred in Jerusalem, but that he received all of his authority for propagating the Gospel directly from the Lord. The historical facts of the Gospel were not repeated to him as to one ignorant of them, in his tremendous spiritual experiences. He had probably battled and wrestled with all the facts countless times and with a dozen different conclusions. Then the Lord came to him and made a clear vision out of the confusing lights, a picture out of the jig-saw. What Paul saw there was not derived from any man, it was a new truth - the Gospel according to St. Paul.

So too for the facts of the Lord's Supper. Doubtless St. Paul had heard the familiar words and seen the simple actions which had taken place in the Upper Room on many, many occasions. He may have heard several

slightly differing accounts, from sources as different as the Lukan and the Markan traditions. Then, in one of his mighty moments of communion with the Lord, probably when meditating upon the meaning of it all with regards to the present needs of the Church, it suddenly came clear. Never again could he doubt what he had to do. Like so many other major issues of the faith this aspect too was now quite clear, and he delivered to Corinth (as there can be little doubt he also did to all the other Churches under his care) "what he also had received of the Lord..."

If this summary of the process behind the Pauline pronouncements is true to the facts, and it is hard to think otherwise, then we have to deal in Paul's account not only with the tradition concerning the facts, but with the interpretation which St. Paul received from the Lord. Does this then militate against our earlier contention that we have to deal here with a developed liturgical formula of the Church? ¹

The answer is both negative and positive.

The first fact that must be considered is that St. Paul goes out of his way to emphasize that, although this Gospel he preached was his own, directly from Christ, it was also later examined by the other Apostles and, after they had gone into it in detail, completely approved by them.² Once more it is necessary to ask, 'was this Gospel a miracle of transmission, or an illumination of previously cognized facts?' The answer must be in favour of the latter. St. Paul is making no new departure in this teaching about the Lord's Supper, and it is not something open to question, like his teaching about the universality of the Grace of Christ to Gentiles and Jews alike. The very sparsity of reference in other Epistles is surely complete proof of the general acceptance of what Paul taught in I Corinthians about the Last Supper! It is wrong to suggest that he makes

1: See pp. 45ff above

2: Gal. ii, 1-10.

no other mention of the Sacrament because he was relatively unconcerned about it. On the contrary it was something he had "received of the Lord." The only possible explanation is that this much at least of what St. Paul taught his Churches was general practice throughout the Catholic Church as a whole, and apart from ^{certain} abuses which crept in (as mentioned in Jude,¹ and which had apparently occasioned this reference in the letter to Corinth) there had been no essential divergence of opinion about it.

Thus, in considering the Pauline tradition of the Lord's Supper, the first thing necessary is to attempt to decide upon the fundamental underlying tradition upon which his spiritual revelation of the Will and Purpose of the Lord is based.

ST. LUKE AND ST. PAUL:

Because of their close connexion, it is first necessary to consider the relation between the Lukan and Pauline Last Supper narratives. In an exhaustive analysis of the texts, Jeremias comes to the conclusion that the Longer Text (verses 19b - 20) is a non-Lukan passage, derived from liturgical sources: "Aus alledem ergibt sich mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit, das Luke xxii, 19b-20 nicht von Lukas stammt. Verse aber, die nicht von Luke stammen, können - der Schluss erscheint unvermiedlich - nicht wohl der ursprüngliche Lukas-Text sein. Aber dieser Schluss ist hinfällig, sobald man Ernst damit macht, das wir es Luke xxii, 19b-20 mit ein liturgischen Text zu tun haben... ...Lukanischer Sprachgebrauch ist also hier gar nicht zu erwarten."²

Jeremias conjectures that the reason for the similarity between Lukan and Pauline usages in the Longer Text is that they stem from liturgical usage in the same Church, probably the Church of Antioch.

1: Jude 12.

2: *op. cit.*, p. 77.

Thus Otto says: "Perhaps he (Paul) took over, possibly in Antioch, the more developed tradition, and recognized it as the one willed by Christ. He did not artificially invent his account, nor even individual features of it. What he records is clearly traditional material long since rounded off, a piece of material which had long possessed a firm ritual."¹

Leaving aside for the moment the latter suggestion, that both the Lukan and Pauline forms arise, as Jeremias says, "aus einer Gegend des paulinischen Missionsgebietes stammen, eher doch wohl... aus der syrischen Heimatkirche des Lukas, in der auch Paulus vor seinen Missionsreisen lange Zeit gearbeitet hat."² The immediate question is whether St. Paul depends on a Lukan source for his account, or vice-versa, or whether each arises from a separate and independent source.

While small differences (such as ἔλαβον for λάβων; and εἶπεν for λεγων)³ may readily be explained from the different approach of the writer (St. Luke trying to portray events as an eye-witness making a running commentary while St. Paul tries to describe them from the standpoint of a historian) there are other and more significant differences. If St. Luke's account was the source for Paul's information (or indeed if any of the Synoptics' traditional sources were) it is very hard to explain why St. Paul omitted the words "and He gave to them" (καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς).³ Again, after the Bread Words, St. Paul omits the word διδόμενον, from the phrase given by St. Luke as τοῦ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον. Both SS. Luke and Paul omit the fact that Jesus gave the Cup to the Disciples (ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς) and the fact that all drank of it (Mark: καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες: Matt.: πιέτε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες).³ Paul also omits the phrase in common to the Synoptics that the Blood was "shed for you" (many) - τοῦ { ὑπὲρ πολλῶν } ἔκχυνόμενον. Paul alone adds the injunction, repeated in parallel to the similar words

1: R. Otto, op. cit., P326.

2. op. cit., p.77.

3: See pp. 88f. below.

after the distribution of the Bread, "Do this in remembrance of Me", and adds further "as oft as you drink it." (ὅσῳκις ἐὰν πινῆτε).¹

From these facts it would seem that St. Paul has several significant omissions from the Lukan account, which would be hard to explain were it to be assumed that he was dependent upon a Lukan source, such as Proto-Luke, for his version of the tradition. On the other hand it is equally hard to explain why St. Luke would have omitted the final injunction to repetition, and especially the words "as oft as ye drink it", had he been aware of their existence.

The conclusion here is that both writers had access to a very similar if not to the same written account of the Lord's Supper, or else both received their tradition in oral form within the same living Church. Both apparently felt able to make minor editorial changes to it as they felt necessary. This primary source behind Luke and Paul seems to be quite different from that behind the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, but at least portions of these earliest sources were not so different that they might not in their turn have been translations of the identical primitive Aramaic report.²

COMMON MATERIAL TO ALL FOUR TRADITIONS:

The remarkable similarity of order and vocabulary between all four accounts of the Bread Words in the Institution is evident from a glimpse at the accounts arranged in parallel.³ Matthew, Mark and Luke indicate that behind them was a common Aramaic original reading:⁴ "TAKING BREAD AND GIVING THANKS, HE BROKE IT AND GAVE IT TO THEM AND SAID THIS (IS) MY BODY." To this account Mark has added the word λαβετε (Take ye) and Matthew further adds φαγετε (Eat ye). St. Paul's account is identical with

1: See pp.88-9 below.

2: See Vinc. Taylor, op. cit., pp.206 ff.

3: See pp.88ff. below.

4: See Jeremias, op. cit., p.95.

this except for the omission of the words: "and gave it to them", as we have seen.¹

This is the form of the most primitive of all accounts of the Lord's Supper, and was most probably the formula in use in the first decade of the Church's life. It is the source not only for the Shorter Lukan account, but is clearly the type of liturgy St. Luke had in mind when writing the Acts, when he described the Disciples as meeting together on the first day of the week to 'Break Bread'. Here, from a purely linguistic standpoint, we find powerful evidence for the primacy of the Lukan Shorter Text, for, while these words about the Bread were 'settled' by the time St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians, the tradition about the Cup was still in a state of flux. Far from there being an abrupt and unnatural termination of the text at this point, as Jeremias thinks,² we see here the traditional original ending, and both SS. Luke and Paul have added material from another source at some later stage.

With regard to the words of Jesus over the Wine, we find that there is no uniformity of linguistic tradition, although there is a large amount of material in common. Had this part of the tradition been of equal age and standing with the Bread Words, we would have expected at least the principal words of Jesus to have had the same uniformity as the words "This is My Body". The corresponding Wine Words however indicate two rather different expressions of the same basic concept:

Matthew and Mark give: "This is my blood of the Covenant which is shed for many."

Luke and Paul give: "This Cup is the New Covenant in my blood" -

Luke alone adding: "which is shed for you."

Jeremias contends that these latter words, although absent at this point in the Pauline account, have clearly been translated ^{by the Apostle} into the Bread Words,

1: See also pp. 88ff. below.

2: op. cit. p. 78.: "Der kurztext Lk. xxii, 15-19a ist höchst eigenartig wegen seines überraschenden unvermittelten Abbrechens."

but rightly belong here in his source too.¹ If this is so, then the similarity between the sources of the two separate expressions is enhanced, but not so as to enable us to formulate a common Aramaic original as in the case of the Bread Words.

The opinions of a wide selection of scholars at this point bears out what we have found. Thus Vincent Taylor says: "When it can be shown that one saying is probably not derived from a second, and that the second need not be a variant of the first, there is matter for reflexion."² With Jeremias³ however he also contends that the essential meaning of the two expressions is the same. G.H.C. Macgregor says that "it is significant that most of the variations in our four accounts of Jesus' words centre on the covenant Cup, concerning which tradition was evidently not nearly so firm as concerning the distribution of the Bread, and such variations of practice would be more easy to understand if the covenant Cup had no place in the most primitive ritual of the Supper."⁴ On this same point Vincent Taylor comments: "this would be an added reason for thinking that he (Mark) did not know the words 'This is My Blood' as a word of Institution."⁵ He also thinks that there were "diversities of practice" at this point of the rite in Palestine.

Otto speaks of the same matter when he says: "Wine was drunk when one had it, otherwise nothing was drunk. Even for the rite of 'fractio panis' the Cup was not required unconditionally, for in Christ's Last Supper it was not an essential. In this way we may explain the fact that, in certain Christian communities, the rite was practised as breaking of bread, and nothing else. In the poor primitive Church in Jerusalem it must have occurred often enough in this more simple form."⁶

Putting all this opinion and evidence into a simple statement, we

1: Op. cit., p. 76.

2: op. cit., p. 205.

3: op. cit., p. 79.

4. "Eucharistic Origins", (1928), pp. 67-8.

5. Op. cit., pp. 129-30. (re. inversion of words & action of giving the Cup.)

6. op. cit., pp. 319-20.

may say that the most probable explanation of the similarities and differences between the two forms of the tradition is that the Cup Words, although not altogether wanting in the earliest rites of the church, were much less frequently used than the Bread Words, which were in constant, if not daily usage. As we have seen, wine was not very common among the poorer classes of Palestine, and it is highly probable that at the earliest stages the Sacrament was frequently celebrated with bread only, but when wine was available, and particularly on more formal occasions, the Cup was also a part of the service. It is not therefore without special significance that Paul adds the words "as oft as ye drink it" to the Cup Words of the tradition which he shared in common with Luke, for in those early days this provision was necessary to explain why the rite was not always conducted with both bread and wine. The form of his expression (ὅσᾱκις εἴν πινῆτε) - ὅσᾱκις with the Subjunctive might even be translated: "whenever you should happen to drink it."

THE FOUR ACCOUNTS ARRANGED IN PARALLEL:

Matt:	εσθιοντων	δε	αυτων	λαβων	ο	Ιησους	αρτον
Mark:	και	εσθιοντων	αυτων	λαβων			αρτον
Luke:	και	-----	-----	λαβων			αρτον
Paul:	(ο	κυριος	Ιησους)	ελαβεν			αρτον
Matt:	και	ευλογησας	εκλασεν	και	δους	τοις	μαθηταις
Mark:		ευλογησας	εκλασεν	και	εδωκεν		αυτοις
Luke:		ευχαριστησας	εκλασεν	και	εδωκεν		αυτοις
Paul:	και	ευχαριστησας	εκλασεν	-----	-----	-----	-----

----- signifies deletions from Markan account.
 " additions to " " .

Matt: ειπεν λαβετε φαγετε τουτο εστιν το σωμα μου
 Mark: και ειπεν λαβετε τουτο εστιν το σωμα μου
 Luke: λεγων ----- τουτο εστιν το σωμα μου
 Paul: και ειπεν ----- τουτο μου εστιν το σωμα

Luke: το υπερ υμων διδομεν· τουτο ποιειτε εις την εμην αναμνησιν.
 Paul: το υπερ υμων τουτο ποιειτε εις την εμην αναμνησιν.

THE CUP WORDS:

Matt: και λαβων ποτηριον και ευχαριστησας εδωκεν αυτοις, λεγων
 Mark: και λαβων ποτηριον ευχαριστησας εδωκεν αυτοις,
 Luke: και το ποτηριον ωσαυτως· μετα το δειπνησαι, ----- λεγων
 Paul: ωσαυτως το ποτηριον μετα το δειπνησαι, ----- λεγων

Matt: πιετε εξ αυτου παντες
 Mark: και επιον εξ αυτου παντες
 Luke: -----
 Paul: -----

Matt: τουτο γαρ εστιν το αιμα μου της διαθηκης
 Mark: τουτο εστιν το αιμα μου της διαθηκης
 Luke: τουτο το ποτηριον η καινη διαθηκη εν τω αιματι μου
 Paul: τουτο το ποτηριον η καινη διαθηκη εστιν εν τω εμω αιματι

Matt: το περι πολλων εκχυνομενον εις αφεσιν αμαρτιων
 Mark: το εκχυνομενον υπερ πολλων
 Luke: το υπερ υμων εκχυνομενον
 Paul: -----

Paul: Adds: τουτο ποιειτε, οσakis εαν πινητε, εις την εμην αναμνησιν.

----- Deletions from Markan account.
 Additions to " "

THE ORIGINS OF THE LITURGIES:

We have already seen considerable grounds for linking the names of Luke and Paul with Antioch, and the obvious suggestion is, as Jeremias has indicated, that the distinctively Pauline and Lukan traditions stem from the Church in that city, while the Markan and Matthean traditions correspond to that of the mother Church in Jerusalem. This immediately affords an explanation for a number of factors, including the most difficult question of all - namely, Luke's persistent preference for the order of the Shorter Text, being prepared to expand it, but never to discard it for the more 'catholic' form. If this primitive rite had been brought to Antioch by the first missionaries, and if Luke had learnt it there from the lips of his spiritual 'father', then we have an adequate explanation of the tenacity with which he clung to it as something very near the roots of his own spiritual experience. It would even help us to see how closely the rite of the Eucharist was connected with primitive evangelism! Whether at this stage the rite was conveyed in a written form as part of what we now know as the Passion Narrative, or (more probably) as an oral tradition deeply impressed on the memory by constant use, it is not important for us to ask here.

In the early years which followed the establishment of the Church in Antioch, as a more developed unity became necessary between the Antiochan and Jerusalem Churches, the liturgical forms and especially that of the principal rite of the Supper would come in for special attention. Thus as the Supper Rite developed in Jerusalem it would be conveyed to the daughter Church, but inevitably there would appear a number of brief rubrics or instructions indicating what was being done, or had always been done, in the older Church. Otto indicates this when he observes: "as soon as the

rite passed over into circles where previously such rites were neither practised nor known... supplementary words were necessary and had to be inserted: they required the rite to be carried out, and that in a certain manner and with a certain purpose: "This do in remembrance of me."¹ Thus when Luke's account reflects this instruction in the words mentioned by Otto (and St. Paul goes even further in this direction because he writes for a community further removed from the atmosphere and influence of Palestinian tradition) there is no suggestion that we have here the first instance of innovation. On the contrary we have here the first definite verbal expression of something which had always and unquestionably been a part of the earliest practice of the Church in Jerusalem.² As Goguel observes: "Since the early Church believed that it was obeying the will of the Lord in celebrating the Communion, the suppression by Mark of a command to repeat the rite which he found in the source would be unintelligible."³ But Mark was not suppressing anything, he was rather reflecting the primitive tradition of the mother Church, and there such rubrics had never been necessary or even considered; the procedure and repetition of the rite were integral with their Christian living, and it was only the precious words concerning the Body and Blood that focussed their attention.

If the tradition were still in the oral stage, and if the usage involving the Cup were less frequent than that of the Bread, we have a perfect explanation for all the problems connected with the slight divergences of description and expression in the Last Supper accounts. By the time that St. Paul wrote to the Corinthians the use of the Cup was becoming the regular and expected thing in the service, and so he delivered this tradition to them as he had received it, together with such necessary words of elucidation and instruction as might well have been used by the first

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 325.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 446.

2. Vinc. Taylor suggests the possibility that Jesus expounded His own words; *op. cit.*, p. 204.

missionaries to Antioch.

THE DATE OF THE SHORTER TEXT:

The implications of much that we have seen are that the Shorter Text reflects the usage in Antioch before the liturgy of the Lord's Supper became settle^d into the form represented in I Corinthians. This means that it dates from a time well before A.D. 50 - by which time the usage of the Church (probably aided by the inspired authority of St. Paul) had developed into the form which we still follow. This does not mean that St. Luke's Gospel was substantially complete by that time, but rather that the groundwork of the tradition was definite and becoming fixed in the living experience of the Church.

It is most probable that at this point we have to deal with matters of liturgical interest only, or at the most with the Passion narratives (and in the case of Antioch, possibly with a further body of teaching later to appear in Proto-Luke). Hence we can see that if the early Antiochan teaching about the Lord's Supper had gone out to the mission-field in Asia Minor, as is most likely, and if it thereby became firmly fixed in the affections and traditions of some isolated Christian Church, then prejudice and obstinacy might both have been factors in bringing changes into the Longer Text of Luke when it appeared there, the motive being to maintain that which the local authorities felt sure to be a more primitive form of the rite. If this is so, then we have here the explanation best suited to the emergence of the text of Codex Bezae 'D' at this point (together with its allies).

If this local tradition was also the one in which Luke had been reared, we have a case which fits the majority of the facts, and which brings us closer than we may otherwise be able to get in our attempts to find

an explanation of the Bezan and Old Latin texts of Luke. On the other hand the only alternative is to suppose that Luke's whole Gospel with the Shorter Text was written before A.D.50.

A close analysis of Paul's writings discloses that there are many places where there is clear dependence on a Matthean tradition, i.e. tradition unique to Matthew as far as our present knowledge goes, but not in the form of verbal agreement close enough to compel us to accept a literary connexion. It is not to be supposed that Matthew too was written in this earliest period and in vogue in Antioch when St. Paul was there, however. On the contrary it simply indicates that the several traditions which were later collected into Gospels in the various major Churches were never completely isolated in those areas, but went out to the Christian community at large in various and often slightly divergent oral traditions. Thus when the Gospels as we know them finally appeared, they represented authoritative statements of traditions already generally well-known rather than newly publicized facts. It is probable that we tend drastically to over-simplify the whole history of the preservation of the tradition in the early Church, and even of the major collections which have become our Gospels. It is highly probable, for instance, that John Mark began to collect the sayings of Peter during the decade or more during which they were both residing in Mark's home in Jerusalem. Possibly a great deal of what we now know as Mark's Gospel was in written form before it was ever given to the Church of Rome as its own peculiar Gospel. Whatever else we know about Mark we can be sure of this, that he was interested in history, particularly of the life of Jesus, and also he was a person of literary interests - for he was St. Peter's 'interpreter'. Such a person, spending ten years or more with St. Peter from his early 'teens upward, must surely have made some

beginnings upon his great vocation! During the years in Jerusalem, however, the peculiarly Petrine version of the Gospel would not come into prominence as it later did in Rome, for there in the home Church would be a continual process of addition and restatement by many authorities, which was eventually to lead to the emergence of such a history as that by St. Matthew.

If we wait until St. Mark gets to Rome to have him write his Gospel, we must inevitably fall foul of some of the most telling arguments for its priority, such as the very human and even naive descriptions of the failings of the Twelve, as well as such words about Jesus as "He could do there no mighty work..."¹

We may also be sure however that at the time when St. Mark wrote in Rome, the tradition of the Jerusalem Church had not yet resulted in a written Gospel available to the Church at large, or else there would have been no call for St. Mark to have published the preaching and teaching of St. Peter. What was happening in Jerusalem however was already affecting the Church in Antioch, and St. Luke's Gospel is one of its indirect results - as compared with Proto-Luke.

It would be presumptuous here, from a consideration of the Passion Narratives alone, to attempt a restatement of the date of origin of the Synoptic Gospels, but the plea we must make is for a consideration of the probability that the Gospels as we know them are the best individual statements of the great bodies of tradition which had accumulated in their several areas over many years, and which had finally been investigated and published under Apostolic authority in this connected and written form. In support of this view we have St. Luke's own statement in the Prologue to his Gospel:

1: See Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 162ff.

"Forasmuch as many have undertaken to draw up a narrative concerning those things which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word; it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed."¹

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE EARLY DATING OF LUKE:

One argument against the early date of Luke's Gospel is the claim that he made use of information from Josephus's "Antiquities" which was not published before about A.D. 95.² Most critics however reject this claim today. As an alternative dating the period A.D. 75-85 has been most popular, mainly because it is suggested that the internal evidence requires a date after the fall of Jerusalem. It is said that in Chapter xi, and especially in the words: "And when ye shall see Jerusalem encompassed with armies, then know that the desolation is nigh. Then let them which are in Judea fly to the mountains.." there is a later reference to the destruction of the city.³ (Despite the clear sense to the contrary, of course, for the whole point of the story is that it was a prophecy.)

Streeter argues here that Luke made alterations to fit the facts, after their occurrence, when using Mark's record of Jesus' prophecy about the 'Abomination of Desolation'. Such inference is incipient in every opinion that this passage indicates a date later than A.D. 70. It is highly questionable to assume that the author of the third Gospel was the kind of person that this opinion implies, namely that he would deliberately tamper with the record of Jesus' sayings simply to add colour to suit the trends of the times, or to enhance Jesus' omniscience-value. If he were that kind of man it is questionable whether we could trust anything of his own peculiar witness at all, and in the light of his prologue, whether he ought even to be in the Christian Church.

1: Luke i, 1-4.
2: Streeter, op. cit., pp. 557ff.
3: ibid., pp. 491 ff.

It is undoubtedly true that St. Luke exercised the right of an editor, but this fact does not come within that province, and in many instances doubtless his alterations have been in the interests of the greater accuracy of the records. We have already made suggestions that there have been differences from Markan material due to a difference in oral backgrounds, and this explanation is probably the best one for this particular instance.

In any case throughout her long history Jerusalem had often enough, unhappily, had the armies of her enemies assembled at her gates. The memories of the disgusting excesses of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes were not so old as to enable us to say that these events were not in the mind of Jesus and His hearers when an 'Abomination of Desolation' was mentioned.

Again, if the final work on the Gospel of Luke was done in Rome, it is most likely that the coming campaign against Judea was no close secret there in the years 64-65, and if St. Mark came to Rome in answer to St. Paul's request,¹ it is probable that he would bring news of the growing fears in Jerusalem, and of the brewing trouble evident in many places. So even if changes were made to the words of Jesus, there is still no need to postulate a date after the actual fall of Jerusalem.

The words 'Abomination of Desolation' of Mark are not carried over into the Lukan writings - if indeed 'Mark' were the source of this prophecy, which may be questioned - but there may well be nothing more remarkable about this than the fact that it was a Jewish phrase, not very meaningful to Gentiles, and certainly not a very 'winning' kind of expression to use to the Roman Theophilus, even if he were a catechumen of the Church.

1: II Tim., iv, 11-13.

In any event, critics who insist on a late date for Luke because of these reasons, have yet to explain why Matthew, to which they assign a similarly late date, did not change the words from the Markan form!

Thus certain of the chief arguments against the early dating of Luke fall to the ground, and in favour of the early date there is a great deal of evidence, not to say probability. The clear use which St. Paul makes of material found only in Luke indicates that behind the Gospel as we now have it there was a definite complex of tradition dating from a very early period indeed.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE DATE OF LUKE.

Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Irenaeus and many others witness to the fact that Luke was well known and accepted as authoritative by the second half of the second Century. Marcion made copious use of it; and his canon is generally assigned to the year 140. In his commentary on this Gospel Creed shows that the Gnostics, like Basilides and Valentinus, were aware of the existence of Luke, and the latest date we can put to this evidence is A.D. 140. The 'Didache' indicates clear dependence on Luke in its present form, and it was probably in existence before the end of the first Century. Streeter and others have shown that John's Gospel assumes the prior existence of Luke,¹ and that means the Gospel was widely known and accepted by about A.D. 90-95. Streeter also shows that Luke was probably known to Clement of Rome, writing about A.D. 96.²

In addition to these facts there are indications in St. Paul's writings and the evidence within the Gospel itself. In all it would seem that there is no real reason to put a date much later than A.D. 65 for the final publication of the Gospel as we know it, and a date much earlier than this for some of the special material gathered by Luke.

1: *op. cit.*, pp. 401 ff., 540.

2: *ibid.*, pp. 529 ff.

THE GOSPEL BACKGROUND OF THE PAULINE TEACHING:

While the evidence for St. Paul's familiarity with the Gospel tradition is such that verbal dependencies are relatively rare, the connexion between the two bodies of teaching, viewed cumulatively, is very close indeed. The fact that there are so few, if any, actual verbal quotations from the Gospels, as we would expect, is considerable proof that they were not highly developed as teaching authorities at the time when Paul wrote, even if they were in existence, - although he was hardly the kind of man to sit passively before a manuscript, even if written by an Apostle, and copy out portions of its teaching. His great certainty was that he himself was clearly aware, at every essential point, of the mind and will of the Lord the Spirit.

It will be of great value nevertheless for us to make a study of the uses St. Paul makes of Gospel material, or of coincidences between the two bodies of teaching, for thus we will be able to gain added insight into the kind of traditional background in which he was reared as a Christian; and again it will possibly aid us in establishing further the date and origins of the records which are our particular concern. We must therefore aim at developing a list of similarities of thought and expression, and try to arrive at some conclusions as to which of the Gospels is closest to St. Paul's own view-point of the Life and Teaching of Jesus.

It will be found that Romans and I Corinthians exhibit by far the closest connexion between Pauline teaching and the specific Gospel records, and this is only to be expected as these are the two most carefully reasoned letters by the Apostle - his others being much more spontaneous, and in certain instances even impetuous outpourings of his own convictions, or what he feels to be the guidance of the Spirit.

Turning then first to the Roman correspondence, we now list the evidence

as to dependence or close agreement with Gospel teaching:

THE EVIDENCE OF ROMANS:

- 1. Romans i, 3: "He was made of the seed of David."
This indicates that Paul was familiar with the teaching about the infancy of Jesus, either in the Lukan or Matthean tradition - Mt. i,1; Lk.ii,2. (L or M)
- 2. " i,16: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ."
Mark and Luke both record the sayings of Jesus: "Whoever is ashamed of me and my words..." The verb is the same in both cases, Paul having ἐπαισχύνομαι while Luke and Mark have ἐπαισχύνηθη (Luke ix,26; Mk. viii,38) (NOT 'Q')
- 3. " ii, 1: "Wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself."
There is almost complete verbal agreement here with the saying of Jesus recorded in Matthew and Luke: (Paul) ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίνεις τὸν ἕτερον, σεαυτὸν κατὰ κρίνεις. (Luke) ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε, κριθήσεσθε... (Q)
- 4. " ii, 6: "who will render to every man according to his works."
This saying, recorded by Matthew alone, is a most interesting parallel: (Paul) ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. (Matt) ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ πράξιν αὐτοῦ. (M)
- 5. " ii,16: "In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Christ Jesus according to my Gospel."
This reference is interesting because of the statement about 'my Gospel'. It has been claimed that here Paul is referring to Luke, but it is Matthew's Gospel which alone tells the story of Jesus judging the nations. The Son of Man as judge in the Last Days was not a new idea in Jewish thought however, and too much stress must not be placed on this passage. (M)
- 6. " ii,19: "That thou thyself art a guide of the blind..."
There is a very probable reference here to Matt.vx, 14. Once again Matthew alone of the Synoptics records this saying referred to by Paul: (Paul) πέποιθάς τε σεαυτὸν ὁδηγὸν εἶναι τυφλῶν... (Matt) τυφλοί εἰσιν ὁδηγοὶ τυφλῶν... (M)
- 7. " vi, 16: "to whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are..."
There is a reflexion here of the saying of Jesus: "No man can serve two masters..." recorded in both Matt. vi,24 and Luke xvi,13. (Q)



8. Romans vii, 3: "If while her husband liveth she be married to another man she shall be called an adulteress."
All three of the Synoptics record the saying of Jesus on this matter of remarriage of divorcees, which may be in Paul's mind here, as it seems certain to have been in I Cor. vii, 10-11 (cf. Mk. x, 11-12; Matt. v, 32 & I Cor. xvi, 18) (Q)
9. " x, 9: "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus..."
Matthew x, 32 and Luke xii, 8 both record the saying of Jesus: "Whosoever shall confess me before men..." to which this may be a reference. (Q)
10. " xii, 8: "He that giveth, let him do it with singleness."
This is probably a clear reference to the Matthean: "When thou doest thine alms let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." vi, 3. (M)
11. " xii, 14: "Bless those who persecute you..."
The verbal similarity is so great here with regard to the saying of Jesus recorded by both Matthew and Luke, that it probably indicates dependence:
(Paul) εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς διώκοντας ὑμᾶς...
(Matt) προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς...¹
(Luke) εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς κατακρωμένους ὑμᾶς...² (Q)
12. " xii, 17: "Render to no man evil for evil."
"Do not resist evil." (Matt. v, 39) (M)
13. " xii, 20: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him..."
"Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you."
Matt. v, 44; cf. Luke vi, 27. (Q)
14. " xiii, 7: "Render therefore to all their dues, tribute to whom it is due." All three Synoptics record the saying of Jesus: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's..."
Matt. xxii, 21; Mk. xii, 17; Lk. xx, 25. (M)
15. " xiii, 9&10: "... and if there be any other commandment, it is summed up in this word, namely 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'; love worketh no ill to his neighbour: love therefore is the fulfilling of the Law."
cf. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" - on these two hang all the Law and the Prophets." Matt. xxii, 39-40 (M)
16. " xiv, 10: "We shall all stand before the judgement seat of Christ."
see 5. above. (M)
17. " xiv, 12: "Everyone of us shall give account of ourselves to God."
cf. "Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgement."
(Paul) περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον δώσει τῷ Θεῷ
(Matt) ἀποδώσουσι περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον ἐν ἡμέρᾳ κρίσεως...³ (M)
18. " xvi, 19: "But yet I would have you wise unto that which is good and simple concerning evil."

1. Matt. v, 44.

2. Luke vi, 28.

3. Matt. xii, 36.

This is surely a reflection of the words of Jesus:
 "Be ye therefore as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves."
 Found in Matthew alone; x,16. (M).

SUMMARIZING THE EVIDENCE OF ROMANS:

From the above most typical cases of parallel thought between Romans and the Gospels, we find that there is not a single instance of affinity with the Fourth Gospel, and that the majority of cases can be referred to Luke. This is precisely what we would have expected with regard to these two records. But a most significant feature emerges with regard to the Gospel according to St. Matthew. There are several cases where it seems that St. Paul must have had a knowledge of the peculiarly Matthean tradition, if not of the Gospel itself, viz: 4,5,6,10,12,15,16 and 18. Does this constitute an argument for a very early date for Matthew?

Before making any judgement on this question it would be necessary to treat all the Pauline correspondence as thoroughly as we have done Romans, and time will not permit that. It will be valuable however to look at the First letter to Corinth, as a relatively early Epistle, and one which, as we have mentioned, shows considerable affinity with Gospel teaching.

POSSIBLE MATTHEAN ELEMENTS IN I CORINTHIANS:

It is important to try to decide whether First Corinthians shows any knowledge of Markan and Matthean tradition not found in Luke, for in this way we can add to our knowledge of the traditional background from which St. Paul wrote his account of the Last Supper. Passages in the Epistle indicating a knowledge of 'Q' &/or Proto-Luke, and so appearing parallel in Matthew, are fairly conclusive. e.g.

I Cor. i,22	cf. Matt. xii,38	and Luke xi, 29.
i,23	xi, 6	vii,23
i,27a	xi,25	x,21
iv, 5	vii, 1	vi,37
vi, 2	xix, 28	xxii,30
vii,10	v, 32	xvi,18
viii, 3	vii, 23	xiii, 27

There are however, several passages where there is a possibility of an affinity with Matthean material not found paralleled in Luke.

Some of these are:

1. I Cor. viii,12: "Thus, sinning against the brethren, and wounding their conscience when it is weak, ye sin against Christ." cf. Matt. xxv,40: "As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren you did it to me."
2. I Cor. xii,3c.: "No man can say Jesus is Lord but in the Holy Spirit." cf. Matt. xvi,17: "Blessed art thou Simon bar Jonah, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in Heaven." (see 4 below).
3. I Cor. xv,27.: "He put all things in subjection under his feet; but when He saith: All things are put in subjection..." cf. Matt. xxviii,18: "Jesus came and said unto them, All authority in Heaven and earth has been given unto me..."¹
4. I Cor. xv,50 : "Flesh and blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God." possibly some connexion with Matt. xvi,17 (see 2.)
5. I Cor. xv,52 : "The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible and we shall be changed..." cf. Matt. xxiv,31: "He will send out his angels with a loud trumpet call, and they will gather his elect..."

With the exception of this last instance, which is very doubtful, as it must have been a common enough conception of the Last Day (Mark and Luke however omit all mention of the Trumpet at this point, on the other hand) these cases all contain discourse, and it might be conjectured as to whether they are not possibly part of 'Q', omitted in Luke for some reason we do not know.

If this is so, then there is no need to regard them as peculiarly Matthean, as is now suggested. As this applies equally to the passages

1. Probably a refce. to B. viii, (cf. B. cx) however.

cited from Romans, it is possible that we have here a further strand of information about the contents of 'Q' - especially if that document were the official record of the Church from which St. Paul derived much of his information.

Apart from the few instances of apparent parallelism of language quoted from Romans however, it is very doubtful if one can say more than that Paul had become conversant with an oral tradition which at many points dominated his thinking, and found expression in his language. It is most unlikely from all these instances that he so much as attempted anything in the way of quotation. On the other hand it would appear that he assumes a certain familiarity on the part of his hearers with the facts of the evangelical tradition.

If the passages with a Matthean flavour did not in fact derive from 'Q', then it is necessary to accept that St. Paul received a good deal of information from the areas in which St. Matthew's Gospel later emerged, and that would here seem to mean Antioch. . . We know for certain that he had spent at least a year in Antioch, before beginning on his First Missionary Journey, and this other information adds confirmation to the theory of Ramsay that when he went to Jerusalem to convey assistance from Antioch during the famine, he stayed on there personally to supervise its distribution, and so was present at meetings of the Church there over a period of several months.¹ In this way we find explanation for the way elements of tradition later found solely in Matthew came into his letters.

SUMMARIZING EVIDENCE FROM PAULINE SOURCES:

From this somewhat lengthy detour into the connexions between the Lukan and Pauline traditions, we have seen a number of important factors emerge. We have discovered that there is good reason to believe that Luke's earliest

1: op. cit., pp. 48 ff.

training in the Gospel tradition occurred before any extensive contact with St. Paul, and that the Shorter Text probably reflects this earlier period. From a comparison of the four accounts of the Last Supper we have discovered additional evidence for the probability of the primacy of the tradition behind the Shorter Text - or that the earliest rite was a 'Bread' rite only. From St. Paul's method of dealing with traditional source-material, we find reason to believe that the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper as delivered to Corinth represents the living liturgy of his 'home Church', plus a small amount of explanatory material derived from special spiritual illumination.

From all this emerges the probability that the order of appearance of the accounts of the Supper is as follows:

1. BREAD BREAKING: (Luke's Shorter Text - possibly in oral tradition).
2. The Developed Jerusalem Rite: (Matthew and Mark)
3. The Developed Antiochan Rite: (Luke's Longer Text - and possibly by this time the first Cup had dropped out and was replaced in practice by the second.)
4. THE CATHOLIC LITURGY: (The final result of the enquiries of the Primitive Church, here seen as the Antiochan rite as delivered to Corinth.)

Furthermore, although we have used the word 'developed' we do not mean (and there are no grounds for supposing) that this means any later addition to the words or intentions of Jesus. On the contrary we have found ample grounds for respecting the meticulous accuracy and care with which men like SS. Luke and Paul dealt with their sources and traditions, and the 'development' was that of a growth of stimulated memory and insight, under the influence of the growing needs of the living Church, and directed by the work of the Holy Spirit.

Far from representing a new and even rival practice of the liturgy, the Pauline tradition is therefore seen as an integral part of the one growth.

When one unversed in the niceties of criticism reads the Markan or Matthean account of the Lord's Supper today, he experiences no surprise or even enquiry in his mind, no matter how well acquainted he may be with the Pauline account of the Institution. The reason is that the first two Gospels present the substance of what St. Paul was explaining to Corinth, and the Apostle's additional phrases (some of which were current in Antioch from the very first) are only what one would expect from the simpler accounts, and were included to convey to the younger Churches what had always been practised in the mother Church. If however only the first two Gospels had survived to posterity, we would all be to some degree at the mercy of later interpretation and 'derived' traditions as to the meaning of some of the important aspects of what took place in the Upper Room. But here St. Paul spoke out with authority to a Church already experiencing difficulties of this nature, and with his account there was placed on record for the first time, what was not only the authentic tradition of the Apostolic Church, but that which St. Paul confidently asserted to be the mind of Christ Himself on this matter.

We have found evidence, moreover, that St. Paul was not dependent upon St. Luke for his Gospel training and traditions, and that as well as his time in Antioch there is ample reason to believe that he became familiar with the traditions current in Jerusalem during his visits there, traditions which later emerged as St. Matthew's Gospel. This adds assurance to our acceptance of his deliverance to Corinth as being not simply a product of the Church in Antioch, but a living tradition of the whole of Christendom.

There are good reasons for believing that St. Paul regarded the Lord's Supper as an integral part of his Gospel, and that this, along with his other teaching, had been compared with that of the other Apostles at Jerusalem. It is even conceivable that later in Antioch the more developed

liturgy was one of the points of discussion between SS. Peter and Paul.¹

Summarizing what has emerged in this chapter then, we have seen that:

1. While Mark and Matthew reflect the original practice of the Lord's Supper in the Jerusalem Church, Luke and Paul reflect the rite as received and practised in Antioch.
2. The Lukan Shorter Text ('D', it, etc..) is probably due to an attempt to preserve a very primitive form of the Last Supper liturgy (probably the one first known to Luke himself) which dates from a time before the Cup had a regular place in the rite.
3. The Antiochan rite was settled into a form fairly close to that of I Corinthians xi, at a time well before A.D. 50.
4. St. Paul, as did the first three Evangelists, firmly believed that the Last Supper was instituted by Jesus Christ Himself in form and intention as seen in I Corinthians xi.
5. The process whereby the primitive Church finally arrived at this fullest account of the authentic tradition is reflected at four main points, namely:
 - a. The Bread Breaking Rite (Acts and Luke's Shorter Text).
 - b. The Jerusalem Rite (Matthew and Mark).
 - c. The Antiochan Rite (Luke's Longer Text).
 - d. The Catholic Liturgy (I Cor. xi.)

We are now in the position to go on to the Longer Text of Luke and to enquire whether it upsets either the chronological or the dogmatic aspects of the Supper which we have so far observed.

1. Acts xv, 1, 24: cf. Gal. ii, 12: (See Ramsay, op. cit., pp.157f).

VI.

ST. LUKE'S LONGER ACCOUNT.

From all that we have seen so far in St. Luke's writings there has been found no reason to doubt the chronology of the last days of Jesus' life as derived from the Gospels of Mark and Matthew. On the contrary, as well as finding direct references to the day and season, there have been many places where the Paschal nature of the Last Supper is clearly presupposed. When we turn to the Longer Text this is seen to be even more evident. It might be possible, for instance, by taking the Shorter Text alone, and disregarding all the other evidence available, to say that the sequence 'Cup-Bread' could derive from the rite of Kiddush for Sabbath. Some have thus tried to conjure up a Kiddush for Passover, separate from the Seder itself, and preceding it by twenty-four hours; but the whole world of Christian, to say nothing of Jewish, scholarship is still waiting for some shred of evidence that this anticipatory rite ever existed, or could exist.

Important then as the question of the primacy of the Lukan Shorter or Longer Text really is, especially with regard to the interpretation of the meal, it has no bearing upon the date of the Supper or its relation to the Paschal meal. Luke stands with Mark and Matthew, from largely independent evidence, as a witness to the fact that Jesus was celebrating the Passover on the night of the fifteenth of Nisan when He instituted the

Lord's Supper.

LUKE'S LONGER TEXT - THE FINAL PICTURE:

The Longer Text of the Last Supper narrative, as perpetuated by the vast majority of the authorities, indicates that this was the considered and authoritative version which finally came from the hand of the author. It is no product of patch-work, like the two Syriacs, but an integrity. There remains for us now to consider the picture that must have been in St. Luke's mind as he produced this final **version** of the Last Supper. To recapitulate something of what we have already seen for the Shorter Text then, and to include (as Luke has done) the material making up the Longer Text, we arrive at the following picture:

Jesus and His Disciples enter the Upper Room which has previously been prepared for the Passover, and take their places at the low table, reclining according to custom on the long cushions or couches set for the purpose. When they have all reclined, not without some contention as to their seating arrangements, Jesus feels deep emotion as He prepares to enter upon this longed-for rite. As He takes the first cup, used to sanctify the Day and known as the Kiddûsh Cup, He says:

"I have greatly longed to eat this Passover with you before I suffer, for I tell you I will never eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God."¹

These words strike a cold chill of fear to the hearts of the disciples, which is emphasized for them by the subsequent words of Jesus. First, He blesses the wine:

"Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who createst the fruit of the vine."

Then He takes the Cup, pauses, and passes it to the others saying:

1. Luke xxii, 15.

"Take and distribute this among yourselves, for I tell you I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until such time as the Kingdom of God comes."

After all have partaken of the Cup, Jesus washes His hands and distributes a pinch of parsley dipped in salt water to each of the company. Eaten after an appropriate blessing, this serves as a kind of hors d'oeuvres.

Jesus then takes the middle cake of the Unleavened Bread and breaks it in halves, wrapping one half in a napkin for use later in the meal. The unwrapped half is displayed to the company, lying on a dish, which is elevated so that all may see it. This is the traditional place for the celebrant to describe the miseries of the slavery ^{in Egypt.} It may be here, or later, after the main dish, when the Apikomen (half piece of Unleavened Bread set aside) is eaten, that Jesus speaks the striking words:

"This is My Body!"

He then adds; "Which is given up for you: ———. Do this in remembrance of me!"

If it were at the earlier place in the meal that this occurred, we could next imagine the Second Cup being filled, and it would be the time for the Haggadic picture of the Exodus from Egypt. Whether this was the theme on which Jesus spoke on this particular occasion Luke does not mention, but the likelihood is that, instead of this old traditional narrative, Jesus here launched into words explanatory of the startling things which had just been said and done, and also of His approaching Death. At a pause in this teaching He would rise, and the Second Cup would be blessed and drunk, — (perhaps it was at this point that the words about the 'True Vine', as recorded in John xv, were spoken?)

After this Cup the meal proper began, and the Lamb would be served to each member of the company by Jesus, who would first pass to each a 'sop',

or piece of Lamb with bitter herbs on a piece of Unleavened Bread, possibly forming, as Hillel said, a kind of 'sandwich'.¹

After the main meal, which must have been some considerable time later, and after much conversation and probably teaching by Jesus, the time comes for the third ritual cup, or 'Cup of Blessing'. Jesus therefore rises from the reclining position and takes this Cup, which as one of the ten essential rites of Passover, must be specially blessed,² and says:

"This Cup is the new Covenant in my Blood, which is poured out for you."

Such then is the Lukan account of that Last Passover as it is finally presented by him. It seems that Luke was inescapably convinced of the accuracy and veracity of his own primary source, for he retained the order of events in the earlier portion although the Markan and Matthean tradition had differed as to the time when Jesus had spoken his words of renunciation of the fruit of the vine, for instance. He even kept to the order of chronology concerning the time Judas left the meal, thus retaining the startling breaking-off from the words of the Sacrament by the harsh reality of:

"But behold, the hand of him that betrayeth me is on the table with me..."

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO TRADITIONS:

It is as well to notice clearly the major points of difference between the two cycles of traditions. The following are added to the account by Mark and Matthew:

1. Jesus' saying about His great desire to eat this Passover with His Disciples. In Mark/Matthew the first word is of the betrayer, and before any mention is made of a sacramental meal Jesus denounces Judas in similar terms to those used by Luke at a later juncture.

1: Exod. XII, 8; Tosh. Pes. i, 34; * Zeb. 79a. See Edersheim, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 506; also Gaster, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

2: Edersheim, *ibid.*, p. 506.

Luke's account supposes that Judas had been present throughout the sacramental meal.

2. Mark/Matthew do not refer to the Kiddush Cup, although it is quite unthinkable that they did not pre-suppose it.
3. While none of the three describes the actual point of exit of Judas, the different places at which the two traditions conceive of the words prophesying betrayal make it possible that they had different ideas on this point of chronology too. On the other hand it is even more probable that they simply accepted the fact that Judas was present throughout, and therefore must have slipped away en route to the Garden to summon the mob. This is proof of the conversation with Judas being in the nature of an 'aside'.
4. Mark/Matthew both make the definite statement that they were actually eating when Jesus took the loaf and blessed and broke it; thus indicating that Supper was under way, and suggesting that the sacramental loaf was a fresh and whole one, unconnected with the Passover rite as such.
5. Luke adds the words commanding the repetition of the rite, which would seem to be instruction to the Antiochan Church of what in Jerusalem had always been understood to be the intention of Jesus.
6. Not having described the Kiddush Cup, Mark/Matthew place the words of renunciation in juxtaposition with the Sacramental Cup.

FEATURES NOT FOUND IN THE LUKAN ACCOUNT:

1. As we have noticed, Mark/Matthew mention that it was "while they were eating" that Jesus took the loaf for the sacramental act.
2. Luke does not record the Markan word "Take ye", nor the further Matthean addition: "Eat ye", in connexion with the Bread.

3. Similarly with regard to the Cup, Luke omits the fact that Jesus gave it to the Disciples, although this would be obvious from the nature of the account.
4. Luke, in keeping with this silence about procedure, omits the words "All drink of this!" (Matthew) or "And they all drank of it" (Mark).

These silences about procedure can hardly be claimed to be significant because of the words added by Luke "This do in my remembrance"; except for the fact that it indicates how little Luke set out simply to 'fill-out' his account. There is no ground here for the critic who claims that Luke's (and indeed Paul's) account is simply an embellished version of the Markan narrative.

AN ATTEMPT AT CONFLATION:

It can be assumed that Luke at least knew of the Markan tradition when he wrote his Gospel, and we must consider that he had good reasons for every detail in which his account differed from the former. Thus Luke must have been sure that Jesus actually did say the words he records concerning His great desire to eat this Passover with the Twelve. He must have been equally convinced that the first Cup ought to be included in his account, although aware that it might seem confusing to the Gentile mind. There is a balance of emotion in his narrative which is lacking in those by Mark and Matthew. The way in which they immediately launched into accounts of the Betrayal lowers the spiritual tone of the narrative, and takes so much for granted of the reader, that the orderly sequence of the Lukan narrative appeals to us far more than its counterparts as being true to the nature of the meal for which Jesus had prepared so minutely and thought about so fondly.

Jesus' first thoughts were surely greater than those concerning

the miserable Betrayer and his unmasking. This is to be His last Pass-over, in fact His last meal with the Disciples, and He indicates these two facts at the outset of the meal. Consider the stately parallelism of the Lukan account of the meal:

There is the two-fold renunciation: "I will no more eat..."

and : "I will no more drink..."

Then : "This is my Body"... followed after some time by the words:

"This is my Blood."

There is too the incipient thought-sequence between the traditional blessing over the 'fruit of the vine' and the statement renouncing the 'fruit of the vine.'

According to St. Luke it is only when the meal had begun, and the Disciples had entered deeply into the emotional and spiritual tone of their Master's own feelings, that He broaches the question of His Betrayal. Possibly the meal would be drawing to a close, and Jesus would have said all that He desired to say to the Disciples as His last message, before He took the initiative and started Judas off on his fateful errand.

If, as of course we would like to think, Judas had actually slipped out into the night before Jesus rose to crown this Passover meal in His Sacramental acts (when indeed He indicated the consummation of all Paschal observances) then the Synoptics' account is the more accurate here; (for Luke, as we have seen, puts the act of unmasking after the sacred rite, but it would seem from Mark/Matthew that Judas was sent off earlier.) It seems inescapable that Mark/Matthew are right here, for there would be little point in dismissing Judas after the Sacrament, whereas it is very evident that his presence during this most solemn act would be an unbearable memory and reproach to the other Disciples ever afterwards.

Although Mark/Matthew omit any reference to Jesus' having ordered the repetition of the act, we have seen earlier that everything points to this as having been implied, if not actually stated by Jesus. There could have been no doubt in the minds of the Disciples that this was something that was to take the place of the Passover - they could never celebrate that in the old way again! Jesus' action in choosing the Passover meal as the setting for this Supper was in itself a command to repetition.²

Thus Vincent Taylor says: "Can we be certain that the idea of repetition would have been found to be implicit, if Jesus had not said: "Do this in remembrance of me"? Without the word, would the custom have arisen? It may not be possible to answer these questions, but, with some confidence, it may be affirmed that the custom of the Primitive Church in breaking bread (cf. Acts ii,42) is best understood if it rests on the express word of Jesus..... Our conclusion then, is that, in recording the sayings which command the continued observance of the Supper, St. Paul has preserved an original element in the tradition not mentioned by the Synoptics."¹

With regard to the vow of renunciation, as we have mentioned, the Synoptic accounts of Mark/Matthew bring these words into connexion with the sacramental Cup - in itself an unnatural and unlikely combination of ideas. It is far more probable that the Lukan order, where these words are spoken over the first or Kiddush Cup, is the correct one.

The Hallel at the end of the Seder was not mentioned by Luke, just as he did not mention so many other aspects of the Paschal meal. It is only remarkable that the other two writers did mention it; and it is surely a very strong piece of evidence for the Paschal nature of the occasion! Edersheim says of Luke's account of the Supper: "It is im-

1. *op. cit.*, p. 208. See Vol. II, Last Chapter.

2. See book II, chapt. viii

possible to imagine anything more evident than that he wishes us to understand that Jesus celebrated the ordinary Jewish Paschal Supper."¹ On the other hand we have found throughout the Lukan account an air of fresh approach and independent judgement which must have been leading causes in the omission of the purely Paschal elements from the narratives and traditions concerning the Sacrament. The Unleavened Bread, the bitter herbs, the Lamb itself, together with the Kiddush and other cups with their allegorical significance were now superseded by new and deeper truth, and the rite of the of Passover was replaced by a greater and much more significant rite. They had moved beyond allegory and symbol to a real, spiritual participation in the blessed Body and Blood of the Son of Man.

THE JOURNEY TO EMMAUS:

Before leaving Luke's Gospel it is important for us to notice the central incident in his story of the journey of the two Disciples to Emmaus, and their meeting with the risen Lord. Jesus is the guest at the table in their home, His identity as yet unknown to them:

"And as He lay at table with them He took a loaf, blessed it, broke it and handed it to them. Then their eyes were opened and they recognized Him, but He vanished out of their sight... Then they related the events of the way, and how He became known to them in the Breaking of Bread."²

The appearances of Jesus after the Resurrection were never haphazard; in fact they each had a particular function and importance in the training of the Disciples. The main purpose was not simply to convince them that He was alive, for one appearance might have sufficed for that. The thing that Jesus was trying to teach them was that He was longing for the time

1: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 481.

2: Luke XXIV, 30-31, 35.

when they would no longer need to apprehend His presence with their bodily senses before recognizing that He was with them. Only at times of crisis, as when they were terrified in the Upper Room, in trouble on the Lake, in intellectual difficulties on the road to Emmaus, and so on, did He come to them in His risen form. At each point no further appearance would be necessary. Never again would they be in a storm at sea, or indeed in any physical danger, without sensing His coming to them through the rain and spume, a real if invisible presence restoring their courage and bringing peace. Never again would Mary be able to walk along in a garden without coming face to face with Him. So too for those two Disciples who had shared supper with Him in their home at Emmaus.

It was in the 'Breaking of Bread' that He was known to them. Although they were His Disciples and had heard Him teach and expound the Scriptures so often before, although they knew and loved every contour of His face, it was not in these things that their eyes were opened to recognize Him. Instead the consummate joy of communion lay in the act of the breaking of their ordinary supper bread, and in His blessing of it. Even if they had been present at many meals with Him and had seen and heard Him do this same thing many times before, there is no adequate explanation here for their recognizing Him in this act rather than in many other even more familiar factors. The importance of their recognition is rather to be explained in two ways:

- (1). As suggested in the narrative, it was a part of the Divine intention that they should not recognize Him until this very moment: "their eyes were holden..." Thus the Divine intention is directed specifically at the fact of the breaking of bread.
-

- (2) Closely following upon this fact is the indication that at some earlier time this act of Jesus must have been impressed upon their minds in a unique way. Must it not have been that the Last Supper in the Upper Room had for ever associated this act of the breaking of bread with the real presence of the Body of their Lord?

These two facts, when taken together, are full of significance in our appreciation of the importance of the Lord's Supper for the primitive Church.

What took place over that supper table in a flash of recognition changed the course of the lives of those two men as nothing else had done before - not even the preaching and death of Jesus - although the earlier events were an integral part of the experience. They had come home disconsolate, and went out apostolic; they came home human and went out immortal, knowing and feeling sons of God. Never again could they break bread without their hands trembling with expectancy, awe and joy. Never again could they sit at table without feeling the most real presence of Jesus. Could it have been upon the retelling of their experience to the other Disciples that the Last Supper words of Jesus were first recalled? Could it have been there and then that the rest called for bread and wine to do, with trembling hands, the thing that He had commanded them? Was it then that He came to them all, passing through closed doors? Was it thus that He came to Thomas later? This is so much conjecture, but some fact as definite and as important must have occurred to start the Christian Church on its single-hearted observance of this act.

Both Jesus' intention and their own experience in that Emmaus home must have been the same - that here was a direct intervention to help

mould the thinking and practice of the early Church. If there had been any lingering doubt as to whether the Lord's Supper were not after all indissolubly connected with the Jewish **Cultus**, this one experience was enough to shatter it for ever. It was one of those glorious consummate experiences of an earlier intimacy which they had feared lost, but which they now came to understand was for ever available to them, even as frequently as sitting down to a simple meal.

SUMMARIZING THE DISCOVERIES FROM THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS:

From all that we have seen so far we have found overwhelming evidence for the Paschal nature of the Last Supper, and nothing whatsoever to contradict it. We have found however that there are at least two distinct cycles of tradition concerning what was actually said and done during the meal, and in some points it would seem most necessary that these discrepancies be further elucidated. From these two primitive cycles alone there was not as yet sufficient guarantee that the details of this central act of worship and fellowship would everywhere be understood and accurately transmitted. It is in the realm of this further elucidation and definition that the work of St. Paul on the Sacrament is to be understood.

VII.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

As we have already seen, the Acts of the Apostles indicates that in the most primitive Christian Community the central act of their worship and fellowship included the rite known as the 'Breaking of Bread'.¹ There are two clear instances in the history where their practice is mentioned, as well as a doubtful case just prior to the shipwreck on St. Paul's journey to Rome.

The first instance mentioned takes place very soon after Pentecost: In the second chapter of Acts we read:

"Thereupon they who received his word were baptized, and there were added in that day souls about three thousand. And they were continuing in the teaching of the Apostles and the fellowship, the breaking of bread and the prayers... and day by day both continuing with one accord in the Temple, and breaking bread at home, they were partaking of food with gladness and simplicity of heart, praising God and having favour with all the people."²

As we look at this account several points are immediately apparent. First that all ^b baptized persons were admitted to this fellowship of the Breaking of Bread - it was not regarded by the Apostles as their sole right, at any stage. Again, while the act was an integral part of the religious discipline of the early Church, it was not a Temple service but celebrated at home. It would also appear that it was a daily usage, and that it was a part of an ordinary meal, not simply a token observance.³

1: See pp. 43 ff

2: Acts ii, 41-2, 46-7.

3: F.F. Bruce, op.cit., p. 100.

The second account tells of a time a little later in the life of the Church, and here once more the rite is at the centre of the religious life of the early Christian community, but this time they had assembled on the first day of the week in order to break the Bread.

"On the first day of the week, when we had assembled to break bread, Paul was discoursing to them, intending to leave next day, and prolonged his discourse until midnight. There were a great number of lamps in the upper room where we had assembled... and he ascended and broke the bread and ate and conversed a long while until dawn, and so departed." ¹

From these two instances it is evident that at this stage the early Church did not have any developed conception of the Lord's Supper as Paul later delivered it to the Corinthians. There is no mention of wine, nor of the meal having a sacramental character, although this may have been implicit in the report. The facts here are quite in keeping with what we have already seen in the growth of Luke's Gospel, namely that in this first period the symbol of unity in Christ was the common participation in a specially blessed and broken loaf of bread, probably during an ordinary meal, as Jesus had done at the Last Supper, saying that it was His Body. Thus Bruce says: "We are probably to understand a meal, in the course of which the Eucharist was celebrated... it was after midnight and therefore Monday morning, when they carried out the purpose for which they had met." ² It would appear from Luke and Acts that we can say this much about the earliest stages of the development of the rite, but almost certainly we can say no more.

The third time the Breaking of Bread is mentioned in Acts is doubtful as to its connexion with the Eucharist, being the story of Paul's last meal on the ship before it was wrecked:

"Saying this (Paul) took a loaf and gave thanks to God in presence of all, and broke it and began to eat. Then all became cheerful and themselves partook of food." ³

1: Acts xx, 7-8, 11.

2: *Op. cit.*, pp. 372-4.

3: Acts xxvii, 35-6.

This incident may not refer to anything other than the customary 'Grace before meals' - just as the two disciples at Emmaus asked Jesus to bless their meal before eating on that first Christian Sunday. It is possible, and even inevitable however, that Paul had Jesus' action during the Last Supper in mind here, for he could hardly ever have broken bread without sensing the presence of the Lord with him; but it will also be noticed that the Apostle did not give the broken bread to the others.¹ Luke too probably saw something more significant than the usual blessing of bread in St. Paul's action, hence his particular mention of the incident.

CONCLUSIONS:

The evidence from Acts then is quite definite and inescapable, while at the same time it is obvious that there is no developed doctrine or liturgy of the Sacrament, nor was there an exclusive emphasis placed upon the rite. It was just one of many facets of Christian fellowship, together with worship, prayer, preaching and studying the word - to say nothing of the major task of living the new life within the environment of the old world. It is reassuring too to find that all the ancient authorities concur in these passages, for the 'W' and 'N' texts do not differ here (other than in the case of the three minuscules mentioned below).¹ Considering the great differences found elsewhere in Acts between these two families of texts, this agreement is all the more striking.

THE DAY OF PENTECOST:

Before leaving the history of Acts it is worth noticing that the very birth of the Christian Church as a conscious entity is associated with the Passover. In Acts ii,1 we read: "During the course of the Day of

¹: 614, 1611, & 2147, together with δ (hl*) & \mathcal{E} (Sah) add: ἐπιδίδους καὶ ἡμῖν after εἶπεν in v.35., but the contrary evidence is overwhelming.

Pentecost they were all together... and they were all filled with the Holy Spirit."

The mention of the Day of Pentecost is significant not only because it shows how intimately the growth of the Church remained in contact with the Jewish cultus,¹ but in particular because Pentecost was dependent upon the Passover. For instance in the ancient liturgy of Adai and Mari, in a prayer for the Feast of Pentecost, it is said: "on the Feast of the Passover He sacrificed Himself in the type of a lamb, and on the Festival of Pentecost He sealed His victory."

Dr. Woods, in his article on 'Hebrew Festivals and Feasts' says: "Just as the Passover became the Easter Feast of the Christian Church, so did Weeks (Pentecost) become the Whitsun Feast."² Prof. Purves, in his article on 'Pentecost' shows that the term itself was adopted from the Greek for 'fiftieth' (ἡ πεντηκοστή) and was applied by Greek-speaking Jews (as was יוֹם הַמִּשְׁבֵּעַ by the Rabbis) to the second of the three chief feasts³ because it fell on the fiftieth day after the offering of the barley sheaf during the Feast of Unleavened Bread.⁴

It might be said then that Pentecost was dependent not on the Passover but on the Festival of Weeks, but this Feast in turn was determined by the Paschal Feast. "The Jews of Christ's time understood it (the First Fruits), to designate Nisan 16 without regard to the day of the week," says Purves.⁵ Josephus also said: "they did eat of the produce of the land on the morrow after the Passover."⁶ Purves further comments: "The phraseology shows that the sheaf-waving... was regulated by the date of Passover itself, not by any weekly Sabbath."⁷

1: See W. Manson, "Hebrews", pp. 19ff; also Oesterley, "Jewish Background..." pp. 94, 100, 194 ff..

2: E.R.E. Vol. V, p. 866.

3: Lev. xxiii, 9-21.

4: (cf. II Macc. xii, 32: also Josep. Antiq. iii, X, 6 & xiii, xiii, 4, etc..) E.R.E. Vol. III, p. 739.

5: op. cit., p. 739. See too Mish. Chag. ii, 4, & Menach. x, 1-3.

6: Antiq. v, X, 11.

7: op. cit., p. 740

VIII.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

The Gospel according to St. John has always been the centre of great controversy because of the differences it evinces from the Synoptics. Few aspects of this interest have been more commented upon than the apparently contradictory chronology of the Passion. It has long been claimed that in the opinion of John the Last Supper was not a Passover, but a special supper held some twenty-four hours earlier, i.e. on the night of the fourteenth of Nisan.¹ It will be our purpose then to discuss not only this point of chronology but to try to discover what John's attitude was to the Passover, and why such a divergence of opinions may have arisen.

A further point of interest is that there is no mention of the Bread and Wine during the Last Supper as described in the Fourth Gospel. This has led to many widely differing statements of opinion, not the least important being those which claim that John is protesting against the growth of sacramentalism within the Church, and so he deliberately cuts the ground from under the feet of its exponents by connecting the so-called 'Eucharistic discourses' of Jesus with the Feeding of the Five Thousand instead of with the Last Supper.² Again, some have even claimed that St. John was ignorant of the sacramental features of the Last Supper, while

1: See Oesterley, "Jewish Background...", pp. 158 ff. J. Wellhausen: "Das Evangelium Johannis," p. 60.
S.H.C. Macgregor: op. cit., pp. 212 ff.

2: e.g. Article: "The Holy Communion & the Society of Friends", by R. Howe, in "The Holy Communion", S.C.M. (1947), p. 109.

still others have held that his silence is simply due to his desire not to duplicate material already adequately dealt with in earlier writers. Still further reasons have been adduced such as a desire to keep the sacred formulae out of the hands of profane persons, who might obtain access to the Gospel.

Before attempting to discuss these questions and other points in detail, it is essential that we try to understand the purpose for which this Gospel was written. It is immediately clear that it does not set out to present us with yet another 'life' of Jesus, in the way that the Synoptics have done. A glance at a harmony of the Gospels tells us that with a very few exceptions St. John seemingly deliberately avoids treating material already contained in the three earlier writings.

The order in which John places incidents and sayings is not always intended to be that of a chronological biography, but he assembles them as facts in a case to prove the theological and dogmatic issues under consideration. "The Fourth Evangelist is concerned more with the meaning of the words and actions of Jesus than with their original setting or relative order," says Hoskyns.¹ Headlam sums up the situation in a similar way when he says: "If our analysis of the plan of the Gospel be correct, we must not look upon it as a history or a biography, but as a theological book designed to tell us what we should think of Jesus. We need not trouble ourselves because we cannot make its chronology fit in with that of St. Mark, for it has no systematic chronology... We need not be worried or draw dogmatic conclusions because some events are not mentioned. The writer had the other three Gospels before him, and they described many events adequately... on the other hand we are able, from the incidents recorded, to fill up gaps in the Synoptic narrative."²

Accepting the major thesis of these findings by two of the greatest

1: Sir Edwyn Hoskyns: "The Fourth Gospel". P.209.

2: A. C. Headlam: "The Fourth Gospel as History" (1948). P.8.

of modern commentators on the Fourth Gospel, we may now turn to the book itself in an attempt to discover its general characteristics which affect our particular interests. The immediate thing we notice is the close connexion between its narrative and the Jewish cultus.

JEWISH FESTIVALS IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL:

It is perhaps ironical that the Gospel claimed by many to deny the Paschal nature of the Last Supper is by far the most concerned with linking the Gospel story to the framework of the Jewish festival system. The following is a list of the more important of these references:

1. Chap. ii,13: "Now the Jewish Passover was near, so Jesus went up to Jerusalem..."
2. ii,23: "When He was in Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover."
3. iv,45: "On reaching Galilee He was welcomed by the Galileans who had seen all he did at the festival in Jerusalem, for they too had gone up to the festival."
4. v, 1: "After this there was a festival of the Jews and Jesus went up to Jerusalem."
5. vi, 4: "The Passover, the Jewish Festival was at hand."
6. vii, 2: "As the Jewish Festival of the Booths was near."
7. vii, 8: "I am not going up to this festival for my time has not yet arrived."
8. vii,14: "When the festival was half over Jesus went up to the Temple and began to preach."
9. vii,37: "Now on the last day, the great day of the festival.."
10. ix,22: "Then came the festival of Dedication at Jerusalem, it was Winter and Jesus used to walk inside the Temple..."
11. ix,55: "Now the Passover of the Jews was near."
12. xii, 1: "Six days before the festival, Jesus came from Bethany."
13. xiii, 1: "Now before the Passover Festival, Jesus knew that the time had come..."

It would be superfluous to mention every occurrence of the word 'festival'

in John, but the above list suffices to show that the Fourth Gospel, far from trying to avoid all connexion between Christian thought and the Jewish religious system, actually makes the telling of its story dependent upon this system at least for its chronology, and in some cases much more is hinted at. By way of contrast we must notice that Matthew and Mark nowhere mention any other Jewish festival than the Last Passover, and Luke's only other reference is in the Infancy Narrative, where he tells how "His parents went every year to Jerusalem at the Feast of the Passover."¹

THE READERS OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL:

John assumes from the beginning that his readers are familiar with the message of Christianity, and there is no leading up to the Messianic truth, as for instance in the Gospel of Mark. Jesus is accorded His full stature from the very first word, and the Gospel has as its purpose the strengthening and developing of the main beliefs of Christendom. Who is to say that this is not the correct method? May we not even go further and say that this may even be a more accurate presentation of the facts than those of the Synoptics? Surely if Jesus was always what the Disciples only gradually came to believe towards the end of His ministry, then there must have been another picture partially hidden from their eyes because of their lack of appreciation of the full facts. If Jesus the Christ, the Eternal Son of the Father, came among men, it is most important that we have the story told as it were in retrospect by one who had come to re-evaluate and restate what he himself had seen and heard.

The Fourth Gospel's record can best be understood by dividing it into sections, each of which has a definite theme or function. Thus the first two chapters can form an entity in themselves, and might be headed 'The Coming of the Messiah'. They give a complete view of Jesus, begin-

¹: Luke ii, 41.

ing with His pre-existence with the Father, moving by stately affirmations to a preview of His final challenge to Judaism in the cleansing of the Temple, ending after mention of His death and resurrection with an affirmation of His sovereignty. The third chapter gives the conditions of Christian discipleship, the fourth the nature of Christian worship, the fifth a statement about the authority of Jesus, and the sixth the doctrine of the Sacrament of the Incarnation. So we might go on to summarize the dogmatic or theological intentions of each part of the book, but it is particularly interesting for our purposes that in its very first section the coming of the Messiah is announced by the Baptist in terms of Paschal imagery - "Behold the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world."¹

Thus from the very first in the Fourth Gospel we find that John is directing our attention to the fact that Jesus was not only meticulous in His observation of the religious festivals but that He also joined in the more popular religious movements of His time, such as this coming to the wandering preacher in the desert. It would also appear that Jesus had attended most if not all the pilgrim feasts until the time of the Festival of Booths mentioned in John vii, when His decision not to go to Jerusalem caused considerable surprise among His acquaintances.² In the light of the observed 'anti-Jewish polemic' in the Fourth Gospel, this mention of the festivals is all the more interesting.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE PASSION:

The events of the Passion are particularly well dated in the Fourth Gospel. As early as the eleventh chapter we are prepared for this by the observation: "Now the Passover of the Jews was near, and many people went up from the country to purify themselves before the Passover."³ Then a few verses later we are told: "Six days before the festival Jesus came to

1: John i, 29.

2: John vii, 1-8.

3: John xi, 55.

Bethany..."¹ Thus from the very first we are aware that John has the dating of the Passover clearly in mind, and that in terms of its relation to the Jewish Passover. It is therefore not feasible for any suggestion to be made in connexion with the Johannine account that it was the author's purpose to dissociate, as far as possible, that Last Supper from the Passover. The argument from silence about the Bread and Wine is more than precarious in the face of this observed chronology.

THE ANOINTING:

According to St. Mark the anointing of Jesus took place in the home of Simon the Leper only two days before the Passover.² If they write about the same incident (and the coincidence seems too great to permit us to think otherwise without more evidence) John contradicts this view and declares that the incident occurred at the home of Lazarus, whom Jesus had raised from the dead.³ Here John mentions the woman by name, and gives such a vivid account of the event that one feels convinced that he must have been an eye-witness. He mentions too that it was Judas who demurred at the action of Mary, and this makes immediate connexion with the fact that is implicit in the Synoptic account, namely that something in this scene spurred Judas on towards his betrayal of his Master.⁴

THE TRIUMPHAL ENTRY:

Just as with the story of the anointing, John associates the triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem with the Passover Festival: "Next day the great mass of people who had come for the Festival heard that Jesus was entering Jerusalem, and taking palm branches they went out to meet him."⁵

THE LAST SUPPER NARRATIVE:

While John makes no attempt to recapitulate the narrative of the

1: John xii, 1.

2: Mark xiv, 3-9.

3: John xii, 1-8.

4: See above pp. 6-7

5: John xii, 12.

actual events concerning the Bread and wine, he devotes a great part of his Gospel to describing what Jesus said at this Supper, and to inserting incidents into the tradition, such as the washing of the Disciples' feet, which had hitherto been unrecorded. He begins the account of the events of the last evening by telling us that before the Passover Jesus knew that the time for the consummation of His work had arrived, and that He was about to pass from this world to His Father. The account continues:

"He had loved His own in this world, and He loved them to the end; so at Supper..."¹

What is the precise meaning of this reference? Does John mean the Passover here, or does he refer to another supper held on the night before the regular Paschal celebration was due? The question would never have arisen if it had not been on other grounds and to attempt to find support for a non-Paschal chronology. But to turn to the expression itself, the first fact that engages our attention is the use of the word *δειπνόν* in describing the supper:

THE MEANING OF 'DEIPNON':

In the Septuagint this word is not at all common, and it is striking that its only use there is to describe a ROYAL meal. Here it corresponds to the Hebrew *מִלְכָּה*. The examples of this usage are:

Prov. xxiii,1: "When thou sittest to eat (*δειπνεῖν*) with a ruler..."

Daniel xi,27: "These kings... shall speak lies at one table..."

Dan. i;8,13 etc: "he would not defile himself with the king's meat..."

Daniel v,1: "Belshazzar the king made a great feast..."

These usages are all relatively late, and the only other canonical uses of the word (other than in connexion with the Lord's Supper itself) are in the New Testament.

1: John xiii, 1.

These instances are as follows:

Mark vi,21: "King Herod's feast.

Luke xiv, 1-24: Parables connected with the great eschatological Supper - e.g. v.15: "eat bread in the Kingdom of God."

John xii,2: The supper given Jesus at Bethany before the kingly entry into Jerusalem.

Rev. iii,20: "I will come and sup with him and he with me..."

Rev. xix, 9: "The marriage Supper of the Lamb".

Rev. xix,17: The Great Supper of God.

In addition to these uses of the substantive, there are three instances where the verb δειπνέιν is used to describe the ceremonial feasts at which the Pharisees loved to take the chief places: e.g. Matt. xxiii,6 and parallels. The only other usage is in Luke xvii,8 where Jesus uses the parable of the Supper to illustrate God's absolute sovereignty.

To this evidence from Biblical sources must also be added the interesting evidence from early papyri etc., such as the Oxyrhynchus Papyri.¹ In these documents the word δειπνον has three main usages, all of which denote a meal of special and ceremonial significance:

a. Religious ceremonials:

Ἐρωτᾶ σε Χαίρημων δειπνήσαι εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου Σαρᾶπίδος ἐν τῷ Σαραπείῳ αὐρίον, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἸΕ, ἀπὸ ὥρας Θ.

(Chaameron requests your company at dinner at the Table of the Lord Serapis in the Serapeum tomorrow the 15th., at 9 o'clock - 3pm.)²

b. Wedding feasts: See P. Oxy. vol vi, p.927 - (3rd.C. A.D.)

c. Funeral feasts: See P. Oxy. Vol iv, p.736 - (1st.C. A.D.)

There is also an inscription at the time of vespasian (69-79 A.D.) where a Civic banquetting hall is called a δειπνητήριον.

The evidence here therefore indicates that the word δειπνόν is a very

1: Ed. B.P. Grenfell & A.S. Hunt: "Oxyrhynchus Papyri".

2: Similarly in Vol. III (3rd C.) & Vol. III, p.523 (2nd C.).
This example Vol. I, p.110. (2nd C.).

special term, never used for an ordinary evening meal, but only for regal or ceremonial occasions. It is a δειπνόν that Jesus is engaged upon when He sits at His Last Supper with the Disciples. This alone would indicate that in the context of John's many references to the Passover that it is the Seder of this festival upon which Jesus is engaged. There is however an independent piece of evidence to support this conclusion, and that is the very important fact of the use of the definite article at this point;

"The disciple which also leaned back on his breast at THE Supper..."¹
 The definite article ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ can only mean one of two things in this context: either it refers to a meal that would be well known to the readers, and so not need further explication, or else it refers to a previously mentioned meal still fresh in their memories, and therefore conveys sequence of thought. In this case both factors are present, for within the context of the festival references of the Fourth Gospel this word both shows the particularity with which this Supper is regarded by the Disciples (a most significant fact in the light of John's silence regarding the words and acts of the Institution) and links it with the great over-arching 'Deipnon' to which they had all been looking forward, namely the Passover. It is unthinkable that there could have been a Passover as well as a Supper, and the absence of any word to the contrary requires us to identify these two occasions.

JOHN'S INTRODUCTION TO THE LAST SUPPER:

The Fourth Gospel's introduction to the Last Supper can therefore best be paraphrased as follows:

"NOW Jesus realized before the Passover arrived that it was to mark the end of His earthly ministry. He had loved His own in this world, and that to the very end. So when the Supper arrived,² knowing that (despite Judas)

1: John xxi, 20.

2: καὶ δειπνοῦ γινόμενου: a Genitive Absolute construction, best translated thus, completely separating the previous time-references.

the Father had put all things into His hands... He rose from table..."¹

THE FOOT-WASHING:

It is not surprising that the emergence of this narrative of Jesus' washing of the Disciples' feet² is of relatively late date. It was not the kind of story that the Disciples would have been keen to publicize, especially in the first days of the Church. There was too much of the deeply humiliating and the painful about it; too much that reminded them of their own obtuseness and lack of understanding of Jesus' supreme agony; and of how their jealous behaviour must have deeply hurt Him when He most needed their help. That they could actually have quarrelled about seniority after all that He had tried to teach them, and that at a time when He was so sorely taxed in His own heart, must have been one of the most bitter of their occasions for remorse when they recollected the events of the Passion. Knowing the story so well and from so far, we today are very apt to under-estimate the strong motives for reticence that must have been present among the early Disciples whenever the subject of the last days of Jesus' earthly life was mentioned.

Only with the writing of the Fourth Gospel, long after the Church had become established in many lives, and perhaps only when the first signs of pride and position-seeking became evident among the leaders of the community, did it become imperative that the last remaining Disciple should disclose this most humiliating of all Jesus' actions. It may well have been that the thing which occasioned John's great accent upon the sacramental nature of the/discourses at the Feeding of the Five Thousand and his drawing attention to this incident within the scope of the traditional narrative of the Last Supper was an attempt to combat growing priestly pride in the conduct of the Eucharist. Instead of putting the emphasis

1: See too Geldenhuis, *Op. cit.*, pp. 657-60.

2: John XIII, 3ff.

on the rite, John's great contribution to our knowledge of the Last Supper is found both in this incident of the Foot-washing, and in the priceless records of the teaching of Jesus, which probably took the place of the regular Haggadah of the Passover Seder.¹

It must not be thought that, if this is really John's purpose, he is in some way opposed to the Sacramental in Christianity. On the contrary, there is no Gospel which so breathes the air of sacramentalism over all that it depicts. Yet for John the sacramental was not confined to the action or words of Jesus concerning the Bread and Wine, but everything that He said and did had this mystical fifth dimension. The bread and the fishes that fed the five thousand, the bread and fish beside the lake in the post-resurrection breakfast, the washing of the Disciples' feet, and the words over the Paschal meal, all these were integrally part of the one overarching and all-inclusive Sacrament of the Incarnation. It is all there in the magnificent words of his prologue:

"The Word became flesh and dwelt among us and we beheld His Glory."²

It is in these words that John found the real Institution of the Sacrament, and for him there was no fact more sacramental, for instance, than the fact that the Son of God had washed his feet! When a man had had that experience there would be little further need for particular rites, for everything in all Creation would be eternally different.

Not that the Bread and Wine were unimportant, for they were a part, even a consummate part of this whole sacramental fact of the Incarnation, they were indeed the way in which the many might enter into the Holy of Holies where before only the Twelve had sat at table with their Lord. The way in which John reports Jesus' words after the feeding of the multitudes is quite sufficient to convince us that he felt deeply about all that could be meant by such terms as 'feeding on Christ'. This sacramental element

1: See above p.13

2: John i, 14.

present in all life is evident also in the story of Jesus at the well in Samaria.¹ It is Living Water, springing up to everlasting life, that Jesus offers the woman; and if, as seems most likely, our report comes from her own personal account of the incident, there can be no doubt as to what thoughts would be uppermost in her mind as she partook of the Bread and Wine in the Christian Sacrament.

Nowhere, in all the Gospel story however, do we hush our voices with awe so much as when we read the simple and stately words of St. John:

"Knowing that He had come from God and was going to God, He rose from table, laid aside His robe, and wrapped a towel about Him, then poured water into a basin, and began to wash the Disciples' feet."²

The opening words of this sentence are most important to St. John's purpose in telling it. It is a synopsis of the Incarnation in one sentence - and it is part of a purely sacramental act. Ceremonial washings were a part of the Passover ritual, and if guests came to the meal from any distance a slave or lowly servant would generally wash their feet in this way. The absence of such servants indicates that Jesus had probably given orders that they were not to be disturbed during the meal, and as the Disciples were quarrelling about seniority in the seating arrangements, and none of them had given a thought to taking upon himself the task of washing the others' feet, as well as his Master's, Jesus decided to do the necessary thing Himself. It was not therefore a purely didactic act, and even less was it a purely token action. It was necessary as a part of normal, everyday life, just as were the bread and wine of the Passover, the bread on the table in the Emmaus cottage, the lad's rolls and fishes, and the drink of water from the well in Samaria. Jesus chooses the simplest things of normal living to disclose the deepest things about Himself and about the Divine Nature. It detracts from the beauty of this incident if we try

1: See Book II, below.

2: John XIII, 4f.

to make it an embarrassing lesson to enjoin humility on the part of the Disciples, and it is certainly not an elaborate allegory to forge a link between the two great Christian Sacraments, as Loisy has been inclined to believe.¹ Rather it is just one more factor that would bind the Disciples into the mystery of the Birth, Life, Death and Resurrection of Jesus the Son of God who was yet their friend and even their servant.

Part of the importance of this incident for our purposes is that such ceremonial washing was an important part of the Passover rite. It is not a conclusive point, for after a journey any guest might expect to have his feet washed in the home of an attentive host, but there is no evidence that the Disciples had been on a journey that day; on the contrary it seems that they had probably spent the preceding night in the Garden on the Mount of Olives. Hence it is more appropriate to the Passover than to an ordinary meal that they should thus have their feet washed as they sat down to table.

Attempts have been made to reconstruct the actual seating arrangements for the Last Supper, at least for the principals of the drama such as John and Peter and Judas, as we have seen.² Hence significance is attached to Peter's refusal to have his feet washed by Jesus because he would be the first to be approached by the Master. In this way it will be seen that there is an added probability attaching to the Paschal nature of the Supper. It will also be noticed that such an action, followed by an explanation and made the occasion of special teaching, is peculiarly Paschal in form.

THE UNMASKING OF THE BETRAYER:

The undoubted hand of an eye-witness is detected in the story of the 'asides' exchanged between Jesus, Peter, John and Judas. Ederheim and

1: See Hoskyns, *op.cit.*, pp. 436 ff.

2: See above pp. 52ff. Also Ederheim, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 492ff.

others have analysed this point and it seems possible that the Fourth Gospel may be right and retaining the historical order in thus placing the unmasking of Judas and his exit from the Upper Room at this point during the Supper, before the deepest and most intimate events took place.¹

WHY DID JUDAS LEAVE THE ROOM?

After Judas had gone out into the night, on his desperate and satanic errand, it is recorded that several of the Disciples began to conjecture as to his reasons for leaving. "Some thought that, as Judas kept the money-box, Jesus had told him to buy what was needful for the feast or to give something for the poor."²

The point has often been made that this indicates that it could not have been the night of the fifteenth of Nisan, for then surely they could not have thought that Judas was going out to make purchases. Also the fact that such purchases were thought to be 'for the festival' surely indicates that that occasion was still in the future!

From what we have already seen about the chronology the question really amounts to this: Was it possible for a person to go out on the night of the Passover, when the next day^{after the Festival} was a Sabbath, and make purchases for the Festival?"

Oesterley states an emphatic negative: "Those words are quite decisive; for if the Disciples thought that Judas had gone out to buy things for the feast, it is obvious that they could not have been partaking of the feast at the time! The Festival could not even have begun, for it was impossible to buy anything during the feast; for buying and selling were forbidden by the Law."³

This comment is assuming too much and is too far-reaching however, and many eminent critics disagree with Oesterley's verdict. At the outset it is precarious to state categorically that one could not be sent out to

1: Edersheim, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 492-5.

2: John XIII, 29.

3: *op. cit.*, pp. 158-9.

buy something for a meal already in progress. There is nothing more likely during an oriental meal in a crowded city than that some little additional spice or herb would be required and the master of the table would ask some servant or waiter to slip out and obtain it from the host downstairs or across the street.

On other grounds too Oesterley's statement must be questioned. He seems to assume that the 'festival' was a single meal, which was patently not correct, for the feast of the Unleavened Bread lasted for a whole week. Moreover, even on the question of buying and selling during the festival there is much more to be said. Edersheim sums up his own conception of the legal position as follows: "It is expressly allowed to borrow wine, or oil, or bread on the Sabbath, and to leave one's upper garment in pledge. Moreover, it is expressly added that if the day before the Passover falls on a Sabbath, one may in this manner purchase a Paschal Lamb, and presumably all else that is needful for the Feast. This shows how Judas might have been sent on the Eve of the Passover to purchase what was needful, for the Law applying to a feast-day was much less strict than that for a Sabbath."¹

Again an important precedent for Judas's conjectured behaviour is to be found in the Mishnah itself, where it expressly states:

"If a festival day fell on the Eve of a Sabbath, a man may not cook on the festival day food for the Sabbath; but he may cook food for the festival day, and if any is left over it is left over for the Sabbath."²

The whole meaning of this passage is that preparations for a festival ARE quite permissible on that festival day itself, and this directly contradicts what Oesterley has affirmed.

Returning to the passage in the Gospel, we see that Judas might well have gone out simply to get more provisions or something special that Jesus

1: *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 786.

2: *Betz. ii*, 1.

wished for the Feast, and that he need not have been thought to be going further than the room downstairs. Had not Jesus said, after all: ὁ ποιεῖς, ποιήσον τάχιον¹, which would seem to the Disciples at such a time as if He simply meant: "Hurry up and do it now - we are all waiting!"

It was the practice in Jerusalem in those days for every home to be available to pilgrims for the celebration of the Passover, and presumably many of the necessities would be stocked by the householders and sold to the parties of pilgrims.² It was even possible that the Paschal Lamb could be purchased in this manner.³ Hence there is nothing at all in Judas's supposed action to say that this could not have been the night of the Passover. In fact the second conjectural reason for his absence, referring to a gift to the poor, is almost by way of proof that it WAS the night of the fifteenth of Nisan, for the Law enjoined that even the poorest in Israel was entitled to enjoy four cups of wine on that night, even if it meant drawing on the poor fund to do so. Thus the thought of charity was closely connected with the festival and would have been a ready thought to the Disciples' minds when they sought an explanation for Judas's retiring from the chamber.

Further: A moment's reflexion serves to show that it would have been incredible for Jesus to have made such elaborate preparations for the meal and to have desired to eat it so keenly, and then to have sent off one of the twelve to make provisions for a meal that was to take place on the following night, when the morning would have done equally well, probably better, as a time to make such purchases. The Disciples can hardly be pictured as seriously thinking that Jesus would so interrupt an important meal for a reason of that kind! This interpretation, on which Oesterley bases his rejection of the Paschal nature of the meal, is therefore one which makes us all the more sure of this being the Passover night; and the

1. John XIII, 27.

2. cf. Dalman, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 f.

3. Mish. Pesa., viii, 2.

4. " " , x, 1.

only possible inference is that we have recorded here the opinions of some of the Disciples who had not over-heard the earlier conversation between Jesus and Judas, and when the subject was discussed after the Resurrection they had given these reasons for not taking particular notice of his withdrawal.

A final point here, and seemingly quite conclusive in itself, is that Oesterley's interpretation means that the Disciples thought that Jesus did not know that He would not be having supper the next night, but was completely oblivious of the fate which hung over His head only a few hours away, so He fondly started to make preparations for a 'Passover Supper' on the next night. This is not what we come to understand of the feelings of the Disciples from an unbiased reading of the narrative.

The evidence is quite unambiguous then, and those who would try to divorce Johannine and Synoptic chronologies must look for better arguments than this. Here we have no carefully thought out time-references, but one of those almost unthinking asides of an eye-witness which would have been made by one of the Disciples without even giving a thought to the niceties of Rabbinic Law - and it is quite futile to try to pursue such a point any further than this with regard to chronology.

THE LAST SUPPER DISCOURSES:

The Fourth Gospel tells us in detail what Jesus said to His Disciples during the Last Supper. Thus Box says: "...this great discourse, with its context (John xiii ff.) ... represents a summary of the Lord's Eucharistic teaching which culminated in the solemn celebration of the night..."¹ The discourse breathes the same spirit as the words over the Bread and Wine in the Synoptic accounts. Both are intimately concerned with Jesus' approaching death and its meaning for mankind. The saying concerning the

1: op. cit., P.367.

Vine and its branches,¹ as we have already mentioned, finds added point in the context of the Paschal Supper with its accent on the 'fruit of the vine'. Just as in other circumstances Jesus had used the interests of the moment to convey His eternal truths, as when He had spoken of being the Light of the World, Living Water, the Resurrection and the Life, the Good Shepherd and so on, here in the Passover He makes use of the metaphor of the vine, intimately associated with the House of Israel, and more closely still connected with the 'blood of the vine'² which was now to become 'the Blood of the New Covenant, shed for the remission of sins.'³

THE TRIAL OF JESUS:

So far we have found nothing in the Fourth Gospel account which has caused us to question the Paschal nature of the Last Supper, but with the story of the arrest and trial of Jesus we come to the passages which have been made chief objections to this chronology. The first instance is with regard to the action of the Jews at the trial before Pilate:

"They would not enter the Praetorium themselves, in case of being ceremonially defiled, for they wanted to eat the Passover."⁴ So Dr. Moffatt renders this much-discussed verse, which is possibly the most contentious reference in the Gospel with regard to the Paschal chronology. Many critics have seen in these words a complete refutation of the Synoptic conception of the Supper as a Paschal meal, Oesterley saying plainly: "On the face of it this took place after the Last Supper and yet the eating of the Passover was still to come."⁵

If Oesterley is right then we have to try to reconcile the fact that the Fourth Gospel, coming into a world where the Synoptic accounts were already accepted as authoritative, here suddenly makes a tremendous and shattering contradiction without any warning or explanation, even without

1: John xv, 1f.

2: Deut. xxxii, 14.

3: "I am the True Vine is the Johannine equivalent of
"This is My Blood." Box, op. cit., p. 367.

4: John xviii, 28.

5: op. cit., p. 159.

elevating this new chronology to the chief place in the sentence; for here it is but a kind of appended observation to explain the conduct of the Jews. John has so far been meticulous about his chronology, and when fixing a date has done so with clarity and definition. This important statement, ^{if} it was meant to alter the popularly held view of the Supper as some have claimed, is most unlike the methods of St. John.

It still remains however to ask whether Oesterley is any more accurate in this connexion than in the previous instance. Do these words imply that the Paschal Supper of the fifteenth of Nisan was still in the future? What was this ceremonial defilement feared by the Jews, and how did it apply to Passover observances?

CEREMONIAL DEFILEMENT:

There has been much learned discussion concerning the precise reason for the levitical defilement adjudged against a person entering the house of a Gentile. Two main strands of opinion are discernible. The first is that entry into such a house was frowned upon because of the possibility that the house would contain a dead body, and so a Jew entering the same house would be ceremonially impure for a period of seven days.¹ There was a much more general reason however, due to a variety of potential causes, which meant that a Jew entering a Gentile home would simply remain unclean for the rest of that day - i.e. until nightfall.²

Despite arguments such as those adduced by Dr. Schurer,³ it would seem that the second is the only reasonable explanation to offer for the behaviour of the Jews on this occasion. The Praetorium was not the kind of place where a death might occur unheralded, and the body thus remain hidden without the knowledge of the people, and the Law indicates that at least a reasonable suspicion of the presence of a dead body was necessary before

1: Mish. Ohol. xviii, 7.

2: Acts X, 28: cf. Ohol. xviii, & Pes. 92a.

3: "Über Φαγεῖν τὸ Πάσχα," Gressen, 1883.

the greater penalty could be incurred.¹ Thus it is almost certain that the reason why the Jews feared to enter the Praetorium in this case was due, not to the presence of a dead body, but to the ordinary pollution attaching to the entry of a Gentile residence - deriving in all probability from the possibility of there being some idol or idolator within that household.²

Edersheim declares however that we can be sure that entrance into heathen houses did certainly render a Jew levitically unclean for that day - i.e. until the evening. He draws attention to the fact that this is clearly attested in the New Testament and in the Mishnah, as we have already noticed, and continues:

"A person who had so become levitically unclean was technically called Tebhul Yom (bathed of the day). The point is that to have become impure for the day would not have disqualified from eating the Paschal Lamb, since that meal was partaken of after the evening, and when a new day had begun. In fact it is distinctly laid down that the 'Bathed of the Day' (i.e. he who had been impure for the day and had bathed in the evening) did partake of the Paschal Supper, and an instance is related when some soldiers who had guarded the gates of Jerusalem 'immersed' and ate the Paschal Lamb.⁵ It follows that these Sanhedrists could not have abstained from entering the Palace of Pilate because by so doing they would have been disqualified from the Paschal Supper."⁶

Robinson, who also takes this view, comments:

"Lightfoot, who strenuously maintains that the Saviour and His Disciples ate the Passover at the same time with the rest of the Jews, mentions... that had it been the Paschal Supper which they were still to eat, the fear of defiling themselves by entering the judgement hall (a Gentile habitation

1: Ohel. xviii.

2: " "

3: Acts X, 28.

4: Pes. 92a.

5: Jer. Tāl. Pes. 36 b.

6. Op. cit. pp. 566-7

could have had no place, inasmuch as the washing of their clothes at evening would have sufficed for their purification so as to allow of their sitting down to the Paschal feast... but the washing of the clothes during the intermediate days of the Festival was prohibited to all except certain specified cases."¹

The significance of this latter fact must be accorded full weight in these particular circumstances, for the situation amounts to this: Defilement on Nisan 14, the day when the Lambs were sacrificed in the Temple and preparations made for the Passover, could be cleansed away that evening, before the beginning of the Festival. This is obvious, considering all that might be involved in the journey into Jerusalem, the obtaining of materials for the Feast, the other details such as the slaughtering of the Lambs, and so on. But if defilement was incurred on Nisan 15 (or on any of the subsequent days of the Festival) it could not then be cleansed until the whole Festival was over - so a person so defiled would be excluded from the remainder of the celebrations. It is surely obvious that it was this latter defilement that was the one feared by the Jews in John's account, and thus overwhelmingly indicates that the time of the Passover had already arrived, namely that the day was the fifteenth and not the fourteenth of Nisan at all.

Further, the reason which was given why they did not wish to enter the Praetorium was "in order that they might eat the Passover" (ἵνα μὴ μιν θῶσιν ἀλλὰ φαγῶσιν τὸ Πάσχα...) according to Oesterley a phrase indicating that the Seder of the first night of Passover was still in the future. Is this really what these words indicate?

THE PESACH:

The question to be considered next is the precise meaning of the term

1: T. Robinson : "The Evangelists & the Mishnah", (1859), pp. 326-7.

Πάσχα or Pesach, as used by St. John in this context. The two possibilities are that it refers either to the Paschal Supper of the night of the fifteenth of Nisan, or to the whole Festival from the fifteenth to the twenty-second of Nisan.

The evidence of the Old Testament is that it is at least probable that in certain places the word applies to the sacrifices made throughout the whole week of Unleavened Bread, and not just to the Supper of the first night.¹ Robinson says: "In the case of the Passover the Chagigah (חגיגה) were especially presented on the day immediately after the Paschal Lamb had been eaten. These offerings were called, as was the Lamb itself, the Passover, Πάσχα = פֶּסַח."²

Edersheim, discussing this same point, declares: "No competent Jewish archeologist would care to deny that 'Pesach' may refer to the Chagigah, while the motive assigned to the Sanhedrists by St. John implies that in this instance it must refer to this, and not to the Paschal Lamb."³ He also says that the Jewish writings themselves show this to be true, citing the works of Wieseler and Kirckner among others who have proved this point, as he says, finally and conclusively. He sums up the whole situation in words which admit of no compromise, and which have never seriously been questioned: "These considerations and canons seem decisive as regards the views above expressed. There would have been no reason to fear defilements on the morning of the Paschal sacrifice; but entrance to the Praetorium on the morning of the first Passover Day would have rendered it impossible for them to offer the Chagigah, which is also designated by the term Pesach."³

Support for this view is found in the recent work by Zeitlin, where he states that: "... in the entire Tannaitic literature we do not find the

1: Deut. xvi, 1-3: II Chron. xxxv, 1, 2, 6, 18.

2: *op. cit.*, pp. 326-7.

3: *Op. cit.*, p. 568: See Geldenhuis, *op. cit.*, pp. 660ff.

name "Festival of Unleavened Bread" but the word "Passover" which refers to the Paschal Lamb as well as to this Festival... the Sages purposely dropped the name Unleavened Bread and called the festival 'Passover' to stress the religious significance of this Festival." ¹

Again Oesterley himself, in a more recent work, admits with regard to the term Pesach : "This is the name of the Passover Festival: but the term is also used in reference to the animal victims sacrificed at the feast. Thus in Ex.xii,31: "Go forth and take you lambs (or kids) according to your families, and kill the Passover..." - II Chron. xxx,15, Ezek. xiv,21... etc." ²

Finally Geldenhuys, discussing this same point, says: "although the expression 'they did eat throughout the feast seven days' points to the Jewish custom of using the expression 'to eat a feast', for the Hebrew reading is וַיֹּאכְלוּ אֶת - הַמִּזְבֵּחַ literally 'they ate the Festival' (and not the feast offering.)" ³

Thus we are confronted by a very strong case for retaining the Paschal chronology, and when we reflect that St. John was writing late in the first Century, years after the Temple and its services had ceased to be, and that he wrote for a rapidly expanding, largely Gentile Church, it is nonsense to suggest that he ought to be subject to such minute dissection of terminology, or that he ought to have taken more pains than he did in expressing this point which, in conjunction with the Synoptic accounts, which he presupposed, is quite unambiguous.

THE RELEASE OF BARABBAS:

During the trial of Jesus there was an offer made to release Him by Pilate on the grounds: "It is your custom that I should release a prisoner for you at the Passover: is it your will that I release you the King of

1: S. Zeitlin, J.Q.R., op.cit., p.456. cf. same author's: "Judaism as a religion", J.Q.R., (1943). pp. 23-7.

2: "Sacrifice in Ancient Israel," (1937), p.86-7.

3: Op.cit., p.662.

the Jews?"¹

It is significant that St. John introduces these words into his statement, again without comment, especially in the light of Luke's treatment of the incident, where all mention of its being a Passover custom is wanting.² The inference of the words must surely be the same as the conception John himself held, namely that this was an event which took place on the fifteenth of Nisan, the first and great day of the Feast - for Pilate expresses present intention of releasing Jesus on this pretext. The choice was for the 'People' to make, and the time when they would best be consulted was obviously the fifteenth of the month, not on the preceding day when preparations for the Festival were occupying them in unending queues and when Jerusalem would be a bable of engagements and arrangements for the use of rooms etc., for the coming celebration. It would be on the comparative calm of the first day of the Festival that such a customary act of privilege would take place, and that is in accordance with all that we have seen so far of the chronology of the Passion. This unobtrusive incident must tell strongly in favour of the Paschal chronology in the Fourth Gospel.

THE SENTENCE OF DEATH:

St. John carefully fixes the time of the poignant moment when Jesus was finally sentenced to death with the expression: "It was the Preparation of the Passover..." (ἦν δὲ παρασκευὴ τοῦ Πάσχα, ὥρα ἦν ὡς ἑκτῆ.)³ These words, taken at first sight, seem to some to indicate that it was the day before the fifteenth of Nisan, and so have been held to throw doubt on the Paschal nature of the Supper. In almost all English translations they are rendered: "It was the day of Preparation for the Passover, about noon." Is this a correct rendering of the Evangelist's phrase?

1. John xviii, 39.

2. Luke xxiii, 13-25.

3. John xix, 14.

THE MEANING OF 'PARASKEUE':

The Genitive construction here indicates that it is just possible that a better translation of the phrase would be 'Preparation of the Pass-over' rather than 'for the Passover'. It is the word παρασκευῆ however which is most significant, for upon our translation of this word the whole weight of the case for the non-Paschal nature of the Last Supper depends.

The first thing that we realize about the word is that in the days when the New Testament was being written it meant precisely the same thing that it does today in modern Greek, namely a technical term for Friday. The evidence is so conclusive and so single on this point that it is worth giving details. The following are occurrences in:

a. The New Testament:

Apart from the case under discussion the word appears five times in the New Testament, namely:

1. Matt. xxvii,62: (Referring to the day after the Crucifixion):
"next day, that is on the day after the Preparation... at the close of the Sabbath."
2. Mark xv,42: "As it was the day of Preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath."
3. Luke xxiii,54: "It was the day of Preparation and the Sabbath was just dawning."
4. John xix,31 : "As it was the day of Preparation, in order to prevent the bodies remaining on the cross during the Sabbath..."
5. John xix, 42: "It being the Jewish day of Preparation..."
(Referring to the burial, in the context of verse 31 above.)

The evidence from every one of these passages is therefore strong, unanimous and without any possible avenue of ambiguity; and the meaning in each case is that παρασκευῆ is equivalent to the term 'Friday', or the technical term in Jewish usage for the day before the Sabbath.

Thus Goldenhuys writes: "... at the time when John wrote, the Greek term παρασκευή (Preparation) was already for a long time the technical term used to indicate 'Friday', the equivalent of the Hebrew יָרֵב שַׁבָּת." ¹

b. Classical and other writers of the Sub-Apostolic Age:

In addition to the canonical evidence, Dr. A.E.Sophocles has gathered a formidable array of instances to show the usage of the word in both Christian and Jewish circles of this period. ²

(1). In Jewish Circles:

Here Sophocles shows that the word connoted "the day preceding the Jewish Sabbath".

(2). In Christian Circles:

Here the word was used for the day we call Friday (sexta feria)

The authorities cited by Sophocles are as follows:

Irenaeus 608a; Polycarp 1033b; Clement of Alex II, 504 b; Tertullian II, 956 a; Origen I, 1549 d; II, 236 b; Dinosius of Alex. 1277 a; Petros of Alex 508 b; Eusebius II, 1477 c; Athanasius 232 a; Macarius 970 c; etc...

In addition to this there must be added the instance from the 'Didache': ³

"Ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε τετράδα καὶ παρασκευὴν..."

(But ye shall fast on the fourth day and the Preparation Day (Friday)). ⁴

Josephus also has the same usage. ⁵

Finally, and of great importance, is the fact that in Liddell and Scott's Revised 'Greek-English Lexicon' this passage is actually translated for us, as follows: "before the Sabbath of the Passover."

In addition to this external evidence stands the fact that in all the Synoptic accounts where Jesus sent His Disciples to prepare for the Passover the verb used to describe this Paschal preparation is not παρασκευάζω but ἑτοιμάζω.

1: op.cit., p. 664.

4: Streeter simply translates "Friday", op.cit., p. 508.

2: "Greek Lexicon of the Roman & Byzantine Period - BC. 146 - AD. 1100", p. 850.

5: Antiq. xvi, 163, vi²

3: Did. viii, 1.

Again the word παρασκευή stands here, as in verse 31, without an article. This is surely significant, especially in the light of verse 42 where the tone is explanatory, namely: "τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Ἰουδαίων..." The implication is inescapable that we have here a common technical term, very well understood by the Jewish readers, but with the added explanation for those not so familiar with the form. Thus the two verses in question ought best to be translated:

v.14: "And it was the Preparation (for the Sabbath) of Passover week."

v.31: "Therefore the Jews, since it was Preparation, ..." ¹

It will be noticed too that this is precisely the way St. Mark treats the word when he gives the definition in parenthesis:

"It was already evening, and as it was Preparation - that is, the day before the Sabbath..." (xv,42).

Luke's Greek is interesting at this point too, and his: καὶ ἡμέρᾳ ἣν παρασκευῆς is best translated: "and it was Preparation-day" - again the absence of the article denoting special usage.

In the light of all this evidence, and remembering too the prevailing conception of Jesus' Last Supper as a Paschal celebration, it is surely impossible to read 'Preparation for the Passover' here! Everything we know of this word as used in such a context forces us to translate literally: "on the Friday of Passover week." It is surely unthinkable that the Fourth Evangelist should have used a common technical term synonymous with Friday with two entirely different connotations, in the space of a few lines! Thus there is far more support for the so-called 'Synoptic chronology' in this verse than for the contrary opinion.

A final point worthy of notice is how completely the word for Preparation is connected with the Sabbath, and not with the Passover, by

1: See Strack-Billerbeck, "Kommentar..." Vol. ii, pp. 828-32., Vol. iv, p.76.
also Edersheim, op. cit., Vol. ii, p.613.

the following verse:

"As it was (the day of) Preparation, in order to prevent the bodies remaining on the cross during the Sabbath (for that Sabbath-day was a great day)..." (v.31)

John, who was so fond of making every possible reference to the Jewish festivals, might easily have said here that it was the day the paschal lambs were being sacrificed, or have made some other apt reference, if this was indeed the chronology he had in mind. A little reflexion shows that this could not have been the case however. John says "that Sabbath was a great day." Friday, the day of the fifteenth of Nisan, is here clearly designated as the day on which Jesus was crucified, and the Supper had been held in the first hours of this day, i.e. on the previous evening.

THAT SABBATH WAS A GREAT DAY:

There has been a good deal of opinion that this phrase of St. John's is to be interpreted as meaning that the Sabbath and the Passover coincided in the year that Jesus was crucified. This is not the case. Here surely St. John would have said, 'that Sabbath was the day of the festival,' or even 'the day of the Passover,' if such had been his recollection of it. Instead, his phrase simply means that this particular Sabbath, falling on the second day of the week of Unleavened Bread, the day set aside for the offering of the first fruits, was particularly solemn, even for a Sabbath.¹

The Law stated that: "on the second day of Passover one should add something to the meal as a remembrance of the feast of Esther that took place on that day."² In addition Rabbi Dr. Hertz, in his introduction to the Babylonian Talmud Tractate "Shabbath" says: "One phrase in connexion with the Passover was the subject of heated controversy in early Rabbinic

1: Mish. Kelim, I, 6: Menach. X, 1-9: Hag. I, 3: cf. Oesterley: "Jewish Background," p. 163

2: Friedlander, Op. cit., Vol. III, p. 343.

times between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The latter took the word Sabbath in Lev. xxiii,15 ("and ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath, from the day that ye brought the sheaf of the wave offering") in its usual sense, and maintained that the Omer was to be brought on the morrow of the first Saturday in Passover. The Pharisees argued that 'Sabbath' here means 'the day of cessation from work', and the context shows that the Feast of Unleavened Bread is intended; therefore the Omer was to be brought on Nisan 16. This is supported by the LXX which renders 'on the morrow of the first day', and by Josephus. The offerings of the sheaf took place on the 16th., and as this was the first busy work day of the harvest, in relation to it the preceding day might well be called a Sabbath or rest day, though not all labour was prohibited.¹

This statement of Hertz is of value not only because it confirms the additional fact that the Sabbath of Passover week in the year when Jesus was crucified was also the day of two Jewish Feasts, but because it adds two points to the arguments already adduced above:

1. R. Hertz uses the phrase: "the first Saturday in Passover"¹ in his general remarks about chronology as a normal usage, so the claim that we have made for the phrase "the Friday in Passover week" is not in the least contrary to Jewish usage, nor straining the sense.²
2. He remarks that 'not all labour was prohibited' on the first day of Passover - once more bearing out our own contentions that the Festival day was less strict than a Sabbath.

Apart from these incidental considerations however, the major factor is that Nisan 16 was a Great Day - as St. John puts it - and in this year especially so, as the Sabbath also fell on that day. Edersheim says: "The Sabbath about to open was a 'high day' - it was both a Sabbath and the second Paschal day, which was in every respect equally sacred with

1. *Op. cit.*, p. xvi.

2: See above, p. 149

the first - nay, more so, since the so-called wave-sheaf was then offered to the Lord."¹ Edersheim probably overstates the case in this latter regard, but his is additional evidence to the general opinion on the matter.

"NOT A BONE OF HIM SHALL BE BROKEN".²

It is worthy of special mention that these words occur in the Fourth Gospel's account of the Passion, and their reference to the Paschal Lamb, as well as to the Messiah, is unmistakable. "If a man breaks a bone of a clean Passover-offering he incurs forty stripes" says the Law.³ Again "if the limb of a Passover-offering projected outside the wall of Jerusalem it must be cut away until the bone is reached, and the flesh then pared off until the joint is reached, and then it may be cut off. With other offerings it may be chopped off with a chopper, since they do not come under the rule of 'breaking the bone'."⁴

Thus the phrase St. John uses of Jesus here is peculiarly Paschal, a point hard to explain by those who deny the Paschal dating of the Last Supper in this Gospel.

THE HASTY BURIAL:

"...so they put Jesus there, it being the Jewish day of Preparation, since the tomb was close by."⁵

The purpose of the time-reference here is to explain why there was haste in the burial of Jesus, and why it was that the women returned to the sepulchre after the Sabbath had passed. John tells us that, since it was the Friday night and the tomb of Joseph was close by, they put Jesus' body in there. There was not time for the full ritual of Jewish burial and the Law enabled them to do the essentials of burial on the Feast Day, but not on the approaching Sabbath.⁶ These bare essentials were done, and

1: Op. cit. Vol. III, p. 613.

2: John XIX, 36.

3: Mish. Pesa. VII, 11.

4: Mish. Pesa. VII, 12.

5: John XIX, 42.

6: See above, pp. 29ff.

the body then left in the tomb until the Sabbath had passed, when the full requirements of the last rites could be carried out. There is no other possible construction which can be placed upon St. John's time-reference here.

If the Evangelist had had the slightest idea that it was the approach of the Passover which enjoined haste, he would certainly have said so. His reference is not to do with anything Paschal at this point however, but with the even more strict Jewish Sabbath; and it has been in the context of the weekly Sabbath that Christian rejoicing has ever since been carried out (i.e. on the first day of the week) and not in reference to the sixteenth or seventeenth of Nisan, nor to the Passover either. It was "on the first day of the week that Mary of Magdala went early to the tomb",¹ and it has been on the first day of the week, with its implicit reference to the weekly and not to the annual feast, that Christian worship has found its focus ever since; and on the other hand, despite the efforts of the quarto-decimans, the month of Nisan passes almost unnoticed in Christendom.

THE MEAL BY THE LAKESIDE:

Just as the two Disciples at Emmaus had joined the risen Lord at a meal where He had broken bread according to the usual custom, as Luke tells us,² so in the Fourth Gospel we have this further incident which must have been especially significant to St. John. It seems from the later accounts of Luke and John that there had been considerable interest in the meals which Jesus had shared with His Disciples after His Resurrection, and eating takes a prominent place in most of the post-Resurrection narratives. John's story tells us how, after a miraculous catch of fish on the Lake, the Disciples came ashore to be greeted with the Lord's

1: John xx, 1.

2: Luke xxiv, 30, 31, 35.

invitation: "Come and breakfast! - none of them dared to ask Him who He was; they knew it was the Lord - and Jesus went and took the bread and gave it to them, also the fish."¹

This incident must have been one of the formative ones in the history of the early Christian liturgy, for the relationship between the meal here and other sacramental occasions must have been clearly evident. It would also have been one of those incidents which served the more fully to divorce the Last Supper observance from its context of the Jewish Passover, and emphasize the everyday significance of the breaking of bread.

Bread and fish were the two most common elements of diet for that Galilean community, and this fact, rather than any metaphysical connexion with the credal symbol 'ICHTHUS' must have been the reason for the frequent mention of fish in the meals of Jesus with His Disciples.² Luke tells us that Jesus ate some fish in His appearance in the Upper Room,³ and there is some evidence that there was a sacramental use of fish in at least some sections of the primitive Church.⁴ This simply affirms that in the earliest days the Sacrament was part of an ordinary meal, rather than a separate and wholly liturgical observance.⁵

CONCLUSION:

The Fourth Gospel therefore, far from contradicting the Synoptics with regard to its basic chronology of the Passion, stands firmly with them on all essential points, and any dogmatic conclusions drawn must be in the light of an integrity of the four Gospels, rather than setting one against the rest. The silence of St. John about the Bread and Wine must be interpreted in this setting, and also with due regard for his evident sacramental interests, as well as his close interest in the Jewish cultus.

1: John xxi, 12, 13.

2: Mark vi, 41-42 (cf. Matt. xiv, 19-20 & Luke ix, 16-17): John vi, 15-16: Mark viii, 6, 8-9.
cf. Matt. xv, 36-7; Luke xxiv, 42-3.

3: Luke xxiv, 42-3.

4: Epitaph of Avircius indicates this.

5: See pp. 119 ff. above.

IX.

ADDITIONAL PAULINE EVIDENCE.

(1). I CORINTHIANS V:

The fifth chapter of First Corinthians is rich in references to the customs of the Passover, and this tendency finds its fullest expression in the words: "Our Passover also has been sacrificed, even Christ."¹ Paul refers to the paschal practice of searching out all leaven from the houses on the Eve of the Passover,² and the imagery is used to bring us closely into contact with the redemptive action of Christ in going to the Cross, which is contrasted with the alleged atoning efficacy of the blood of the Paschal Lamb, and the purity of the Unleavened Bread. The uses of this imagery in this context compels one to believe that St. Paul thought of the Last Supper as a Passover feast. The whole passage is ancillary to the Christian Eucharist, and there is a suggestion of this in the words with which the Apostle anathematizes the evil-doer: "With such an one do not eat."

It might be contended that there is no specific reference to any liturgical practice in these words, but only to a normal table fellowship over an ordinary meal. In the light of all that we have seen however, it would appear that this is not in any way to exclude the special sig-

1: v, 7.

2: Mish. Pesa i, 1 etc..

nificance attaching to the Sacrament, for the early Church found its deepest fellowship in just such ordinary meals.

While it is evident that St. Paul is thinking in Paschal terms in this passage however, it is also apparent that it is not the old Jewish Passover which he sees but a transformed rite where everything has been raised to a new level. No longer the blood of the blameless Lamb, but that of the sinless Son of God; not just the outward symbol of the leaven-free houses, but the sin-free hearts of the forgiven sinners in Christ; these are the new facts that the Apostle sees.

The great probability from all these considerations is that to St. Paul there was no question of the Last Supper not being a Paschal celebration, and that here, as everywhere else in his experience, it was the transforming power of Christ to change and invest with life that occupied his main thought.

(2). I CORINTHIANS X:

In this highly metaphysical passage St. Paul develops his theme of the pre-existence of Christ, by making use of the imagery of the Eucharist. It is all the more significant when one considers that his purpose here is not concerned with the Christian Sacrament at all, but with quite another theme. Thus it is something that the Apostle takes absolutely for granted of his hearers that they thought spontaneously and naturally of the presence of Christ in terms like to those of the Sacrament. Whether it was the Manna in the wilderness, or the water springing from the rock at the touch of Moses' rod, all these incidents were for St. Paul but a continuation of the eternal truth that he had found in the Incarnation, and which came home most nearly to the post-Pentecost Church in the present reality of the Sacrament. Here the

close affinity between the thought and attitude of St. John and that of St. Paul is evident; both Apostles think of the supreme Sacrament of the Incarnation more readily than of any particular sacramental acts.

There is quite explicit reference to the Eucharist however which serves to confirm this universal truth. "The Cup of Blessing which we bless, is it not participation in the Blood of Christ? The Bread which we break, is it not participation in the Body of Christ?" asks St. Paul. As we have already seen, St. Paul is here talking to a congregation founded in the year A.D. 51 or thereabouts, and it is worthy of notice how completely he takes the facts of the Eucharist for granted. Later in the same chapter the expression 'the Table of the Lord' is mentioned in contrast with the esoteric table-fellowships of the mystery cults - such as that of Sarapis, for instance.¹

(3). I CORINTHIANS XI:

In addition to the points already noted regarding this most famous of all Eucharistic references, it is significant that St. Paul seems to be making a deliberate act of separation of the sacramental from the common meals of the Church in Corinth. "If any man is hungry, let him eat at home..." is the Apostolic injunction. This means that the conjectures we have made regarding the rite in the time of the Acts of the Apostles is considerably strengthened. Only by the time of about A.D. 55., i.e. after more than twenty years from its institution, was the Eucharist developing into a peculiarly liturgical meal in Christian assemblies. While it had been part of an ordinary meal, particularly in the Syro-Palestinian areas, wine would have been a very infrequent sight at meals. Even among the poorer folk of Corinth it can hardly have been common (only the rich

1: See Oxyrynchus Papyrus mentioned above, p.130

could afford to get drunk, it would seem). Thus we can reasonably expect that by this time of the First Letter to Corinth, as the words "whenever you drink it" suggest, the use of the Cup was just becoming a regular part of the developing rite.

CONCLUSIONS:

Thus in the Pauline correspondence we find once more the general coherence of the picture we have painted of the development of the Sacrament appertaining. The whole of the New Testament evidence as to the origins of the Eucharist is a unity and an integrity - and what divergences there are only serve to show the meticulous care with which the most accurate and authoritative picture of the original intentions of Jesus was built up from every available source. In the Pauline picture of I Corinthians xi we have the final result of the researches of the primitive Church into our subject, and at each point in the road from the earliest reports in Acts, and the pre-Gospel accounts, we find the great verities standing firm and certain. Having established this much, we may now the more profitably turn to an examination of the meaning of the rite, particularly as seen through the eyes of first Century Christendom.

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I

THE OLD TESTAMENT BACKGROUND OF THE PASSOVER.

Regardless of whether it is generally accepted that the occasion of the Lord's Supper was a regular celebration of the Jewish Passover or not, the importance of Paschal thought on that occasion cannot be denied. Both Jesus Himself, and the early Church as a whole, frequently thought of His death in terms not only deriving from the Jewish sacrificial system, but also in terms of the actual Passover. Thus we have the Johannine references to "the Lamb",¹ and the Pauline expression: "Christ our Pascha."² The whole attitude of the early Church to the Jewish Cultus was that in Jesus it had arrived at its consummation, and if they lingered in the Temple for a time after Pentecost it was only because they daily and hourly expected that consummation to be made manifest to the world at large. They considered that the Sacrifice par-excellence had been made by Jesus, and thus all other forms of sacrifice had been superseded.

It will be important for us, therefore, to consider the question of Sacrifice, first of all as it is seen in pre-Christian times, and later with regard to the self-surrender of Jesus on the Cross.

SACRIFICE

Sacrifice is one of the great universals of man's religious nature in its search for satisfaction and practical expression. If there could be found some tribe or race where Sacrifice had played no recognizable part in its religious development, this fact alone would be of immense importance because of its singularity. Far beyond the confines of any cultural inter-

1. John i ; 29 Rev. V ; 6, 12 etc.

2. I Cor. V ; 7. cf. Vincent Taylor : 'Jesus & His Sacrifice', pp. 116-7.

course, or of any kind of inter-communication of religious ideas, we find recognizably similar practices with regard to Sacrifice. This fact indicates the first element in our consideration of Sacrifice with regard to Christian purposes, for where we find a great pervading universal like this there is every reason to ask whether this universality does not mean that we are dealing with a valid response to the one and universal God. It is clear that this desire to sacrifice will either derive from the universal Good, or else from that one other universal factor, namely human nature. These two are the only two universal causes in the field, and either one or both of them must be causal with regard to the fact of Sacrifice.

As we are making this enquiry as Christians, we may begin by positing that the nature of the universal God is that revealed to us supremely in Jesus of Nazareth - who was perfectly man and perfectly God. In His teaching about God we find the great realities which we must discern everywhere as the valid indication of the presence and purposes of God. On the other hand we may look into human nature and human history and see there many of the distinctively human and depraved characteristics of the kind which might subvert valid religious response to God.

Jesus left no definite teaching with regard to cultic sacrifices, nor about the Jewish sacrificial system. While certain of His words and deeds resemble those of the great Old Testament Prophets in their criticism of the cultus, other sayings and deeds would seem to indicate that He regarded the system as good and even necessary. Thus at opposite poles we may place His cleansing of the Temple¹ and His command to the lepers to offer what was due, in the Temple, for their healing.² Since investigators have been unable to discern any developed attitude or teaching of Jesus

1: Matt. xxi. 12, 13 ; Mark xi, 15ff. ; Luke xix, 45.

2. Matt. viii, 4 ; Mark i, 44 ; Luke v. 14 ; (cf. Lev. xiv, 2-7)
See also Luke xvii, 14 ; Matt. v ; 23, 24.

with which either to reject the sacrificial teaching of the Old Testament out of hand, or on the contrary to enable them to regard the Christian attitude as a mere extension or improvement of the old cultus into terms of modern need,¹ we must look elsewhere for our authority on this question. It will be necessary therefore, to attempt to find what the spirit of the Life and Teaching of Jesus indicates with regard to the historical Hebrew cultus.

THE HISTORY OF THE HEBREW CULTUS.

Exhaustive analyses of the whole question of sacrifice in ancient Hebrew practice have been carried out by many scholars, of whom Buchanan Gray,² Robertson Smith³ and Oesterley⁴ are among the first names. The general result of their investigations has been to reveal that, fundamental and primary to every concept of sacrifice is the motive of making a gift to the deity. Thus Buchanan Gray writes, "Whenever in later times the Jew sacrificed, he was consciously intending his sacrifice to be a gift to God."⁵ In his article in the Encyclopaedia Biblica on the subject Dr. G.F. Moore says, "The prevailing conception of sacrifice and offering in the Old Testament is that of a gift or present to God."⁶

This opinion is strongly supported by recent work by the Roman Catholic theologian De La Taille, who writes:

"[a]tria. eucharist, impetration (adoration, thanksgiving, petition) go side by side and hand in hand in this first approach of man towards God. But because man is not a pure spirit, he feels a need to translate this interior gift of himself into an outward rite which symbolizes it. For this reason he presents to God the homage of some material gift, the whole reason and purpose of which is to represent and attest the inmost consecration of his soul."⁷

1. cf. Vinc. Taylor. op.cit. pp. 67-75. 5. op.cit. p. 20. 6. See. op.cit. col 4216.
2. "Sacrifice in the Old Testament" (1925) 7. "The Mystery of Faith..." Vol.I
3. "The Religion of the Semites" (3rd Edn. 1927). (1930). p.6.
4. "Sacrifices in Ancient Israel" (1937).

While most investigators would not adopt such a naive view of the inner and subjective aspects of sacrificial gift-offerings, it is nevertheless important that we note how Roman orthodoxy agrees in principle with this Gift theory of the origins of sacrifice.

Oesterley, while also agreeing in principle with this result, nevertheless goes further in an attempt to discern a historical progression of motives which broadly separate into three categories: those of the Gift, the Communion and the Liberation of Life. He writes, "The sacrifices of which we read in the Old Testament were offered for three main purposes: as gifts to the deity, as a means of union with him, and as a means of liberating life."¹ In following through the history of sacrifice as it unfolded itself in the history of Israel, Oesterley shows how these three purposes each assumed a distinctive place in the cultus, and how, with varying emphases, each was to be found at all stages of the historical development.

Jevons however attacks the system thus built upon offerings or gifts, declaring that: "The Gift theory has in modern times contributed to a fundamentally erroneous conception of the history of religion. It has been supposed that all offerings were from the very beginning gifts, whereas in truth the earlier offerings were but means for placing the worshipper in physical contact and permanent communion with his god."²

This opinion has not gone unchallenged, and today it may be claimed the general concensus of opinion is still that, as Baumgartner has put it: "Offering and prayer are the two main elements in the cultus; they are closely associated; originally sacrifice is nothing else than a prayer accompanied by gifts... showing the recognition of the fact that the gaining of the divine favour must cost something."³

1. *Op. cit.* p 11.

2. "An Introduction to the History of Religion", (1904) p. 225.

3. "Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart", (1913) iv, 956; See Oesterley *Op. cit.* pp 17-18.

Collating all the evidence of these and other scholars, Oesterley arrives at the conclusion that: "There is no question that, so far as Israelite sacrifices are concerned, though the same applies elsewhere, gift-sacrifices are by far the commonest type."¹ Again A.R.S.Kennedy declares: "Study of the terminology of sacrifice has shown that the dominant conception in the Old Testament, from first to last, is that of a gift, present or offering."²

SACRIFICE AND MAGIC:

Every student of the comparative history of religious development recognizes that the great pitfall ever awaiting man's journey of response to the soliciting love of God is the lapse into magic. By magic is meant simply the attempt by man to wrest from the side of God that which it is His alone to give or to do, and so to try to gain control in some way of the means of effecting supernatural processes to his own advantage. Thus the path of sacrifice, which lends itself so readily to magical interpretation, is particularly treacherous in this regard. The great danger is ever that man will go beyond sacrifice (as oblation, the prayerful offering of what is his to give) to the realm of magic where he imagines that certain supernatural results must inevitably ensue provided he performs certain rites or utters certain prayers.

The keynote of valid sacrificial worship, as the word itself suggests, is that of offering, giving, oblation. The Prodigal Son comes home to his Father and offers him, without obligation, his whole self and future in his service. The father's response is there before the offer is made, and yet it is by no means inevitable. Had the son possessed motives of 'working on' the father's pity and love to produce the happy ending, the whole story would be degraded and lose its point. This is a vital and fundamental point in our whole investigation, and we must remember that in the teaching

1. Op. cit. pp. 23, 25, 126 etc..

2. Article on "Sacrifice & Offering" Hastings (IVol.) Dict. of Bible. p.812.

of Jesus God is ever the loving Father to whom men must surrender themselves unconditionally. De La Taille recognizes this danger of magic when he writes, "Magic is an attempt to act upon an order of things which is not man's domain, but Gods, by means of symbols that do not express a will of God, but a will of man."¹ Although the door is thus left open for the Mass, because it will be included under the category of a symbol which is in accordance with the will of God, it is valuable to notice how closely the Roman theological view resembles our own at this stage.

MAGIC AND WORSHIP:

When one studies the history of sacrifice in Israel in this light one immediately becomes aware of the battle which rages between valid sacrifice and magic. Coupled with the most humble and pious offerings to God, often gifts brought out of sheer joy and love towards God, or else wrung from reluctant hands of men and women by the fear of disobeying the demands of their God, there are all too often other stories of sacrifice of a crude bargaining nature often going far into the realms of magic. It would appear to be against this latter aspect of sacrifice, and not against the cultus as a whole, that the Prophets lodged their protest.

Even with the category of the Gift theory of sacrifice it is important that a Christian should discern the valid and invalid factors, however. A gift, such as a birthday or Christmas gift, can be given for irreligious and sometimes anti-religious motives. What Christian man has not had to face the wrongness of giving such a gift to some maid because in his heart he knows the motive for the relationship that would be so indicated is not one hallowed by the Spirit of God? Love longs to give, but evil also uses the process for its own ends. Unless we discriminate carefully at this point, our whole approach to sacrifice can end in hopeless error.

1. Op. cit. Vol. I. p.202.

Thus when Masure seeks to find in the history of sacrifice a pattern of universally valid religious practices "which the human race throughout the centuries set forth in obedience to a hidden instinct in the sacred and prophetic scenes of ritual sacrifice,"¹ yet without adequately discerning the fundamental differentiating factor between valid and invalid sacrifice, he simply opens the door to magic and evil, and links his conception of the sacrifice of Jesus with paganism, and error. There is a heathen note in his approach as he writes:

"The liturgy begins with traditions of previous generations weighing on the will of living men, enshrined in grim or weird prescriptions. It is as if the dead were speaking, issuing their orders. These traditional gestures and inherited formulas enable man to reach God, almost to touch Him. Then the incense crackles and smokes; libations are poured; the victims are brought forth. "Grand Dieu! voici ton heure: on t'amène ta proie." For it is the divine moment of sacrifice...

"The name of Christian which I bear does not forbid me to gaze into these sacred depths; quite the contrary. As a disciple of Christ I have the right and duty to try to understand these ancient human beings...

"That holocaust may have been sometimes only a disgusting bonfire; but the leaping of its flames already sings God's glory..."

So Masure continues on his benign way through paganism to his chapter entitled 'The True Idea of Sacrifice', by which time we see magic fully developed. His words are worth quoting in full here:

"We are at the very origins of our most ancient institutions, at the source of our most universal experiences. It is a question then of having something divine in order to put it to use. To have it, if we have it not already, we must make it. To make it, we must pay the price, give up a profane object and obtain from God its sanctification by His acceptance of

1. "The Christian Sacrifice", [1943], p. 155.

it as His own. At this happy moment the cause is won. Such is the great religious movement, the cycle of decisive and significant actions in which sacrifice is found. It is a liturgical offering in which we pay the necessary price, and which, once accepted by God, becomes a means of communion with Him.¹

Thence, by mere terminological processes, Masure concludes that, "to make a sacrifice is to make an object sacred." The full cycle has been made, and we are back here, in the supposed name of Christ, at the same place where the savage man fashions his fet~~ish~~ish or carves his totem. "Sacrifice is thus something done, a making sacred," he continues. "It is an object as much as a gesture, for it is material upon which liturgical gestures are directed so as to change the nature of it. Let us note this formula carefully; with certain additions it would already cover the Catholic definition of the Eucharist and the Mass."²

Returning from this revealing digression into the writings of the latest Roman theology, we must yet look further into the distinctive aspects of sacrifice as emergent within the Hebrew cultus. Sacrifice, we have found, properly rests on the foundation fact of the free gift. Oblation is its characteristic feature, and if immolation takes place at all, (which indeed is of questionable validity), it is the motive behind such immolation which is the important factor. Man's uttermost approach to God lies in the giving of himself. At first his material gifts (and among them the most precious gifts he possesses, which to ancient man was often in the form of foodstuffs) and later all that he is and hopes to be is offered to God. This is the limit of man's prerogative in sacrifice. It is when the gift motive is superseded by magical desires to produce at will that which it is God's right alone to give, that we see the emergence of the evil and mistaken magic of the Mass.

1. Op. cit. pp 17-35. (*Italics his*).

2. Op. cit. p.39. (" ").

It is therefore questionable whether the second category of sacrifice as mentioned by Oesterley (Communion with the deity) is altogether valid as regards truly religious practice. If there is any trace of man's conceiving that necessary results must follow the physical fact of offering and then eating a gift sacrificed to God, then to that extent the 'communion' is magical and invalid. Communion itself is a valid end, of course, but it is a free gift of Grace on the part of God, and in no way can be deserved or produced by man.

Of the third category, with regard to the release of Life (regarded as residual in the blood of the victim) there can only be said that it undoubtedly and definitely lies within the sphere of magic, and thus outside the realm of man's prerogative in sacrifice. Man is not sovereign over life and death. He was not in times gone by, and is not today, even in our age of super-science, and he never will be in the future. It is not for him to traffic in these terms, and certainly not for him to take the presumptuous step of offering a 'Life' as a gift to the deity. Here is fundamental error, and the nearest man may ever approach the absolute oblation is in the offering of himself as a living sacrifice, holy, well-pleasing to God, which is his reasonable liturgy.¹ It is God who giveth Life, and God who taketh away. By His command man may kill and eat - but the Life which he takes and the life which he thus sustains is not his, nor can it ever be made his, except as a gift from God, not vice-versa.

If it was an awful appreciation of this fact which caused the Hebrews to "pour out the blood like water upon the earth"² and never to eat it, then their action was basically valid. But if, as most scholars hold, they felt that they were offering a Life to God, then they were doing wrong. As we will see later, one Man, and one only, ever rightly had the prerogative to offer such a gift to God, and when He did it, the fact of His offering

1. Rom. Xii, 1.

2. See: Gen. ix, 4 ; Lev. xvii, 10-12 ; Deut. xii, 23. etc.

swept clear across all earlier forms and purposes of sacrifice. Now He who was the Way, the Truth and the Life - whose prerogative it was to offer Life, did so for the first time in history, and for the first time in history too men were bidden of God to partake of Blood, which was the Life. Thus the perfect humanity of Jesus offered what was the most that humanity can offer - His own Life - but that Life was also the very Fact of Life itself - the existential Logos, as conceived from all time as beyond man's right to approach or partake, and so God, whose right it was to deal in these terms, met with man, offering Himself, in Christ Jesus the Lamb of God - and so all sacrifice was complete.

But this is to leap ahead of our premises, and we have yet to see the place of the Passover within the Jewish cultus, and in particular to discover Jesus' own attitude to His death. This latter problem must occupy our attention next.

II

JESUS' CONCEPTION OF HIS OWN CRUCIAL ROLE IN MAN'S REDEMPTION.

The Fourth Gospel has been generally acclaimed as the most thoroughly 'sacramentalist' of the four, and because it undoubtedly abounds in references to the Jewish cultus, setting the Life, Death and Resurrection of Jesus within the framework of the Jewish festival chronology,¹ it is interesting to see that it is this same Gospel which abounds in the great personal affirmations of Jesus. Growing out of the developed conviction of the Evangelist with regard to the Person of Jesus, it affords an admirable starting point for our present discussion, not in isolation from the Synoptics, but as focussing the thought of our subject in a way which we may then compare with earlier accounts.

Just as Yahweh appeared to Moses in the wilderness and declared His Name to be 'I AM' (אֲהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֲהִיָּה or ἐγὼ εἰμὶ ὁ ὢν (LXX) Ex. iii.¹⁴), and as such He was announced to the Hebrews in their bondage to the end that after the first Passover they who were signified by the blood of the Lamb were delivered from their slavery - so Jesus came into history with the same great claim to be 'I AM' (ἐγὼ εἰμὶ), and after the last Passover delivered from the thralldom of sin all those who claimed atonement under the Covenant ratified by His Blood. It is this Jesus the I AM whom we see in the pages of the Fourth Gospel, and it is of value to consider these great personal affirmations of our Lord as they have come down to us in the Gospel story.

The first thing we notice about the uses of the expression 'I AM' is that we may divide them into two categories:

a. As a term or title standing alone.

e.g. Jesus' reply to the question of the High Priest.

Σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός;... ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς εἶπεν, Ἐγὼ εἰμι:¹

b. In conjunction with some qualifying concept.

e.g. The Messianic sayings of the Fourth Gospel.

Ἐγὼ εἰμι τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου:²

a. EGO EIMI STANDING ALONE:

Where this title is used undefined it stands in the Gospels in unique relation to the Divine Name. In the warning to the disciples that many would come in His name and mislead people, Jesus said that the error would be in their misuse of this title: "πολλοὶ ἐλεύσονται ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματί μου λέγοντες ὅτι Ἐγὼ εἰμι, καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσιν."³

In this special sense we are also to understand the regal reply of Jesus to the High Priest (seen above) and particularly in the Fourth Gospel such sayings as Jesus' affirmation to the woman at the well in Samaria, when she refers to the Messianic revelation as belonging to a future historical moment, but Jesus replies: Ἐγὼ εἰμι, ὁ λαλῶν σοι...⁴ In other words - the Messianic revelation is now, at this moment, available to her.

In a paper to the New Testament Society in Oxford in 1947, Prof. W. Manson developed the exegesis of these sayings of Jesus to indicate how, behind the historical Fact, there was the eternal, existential Fact, who came into men's lives as Jesus of Nazareth. "Ἐγὼ εἰμί indicates an existential situation, not merely an historical claim," he said.⁵

The most important of these claims of Jesus with regard to our purposes

1. Mark xiv ; 61.
2. John viii ; 12.
3. Mark xiii; 6 & parallels.
4. John iv ; 26
5. J.T.S. (1947) p.141. cf. A. Schweitzer: "The Quest of the Historical Jesus", pp.342ff. (A&C Black. 1926)

belief in Him as the Eternal One of God which is the crucial issue for salvation. He does not say that it is to be His death which will effect this salvation, but rather "except ye believe that I AM, ye shall die in your sins." Because this belief is not possible to them owing to their sinful blindness, He must first needs die (be lifted up) before they will be enabled to recognize Him that He IS.

It is also to be noted that here, in the context of the atonement for sin, Jesus links His claim of I AM with His use of the title 'Son of Man'.¹ This is a further aspect of the self-declaration of Jesus with which we must deal at a later stage in greater detail. But before passing from this saying it is important to notice that Jesus makes no reference whatever to the way in which sin is to be conquered or annulled. His statement here is negative - unless they believe they will die in their sins. The meaning is clear that belief in Him will effect freedom from the death penalty for sin, but beyond this we cannot go.

(b) In this same discussion Jesus comes to the question of the patriarchal faith, for the Jews claimed that as Abraham's seed they were free men. On the contrary, says Jesus, all who sin are slaves to sin, and only if the Son shall make them free will they be free indeed. Here something more than mere intellectual belief in His messiahship is indicated as the required basis for salvation, however, for a two-fold aspect of deliverance emerges:

First, it is the Son who shall make men free:

ἐὰν οὖν ὁ υἱὸς ὑμῶν ἐλευθερώσῃ, ὁὕτως ἐλεύθεροι ἔσεσθε.

(Once more there is no mention of how the Son is to effect this freedom, but the initiative is clearly indicated to be in His hands.

Secondly, Jesus deplores that He, who claims to be the eternal Son, is unable to effect this freeing because of men's refusal to accept Him. The sign of their acceptance and belief is in their actions, not in mere pro-

1: John viii, 28.

fessions, however, and while the Jews profess sonship to Abraham, they in fact do the works of the Devil. But, says Jesus, "If a man keep My word, he shall never see death."¹

Thus there is the proclamation of the two-fold condition for man's salvation. First in the activity of the divine Son on man's behalf; and as a necessary concomitant, man's obedience of belief in Him.

(c). It is when this fact is made quite definite that Jesus declares His divinity, and indeed His divine pre-existence, in the words:

Ἀμὴν, ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, πρὶν Ἀβραάμ γενέσθαι, Ἐγὼ εἰμι..."

(d). The next instance of Jesus' use of the term I AM, without further qualification, is in His discussion following upon His washing the Disciples feet. Here the purpose of the washing was stated to be:

1. A sign of identification with Jesus:

"If I wash thee not thou hast no part in me," (John xiii;8)

2. A sign of cleansing:

"He that is bathed... is clean every whit." (John xiii;10)

In addition there is the fact of the example thus set them of mutual service and humility. Jesus then tells them that the time is at hand that these things are to be fulfilled, adding: "I tell you before it come to pass that when it is come to pass ye may believe that I AM."²

Leaving aside the motive of example in this action of Jesus, we see here the Baptism of the Twelve. Until now there is no record that they had been baptized even by John, and there is certainly no indication that Jesus had baptized them. This then is their Baptism before their admission to the Lord's Supper, and the same great theme that we have already detected in earlier sayings is increasingly emphasized here. The need for their active obedience of belief is still stressed. They are already clean by the Word, but now the sign and seal of their faith is seen in their being

1. John viii, 52.

2. John xiii, 19.

washed by Jesus. Their whole bodies are not washed, because it is not even that kind of symbol; ~~even~~; the virtue does not appertain to what happens with regard to their bodies so much as to the fact that the Son of Man stoops to wash their feet. This is the real sacramental fact, and thus they need only to be washed in part and they will be in every whit clean. When the eternal God stoops to wash their feet, and they see and accept it, as Peter did finally, then the divine process is complete. But as it is a sign from God to man, it is also a sign of man's acceptance, of his identification with Jesus the Christ, and it is these two factors in juxtaposition which spell salvation.

The hallowed water itself, and even the action of Him who stoops to wash, is not sufficient to cleanse away the sin of the unbelieving and unrepentant heart however, for Judas is also washed; but as Jesus solemnly warns: "Ye are clean, but not all," for (adds St. John) He knew him that would betray Him, therefore He said: Ye are not all clean.¹

It is therefore largely incorrect to regard Baptism as a sign of the resurrection of the new man whose sins are forgiven, unless its prime significance is seen to be the fact of ingrafting into the Christ who stoops to embrace mankind. The forgiveness of sins is only the 'by-product' of the process of repentance and belief and acceptance - not the primary purpose of His coming and dying, or of our faith at all. This is surely not perceived by those who still cling to theories of the necessity of total immersion, savouring more of pre-Christian practice and thought than a Christian approach as seen in this incident. Can it be that such folk are so obsessed with cleansing every part, or of developing a symbol of the uprising of the new man, that the Christ who stoops to conquer is seen only through what takes place in or to the sinner - thus misplacing the major accent of the Sacrament, and indeed of the Incarnation!

1: John xiii, 11.

(e). The occasion of the arrest of Jesus, while indicating the regal assurance and dignity with which He declared His true identity to the mob, adds little to our immediate enquiry beyond emphasizing the way in which Jesus clearly and repeatedly claimed His right to the title 'I AM'.

b. EGO EIMI WITH A QUALIFYING PHRASE:

Turning to the second of these categories of Jesus' use of this expression, we find the canvas very much enlarged. Once more it is the Fourth Gospel which has the great preponderance of these special usages, but in addition to Jesus' direct claims to being the existential divine Presence (as seen in Mark xiv, 61 and parallels) there is the important statement recorded by Luke in which Jesus says: "I AM among you as one who serves." (ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν εἶμι ὡς ὁ διοκονῶν - Luke xxii, 27.). As this saying clearly connects with the saying concerning the Son of Man's coming to minister and give His life for many, which will be discussed in detail later,¹ this further Synoptic reference can be deferred for the present.

Reverting to the Fourth Gospel then, we find that there is first of all a careful preparation for Jesus' unique self-revelation in terms of the 'I AM'. In the first few chapters the Baptist specifically disclaims this messianic dignity, using the negative form of our expression, saying: "I AM not the Christ!" and this is repeated later in similar form:

οὐκ εἶμι ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστός.²

It is in reply to the statement by the woman at the well in Samaria, which we have already discussed, that Jesus first uses the claim of 'I AM' in the Fourth Gospel. Coming immediately upon the disclaimers by the Baptist, which follow the Messianic Charter of the Prologue, the reader is thus well prepared for the entry of the figure of the living 'I AM'.

1: See under pp. 59 ff.

2: John i, 20.

The Fourth Gospel abounds in instances of the use by Jesus of this term, but it is in the seven great 'I AM' claims that the heart of His teaching about Himself is contained. These seven are as follows:

- (1). I AM the Bread of Life. (vi, 35,41,48,51.)
- (2). I AM the Light of the World. (viii, 12)
- (3). I AM the Door of the Sheep. (x, 7)
- (4). I AM the Good Shepherd. (x, 11)
- (5). I AM the Resurrection and the Life. (xi, 25)
- (6). I AM the Way, the Truth and the Life. (xiv, 6)
- (7). I AM the true Vine. (xv, 1,5...)

Attempts have been made to show that in the Fourth Gospel things always go by sevens, and thus there are seven discourses, seven of these sayings, and so on. The reason for this, as in earlier Gospels, was probably to provide a convenient method of committing the teaching to memory for oral transmission. The number seven at the same time having considerable significance, of course. It is interesting, in the light of our present study, to see how these seven sayings begin with the Bread and end with the Wine! Our concern however is not with such speculations, but with the light these sayings can throw on such issues as Jesus' own conception of the reason for His death.

Leaving aside, for the present, the difficult question of the first of these sayings, which will require a much fuller and more detailed analysis,¹ we immediately notice that these sayings are connected with the other category which we have just discussed. Thus:

(2). "I AM the Light of the World."

This is the claim which initiates the long discourse concerning the forgiveness of sins in Chapter viii, already discussed. Jesus' claim is that whoever walks in His Light, i.e. in the Light of the Truth that

1. See under, Chapter III.

He IS, will have the Light of Life. (ἔξει τὸ φῶς τῆς ζωῆς).

(3). "I AM the Door of the Sheep."

This saying is important for our purposes as the claim carries with it the words: "by Me, if any man enter in, he shall be saved... I came that they might have life and have it abundantly."¹ Here Jesus uses an every-day figure to emphasize His own unique importance in the scheme of salvation. He is the sole way by which men must travel to abundant life, - once more nothing else is said as to the method by which men are to enter in through Him, but the implications are clear enough, and are identical with what we have already seen, namely the acceptance of Him by faith and obedience is the pre-requisite of His being able to afford men His saving power.

(4). "I AM the Good Shepherd."

The consideration of Jesus' death is introduced once again, and here too we are told no more than the fact that the Shepherd gives His life for the sheep. The homely picture is of the sheep faced with danger and death, probably in the form of some animal of prey, and it is the Shepherd who engages the enemy and destroys Him, but only at the cost of His own life.

How very different this concept is from that of ritual sacrifice - where the sheep so often gave their lives (or at least were deprived of them) for the sake of the shepherds! The death of Jesus is far from being an extension of cultic sacrifice, as the Mass presumes, but is indeed the very reverse of that process. It is the case of the greater dying and suffering for the less, not the degraded concept which can reason: "... sacrifice is a religious transfer of property for the greater profit of him who makes the renunciation of his goods."² Jesus' teaching is quite the reverse of the developed sacrificial system of Israel, and there is nothing to justify the Roman attitude, amounting almost to auto-hypnosis, which can make bold to say: "Thanks to sacrifice man plays a part in the issue of his own destiny.

1. John X, 7f.
2. Masure, op. cit., p.34.

He becomes God's collaborator in the work of his salvation... that is why sacrifice is an action, accomplished through the creature's effort, making its own drive to its end under the almighty act of God. Thus there is an essential dynamism in sacrifice... Man puts to it his inmost power and in it he carries himself forward..."¹

The method by which the giving of the Shepherd's life effects the salvation of the sheep is not mentioned here however. The freedom which is characteristic of Jesus' sacrifice is emphasized, on the other hand, for here is no pre-determined drama enshrined in an eternal obligation, but the love of the strong for the dependent weak, which love goes as far as death itself, and this is the most that we can understand about it.

The saying is completed by the affirmation: "I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, and no-one shall snatch them out of my hand. My Father hath given them unto me... I and my Father are one."²

(5) "I AM the Resurrection and the Life."

Jesus here claims to be the very Fact of Life itself, and this, as we have already remarked, is of supreme importance for the whole conception of His sacrificial death. In addition He asserts that: "He that believeth in Me, though he die, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in Me shall never die."³ This claim is met with Martha's response of triumphant faith in His messiahship, and crowned and sealed by His raising of Lazarus. Once more the conditions by which man must avail himself of this proffered eternal life in Jesus are seen to be belief and living obedience to that belief.

(6). "I AM the Way, the Truth and the Life."

This saying forms the heart of the great fourteenth chapter of John where Jesus once again emphasizes the two cardinal points by which men may lay hold on His salvation: faith and works, belief and obedience. "Believe

1. Masure, op. cit., p. 43.

2. John X, 28, 29.

3. John xi, 26.

also in Me" is the prime plea - followed immediately, in fact simultaneously and integrally with the words: "He that believeth on Me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do..." Again, "He that hath My commandments and keepeth them, he it is that loveth Me." Thus the accent falls sharply on the obedience and active living of faith by which belief is ratified.

CONCLUSIONS:

Thus far we have seen that Jesus' great claims concerning Himself result in the two-fold soteriological fact that:

- (1). Jesus the Christ is uniquely the means of man's salvation, and by faith in Him and obedience to His word, men are saved.
- (2). His true nature is generally unperceived by men, and in some way His death is to be the means whereby men everywhere will be enabled to believe and live to eternal life.

The great central theme of the Fourth Gospel is summed up and set forth in its own words when John says: "These things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in His Name."¹

With these observations in mind, we are now in a better position to approach an understanding of the first of the 'I AM' claims of Jesus, concerning the Bread of Life.

1: John XX, 31.

Our purpose will be however, to try to find whether the ministry of Jesus as recorded here is able to stand alone, or rather as part of the ministry of Jesus as it has so far been represented by the Gospels; and, incidentally, whether it can find a suitable kind of framework in which to stand.

III

THE FEEDING OF THE FIVE THOUSAND.

Turning to the first 'I AM' claim by Jesus as it is recorded for us in the sixth chapter of John, and bearing in mind what we have already learned from our examination of the other sayings, we may now ask about the meaning of this important passage. So much has been read into it from other contexts, and the question of its chronology has become so much confused thereby, that we must make a special attempt to look at it with fresh eyes, as though coming to these words of the Master for the first time.

The occasion of the feeding of the multitude from the five loaves and two small fishes took place at a time when "the Passover, the Feast of the Jews, was at hand."¹ It is probable that no final agreement will ever be reached as to the chronology of the Fourth Gospel, and there will possibly always be champions of the theory that here we have words which refer specifically to the Last Supper. Leading exponents of this, the most common conception, have been Hoskyns² and Vincent Taylor,³ to mention two of the most recent. On the other hand others will equally stolidly assert that the occurrence of this passage, far from adding lustre to the unique occasion of the Last Supper, constitutes a 'sacramental' challenge to its peculiarity. Thus Dr. Albert Schweitzer says, "The Supper at the Lake of Gennesareth was a veiled eschatological sacrament,"⁴ and again, "The Last Supper at Jerusalem had the same sacramental significance as that at the lake."⁴

1. John vi, 4.

3. op.cit. p243

2. "The Fourth Gospel," pp. 292 ff. 4. "The Quest of the Hist. Jesus," pp. 378 ff.

Our purpose will be however, to try to find whether the discourse of Jesus as recorded here is able to stand alone, or rather in the context of the ministry of Jesus as it has so far been represented to us in the Gospel story; and, incidentally, whether it can find adequate meaning within the same kind of framework as the other 'I AM' sayings.

Attempts have been made to compromise between the two views mentioned earlier, by raising this miraculous meal to the dignity of another type of Eucharist or rather Messianic Meal - thus setting up what is if not a rival, at least a supplementary occasion to the Last Supper. Some of the allegorizing or symbolizing methods adopted in these processes can go to absurd lengths, and Lohmeyer, in his exegesis would have us believe that Jesus held one miraculous meal for Jews and another for Greeks: ("Den Zwölfen gebührt bei den Mahlen Gebet und Dienst am Wort wohl auch der Dienst an den Tischen der Hebräer, den Diakonen als ihren Helfern der Dienst bei den Hellenisten.")¹ This conjecture, based on his general thesis of a dual ministry of Jesus in Galilee and Jerusalem, does not concern us here, but it is important to realize how great an importance is being attached to the sacramental nature of this meal in many quarters.

Turning to the narrative in the Fourth Gospel, the first thing that we notice therefore is that after Jesus gave thanks (εὐχαριστήσας)² for the five loaves and two fishes, He Himself made the distribution to the crowds. This point is of immense importance in an attempt to understand John's reasons in describing this miracle and discourse, already dealt with by all three Synoptics. John, to deal with such a passage, must have felt profoundly dissatisfied with the Synoptic accounts, and the least we can say here is that he could hardly have made things more difficult for the critics who wish to see ritual eucharistic evidences here. It is as though he sets out deliberately to remove all traces of eucharistic liturgical procedure from the narrative, freely altering the detail of the Synoptic

1. E. Lohmeyer, "Das Abendmahl in der Urgemeinde," J.B.L. Sept. 1937, p.237.
cf. Vinc. Taylor, op. cit., p.243.

2. John VI, 11.

accounts. Thus there is no mention at all of Jesus' having broken the bread, and if it is claimed that this is understood, it is nevertheless true that this incident, described by the Synoptics, is deleted by John. Considering the apparent significance of the expression Breaking of Bread, as a technical term for the Eucharist, it is hard to avoid conclusions pointing to a deliberate silence here. On the other hand it must be admitted that in the Fourth Gospel we have the more suggestive εὐχαριστήσας instead of the Synoptic εὐλογήσας - although it is an open question as to whether the meal was generally referred to as a 'Eucharist' at this period. By far the most important point however is in the fact that John removes reference to Jesus' having handed the broken bread to the Twelve for distribution, and instead it is the Master Himself who acts without intermediaries.

Prof. O. Cullman¹ makes a very strong case for the eucharistic references of this narrative, citing in particular such words as δίδοναι, ὑπὲρ ἄρτος, αἶμα, φαγεῖν & πινεῖν as "characteristically eucharistic expressions."¹ These words are not, however, anything like so characteristic as the expressions deliberately removed by the Evangelist, and in fact they are much more characteristic of the other 'I AM' passages we have already noticed. Agreeing with Cullmann, Vincent Taylor says: "There is little doubt that they are sacramental passages."²

The argument from silence is precarious at the best of times however, and we must not pursue this point too far. The most that we need say is that the Johannine narrative at this point is far from indicating a definite link with the Eucharist.

The next day, after the multitudes had been reproved for wanting merely material sustenance (which Jesus declared to be behind their mistake in equating His sign with that of Moses' provision of Manna in the wilderness,

1. "Urchristentum und Gottesdienst", (1950) p.90.

2. Op.cit. p.236: see also:

Bernard, I.C.C. "St. John", pp. clxvii - cxlii

² Howard, "The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism..." pp.211-4.

which was not really from the bounty of Moses at all) Jesus went on to assert that His Father still gives them "that true Bread out of Heaven, for the Bread of God is that which cometh down out of Heaven and giveth life to the world."¹ Although they of course asked for that Bread, it is evident that they had no idea of what Jesus was really offering them, and nothing more could be gained by continuing to talk in these terms.

Jesus therefore takes the direct method by saying: "I AM the Bread of Life; he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth in Me shall not thirst."² Then follows the now familiar fact of Jesus, as always at these high points of personal affirmation, lamenting that his hearers were not able to understand the import of His words, by which belief alone He could give them eternal life. "For this is the will of my Father, that every one that beholdeth the Son, and believeth on Him, should have eternal life," He declared, "and I will raise him up at the last day."³

Thus far there is absolutely nothing to cause us to dissociate this saying from what we have already learned. Jesus' words that He is the Bread of Life are no more difficult, and are to be taken no more literally than His claim to be the Door, or the Vine, or the Light of the World.

Jesus' reference to the Last Day, when He will raise up the believers is a new concept in these sayings, but it provides no difficulty which could not belong to a pre-Eucharistic discourse. This also applies to the clearer emphasis placed in this discourse upon a fact already incipient in all that Jesus has said, namely the affirmation contained in the words: "No man can come to me except the Father which sent me, draw him."⁴ The saving initiative is always with God, and man's faith and obedience are but by way of response to the love of God, especially as set forth in the fact of Jesus.

1. vi, 32-3.

2. vi, 35.

3. vi, 40.

4. vi, 44.

It is the final section of this discourse that causes the great difficulty with regard to both meaning and chronology however, for they are difficult words and appear in the same form as concepts later used at the Last Supper. In the words, "The Bread which I will give is my flesh, for the life of the world,"¹ Jesus is attempting to explain further the point we have already noted repeatedly, namely, "how is it that He, by His death, will make it possible for those who are at present unwilling to believe, to have faith and live?"

Steeped as we are today in the thought and language of the Last Supper, it is fatally easy to slip into the unreasonable and finally destructive method of saying that these words, and the subsequent allied expressions, because they are so difficult, must simply refer to the words of the Eucharist, and are therefore to be read in the light of that event, if not actually transposed to a later stage in the Gospel narrative. To do this is to beg the whole question of exegesis, of course, and is to admit that our own lack of understanding of what after all is one of the greatest of all possible mysteries, is sufficient cause for textual emendation. This way is the road to rob much of what Jesus taught of its full meaning and perspective, and in the case in point is to miss the shadow for the reality.

On the contrary, it may be contended that this is one of the most important and significant moments in the whole of Christ's teaching ministry. It is certain that it is only in the light of the Spirit that we can hope to grasp something of the meaning of this saying, and in approaching it we must take off the shoes of our materialism, and try to remember that we are treading on the holiest of ground.

Can it not be that, deeply moved by the enormous failure to reach the dulled hearts and minds of these people by His most direct words and signs, Jesus, the Holy Christ of God, He who knows within Him the yearning and bursting power of divinity, but shackled to the poor flesh and blood of His

humanity, here pours out in terms of that very mystery something of the speech that is beyond man's human powers of interpretation? Words are torn from His very soul as He longs to share His Truth with them, but fails. If they could only see! It is all there before them, all the pulsing power of eternal life: life that sees death as a ripple on the sea; life that rises above all sin and sorrow and pain as the sun rises above the mists of morning: life that urges Him ahead in the paths of men with a certainty that cannot be gainsaid, but which nevertheless can only be expressed in terms of mortal ethics and human attempts toward religion.

Here in His soul Jesus is in agony, agony which will one day be revealed in part in the Passion and the Cross. It is the agony, not of the frustration of Jesus the Man, but of the very Son of God. The agony of a thwarted God! Who can think in these terms? Yet that is the passion which drives home these words into the few minds able to receive even their shadow. Although the physical Cross is still far off, probably exactly a year, it is daily becoming more inevitable as this blindness of the men He came to save forces new and more piercing pains of frustration upon Him. He who, though Man, is also very God, who dares to talk in terms of I AM and makes claims that none but a madman, or the Christ, could ever utter and remain ^{un}abashed, who of us can picture the travail of His soul, of His tortured brain and human vocabulary for some means of expressing His longing to embrace weak, blind, sinful man into His all-sufficient love?

Can we wonder then if His words seem to be extravagant, sounding like veritable madness to all but the few who perceive His passion?

Let us look again at these words, and in the prayerful light of the Holy Spirit, let us hear again the Son of God speak, not slipping His words back into the context of the Last Supper, for that will only serve the more to obscure the depths of His present meaning from His hearers, who as yet know nothing, and suspect nothing of the approaching Supper and Passion.

Hear then the Son of Man speaking:

"Truly, truly I say unto you: Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, you have not life in yourselves!"¹

(Here, as always, there is the same concern "that they might have life".)

And again:

"He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day."²

The theme of these words is one with the other 'I AM' sayings, and there is no need to posit that they are an insertion from a later occasion. (Those who would try to divide the text of this chapter must first explain the recurrence of the earlier expression: "I will raise Him up at the last day".) No, the thought sequence of this whole discourse is a unity, an integrity in which the expression and utterance goes ever deeper as it proceeds:

"He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood abideth in Me, and I in him. As the living Father sent Me, and I live because of the Father; so he that eateth Me, he also shall live because of Me. This is the bread which came down from Heaven; not as the fathers did eat, and died: he that eateth this bread shall live for ever!"³

A little consideration will serve to show that these words are not such as would be spoken to the Twelve in the Upper Room, but are indeed the Kerygma of the Christ. The additional likeness to eucharistic terminology must not be allowed to obscure the fact that here is the identical (even if very much more passionate and intimate) expression and thought as is found in the other sayings we have studied.

It is no wonder that the spiritually dead crowds were revolted! It was impossible for them to understand words that went far below the surface of human appearances to truths greater than human life itself.

1: vi, 53

2: vi, 54

3: vi, 56-8.

Jesus dismissed the suggestion of literalism with the contempt that it deserved - "the flesh profiteth nothing." On the contrary, He said, "It is the Spirit that quickeneth... the words that I have spoken unto you are Spirit and are Life."¹

At this moment Jesus dares to refer to what is still to be. "Does this frustrate you?" He asks, "Well, what if you should come to Pentecost?"² His whole thinking here is not of providing the liturgical form whereby men might appropriate the Redemption of the Cross - but rather He speaks of the next great stage of the divine 'Heilsgeschichte', the Age of the Spirit, when He will be risen and ascended beyond mortal sight, and they will then have to go one stage further and feed on the Body and Blood of the Son of Man in a wholly spiritual sense, no longer visibly and audibly as they do now in His earthly ministry. Thus the theme is not of the Eucharist and the Cross, so much as of the Ascension and the Age of the Spirit.

There were some who ever so dimly understood. "Would you also go away?" He asked. The pathos of the question is unparalleled. But it is Simon Peter who makes confession in words even more understanding than those recorded by the Synoptics, saying: "Lord to whom shall we go, for thou hast the words of eternal life: and we have believed and know that thou art the Holy One of God."³

So the poignant discourse ends. It is a complete entity and unity in itself. If some, or even all present, did not really understand until after He had been 'lifted up' - that was only what He Himself had foretold. Or if the Last Supper finally crystallized such sayings as these for their minds (and for ours too for that matter) we cannot therefore maintain that there is any kind of dependence upon the Paschal meal. Here is truth far beyond sacramental symbol, beyond flesh, even beyond the flesh of Jesus of Nazareth; and to understand these words in such a sense is to admit the spiritual

1: vi; 63.

2: vi; 61; 2.

3: vi; 66-9.

blindness which necessitated His death before His offer of Life could be made clear to them, and which may still obscure the truth beneath a veil of sacramentalism. On the contrary, here we go beyond material symbols to an eternal and existential eucharist, to an eternal yet unique outpouring of God Himself for our souls' redemption, which has no precedent and no bounds. This eternal passion within the Trinity expressed itself in Creation, and Jesus could find no other words to express it to men than in terms of Himself, for was not He the Bridge, the Gate, the Door, the Way - the Person in tension between Divine and Human?

THE EXISTENTIAL EUCHARIST:

This saying of Jesus has brought us to the central concept of Christian sacramentalism, and indeed to the heart of the Christian Gospel. Instead of reading back from the historical event in the Upper Room, when Jesus took Bread and Wine, and so interpreting these words of Jesus in that context; we must instead return to the true order and see in that Bread and Wine but the symbols of the whole Sacrament of the Incarnation, which in its turn is the actualization of the eternal existential relationship of the Second Person of the Trinity to mankind.

The approach to this concept has been thoroughly founded in Prof. W. Manson's article already referred to,¹ entitled "The Ego Eimi of the Messianic Presence in the New Testament", where from a general Biblical analysis of the usages of אֲנִי אֱמִן אֱמִן אֱמִן ; ἐγώ εἰμι and ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν, Dr. Manson concludes that:

"Ego Eimi is the claim to an existence above history and time, and existence πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, which, although it acquires a Messianic determination in the human life of the Incarnate Word, is not confined in its range of reality to that specific form. The Jesus of the Fourth Gospel is the Eternal Logos who, as such, shares and manifests to men the life

1: See above, p.12

of God."¹

Or again: "When the writer of Matthew turns the $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\acute{\iota}$ of Mark into $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\epsilon}\iota\mu\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\omicron}\ \chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, he is scaling down a supra-historical reality to the point at which it becomes the mere statement of one Messianic claim among others in a world of competing, opposed Messianic sects."²

The danger besetting us on this road is that we fall either into the Scylla of realized eschatology or the Charybdis of denying the essential uniqueness of the Person of Christ. Dr. Manson indicates this when he writes: "In the Fourth Gospel, and in St. Paul to a large extent, we find judgement, resurrection and eternal life interpreted in a present sense, and no longer bound up with an entirely eschatological programme."³

This danger may be averted however if we continue to regard this saying of Jesus in the light of His own words, and not in the telic proportions which are sometimes ascribed to the later historical event of the Last Supper. The fundamental Divine-Human tension is then revealed, not as a final principle of God's purpose for men, but as a stage in a definite teleological process culminating in Eternal Life. The eating and drinking of the Flesh and Blood of the Son of Man are not the end but the means to the End. This concept of Jesus is not one of arrival, but of journeying, not of completion, but of expectant eschatology.

Thus we fundamentally disagree with the view of Schweitzer on this point where he states that: "The act of Jesus (with the Bread and Wine) is an end in itself."⁴ In a real sense it is only when one is enabled to eat and drink of the Flesh and Blood of the Son of Man (not the transubstantiated Bread and Wine into the flesh and blood of Jesus of Nazareth) that one becomes a part of the Kingdom of God. Yet it is within the flesh and blood of Jesus of Nazareth that the existential Fact of the Son of Man can be 'realized' by man, in both senses of that word.

1: op. cit. p.141.

2. op. cit. p.140.

3. op. cit. p.144

4. Op. cit. p.378.

Schweitzer indicates similar thought when he says: "It was because He was so in His inmost being that He could think of Himself as the Son of Man. That was only the temporally conditioned expression of the fact that He was an authoritative ruler. The names in which men expressed their recognition of His as such, Messiah, Son of Man, Son of God, have become for us historical parables. We can find no designation which expresses what He is for us."¹

Jesus is for man the actualization of the Logos, and by Him we enter into this larger world which is our destined home, for He is the Gate, the Way, the Door and the Life.

The thing that Jesus felt ever more acutely was that even for Abraham and the greatest of the Prophets the fact of the 'I AM' was ever beyond and separate from them. 'I AM' spoke to Moses, and Moses took off his shoes; but Jesus knew that He was 'I AM'. While the existential Word was always beyond the Patriarchs, now He was come to share Himself with men, and thus the least of the Disciples was more blessed than the greatest of the Prophets. Jesus felt this outpouring of the Divine towards men with increasing urgency, and He was conscious that here His Gospel was infinitely different from all earlier religion, for He came to offer in reality what had before only been available in symbol, or beyond.

1: op. cit. p. 401.

IV.

JESUS' CLAIM TO BE 'SON OF MAN'.

While for St. John the words Ego Eimi represent the highest possible personal claims by Jesus, in the Synoptics we see His sayings more from the viewpoint of contemporary Jewish tradition. Where the words Ego Eimi appear in St. Mark, for instance, it is almost as though they creep into the text without notice, their claims as yet unrecognized in the more immediate significance of the various categories of contemporary Messianism. The way in which Jesus used these many traditional categories (such as Son, Son of Man, Son of God, Messiah, Son of David and Servant of the Lord) fusing them in the crucible of His own divine experience into an enriched and greatly ennobled unity within the principal category 'Son of Man', needs no further analysis here. This work has been done by Dr. W. Manson in a way of permanent value, and it will suffice us to refer to his main conclusions on this point.¹

The first thing for us to notice however is that Jesus never publicly claimed His right to Messianic dignity except in the veiled form of the ambiguous phrases such as 'Son', 'Son of Man' and of course 'Ego Eimi'. It is significant in the Markan narrative, for instance, that even after Peter's confession and Jesus' open use of the Messianic title among the Disciples, He deliberately refused to answer the question of the Pharisees: "Whence art thou?"² This would appear to be an important aspect of His approach to men, for the decision as to His real identity is to be made

1. "Jesus the Messiah" (1943).

2. cf. Mark. xi, 28f.

by men for themselves, as an issue of the greatest spiritual importance. To recognize Him as the Son of God, the Messiah, is to have the seal set upon one's faith and spiritual insight; while we are reminded that at the same time the whole is a gift of God: "flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee."¹

In searching the points of self-reference of Jesus therefore, we have to notice that there are many times when His use of these titles is of purely personal significance, and without specific reference to the Old Testament tradition. Again, not all allusions to the 'Son of Man' may be taken as references to Himself within the present historical situation. There were certainly times when He referred to the Old Testament tradition as such, without indicating its specific relation to Himself, and "with as entire an objectivity as He spoke of the Kingdom of God."²

The other method of reference however, namely that of simply listing all His personal usages of these terms and therefrom affording them pride of place and exclusive significance for His Messianic consciousness, is equally precarious, for it is doubtful whether Jesus ever consciously made use of 'titles' as such: rather let us conceive of His entire Life, Ministry, Death and Resurrection as one great Messianic assertion. Thus at every point He makes His Messianic claims, and the 'I AM' comes as naturally to His lips as it would have been preposterous for another to have used the words. "There is no smallest unit of this (Synoptic) tradition which is not instinct with Christological significance."³

It is significant that where these usages come into the words of Jesus we find that He is speaking under deep emotion and intense conviction. Far from trying to reach back to the Old Testament categories, as if to add their weight to His claims, He speaks with a personal authority which only incidentally, and even subconsciously bears reference to Old Testament

1. Matt. xvi, 17

2. W. Manson, *op. cit.*, p. 115. cf. A. Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, pp 276-292.

3. " " " " p. 94.

Messianism, and that because it was the alembic of thought-forms in which His own conviction had been clarified during His years of Preparation for His Ministry.

Thus the ambiguity of some of these sayings, far from being a conscious attempt at veiling His real identity, represents the essential paradox of Jesus' own Person - the constant tension between His humility and His exaltation, between the human and the divine.

In studying His personal claims then we must not make the mistake of trying to read back from Jesus' words to find their larger meaning and significance in the Old Testament. In fact we must everywhere do the reverse. We must attempt to steep ourselves in the Old Testament and Rabbinic concepts of the Messiah, but only so as to enable us the more clearly to perceive not only where Jesus used it, and transcended it, but also where His concepts cut clear across it, and proclaimed new and revolutionary truths to men.

THE 'SON OF MAN':

With these observations in mind we may now turn to the use Jesus makes of the title 'Son of Man'. While for Christendom the various Messianic categories were finally unified and focussed into the single light of Jesus' Person, the process of inter-relation and fusion can also be seen taking place in the inter-testamentary period. "In later Rabbinic literature as well as in Christianity, we find evidences of an interest in correlating the Biblical ideas of Son of God, Servant of the Lord, and Son of Man", says Dr. Manson.¹ Thus, by the time of Jesus, it is clear that the use of these several titles for one and the same person does not indicate any necessary confusion of thought, or conflation of discrepant traditions.

1. *op. cit.* p. 100.

As we cannot fully discuss all the various personal claims of Jesus at this point, our attention must be concentrated on those sayings referring to His own conception of the purpose and meaning of His approaching death. In doing so we must refer in particular to the 'Son of Man' sayings, for as Dr. Manson has pointed out:

"... in the thoughts of Jesus regarding His vocation and destiny, all other forms of the Messianic idea were superseded by that of the Son of Man, and with this goes the fact that in the tradition most of the allusions, direct or indirect, which Jesus makes to His work or His fortunes, are in the form of Son of Man sayings."¹

These sayings come under three main categories:

- (1). The purely personal references to His present life and work, where Jesus speaks of Himself as the Son of Man, sometimes with no more self-consciousness than any other Aramaic speaker who used the first personal form 'bar nasha', but on other occasions with an assertive ring of kingly authority.
- (2). References to the necessity for His Passion and Death and Resurrection as Son of Man.
- (3). Eschatological references, such as to the coming of the Son of Man in glory in the clouds of Heaven.

Clearly it is with the latter two categories that we are most concerned in our present enquiry, and in particular with the second, or references to His Passion and Death. The idea that the Son of Man must first be humiliated and suffer death before entering upon His reign in glory had not entered significantly into Jewish Messianic thought, despite the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. It was just at this point therefore, that Jesus had to strive hardest to convince His followers, and it is here that the great significance of the Last Supper emerges.

1. *op. cit.*, p. 114.

Before proceeding straight to a consideration of that last, and in many ways most significant of all Messianic acts and claims on the part of Jesus, it will be of great value first to consider the treatment of the fact of His Person within the framework of the Synoptic tradition as a whole. Here the procedure will be more important from the chronological aspect than when we were dealing with the Fourth Gospel, for it is clear that (for Mark at least, and almost certainly for the other two Evangelists) the method of its historical presentation was an important factor in the approach to the Messianic revelation. Taking the Markan narrative in the order in which it is recorded then, the following is a list of the more important moments in the life of Jesus the Messiah:

- i,1: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God."
- i,11: (At the Baptism) "a voice out of heaven, Thou art my beloved Son."
- i,24: (The Demoniac) "I know thee who thou art, the Holy One of God."
- ii,10: "that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins..."
- ii,28: "the Son of Man is Lord even of the Sabbath."
- iii,11: "The unclean spirits said, Thou art the Son of God."
- iv,41: (The Disciples) "feared exceedingly and said one to another, Who then is this, that even the wind and the sea obey Him?"
- v,7: (The unclean Spirit) "Jesus thou Son of the most high God."
- vi,2: "Many hearing Him were astonished saying, Whence hath this man these things?... is not this the carpenter?"
- vi,4: "and King Herod said, John the Baptist is risen from the dead... but others said, It is Elijah."
- viii,27: "Who do men say that I am? Peter answereth and saith unto Him: Thou art the Christ. (30) and He charged them that they should tell no man of him. (31) and he began to teach them that the Son of Man must suffer many things, and be rejected.. and be killed... and after three days rise again."
- ix,2: "And He was transformed before them... and He charged them that they should tell no man what things they had seen, save

when the Son of Man should have risen from the dead.
 (12) How is it written of the Son of Man, that he should suffer many things and be set at nought? (13) But I say unto you that Elijah is come..."

- ix,31: "The Son of Man is delivered up into the hands of men, and they shall kill him; and when he is killed, after three days he shall rise again. But they understood not the saying, and were afraid to ask him."
- ix,41: (His free use of the title in private) "Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink because ye are Christ's..."
- x,33: (As in ix,31 and viii,31)
- x,45: "The Son of Man came not to be served but to serve and to give his life a ransom for many."
- xi,28: (the Chief Priests) "By what authority doest thou these things?"
- xii, 1: "Neither do I tell you by what authority I do these things."
- xii,1 - 9: (The parable of the beloved son of the farmer killed by the rebellious servants.)
- xiii, 6: "Many shall come in my name saying I AM and shall lead many astray,... for there shall arise false Christ's and false prophets."
- xiii,26: "Then shall they see the Son of Man coming in clouds with great power and glory."
- xiv,21: (at the Last Supper) "The Son of Man goeth even as it is written of Him, but woe to that man through whom the Son of Man is betrayed."
- xiv,41: "The Son of Man is betrayed into the hands of sinners."
- xiv,61: "the High Priest asked Him... art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed? ..and Jesus said, I AM: and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven..."
- xv,39: "the Centurion said: Truly this man was the Son of God."

The obvious interest for Christology contained in these sayings and incidents must be passed by, apart from the particular way in which it bears upon Jesus' teaching about His death. It will be noticed that until Peter's confession that He is the Christ (viii,29) Jesus had not mentioned His Passion to the Twelve. From the very beginning however He had claimed

His "power on earth to forgive sins," (ii,10). Clearly His teaching with regard to forgiveness was not then connected with His death in any necessary way in the earliest part of His ministry. From the beginning too He claimed His lordship over the most sacred aspect of the cultus (ii,28). Unclean spirits proclaimed His identity (i,24; iii,11; v,7) while the Disciples still wondered what manner of man He was (iv,41; vi,2). Even Herod is shown joining in the speculations as to His real identity (vi,14).

But with Peter's confession Jesus immediately entered upon an explanation that He would have to suffer and be rejected and finally killed, only to rise again after three days (viii,30-1). Events now follow rapidly. He is transfigured before the inner circle of the disciples (ix,2) but they are bound to secrecy until He be risen from the dead (ix,9), - a reference which leaves them completely bewildered. At this moment the fact of His having to "suffer many things and be set at nought" (ix,12), is again stressed. This teaching about the passion now comes frequently into Jesus' message to the Twelve, and generally it is in the same form which clearly reminds of Isaiah liii (ix,31-2; x,33-4; x,45; xii,1-9). From now on Jesus uses the title of Messiah for Himself (ix,41), and the climax of the Christological interest is seen in His unequivocal reply to the High Priest's question: "Art thou the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?" when He declares: "Ego Eimi, and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and coming with the clouds of heaven..." (xiv,61-2). Then comes the dénouement in the centurion's witness: "Truly this man was the Son of God." (xv,39) as it is obviously intended for His hearers.

In all these references to His death only two of them make any mention of the reason for His dying as in any way connected with evil on the part of others, it will be noted, and this fact, coming in the earliest of the Gospels, indicates that the 'theology' of atonement was a relatively

late development in the Church's understanding of His death. This in no way indicates that it was a construction of the mind of the Church; on the contrary it will be seen that all the essential framework for it is to be found in the Gospels, often recorded as merely incidental, and in a most naive way. Further, it can be readily observed that, while the specific doctrine was not in evidence, the behaviour of the disciples and the post-resurrection Church generally, indicates that its effect was very thoroughly felt. But this is to leap ahead. Here in Mark's Gospel it is seen that there are only two relevant words:

- (1) The much disputed saying in x,45: "The Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve and give His life a ransom for many."
- (2) The parable about the way the wicked servants killed the farmer's only son - which is more restricted in its application, but none the less important for that. (xii,1-9).¹

THE PARABLE OF THE FARMER'S ONLY SON:

Taking the parable of Jesus first, it will be noticed that we have here what is obviously Jesus' own conception of the reason for His approaching death. At least this is true for one stage of His thinking. Thus its significance for our study is very great indeed. Where critics might argue about individual words and their specific authenticity, there can be little doubt about the validity of the major thought in such a story as this.

To interpret the saying as it is obviously intended for His hearers, Jesus tells how God created the world and then singled out a particular race as His own particular interest, and so made preparations to enjoy their faith and worship, which was to be the fruit of His labour. He Himself did not remain visible to His creation, and so was not apparent to compel their loyalty, but from time to time He sent His special

1. "The parable is based on the allegory of the Vineyard in Isa. V, 1f." Vinc. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 106 ff.

messengers to remind these people of their obligations. These prophets were invariably shamefully treated, if not killed however, and in the end God decided that He would give them one last chance to repent before coming Himself to destroy the rebellious nation. So He sent His well-beloved Son to them. Even when His Son came however, instead of reverencing Him as God had intended, the Jews presumed so far as to kill Him, in order to try to remove all claims that God might have upon them, and to enable them to retain their own complete autonomy. The inevitable result of this, to Jesus' mind, at least at this stage of His thinking, was that Israel would be destroyed and the divine favour transferred to others.

It will be observed that, while this story clearly refers to Israel, it is important for us to remark how even here Jesus makes no detailed statement about the way that He hoped to win men back to God. It is left that the mere presence of His absolute goodness and holiness ought to be sufficient to recall men from sin, that men should simply recognize Him and repent. It was this repentance which was hoped for by God, and the point of the parable is that had this taken place, all would have been well. Men might then have been restored to God's favour. But it was not to be. Men rejected and killed the Son of God, and so eternally forfeited their hopes for God's pleasure.¹

This is the furthest that we can press the imagery of this parable. Its value is therefore largely negative, for if there is one thing that it clearly denies it is the idea that the death of Jesus was some pre-determined plan formed within the mind of God from the beginning of time, a kind of supreme cultic act whereby the course of salvation would be changed. There was no such thought in Jesus' mind at least when He told this story, and throughout His whole ministry He is shown as longing for men to repent. He was no predestinarian within the limits of His human

1. See: Strack-Billerbeck: "Kommentar" Vol. I, p 876.

mind, and He wept over Jerusalem, lamenting: "... how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not! (Matt. xxiii;37.) Here we see the passion of thwarted divinity, though we must say it reverently, for it is a great mystery. Here is an illustration of the fact that there is a limit to which even God can go to win men, without destroying their free-wills. Before God sends His force to destroy and demand man's allegiance, He Makes this one last attempt to win men by love and example. Until men's sinful refusal to repent and accept Him made His Cross inevitable, Jesus longed and hoped and strove for their return without His death becoming necessary. But it was not to be. The inevitability of death came early home to Jesus, and though He never flagged in His zeal to hope and strive to win men, He found the picture of the Suffering Servant of Isaiah becoming daily more apposite to Himself.

It is remarkable how many of His sayings about His death derive their form from this Servant Song of Isaiah. The expressions "suffer many things", "be rejected", "be set at nought" and "be killed" clearly point to this passage, and there can be no doubt that Jesus had it in mind when He said: "The Son of Man goeth even as it is written of Him..." (xiv,21). Thus Dr, Manson, analysing this aspect of the teaching of Jesus, concludes: "Jesus finds in the Isaianic Servant the pattern and method which He is to follow for the execution of His peculiar task. The Servant's duty supplies, in fact, the middle term between His filial consciousness toward God, and His perception of His ultimate destiny as Son of Man." And again: "The glorification of the Son of Man, the supreme event to which apocalyptic Messianic expectation was directed, could only come about through the endurance of the sufferings predicted of the Servant in Isaiah 53."

Thus, as we have already seen, "Jesus began to teach the disciples that the Son of Man must suffer much, and be rejected... and be killed..."

and rise again." Or again: "How does it stand written with regard to the Son of Man? That He should suffer much and be rejected..." (Mk.ix,12).

As these sayings of Jesus clearly reflect Isaiah 53, may it not be reasonable to conjecture therefore that this is the context of the next saying which we must consider? Namely:

JESUS' CONCEPTION OF HIS LIFE GIVEN AS A RANSOM:

"The Son of Man came not to be served, but to serve and give His life a ransom for many." (Mk.x,45 and parallels)

When we consider the three chief elements in this saying it is at once evident that they bear strong resemblance to the Isaianic concept of the Servant, namely "serves", "gives his life", and as "an offering for many".

This is the one verse in Mark which introduces the specific thought of Jesus' death as a 'sacrifice' or 'payment of a price on behalf of others'.

It is simply inserted in the narrative without further comment, we must notice, and is entirely without special stress even, as though it were the most natural thought in the world, and one not needing further elucidation. One might almost conjecture that at the time this saying became embedded in the tradition (that is in the written tradition) there had as yet been no theological conjecture about the meaning of the atonement.

The very authenticity of the saying has naturally been questioned by critics,¹ but as Dr. Manson has pointed out, there is no evidence at all to indicate that this concept does not go right back to the mind of Jesus. Far from being a Paulinism, as some have tried to make out, the word used for ransom (λυτρόν) is "characteristic of early Greek-speaking Christianity in general, and rests upon the usage of the Septuagint where it is employed to render a host of Hebrew expressions."²

1. e.g. H. Rashdall: "The Idea of the Atonement in Christian Theology": cf. Vinc. Taylor op.cit., pp 49-56, 100, etc.

2. "Jesus the Messiah" p.132.

It is significant that in Luke's Gospel this saying is found in the context of the Last Supper, and it is probably not going too far to suggest, as does Dr. Manson, that as this is so: "it is by no means certain that the "service" which Jesus renders in the midst of His followers had not a sacrificial or soteriological significance."¹ While we may say this much however, we must simultaneously guard our language against any merely cultic or liturgical interpretation of sacrifice, and rather afford it the largest possible content of 'self-giving' - as a living as well as a dying sacrifice - and this, as we have seen, is also the soteriological Fact for men, in the Person of the Incarnate Lord.

If indeed there is any slightest trace of the cultic sacrifice appearing in the thought of Jesus at this stage, we must realize that it is a late and almost incidental consideration for Him. The evidence all tends to suggest that the sacrificial concept was a convenient garment in which to explain further the fact of His death to His followers, rather than a motive (some would go so far as to say a liturgical necessity)² which inspired, if ^{it did} not require that death.

The evidence from St. John's Gospel, as well as from the Synoptics, tends to show that Jesus regarded the full grace of God as ever available, and that His death was to be directed not ^{only} towards God (as in cultic sacrifice), but from God towards men and against evil.

THE SON OF MAN AS JUDGE:

All this, however, is not to say that Judgement, as a necessary concomitant of evil, was in any way abrogated by the ever-available mercy and love of God. On the contrary, one of the chief features of the coming of the Son of Man was to bring judgement to men, which judgement was at present withheld, for in the interim men might repent and be saved

1. *op. cit.*, p132. (3).

2. See Masore, and De la Taille. *op. cit.*

from the wrath to come.¹ The function of the coming of the Son of Man was therefore twofold:

- (1). He came to call men to repentance, and to offer them the mercy and forgiving love of God; but
- (2). He was also to be the Judge of all men ("He hath given judgement to the Son", John xv,22.) for by Him was the criterion of judgement, - whether men accepted Him or not. ("This is the condemnation, that the Light came into the world and men preferred the darkness to the Light because their deeds were evil." John iii,19).

Jesus never offered men escape from judgement (using that word in the positive sense of a critical evaluation, that is of having to face their own sins). On the contrary He brought light so that their evil would be exposed as never before. If, when this exposure occurred, men repented and desired with all their heart to turn away from their evil, then God was ready to forgive the sin and cleanse them from all unrighteousness, and even to give them power to become the sons of God.² Nowhere is the suggestion made however that Jesus would simply banish the fact of sin by His death, or simply annul, willy-nilly, its consequences for all men. On the contrary His death would rather serve to intensify the issues, and raise them into men's clearer sight and consciousness.

"When ye have lifted up the Son of Man, then shall ye know that I AM."³ Here the linking of the two great concepts of the Son of Man and the Ego Eimi are found within the circle of this concept of the death of Jesus. It is obvious, from studying His words on this point, that Jesus expected something tremendous to happen in His death, - something which would be the means of convincing and converting those who, until then, were sceptical or indifferent or even opposed to Him.

1. c.f. Mk. xiii,26, xiv,62; and especially Lk. xii,8 and 40; xvii,22-30; xviii,8,31 etc., and Matt. x,23; xiii,44 etc..

2. John i,12.

3. John viii, 28.

It is going too far to suggest however, that He expected the End - the Eschaton - to coincide with that event. On the other hand it is impossible to read His sayings about His death without becoming convinced that He felt something of unique significance was to occur at that time, without knowing Himself exactly what it would be. He specifically denied that He had any definite knowledge of the timing of the End of the World.¹ On the other hand He clearly expected the present Age to continue so that the Twelve would have time to proclaim the Gospel to every creature, to the very ends of the earth.² His discourses, as recorded in John xiv-xvii and the words of Institution of the Lord's Supper in the Lukan and Pauline traditions show that He expected that there would at least be a considerable interval between His death and the End.

Nevertheless one has, in reading the reports of His last days, the growing feeling that Jesus was conscious of dealing in, and trying to express to human ears, matters and forces which lay far beyond the confines of even His mortal mind, and the most that He could convey was that His death would be the means of liberating many at present bound to sin; and only once, on the analogy of the Servant in the Isaianic prophecy, He used the concept of a ransom paid to liberate another in order to illustrate the way that He regarded that forthcoming Passion and Death.

Thus we have summarized the statements of Jesus up until the time of the Last Supper, and it now remains to deal more fully with the teaching contained therein.

1: Mark xiii, 32.

2: Matt. xxviii, 19-20.

THE JEWISH PASSOVER:

The Passover is one of the oldest festivals of mankind and has been observed by the Jews with unbroken regularity for thousands of years. In his report back to the Jews, Jesus found an established institution at the time the Jews were under

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PASSOVER FOR JESUS'

TEACHING ABOUT HIS DEATH.

It is apparent, from Jesus' words spoken at the outset of His last meal with the Twelve, that the Passover season then approaching was something He had greatly desired to see. Why? The reasons are many, and they are as varied as the shades of tradition and significance contained in this most ancient and revered of the Jewish rites.

When Jesus declared: "With desire I have desired to eat this Passover with you before I suffer, for I say unto you that I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God,"¹ He deliberately linked the fact of His approaching death with the meaning of the Passover. Knowing that He was about to die, and with tremendous feelings of the importance of that death, Jesus linked His Passion with the consummation of Jewish Paschal hopes and traditions. Thus it is important for us to investigate as fully as may be the various facets of meaning which the Passover held for the Jews of Jesus' day. Only by an adequate understanding of the Paschal elements of the Last Supper can we proceed to a full investigation of the non-Paschal and distinctively Christian aspects of that Last Supper.

1. Luke XVII, 15-16.

THE JEWISH PASSOVER:

The Passover is one of the oldest festivals of mankind, and has been observed by the Jews with unbroken regularity for upwards of three thousand years. In his recent book T.H. Gaster tells how it was already an established institution at the time the Israelites came out of Egypt under Moses, for the Bible record tells not how the Festival began, but how it came to be preserved. He continues:

"The central feature of the entire ceremonial was a common meal eaten by all members of a family at full moon in the first month of the year. Such eating together is a standard method, all over the world, of establishing ties of kinship and alliance - the idea being that a common substance and essence is thereby absorbed. Indeed our word for 'companion' means properly 'one who shares bread with another'; while the Gaelic word for 'family' (viz. 'cuedlich') ^{? teaghlaich} denotes 'those who eat together'... we may take it then that the original purpose of the paschal meal was to recement ties of kinship, infuse new life into the family and renew the bonds of mutual protection at the beginning of the year."¹

With reference to the idea of infusing new life into the family he says: "it is not only how you eat but what you eat that is important. For it is from the flesh which is eaten that the common life is renewed. Hence, special precaution has to be taken to make sure that the flesh should not become tainted... this at once explains the three cardinal features of the Passover meal; the haste with which it is eaten, the unleavened bread, and the bitter herbs (the purpose of the latter being to neutralize any impurity which might accidentally have been consumed.)"²

1: "The Passover", pp.17, 18.

2. " " p. 18.

With regard to the religious features of the meal Gaster continues:
 "In primitive society the family consists not only of its human members but also of its God. He too therefore was present at the meal, and He too was bound by the obligations of kinship which it imposed... The Passover feast of reunion was thus at the same time a guarantee of divine alliance and protection during the coming year. But before the ceremony could be deemed effective, the ties of kinship which it established had to be made manifest by an outward sign; and since the essence of kinship was blood, that sign had to be the sign of blood. Those who took part in the rite had to sign themselves with that common blood whereby their communion had been effected..."

"Religious institutions rarely go back to one single motive... this was especially true of the primitive seasonal rites which underlie the Passover. Viewed from one angle they were rites of communion - alike between man and man and between man and God... viewed from another, they were an elaborate magical procedure designed to avert evil and misfortune. From this second point of view the family meal and the sprinkling of blood were not so much ceremonies of communion as of ransom... to fend off the assaults of affronted gods and malignant demons... viewed as a magical procedure, its essential purpose was to ensure that the gods and demons would pass over and spare the household or clan from hurt and harm. In the words of the Israelite saga: When I see the blood I will pass over you, and there shall no plague be upon you to destroy you." (Ex.xii,13).¹

It will thus be seen that all three of the principle features seen by Oesterley as extant in Israelite sacrifice (gifts to the deity, communion with the deity and liberation of life) are to be found in the most primitive Passover rites, together with several other important features which were of special significance to Jesus in choosing this as His last time together

1. op.cit. pp. 19-22

with His chosen disciples.

ADDITIONAL FEATURES OF THE PASSOVER:

Some of the additional features of the Passover which came to hold special significance for later Judaism and Christianity alike are:

- (1) It was a family meal, celebrated by the father of the household, and although the lambs were slain in the Temple, the rite and its administration were not in the hands of priests and cultic officials but were the prerogative of the head of the house.
- (2) Because of the liberation it denoted, the Passover came to possess a deep note of atoning efficacy, it was "continued for all time as a perpetual reminder of that great deliverance."¹ (In many places the master of the house, who was the celebrant, wore the long white cloak known as a 'kittel', which is also worn on New Year and the Day of Atonement.)²
- (3) While the rite thus emphasized both what God had already done, and was doing for His people, a predominant feature of the Passover was its forward look. Eschatology was firmly embedded in the whole rite. Thus in the opening act of breaking the bread in the modern Seder the invitation is given to all who are hungry to come and eat, and to all who are needy to come and celebrate the Passover Feast, adding: "though this year we be here, next year may we be in the land of Israel; though this year we be slaves, next year may we be free men."³ This is not a new feature added to the meal, but is rather the modern expression of the way Israel always looked forward to the Promised Land, and then ever since the Exodus maintained its forward look in the form of the Messianic hope.

Thus Cecil Roth states: "The great final deliverance of the

1: Gaster, *op. cit.* p. 14.

2: Gaster, *op. cit.* p. 55.

3: " " " p. 57.

future was... to take place on this night, which is a true 'Lel Shim-urim' or Night of Watching, unto the Lord for ALL generations. On such an anniversary the Divine protection was peculiarly near to the chosen people. It was formerly customary... to leave the doors unlocked on this night... as a token of trust in a higher protection. Thus if the Redeemer came, as He was confidently expected to do from year to year, He would find all ready to receive Him."

CONCLUSIONS:

So it was then that the words of the ancient Law were observed through the centuries, and in the time of Jesus, as in the days of the Exodus, the command concerning the Passover still appertained: "And the Lord commanded us to do all these statutes, to fear the Lord our God, for our good always, that He might preserve us alive as at this day. And it shall be righteousness unto us, if we observe to do all this commandment before the Lord our God, as He hath commanded us." (Deut.vi,24-25.) As tradition still puts it: "Every man in every generation is bound to look upon himself as if he personally had gone forth out of Egypt... it is not only our fathers that the Holy One redeemed, but ourselves also did He redeem with them."²

In these latter words, which summarize the attitude of the orthodox Jew to the Passover, we see the way in which Israel regarded the meal as a symbol both of redemption and atonement, and so of promise for the future. With these realizations before us then, we can the more readily approach the Last Supper of Jesus, and try to understand what He meant when He said: "I will not eat it until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom of God."³ Although at the time many or most of these considerations must have been but subconscious attitudes on the part of the Disciples, there is no doubt that in the intentions of Jesus in choosing this occasion, later Christendom

1. "The Haggadah," p. xii
2. See Gaster, *op. cit.* p. 63.
See. Mish. Pesa. X-5b.

3. Luke xxii, 16.

has been right in developing these incipient factors of the Paschal Meal.

Collating all that we have learnt in this regard then, we find that the tendency in Paschal thought was toward three main categories of belief:

(1) Communion:

The Passover stood for the desire for communion, not only with each other, but with God. Thus an integral factor of that communion was the liberation of new, recreating life among them.

(2) Atonement:

Atonement for sins and the establishment of power over evil was a prominent feature of the Passover.

(3) Eschatology:

The proximity of the Messianic Age, heralded by the coming of Elijah, was an ever-present hope. Thus in Malachi, the Lord is heard to say: "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord come."¹ Because this coming of Elijah was intimately connected with the Passover celebration, the Festival also came into close touch with the mainstream of Messianic hope, and the heart of Jewish eschatology.² Cecil Roth puts it: "On Passover night (according to an old and beautiful legend,) Elijah the Tishbite is to come to herald the Messiah."³

There can be no doubt that all of these factors became increasingly relevant and apposite in the experiences of the growing Church, and in particular during their early times together over their family meals must the Disciples have felt the encouragement and strength of these three great truths, just as Jesus had intended that they should.

1. Mal. iv, 5f.

2. See: { Strack/Billerbeck, "Kommentar..." Vol. i, pp. 597, 729, 753-8.
 { Zeitlin. J.Q.R. Vol. 38, No. 4, p. 457
 cf. Matt. xi, 14.

3. Op. cit. p. 55.

It is interesting to note in passing that the words of Jesus to which we have been referring here would simply have no meaning if it were not the Passover with which He was engaged. The more one considers the possibility of this hypothesis of Burkitt's,¹ the less one feels that he could have considered Jesus' Messianic consciousness and so His relations with the Jewish cultus. Frustrated in His desire to partake of the Passover, Jesus might have stood for the frustration of these three great facts of Old Testament experience and hope. Surely the contrary is true, and He is here ^{? speaking} about the Passover, and His words mean that this is the last time it is to be celebrated before its consummation! Whereas before this night all Israel, and indeed all the world in various kinds of rites, had been looking forward vaguely and at times despondently to the fuller experience of each of these three factors, now, in this Fact of Jesus and His Passion, they are to be eternally ratified by God. The End of an Age was at hand, and here in the Upper Room in Jerusalem the New Age of the Messianic Kingdom was about to be announced. If we were to think of this as a pre-Paschal event we would be in the unthinkable position of having to see Jesus and His Disciples leave the Upper Room with a cloud of uneasy Judaistic hopes obscuring the telic splendours of the Cross and Empty Tomb.

Far from this being the case, we see here instead, the consummation of all sacrifice. Now, far beyond anything that the pagan or Jewish peoples had envisaged in their rites, God was offering real communion with Himself; and that here and now, in the midst of sin, and to sinful men; and all this was typified symbolically, and yet more than that, it was realized here on earth around a simple family table. The eternal validity of His offer was about to be sealed by the eternal efficacy of Jesus' own shed blood. So the 'Altar' was about to pass out of valid religious practice, and in its

1: See above, pp. 50 ff

place comes the family Table of Communion with the Most High, where men may eat not as servants but as friends, sons, heirs, joint-heirs with Christ, and severally members of Him.

So then we must now turn to the actual event of that Last Supper, and find there the way in which the Passover came to its consummation.

JESUS AND THE PASSOVER SUPPER.

From what we have already seen of the principles involved in the connection with the Jewish Passover, this occasion offers us a unique opportunity to see, not only in the person of Jesus, but in the actions of Christians yet unborn, the content of His teaching. The next stage of our studies will therefore be to find out the meaning of Jesus with regard to these things, and to see how the content of His teaching may be applied to the present. It is proposed to deal with this subject in three parts: first, to see in a simple way how the Jewish Passover is bound up with the life of Jesus.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL SERVICE.

There can be no doubt that the Jewish Passover was a claim of Jesus, that He claimed to be the Messiah, as St. Peter had confessed. The Jewish Passover was a type of the Kingdom of God. While the fulness of His conception of the Kingdom was far beyond that of any single category in the Old Testament, yet many of the Jewish expressions were stimulated by the Jewish service. The Jewish service from the Servant Song of Isaiah tells that Jesus claimed to be the Messiah of His Ministry when He identified Himself with the Servant of the Lord to be "a light to the Gentiles, to open the eyes which are bound."

VI.

JESUS AND THE PASSOVER SUPPER.

From what we have already seen of the principal strands of thought connected with the Jewish Passover, this occasion presented Jesus with a unique opportunity to sum up, not only to the Disciples, but to generations of Christians yet unborn, the content of His Mission. The next stage of our examination will therefore be to investigate the thought of Jesus with regard to these Paschal elements, and see more clearly the content of the teaching they hold for Christianity. In doing so it is proposed to deal with the third factor, the eschatological outlook, first, because in a unique way the other two, Communion and Atonement, are bound up with the fact of Jesus as Messiah.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL OUTLOOK:

There can be no doubt, from our study of the various titles and claims of Jesus, that He declared in unequivocal terms that He was indeed, as St. Peter had confessed, "the Christ, the Son of the Living God."¹ While the fulness of His conception of the Messianic role went far beyond that of any single category in the Old Testament, yet many of its highest expressions were stimulated by the Isaianic Servant Songs. Thus it was from the Servant Song of Isaiah xlii that Jesus preached at the outset of His Ministry, (when He identified Himself with the task of the Servant to be "a light to the Gentiles, to open the blind eyes... and to proclaim

1: Matt. XVI; 16.

the acceptable year of the Lord.") The eschatological Messianism of this latter phrase must have been a recurring stimulus to Him throughout His Ministry, as must have other aspects of the prophecy, which are unmentioned by the Evangelists in our records. Among these would have been sayings such as: "He shall not fail nor be discouraged till He have set judgement in the earth... behold the former things are come to pass, and new things do I declare; before they spring forth I tell you of them."¹

Now, at the time of the Passover, when the Jews looked forward with renewed hope to the coming of their Redeemer, when the Messiah would liberate them from slavery and establish the New Age, Jesus comes to the end of that prophetic Ministry. While the Jews were still thinking in the narrow terms of their own nation and capital however, here in Jerusalem is One who sees the identification of the noble prophecies of Isaiah with that very Messianic fulfilment within His own Person.

Yet in another sense the Age that both Isaiah and the modern Jews were awaiting could not yet come into being. The End was not yet. As He talked with His Disciples over the table, Jesus explained this to the Twelve: "I am going to prepare a place for you... and I will come again and will receive you unto myself."² Thus the present Age, to all intents and purposes, was still to continue for a time. Cullmann comments that "There is a whole series of sayings that show that according to Jesus' own expectation, an interval of time, even if a short one,... lies between His death and the Parousia."³ And yet, paradoxically, things were not simply going to be the same as before for those who accepted Him as their Lord, for a new power and Presence were to be given them, that they might do even greater works than Jesus had so far wrought, and know truths which, until now, had been beyond the reach of human understanding.⁴ In a word, they were to live through a transition period of veiled

3. "O. Cullmann, "Christ & Time", (1950), P149.

1. Isa. xlii, 4, 9.

2. John xiv, 2.

4. John xiv, 12.

Messianic fulfilment, where the fulness of living in the Lord would be available to all who had eyes to see and senses to perceive. Yet at the same time the new Life was to be veiled, even as it had been in the Person of Jesus, so that the world would still have time to repent, time freely to recognize real values, and so to accept life.

In still another sense things would not go on as they had before, for the very fact of a Salvation which agreed to limit itself to human terms and powers meant that the powers of Evil were able to fight against it as never before. Just as the goodness and purity of Jesus had brought the venom and hatred even of seemingly good men into a rising torrent of death against Him, so in the world in this next period His representatives, His Body, would still find this clash and challenge and struggle. Evil would die hard, and although its defeat was assured, its efforts on this side of the veil would ever be commensurate with the growing evidences of Grace and Goodness. Thus the followers of Jesus were to look for "wars and rumours of wars", they were to find increasing opposition, even from the apparently pious, so that "the hour cometh when whosoever killeth you shall think that he offereth service to God." (John xvi,2.)

Nevertheless this next period of the 'veiled presence of the Messiah' was to be expedient for them (xvi,7), for during this Age of the Spirit the world would be convicted of sin, and of righteousness and of judgement. Thus the Age about to begin was to be regarded as a time like travail before childbirth, - in it the faithful would weep and lament, while the world seemed to rejoice - "but your sorrow shall be turned into joy, and in that day ye shall ask me nothing." (xvi,20-23). Again: "In the world ye have tribulation, but be of good cheer, - I have overcome the world!"

Thus Jesus proclaimed a radical departure from Jewish eschatology and

traditional Messianism. Cullman declares: "It simply is not true that primitive Christianity has the same eschatological orientation as does Judaism.... the Christian hope is not the Jewish one."¹ Whereas the Jews sought for a catastrophic Parousia, when the coming of their Messiah would instantly bring forth judgement and set up a new Age, the Christian hope was now quite different. Seeing more deeply, Christians were to realize that such a catastrophe could not but mean doom for the vast majority of mankind, and with their hearts full of the joy of Christ's inseparable companionship, they felt nothing but love for, and desire to share their joy with all men.

The tension of the fact of Creation, existing in the Logos from all time, was therefore to be transferred to the Church. The Disciples were now torn between the desire to go beyond the veil to be with their Lord in the nearer presence, which in many ways was far better; but at the same time they were held by their love for, and desire to evangelize all mankind. Thus we see in Paul the passion of this tension and its sole solution in ever closer identification with Christ Himself.² Now, to some small degree, the Church was to continue the central Fact of the Incarnation, the experience of remaining on earth, in the midst of sinful society and in the company of men for whom one feels at the same time love and revulsion. Into the Church's hands was placed the responsibility of taking the Gospel to the ends of the earth, and this entailed their baptism into a ministry of suffering, while paradoxically, at the same time it ushered them into the unspeakable joy of being companions, fellow-workers and brothers of the Son of Man, ever glorying in His Presence, and having the comfort and guidance of the Holy Spirit.

All this was set within the new eschatological framework, more intense than anything which had been seen in Judaism, for now the Christians knew

1. *op. cit.*, pp. 85-6.

2. *Phil. i.*, 21-24.

a little of the joy that was laid up for them in Christ. There was no longer a vague hope that might one day prove only to be wishful thinking. Now there was a certainty that over-reached the incidents of life and death on earth, and which made eternity infinitely desirable, as home to an exile of long years.³ The tension for this End was therefore increasingly great, and their confidence that in the Second Advent of Christ it would one day come upon the whole cosmic process, to the whole of creation, was unshakable. They continually cried "Maranatha" - Come Lord Jesus!¹ - and longed to see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of Heaven with power and glory, as He had promised; but even as they turned their eyes aside to the ways of men they saw another face that bade them utter a quick prayer: "But not yet, Lord Jesus, not just yet; let me first win this my brother!" This is the real tension of the Christian heart, and indeed of true Christian eschatology. So the final decision as to the coming of the End must be left in the hands of the all-wise and all-loving Father, who alone knows every heart and can decide whether the time has come: "Of that hour knoweth no man, not even the Son, but the Father."²

THE ATONEMENT:

The second of the major factors implicit in the Passover celebration we have seen to be the desire for redemption. This fact of redemption was intimately associated with the concept of the Messiah, to Jewish thinking, although there is no evidence that until the time of Jesus the Suffering Servant of Isaiah had been identified with the other Messianic categories. Rudolf Otto puts it: "Jesus combined in Himself two eschatologies of different origin, those of the Son of Man and of the Servant of God..."⁴

1. Rev. xii, 20

2. cf. Cullmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 73f. and 139f.

3. cf. Gregory Dix, "The Shape of the Liturgy", (1943) pp. 263-7

4. "The Kingdom of God & the Son of Man" (1943), p. 293
cf. Vinc. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff.

For the mind of Jesus however, the Son of Man was continually He who was to be rejected, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; and running through the whole of this sense of humiliation was also the key-note of vicariousness. "Surely He hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows... He was wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities,..and with His stripes we are healed."¹

Jesus looked upon His death as necessary for the redemption of mankind, although, apart from the one instance where He spoke of 'ransom', it would seem that He never entered into speculations as to how His dying would effect the change in man's condition. Otto puts it simply: "Jesus... offered no theory of atonement."² It might almost be right to say that Jesus could not express this fact. Love has its reasons that do not fall within the realms of syllogistic reasoning, the imperatives of ethics, or even of the speculations of philosophy. Love longs to give to the uttermost, and any 'reasons' adduced for its giving, other than Love itself, are generally rationalizations rather than causes. Jesus came to give Himself to men, and because of men's sin and blindness that giving had to enter into the fullest into men's self-made hell, into the very gates of death itself.

"Just because he loves sinners, he feels their shame, and experiences by sympathy and intuition the penalty of their sin to a degree which is impossible for them until they know a true religious awakening," says Dr. Vincent Taylor.³ But we must surely go further than this, for it is more than "by sympathy and intuition" that Jesus comes near to us, - it is by Incarnation. Jesus Christ, God become flesh,-and that the kind of flesh man's age-long sin had made it,- this was how He came into saving contact with men, and not simply by "sympathy and intuition," which after all might well be terms used by Docetists. Thus where Taylor later goes on to say it is: "by reason of His relationship to sinners Jesus entered into the

1. Isa. liii, 4,5. See C.J. Montefiore: "Rabbinic Literature & Gospel Teaching", (1930) p.305.

2. *Op. cit.*, p.260.

3. *op. cit.* p. 289.

blight and judgement which rests upon sin..."¹ he ought to have said "by reason of His taking on fallen flesh..."

Finally, when Jesus had shown men that there was no place at all where His forgiving, yearning love did not follow them, then Christ knew that the gates of heaven would be for ever open to all believers.

Thus Jesus did not apply cultic and other such terms to Himself, - although these and all other of men's longing approaches to God were contained, but infinitely superseded in His love. In His own inner Self, however, He must have found the other words of Isaiah deeply true as He pondered His approaching death: "Yet it hath pleased the Lord to bruise Him, He hath put Him to grief: when His soul shall make a guilt-offering for sin..."² We know, from His prayers in the Garden of Gethsemane, and elsewhere, that Jesus knew it to be God's will that He suffer.³ "The most fundamental idea which lies behind the Passion-sayings is the steadfast belief of Jesus that the purpose and experiences of His Passion lay deep in the providence of God... The Fourth Gospel is one with the Synoptics in representing this," says Vincent Taylor.⁴ May it not have been then that the concept of His death as a guilt-offering for sin would also have set deep cords vibrating within the heart and soul of Jesus?

Especially is this true of this Passover, when Jesus saw His last and in some ways supreme opportunity to bring home the truths of His Incarnation and approaching Passion to the Twelve. If they could only see it, the Passover was being consummated in their very midst. He stood before them as the Lamb of God which was to take away the sins of the world, or rather the Lamb slain from the foundations of the earth for the remission of men's sin.⁵ The consummation of sacrifice had been there before the feeble attempts of men to reach towards God had begun, but then it was

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 289.

2. *Isa.* liii, 10

3. *Mat.* xxvi, 39-46 & parallels.

4. *Op. cit.*, pp. 255-6.

5. *Rev* xiii, 8.

veiled, now it was to be made apparent to all. Was not His message summed up in John's words: "that they might have Life!", and 'Life' to the Jewish mind was the opposite to 'Death', and therefore clearly related to the fact of Sin. "The wages of Sin is death."¹ To come offering men Life was to come making a definite pronouncement about Sin, to offer freedom from the penalties of Sin. Jesus believed that this freedom was ever available; from the very beginning of His Ministry He had freely offered it to men, but in His dying something would be done whereby men would be enabled to see, believe and accept it in a way hitherto impossible for them.

Here we come to the heart of the Christian Gospel and the Christian Faith. As the Son of God, the Messiah, Jesus came to men declaring the very intentions and purposes of God. God, Who is righteousness, is the sole arbiter of right and wrong, of sin and death. There is no righteousness except that belonging to God, and no evil except that which opposes Him. God is the sole Judge, the sole criterion. Thus if God refuses to condemn, but in His love reaches over the inevitable chasm created between Him and man by sin, despite the cost to Himself, then this is His prerogative alone.

When man failed to live according to the righteousness of God, which is the Law, he thereby abrogated his right ever to know or enjoy the fellowship of God, which was his intended destiny. By his choice of evil he broke off all possible communication from his side towards God. In the Fall, or man's choice of evil, God's experiment in creation was therefore apparently a failure. Mankind rejected God's desired purpose for them, namely that they should be God's sons, God's friends, God's eternal companions by their own choice.

But while man thus chose death - which is the opposite to Life in God - God nevertheless refused to be thwarted. He continued to woo and to seek

1. Rom. Vi, 23.

men's return by sending His special messengers throughout many centuries, but in the end, because this proved of no avail, when sin and death had enmeshed mankind inextricably in the toils of evil, He decided to come Himself to mankind's aid. To do so meant, in one sense, a process of substitution, for now He came to fight a battle for us; a battle which was not His own except by His taking it upon Himself, and with it the penalties of our sin which are incipient in humanity and mortality. "The intellect of man is indeed blinded, wrapped in infinite errors, and always contrary to the wisdom of God," teaches Calvin.¹ So Jesus came to do battle for us in the way in which we could no longer do, emaciated as we were by sin. He who was perfectly good, and who ever lived over there in the glory beyond the veil of death, (which is synonymous with sin), He it was who came conquering through the veil of men's making to stand in our sinful midst, to offer us here and now all the glorious joy and fulness and peace of thereness.

Thus the chasm of sin is bridged, not because we have achieved goodness or life, and so been rewarded with the blessedness of the knowledge and companionship of God; but because God was in Jesus, reconciling the world to Himself; or as the Westminster Confession of Faith puts it: "Jesus Christ... the Mediator between God and man."² He it was who strode into the misery and narrowness of our sinful human dimensions, and offered us the knowledge and fellowship of God's very presence here and now, despite our sin, and as an act of sheer Grace. No wonder St. Paul's Gospel is studded with expressions of his new discovery, so different from the deadly struggle to attain to the righteousness of the Law --"but NOW" (νῦν δὲ, —), is the phrase which occurs over and over again.³

Evil tried to prevent this victorious march to our side. Evil did its worst. It killed Him. But even then, when its last possible assault

1. "Instruction in the Faith" (1537) Section IV (Man).

2. Chap. VIII, Art. (1).

3. cf. I Cor XV, 20; etc.

had been delivered, it was defeated - for He rose again, still in our midst, still sitting at table with us, still walking with us in the ways of earth, still with hands outstretched to bless and offering us His 'peace'.

From now on we are more blessed than the greatest of the Patriarchs, for we do not go on alone, trusting in something that is ever beyond - beyond even death (i.e. to a future justification). That may be, but in Christ we are already justified; we have but to open our hearts and minds to enjoy His presence here and now; here and now in the midst of the battle, our own and the worlds, while still hard-pressed, and while still conscious of our great unworthiness and denials and betrayals, we may yet sit with Him at table in the meal which is the prototype of that eternal feast in the House of our Father. Thus, as Calvin says: "We always need Christ so that His perfection may cover our imperfection, His purity may wash our impurity, His obedience may efface our iniquity; and finally His righteousness may gratuitously credit us with righteousness."¹ Through Him we have that unspeakable joy of return, when the best robe is thrown over the grime of our self-willed journey, and our very feet are washed of their heat and dirt by His loving hands, and the welcome-home meal we enjoy is the Feast of the Lamb Himself.

Sin is still here - but it is impotent while we remain in Him. We may still hurt Him and ourselves (we will, of course, for we are still in the flesh, still human) but nothing can now prevent our knowledge and enjoyment of our Lord, or separate us from His love. So we go on. Skirmishes lie ahead, as Cullmann has pointed out,² but the decisive battle has been won. The judgement will not come at death, for us judgement is no more, we are now in Christ and there is now no condemnation to those who are in Him.³ What was once feared as 'death' is now only a passing from the battle of earth to a further sphere with Him, where we will continue to participate

1. *op. cit.*, Sect. XIX.

2. *op. cit.*, P. 84.

3. Rom. viii, 1.

in the cosmic struggle for the souls of men; for this now brings us to the freedom from the body which we have so greatly desired, but leaves us still in the midst of the spiritual struggle everywhere in evidence. We then enter the more fully into the communion begun on earth.

COMMUNION:

The Passover however was more than a time of personal religious experience, it was pre-eminently a family and even a national occasion.¹ It emphasized the inter-relatedness and inter-dependence of every true Israelite, as well as their joint relationship to their God. So too, in the hands of Jesus, this last Passover was a time of tremendous significance, for it lifted the personal lives of the Disciples into the new atmosphere of the Church. Just as in washing their feet Jesus had intended more than their individual cleansing from sin - they were already clean by the Word which He had spoken to them - for it meant that unless they were now washed they had no part in His Body; so too this Passover featured the communal aspect of their task. Christianity is never a merely personal religion, it is rooted and grounded in the family concept, and we do not pray 'my Father' but 'our Father'. Neither can we know the forgiveness of our personal sins unless we live in the context of forgiveness towards our fellows. As Vincent Taylor says: "Reconciliation is a process realized in the lives of those who are members of a community."²

Thus our personal fellowship with Christ, so valid and valuable, must never stop there. The Last Supper of Jesus is the symbol of our new family relation to each other and to the whole household of faith. "The Sacraments exercise our faith also toward men when faith issues in public acknowledgement" declares Calvin.³ Yet this symbol goes even further, for it looks forward to the redemption of the whole of creation. Our baptism

1. "The Last Supper was a communal rite" (M. Barth: "Das Abendmahl") p.9. (1945).

2. Op. cit., p.321.

3. op. cit., Section XXVI

into Christ, and our communion at His Table, are in terms of the whole purpose of God in Creation; we become allies of the Christ in the cosmic struggle towards redemption. While so much as one seat remains empty at the family table, our joy of communion cannot be complete. Thus our precious times on the mountain top, when we meet with the transfigured Lord face to face, are under-girded with a sense of urgency and mission, that all men may know this great salvation. So we must come down again into the highways and byways of men, and show forth the Lord's love and death and resurrection until He comes.

This fact of our being rooted and founded in community provides a clue to our understanding of the real sense in which Christ did not die simply to conquer sins - but SIN. There was in the Cross the objectivity of the wholeness of God's love for all men of all ages, as well as the subjective fact made our own by our individual apperception. When He finally rose again on the third day He no longer sought to remain visible, in human form, but longed for the time when it would no longer be necessary for men to see Him with their physical eyes before knowing of and accepting His presence. In His death He had carried the battle beyond the sins and evils of the men who beheld Him - His word had already achieved that - the historic present was only one facet of the fact, for there He had proved the eternal supremacy of Good over Evil (as Aulén has reminded us)¹, and it is as eternally victorious over that spiritual force that He remains among men, offering the fullest communion of His Table, His fellowship and His partnership in the battle of our souls, and for the souls of all mankind.

Evil being finally defeated, within its last stronghold of death, Life was therefore liberated into the lives of men. That which primitive sacrifice had sought to do in vain, was now accomplished.

1: "Christus Victor": G. Aulén. (1931)

VII.

THE SUPPER WITHIN THE SUPPER.

From what we have already seen, the teaching of Jesus about His own Messianic role in history, and His unique relationship both to God and to man - and therefore to man's sin - finds apt expression within the traditional ethos of the Jewish Passover. But this Last Supper of Jesus was not simply an ordinary Paschal meal. This is immediately evident from the fact that nearly all the distinctively Paschal features have passed out of our records and remembrance, but in their place there stands a new and distinctively Christian rite. While it has been right for us thus far to regard the history of the Jewish Passover, and to look into its distinctive features (for did not Jesus deliberately choose this as the occasion on which to express His last great summary of His mission and teaching to the Twelve?), nevertheless, due both to His words and His actions during that Last Supper, the Passover as such passed from the practice of Christendom.

We have already referred to Jesus' statement that He would not again partake of the fruit of the vine until the passover had been fulfilled in the Kingdom of God.¹ As Markus Barth has recently pointed out,² these words of Jesus are in the form of an oath, well-known in both Old and New Testament times, wherein Jesus swears that when next He sits at

1: See above, pp.19ff

2: op. cit., p.42

table with the Disciples the occasion will be that of the Messianic Meal in the Kingdom of God. The eschatological outlook therefore has a key place in our understanding of Jesus' intention in the Supper, and here again the immediate implications of this statement are that the Passover is now superseded.

It is in His distinctive actions and words over the Bread and Wine however that we see the emergence of the new rite which has become the central feature of the liturgy of the Christian community, and to this aspect of the Last Supper we must now pay fuller attention.

JESUS' WORDS OVER THE BREAD

I. PERSONAL CHALLENGE AND ACCEPTANCE:

When Jesus, according to all four accounts in the New Testament, took bread, broke it and gave it to the Disciples saying: "This is My Body," He brought His whole incarnate life and teaching to a point of focus and crisis. Whereas before this moment His teaching had been in the nature of a gift, to be taken or rejected at will, and had even then not possessed a clear-cut challenge to action, all that is now changed. Until this moment it was probable that a double reaction within the hearts and souls of His hearers had prevented, in important ways, their full realization of His offers. Together with the hope engendered by His burning words offering eternal Life to men, there must also have arisen a sense of shame and inferiority, indeed of utter despair and remoteness from Christ. His offers to come to Him and to partake of His Life, as of the living Water, or living Bread, would therefore have stirred up rival emotions of longing and revulsion, hope and despair. Thus, while Jesus said to the woman at the well in Samaria that if she were to ask of Him He would have given her the living Water of eternal Life - we have no record of the woman's having

made any such request. She was not at that time confronted with a cup of water and told to drink and thereby knowingly to partake of Jesus' Self. Nor again at the miraculous feeding of the five thousand did Jesus first declare that He was the living Bread, and then subsequently request the multitudes to partake in such a way as to ingraft themselves into His Person and work. In fact the Evangelists are careful to point out that this exposition of the true meaning of the meal did not take place until the following day. It is true that He really meant them to have the whole Gospel of the fullness of Life there and then, but because of their lack of faith and belief they were not able to perceive what was really being offered to them.

These observations are true of Jesus' Ministry as a whole. Up until this moment in the Upper Room His words had been definite, He had offered men the fullness of eternal Life, and so the forgiveness of their sins, but there had always been the instinctive reaction of sin and unbelief which had prevented their acceptance. This was even true of the Twelve, to some extent at least, for at one moment Peter made confession of Jesus' Messianic dignity and the next tried to subvert the essential fact of it in His vicarious suffering for the sake of men.¹ It was the realization of this barrier unceasingly raised by the carnal to the divine that made the necessity of His death increasingly plain to Jesus.

Only when He stands at the very portal of that death for the sake of men does it become expedient for Jesus to make a counter move of an irrevocable kind. Only now, when He is about to establish the full dimensions of His Kingship over the world of sin and death, can He stand before men, and in the name of the Victor of that approaching conquest, offer to them the fullness of His gift in a way that they can grasp and accept, and about

1. Matt. xvi, 16 ff.

which they can feel definite and inescapable finality. Not that these tremendous issues would all have entered into the understanding of the Twelve on that last evening with the Lord (nor can we see more than a superficial view of them today) but nevertheless, in that last Supper, Jesus actually said and did things which revealed to men's minds for all time the integration of the fact of His Incarnation - His Life, Ministry, Death and Resurrection - with the fact of sinful humanity.

The point of crisis was reached when Jesus took a piece of bread, and symbolically contained within that action the whole significance of His coming among men, and thereupon offered it to His Disciples. The essence of the action was its simplicity. They sat at table amidst all the significances of the Paschal meal, facets of which we have already discussed, and also in the presence of Him who had claimed things never before heard from the lips of man. Even more, each person was there with his own personal inexpressible experience of His love and caring. Then somehow, in the hands of their Master, it all became contained in this simple action. There before their eyes Jesus took a little loaf of bread, blessed it in the traditional way, broke it and said: "This is My Body." When each man present received his own portion of that Bread he needed no further words to express what his eating would mean. In taking that scrap of Bread they were partaking of the Incarnate Christ. They were not only accepting a share in all that Jesus had claimed and had been, but for all future time they were to feel somehow integrally connected with the tragedy of Calvary and later in the glory of the Easter experiences. "He gives us in the Supper an instruction... so certain and manifest that without any doubt we must be assured that Christ with all His riches is there presented to us," says Calvin.¹

1. *op. cit.* Section : XXIX

THE DEFEAT OF SIN:

In the midst of their participation in the Table-fellowship of Jesus however, the Disciples were not only conscious of their privilege and joy in His presence, but paradoxically they had never felt more acutely the gulf that separated them from Him - the vast difference between their natures, and their awareness of "the fearful enmity of the carnal heart of man towards God which rages around Jesus and hounds Him to His doom."¹ But this very tension and paradox is the soil out of which grows the later realization that, in Prof. W. Manson's words: "something has meantime intervened by which it has been signified to these followers that their oneness with their Master has not just been something of their own choosing or of their own creating, but of His, and it is this that steadies them now in this awful hour of self-discovery."¹

Nothing can make real to them what it is that Jesus is doing for them so much as this sharpened sense of their own carnal hopelessness and opposition to God which is yet somehow strangely coupled by Jesus to His own pure and holy Person, by His insistence on their oneness with Him. The wonder which is to grow for ever in their souls begins at this moment when, despite all their sin, their Master washes their feet and then breaks bread and offers it to them saying: "This is My Body - for you!" Now they know the unspeakable joy of the redeemed who have already experienced the consummation of their redemption by their acceptance back into the innermost circle of divine friendship. If, knowing all, HE refuses to condemn them, who is there now to accuse them? If HE calls them His own, who is there who is able to pluck them out of His hand? In Manson's words again: "He has definitely consecrated them for inheritance in the Kingdom of God as those who, despite their brokenness so soon to be made visible, formed

1: Prof. W. Manson: "The Norm of the Christian Life", S.J.T. (Vol.3, N°1, 1950, p.36)

one body with Himself... He was dealing with disciples who knew all about the truth of God and their calling, but who had also come, like St. Peter, to know themselves, and for whom, because they had come to know themselves, it was not at all apparent how Grace could materialise for them. In such an experience something more than the reasoning word was needed, and a sacramental significance is given to discipleship."¹ So it was that here the two great factors of the cosmic and divine drama were brought into immediate juxtaposition; here in the Last Supper sinful, weak, unreliable human nature was set into the full dimension of redeemed sonship of the eternal God. There and then all that Jesus was and claimed to be became theirs, and they His, in inseparable unity.

The words and deeds of Jesus are only belittled when we attempt to enter into theories of 'how' and 'why' Jesus could make this divine atonement. To ask 'why' is to question the power and right of God Himself. Jesus stood there before men, not as a priest before God doing something as an intermediary between God and man, but as the Messiah, the Christ of God, offering men in His own Name and in His own right, the fullness of divine redemption. "I and My Father are One."² If there was free and full redemption it was so because God had so willed it and God had so regarded it. If there was a setting-aside of guilt and sin, it was because the only One to whom righteousness and obedience are due had chosen to set them aside - in the cause of greater righteousness and obedience.

Thus it is wholly wrong and misleading to try to explain the gift and self-sacrifice of Christ ^{wholly} in terms of the Jewish or any other human sacrificial system. It is quite wrong to say that here we have ^{merely} the communion meal (in anticipation) of the participation by the Twelve in the body of the Victim about to be crucified on the morrow (immolated). The old

1. Prof. W. Manson. S.J.T. Vol 3 N°1 (1960) p.42.

2. John X, 30

sacrificial form in no way ^{fully} applies here - despite Masure who says: "There is no change in these (pre-Christian sacrificial) usages because everything about them is transformed, raised to a higher level, because a new victim is introduced using the old sacrificial gestures, but replacing them." ¹

Communion could never precede immolation, in any case, and indeed the whole significance is reversed. In sacrifices of the past the prime-mover was not the victim, but the men who were to benefit from the action, and participation in the victim was possible only after the immolation had signified its acceptance by the deity. But here Jesus gives them a part in Himself before the sacrifice is made: even as early as the feeding of the five thousand, for instance. In sacrificial terms this would have invalidated the whole process, for the sacrifice had to be free from 'sinful' associations, and therefore man could not offer himself, but instead gave of a 'pure' victim. The 'scape-goat' which bore men's sins was never the one immolated on the Day of Atonement, it was sent off into the wilderness; and the same held true for the doves prescribed for sacrifice for cleansing from leprosy. Nor, as we have already noted, did ancient sacrifice take the form of the greater suffering for the less. It is therefore simply misleading to state that "Christ had accepted the law ⁱⁿ which all ancient sacrifices found their metaphysic and their explanation." ²

Jesus, on the other hand, offers communion before He suffers, not so much because He anticipates His death on the morrow (and by virtue of that event is empowered to offer them participation in Himself) but because He is now, and always was sovereign Lord of the forgiveness of sins. Thus Vincent Taylor says: "It is beside the point to argue that, since the death of Jesus was still to be accomplished, the Supper was provisional and anticipatory." ³ His death on the morrow is not to make anything possible

1: op. cit., p. 200

2: Masure, op. cit., p. 155.

3: op. cit., p. 267.

except that which lies on the human side of the veil. It is not true to say, in the same sense as does Roman theology, that the Supper made the Cross unavoidable, and that after He had covenanted in the Upper Room He was inescapably doomed to death. This reasoning is necessary to ensure the results seen in the following three extracts from Masure's book, of course, but few Protestant theologians would find Christian thought behind such claims as:

"Without the Eucharist the Redemption would have had no liturgical character enabling us to link it with our ritual needs... ¹

"The Supper made the Cross inevitable... ²

"We shall never have the sacrifice of Christ unless we have His Body, immolated and glorious, upon our altars." ³

It is certainly true that Jesus knew that He had to die, but not because He was forgiving men's sins and offering them this communion in some act of anticipation of His acquiring the power to do so later, by His approaching death -(as if he were drawing on a sum of money not yet paid into his banking account.) The truth was simply that He was then, as now and ever, able to forgive sins because that was His eternal right - "the Son of Man has power on earth to forgive sins" ⁴ - but as yet men's blindness and lack of faith made it necessary for Him to set forth before them the final explosion of the power of sin, as seen in its ultimate goal - Death.

Thus the symbolism here is not in terms of previous sacrificial systems at all. Rather it is of Jesus about to do battle on man's behalf not with a reluctant or angry God (which was all too often the concept of sacrifice) but with the deepest levels of human sin and its inevitable end in death. He was about to enter into the very portals of evil, and although the Disciples had not as yet realized it, He was also about to rise eternally triumphant over sin and death. What Jesus was trying to do here

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

2. " " p. 197.

3. " " p. 180.

4. Mark ii, 10.

was to signify their own indissociable participation in His coming Passion, Death and Resurrection. "He intended men to participate in His self-offering, and to appropriate the power of His surrendered life."¹ The experience of which He had so long spoken in words, the gift of eternal Life was thereby about to become their own in very deed, in action.

Thus He said, "This is My Body" as He offered them the Bread. He did not take part of the flesh of the Lamb, and offer them a piece of meat - for His meaning and intentions far out-stripped the significance of the Paschal Lamb.² He offered them Bread, a simple act with the most common element of food, and in so doing offered them absolute participation in Himself.³ Never again would the Disciples partake of ordinary bread in a common meal without thinking of Him and His gift of Himself to them. The bread was both unimportant and all-important for them. The significance of it all lay rather in the action whereby, at that moment, by faith, they received both food and the fact of Christ at once. It was not the body of Jesus of Nazareth which they took, for they never for a moment thought in those crude terms, and it was not that which Jesus primarily offered. He spoke to them in this act not so much as 'a man' but as the 'Son of Man', not as a prophet of the Messianic Age but as the Messiah Himself offering them a part in His Kingdom. He gave not a corpse but the Christ. This was no fleshly act, the flesh indeed profit~~ed~~ed nothing, but here was Spirit available in time and to man, in reality. In their eating that Bread they ratified their part in Him and in His true glory and existence, and they accepted the purpose of His Incarnation, which was after all entirely for them. Thus Vincent Taylor says: "Jesus did not regard His service as accomplished apart from, and independent of men; it was a sacrifice consummated only as men entered into it and made it their spiritual possession."⁴

1: Vinc. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

2: Cf. S. Zeitlin *JQR.* Vol. 38, (Apr. 1948) pp. 444 ff.
also Justin Martyr: "Trypho" III.

3: cf. H. B. Swete: *J.T.S.* Vol. III, Pl 64.

4: *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

COMMISSIONING:

Like the Passover during which it was celebrated, this esoteric Last Supper of Jesus was far more than a personal religious experience for the Disciples, however; even though its personal element was of the deepest and most significant kind. John indicates this when he records Jesus' words after washing the Disciples' feet: "You are already clean by the word I have spoken unto you."¹ Their participation in Jesus in the Last Supper was to be a different type of experience from that which had simply signified their acceptance of His cleansing and salvation, or even their personal communion with Him - such as was indicated in the discourse after the feeding of the multitudes. Their Baptism at Jesus' hands in the washing of their feet must have been sufficient to signify their acceptance of Him as Saviour and Lord, and indeed their deep personal desire to participate in His Body. With St. Peter they had said: "Lord, not my feet only, but my hands and my head..."² Thus, while the Last Supper cannot but have contained the deepest ever of these personal experiences of ingrafting into their Master and communion with Him, we must look elsewhere for its wider significance. This is to be seen both in the words of Jesus common to all four accounts in the New Testament, and also in the Johannine discourses. Put in a few words it is this:

The Last Supper was supremely an act of crisis - of turning from the old and looking out towards the new. It was a type of the crisis in the whole cosmic process represented by the Incarnate Life, Death and Resurrection of Jesus. It gave shape to the turning from the old towards the new. It provided a beginning as well as an ending point in the experience of the Disciples. It was supremely a time of outlook, of preparation both for the world-task confronting the Church, and its final End. While Jesus was

1: John xv, 3.

2: " xiii, 9.

with them in the flesh the Disciples had not had to concern themselves with direction and policy. Now He is about to depart, and they are to step into a new rôle. The world-mission is to be placed in their hands, and from now on they are to change from being merely 'receivers' to that of 'distributors', they are to become ambassadors in time of the Eternal.

Thus the Saviour takes the Bread saying: "My Body!" He breaks it and shares it among them saying: "You!" They eat, and are commissioned. Theirs is now the task of completing, under the guidance and with the power of the Holy Spirit, the world task of the Incarnation. They must now proclaim, set forth, and show forth the Lord's Gospel for men until the End is reached.² Thus in this historical moment is to be found both the final act of their personal journey to Christ (the consummation of the gift of Faith which brought them first to enquire, then to believe, next to their Baptism and finally to its fruition in the intimacy of table-fellowship with Christ) and the first stage of the consequent commission to go out and bear richer fruit.

In a real sense something is now within them which before had only been with them. Now they are also to give out, whereas before they had only taken in. There had been times when they had been sent to preach and heal, but too often they had broken down and needed to be reminded that their spiritual lives were too poor and emaciated to enable them to perform deeds of power.¹ Now, at last, they are ready to begin, and in this meal they take over from Jesus the task of showing forth to men the grace and glory of fellowship with God. It is now to be through them that the love and power of the risen Lord is to reach out, still in terms of the human senses and of human life, to the ends of the earth.

Here then is the supreme crisis of the human life - that moment when

1. cf. Matt. xvii, 19-20.

2. See, A. Schweitzer; "The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle," p.267.

the call to apostolicity is heard, and either accepted - as did the Eleven,- or rejected, as did Judas. At this historic moment in that Last Supper the Christian Ministry was born, and the Apostolic charge ratified. The Remnant of Israel, the Suffering Servant, had indeed narrowed down to one man in Jesus the Messiah;¹ but now in His Body, broken and shared, that Remnant enlarges into the first ranks of the Catholic Church, and the new growth begins which is to bring the world to His redemption.

Thus, within the Last Supper, there is contained the truth of this larger fact of Christian salvation, that by which a man cannot know the fellowship of the Lord in its fullness until he joins Him, now bearing his own cross, and accepting 'the fellowship of the road' which means that he may not know where the next meal will come from or where next to lay his head - but which goes out to engage in the whole cosmic purpose of the Incarnation. Thus Vincent Taylor says: "It is the paradox of the teaching of Jesus that, although His vocation of Messianic suffering is unique, He none the less interprets it as an activity which, in some measure, men are to reproduce... suffering in the service of the Kingdom is the least interpretation of which His words are capable."² If we replace the words "men are to reproduce" with "is to be reproduced in His followers", (because it is through the Holy Spirit that this task is begun, continued and ended,) we see here again the statement of the kind of paradox which meets us at every turn in our study of the words and deeds of this divine-human Jesus Christ. Here in the Last Supper is the focus of the two-fold word: "Come unto Me" and "Go ye into all the world". Around that Board the barriers of sense and distance wear very thin as we feel the paradox resolved in the Presence of the Christ. Our commissioning and our very going forth somehow bring us nearer than ever before to Him and to our Home.

1: See: O. Cullmann, *op. cit.*, P.116: "This Remnant is further compressed & reduced to one man who alone can assume Israel's role..." Also F.W. Manson, "The Teaching of Jesus", p.228: *c.f.* Vincent Taylor, *op. cit.*, P.256, & R. Otto, *op. cit.*, var. Also, H. Wheeler Robinson: "The Cross of the Servant" pp.32 ff.

2. *op. cit.*, P.268.

ESCHATOLOGICAL OUTLOOK:

There yet remains one further aspect of the Last Supper which was of great importance for the early Church, and which becomes increasingly significant today. It is that which is peculiarly associated with the eschatological outlook, and to which Jesus referred particularly in His vow of renunciation ... "until it is fulfilled in the Kingdom of God." "The eschatological idea indeed, is indissolubly connected with the Supper in its earliest tradition."¹

There has been much recent discussion as to Jesus' real meaning in these words with which He began the Supper, and many scholars have linked them with the post-Resurrection meals which Jesus had with the Disciples. Cullmann has said: "... this solemn meal looks backward to the Last Supper of the historical Jesus and to the Easter meals of the Risen One with His Disciples, and forward to the end, which already in Judaism had been represented by the picture of the Messianic meal."² In this way Jesus' words at this point are made to refer to these Easter meals, which are in turn seen as the first fruits of the great Messianic Meal which will signify the End of Creation, when all the redeemed shall join in the revelry of the Marriage Feast of the Lamb.

Thus Markus Barth says: "Jesus gives His disciples the sworn statement that the next meal which He will hold with them will be in the Kingdom of God, i.e. it will therefore be a Messianic Meal. The moment when this meal will be held is so near that Jesus will no more eat and drink until then... The eschatological outlook gives occasion for the most eager expectancy; and the words of Jesus are an indication therefore that He Himself held this expectation and looked for the coming of the Kingdom of God in the immediate future... within the interval in which a man can go without eating and drinking, i.e. within the span of a few days."³

1: Vinc. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

2: *op. cit.*, p. 74.

3: *op. cit.*, p. 43.

From this exegesis of Jesus' words, Barth arrives at the conclusion that the post-Resurrection meals are the first of these messianic occasions; but this is not the only, nor indeed the most probable reading here. Pressed to conclusions such opinions readily lead to a completely 'realized' eschatology, which then destroys the whole forward look of the Last Supper. Such an exegesis is certainly not inevitable however, for on the contrary Luke's indications are that Jesus refers here not simply to eating and drinking, but to the Passover. Thus He declares that He will not again partake of the Passover with the Disciples until it be fulfilled in the Kingdom. Prof. J. Jeremias more accurately interprets Jesus' intentions when he says: "The next meal of Jesus with His Disciples is to be the Messianic Meal on the transfigured earth..."¹ Hence the time of the fulfilment of the Old Passover has now arrived, and it will finally be consummated in the End of the Days; in the form of the great Messianic Meal or Marriage Feast of the Lamb:

"And the righteous and the elect shall be saved on that day
 And they shall never thenceforward see the face
 of the sinners and the unrighteous
 And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them
 And with that Son of Man shall they eat
 And lie down and rise up for ever and ever."²

The Old Passover is already being fulfilled in their midst; the Messiah has come; Communion, Redemption, Eternal Life are to be theirs, and yet at the same time the interval between the two moments of the Parousia has been interposed into the Jewish scheme of the Heilsgeschichte; the final consummation is delayed. Thus Lev Gillet says: "The Messianic Parousia is not an event of the past. Jesus is the Messiah: He came: and nevertheless the coming of the Messiah is far from complete: it is a long-drawn-out historical process... we must expect His definite coming at the end!"³

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

2. "Similitudes of Enoch"; lxii, 13f. *cf.* Strack-Billerbeck, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 992.
cf. Isa. xxv, 6: etc.,

3. "Communion in the Messiah," (1942), p. 110.

The present is therefore to be a time of tension between the period when the post-Resurrection meals will have proclaimed the fulfilment of the old, while the existing spiritual struggle within the present-Age signifies the with-holding of the fullness of the Messianic Reign.

The two disciples at Emmaus therefore do not enjoy the fullness of unveiled table-fellowship with the risen Lord, for He vanishes out of their sight when the purpose of His appearing (namely their recognition of Him in the breaking of bread) is achieved.¹ Thus Schweitzer comments: "The personal presence of Jesus which the Disciples experienced after His death was in their view only a partial fulfilment of the general promise. The Parousia appeared to them as still awaiting fulfilment."²

At the same time, however, the meals which they share together from now on will be times of greater eschatological significance than ever, and their consummation in the Messianic Meal will be made the more urgent and desirable because they now know the truth of their own acceptance and redemption and communion with the Lord. It is as though the bride-to-be awaits the coming of her beloved from a far land, not as she may once have done before her betrothal, in mere hope of His accepting her, - but now she is continually in receipt of his reassuring messages and plans for the future, daily made sure of his love and devotion, and of his near approach. Such is the tension of the Church - the tension made all the more real and pressing because of the reality of the betrothal and the certainty of its consummation; certainties revealed in the brief glimpses of the Easter Meals of Jesus with His own.

This then is the light in which we are to regard the post-Resurrection meals. In one sense they are a fulfilment of Christ's promise to the Twelve³ - and in another they will still point forward to the future. In the one way they ratify the fulfilment (and therefore the supersession) of

1: Luke xxiv, 30-31.

2: "The Quest of the Hist. Js." p.136.

3: "Our Lord animates them (the Disciples) by the immediate assurance that he will presently give them a proof of his future glory." CALVIN, "Comm. on Harmony of the Evangelists," Matt xvi, 28.

the old Passover, and in another they proclaim that there is yet to be the greatest Feast of all, the eternal Feast of the unveiled presence of the Messiah.

Thus Markus Barth speaks of the essential nature of these post-Resurrection meals for the early Church: "without the Easter meals there is no Last Supper," he says. And again: "That the Table of the Lord is not only spread in Heaven but also now already in the midst of the Church - that is the miracle which Paul no less than the writer of the twenty-third Psalm has described. This miracle was already proclaimed in the Old Testament, by the Shewbread on the Table of the Lord in the Temple."¹

CONCLUSIONS:

We can therefore sum up the main strands of meaning which Jesus' words and actions with the Bread hold for the Church. They are both of personal and communal significance. They speak of personal salvation and redemption, and also of cosmic redemption. They speak of communion with the Christ, but at the same time send His followers out with His Commission to bear fruit in His Name. They point back to the once-and-for-all-ness of the saving work of Jesus on the Cross; and at the same time usher us into the wider world of the existential Eucharist which will one day be consummated at the Eschaton. Throughout all there is the tension of the Incarnation; the struggle between here and there, between spirit and matter, between God and Evil. In partaking of that Bread men participate in the essential Fact of the Incarnation, and identify themselves with the victory of the Son of Man.

1. *op. cit.*, p. 48.

JESUS' WORDS OVER THE CUP.

There is no mention of the use of the Cup in the earliest records of the Passover Supper, the whole accent of the original 'Egyptian' Passover and its memorial repetition being upon the Lamb and the Unleavened Bread.¹ By New Testament times, however, it was obligatory upon all Jews, even to the poorest in Israel, to partake of four Cups on the night of the Feast.² The reason for the emergence of the wine as a ceremonial necessity was probably very complex. In addition to its common use as a useful adjunct to a good meal, two main considerations were probably to the fore:

1. The Cup, like the food, was regarded as significant in establishing reciprocal relationships between the participants. In the earliest times it is held that primitive men sealed their covenants by drinking blood, sometimes by tasting each other's blood.³ Later, when the tasting of blood was tabooed among the Hebrews, much of this significance became transferred to drinking - particularly to the drinking of wine. A Cup-bearer was an important person in a King's household, and that not only for safety reasons;⁴ today he might be called the 'keeper of the great seal'. Oesterley declares that "in some sense life was believed to inhere in wine", and cites many passages where references such as to "the blood of grapes" can hardly have been wholly figurative.⁵ The fact that sanctification ceremonies, such as Kiddûsh, were carried out "over wine", according to Rabbinic injunction, indicates the important place the Cup held in Jewish ritual procedure.⁶
2. The Cup, even more than the food, was used as a symbol of the entire fact of the person offering it. The Cup was used in Old

1. Ex. xii, 3-20.

2. Mish. Pesa. X, i

3. See: Robertson Smith, "Kinship & Marriage in Early Arabia", (1903), p.59. also his "Religion of the Semites," p.314.

4. e.g. Neh. i, 11.

5. See Oesterley, *op.cit.*, pp. 184 ff.

6. See commentaries on Ex. XX, 8. see Bera. viii, 1, Mish. Pesa. X, 2. etc.

Testament times to sum up the total situation in which a person was placed - it represented his 'lot' or 'destiny'. "My Cup runneth over" says the Psalmist.¹ "Are ye able to drink the Cup that I am about to drink?", Jesus asked His Disciples.² In a special sense too the Cup represented the Will of God for man. It was used alike as symbolizing 'consolation' and 'anger' from God towards men.³ In the later Passover Seder the four Cups were often thought of as representing the four promises of God to His people: "I will bring you out from under the burden of the Egyptians, and I will rid you of their bondage, and I will redeem you.... and I will take you to Me for a people."⁴

Finally, if a third category might be added, the Cup also had considerable eschatological significance, as we have already remarked. In the centre of the Paschal table, to this day, a large Cup is set for the coming of Elijah, the Herald of the Messiah.⁵

All these considerations help us to understand better what Jesus meant when, after the Supper was concluded, He took a Cup and blessed it and gave it to them to drink, saying: "This is My Blood, the New Covenant, which is shed for many."

THE NEW COVENANT:

The enormity of the changes He was making to the practices of conventional piety when He spoke these words must have been part of the purpose of Jesus. These are the most disturbing and disruptive words He ever spoke with regard to the Jewish cultus. Since the time of Moses the drinking of blood had been abhorrent to the Jews, and even figuratively

1. Ps. xxiii, 5 : see too Ps. xvi, 5 :
Ez. xxiii, 31-33 : etc.

2. Matt. xx, 22-3: see too Lk. xxii, 42
3. John, xviii, 11.

3. Isa. li, 17-22 ; Hab. ii, 16 ; Jer. xxv, 15, 17 ; Jer. xvi, 7 ; Zech. xii, 2, Rev. xiv, 10 ; xvi, 19....

4. Ex. vi, 6-7. See Gaster, *op.cit.*, pp. 54. ff.

5. See above pp. 52 ff

Jesus would not have dared to offend the susceptibilities of His friends in this way unless with very good and indeed essential reason. There could be no more striking proof of the fact that He was bringing the old Era of Judaism to an end. The days of the Old Covenant, represented and sealed by the blood of the Paschal Lamb, were now over. That blood had been poured out on the ground as a symbol of the transcendence of God, and the impotence of Man to effect his own salvation. The blood was the Life, and the Life was beyond their reach. But now, in Jesus, all that has come to an end. If the blood was the Life, then men must now partake of it, for He was come that men might have Life and have it abundantly. "In Him was Life, and that Life was the Light of Men."¹ So He gave them the Cup. "All of you drink of it," He commanded, "for this is My Blood, the New Covenant. So they drank, and the New Age was begun. This was the great Kiddush of the New Era of the Kingdom of God - the sanctification over wine at the outset of the New Day.

It is not necessary to dwell long upon the meaning of the Cup, for in one sense it was simply the seal set upon all that had gone before, and particularly upon the tremendous fact of the broken Bread. Like the whole meal, it had a three-fold significance: it looked back and ratified what had gone before; it presented anew the whole fact of Christ, His Life and His lot or destiny, to the Disciples; and it looked ahead to the Age now being ushered in, and to its consummation in the Last Day. In a wholly new way however, it stood for the Fact of Life now within human life and experience - for the Incarnation for the sakes of men. It was not just for the Disciples, but "for many"² - in the words of the Isaianic prophecy³ - it was for "as many as receive Him, to them gives He power to become the Sons of God."⁴

1. John i, 4.

2. Matt. xxvi, 28: and parallels.

3. Isa. liii, 11.

4. John i, 12.

VIII.

"THIS DO IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME."

As we have seen, St. Paul twice, and St. Luke once include the words: "This do in remembrance of Me" within their accounts of the Institution. The Word must be considered under three categories - first, what is meant by the injunction 'do'; second, what is the meaning of the word 'remembrance'; and finally whether the phrase as a whole is a command of Jesus to repeat the Supper as a rite.

I. THE EUCHARIST AS ACTION:

It is important in any consideration of the Last Supper to remember that we are dealing with a Hebrew medium of expression, and therefore with an event or activity rather than with a concept or an idea. The accent is always upon what is done, rather than upon what is eaten. As St. Paul records the tradition Jesus' command concerning both Bread and Cup is the same: "This DO in remembrance of Me." The word is not "This IS", nor even "This eat", but "This DO". Thus Dom Gregory Dix, surveying the historical growth of the Eucharist, is able to declare: "The conception before the Fourth Century and in the New Testament... regards the rite as something done... it concentrated attention entirely upon the sacramental act."¹

When one turns to the records it is seen that the whole account, in all four accounts, simply bristles with verbs, and therefore with activity: Jesus took bread, gave thanks, brake it, said, ... take, eat, this do.....

1: Op. cit., p. 12: See also "The Eucharist as Action", op. cit., pp. 247 ff.

While it would not be possible to press this Hebrew tendency towards action as far as to exclude any emphasis at all upon the nature of the Elements, it is interesting, to say the least, that the Hebrew (and Aramaic) records have, of course, no equivalent for the Greek ἐστίν in the command of Jesus. Nevertheless it can be stated with confidence that in the First Century the Church was not in any way concerned with theories concerning supposed changes in the nature of the Bread and Wine which had been dedicated to the use of the Sacrament.

For the Hebrew mind the Bread was Bread. Yet Jesus called it His Body, just as every other item of diet and every action of that Paschal meal was a representation or symbol of some significant event in the nation's religious history: but the minds of the Disciples were fixed on the actions of their Master, and it is this that they record. They make no pause for comment as they record His words about the Body and Blood, but each tells substantially of the same action: that He took the bread, blessed it, brake it, described it as His Body, gave it to them, told them to eat it, that they had to accept it from His hands, and were asked to do so believing that they were, in a special sense, receiving Him, and also that they were asked to repeat the action. These events were the very framework of their sacramental experience for the Disciples.

It is interest in the activity rather than in the 'being' or 'nature' of the Elements which so completely integrates the Last Supper with time and history. The Bread and Wine do not become some materialisation of Grace which can be stored-up in a way independent of time. Surely Protestants have a higher and nobler doctrine of the Church than those who would try to "extend the Incarnation" in the Elements rather than in the Faithful who receive them! With all reverence, one might admonish the exponents of the idea of transubstantiation with the observation that you cannot both

have your Bread and eat it! The Grace of God in Christ comes not by virtue of the Elements, but by the two-fold activity of salvation, God's coming to man, and man's acceptance of His coming - i.e. by virtue of the activity whereby in faith men take of His broken Body and shed Blood, believing it is for them, for the remission of their sins, for the preservation of their bodies and souls to everlasting life, and for their effective ingrafting into the Body of Christ, which is the true setting forth of the Incarnate Lord in time and history. It is the people who go out from the Eucharist, and not the poor scraps that remain on the Table, that show forth the Lord. So it is that the Apostle adds: "For as oft as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death until He come."²

THE HOMILY OF MELITO OF SARDIS:

This accent upon activity and doing, rather than on nature and being, is well expressed in the recently discovered Homily by Bishop Melito of Sardis (c. A.D.160).¹ If one makes allowance for the somewhat Modalistic method of expression - Melito was not a Modalist; the heresy had not then arisen and so he had no occasion to avoid expressions/such as those given below, which in a later day might have made his theology questionable - one sees how intensely the writer feels the divine activity to be crucial as the very substance of His saving work, and indeed of Himself. Melito says:

"For, born as a man, led forth as a lamb, sacrificed as a sheep, buried as a man, he rose from the dead as God, being by nature God and man. Who is all things: in that he judges, Law, in that he teaches, Word, in that he saves, Grace, in that he begets, Father, in that he is begotten, Son, in that he suffers, a (sacrificial) sheep, in that he is buried, Man, in that he arises God. This is Jesus the Christ, to whom belongs the Glory of the Ages. Amen.

"Thou sawest the mystery of the Lord enacted in the sheep, the life of the Lord in the sacrifice of the sheep, and the type of the Lord in the death of the sheep..."

1: "Studies & Documents": Ed. K. & S. Lake, n°XII, (1940).

2: I Cor xi, 26.

"Hear ye and tremble before him who made heaven and earth tremble. He who hung the earth in its place is hanged, he who fixed the heavens is fixed upon the Cross, he who made all things fast is made fast upon the tree, the Master has been insulted, God has been murdered..."

"But he rose from the dead... and cries thus to you: "Who is he that contendeth against me?... I am the Christ, I am he who put down death, and triumphed over the enemy, and trod upon Hades, and bound the strong one and brought man safely home to the heights of the heaven, I", he says, "Christ."

"Therefore come hither all ye families of men who are sullied with sin and receive remission of sin. For I am your remission. I am the Passover of salvation, the Lamb that was sacrificed for you, I am your ransom(?), I am your King, I lead you up to the heights of the heavens, I will show you the Father who is from the ages, I will raise you up by my right hand."

These extracts from an ancient sermon are typical of the way in which Paul earlier had looked upon the Incarnation and had preached it to men. Yet at the same time there is a noticeable lack of emphasis on the other aspect of the sacramental action, that which was so clearly stressed by Jesus Himself - the action of the believer. Melito's sermon, though far from any visible movement towards the materialization of the means of Grace, nevertheless indicates how in the Second Century the believers were to become regarded more and more as spectators, mere recipients, and often as totally impotent in the scheme of divine salvation. Because of misunderstandings of the necessary work of St. Paul against the Judaistic heresy of salvation by observation of the Law, undue stress came to be laid upon the impotence of man to do anything in his own redemption. This was the first stage towards the emergence of the Mass, where the passivity of the people becomes accentuated until everything assumes the proportions of a great spectacle, wherein all is done for them.

It may be somewhat ironical that the theological emphasis thus completes a circle as it were, and in progressive stages there evolves the necessity of reformation and re-emphasis of salvation by faith. The cycle is not hard to follow; First there is undue stress laid upon the totality of

the saving act of God to the exclusion of regard for man's acceptance, and also for his obedience. This process leads to a 'higher and higher' regard for the Elements as being the present embodiment of the free Grace of Christ. Soon the magical 'change' is introduced, at the hands of the priest, who therefore becomes possessor of a unique power which he can barter for the people's subservience and obedience to his wishes. In place of divine ethics there emerges ecclesiastical ethics or discipline, and the entanglement of Church and State becomes a necessity. The means of Grace now being within the jurisdiction of the clergy, the people become no longer free recipients of divine favour, but servants of the Church, who must obey and work out their 'right' to the bounties disbursed by the clergy. So faith and belief become degraded to acceptance of the power of the clergy and obedience to their commands. By such 'good works' men may now obtain from the clergy the Grace of the Lord! Such is the reversal that comes to the Faith.

With the Reformation however, there is seen a strong movement towards the cleansing of the whole sacramental concept, thus there is a return to the New Testament emphases, wherein both the free gift of God to man, by the sole mediation of Christ, and the necessary acceptance, belief and obedience of man are stressed. Thus Calvin is able to stress this two-fold aspect of the means of Grace: "The Sacraments are instituted by God to this end that they might be exercises of our faith before God and before men."

One of the great Scots preachers of the Reformation, Robert Bruce, kinsman to the famous King, and friend of Melville, expounded the reformed doctrine of the Sacraments as set forth in the Scottish Confession of 1560. "That doctrine has never been better stated," says the editor of his works, Prof. J. Laidlaw.¹ The following are extracts from some of these discourses to show the emphasis they placed upon 'activity' in the Sacraments:

1. "Robert Bruce's Sermons..." Transl. John Laidlaw, (1901).

BRUCE'S SERMONS ON THE SACRAMENTS:

"In the sacrament there are two sorts of things subject to the outward senses - you see the elements, you see again the rites and ceremonies whereby these elements are distributed, broken and given... ¹

"Therefore I must make two sorts of signs: one sort of the Bread and Wine, and we call them elemental: another sort of the rites and ceremonies whereby these are distributed, broken and given - and we call them ceremonial. There is never a ceremony which Christ instituted in this supper but it is as essential as the Bread and Wine are... ²

"How long does this power continue with that Bread: how long has that Bread this office?... in a word I say this power continues with that Bread during the time of the action, during the service of the table. How long that action continues and the service of the table lasts, so long it continues holy Bread: so long continues the power with that Bread: but look how soon the action is ended, so soon the holiness of it... and that Bread becomes common bread again. ³

"The breaking is an essential ceremony: the pouring out of the wine also is an essential ceremony... look what thou seest the minister doing outwardly, whatever it be: is he breaking that Bread? Is he dealing that Bread? Is he pouring out that Wine and distributing that Wine? Think assuredly with thyself that Christ is as busy doing all these things spiritually for thy soul. He is as busy giving thee His own Blood with the virtue and efficacy of it. Likewise in this action (if thou be a faithful communicant) look what the mouth is doing and how the mouth of the body is occupied outwardly: so is the hand and mouth of the soul (which is faith) occupied inwardly. As the mouth takes that Bread and Wine, so the mouth of thy soul takes the Body and Blood of Christ, and that by faith." ⁴

Thus the reformed faith continues the dual 'action' of the way of salvation as set forth in the Sacraments, (or rather God's action and man's essential response.) Just as it was in the taking and eating of the tree of Life with all that it means of disobedience, that man fell, according to the Old Covenant conception: so in the New Covenant it is by taking and eating, with all that it means of obedience, that man is enabled to rise again. The Old Testament is full of allusions to the way in which this symbolism was accepted by the Hebrews as an expression of their relationship both to God and to each other. So "Aaron came and all the elders of Israel came to eat bread before God with Moses' father-in-law." ⁵ So too, at a high point of religious experience, the Children of Israel "beheld God and did eat and

1. op. cit., p. 6.

2. " " " 7.

3. " " " 54.

4. " " " 55.

5. Exod. xviii, 12.

drink." ¹ Perhaps nowhere more beautifully, or more significantly for our purposes however is this table fellowship described than in the Book of Proverbs. Here it is said of Wisdom:

"She hath also furnished her table...
 She saith, come eat ye of my bread,
 and drink of the wine which I have mingled;
 leave off ye simple ones, and live:
 and walk in the way of understanding." ²

On the contrary too, Jeremiah can prophesy of calamity to evil-doers:

"Neither shall men break (bread) for them in mourning to comfort them for the dead: neither shall men give them the cup of consolation to drink." ³

Thus we see how important the actions of Jesus in the Last Supper must have been for the Disciples as they later pondered that which had taken place. At the moment of the Supper probably very little of this significance had dawned upon their minds, but the fact remains that in His deliberate choice of this Passover, and of this action with Bread and Wine, Jesus placed His Gospel within the framework of the Hebrew thought-system, and had thereby initiated a means of exposition and understanding which has continued through the ages to this present day. Far from turning to the mystery cults for an understanding of the meal, it is to or rather from the Old Testament background that we must approach in our journey of discovery. Unless we can understand to some degree what King David meant when he took the water which had been brought to him from the well near Bethlehem, declaring: "Shall I drink the blood of these men that have put their lives in jeopardy?" ⁴ - unless we can think in these forms, we cannot hope to understand what Jesus meant when He said: "This is My Blood - the New Covenant.." Without some real sympathy for the Hebrew mind, with its intense use of symbol and allegory, and above all its emphasis on action, we are unable to so much as approach the true meaning of the Last Supper.

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1. Exod., xxiv, 11.
 2. Prov., ix, 3-5.
 3. Jer. xvi, 7.
 4. I Chron. xi, 19.

II. THE EUCHARIST AS REMEMBRANCE:

According to the Pauline tradition, Jesus asked that the action of the Last Supper should be repeated to His remembrance: εἰς τὴν ἔμνην ἀναμνησιν. It is important that we grasp the meaning of 'Memorial' or 'Remembrance' to the Hebrew mind. This meaning has three major emphases:

(1) An ordinary act of remembering:

There can be no doubt that the sense of remembering with which we are today most familiar was also one of the ways in which this word was understood by St. Paul. Our present-day usage has made this aspect of the Sacrament so familiar and well-understood that it would not be profitable to spend more time upon it. This is simply the sense in which we bring to our conscious minds all that Jesus was and did, and indeed what He even now IS. Without this aspect of remembering there can of course be no Supper and no Sacrament. But this is not the only sense in which we must understand St. Paul's expression.

(2). As a Memorial before God:

Jeremias has shown how great a role ἀναμνησιν played in the thought of later Judaism with regard to Redemption - outstandingly indicated in the great New Year Festival. He says:

"To the special prayers... of this festival there belong the מְלֶכֶת מְלֶכֶת זְכוֹרוֹת and מְלֶכֶת זְכוֹרוֹת. The זְכוֹרוֹת are Bible passages framed as prayers which deal with 'remembrances', exclusively from (the view-point of) merciful memories by God of His Covenant-promises in the past and future. The final prayer of the זְכוֹרוֹת ended with the praise: "Blessed be Thou, O Lord who doest remember Thy Covenant." (זְכוֹר הַבְּרִית) ¹

1. op. cit., p. 116.

There is a parallel expression in the New Testament, where the sense of a memorial before God is to be read, namely in Acts x,4: "Thy prayers and thine alms are gone up for a memorial before God."¹ God is the subject of this memorial, and the expression indicates the merciful remembrance of God. "God's memorial is always an activity," says Jeremias.²

(3). Remembrance in Atonement:

In the two foregoing categories we have seen once more the emergence of the dual activity within the Heilsgeschichte - the action by God and the response by man. The synthesis of these activities is to be found in the way in which we regard the Eucharist as ἀνάμνησις. While it is abundantly true, on the Protestant view, that there is no moment when the Grace of God is not sufficient to salvation, nothing is needed to be added to the final work of Christ's life, death and resurrection, - it is also evident that redemption is not redemption until it has been accepted. Man's free-will enables him ever to remain without the living circle of relationship to God which is the fact of redemption. A man may die of starvation in a room filled with good food, if he refuses to eat. There is no sound nor colour on a desert island. So too in the Eucharist, as well as in the preaching of the word and the other means of Grace, one great factor is in calling the individual back to the Cross. This is the true meaning of anamnesis, not 'subjective remembrance' so much as 'active recall.'

In the Mass the priest attempts to recreate the sacrifice, but in the Christian Eucharist it is the Christ sacrificed, risen and ascended Who recreates the participant. Thus the historicity of Christianity is safe-guarded, and one avoids the heresy of Rome, which is to elevate man's role in redemption above its true place as response, to an altogether unwarranted position of direct initiation of saving activity.

1: See too H.B. Swete, J.T.S. Vol. III, p.165.

2: op. cit. p.117.

III. DID JESUS INTEND THE RITE TO CONTINUE?

The question yet remains: Did Jesus intend this rite to be continued, and if so, does He look on it as essential to salvation? The first question, as we have already seen, cannot finally be answered from exegetical study, because of the sparsity and contradictory nature of this aspect of the evidence. Yet, all things considered, the evidence is very strongly in favour of the meal being a divine institution. Both from the fact of the practice of the early Church, and from the definite witness of St. Paul (with the longer hand in Luke) it would seem that a very strong case would have to be adduced to question the fact of the rite's origin in the intention, if not in the actual words of Jesus.

Commenting on Schweitaer's "Das Abendmahl in Zusammenhang mit dem Leben Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums", J.G. Tasker says: "If the Lord's Supper has been celebrated in the Christian Church from the beginning, then that fact, considered only from the objective point of view, is far more decisive than the absence of the words "Do this in remembrance of Me" from two ancient narratives."¹

Whatever else may be disputed, one cannot avoid the fact that by the year A.D. 51 St. Paul had so received the account of the Supper as a living tradition from some definite liturgical usage, that he felt empowered to pass it on as the very command of the Lord to his mission Churches. These words of the Apostle, as many of the most critical of scholars have observed, are too strong to be lightly set aside.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE FOURTH EVANGELIST:

The greatest query centres around the silence of the Fourth Gospel with regard to the actual rite of the Supper. Why does John not describe

1. "The Problem of the Lord's Supper", *Expos. Times*, Vol. xiii, p. 503.

See also: F. Garin: "The Jewish Antecedents of the Christian Sacraments", (1928), p. 114.

G.H.C. Macgregor: "Eucharistic Origins", pp. 69 ff.

O.C. Quick: "The Christian Sacraments", pp. 191 ff.

R. DTT: *op. cit.*, pp. 324-5.

this supreme Messianic act of Jesus, especially when his Gospel abounds with other details of this kind, as well as evincing such a wide interest in the Jewish Cultus?

Some have found the answer in the reluctance of the Evangelist to deal with the sacred text in so public a manner. But this is hardly credible in the face of the fact that the Synoptists and Paul had all earlier made the account widely available by the time he wrote. Others have suggested that he felt the subject to have been adequately covered already in the earlier writings of the Church; but that does not explain why even a whisper of the rite is not found in his thirteenth chapter - for he showed no similar concern to avoid repetition in his treatment of the miracle of the feeding of the 5000, already dealt with by all three Synoptics!

Now may we say that he does indeed deal with the Eucharist, but only in the context of that miraculous feeding of the multitudes. As we have already seen this passage is by no means so apparently 'Eucharistic' as some writers would try to make out, and in any case the circumstances of the larger meal are such that a great deal of the meaning of the Last Supper is not evident. Thus it is not ^{to} ~~to~~ the baptized and trained circle of 'intimates' ^{that} ~~to whom~~ Jesus gives the bread, but to a motley crowd of whom the majority do not recognize Him as the Messiah. There is no definitely Paschal setting to add point to the eschatological aspect of the meal, and there are no words of Jesus in this regard. Neither is there a Cup, with its mention of the New Covenant. The bread too, as we have seen is distributed in silence, save for the Blessing, and is therefore in no way indicative of the Apostolic 'commission' attending the Last Supper distribution. The more one considers each of these aspects, the more one comes to be certain that there is no question of a transposition

of material from the Eucharist to this miraculous feeding, but on the contrary the miraculous meal is only one of the great number of facets which lend their significance to the meal in the Upper Room.

But all this does not explain John's silence. The solution can only be found adequately in a deliberate silence by the writer with regard to this issue, and that because he disagreed with the way in which the faith of the Church was attaching itself to an over-emphasis of the sacramental, and wrongfully isolating the Last Supper from the context of the Life, Ministry, Death and Resurrection of Christ. In the Fourth Gospel we have one of the earliest protests against this wrong conception of the Last Supper, which was already in the first Century becoming evident in the life of the Church. In John's day there was already to be found the beginnings of ecclesiasticism which drew forth such protests as those contained in his account of the washing of the Disciples' feet, and his amplification of the remarks of Jesus at the miraculous feeding of the five thousand. In this latter instance, as we have already seen, there is John's deliberate restatement of the facts, removing any possible organic connection with Eucharistic practice. Thus the distribution of the bread and fish is no longer at the hands of the Disciples, but is made directly by Jesus without mediate assistance. Again there are the oft-discussed words at the close of the discourse concerning the flesh profitting nothing, but the words of Jesus being Spirit and Life. Hence too the seven-fold 'I AM' sayings of Jesus, where, in forms of quite definitely non-Eucharistic imagery, Jesus offers men eternal Life, - and therefore eternal forgiveness of sin; factors which to John's mind were by that time becoming too singly connected with the Eucharist.

There can be no question at all that on the representation of St.

John, Jesus came offering to men the fullness of His own Person and gifts, apart from the Bread and Wine of the Last Supper at all. That Jesus always felt His death was a central and necessary fact in His saving activity, we have already discussed, but it is evident that John would have held that if the Last Supper was important it was because it set forth a type of the act of faith whereby one might avail oneself of the benefits of the Death of Christ - with all its saving implications - and not as embodying the benefits of the Passion in itself, that is in its Elements. Again, John apparently puts forward Baptism - as seen in his description of Jesus' washing the Disciples' feet - as embodying all the benefits which the Church was beginning to restrict to the province of the Eucharist alone, and so here too he challenges the narrowing sacramentalism of his day.

For the Evangelist the answer to sin and death was not to be found in a particular rite involving bread and wine so much as in what we have called the "Existential Eucharist". It was the whole fact of man's acceptance of the offering of the Incarnation as the event in which God became man that he might perceive, believe and accept the gift of Eternal Life, here and now, that absorbed John's mind and soul. "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting Life", this was the great theme of His Gospel. Because that fundamental fact was being clouded over, the Fourth Gospel is a protest from beginning to end against any limitation of the efficacy of the whole fact of the Incarnation into any one event or observance.

Yet it is important for us to pass from this discussion on a positive rather than on a negative note, for while John may have reacted against

a tendency to isolate the Lord's Supper as a special means of Grace, nothing could have been further from his intention than to belittle its significance and importance. On the contrary, his purpose was to enhance the significance of the whole incarnate Life of our Lord to this same sacramental importance. It is almost as though he deliberately takes of the language and imagery of the current understanding of the Eucharist and spreads them across the whole page of the Gospel. Even if this is not so much a conscious purpose as an ever-present truth to St. John - for he had come to regard the whole fact of Christ's Life as truly sacramental and not in any figurative sense - it nevertheless shows how fundamentally important the Last Supper was in the development of the Evangelist's thinking and experience. We perceive at every turn instances of where this meal opened new doors of light and understanding on the whole Gospel, and so at every turn we meet the Christ who freely offers to all men the free gift of the fullness of Eternal Life.

IX.

THE ESOTERIC EUCHARIST.

The Lord's Supper was a most strictly private and esoteric occasion. Not only were careful preparations made with regard to maintaining secrecy for security reasons, but the entire language and ethos of the meal breathes an intimacy and 'separateness' particularly noticeable in the Fourth Gospel account. No greater harm can be done to the Christian Church than to fling wide these gates, to identify its purposes with those found in the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, and so to reduce its significance to that of a parable or an ordinary meal which has been peculiarly sanctified. It is ^{even} looking in the wrong direction to see it as one more way of proclaiming the Kerygma, even. All these factors, if present, were the least important aspects of the Last Supper.

In the early days of the Reformation in Scotland our forefathers had a lively sense of the 'separateness' of this Holy Meal. Before the invitation to come and partake was issued the Minister carefully "fenced the Table" - by which is meant a fearless preaching against unworthy participation in the Sacrament. This was a final act of a long and careful preparation, which included investigation by the Elders, who visited every home and questioned every communicant member of the Church with regard to his or her spiritual fitness to attend the current celebration, - and when satisfied the Presbyter issued a 'token' by which admission was gained to the Table fellowship. We see here the Scottish

of the many to use all to their advantage, and so a great sickness comes about.

St. Paul was an earnest and decided exponent of the esoteric nature of the Eucharist. Unfortunately many well-meaning thinkers today have tended to deprecate some of his arguments because they have failed to perceive his point when he says: "He that eateth and drinketh eateth and drinketh judgement unto himself if he discern not the Body - for this cause many among you are weak and sickly, and not a few sleep..." This, says the critic, is magic. Thereby he shows his own lack of perception of the Body. Nothing was further from the Apostle's purpose than the materialist and rationalist view which alone sees magic in his meaning. On the contrary St. Paul was speaking of the Lord's Supper in its true significance; as the most intimate and personal communion between Christians and their Lord. Far from ascribing any physically toxic effect to the Bread and Wine unworthily received, St. Paul speaks here of the unworthy participation in the Body and Blood of the Lord. Unless a man receives the Bread and Wine in a state of Grace and Faith whereby he is enabled to perceive the Body and Blood of the Lord, his very presence in the inner circle of the Body of Christ on earth debases, undermines and finally destroys his soul. His lack of perception at this high point destroys his faith at all other levels of the Christian life, and ere long he is in an agony of doubt or else he simply drops away from spiritual things entirely.

Nor are the body and spirit so separate as to enable us to deny that when a person practices hypocrisy, if not blasphemy, and yet is not a renegade but in part a well-meaning seeker, ~~that~~ he or she may not soon find physical symptoms emerging as a result of inner conflicts. St. Paul

does not refer to the careless, the non-believer, in these words - but to the ordinary seeker, the man who may yet be won to full discipleship. "Give a babe strong meat to eat," says the Apostle, "and you will poison him, possibly kill him." His plea here is for a with-holding of the deepest spiritual truths from all but those who are spiritually fit.

The Reformed practice supplements and enhances the Catholic tradition at this point. Not only must one be a member in full communion, and one who is still aware of the obligations of that membership (which it is the task of the Presbyter to determine), but even though one is a member it is necessary to be spiritually fit, in a state of present Grace, and that is something that the "fencing of the Table" brings home to every heart; for each person must decide for himself whether he is in that state of Grace. Not that one must be guiltless, for if that were a qualification who could partake at all? Rather the invitation is to all Christians who "do truly and earnestly repent of their sins, and are in love and charity with their neighbours, and who intend to lead a new life following the commandments of God.." to partake of the Body and Blood of the Lord.

In its injunctions to the Minister with regard to Holy Communion, the "Westminster Directory of Public Worship" says:

"When the day is come for administration, the minister, having ended his sermon and prayer, shall make a short exhortation:

"Expressing the inestimable benefit we have by this sacrament, together with the ends and use thereof: setting forth the great necessity of having our comforts and strength renewed thereby in this our pilgrimage and warfare: how necessary it is that we come unto it with knowledge, faith, repentance, love and with hungering and thirsting souls after Christ and his benefits: how great the danger to eat and drink unworthily.

"Next he is, in the name of Christ, on the one part to warn all such as are ignorant, scandalous, profane, or that live in any sin or offence against their knowledge or conscience, that they presume not to come to that holy table: shewing them, that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself: and on the other part, he is in an especial manner to invite and encourage all that labour under the sense of the burden of their sins, and fear of wrath, and desire to reach out unto a greater progress in grace than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's table; assuring them, in the same name, of ease, refreshing, and strength to their weak and wearied souls..."

Here, in the heart of the Reformed practice, is found the care and solemnity which would safeguard the Table-fellowship from unworthy participants; or to express the purpose better, which would safeguard unworthy participants from endangering their souls by coming unprepared to the Holy of Holies.

Yet once the service begins, once the called are seated, and the Bread and Wine are brought in, the whole tone of the gathering ought rightly to be raised to a note of joyous gratitude and festivity. Here is a family meal, and if awful is still the most joyous of all earthly experiences. That is why our present heterogeneous Communion probably do little harm, and as little good. The unworthy sit and wonder or doze, while the Christians are seldom moved beyond the solemn and down-cast eyes of the penitent. If forgiveness means anything, if the Cross points surely to the Easter morn, if the Christ is King, then in this brief hour at the Table there ought to be heard the deepest notes of joy and thanksgiving. This would scandalize and probably further endanger the hopes for faith of a non-Christian if he were present, for how could he understand the paeon of praise and glory with which the martyrs viewed the arena, or saints see the Cross, or with which the ordinary believer views the redemption made his in Christ? Yet we are infinitely the poorer in our present-day Communion because we never dare to accept the forgiveness of God as a community, as a family, and as a redeemed society express for a moment the joy of the home-comers.

The Last Supper indicates that the present-day Eucharist should be a private and jealously guarded esoteric occasion, for in that meal the Church most evidently stands apart for a moment from the confusion and despair of contemporary society and is the prototype of the New Age, the Redeemed Society of the Kingdom of God.

While no man can judge another's fitness to be present at this meal, it is incumbent upon us to raise the level of our thinking and preaching, to raise our fences, and to expect that quality of life and faith from each other which will enable us to perceive ever more fully the Body of the Lord; both in the sense of our corporate existence as the Church, the New Society, and in the Fact, the real Presence of the living Christ. So our Communion will become here on earth that place where we may most really pray "Maranatha" - come Lord Jesus! - and at the same time we may experience the joy of His arrival, and on our dispersal go out renewed and redirected, and given the power of His Spirit to show forth our Lord until He comes.
